

डा० अश्वरारि अहमद खान (राजस्थान):  
अब आप लंच के बाद स्पेशल मेंशन ले लें  
तो अच्छा रहेगा।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you want me to adjourn the House, then the Special Mentions will be taken up after the Private Members' Business. So, the House is adjourned till 2.30 P.M. for lunch.

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

The House re-assembled after lunch at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. A. Baby) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. BABY): We shall now take up Private Members' Business-Resolution by Shri Viren J. Shah.

#### RESOLUTION RE. SITUATION CREATED IN ASSAM BY BODO MOVEMENT AND U.L.F.A.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This House expresses its grave concern on the situation created in Assam by the Bodo movement for establishing a separate State of Bodoland and by the United Liberation Front of Assam to secede from the Indian Union. The House feels that apart from spreading violence and terrorism, this could have adverse effect on the stability of the whole of the North-Eastern region of the country."

In fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is with some sadness that I have to move this Resolution as it is my maiden speech in this House after a gap of nearly 8 to 9 years, and that my maiden speech has to be on a situation which has its own tragedy for the people of Assam and its implica-

tions not only for the North-Eastern region but also for the whole country. There have been recently reports in newspapers on Assam, on ULFA, on Bodoland, though not too many people are still aware of it. And editorials have been written and hon. Ministers, whether the Home Minister or the Railway Minister or the Commerce Minister the other day here have expressed and talked about the grim situation in Assam. I think, before we start condemning any people or coming to a quick conclusion about dealing with a heavy hand, it might be of help to have a look at and recognise the socio-economic and historical background of the situation. The history of the different ethnic groups in Assam and other States of the North-East has to be kept in mind. It has centuries-old history. It is not only the history, but the geographical terrain also resulted into their being away from the mainstream of India. The Indo-Gangetic plains was the other part. The geographical terrain did that.

There are over 100 tribes and sub-tribes. There are several dialects. I am told, in Nagaland itself, Nagas living in one part would not be able to understand the dialect of the other. Therefore, these are the differences and, on the top of it, was the economic and political deprivation the people felt on account of lack of development in that part during the British rule and after the British rule.

There was a time when Assam had its own glorious history, even standing up and fighting the British. Later, it became a part of Bengal. In 1912, again, Assam became a Chief Commissioner's Territory. This is also one background which we should keep in mind when we are talking about Assam and other parts of the North-East. Till 1941, and a few years thereafter also, the whole territory was known as the North-East Frontier Agency, NEFA. NEFA was directly ruled by the British. What-

ever little democratic right the people in other parts of India had, either under the 1935 Act or, even earlier—in these other provinces, they could elect Members to the Assemblies—was denied to the people in the North-East Frontier Agency. NEFA was directly ruled by the British. As I mentioned earlier, because of the geographical constraints, historical constraints and ethnic constraints, these people continued to remain away from the mainstream of India and, secondly, economically and politically deprived. This is the background we should keep in mind when we talk about these people. There were years when we talked about—we used to hear—the Naga revolt. The people of Nagaland rose in what we thought—revolt but what, from their point of view, was the assertion of their independence. Today, there is the burial of Phizo, the man who led Nagaland to revolt and who died London the other day.

The same thing about the Mizos. If we keep this background in mind, we will be able to somewhat—I hope, somewhat—appreciate the problem that we are facing. We have the Assam hill tribes, the Khasis, the Garos and the Jaintias. By 1970, they got a separate State of Meghalaya. They got their own autonomy. Two other tribes who were given an option to join—I am going to talk about them a little later—did not and they also have got their own problems.

Now, about the Bodos. At least, this Resolution has given me an opportunity to read a little about them and to know something about these extraordinary people. The Bodos are plains tribal people. Barring the Michings or Miris, as they are called, the Bodos encompass all the other plains tribal communities. They were among the earlier settlers in Assam. Today, they are scattered in every district, but there are areas where

they are over 50 per cent of the population. There is a historical aspect here. Bodos had ruled the plains of what is today West Bengal, Bangladesh and Assam. This also we should keep in mind. They are a proud people, ethnically strong and people who know about their ancestors who, at one point of time, ruled vast areas of what is today Bangladesh, West Bengal and Assam, as I said. What they have come to today? This background is essential before we sit in judgement over what they are doing. I will talk about the ULFA later on. The Bodos are a people with a strong ethnic sense. They resented what they believed to be Assamisation, or, Hinduisation of Assam. In their own strong ethnic sense, their own culture and their own beliefs, this was a kind of encroachment. Now, like all other places, particularly those which are away from the main area, the plains of Assam were not that far away from the mainstream as North Eastern parts, the hilly parts, yet since the British times they have also felt, perhaps legitimately, of a grave sense of injustice, sense of deprivation and neglect and denied opportunities. Unfortunately, even after independence their hopes and trust were belied. I am not going into too much of a detail but I would like to explain one thing that lakhs of non-tribals of East Pakistan came and settled in tribal areas, other non-tribals also came and settled in those Bodo tribal areas. When the delimitation of constituencies was made, it was done in such a way that it was against the Bodos. This resulted into a sense of frustration. But in the early 1960s and even up to late 1960s and 1970s the Bodos concentrated on reorientation of their language and literacy and the hill movement started. Now the Bodo language is taught in the secondary schools and it is a major Indian language in colleges in Assam. Here I would like to refer to article 244 and Sixth Schedule. This is essential because I think this

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is at the root of what Bodos feel and what the others feel or what the hilly tribes have felt. Article 244A of the Constitution says and I quote:

"Formation of an autonomous State comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local Legislature or Council of Ministers or both therefor - (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, Parliament may, by law, form within the State of Assam an autonomous State comprising (whether wholly or in part) all or any of the tribal areas specified in Part I of the table appended to paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule and create therefor—

(a) a body, whether elected or partly nominated and partly elected, to function as a Legislature for the autonomous State, or

(b) a Council of Ministers or both with such constitution, powers and functions in each case, as may be specified in the law."

And then there is description in the Sixth Schedule. This is how our Constitution makers in 1949-50 thought that it was necessary for our tribal areas, particularly for the tribal areas in Assam and hilly areas around, that a special provision should be made and it has been made. Have we implemented that? Sadly speaking, no Sir. This is again the reason for the Bodos to feel as they are feeling. So, after going in for a while in literature and language, they have lost their patience. In 1967, a Plains Tribal Council of Assam was created to take up political leadership of Bodos and the man, highly respected Mr. Modram Brahma, was the president. This received tremendous response from the tribal people. Even when they gave a call to boycott elec-

tions of 1967, more than 80 per cent tribals responded to that. And how did we react? 'We' means those who are governing India from Delhi or governing in Assam. The leaders of this organisation, Plains Tribal Council of Assam, were arrested, detained, their workers were arrested. And this was our response. And the Constitutional safeguard under article 244A was never brought into effect. This went on and by 1973 the Udayachal issue came up. They demanded a union territory status. This was nothing against the constitutional law; it was within the Constitution. They demanded a union territory status and called it Udyachal. There were ups and downs. Various assurances were given and promises broken. But that feeling of domination by others and ethnic problems continued. They were feeling that justice was denied and their aspirations were aroused by that time, both economic and political.

Here, if I may quote from a memorandum that this Council submitted to the Government of India on 27th October, 1986:

"The problem of protection of the plains tribal areas has become more acute because of the policies pursued by the State Government of Assam. During Mr. Hiteshwar Saikia's regime, the State Government had included the caste, Kashatriya Rajvanshis in the list of protected classes of people in tribal belts and blocks. The present AGP Government also has been making a sinister attempt to include so many classes. ... In view of those, the Plains Tribal of Assam have become very restive. If the Government of India does not come forward to meet the political aspirations of the plains tribals, the Plains Tribals Council of Assam shall have no alternative save to

restort to agitational approach to fulfil their political demands”.

This is where the Udayachal movement started taking a turn and the leaders advised that if the peaceful and democratic method was not found, it may result in different ethnic and linguistic groups in the North-Eastern region taking resort to acts of insurgency and violent action.

From Udayachal, the demand became one for Bodoland, a much larger territory than Udayachal, and the hill tribals people, even those of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hills, demanded an autonomous State. They were the ones who were given the option in 1972 to join Meghalaya, but they were persuaded by Assamese leaders that they would be given the same autonomy in Assam in 1970. This was not fulfilled and the assurance given to them was denied. They were promised District Council Order, under para 6(?) of the Sixth Schedule on 16th September, 1970—a specific date. But this promise was not kept. This is so far as Bodos are concerned.

Now I come to ULFA which is described, if I can pronounce rightly, as Sanjukta Mukti Bahini Asom. Mukti Bahini is an inspiration from Bangladesh. When East Pakistan fell and when the people of Bangladesh fought against the tyranny of Pakistan, they created a Mukti Bahini. That has inspired the people of Assam who have now created a United Liberation Front of Assam. And what is their demand? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the demand is very straightforward and simple—cessation from India. They are not demanding merely an autonomous State within India. The demand is very clearly that Assam should be a sovereign, independent State and this Sanjukta Mukti Bahini Asom or the United Liberation Front of Assam is dedicated towards that goal.

Now I heard someone, a responsible Minister, saying that it is not as serious as Punjab or Jammu and Kashmir. Could this be less serious than Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir? There is the same Jammu and Kashmir syndrome and that has been going on for quite some time. But most of the people of India were not aware of the grimness of the situation except in the last two months. I could quote—I have got some speeches of the hon. Minister, particularly the hon. Home Minister making speeches in this House and in the other House and outside about the grim situation, about effective steps being taken and about advising the Assam Government. This was in February. This was repeated in March. This was repeated in April in the other House, on 12th of April and, if I am not mistaken, three days back, the consultative Committee of Ministry of Home Affairs provided a kind of fodder for a cartoonist repeating the same thing. “We are going to take very strict action. We asked the Assam Government to handle this” though, of course, the Union Home Minister mentioned about the number of deaths that had taken place murders and extortion. In his speech he mentioned that at that time there were “91 deaths so far.” But not one single person was convicted for these murders, extortions and robbing of moveable property—whether it is tractors or agricultural equipment in the tea gardens or scooters or motor cycles or motor cycles or motor cars. The former honourable Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev, said that his own nephew was killed because he could not part with his motor cycle. He needed it because his father was ill. He was killed the next day.

Then there is fear prevailing among all Government servants, bank employees and even the lower judiciary. The main, pervasive effect today in Assam is that of fear and, according to the Home Minister—if I may quote one sentence of

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his statement—"They have infiltrated in every walk of life." This is the Union Home Minister, Mr. Mufti Mohammed Sayeed saying in Parliament: "They have infiltrated in every walk of life." They have taken over educational institutions and also—if I may quote, again there is one sentence—"They tried to overload the local administration. They have killed a number of people as stated by the honourable Members." This is the Home Minister speaking: "They have snatched 1,500 weapons from the local people who have got the licence. So, their writ runs in some areas." Now, this is the situation and, if this is the situation, what exactly is being done?

There are five districts in the State—Dibrugarh, Shibsagar, Jorhat, North Lakhimpur and Sunitpur—where the writ is entirely that of the ULFA. The local revenue officers the police officers or any others have no way that they can do anything. It is the ULFA activists who rule over there. And this is not something that developed only yesterday. Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, This has been going on for some time. The previous Government and this Government took notice of this and tried to call meetings. Sometimes the Home Minister says, "We will call an all-party meeting." It was said only two or three days back. An all-party meeting was called in March and, I think, similar discussions took place in February. Is there any improvement and, if not, what needs to be done? Are there differences in the perception of the Assam Government and that of the Government of India? There are. The Assam Government feels that some aspects of the Assam Accord have not yet been totally fulfilled. The Government of India says that they have fulfilled almost everything and other things are in progress. The Assam Government says that they had asked for 'x' number of companies—20 or 30—of the Central Reserve Police Force and they are given a much smaller number. The Assam Government feels that there is a kind of discrimination against Assam as compared to Punjab or Kashmir with

regard to financial and economic assistance as also in providing security forces. So, these are some of the points.

About the Assam Accord, if I may say, there is a feeling again in the people of different parts of Assam that the Assam Accord is more for the upper class elitists people of Assam who have infiltrated or who are today in the ULFA and not necessarily for the various Assamese, whether tribal of plains people or those who have settled in Assam for centuries and yet are considered as either Bangalis, Marwaris or whatever. Then there is the labour class from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana working there. So, that is one aspect of the Assam Accord.

The Home Minister said on 12th April 1990. "We shall have to nip the evil in the bud." The bud. The bud has today become a giant banyan tree spread all over Assam, and when are we going to do this? This was said exactly one month back in the honourable House. Here also, let us analyze the background because I do not believe in just condemning either the Government or some people. So, analyzing it we find that the main reasons were economic, economic ills like in the rest of India. The only thing is that in the rest of India there were opportunities including good soil or water or natural resources, and it developed whereas in Assam agriculture has not developed, forests are being destroyed, soil erosion takes place continuously, there are floods in the river Brahmaputra and others. To this was added influx of people after 1947. On the one hand, people of India including those of Assam were rejoicing that they have become free, that they are no longer in the British empire and that they are the makers of their own destiny; on the other hand they found that lakhs of people from East Pakistan poured into Assam. The result was that the balance which first affected the Bodos and the tribal people, changed, and the whole Assam was burdened without agricultural development and other things. As I said, there is increasing dependence on outside for

foodgrains for salt, for every need almost. Assam has got oil and natural gas. But that cannot be eaten as such and can't be developed in a day. The result is that over a period of time, as what has happened, perhaps, in Kashmir and in Punjab in Assam also the unemployed youth, educated youth became aware of what is going on outside Assam, what the world is around them, in the rest of India. The global awareness also brought in very strong feeling of injustice, real or perceived, a strong feeling. Unlike their forefathers, the youth of today, as we have experienced elsewhere in India and outside, is not willing to take things lying down. The youth will rise. When they rise, their passions are aroused. Whether it is called nationalism, parochialism or religious grounds of whatever, that is the historical psychological reality. So, as I said earlier, this particular movement got non-tribal upper-caste Hindu support.

The ULFA obtains arms, makes forcible arms-collection, as was mentioned by the Minister. There is a letter. They send out letters of threat on their letter-heads, the letter-head of the Samjukta Mukti Bahini of Assam. It reads:

"Dear Sir,

It is for your information that the Central Fund Collection of our organisation is in progress. So, you are requested to deposit Rs. 8000000 (eighty lacs for our funds. Refusal of the request may prove dangerous. The aforesaid sum has to be paid on or before 24th of this month

Yours sincerely,"

It is signed by two persons. This has become a regular feature in the State of Assam in India. Those who deny it, have to pay the price of their life. There have been over 100 murders, but not a single conviction. The tea gardens have been affected. The managers in most of the tea gardens have become non-functional. The shopkeepers have been terrorised, and they have moved away.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): May I just remind the hon. Member that only two minutes are left.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: I have to speak for 40 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): As per Rule 161 ....

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Rule 161 is there. But I can be allowed a few more minutes because I have to make specific suggestions if you permit me. I will move from here very quickly. I will not quote.

I will say that there women cannot remove their jewellery from their lockers. The Government employees provide information about their income-tax, arms etc.

"THE SENTINEL" on the 2nd of April has brought it out in great detail. I was going to quote it, but not now. There is total fear. No one is willing even to complain or say anything. Khushi Ram Mittal was shot dead. When he was taken to hospital, they moved into the hospital and, shot him dead in the hospital. Not a single person came to give evidence. There 3.00 P.M. was an effective call or boycott on 26th of January, 1990 of the celebrations which were observed. Even police stations did not fly the Indian flag. There was non-participation in Republic Day parades by them. They are also establishing close links with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland and PLA of Mizoram in getting training in Burma. This is why I say this is an explosive situation. Also Assam Tribal Students' Union have brought out a volunteer force. They have now decided to join the movement to fight—I am quoting—"Delhi is colonial policy of exploitation. Our common enemy is the powerful exploitative force entrenched in Delhi."

I am going to suggest that the impact of this on the economy has been serious adverse effect on the tea production leading to reduce employment opportunities, reduced foreign exchange earnings, reduced chances of new industries, less availability of daily necessities and hardships for the people of Assam.

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There are two solutions—political as well as economic. The State Government must act firmly and appear to be non-partisan. The Government of India may provide additional forces; revamp intelligence agencies; provide protection to families of the police force so that they can function. AGP and AASU cadres should make positive efforts to defuse the situation and generate confidence among the people.

On economic package there is a report by a Member of the Planning Commission, Mr. L. C. Jain. Twenty-five recommendations have been made. Some of them are for strengthening of sericulture, intensive research in short duration high yielding paddy, irrigation and flood control. My request is that the Government must process the recommendations of Shri L.C. Jain quickly not with the usual delay with Section Officers examining and then implementing. I think the Minister of State for Home would keep this in mind to implement, move fast and create a situation in Assam and around. Otherwise merely making statements of grimness would lead to a situation when it will be difficult to avoid strong demands for President's rule and banning of ULFA, which I don't recommend, but would be difficult to avoid.

*The question was proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): There is one amendment by Prof. Chandresh P. Thakur. He is not here.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): As I rise to support this Resolution, I must, in the first instance, congratulate the hon. Member, Shri Viren Shah. My congratulations are due on two counts: first, because having entered the House barely a few days earlier—rather re-entered—he has the good fortune of getting the first number in the ballot, I can assure you while we congratulate you, we are envious of your luck. May good luck be with you for the rest of your tenure.

Secondly, I must also congratulate him on the very exhaustive and incisive speech which he has delivered in support of this Resolution. He has gone into the history of Assam and has also gone into the various causes—economic, social, administrative, ethnic—which have resulted in the present-day situation, which I may aptly describe as an alarming situation in Assam.

Of course, coming to the later part of his speech, he has eloquently dealt with the current situation. He has identified the five districts where there is no administration at all. Killings, kidnappings, ransoms, anything, but the rule of law, has its way in Assam today. He has read the letter of request. It is a typical letter of request which is received by hundreds. If a citizen who receives such a letter of request were to take it to any Administrative Officer—first they are not taking to an Administrative Officer because before he reaches the Administrative Officer, the information goes that, well, he is trying to get some help to seek protection against that letter and even if he reaches that Administrative Officer—the letter finds its place in the waste-paper basket. Now he has not referred to one thing. The Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Devi Lalji went there and he told the people of Assam—yes, the correct way as it was advocated at some points of time the correct even while we discussed Punjab here, years earlier—that every one should be armed. I have never used any arms. The only thing I can shoot with is my camera and I do not think I will ever rely on any arms for self defence. But you cannot match my skill with any arms with the skill which the terrorist has which comes out of an intensive training and a great passion. I have neither a passion to wield arms nor have I the training to use arms. So it becomes a very, very unequal thing. So I think the best course is to disarm everyone and live in a non-violent India which we are. But anyway knowing what has happened in Meham and other places, a call was given “you better apply for licen-

ces and get arms." Now what is the result is something very, very astonishing. The result was that the ULFA activities got a list of licensed arms holders or citizens who have legitimate licences and—having arms on the basis of those licences. They went round each and every house and seized all those arms. So the result was that even those people who had arms are now disarmed and ULFA people have all the arms at their disposal. What is important is that the State Government is not only pulverised but it is incapable of taking any action in the matter. There is a big cleavage between the Chief Minister and the Home Minister which is very well known and they do not know whether it will be to anybody's political advantage in any manner to deal with ULFA. Now, this is a very, very serious and a very, very dangerous situation where the rule of law gets submerged in terrorist activities. It is not only terrorist activities but as has been rightly pointed out by hon. Member, Mr. Viren Shah, there is also a separatist movement, a secessionist movement where they say "Well, we must have a separate Assam independent of India." Now this is a very, very dangerous thing because you have a Government which cannot move its little finger against ULFA activities and you have the nationalist Government which is turning a Nelson's eye to all those happenings there. I have read and the mover of the Resolution has also read the statement of the Home Minister. But if those statements have to be taken at their face value and there is something than what meets the eye in the current situation in Assam, then, I think it is impossible any more, for that Government to run on Constitutional lines. The Government has failed to protect the lives, the property, the honour and safety of the citizens. It is said that these ULFA activities indulged in some good activities like road building, building schools but today what is happening is, in fact, there is an enforced and bonded labour. Everybody is seen on the roads, just brought in and he is asked to put in labour for four days or five days or one week without any payment, without anything and

for fear of saving their lives, they do it. I do not know, in the first instance, whether such forced and bonded labour is permissible. This is another way. We have also built roads. As a student, I have built a road—one of the first roads in India—we have built schools, but that is all voluntarily. Here, it has become a part of their activities to force people to submit to the dictates of the ULFA's activities. When I look around, as I said, the AGP has become a prisoner of the ULFA and the National Front Government has become a prisoner of the AGP. Now I do not know how to unlock these prisons.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAIPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh): Try to unlock them.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Yes, we will try to liberate them. There are many suggestions made. (Interruptions) I yield. I didn't get what you said. (Interruptions). You can say what you like because you are from Assam. Your word goes a long way.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): When an hon. Member makes a statement in the House, that should be based on facts. It is a Private Member's Resolution. When he is speaking on this resolution, he has not spoken on that. He said, 'the AGP Government and the National Front Government, both are prisoners of the ULFA'. So such a type of statement is not expected from a person of Mr. Bhandare's calibre.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: When none of them is acting, what do you want me to say? You know there are reports which say that not one administrative action has been taken against anyone. (Interruptions) Anyway, if you think that they are their agents. I am very happy. I hope you will be speaking on this Resolution and enlighten not me but the entire nation which is worried about it and I must tell you that as long as there is on security—because these people, some of them, as

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I said, when I spoke on the debate on the Ministry of Home Affairs, many.....  
(Interruptions).

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Can you claim that there is security in other parts of the country?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am not saying that. But we can live in peace; I can reach home; nobody sends me a letter of threat; I come home unhurt by anyone and there is all safety and security. You do not know, thousands of miles I cover between Delhi and Cochin or Delhi and Madras and there is all security. Don't think like that. We are proud of this thing. We are far more secure than even New York for that matter. Then you cannot walk after 7 O'clock but we can at dead of night. Even our ladies can walk in Delhi and Bombay at 3 O'clock in the morning but nobody would even touch them. You can be partisan out; don't try to belittle your country. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: In Assam also, buses are coming and going just like Delhi and other places.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Yes, I wanted to say less but now that you have provoked me, let me come to this. (Interruption).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Bhandare, you ignore her. Shrimati Chakravarty, you can speak when your turn comes.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sir, luckily I know how to pay attention and how to ignore also. So there is no question about it because we are at a stage where neither the hon. Member can convince me nor I can convince her. So all that we should do is that I should listen to her and she should listen to me and there the matter must rest. The point which I was making was that these families which are being

treated as non-Assamese have stayed there for generations. Some of them have stayed for five generations, seven generations and many of them speak better Assamese than even some of our Members here. They are literary figures in Assamese. All that has happened is that they have not changed their names. Their names have remained the same. Coming from Rajasthan, somebody has a name Agarwal or coming from Bihar, he has a name Sinha. Their family name has remained the same. But barring family names, all other things are Assamese. Their language is Assamese, their culture is Assamese, their habits are Assamese. But yet, somehow or other, these people are looked upon by the ULFA activists as their exploiters. Now, there is a very very peculiar phenomenon to which I will briefly refer. It is the phenomenon of migrants. (Interruptions).

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): Mr. Bhandare, will you yield for a minute? There are some pure Assamese Aggarvals also in Assam. This is for your information.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: But I am talking about those 'non-pure', according to you. According to me, every 'Aggarval' who lives.... (Interruptions). I can tell you this is distinction which we do not make. For example, look. I come from Bombay. I am an aborigine of Bombay. Bombay claims everybody. Bombay has, Mr. Vice-Chairman, a large number of citizens from Kerala.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Are you proud of being an aborigine?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am proud. Yes. That is how an original Bombayite looks. Look at me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): They are not citizens of Kerala. They are citizens of India coming from Kerala.

**SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE:** Yes. Let me make it clear. Let us not fight shy of things. I am a citizen of Bombay as well as of India. We must maintain our dual identity. But ultimately my identity as a Bombayite must submerge itself when I talk of India. I am not against these identities. The identities that you belong to a school, to a caste, are good provided ultimately they go on submerging into higher levels of identity. The highest of level of identity for any human being is that he is a human being and he is a universal citizen. For example, look at my friend, Mr. C. D. Umachand. He has been a Member of the Assembly for so many years. Nobody calls him C. D. Umachand. Everybody calls him 'jom-prekar' in Bombay. We do not make these distinctions at all. We are all Bombayites whether somebody comes from this or somebody comes from that. We don't see what his mother tongue is, what his religion is, what his caste is and that is why Bombay has become a mini India. We do not treat him as an exploiter because we have the courage and we have the guts to look after our own interests. What happens in migration is, migrants become superior citizens, partly because they have been forced to leave their own homeland. I will say, not forced but left. Take a sample case where Indians migrate to the USA. Today, you will find that the top doctors, top lawyers, top engineers, and top professors in American universities are Indians. Why? The best of people, the gold medallists, live in India. It is only the second best who migrates because he feels he cannot compete with the best in India. He migrates and becomes super-best there. It is a fact which my friend, Mr. Viren Shah, will bear out. And we are proud. When you travel throughout the continent of the USA, you find that a large number of Indians are in the highest of posts there, in the highest of the income-earning brackets. That is because of necessity. You find that the migrants work harder. The solution for this is that the locals must work as hard

as the migrants. But that does not happen, probably because of the security which is in-built when you belong to a particular place where your family has resided for centuries. And we know that this sort of feeling of exploitation comes more because of inaction, more because of inertia, more because of lethargy on the part of the locals. I must tell you that unless we improve the work culture of this country, unless we improve the productivity of this country, I think this is going to be a perennial demand without any solution. Therefore, the solution for this is to improve your work culture. Let every one of us put in 25 per cent more of work in whatever field we are, whatever position we occupy, whichever area we are working in. The whole country will see a new era. What is most important is that on this issue we find that there is no strategy. There is no policy at all of the State Government or of the National Front Government, and I do not want to say, but this is one case of Assam where neither the National Front Government nor the AGP has any alibi. It cannot accuse or attribute all this to their petty theme, the Congress (I) misrule. They have to own everything; that is why I say and I repeat that AGP has become a prisoner of ULFA and the National Front Government is so weak and so afraid that it does not take any action; otherwise tell me what the difference is between Punjab when we dismissed Darbara Singh Ministry at that point of time and the situation in Assam today? If anything, the situation in Assam is worse, but I know that neither Assam Government will work nor this National Front Government, this weak-kneed, non-performing, non-functioning Government will have the courage to act in the interest of the country, to dismiss the Government which has utterly failed in protecting the honour of the country..... (Interruptions)...

**DR. NAGEN SAIKIA:** You cannot equate the situation of Punjab with that of Assam.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: No, it is the statement of the Minister. I am not saying that at all and everybody is agreed that the position in Punjab today is as it has been never before. I am merely proceeding. If that is the position, I think a clear case for the dismissal of the Ministry is made out, a clear case for the imposition of President's rule is made out. I think, all those provisions are precisely made or provided for in the Constitution when a situation like what is prevalent today in Assam exists. I am not at all against what has been said, a political process or an administrative process. The main difficulty is that you are ignoring both in Assam. Ultimately, I do believe that every Indian citizen including those activists and including those who appear to be secessionists at the moment can be persuaded to see reason, and they can be told that ultimately they are the sons of India and I do not think that they will like to be merely Assamese only; and their honour and their pride will be aroused when they call themselves Indians. I do not think, therefore, that—because I have read so many statements of the Home Minister saying so—he would not deal with the secessionists at all. I think that is not the correct way at all. You must have the mixed package of good administrative procedures, of good economic measures as well as a political process. Today what is happening unfortunately is that you have neither a political thinking nor an administrative action. You have none of the economic measures. What you have is total inaction, a policy of drift and a policy which does not, in fact, exist at all. This is a far dangerous situation, but let me end by saying that this is a process which has been accentuated by the differences within the AGP. I think a time has come for us to condemn all such differences within the party for petty game at the cost of national interest and at the cost of safety, and I hope that the Home Minister, at the end of today's debate, will come out with complete facts and figures and with the measures, he must

come out with a table saying what the Central Government did from day to day, what it asked the State Government to do and what the action was that was taken by them, what the monitoring was that was done by the Central Government and what the report was that you had received from the Governor from time to time. Mr. Thakur has gone there recently. You can him and find out from him as to what his solution is; and what is to be done to improve the situation there. But I will tell you that you will be failing in your constitutional duty and you will be betraying not only the people of Assam but the whole country if you **refuse to act and because of your inaction**, you may fall at the Centre. I think, on all such matters, you should show courage and it is better to go out of power than to stick to it so that the national honour is preserved, national integrity is preserved, national sovereignty is protected and the individual's safety, honour, liberty and life are protected and India remains one great country which it is.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): No, Mr. S. M. Malaviya.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री वीरेन्द्र जे० शाह ने अपने सफल में आसाम के संबंध में जो चिन्ता व्यक्त की है, वहां पर जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है और पृथक्तावादी और अलगाववादी शक्तियों के द्वारा जो आन्दोलन वहां पर चल रहा है वह केवल उनकी ही चिन्ता नहीं है, बल्कि वह सारे देश की चिन्ता है। समय-समय पर इस संबंध में इस सदन में भी चिन्ता व्यक्त की गई है। आज हमारे देश की हालत कोई बहुत अच्छी नहीं है। जब कभी हम इस बारे में सोचते हैं तो पता चलता है कि पंजाब में कितने दिनों से आतंकवाद चल रहा है। वहां पर विधान सभा भंग है, राज्यपाल का शासन है। ठीक वही हालत जम्मू-काश्मीर की भी है। वहां पर भी लोकप्रिय सरकार नहीं है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती जयंती नटराजन) पीठासीन हुई]

राज्यपाल का वहां पर शासन है।

जहां तक आसाम का प्रश्न है, आसाम का आज इस देश की जो लोक सभा है और जो इस देश की सबसे बड़ा पंचायत है वहां पर उसका एक भी प्रतिनिधि नहीं। आसाम की जो वर्तमान विधान सभा है उसका कार्यकाल इसी वर्ष दिसम्बर में समाप्त होने जा रहा है और अगर यही हालत रही तो मेरे मन में बहुत बड़ी शंका है कि आसाम में भी चुनाव हो पाएगा या नहीं हो पाएगा, कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है। मैं इसके पहले कि अपनी बात कहूं, जनसत्ता में तीन चार दिन पूर्व 10 मई को प्रकाशित श्री सत्यनारायण मिश्र का एक लेख छपा है जिसका शीर्षक है "क्या असम भी काश्मीर की राह लेगा" उसकी ओर दिलाना चाहता हूं। मैं नहीं जानता कि जो स्थिति उसमें बताई गई है वही है या नहीं, लेकिन अगर इस प्रकार की स्थिति है तो निश्चित रूप में यह सबसे बड़ा संकट है, राष्ट्रीयता का संकट है, अलगाववाद का संकट है और पृथक्तावादी ताकतों का संकट है। इनका लेख शुरू होता है—असम की हालत दिनोंदिन बद से बदतर होती जा रही है। यूनायटेड लिबरेशन फ्रंट आफ असम (उल्फा) के आतंक के पन्ने भरते ही जा रहे हैं। इस संगठन ने ग्राम जनता से उसके लाइसेंसी हथियार अपने पास जमा कराने के अभियान के तहत अब तक डेढ़ हजार के लगभग लाइसेंसी हथियार जमा कराए जा चुके हैं। उल्फा ने इन हथियारों की प्राप्ति की रसीद हथियार मालिकों को दी है। जनता पर उल्फा का आतंक किस कदर जारी है कि इसका अंदाजा इस बात से लगाया जा सकता है कि प्रशासन द्वारा आकाशवाणी पर अपील जारी करने और ग्राम निर्देश देने के बावजूद लोग जिला प्रशासन के पास बंदूक जमा करने के बजाय उल्फा की रसीद पर ज्यादा भरोसा कर रहे हैं।

अन्त में उन्होंने लिखा है कि असम में हालात-ए-ग्राम है कि ग्राम जनता बदहवास है। शाम होते ही दुकानें बंद होने लगती हैं, लोग बाग अपने घरों की ओर भगने लगते हैं और आठ-साढ़े आठ बजते-बजते बसों आदि का चलना बंद होने लगता है। अगर यही स्थिति है तो इसका मतलब यह है कि आसाम में जन या जीवन सुरक्षित नहीं है और वहां पर कानून का राज्य भी नहीं है क्योंकि आये दिन समाचार पत्रों में इस प्रकार के समाचार आ रहे हैं कि गैर-आसामियों से जबर्दस्ती धन वसूल किया जा रहा है, निर्दोष लोगों की हत्याएं हो रही हैं और आतंकवाद बराबर बढ़ता जा रहा है।

जहां तक बोडो आन्दोलन का सवाल है, इनकी जो मांग है उसके संबंध में भारत सरकार ने स्वयं 2 मई, 1990 को राज्य सभा में अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 140 के उत्तर में स्वीकार किया है। यह जो संगठन है इसके लोग वहां पर एक पृथक् राज्य की गठन की मांग कर रहे हैं। सरकार का उत्तर है कि :

Representative Organisations of Bodos Plains Tribals in Assam have been mainly demanding a separate State on the Northern Bank of the River Brahmaputra. Five rounds of discussions between the Government of Assam and All Bodo Students' Union in the presence of Union Minister of Welfare as an observer have been held so far to find an amicable solution to the problems of Bodos/Plains Tribals.

जहां तक मुझे ख्याल पड़ता है कि तीन-चार बार वार्ता दिल्ली में हो चुकी है लेकिन इसके बाद भी वहां की हालत सुधरी नहीं है, बल्कि हालात दिनों दिन बिगड़ती जा रही है। इस तरह के भी समाचार अखबारों में आ रहे हैं कि वहां के जो वर्तमान मुख्य मंत्री हैं और जो वहां के गृह मंत्री हैं, उनके आपस में कुछ मतभेद हैं। इस मतभेद के कारण इसका असर वहां के प्रशासन पर या

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

प्रशासन संबंधी जो अधिकारी हैं, उन पर भी पड़ रहा है। यह भी खबरें आ रही हैं और यह बहुत ही भयावह खबर है कि "उल्फा" का जो आंदोलन है इसका समर्थन राज्य सरकार के बहुत बड़े बड़े अधिकारी कर रहे हैं। तो जब गृह मंत्री जी इस डिबेट में हस्तक्षेप करेंगे तो मैं यह जरूर जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या सरकार के पास इस प्रकार की कोई खबर है, कोई समाचार है, कोई इस प्रकार के सबूत आये हैं कि असम सरकार के जो वर्तमान बड़े बड़े अधिकारी हैं वे भी इन आतंकवादियों और अलगाववादियों का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। शायद निकट भविष्य में गृह राज्य मंत्री गुवाहाटी जाने वाले हैं। यह सुझाव दिया गया है कि वहां पर एक सर्वदलीय सभा आयोजित की जाय जिसमें राजनैतिक दलों के लोगों को आमंत्रित किया जाय। यह सभा इसलिए आयोजित की जा रही है ताकि इस पर विचार किया जा सके कि कैसे वहां जो अलगाववादी शक्तियां हैं, या जो पृथकतावादी ताकतें हैं, उनसे निपटने का हम काम करें। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से यह भी जानना चाहूंगा कि जब वे डिबेट में हस्तक्षेप करें तो बतायें कि यदि वे वहां जाने वाले हैं तो क्या सरकार ने उस सिलसिले में एजेंडा तैयार कर लिया है? किस आधार पर वे राजनैतिक दलों से बातचीत करेंगे और केन्द्रीय सरकार के अपने इस संबंध में क्या सुझाव है? अभी शाह जी और भंडारे जी ने अपने विचार प्रकट किये। उसमें इस बात की चर्चा की गई थी कि अभी जब कुछ दिन पूर्व गृह मंत्री वहां गये थे तो उन्होंने असम सरकार को क्या निर्देश दिये। सीधे निर्देश वे इस कारण नहीं दे सकते थे, क्योंकि जो कानून और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है वह केवल राज्य सरकार के साथ में है, लेकिन मेरी अपनी समझ से असम का मामला केवल कानून और व्यवस्था का मामला नहीं है। वहां पर असंतोष हैं, वहां पर गरीबी है, वहां पर आर्थिक विषमता है, वहां पर आर्थिक पिछड़ापन है। असम में जो रेलवे लाइन है,

बहुत दिनों से मांग की जा रही है कि वहां की आर्थिक तरक्की के लिये जरूरी है कि वहां पर जो मीटर रेल लाइनें हैं उनको ब्राड गेज में परिवर्तित किया जाय। इस मांग को बराबर वहां के आंदोलनकारी रखते हैं। तो असम का सवाल, केवल यह कहने से इसका समाधान नहीं होगा कि असम का जो वर्तमान आन्दोलन है या लोगों की जो मांगें हैं या वहां का जो आंदोलन है उसका सीधा संबंध कानून और व्यवस्था से है। यह एक राजनैतिक प्रश्न है। पंजाब में भी 1980 में इस प्रकार को मांग शुरू हुई थी। दस वर्ष हो गये, पंजाब की लागत दिन प्रति दिन त्रिगुणित जा रही है। कांग्रेस तो वहां की समस्या का समाधान कर ही नहीं पाई क्योंकि कांग्रेस की इच्छा शक्ति कम थी। आंदोलनकारियों को बढ़ावा देने में कांग्रेस पार्टी का हाथ है। संत भिडरा-वाले के संबंध में, आज जो विपक्ष के नेता हैं उनकी क्या राय थी, इसको मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि सारा देश उनकी राय, जो भिडरावाले के संबंध में थी, जानता है। लेकिन आज भी इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिये वर्तमान सरकार ने जो कदम उठाये हैं, मेरी समझ में वे कदम भी सफल नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। क्यों ऐसा है, क्या उसका कारण है, मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूं लेकिन पंजाब की समस्या के चलते, जम्मू-कश्मीर की समस्या के चलते जब आसाम की समस्या हमारे सामने आ कर खड़ी हो गई है तो यह कोई कानून और व्यवस्था का मामला नहीं है। इसका सीधा-सीधा प्रश्न देशवासियों से जुड़ा हुआ है और इस दृष्टि से हमको देखना चाहिये। इस संबंध में हमारे जो राजनीतिक मतभेद हैं, आपस में मतभेद हो सकते हैं, विभेद हो सकते हैं लेकिन आसाम की समस्या का समाधान करने के लिये इस देश में जितने भी राजनीतिक दल हैं उनमें आपस में मतभेद नहीं होने चाहिये। मैं मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि 18

अप्रैल, 1990 को कोई बातचीत हुई थी आल बोडो स्टुडेंट्स यूनियन, केन्द्र सरकार और आसाम सरकार के बीच में और उसके बाद यह तय हुआ कोई समिति बनाई गई और यह तय हुआ कि समिति अपनी रिपोर्ट 2 जुलाई 1990 तक सरकार के सामने प्रस्तुत करेगी। जब मंत्री जी अपना उत्तर देते समय हस्तक्षेप करें, इस संबंध में वे रेशनों डालने की कृपा करेंगे। अंत में, जो असम समझौता हुआ था उसकी ओर मैं ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। आसाम समझौता जब हुआ था उस समय उस समझौते के संबंध में बहुत से लोगों ने अलग-अलग राय दी थी, मतभेद थे लेकिन आसाम समझौते के क्रियान्वयन की स्थिति क्या है? आसाम समझौते में जो धारायें हैं, उनको कार्यान्वित करने में क्या कठिनाई है? इस ओर भी सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये तथा इस ओर भी प्रकाश डालना चाहिये। क्योंकि आसाम समझौता जब कार्यान्वित नहीं हो पा रहा है इसके लिये भी वहां असंतोष है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वीरेन शाह जी को एक बार फिर धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने एक ऐसा गैर-सरकारी प्रस्ताव रखा जिस प्रस्ताव की चर्चा के समय सारे सदन को एकमत हो करके अपनी राय देनी चाहिये कि कैसे हम आसाम समस्या का समाधान कर सकते हैं। हमारी सरकार जो राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे की सरकार है वह भी देश में शांतिमय प्रशासन को कायम करना चाहती है, आसाम की समस्या का समाधान करना चाहती है, पंजाब की समस्या का समाधान करना चाहती है, जम्मू-कश्मीर समस्या का समाधान करना चाहती है लेकिन केवल सरकार के भरोसे पर किसी भी समस्या का समाधान हम नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये हम न केवल सारे सदन का सहयोग इस संबंध में चाहेंगे बल्कि सदन के बाहर भी जो राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता हैं उनकी जो राजनीतिक इच्छा शक्ति है, उसका सहयोग भी चाहेंगे तभी सही मायने में इस देश में महात्मा

गांधी के भारत को हम प्रगति के रास्ते पर ले जा सकेंगे। धन्यवाद।

**चौधरी हरि सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आसाम की स्थिति और आसाम में बोडो अलग राज्य बनाने का जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है उसके संबंध में वीरेन जे. शाह जी ने जो रेजोल्यूशन मूव किया है उसकी भावना और उसके ख्याल के पीछे जो इतिहास है वह इस बात का द्योतक है कि यह विषय बहुत ही चिंता का विषय है और मालूम पड़ता है कि सारे देश में तोड़फोड़ की नहीं बल्कि देश के डिसइंटेग्रेशन की लहर आ गई है। यह लहर क्यों न आये? जब केन्द्र में कोई मजबूत सरकार न हो, मुख्तलिफ ख्यालों की सरकार है, विभिन्न विचारों और उद्देश्यों वाली सरकार। आपने इतिहास देखा होगा कि जब भी कभी दिल्ली की सरकार कमजोर हुई तो सबों के एक नहीं अनेकों सरदार, सूबेदार, मुंसिफदार, गवर्नर लोग आजाद होने की कोशिश करने लगे, अलग राज्य बना बैठे। आज फिर हिस्ट्री दोहरा रही है। केन्द्र की सरकार कमजोर है, लड़खड़ाती हुई सरकार है, मुख्तलिफ विचाराधारा के लोग हैं, सरकार के पैर कमजोर हैं, इन लोगों की कोई योजना नहीं है, प्रोग्राम नहीं है। जैसे-तैसे सरकार को चलाना उनका काम है। देश को मजबूत बनाना, देश को खुशहाल बनाना... (व्यवधान)

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मास्कीय :** आपको सरकार में आने से रोकना हमारा काम है।

**चौधरी हरि सिंह :** सबों के जो लोग हैं वह कमजोर सरकार को देखकर सेप्रेट राज्य मांगेंगे या नहीं मांगेंगे? क्योंकि वह जानते हैं कि हमारे मांग पूरी हो सकती है। उसको सपोर्ट करने वाले जो ग्रुप हैं वह कह सकते हैं कि हमारी इस मांग को पूरा करो। वरना हम तुमसे अलग बैठेंगे, अलग हो

[ श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय ]

जायेंगे और यह सरकार गिर पड़ेगी। तो आपकी मजबूरी का फायदा उठाने के लिये सरकार की तरफ नजर है। यह सबसे मुख्य कारण है जो आज देश के अन्दर विघटनकारी, तोड़फोड़ की और देश को टुकड़ों में बांटने वाली शक्तियां या नाजायज तत्व बढ़ रहे हैं। जैसा कि अभी मालवीय जी ने कहा कि आसाम में कोई सरकार नहीं है, सचमुच सरकार नहीं है। वहां पर जो उल्फा के लोग हैं उनकी बिल्कुल पैरेलल सरकार है। रुपया वसूल करते हैं, हथियार देते हैं, लाइसेंस देते हैं, दुकान बन्द करो, चलाओ, रुपया दो तो ट्रांसफर अफसरों का करते हैं। आज सरकार उल्फा के हाथ में है और ये ट्रेनिंग कहां से पाते हैं, इनको पैसा, हथियार कहां से आते हैं, इनको पैसा धन दौलत कहां से मिलती है? ये सब बर्मा से मिलता है। आसाम की बहुत बड़ी सीमा बर्मा से मिलती है बर्मा के अन्दर अफीम की खेती होती है, हेरोइन और हशीश के बड़े-बड़े फार्म हैं। आसाम के बहुत सारे लोगों को उल्फा के लोग भर्ती करके भेजते हैं और बड़े पैमाने पर जो ड्रम्स हैं, जो नशीली दवायें हैं, देश को तथा वहां से सारी दुनिया को जाने का आसाम तथा नार्थ ईस्ट रास्ता बन गये हैं। ये सारा नार्थ ईस्ट डीस्टे-ब्लाइज कर रहे हैं। जो ड्रम्स हैं, माफिया है ये सारी शक्तियां और उनके रूल वहां पर है। चीन वहां पर बैठा हुआ है। वहां पर बराबर एक एजेंट रहता है। ट्रेनिंग, कैम्पेन और उनको हथियार आदि देने के काम जो हमारे पड़ोसी राज्य हैं, उनकी मदद से हो रहा है। हमारा कहना यह है कि हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार को जागरूक होना चाहिये, सचेत होना चाहिये। जो हमारे पड़ोसी देश बर्मा और बंगलादेश हैं उनसे मजबूती से बात करनी चाहिये। बार्डर पर सिक्योरिटी मजबूत कर देनी चाहिये। अगर आपके बार्डर से लोग इन्फिल्ट्रेट न करें, हशीश हथियार आदि न आयें

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उल्फा का जो आन्दोलन है वह फौरन कमजोर पड़ जायेगा।

हमारे मालवीय जी कह रहे थे कि कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार की तो इच्छा ही नहीं थी कि वह पंजाब समस्या को कंट्रोल करती। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि पंजाब को कंट्रोल नहीं किया तो जो आपके सारे किले बने हुये थे आपके गुरुद्वारे वे कैसे खाली हुये। भिडरावाले का क्या हथ्र हुआ यह आपके सामने है। अब आपके सामने स्थिति खराब हुई है। आप छिपाने के लिये कह देते हैं कि हमको वसीयत में खराब चीज मिली। हम यह कह सकते हैं कि अगर मौजूदा हाल जैसा था वैसा ही अगर कायम रहता, जो स्थिति सरकार ने आपको दी उसकी बरकरार रखते तो हम कह सकते थे कि उससे आगे स्थिति को बिगड़ने नहीं दिया लेकिन आप अपने फेल्योर को नाकामयाबी को छिपाने के लिये यह कहते हैं। जैसे देहात के अन्दर कहा करते हैं, नाच न आवे आंगन टेढ़ा तो वही बात है। ये सरकार चलाने में असमर्थ लोग हैं, लिहाजा यह सरकार पिछली सरकार, राजीव की सरकार, कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार पर दोष देती हैं। यह मौजूदा सरकार क्यों नहीं आगे आती है। हम समझते हैं कि पंजाब की सिचुएशन, काश्मीर की सिचुएशन को ठीक करने के लिये ये कांग्रेस से अलग हटकर कोई नया मिडॉ, नया नियम, नया रूल, नया प्रोग्राम, नयी पालिसी या नया इम्प्लीमेंटेशन प्रोग्राम लेकर आज तक नहीं आये। अगर आप गौर से देखें तो जो कांग्रेस के सुझाये हुये रास्ते थे इन समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये इसके अलावा दूसरा कोई नया हल लेकर नहीं आये हैं। हां, आपोजीशन की जो बाहर बैठकें होती थीं, मौजूदा सरकार के इलेक्शन कैम्पेन में यह कहते थे कि हमारी सरकार केन्द्र में बनी नहीं कि पंजाब की समस्या हल, अगर हम दिल्ली में बैठ गये तो किसानों की गरीबी दूर हो जायेगी,

दिल्ली में हमारी सरकार बनी तो काश्मीर की समस्या हल, कर्ज माफ हो जायेगा। कितने बहाने दिये। लेकिन हो यह रहा है कि हालात बद से बदतर हो गये, खराब से खराब हो गये। यकीन से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ अगर आज चुनाव हो गये तो मौजूदा सरकार को बोट मांगना मुश्किल हो जायेगा। आज जनमानस इस बात को समझ गया है कि भारत की सरकार किस तरह की सरकार है। वह समझते हैं कि मिली जुली सरकार का, खिचड़ी सरकार का तजुर्बा हमने पहले किया था, कड़वा जायका हमें मिला था लेकिन उससे भी ज्यादा कड़वा जायका इस बार हमको मिलेगा। यह जनमानस की लहर अभी है। जब कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने इनकी तरफ कोई खास उंगली नहीं उठायी है, ऐसा कोई आन्दोलन नहीं किया है, इनकी कमजोरियों की तरफ इशारा नहीं किया है। यह तो असफल सरकार, कमजोर सरकार है। इस-के साथ रहते हुये देश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे आपने सरकार देखी है, आप तो सरकार देखते रहते हैं, तमिलनाडु और केरला में सरकार होती है तो जो एक लेडी होती है वह अम्ब्रेला लेकर तार पर खाली चलती है, वह कुछ नहीं करती है सिर्फ वह बैलेंस करती रहती है। मौजूदा सरकार के प्राइम मिनिस्टर, होम मिनिस्टर, एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर भी सिर्फ डांस कर रहे हैं बैलेंस करने का, जैसे सरकार में वह मेम करती है। तो माननीया मैं कह रहा था कि यह मौजूदा सरकार इस समस्या को आसाम के अन्दर हल नहीं कर सकती है। जैसा मैंने कहा कि आसाम में बिल्कुल पैरेलल सरकार है। अभी इतफाक से नाम मेरी याददाश्त में नहीं आ रहा है, शायद होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा था कि अगर असम की सरकार ठीक से काम नहीं करेगी, तो हमको वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन जैसा कुछ करना पड़ेगा। यह उन्होंने अपने बयान में जाहिर किया था। कह तो दिया, वहां पर फियर पैदा कर दिया और उसकी वजह से क्या है कि यह तो कह दिया

कि वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन करने जा रहे हैं। दिसम्बर में वहां सरकार भी खत्म होने जा रही है। शायक ठीक है, उससे पहले सरकार खत्म करना मुनासिब नहीं है। जब वक्त, पीरियड ही आ रहा है, तभी उसको देख लिया जायगा, लेकिन इसके पीछे-पीछे सब से बड़ा संकट यह है कि आज वहां लोगों को किडनेप किया जा रहा है वहां बड़े-बड़े अच्छे आदमियों को मारा जा रहा है। जो दूसरे सुबों से जाकर, दूसरे राज्यों से जाकर वहां व्यापार करते हैं, एजुकेशन का काम करते थे, पढ़ाते थे, उनको बंधक बना कर पैसा वसूल किया जा रहा है। यह सारे हालात हैं।

उसकी वजह यह है कि टी गार्डन में जो काम करते थे बड़े-बड़े, अब सब वहां से भागते जा रहे हैं। इंडस्ट्री कोई लगाना नहीं चाहता है, कोई रहना नहीं चाहता।

तो ऐसे हालात में—माननीय, आप मेरे टाईम की तरफ अपना मन लगा रही होगी।... (व्यवधान) इस संदर्भ में मेरा सजेशन तो यह है कि हमारे बर्मा और बंगला देश का जो वाइसर, उनको सेक्युरिटी की दृष्टि से बिल्कुल सील कर देना चाहिये क्योंकि यह सिलसिला जो चल पड़ा है, तो हमारी जो नार्दन स्टेट्स हैं, जो डीस्टेबीलाइज होने की स्टेज में आ गई हैं, यह सारी स्टेट्स हमारे हाथ से निकल जायेंगी।

इतिहास हमारा गवाह है कि यह अग्नेजों की दी हुई देन है। मालवीय जी ठीक कह रहे थे कि यह सब ब्रिटिशर्ज दे गये हैं, यह उनकी देन है डिवाइड और रूल की। इसको काबू करना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात जो सबसे अहम है, वह यह कि वहां जो नौजवान है, उसे आज वह या तो जबरदस्ती कहते हैं, उल्फा के लोग कहते हैं कि चलो हमारी सेना में भर्ती हो जाओ, हमारे साथ काम करो, वरना हम आपको मार देंगे अगर आप

[ श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय ]

हमारी ट्रेनिंग नहीं लेंगे, हमारे कैम्प में नहीं जायेंगे। जितने भी विद्यार्थी हैं, सारे विद्यार्थियों के साथ उत्फा के जो बड़े-बड़े कमांडर हैं, कैप्टन हैं, उनके जो आफिस होल्डर हैं, वह जबरदस्ती उनको अपने यहां रेक्यूट करते हैं, घर से छीन कर ले जाते हैं। यह स्टुडेंट्स के साथ हो रहा है, जोकि न कश्मीर में हो रहा : पंजाब में हो रहा, न किसी और सूबे में हो रहा है, जोकि असम के अंदर हो रहा है। लड़कों को, बच्चों को जबरदस्ती छीन करके ले जाते हैं और उनको ट्रेन करते हैं।

तो मेरा कहना इस संबंध में यह है कि जितने भी इस तरह के लड़के, नौजवान हैं, उन सब को जो हमारे दिल्ली के आसपास के स्कूल हैं, उन सब को होस्टल्स में रख कर पढ़ाई का प्रबंध करना चाहिए क्योंकि इसी समय वह रिबेल सेना तैयार कर रहे हैं, जबरदस्ती बल-फोर्स पर, माव के डर पर, बंदूक और गोली की नोक पर जो नौजवानों को भड़का कर जबरदस्ती ले जाते हैं, रिबेल सेना तैयार कर रहे हैं।

वह कहते हैं कि हमारी भाषा नहीं है, लेकिन इतिहास और सारी उनकी संस्कृति, यह मेल है तीसरी जो सब से बड़ी बात है, वह यह है कि आवागमन बड़े पैमाने पर होना चाहिए। वहां पर जो रेल की बात है, वह ठीक है, लेकिन साथ-साथ हिंदुस्तान की ओर से जैसे सन्सिडाईज्ड चीजें आप काश्मीर में देते हैं और दूसरे पहाड़ों में देते हैं, ऐसे ही असम, नागालैंड, त्रिपुरा और मिजोरम इन सारी स्टेट्स के अंदर केन्द्र सरकार को बहुत सस्ते दामों पर जो खाने-पीने की चीजें हैं, पहनने की चीजें हैं, दवा-दारु की जो चीजें हैं, तालीम की जो चीजें हैं, उनको देनी चाहिए क्योंकि वह की हार्ड लार्डिफ है।

असम के अंदर सारी खेती चौपट ही गई है, सारा व्यापार चौपट हो गया, न

व्यापार करने वाले हैं और न खरीदने वाले हैं। आज तो वहां बिल्कुल ऐसी अवस्था पैदा हो गई है कि समझ में नहीं आता कि मरकार कैसे इन सारी चीजों को बर्दाश्त कर रही है।

चौथी बात यह है कि ड्रग ट्रेफिकिंग के सिलसिले में जितने माफिया गिरोह जिनका दूसरे देशों से ताल्लुक है, उन सब को छापा मार करके बड़े पैमाने पर पकड़ लेना चाहिए। जब तक ड्रग माफिया को आप कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे, असम के अंदर अमन आना, या कोई शांति ठीक से चले, यह नामुमकिन है।

छोटे-छोटे मुकदमें चलने की जो नाबत है, उन सब को स्पेशल सेल बना कर या कोर्ट बना कर तय करके, नौजवानों को बरी करके और फुरसत के साथ उनको काम करने का मौका देना चाहिए।

आखिर में जो चाय के बड़े-बड़े बागान हैं, उनको जो रुपया मिलता है, केन्द्र से जो सन्सिडी मिलती है, वह केन्द्र जो अपने शेर का रुपया है, रायल्टी जो है, उसके कुछ कम कर दे और असम की सरकार को ज्यादा दे, जिससे कि वहां पर असम की स्थिति सुधरे और साथ-साथ हमारे जो उद्योग धंधे हैं, असम की सिचुएशन के लिए सस्ती कीमतों पर बड़े लोन देकर, सरकार की तरफ से बड़े पैमाने पर लोन देकर, उनके घर-घर जाकर के लोन देकर उनके काम शुरू करवाये।

बाकायदा काम धंधों के लिए, उद्योग के लिए लोगों की एक सेना तैयार करके, अफसरों को वहां भेजें और उनको इस काम पर लगायें। तभी असम के अंदर शांति आएगी और यह बीमारी कि देश डिसइंटिग्रेट हो जाए, टूट जाए, देश में एकता न रहे, भावुक एकता न रहे, मुल्क जुड़ा न रहे, इन सब को अगर रोकना है, तो हमको असम के अंदर इस तरह के प्रयत्न करने चाहियें, जिनका मैंने सुझाव दिया है।

नेशन की भावना की मैं बड़ी कद्र करता हूँ। धन्यवाद

श्री मोहम्मद उलीस (पश्चिमी बंगाल): माननीया उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने हुए जो कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आज की आसाम की समस्या, चाहे वह बोडोलैंड का मामला हो, चाहे वह उल्फा का मामला हो, यह सिर्फ़ ला एण्ड आर्डर का मवाल नहीं है, यह एक राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण, सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से देखने की गान है। आसाम या पूरे नार्थ ईस्टर्न रिजन में आजादी के इतने दिनों बाद भी हम पूरे देश में जो-जो समस्याएँ देखते हैं वह सब समस्याएँ और ज्यादा डिग्री से वहाँ मौजूद हैं। हमारे देश में जो कुछ भी विकास हुआ है तो वह अनइवेल हुआ है और नार्थ ईस्टर्न रिजन में इनका हम कुछ निशान बहुत कम ही देख पाते हैं। आसाम में 91 फीसदी लोग गांवों में रहते हैं, जबकि हमारे देश के भी भूमि-सुधार नहीं हुए, कानून लो आया गया, लेकिन आसाम में चाहे वे जन जाति के लोग हों वे अच्छी-खासी जनसंख्या में है, या दूसरी जाति के लोग हों उनका भूमि में खदेड़ा गया और जो जन जाति के लोग हैं वहाँ वहाँ से ज्यादा जन-जातियाँ हैं उनको जमीन से खदेड़ कर वे खेतिहर मजदूर बने। उनका मिनिमम वेजेज ग्रांटेड नहीं, जंगल में उनका जो विकास है वह में उसको खदेड़ा जा रहा है। पिछले कांग्रेस के जमाने से और आज जबकि ए.जी.पी. की गवर्नमेंट है वह भी आज उम्मी के नक्शे-कदम पर चल रही है। जो बीस जन-जाति के लोग हैं, चाहे वह बोडो हैं, चाहे वह कारबी हों, चाहे वह मीर्षा हों, चाहे वह और कोई हों, वहाँ दूसरी जवान के लोग भी बसते हैं। असमिया बोलने वालों के अलावा बंगाली भी है, हिन्दी बोलने वाले हैं, उड़िया बोलने वाले लोग हैं तो इनकी जो अर्थ नीति की समस्या है इसका समाधान न करके एक के साथ दूसरे को लड़ाकर कुछ लोग अपना उल्लू सीधा करना चाहते हैं और इसी तरह से करते भी आए हैं।

आज जो हमदर्दी जता रहे हैं कि एकज में कमजोर सरकार रहने की वजह से अचानक उल्फा टपक पड़ा तो उल्फा की पैदाइश उस समय हुई थी जब आसाम में आल अमम मूडेट्स यूनियन से, ए.जी.पी. से हमारी पिछली सरकार दोस्ती जता रही थी, जब वहाँ बंगाली के नाम पर... (व्यवधान) जब वहाँ दूसरे हिस्से में आने वाले लोगों को... (व्यवधान)

SHRI DAVID LEDGER (Assam): Madam, I would like to point out the AASU's agitation was not against the Bengalis. It was only against the foreigners. It was not against any caste, creed or community. I would like to correct the hon. Member. He is under a wrong impression.

श्री मोहम्मद उलीस : जब आसाम में बंगला बोलने के लिए, हिन्दी बोलने के लिए, उड़िया बोलने के लिए या दूसरी कोई जवान बोलने के लिए उनको फारेनर कहा जा रहा था, तब यह "उल्फा" की पैदाइश हुई। उल्फा अचानक टपक नहीं पड़ी हम जैसे त्रिपुरा में देखते हैं टी.यू.जे.एस जैसी ताकत, जिनके साथ गठजोड़ कर रहे हैं हमारे कांग्रेसी साथी आज भी उसे छोड़ कर आ नहीं सकते और उनके साथ इलेक्शन लड़ रहे हैं और हम पीछे एक टी.एन.वी. के नाम पर, त्रिपुरा नेशनल वालंटियर के नाम पर, जिनको हथियारबंद करके ज़रूरत पड़ने पर खून-खराबे में उतारा जाता है वैसे ही एक पोलिटिकल फोर्स के साथ पीछे में एक हथियारबंद ताकत जिसको आर्म ट्रेनिंग देकर ज़रूरत पड़ने पर लोगों के खून खराबे के लिए उतारा जाता है। आज जब हमारे यहां आसाम में देखते हैं तो वहाँ जो औद्योगिक विकास नहीं हुआ और भूमि सुधार जो नहीं हुआ, जमीन से खदेड़ा जा रहा है, बेरोजगारी की गंभीर समस्या है और वहाँ जो प्राकृतिक संपदा है, जमीन के नीचे तेल है, चाहे दूसरी खनिज सामग्री हो, जो वन सामग्री है उसका सही उपयोग करके वहाँ आजादी के 43 साल के बाद भी वहाँ औद्योगिक विकास का काम नहीं किया गया। साथ-साथ जो पिछली सरकार

[ श्री मोहम्मद सलीम ]

ने जो रखायत बनाई थी ओवर सैन्ट्रलाइजेशन की, तमाम अख्तियारात को, तमाम ताकत को दिल्ली में समेट दो और रियासत की हुकूमत जो है उनके पास वहां की तरक्की के लिए, वहां की जन-जाति के काम के लिए, वहां की आजादी की तरक्की के लिए कोई काम करने का अधिकार न हो तो उनके लिए आसान होता है जो देश की इकाई के विरोध में, जो देश की एकता के विरोध में, जो दिल्ली का केन्द्रीय-करण है, इस प्रक्रिया के विरोध में लोगों को कहते हैं कि चलो देश के बाहर। आज यही वजह है कि वहां "आब्सू" के नाम पर बोडो लैंड की मांग की जा रही है। "उल्फा" इंडिपेंडेंट सोवरेन स्टेट की मांग कर रहा है। "कार्बिओलांग" आटोनोमस स्टेट की मांग कर रहा है और यह मामला चलता जा रहा है। मेरा पिछली सरकार पर यह अभियोग है कि सेंट्रल एजेंसीज के जरिए अपने फायदे के लिए वहां की रियासती हुकूमत को बेकायदे में फेंकने के लिए अपनी सेंट्रल पार्वस को इस्तेमाल कर "आब्सू" को एक जगह ठेल दिया है। आज रोजाना चाहे वह कोकराझाड़ जिला हो, चाहे और तमाम डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स हों, वहां पर यह हंगामा खड़ा किया गया है और वहां की रियासती हुकूमत ने भी इस को सियासी तौर पर लेने के बजाय बी.एस.एफ. के जरिए, सी.आर.पी.एफ. के जरिए, बंदूक के जरिए, गोली के जरिए उसका मुकाबला करने की कोशिश की है।

"उल्फा" के साथ भी यही मामला है। हमारे यहां स्वराजपाल के भाई सुरेन्द्र पाल की मौत के बाद हमारे कुछ साथी सदन में भी और बहार भी कुछ ज्यादा चीख रहे हैं। यह अच्छी बात है। वर्षों से हमारी मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी यह कहती आई है, हमारे बहुत से साथी चाहे वे "आब्सू" के हाथों या "उल्फा" के हाथों मारे गए हैं। वहां पर इकाई को तोड़ा जा रहा है, देश की जो इकाई है उस को खतरा पैदा किया जा रहा है।

वहां दुकान खोलकर रखी गयी है। वहां ऐसे 47 संगठन हैं, सिर्फ "उल्फा" या सिर्फ "आब्सू" नहीं है। चाहे वह आल ताई एहोम स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन हो, चाहे वह टकन मिशिंग पोरिन केबांग हो, चाहे वह आल आसाम ट्रायबल स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन हो, चाहे वह आसाम टी ट्रायबल स्टूडेंट्स एसोसिएशन हो, चाहे वह आल रावा स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन हो, चाहे वह आल आसाम ट्रायबल संघ हो, चाहे वह तिवा स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन हो, चाहे वह आल आसाम मटक युवा छात्र संमिलनी हो और चाहे वह आटोनोमस डिमांड कमेटी हो, बूँकि वहां के लोगों की कुछ मांगें हैं, अपनी-अपनी दुकानें खोलकर रखी गई हैं। जो प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्ति है, जो साम्राज्यवाद की ताकत है, वह उस को मदद दे रही है। मैं खास तौर पर पिछली सरकार के दौर में कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे यहां मजबूत सरकार के नाम पर लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों को खत्म किया गया। हमारे देश के नौजवान को, चाहे वह जम्मू काश्मीर में हो, चाहे आसाम में हो, चाहे वह त्रिपुरा में हो और चाहे वह किसी दूसरे हिस्से में हो, उन को यह कहा गया कि अगर तुम लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से अपनी मांग को मांगते हो तो तुम्हारी कोई सुनवाई नहीं है। चाहे बेरोजगारी के खिलाफ हो, चाहे मंहगाई के विरोध में हो, चाहे औद्योगिक विकास के नाम पर हो, चाहे भूमि सुधार के नाम पर हो, तुम्हारी कोई सुनवाई नहीं है। अगर तुम विदेश में जाकर ट्रेनिंग ले आओगे, अगर दो चार लोगों को खत्म करोगे, अगर हथियारबंद होगे, तब सरकार तुम्हारे सामने घुटने टेकेगी और तुम से बात करेगी। आज यही वजह है कि लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों को खत्म करने वाली ऐसी तमाम शक्तियां और ज्यादा मजबूती से सामने आकर खड़ी हुई हैं।

आज जब नई सरकार कयाम हुई है। हमारे मंत्री महोदय, से मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह नए मूल्यों को निर्माण करने का समय है। हमें देश के जनौदनों के सामने फिर से लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों को

तैयार करना है। उसे यह बताना है कि जमाना गुजर चुका है। अगर तुम्हारी औद्योगिक विकास की मांग है, अगर बेरोजगारी के विरुद्ध मांग है तो सरकार काम करने के लिए तैयार है। लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से जो आंदोलन होगा, हम उसे मदद देंगे। हम उस के साथ रहेंगे। उनकी जो जायज मांगें हैं, चाहे वह बोडो जनजातीय हो, चाहे वह कार्बी जनजाति हो या आसाम की चाहे मीशिग हो—इन सब की कुछ-न-कुछ मांग है। वह कुछ चाहते हैं जिसका कि कुछ लोकतांत्रिक मूल्य भी है। हमें उस को सराहना पड़ेगा। उनकी जो कमी है, उनका जो अभाव है, उनकी जो समस्या है, उनकी जो मसाइल्स हैं—उन को हल करना पड़ेगा। इसी तरह हम उस को अपनी तरफ खींच सकते हैं।

मैं सरकार से यह अपील करता हूँ कि वहाँ की जो रियासती सरकार उस के ऊपर भी दबाव दो। इस को सिर्फ लाँ एण्ड आर्डर की प्रोब्लम समझकर, उस को सिर्फ लाठी, गोली या जेल के जरिए नहीं बल्कि वहाँ के नौजवानों को अपने साथ ले। हाँ, जो हथियार लेकर लोगों की जान से खेलना चाहते हैं, जो ट्रेन में बम रखकर ट्रेन उड़ाना चाहते हैं, उनके साथ इसी तरह से पेश आना पड़ेगा, लेकिन वहाँ के लोगों को साथ में लेकर। अन्यथा आज जैसा हम दूसरी जगह देख रहे हैं कि अलगाववाद की ताकत अगर जनता को अपने साथ ले गई तो हम उससे निपट नहीं पायेंगे। इसलिए बेहतर है कि हम जनता की जो सही मांग है, उस को हम लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से पूरा करने की कोशिश करें और साथ-साथ उससे सही ढंग से निपटने की कोशिश करें नहीं हम इस समस्या का हल कर सकेंगे। धन्यवाद।

4.00 P.M.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): Madam, I feel that the present problem is a result of the attitudes which we tend to form in our mind. The attitudes of us in the mainland and the attitudes of the people living in the North-East, a

combination of these two factors has led to this problem. Assam and the North-East have always been, are today and will always be an integral part of this country. Let me make that very clear at the outset. They are not outsiders. They are a part and parcel of our country, of our tradition, of our history and even of our myth.

I would like to tell the House about the references. If one studies the references both in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, they refer to Pragjyotisha and Kamrup, the two names in the North-East in pre-historical times. The Kalika Puran and Vishnu Puran are both replete with references to the places in the North-East. The legendary king, Bhagadatta, was the founder of Pragjyotishpura, which is the present-day Gauhati. He fought on behalf of Kauravass in the Mahabharata with a vast army of Kiratas and Chinas, as mentioned in the Mahabharata. Sonitpur in ancient times is today's Dispur. It is the land of the lover of Anirudh, the Prince of Dwarka; it is the land of Usha. Arunachal is the home of Rukmani whose beauty enchanted even Lord Krishna. Nagaland is where Arjun Ulupi was born. The Vashist Ashram near Gauhati, the Parashuram Kund in Arunachal, both are a part of the ancient Ramayana tradition. Kamakhyaapeeth near Gauhati is a part of the ancient Siva tradition.

These references make quite clear that there is no question of the North-East being separate from India. It is a part and parcel of India. Let us have no argument about that. I am amazed when hon. Mr. Viren Shah—am I right? Is that your name?

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Hon'ble Mr. Vishvjit Singh, that happens to be my name.

THE VISHVJIT P. SINGH I was amazed when the hon. Mr. Viren

[Shri Vishvjit P. Singh]

Shah said that the North-East is not in the mainstream of Indian politics. It is this attitude, Madam,...

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: I said, in the last 200 or 300 years, it was taken out of the mainstream because of historical reasons.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: You did not say that.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Lord Krishna could have certainly gone there. But the others did not go there.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: If you refer to 200 or 300 years, you have forgotten that the late revered leader of our country, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, who was the President of this country, was from Assam. I suppose, you have forgotten, Mr. Viren Shah, the hon. Mr. Viren Shah of the BJP.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Should I hang my head down because I am not of congress(I)?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: No... He does not. There is an Anti-Defection law. I would like to tell you of two or three most horrible incidents and I want to bring them on record in this House—three most reprehensible incidents which took place in the North-East which show the difference in attitudes to the problems which we face, the attitudes which were made clear from what Mr. Viren Shah was saying. In Nagaland, the tribals celebrated the coming of Independence on the 15th of August, 1947. They celebrated with their bows and arrows, with their spears, with their naked bodies smeared with paint, wearing their colourful loin-clothes, dancing in the streets—and they came in their hundreds. The District Administration, a hang-over from the British days, thought

they were demonstrating against the Government and fired into the crowd, killing large numbers—on the 15th of August 1947. That is the kind of attitude, Madam, our attitude, which has caused these problems.

Manipur: When Manipur was conquered by the British the symbol of authority in Manipur was the ruler, the Maharaja of Manipur, who fought against the British. He lived in a palace called the Kangleipak Palace, and the British executed the ruler and the entire royal family and destroyed that palace stone by stone. There was nothing left; only a bare ground was left. And that ground, Madam, Vice-Chairman, became the headquarters of the Assam Rifles—that hated constabulary which was set up to keep control over the aspirations of the tribals. And what is it today? It is still the headquarters of the Assam Rifles. There is not even a plaque there to show that this was where the great freedom struggle had taken place. And it resulted in an extremist, secessionist party being formed, called—what?—the Kangleipak Party.

I would go further—and this is about our planners. Mrs. Gandhi, our late leader, was horrified at what the planners said about planning a bridge over the Brahmaputra river—a bridge for the railways—because at that time Assam did not have a broad gauge railway. It has now come there... (Interruptions)... We did not have it then. The bridge had been planned, of a size which could carry only a narrow gauge train. When the planners had been asked as to why they had done so, they said, "Well, they do not have any lines. So we are giving them a small bridge." No planning for the future, no thinking that is also a part of India and that just like the fruits of development have benefited every other part of India, it was going to benefit the

north-east also. But that thinking was not there and that attitude, the same attitude, is reflected by Mr. Viren J. Shah—the honourable Mr. Viren J. Shah—when he says that Assam is not in the mainstream of Indian political or economic life.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: I hope you will be here when I reply so that my articulation as such reaches you.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Madam, I would like to go further by saying that these attitudes are not confined to us alone. These attitudes also exist in the north-east. They have their own perception. I would like to quote from a very important book—*The Problems of Change—A Study of North-East India* by B. P. Singh.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Which Singh? Vishvjit Prithvjit Singh?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: No, no. I may inform you that I am not from Bihar. I do not pronounce my own name as "B. P. Singh." My name is V. P. Singh. Mr. B. P. Singh was from the Indian Administrative Service.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: What has Bihar got to do with it?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: My experience of Bihar is limited to my friend, Mr. Ahluwalia, who always calls me "B. P. Singh"—I do not know why... (Interruptions)... Now, I would like to quote from page 34 of this book—*The Problems of Change—A Study of North-East India* by B.P. Singh:

"The electoral process in which universal franchise was firmly established was considered to be the answer to every conflict. But, unfortunately, for a variety of historical factors, this instrument of conflict resolution was not acceptable to certain groups for many

years. The following remarks by B. K. Nehru, a former governor of the area, hold good and echo the sentiments of visitors and temporary settlers in many parts of north-east India;

My coming here as Governor of Assam gave me a cultural shock... For I discovered in North-Eastern India an universal insistence on maintaining the cultural identity of one's own particular social unit, no matter, how small that unit might be. The desire to emphasize one's separateness from one's neighbour, which this quest for identity created, was something which I was at first unable to comprehend and am not quite able to accept.

Against historical background of limited socialization and scarce job opportunities, the attitudes of one ethnic group towards another in north-east India are likely to be governed by mutual suspicion, despite grant of separate statehood for the major tribes. The membership of an ethnic group will continue to provide comfort and identity to its members. Rapid industrialization may provide the ultimate answer, but the fear of being swamped by members of other communities will sustain the culture of isolation. Each ethnic group will want to remain 'foreign' to the other as far as practicable. The ethnic realities will also prevent the growth of class structure."

Now I would quote once again, Madam. This, I believe is a very important quote. I am quoting now from a speech by late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at the opening session of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes Areas Conference in New Delhi on the 7th of June, 1952. I am giving these quotations to show what the peculiar problems are in the North-East. I will come later to how

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we come to the solutions. I am now defining the problems in their proper historical perspective. As Mr. Viren Shah elected to do, I am doing the same. I am quoting from Jawaharlal Nehru:

"For half a century or more, we have had a struggle for freedom in this country culminating in the achievement of independence. That struggle itself, apart from the result, had a liberating tendency. It raised us and improved us and hid for the moment some of our weaknesses and other qualities. We must remember that this experience of hundreds of millions of Indian people did not extend to the tribal area... we were not allowed to go by the old British authorities, so that our freedom movement did not reach these people."

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: I am getting support from him.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: You are not getting any support. Don't clutch at straws, Mr. Shah. (*Interruptions*) Just wait.

"Rumours of it reached them. Sometimes they reacted rightly and sometimes wrongly, but whether they functioned rightly or wrongly is not the point. The essence of the struggle for freedom, which meant raising some kind of a liberating force in India, did not reach these areas, chiefly the frontier areas which are the most important tribal areas. The result is that we have been psychologically prepared for the last thirty, forty or fifty years for various changes in India, while those frontier areas were not so psychologically prepared."

I am saying that they were not so psychologically prepared, I agree, in 1947. But it is not so today. (*Time-bell rings*) I am going to take a little more time. I am afraid you will have to allow me a little leeway. Today is Friday.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: The Mover of the Resolution was not allowed any leeway.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Of course, he was.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): At five o'clock there is a statement by the Minister.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Statement come and go. They come every day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): This is an important statement on cyclone.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: On cyclone? I will definitely conclude very soon. I quite agree.

AN HON. MEMBER: Become a cyclone yourself.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: We must understand that what is happening in the North-East is a historical process. It is those aspirations which they are asking for today, those aspirations which were asked for by the rest of India in 1947. They are asking for the power to legislate for themselves, asking for the power to govern their own destinies. It is that power that they are asking for today. When you suppress it, you get into trouble, and they start demanding secession. That is the problem.

Madam, let me point out that this historical process resulted in the autonomous district of the Khasi and Garo Hills becoming the State of Meghalaya. It is this historical pro-

cess which is being sought today by the Karbi Anglong in the North Cachar Hills District because their aspirations have not been realised.

My leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, at great cost to the Congress Party, with a long-term perspective, concluded the Assam Accord with the AGP, the AASU, and the reason why he did it in spite of the opposition from the party was because he had a national outlook, he had an outlook, he had a perspective, a historical perspective. At that point of time when the Assam accord was concluded, there was no agitation going on in Assam. At that point of time there was not one member of area para-military force from the Centre deployed in Assam. It was free of all Central forces. There was total law and order. There was total peace. The political process was in action. In spite of that, he concluded the accord for the sake of the nation, for the sake of the unity and integrity of the nation, for the sake of the realisation of the aspirations of the people of Assam. But I am afraid that was betrayed. There is a historical context for this betrayal. I would like to quote from Mr. B P. Singh:

"During 1977-79, Assam's socio-political order was deprived of the centre of adjustment—a role so effectively performed by the Congress for over fifty years. During the years, electoral politics had struck an equilibrium between caste Hindus, immigrant Muslims, Bengali Hindus, the plains' tribals and others."

Madam, that equilibrium had been destroyed once for all in 1977-79 and it was destroyed again after the Accord was concluded because the Government which came to power what did they do? That Government started playing with the fissiparous tendencies within itself and I charge (*Time bell rings*)—these are my last two sentences I am going to con-

clude—the present agitation to the door of the present Government in Assam. I charge the present insurgency in Assam of the ULFA at the doors of the conflict between Shri Prafulla Kumar Mohanta and Shri Brigu phukan who, to gain their narrow sectarian ends over each other have at different times, both of them, been giving shelter to ULFA at some particular point of time and another at another particular point of time to embarrass each other. Let not that internecine conflict of the party in power in Assam be reflected on the rest of the country. Let not this agitation continue. I would urge upon the Home Minister of India to sit...

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): He has raised a point of order.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I will yield in a minute. I would urge the Home Minister of India to sit with both Shri Prafulla Kumar Mohanta and Shri Brigu Phukan and sort out their differences so that the ULFA agitation may be controlled, so that India may remain one, so that we do not face this threat of secession. Thank you, Madam Vice-Chairman.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: The Chief Minister of Assam, Shri Prafulla Kumar Mohanta and the Home Minister of Assam, Shri Brigu Phukan are not members of this House. The hon. Member should not be allowed to refer to their names in the House. Those expressions should not be on the record of the House.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I have laid the blame at their door.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: They are not Members of this House. Therefore, do not level any allegations against them.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: If I take the names of Mr. Prafulla

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Kumar Mohanta and Mr. Brigu Phukan, why should it bother you?

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: They are not members of the House and how can they reply to your charge?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Nothing unparliamentary. Shri David Ledger.

SHRI DAVID LEDGER: Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to share the concern expressed by the hon. Members over the situation created by the Bodoland agitation sponsored by the All Bodo Students Union and the activities of the United Liberation Front of Assam. The situation is indeed serious and demands attention of the entire nation. I have always felt that the question is not of a Bodo problem or a tribal problem or a non-tribal problem or for that matter a Karbi problem or Mishing problem. Whatever the problem, it is of concern to the entire population of Assam irrespective of caste, language or religion. The problem is an economic one. There is lack of economic development in the State. This problem cannot be solved by carving out a separate State or homeland by different ethnic groups; nor can an agitation beset with violence solve anything. I would take this opportunity to put it on record that for the tribal people of Assam, including the Bodos especially the socially and economically weakest, there is an urgent need to alleviate their miseries. The tribal people must be given more scope to involve themselves with the administrative and political machinery of the State. This must be done with an open mind and without any bias or prejudice. It is necessary to create a sense of confidence among the Bodo and other tribal groups. Adequate representation of the tribals, in the State Government as well as the Central Government and jobs in

accordance with the reservation quota, must be ensured. All-round development of tribal areas must be undertaken to instil confidence and remove the sense of deprivation and frustration. The land problem is one of the major problems of the tribal population in Assam, who are basically agriculturists. This problem shall have to be solved without delay. Land in the tribal belts and blocks must be protected and preserved. At the same time any further division of Assam must be opposed. This has been made clear during the five rounds of tripartite talks held in Delhi between the representatives of the All Bodo Students Union, the State Government and the Central Government. The agitationists have been urged to give up the path of violence. As a sequel to the large-scale violence perpetrated during the Bodoland agitation, common people, both tribal and non-tribal, who have nothing to do with politics, have suffered untold miseries. Agricultural activities have come to a standstill. Educational atmosphere has been greatly vitiated. Damage to important Government institutions and strategic installations have resulted in loss of crores of rupees and have immensely affected the economy of the State. A sense of panic and insecurity has gripped the people and all the while the common people, the toiling masses, have been at the receiving end. A speedy improvement in the situation has become imperative.

The State Government have undertaken relief and rehabilitation measures for both tribals and non-tribals affected by the agitation. Persons arrested in connection with violent activities have been released. The cases of those still under detention are being reviewed. Most of the stringent laws have been withdrawn. The Chief Minister has categorically expressed the willingness of the State Government to consider any other legal administrative and political arrangement instead of a separate State acceptable

to all sections of the people of Assam. In the last round of talks which took place on 18th April, 1990, an eight-member Committee comprising the representatives of the All Bodo Students Union, the State Government and the Central Government have been instituted to conduct an on-the-spot study of the problem and suggest ways and means to find a solution. The report of the committee is to be submitted before the 2nd of July, when the sixth round of talks is scheduled to be held. I am sure an appropriate and meaningful solution to the Bodo problem will be found with the sincere efforts of all the parties concerned.

I would also take the opportunity to refer to what the mover of the Resolution, the hon. Member, Shri Viren Shah, has said. He has made a reference to Article 244(A) of the Constitution of India. According to me he has confused this provision with the demand made by the All Bodo Students Union. Article 244(A) of the Constitution of India was inserted at the time of the creation of Meghalaya in 1971. It provided for creation of an autonomous State within the State of Assam comprising tribal areas. This demand of an autonomous State within the State of Assam is the demand of the Autonomous State Demand Committee of Karbi people. It is not the demand of the Bodo Students Union. The demand of the All-Bodo Students Union is the creation of a separate Bodo homeland for the Bodos. So my appeal to the hon. Member would be to have a clear mind and not a confused mind because with a confused mind, we cannot offer any solution to the problem.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. A. Baby in the Chair)]

Similarly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the problem arising out of the emergence of the United Liberation Front of Assam, more popularly known as ULFA, should not be viewed merely as a law and order problem. There are

deep-rooted socio-economic strains and tensions behind the problem and these have to be understood in their correct historical perspective and background. Of course, I would like to make it clear at the very outset that we are against terrorism and separatism. We are against any form of separation or secession from this country. We denounce all forms of violence at whomsoever's behest it may be perpetrated—individual, group, organisation or even the State. And I also strongly denounce and decry all forms of communalism and all those political parties and organisations who practise communalism and depend solely on communal policies for their survival. We honestly believe that through violent means nothing can be achieved. There is always a need to sit across the table and talk. There is also the need to understand one another and trust one another. Unless an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust is created, we cannot find solutions to the very many problems afflicting the country today.

At the same time, it must also be understood that mere denouncement and condemnation of violence is not enough. Nor will it suffice to merely keep on saying that the situation should be firmly dealt with although nobody disputes the fact that the situation has to be appropriately dealt with.

But while we talk of the gravity of the situation and the need for appropriate action, we must also try and understand the background which has led to the present situation. We must know the story of neglect and deprivation which has been there for half a century. We must also know how the State of Assam or for that matter the entire North East has been exploited and how this exploitation has been eating into the vitals of the socio-economic life of the indigenous population of this backward region—of how they have been deprived of their share in the vast resources.

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Assam produces more than 50 per cent of the country's total tea. The Head Offices of these tea gardens are located outside the State. The huge profit that the proprietors of the tea companies make are invested outside the State. There are more than 750 tea gardens. Will anybody care to find out in how many of these gardens are local youths employed as Managers or Assistant Managers or even clerks and peons?

There is abundant crude oil in the State. There are three refineries at Digboi, Guwahati and Bongaigaon. The foundation of a fourth one is about to be laid at Numaligarh. Will anybody take the trouble to find out as to how many Assamese technocrats have been appointed or even promoted to the high posts in these public sector undertakings? The colonial pattern of economy, a much detestable legacy of the British, is still prevalent in Assam. The State is still used as a base, and a hinterland for producing raw materials. Otherwise how can one possibly explain the decision of even the present Government to pump out the surplus crude oil from Assam by laying down a 700 km. long pipeline, carry it to Bihar and expand the refining capacity of the Barauni Refinery while there are three refineries in Assam and a fourth one is about to start? Does anybody realise that the laying of the pipeline is going to cost approximately Rs. 350 crores—a huge amount of public money by any standard—and deprive about 1000 local youths of job opportunities and the State Government of about Rs. 35 crores every year by way of loss in sales tax?

Surely, one State or one region cannot be a colony or a hinterland for producing raw materials for ever at the cost of its own development. One must realise that the colonial days of the British are over. There has to be a change in attitude.

These are some of the basic questions we must address ourselves to and try to find the answers. I would plead with my noble friends to appreciate the fact that the economy of the State is in a shambles today. Lack of development is the root cause of it. The agrarian nature of the economy best with the curse and havoc of recurring flood caused by the mighty Brahmaputra and its tributaries, transport bottleneck, pathetically slow pace of industrialisation, a staggering number of educated unemployed youth of approximately 15 lakhs, acute problem of landlessness, abnormal growth of population due to continued influx from across the border—all these factors have combined to create a situation of chaos and utter helplessness and frustration especially among the new generation. And frustration is slowly giving way to desperation and anger, an anger which has remained pent up for half a century. And when a man is angry, he is likely to commit mistakes. That is precisely what has happened in Assam today. To prevent the mistakes from recurring, the anger has to be removed. And this can only be done by having a correct understanding of the issues involved.

Nobody picks up a gun for fun and shoots a man just for the heck of it. The path of militancy and violence is always a dangerous path. The boys have been pushed to that path. They must be persuaded to come back and lead normal lives by joining the mainstream. After all, they are our own countrymen, our brothers. The situation should not be viewed merely as a law and order problem. We shall have to rise above that to find a solution. And while we seek a solution, we must have an open mind. People of Assam must be taken into confidence. The State Government of Assam must be taken into confidence. Dissolution of the Government and imposition of President's rule as some Members have been vociferously de-

manding for the past few days and even today will not solve anything.

We have had a spell of President's rule in the State in 1980. And the memories are not very pleasant. President's rule has not been able to solve the Punjab problem. Punjab is still burning. And so is Kashmir. Such a move will only deteriorate the situation. One could prescribe imposition of President's rule in Andhra Pradesh too where the Naxalites are running a parallel Government and the Chenna Reddy Government has failed to do anything about it. But will it really help the situation?

One must try and find a political solution. Of course, the law and order situation has to be kept under control and protection of life and property has to be ensured. The rule of law must prevail.

Bitter memories of the past die hard although it may be easy to forgive. The Assamese psyche has been wounded and hurt for many years. How can an Assamese forget that our great nationalist leaders had agreed to the Cabinet Mission proposal to include Assam in Group 'C' with East Pakistan, now Bangladesh? Were the Assamese people not Indians at that time? Had it not been for the bold leadership of Lokpriya Gopinath Bordoloi, the greatest Assamese of all times, and the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, we would not have been in this country today.

How can an Assamese forget 21st November, 1962, that fateful day and that shameful day, when our beloved Pandit Nehru went over to the All India Radio microphone and said, "My heart goes with the people of Assam" and surrendered the State to the advancing Chinese army? All Government establishments were closed, bank notes were burnt, the army was withdrawn. There was not a semblance of Government or administration. That the Chinese decided to call

a ceasefire and withdraw is another part of history. The people of Assam still live with that bitter memory. These are indelible facts of history which cannot be easily blotted out.

When we talk of the rising militancy in the State, we must keep these facts in our minds. We must refrain from jumping into conclusions and coming up with prescriptions which might boomerang.

An impression is sought to be given that the Bodo problem and the ULFA problem are the creations of the AGP while it is not so. These problems are the direct results of four decades of Congress misrule. And now the AGP is being made the scapegoat. The AGP came to power only in 1985. The ULFA was born in 1979. The demand for a separate homeland for the Bodos was raised much before the AGP took over. The situation had already reached a saturation point by 1985. The unfortunate part is that the AGP is having to fight a situation created by somebody else. This has to be clear in our minds before we pass any judgment.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Chief Minister of Assam has said in clear terms that violence has no place in a democratic system and has appealed to the young generation to eschew violence and strive for the development of the State in a peaceful atmosphere. This is the stand of the State Government. And this is the stand of the Party.

Before I conclude, I would like to say once again that to find a solution to both the Bodoland and the ULFA problems, political dialogue along with administrative measures is a must. It should also be borne in mind that unless the economy of the State is taken out of its present position of stagnation and morass, the situation will never improve there.

Thank you.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इससे पहले भी जब जब हमने आतंकवाद से ग्रसित किसी राज्य के बारे में बहस करने की बात सोची है तो तरह-तरह के विचार हमारे सामने आते हैं और लोग तरह-तरह के विचार सदन के सामने रखते हैं। आज आसाम का एक नया अध्याय शुरू हो रहा है और हम आसाम में जो वर्तमान घटनाएँ हैं उन पर विचार करने हेतु माननीय सदस्य वीरेन जे. शाह के रेजल्यूशन पर बहस कर रहे हैं। अभी मेरे पूर्व वक्ता साथी विश्वजीत सिंह जी कह रहे थे कि आसाम भारत का अंग है, हिस्सा है जिसको कि भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास और पुराणों के माध्यम से प्रमाणित किया जा सकता है। बात उनकी सही है। पिछले दिनों जब आसाम का मैं दौरा कर रहा था, तो मैंने वहाँ कुछ ऐसी चीजें देखीं आसाम और नागालैंड के इलाके में जो मेरे लिये भी जानकारी हासिल करने के लिये एक नयी चीज थी। दूरदर्शन में रामायण देखने के बाद, पांच पांडवों को देखने के बाद ऐसा महसूस होने लगा था कि यह पांच पांडव हमारे दैनिक जीवन का एक हिस्सा है। जब मैंने वहाँ जाकर हिडम्बा का महल देखा, घटोत्कच का घर देखा, भीम की चौसर देखी जिस पर वह बनवास में बैठ कर कोशिश कर रहे थे कि यह चौसर कैसे खेली जा सकती है, शकुनि मामा ने किस तरह से धोखा दिया है, उससे मुक्ति पाने के लिये चौसर खेलने के लिये उन्होंने बड़े-बड़े पहाड़ों को काट कर पाँसे बनाये वह सारे जमा करके आर्कियोलोजिकल डिपार्टमेंट ने रखे हैं वह देखने को मिले जो प्रमाणित करते हैं कि अगर महाभारत सच है तो हिडम्बा का महल भी सच्चा है। अगर हिडम्बा का महल सच्चा है तो भीम वहाँ गये थे यह भी सच है और घटोत्कच भी वहाँ पैदा हुआ था, यह भी सच है। कभी-कभी लोग कहते लगते हैं कि महाभारत एक कथा है, एक कहानी है पर महाभारत अगर सच है तो यह सारी चीजें सच्ची

हैं। जो तथ्य हमारे सामने आते हैं आसाम को अलग से सोचने की धृष्टता एक भारतवासी कभी नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि आसाम हमारे मुल्क का गौरव है। अगर हम भारत के नक्शे में भारत माता की आकृति बनायें और खास कर बी०जे०पी० जब आकृति बनाती है तो बायें हाथ से झंडा पकड़े हुये भारत माता नजर आती है और वह मुट्ठी बर्मा के बार्डर तक पहुँच जाती है। जब उस हाथ को कोई काटने की कोशिश करता है, झंडे को छीनने की कोशिश करता है तो दिल में दर्द जरूर होता है, तकलीफ जरूर होती है और इस दर्द तथा तकलीफ के माध्यम से आज हम इस रेजोल्यूशन पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। महोदय, बात शुरू होती है ब्राचिन प्लान से। सारी लड़ाई कहां से शुरू होती है, सोचने की जरूरत है। मंगोलाइड रीजन की डिमांड करने वाले लोगों ने कहा कि हम भारतवासी नहीं हैं हम मंगोलयन हैं और उन लोगों ने चिदविन वैली से लेकर चिटगांव हिल ट्रेक तक जितनी भी क्रांतिकारी आर्गेंनाइजेशन हैं उनकी मीटिंग समय-समय पर बर्मा की सीमा पर होती रही और उसके साथ जुड़े हुये कौन लोग हैं नागा एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट, मणिपुरी एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट, आसामी एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट और बंगलादेशी एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट, इनकी एक मंगोलायड रीजन की डिमांड है और वे चाहते हैं चिदविन वैली से लेकर चिटगांव हिल ट्रेक तक एक अलग रीजन बनायें, एक अलग मुल्क बनायें। यह सपना किसी और ने दिखाया है और वह कौन सी ताकत है यह सोचने की जरूरत है। अपने छोटे भाइयों या अपने भाइयों को जो विभ्रान्त हो गये हैं, पथभ्रष्ट हो गये हैं, रास्ते से भटक गये हैं उन पर आरोप लगाने के पहले हमें सोचना चाहिये कि आखिर भटके क्यों हैं।

मैं पिछले साल नागालैंड में इलेक्शन के मामले में गया था और वहाँ जब मैं दौरा कर रहा था तो कुछ नागा-लोग जो सरेंडर करके सर्टिफिकेट लेकर बैठे

हुये थे, उन्होंने बताया—एक जगह मोकाक-गज में एक टेरोरिस्ट जो अंडरग्राउंड था और सरेंडर कर चुका था वह आकर मुझे सरकिट हाउस में मिला और उसने मुझसे कहा कि हमको ट्रेनिंग तो आप लोगों ने दी है। मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ, भाई, यह क्या कहना चाहता है कि कि पंजाबी लोग आकर यहां ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं। बोला नहीं नहीं साहब वे पठान पंजाबी पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में हमें ट्रेनिंग दिया करते थे, चिटगांव के हिल ट्रेक्ट में बंगलादेश के आजाद होने के पहले ट्रेनिंग होती थी ये सारे नागालैंड के, मणिपुर के और आसाम के जितने भी टेरोरिस्ट्स आर्गेनाइजेशन थे इनकी ट्रेनिंग पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में हुआ करती थी। उसने कहा कि वे पंजाबी बोलते थे। मुझे भी थोड़ी थोड़ी पंजाबी आती है और उसने यह महसूस किया शायद वह दिल की बात मेरे से खुलकर बोल सकता है। मैंने कहा कि मैं पाकिस्तानी पंजाबी नहीं हूं, मैं हिन्दुस्तानी पंजाबी हूँ... (व्यवधान) फर्क तो कोई नहीं पैदा।

तो महोदय, यह बात सांचने की है। आज भी जितनी इंटरनेशनल या इंडियन मैगजीन्स हैं उनमें हमें यह खबर जानने को मिलती है—गृह मंत्री जी बैठे हैं जरूर इस पर रोशनी डालेंगे कि बर्मा में इलेक्शन होने जा रहे हैं और वहां जो दंगे फसाद होने वाले हैं इलेक्शन के पहले उसकी तैयारियां भी हो रही हैं और एन०एस०सी०एन० के साथ उल्फा की मीटिंग हुई है। उल्फा के जितने एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट्स हैं इनको ट्रेनिंग देने के लिये इन्होंने करीब एक हजार एके-47 का वन्दोवस्त चाइना से किया है। इन चीजों पर शायद हम विश्वास नहीं करते पर हमें बाध्य होना पड़ता है, मजबूर होना पड़ता है जब हम देखते हैं कि पूरे आसाम से 600 करोड़ रुपया विदड़ा कर लिया गया है। डाक्टर जैन प्लानिंग कमीशन के मेंबर हैं, बहुत सुझाव दे रहे थे कि आसाम की अवस्था को सुधारा जा सकता

है वहां डेवलपमेंटल प्रोजेक्ट लगाकर, किन्तु 600 करोड़ रुपया एक राज्य में से, वहां के बैंकों में से निकालकर कलकत्ता, बम्बई ले जायें या मद्रास अथवा चंडीगढ़ चला जाये, कहीं चला जाये तो उसका काफी इफैक्ट पड़ता है। सारा बिजनेस टप्पा हो गया है, क्यों, क्योंकि पिछले दिनों उन्होंने डेढ़ सौ लोगों को मारा और मेरे पूर्व ए०जी०पी० के बंधु बोल रहे थे कि यह सारा जो कुछ है इसमें कोई भी मिलीभगत नहीं है। डेढ़ सौ लोगों को मारा, कितने लोगों को अरेस्ट किया ए०जी०पी० गवर्नमेंट ने, कितने लोग गिरफ्तार हुये? महोदय, यह एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्नचिह्न है। उन्होंने 1962 और 1941 की कहानी सुना दी और हमने भी सुन ली। पर मेरा कहना है कि आखिर यह कौन सं. संस्था है जो उल्फा को मदद दे रही है। मदद देती तो कोई बात थी आज आश्रीवाद बढ़ा हुआ हाथ रख रही है, एक सिक्योरिटी अम्ब्रेला दे रही है जिसके तहत सारे काले कारनामे हो रहे हैं, जहां क्लास 9, क्लास 5 तक के बच्चे जो नान आसामीज हैं उनको स्कूल से उठाकर किडनैप कर लिया जाता है और उनके मां-बाप से फिरोती में लाखों रुपया मांगा जाता है। वह लाखों रुपया अगर नहीं दिया जाता है तो वे मारे जाते हैं और अगर फिरोती की मांग को पुलिस तक पहुंचा दिया जाये तब भी वे मारे जाते हैं। ऐसे बहुत सारे परिवार जो औद्योगिक परिवार हैं, वहां से विदड़ा कर गये हैं। और तो और, देखने में आया है कि वहां अभी कल की ही घटना है, कलकत्ता में कुछ उल्फा एक्सट्रीमिस्ट बतला कर चार मारवाड़ियों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। उनका नाम बताया गया है।

श्री संतोष झांगड़ोदिया (राजस्थान) :  
चारों मारवाड़ी हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : दो मारवाड़ी नाम लगते हैं।

श्री संतोष बागडोदिया : लेकिन आजकल पोद्दार असम में भी हैं।... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उनके नाम ऐसे हैं, बी०के० अग्रवाल, दूसरे का नाम है ए०के० पोद्दार, तीसरा बर्मन है और चौथा ए०सी० दत्ता है। आश्चर्य की बात है कि इनको, जिसका बहुत ही नाम है कलकत्ता की पुलिस में, वह पुलिस अफसर जिसने कि डिटेक्टिव डिपार्टमेंट में बहुत ही नाम कमाया हुआ है — मैं अपने कालेज लाईफ से उस आदमी को जानता हूँ—रुणु गुहा नियोगी, जो लाल बाजार में बैठता है और कलकत्ता आई० बी० के नाम पर वह एक हीरा है, उस पुलिस अफसर ने इन चारों को गिरफ्तार किया है और इन्होंने कहा है कि हम जो हैं, जिनको गिरफ्तार किया गया, कि यह वहां मारवाड़ियों से जिनके कि कारोबार कामरूप में चलते हैं, उनसे वह पैसा इकट्ठा करने के लिये आये थे और यह गिरफ्तार होकर कहते हैं कि वह दिब्रूगढ़ लोक दल(बी) के सदस्य हैं और उन्होंने लोक दल(बी) के प्रेजीडेंट को—मुझे नहीं पता कि लोक दल(बी) कौन है?

एक माननीय सदस्य: राम अवधेश सिंह।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उन्होंने दिल्ली में उसको टेलीग्राम भेजा है कि हमें वहां से छोड़ा लिया जाय तो महोदय, बात ऐसी है। अभी तक एक तरफ से हमारे माननीय सदस्य, साथी विश्वजीत पृथ्वीजित सिंह जी ने बताया कि यह लड़ाई भृगु फुकन और प्रफुल्ला महंता की है, यह लड़ाई पावर की लड़ाई है। अगर यह पावर की लड़ाई न होती, तो यह होम मिनिस्टर एक्शन क्यों नहीं लेते, उलफा के लोगों को क्यों नहीं पकड़ते?

उससे पहले हमारे विरोधी बंधू कह रहे थे कि यह कांग्रेस की सरकार ने आई० बी० के थु उलफा को पैदा किया था। मैं कहता हूँ कि छह महीने हो गये, कांग्रेस की सरकार केन्द्र में नहीं है। अब यह एक्टिविटीज बन्द क्यों नहीं होती है? अब उन्हें उठा कर क्यों बन्द नहीं कर देते?

इन चीजों को सोचने की जरूरत है और इस रेजोल्यूशन में जो कुछ मांगा गया है, उस रेजोल्यूशन के समर्थन में मैं कहता हूँ कि असम भारत का गौरव है, असम भारत का अंग है, हिस्सा है, इसको तोड़ने की कोई भी कोशिश करे, तो जिस तरह हम पंजाब या जे०के० एल०एफ० के या और दूसरे राज्यों के बारे में सेपरेटिस्ट और सेसेशनिस्ट लोगों के खिलाफ यहां कहते रहे कि इनको इकनामिकली कुछ दे दीजिये, इन्हें नौकरियां चाहिए, इन्हें दूसरी चीजें चाहियें, इस विभ्रान्ति में न रहें। इन्हें कोई नौकरी नहीं चाहिये।

यह लोग विदेशी शक्तियों के दलाल हो चुके हैं और दलाली करके खाना चाहते हैं और भारत माता के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना चाहते हैं, जो कभी भी बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जायेगा और इनसे कठोर से कठोर कदम उठा कर इन्हें रोकने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। धन्यवाद।

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in a discussion on a subject of this nature, I think it is necessary that we are clear-eyed and clear-headed.

In the first place I would like to say that I am happy that a young person like my friend, Shri Subodh Kant Sahay, has been placed in charge of this area of responsibility... (Interruptions) I am not flattering him. I am just saying this, from my knowledge of him and from my experience, and I think it is; fortunate that he has been placed in charge of this area of responsibility. He is uninhibited, he

is refreshing in his accessibility, refreshing in his approach to problems, and he is not yet a prisoner of the bureaucracy. I hope he will continue in this manner, and together we should be able to find some means of solving the problems there and saving our country from a situation that is brewing to be worse than the situation we are facing in Kashmir, than the situation we are facing in Punjab.

Let me remind the House and my friends that the North-East constitutes one-twelfth of the land map of India. My friend, Mr. Ledger, has reminded us and has spoken passionately of what happened in 1962 when the Chinese committed aggression. It is unfortunate but it is a matter of history that our Prime Minister at that time, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, felt helpless and he went on the All-India Radio and said that his heart went out to the people of Assam and the North-East, which meant that he had sort of reconciled himself to the whole of Assam and the North-East being lost to India. It is a matter of historical fortune that although the Chinese came down to the foot-hills of Assam they unilaterally withdrew. If they had not withdrawn, this part of the North-East would not have been a part of India today. I cannot conceive that there is any other area in India...

I would not like to be disturbed, Mr. Vice-Chairman. You can have a conversation later on. I want your attention. I am saying something important.

I honestly cannot conceive of any part of India that is so richly endowed with material of natural resources as this part. We are all aware that oil has been one of the main products of this area. I do not know how much of oil India has in the North-East, what is the percentage, because oil-wells and oil-fields are being discovered. Eighty per cent—some say, 60 per cent—of Indian tea is produced in the North East. The Atomic Energy Commission of India has discovered large reserves of uranium. The Geological Survey of India has discovered hundreds of

millions of tonnes of rock phosphate. We can understand the value of rock phosphate, if we recall that Morocco and Algeria have gone to war over rock phosphate in the Sahara. You have concentrations of lime stone and coal, you have concentrations of high quality ceramic clay, you have forests, you have fertile land, you have great water power, and what not. Which part of India has so much? Many of these things are still in the virgin stage of exploration. If you lose that area, you lose not only the people there, but you also lose an area that could be a great source of strength to the whole of India.

Today we are much concerned with Kashmir. We should be concerned. But I would like to put this question to my friends. What has been the contribution of Kashmir economically? The psychological question is there. Kashmir is a part of India. We cannot part with any part of India. No country will ever do that. If we submit to the subversives in Kashmir on the basis of religion, we cut at the root of India's secularism and we cut at the root of our refusal of the two-nation theory. But I would like to know what contribution Kashmir gives to India economically except for a few fruits, some carpets and may be some artifacts. A part of this, what do you get from Kashmir? For the matter of that, what do we get from Punjab? Of course, Punjab has a rich soil. They are hard-working and enterprising people. They have converted Punjab into the great granary of India. It is a valuable part of India in the heart of India. But what has Punjab to give to us in minerals and other things? If you lose the North-East, you lose all these things. Therefore, it is a serious question.

Ask me why ULFA has come to be a force in Assam today. I must thank my friend, Mr. Viren J. Shah for the perceptiveness of the wording of his Resolution. The second part of the sentence says: "The House feels that apart from spreading violence and terrorism, this could have adverse effect on the stability

[Shri G. G. Swell]

of the whole of the North-Eastern region of the country." I think he is undertaking the things. Assam is the gateway of the North-East. Whatever happens in Assam, for better or for worse, affects the whole of the North-East. In the early 60s and the early 70s, some politicians in Assam conceived the idea of establishing Assamese hegemony in the whole of the North-East by declaring Assamese to be the sole official language. At that time, there was no Mizoram. At that time, there was no Arunachal. As a matter of fact, the whole of the North-East was the State of Assam. But, some wrong-headed politicians—and I am sure my friends Mr. Ledger, Mr. Saikia and others regret that day—thought that they would impose Assamese hegemony in the whole of the North-East. They began by making Assamese the sole official language of the whole of Assam. That is how it started. That is how the struggle for a separate State of Meghalaya started. I came to the Parliament for the first time on this platform of carving out a new state of Meghalaya out of Assam. The seeds of movement for Arunachal and for the insurgency in Mizoram started from their time. They were all parts of Assam. Therefore, whatever happens in Assam, for better or for worse, affects the whole of North-East.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You may finish in one minute.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I have so many things to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): We have to start the other business at 5.00 o'clock. You can continue next time.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: What is happening in Assam today? The ULFA activity has already started affecting the whole of North-East. I would like to go on record at this stage and tell the House that ULFA may be a terrorist organisation. It may be a secessionist organisation because it is saying that its objective is a socialist sovereign Republic of Assam and the North-East. And, therefore, it is secessionist. But it is an out-growth of a psychology of the common people of Assam. This also has to be recognised. It is in that way an extension of the struggle waged by the AGP. AGP is not part of ULFA, but ULFA is a child of AGP. Shall I stop here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Yes. You may continue on the 25th.

#### ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 11th May, 1990, allotted time for Government Legislative and other Business as follows:

<i>Business</i>	<i>Time Allotted</i>
1. Consideration and passing of the Legislative Councils Bill, 1990	3 hours
2. Discussion on the working of the Ministry of Urban Development.	2 days
3. Consideration and return of the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1990, as passed by Lok Sabha.	4 hours