

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

would personally request the Finance Minister, the Government and the ruling party to think of a change in the presentations of the Budget itself. No doubt, so many speeches are being made here about the Budget and many of them go off from the main Budget or financial proposals. Or, even as the Chair ruled anything under the sun can be discussed under Budget. But, Sir, if the financial proposals are to be effective, there is one thing I would suggest. Now, there are certain eminent jurists like Mr. Palkhiwala who are day in and day out giving several lectures about the Budget itself. They are giving their own observations. Similarly, several lawyers, several chartered accountants have 'got certain suggestions to offer, and there may be some lacunae in the entire proposals which are made in great secrecy. If the same Budget is discussed in a Committee, then that Committee can consist of several experts who can go into it just like the Parliament goes into it in great detail, both before the shaping of the Budget and even after the Budget. This can come under public scrutiny and the observations of this Committee can be placed before the Parliament. So, I would suggest that this be gone into. And the balance of my speech, Sir, I will continue on Monday.

4 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can continue on the next day. The Debate will continue.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER II.

Assam Situation

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the Home Minister,

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL (Gujarat): Sir, I am on a point of order. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, after entering this House, I am raising this point of order for the first time to clear my mind.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On this subject?

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: On the subject, Sir. Uptil now, I have gone through the rulings of the Chair and other House and I have covered it also. When there is a popular Government in Assam, an elected Government is already there, whether this House can debate about the Assam situation at present and whether it is right or wrong or according to the rule or according to the Constitution. To my knowledge, Sir, when a popular Government is there, when an elected Government is there, this problem should not be discussed. And in discussions, allegations and counter-allegations goes on all the time, and I have 'seen it. No concrete proposals are coming, and such things are not coming in the debate which can heal the wounds. If it is a 'positive debate, if it can help solve the Assam problem • it is all right. But, I think, this will be a repetition of political accusations and counter-accusations. And, again, Sir, according to the Constitutional provision, when the popular Government is there, when the elected Government is there, whether somebody likes it or not, this debate should not take place in the House. Tomorrow, I can raise a discussion about Andhra and Karnataka and some other States where some other parties Governments are there. So, I want your ruling whether this can be debated in the House when already an elected Government is there. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, on the point raised just now by the hon. Member, I may inform him, through you, Sir, that we are going to discuss about the conduct of the Central Government in the affairs of Assam, in the conduct of elections in Assam... (*Interruptions*) I am submitting to the Chair that this can be done. We are going to discuss about the conduct of the Central Government in Assam (*Interruptions*)

श्री उपसभापति : बोलिये आपका क्या है ।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : मेरा प्वाइंट आफ़ आर्डर है कि लिस्ट आफ़ विजनेस में है कि मंत्री महोदय स्टेटमेंट देंगे असम पर । आपका रूल कहता है कि स्टेटमेंट जब दिया जाता है . . .

श्री उपसभापति : कौन सा रूल ?

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : इस पर क्वेश्चन भी अलाऊ नहीं किये जाते हैं । यह चला आ रहा है इसलिये क्लेरिफिकेशन की बात आती है । उस माने में सदस्य का हक हो जाता है कि क्लेरिफिकेशन मांगे । यदि इस पर डिबेट होगी तो पहले इसको पढ़ने के लिये मौका मिलना चाहिये । दूसरे नियम के मुताबिक डिस्कशन होनी चाहिये । हम सब लोग चाहते हैं कि असम पर बहस हो । और जो उधर के सदस्य ने कहा है कि असम की सरकार है वहां पर इसलिये बहस नहीं हो सकती । कई बार हम लोग राज्यों की बातों पर बहस कर चुके हैं । हम को पूरा अधिकार है । यदि वहां की इलिजिटिमेड सरकार को लिजिटिमेड सरकार कहते हैं तो भी बहस कर सकते हैं क्योंकि बिहार की मिश्र सरकार पर, अंतुले की सरकार के बारे में बहस कर चुके हैं । सदन को पूरा अधिकार है कि असम की तथाकथित इलेक्टड सरकार होने पर भी हम बहस करें । जब आप इस पर डिस्कस करायेंगे तो किस रूप में में करायेंगे इसको साफ करें ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This matter was considered by the Business Advisory Committee itself and that Committee has decided that this matter will be discussed today. So, we cannot postpone it for some other

date. Then, the objection by my other friend is there. We are not going to discuss the affairs of the State Government. But when matters like this arise in the country, obviously Parliament and the Rajya Sabha can discuss them.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Even the Lok Sabha has discussed it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Minister. *

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI): Sir, on a motion from the Leader of the House, this House had adopted a resolution on 22nd February, 1983. Through this resolution an appeal was issued to the people of Assam to strengthen the feelings of brotherhood and cooperation and find a solution to the problem amicably and help in the process of restoring peace and normalcy. I had informed this House further of the situation through a statement on 3rd March, 1983, in respect of recent incidents of violence.

2. Sir, it has been our earnest endeavour to see that the resolution continues to guide our deliberations and actions. It will continue to guide us in future. It will hasten the process of restoring peace and normalcy, if all concerned with the welfare of the people of Assam govern their conduct and actions in the spirit of the above resolution.

3. Assam has been passing through a traumatic experience since 1979. The democratic functioning of the institutions and Government have been systematically subverted. Efforts continue to be made in this direction. This House will have to consider whether any group of people can be allowed to deny to the people of a State, the right to be governed by its own elected representatives? It will have to ponder whether any group of self-appointed persons

[Shri P. c. Sethi] should become the Judge, Jury and the Prosecutor to decide as to who should or should not stay in the State? It will have to decide whether Government should accept a position that in a State various minorities and ethnic groups should subsist at the mercy of parochial groups. Sir, it will have to pronounce whether Government should submit to pressures which may shake the very foundations of unity and integrity of the country. I am sure, Sir, that answers to the above questions will be in the negative. The collective wisdom of the people of this country represented through this august House will never permit us to do otherwise.

4. The agitation in Assam was started by AASU/AAGSP for ostensible purpose of removing foreigners from Assam but in reality removing all outsiders—citizen or foreigners. I am aware that loud protestation will be made by the supporters of Assam agitation, but what could have been the intentions in issuing documented instructions which *inter alia* directed its volunteer forces.

"1. In rural areas the shops owned by non-Assamese persons should be boycotted and cooperative shops should be opened instead."

"2. Number of Assamese employees and non-Assamese employees in all Central and State Government offices, factories, industries and business establishments in respective areas will be found out. One copy of each of this assessment will be sent to Central Office of AASU. Besides, data about sources of business transaction. Head of Office, daily income etc. of such business establishment."

"3. The local volunteer force will take steps to ensure that the foreigners | non-Assamese | Anti-Assamese employees are removed and in their place local Assamese are appointed in such firms."

5. Frequent claims have been made about the "non-violent" nature of the agitation right from 1979 till December 1982—just prior to calling for elections—272 murders, 1404 assaults, 425 cases of arson, 346 cases of intimidation, 228 cases of mischief and 147 cases of kidnapping, wrongful confinement and restraint besides 330 cases of explosion (184) and recovery of explosives (146) like bombs, grenades etc. can be attributed to this agitation. The lawful authority was systematically sought to be challenged and eroded. All kinds of intimidatory tactics were adopted against those who did not support the agitation. Officials/MLAs and their families were subjected to threats of physical violence and also social ostracisation. Human memory in short but let me remind the members of some important incidents in which threat of physical violence were executed.

(i) In April 1980 an attempt was made on the life of Shri Hiteswar Saikia the then MLA (and at present Chief Minister) by throwing a hand grenade on his car.

(ii) A senior technical officer of Oil India was beaten to death in January 1980.

(iii) About the same time Commissioner, Upper Assam Division, was killed in April 1981 by explosive devices planted in his chair.

(iv) Explosive devices were planted in the house of Dr. T. M. Baruah, MLA, at Gauhati in which his brother and wife were injured and maid-servant killed.

(v) In June 1982, a Jt. Director Sericulture was fatally assaulted on the eve of so-called "Janta Curfew" called by agitators.

(vi) In January 1980, 78 persons lost their lives in a communal flare up in north bank of Kamrup and Nalbari which also rendered 2,400 families homeless.

(vii) In May, 1980, 22 persons had lost their lives when AASU had vehemently opposed a "demand day" demonstration for submitting memorandum to district authorities by AAMSU (All Assam Minorities Students Union).

(viii) Terror tactics were resorted to in March-April 1981 when explosive devices were planted on railway tracks resulting in derailment of some goods trains and 3 Up Assam Mail resulting in death of one person and injuries to 12.

(ix) On June 9, 1982, there was a series of explosions in Fatasil Ambari market in Gauhati resulting in instantaneous death of 20 persons and injuries to 24 persons.

(x) A similar explosion occurred in Nowgong on August 14, 1982, resulting in death of six persons and injuries to 18 others.

It is for this august House to judge whether conduct conforms to pronouncements and professions.

6. About posters, I am cutting this poster and take it as cut out because this may hurt the feelings of some of the persons and I do not want to hurt anybody's feelings; rather I want to create congenial conditions.

There are several leaflets galore advocating violence and sentiments similar to the above slogans. No doubt AASU/AAGSP have denied their association with such activities. But there has never been any strong denouncement and condemnation. I hope and wish that this Hon'ble House will condemn in no uncertain terms, activities of all such elements. India's integrity and unity cannot be bartered.

7. Why elections became necessary had been discussed in the earlier debate in this House and Government position explained. In the absence of lack of consensus on Constitutional amendment and having regard to the

constitutional obligations elections had to be gone through. I do not want to repeat all the arguments, but would like this House to ponder whether Government should submit to any group of people to subvert the democratic right of people to be governed by their elected representatives. We do not mind if peaceful in a non-violent manner people were asked to adopt a certain posture for or against elections and leave it to the decision of the people to accept or reject such suggestions.

8. Even before the announcement of elections the agitation leaders during the last round of talks had stated that if Government holds the elections, they will oppose it at all cost and blood will flow. Immediately after the announcement several pamphlets were found in circulation by agitationist containing a programme to stop elections. I will refer to some of the documents.

A warning notice was issued by the so-called "Death Squad" under the caption "Satarka-Vani". It had threatened the Government employees with dire consequences for being loyal to Government. The threats include assassination of employees, their sons and daughters, rape of wives and grown up daughters. The employees have been warned that their conduct is being kept under close watch.

The action plan, *inter alia*, included setting fire to polling booths and vehicles carrying polling material; capture of ballot boxes; prevention of rail movement by removal of rail lines and fish-plates; demolition of bridges and digging of roads putting road blocks, sabotage of transmission lines, fixing of nails on the road to puncture tyres; putting sugar in petrol tanks; enlisting persons adept in archery and kidnapping of anti-Assam persons.

9. The above will illustrate that the intentions of the agitations were not only peaceful but violence was the

[Shri P. C. Sethi] basic ingredient of their plans of action. I would urge this House and through this House to those who seek to support the agitators to consider whether any Government could allow the subversion of authority which cut across the very foundations of a democratic society. The question before the House really is whether violence and terrorism should prevail or Government elected on democratic principles is to govern this country.

10. In the initial period of their anti-election violent activities in the month of January this year they had mainly concentrated on the coercion of prospective candidates in the form of gherao, kidnapping, assault, arson etc, and disruption of communication links by arson of road bridges and sabotage of railway tracks. However, their failure to prevent the filing of nominations by large number of candidates made them desperate and by February, 1983 there were both qualitative and quantitative change in their violent activities. In February, they indulged in a series of arson, assault etc. in the process according to State Government there have been 1344 murders, 611 assaults, 564 arsons, 11 cases of mischief, 12 intimidation and 5 cases of kidnapping through wrongful confinement in the month of January and February alone. Besides this, there have been 11 cases of explosions, 73 cases of recovery of explosives.

11. Determined efforts have been made to snatch arms from police parties and other locations where arms could be got. The cache of arms snatched at various places runs into 24 rifles, 7 revolvers and pistols and 2 sten-guns, 219 carbines, 2 muskets 13 SBBL guns and over 127 rounds of ammunition. There have been at least 135 attacks on police personnel and parties in which 3 policemen have lost their lives and several injured. The agitators also made vigorous efforts to bring disaffection among the employees against the Government by giving calls for

total non-cooperation etc. On the poll days the agitators declared the polling booths as 'no man's zones' and also indulged in a spate of violent activities. There have been 60 incidents of attacks on polling booths snatching of ballot boxes, arson in polling booths, planting of bombs in them etc. These could not be described by any means a peaceful and non-violent agitation.

12. One of the local newspapers who have been supporting the agitation has been publishing the above in its editorial page a message for today and the quotations in these messages have been from Adolf Hitler and Mussolini.

It is for the members of this Hon'ble House to consider from where the inspiration by the agitators and those who are supporting the agitators is being drawn. I leave it to the wisdom of this House to draw its own conclusions.

13. Doubts have been raised and demand made about dismissal of the ministry and dissolution of the Assembly on the ground of legitimacy. We are unable to understand this demand. Legitimacy is established through the voters. In spite of determined efforts through terror, people have shown courage to come out and vote. Out of 109 Assembly constituencies for which elections could be completed, 4 were returned uncontested. "Of the remaining constituencies excepting in three districts, the voting pattern was anything between 30 to 60 per cent. The overall percentage of voting is 33.7 per cent". This voting in spite of determined violent methods adopted by agitators, indicates that if agitators had not adopted violent methods, more voters would have come to exercise their right to elect their representatives. The National average percentage of polling in 1967, 1971 and 1977 in the country had been 47.99 per cent, 55.28 per cent and 60.53 per cent. It is significant that except BJP, Lok Dal and Janata

Parties all parties registered nationally or recognised in the State participated in the elections. • We have to remember that legitimacy on elected representatives is conferred by voters and not by anyone else. There could be no question of dissolution of Assembly or dismissal of the Ministry. Such an act will mean submission to reign of terror and mayhem.

14. Criticism had also been levelled about holding elections on 1979 roll without a revision. It is basically a question for Election Commission. But the law made by the Parliament permits such a course and the circumstances justified the decision of Election Commission because revision both due to time constraint and the determined attitude of the agitators would have frustrated this exercise.

15. I have brought out all these things not with a view to indulge in acrimonious debate but to set the record straight and to plead with those who without fully realising the actual situation are inadvertently encouraging and supporting the agitators.

16. Our hearts are heavy at the senseless killing and atmosphere of violence, that has been created. We in the Government of India are and will continue to give maximum support to the primary task of the State Government which it has set upon itself of restoring peace and law and order and rehabilitate the uprooted people. The State Government had declared 74 police stations as disturbed areas under the Assam Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958. Apart from the Central forces, forces of the other State Governments and Army have been deployed in these areas to restore normalcy in the quickest possible time. Senior police officers of the rank of DIG and above have been posted in each of the district affected. Redeployment of forces has been done and plans are afoot to provide armed pickets in the

village where refugees are to be rehabilitated. Though the scale of violence has come down rapidly with these measures, it will take some time before complete normalcy is restored. I would appeal to all concerned to assist the State Government in quickly restoring the confidence of all communities, ethnic groups and the people of Assam.

17. I went to Assam on 11th and 12th of this month to make on the spot assessment of the situation, including the relief operation. I visited some of the relief camps in the districts of Darrang, Nowgong and Goalpara. My Minister of State, Shri N. R. Laskar has also visited some other camps in the districts of Kamrup, Karbi Anglong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur including the other districts visited by me. Between the two of us we have seen 13 camps in which refugees from all communities are getting shelter and relief.

18. There are 3,10,732 people in the various refugee camps in Assam. The State Government is giving the following scales of rations in the relief camps:

Rice—600 Grammes (per head per
(Adult) day)

(Minor)—400 Grammes

Pulses—100 Grammes Salt—

30 Grammes M. Oil—30

Grammes

The State Government has also announced rehabilitation grant of Rs. 5,000 per family for restoring of their houses. In respect of those who have been killed in recent disturbances the State Government has also decided to give Rs. 5,000 per person to the families of those killed. The State Government is making all possible efforts to render relief efficiently and effectively. The task is stupendous and has been hampered in some cases because 1598 bridges have been burnt or damaged in the State which

[Shri P. C. Sethi] would require restoration. I noticed the keenness and determination of the State Government to ensure that the relief is reached on a regular basis and the people who have been uprooted from their hamlets go back and restart their life as quickly as possible. In fact, in Nellie all the refugees in the camps have gone back to start the reconstruction. Similarly about 3,000 families in Dhubri and Goalpara have also moved back to the villages. In Goreshwar also, families have moved back to the villages. Proper security arrangements have been provided. It is possible, however, because of constraints and the large number of camps the relief may not have reached in adequate quantities initially but the effort of the State Government and the determination to help has been found to be fully reflected. Ministers have been sent to each district to help in organising relief effectively. There is no such complaint that adequate relief is not being provided. Public health and medical aspects have been looked and there is no shortage of medicines. Central Government have released Rs. 10 crores in two instalments for relief and rehabilitation including restoration of bridges in the first instance and as and when necessary, further funds will be available.

19. About 14,348 refugees have gone over to West Bengal, Central Government will be reimbursing the expenditure on their account to the West Bengal Government. Assam Government has been asked to take measures to see that more refugees do not go over to West Bengal and that they are kept in the camps within the State. Assam Government has also deputed senior officers to the camps in West Bengal with a view to bring back the refugees as quickly as possible. 20,000 refugees had also gone to Arunachal Pradesh. Relief has been extended to them and Assam Government is taking measures to see that the refugees come back to their villages. It is with extreme

concern that Government has noticed the statement by leaders of AASU/ AAGSP that there was no question of taking back the refugees seeking shelter in West Bengal who according to them, were Bangladesh vagabonds and ^{De}iggars collected in truck.-; and buses by West Bengal Government in the so-called refugees camps on the Assam border. Such cynical mis-representation is extremely sad and potentially dangerous. Such patently irresponsible attitudes towards human suffering should be condemned by all, irrespective of aU political affiliations and party positions on the Assam issue.

20. I had made a statement in the House on 3-3-1983 on Assam. Since then there have been no major incidents though sporadic incidents are still being reported. Tension also still persists in some areas. State Government is fully seized of the situation and remains vigilant. "State Government have decided to order an administrative enquiry into the recent incidents." It will be conceded that it will take some time before complete normalcy is restored. Efforts are being made to see that this period is as short as possible. Government will not spare any effort in ensuring that affected persons are rehabilitated at the earliest and peace and tranquility is restored in the State so that development programmes accelerated.

I am sorry to say that yesterday the Chief Minister's nephew in Tinsukhia was stabbed to death.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): We aU condemn this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Biswa Goswami.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have carefully gone through the statement of the hon. Home Minister. It is most unfortunate that he has preferred to make such a statement in the context of the prevailing situation in Assam. This statement contains half-truths and untruths. It is with a

deliberate motive on the part of the Government to malign the massive mass movement that is going on for the last more than three years in Assam for the purpose of detection, deletion of names from voters' lists dispersal and deportation of foreign nationals. Now the Home Minister has preferred to select this opportunity to condemn the entire people of Assam for what has happened today in that unfortunate State. He has also said that the movement was not on the issue of foreign nationals but it was a movement against the Indian citizens also. I want to ask the hon. Home Minister if that is a fact ^w^y did he carry on negotiation^ with the agitation leaders for mor_e than 2 years?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I have cut out that portion. I have not read it.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Not this portion.

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAIKAR (Maharashtra): • Is it not a part of your statement? It is a part of your statement.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no confusion. What he has read in this House is his statement,

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAIKAR: It is in the circulated statement.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What he has read out is the statement in this House.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): I would like to be clear on this. When he was reading some portions, I was not able to follow. There was some confusion. I would only like him to spare a few minutes and say what portions in his statement he is omitting, or what paragraphs or what sentences he is omitting, so that we are clear about it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He ha_s said wherever he ha_s omitted. Now let him speak. Then we can see.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I have not read para 6 on page 4.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not the entire para 6; the first part of para 6.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Yes. I have omitted the slogans portion. On page 7, para 12, I have not read the two quotations.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): But the portion which Mr. Goswami is referring to. ..

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: It is a welcome realisation on the part of the Government. Let them understand the amount of damage that this kind of irresponsible statement has already made, because this is the statement that has been made in the other House. It is welcome to the extent that some offensive paras have been omitted. It is welcome, but it is very unfortunate that in the other House, in a grave situation of the kind that obtains in Assam, the Government should have made a statement of this kind.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam): Sir, I just want to...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This cannot go on. We cannot proceed like this.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: This is a different matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: JVIr Biswa Goswami is on his legs.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: In the Lok Sabha it is on record...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can't make observations. Please take your seat. If we go on like this, we can't come to the end. Every Member will have his chance. You can't get up like this. No, no.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Sir, I am glad the hon. Home Minister has admitted that he has not said whatever is written in the statement in regard to page 4. But the hon. Home Minister has made a statement in the other House...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You leave that. We are not concerned with the other House.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: But it indicates the mind of the Government. I am sorry for that.

We have been condemning violence from the very beginning, from whichever quarter it may come. We have always condemned violence and today also we condemn violence. Nobody supports violence and I may tell the Government that even the agitation leaders issued a pamphlet: they have also times without number, condemned violence and also appealed to the people to maintain peace and amity. Sir, there may be some elements who are interested in violence. It was the duty of the Government to find them out and previously also I stated in this House that it was the duty of the Government to find out the extremists, those who believe in violence. But, for that matter to implicate the entire population and the movement leaders is certainly wrong. This movement was for the deportation of foreign nationals—it is an admitted fact. Even the Government admitted that there is infiltration of foreigners.

Sir, according to 1961 population figures, the increase in Assam has been 34.98 per cent whereas the all-India average is 21.64 per cent. In 1971 in Assam the increase is 34.95 per cent whereas the all-India average is 24.80 per cent. So, this increase in the percentage of population of Assam is due to immigration. So, Sir, the problem is a genuine one and the apprehension of the people of Assam is genuine.

The movement leaders were conducting the movement in a most peaceful manner and an entirely

peaceful atmosphere was prevailing in the State of Assam before, just up to the date of declaration of elections.

Sir, in this connection I would like to quote the *"Economic and Political Weekly"* published from Bombay. It is not a Janata Party supporter, nor is it a supporter of AASU or the Gana Sangram Parishad. I quote what the paper says:

"Nothing would be farther from the truth than to suggest that recent developments in Assam have been the result of 'miscalculation'. On the contrary, the ruling party quite deliberately worked to achieve exactly what has been achieved, with a clear and cold-blooded calculation of the '£0318' which anyway only the people in Assam would be paying. The selection of the constituencies and areas which the Prime Minister chose to visit, her seemingly 'humanitarian' assurance that no one from Assam, not even the most patently illegal migrant, would be deported or even moved out of the State..."

Then, Sir, I again quote one sentence from the same article:

"In fact, till the Prime Minister's visit to Assam, the violent incidents were almost overwhelmingly in the nature of clashes between the police and the agitators trying to disrupt the polls..."

Sir, there has been a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to create disturbances in the State of Assam. Just after declaration of election, brutal repressive measures were let loose throughout the length and breadth of the State only to hold elections. I said the other day in this House that the Government wanted to teach the Assamese a lesson; and that is why very brutal, repressive measures were adopted. There was firing on students practically daily beginning from January 19, to February 20. There was firing on January 23 and January 24 in two places. Then again there was firing from February 2 to

4. On February 11 in five places there was firing, young people were killed. So the State violence was in full form and the Government let loose a reign of terror. And after that, as I mentioned the other day, the hon. Railway Minister made inflammatory speeches when he asked people to fight. He asked the Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus to combine and...

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, I am on a point of order. In the morning you asked me whether I would give the allegation against the Railway Minister in writing. I have given it specifically, the allegation against the Railway Minister. Am I to understand that in spite of my notice the Railway Minister is not coming to the House?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think a copy has been sent to him.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Let it be on record that I have given notice.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You gave notice. The notice has been received.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Having made the allegation, I am going to quote from his speech. Let it be on record.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When he speaks, you will see.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Even now I am giving sufficient notice to the Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That has already been sent to the Minister. So there is no need.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: So, Sir, this election which was conducted there can be compared to the election conducted by Hitler by storm-trooper. It was not a democratic election. It has been said that to save democracy election has been held. But election-holding is not the only criterion and it is not that under any

4 RS—II.

circumstances election can be held. In the case of the Garhwal constituency, that election was postponed because policemen were inducted without consultation with the Chief Election Commissioner. But the situation in Assam was a thousand times worse than that in the Garhwal constituency. Therefore, I accuse the Chief Election Commissioner of not fulfilling his autonomous duty and obligation. I have come to know that he wrote a letter on the 18th February asking the Government to postpone the election, after the first round of election was over. But the Government did not pay any heed to it. At any rate, the Chief Election Commissioner cannot absolve himself of the responsibility of what has happened in Assam. Had there been no election in Assam, this situation, this holocaust would not have taken place. And in this holocaust lives of so many people there have been lost for which the Government is wholly and solely responsible. And also I hold the parties which participated in the election there responsible for this situation. Sir, it has been said by the Home Minister that 30 per cent votes have been polled. I want to give figures as to how many voters turned up for the election. In Dharmapur 0.38 per cent; in Dhemaji, 0.40 per cent; in Bihpuria, 0.69 per cent.

AN HON. MEMBER: Number of voters?

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: In Bihpuria which has 64,000 voters, 437 votes were polled. In Dhakuakhana, against 76,877 votes, 640 votes were polled. In Sibsagar, against 75,217 votes, 1,034 votes were polled. In Khubmai, total voters, 66,625, and votes polled 987. Similarly in Jorhat total voters 72,377, and votes polled 1,227. In Moregaon total voters 78,012, and votes polled 1,291. This way I can quote constituency after constituency. Then in one constituency only 266 votes were polled, that is Dharmapur, out of 69,308.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Biswa Goswami, in one constituency only nine votes were polled.

SHEI BISWA GOSWAMI: Only nine votes were polled in one constituency. In Gauhati 0.93 per cent. I want to mention that I have no time. I cannot read the entire sheet. I have procured it from the Chief Election Commissioner. I am not going through that completely because I will have no time.

This is how the elections were conducted. The local officers did not participate in the polling duty. So, polling officers from Delhi, from Bihar, like that, were sent. The polling officers did not know, Assamese. The voters' list was in Assamese. Do you know this? You will be surprised to know, Sir, that the voters' list was not consulted because they could not read the voters' list. And whoever went there with the police escort, was allowed to vote. This is the election that our Government held in Assam to fulfil the constitutional obligation.

In Gauhati, Sir, one of our party comrades, Mr. Bhubaneswar Bujar Barua who is an advocate, went out to see whether people were going to the polling booths. Suddenly a police car came, and a police officer got down and enquired what he was looking for. He replied that he was searching for the polling booth and that he could not get it. Then the officer said, "You go to the Ravindra Bhavan. You vote there." My colleague said, "I do not know whether my name will be there in the Ravindra Bhavan booth." The police officer said, "Anybody can vote there. It is an open booth." We have heard about the mobile hospitals, about the mobile police vans, but there in Assam we had the mobile polling booths also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They were there earlier also in U.P.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Then, Sir, nobody knew—it was not announced—where the polling booths

would be. In one place four to five polling booths were located. One polling booth was located in the verandah of a mosque. This is the type of election this Government held. Is this an election?

Sir, in this election perhaps other people must have voted because voters did not turn up. The left parties which participated in the election, complained that rigging had taken place. Of course, there was rigging. Why not? There was nobody. The Government could do whatever it liked. The voters' list was not consulted. Anybody and everybody going there put his seal on the ballot paper. This is 8 mockery of election. It is a disgrace on the part of the Indian democracy, on the part of our democratic tradition, to hold this type of election in Assam.

Therefore, the Government which has been formed there is a purely illegitimate Government. This Government has got no right to rule. It does not represent the will of the people. If you are a democrat, you must respect the will of the people. And, therefore, the least that you can do is to dismiss this Government forthwith and to dissolve the Assembly. If the Government takes that step, it will create a very good impression, it will create a very good, congenial, atmosphere. And after that fresh negotiations should be started with the agitation leaders for an amicable solution of the problem.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Only with them.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: No, no, tripartite.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: In Punjab you have one standard and in Assam, another standard.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: No, no. Without discussing with the agitation leaders you cannot come to a solution.

So this attitude that the movement was planning for violence from the very beginning is not correct. Therefore, no purpose will be served by maligning the agitation. Now, is it not the Government's obligation, the Government's duty to find out who is a foreigner, who has entered the country illegally? For that, is a movement necessary? The Government has got its own responsibility. So, because the Government failed to discharge its responsibility, the people had to start this movement.

Sir, I may mention in this connection that this issue of foreign nationals has not been raised for the first time. In the past also it had been raised. In the old days of Gopinath Bordoloi, Bishnu Ram Mehdi and Bimla Prasad Chaliha, these issues had been raised. The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee had passed resolutions drawing the attention of the Central Government to this problem. In 1962 when the Chinese invaded Assam, a team of Home Ministry officials enquired into certain incidents of hoisting of the Pakistani flag near the Tezpur area, and after that the PIP project was drawn up. But even that project was not implemented. Why? Because the Central Government asked the State Government to go slow. It is the Central Government which is always preventing a solution to this problem. Today when the people have started a movement, when they have come out on the streets, to demand detection and deportation of foreign nationals, they are termed secessionist. Sir, I tell you the people of Assam are not for secession. They are also Indians. They do not support secession. The movement leaders are not asking for secession. We are part and parcel of India. *o, Sir, this problem should be solved. Without solving this problem, no solution can be found to the situation there. The first priority today is to give protection, security and rehabilitation to the affected people. And security arrangements should be

made in the vulnerable areas for a longer period so that confidence can return to the people. All sections of people of the State are affected. The indigenous Assamese people, immigrant Muslims, Bengali Hindus, tribals, all sections of people are affected. So, no purpose will be served by apportioning blame. Our duty will be to restore normalcy in the State. Everything possible should be done for restoration of normalcy. And if normalcy is to be restored, the State Government must be dismissed, the Assembly should be dissolved and fresh negotiations should be started. A citizens' committee should be formed to look after the relief arrangements. Sir even today so many people are being killed. The citizens' committee should be formed at the initiative of the Government. And people also should be involved in the relief operations. Everybody, whoever is affected, should be treated equally. I hope the Government will abandon its hostile attitude towards the agitation leader, and will start fresh negotiations for a permanent solution of the vexed foreign nationals problem.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, On the last occasion when I spoke in this House immediately after the election, I spoke with a lot of emotion. But I feel that the situation in Assam is such today, it is so explosive, that one cannot afford to be emotional as our first task must be to bring back normalcy in the State. And I join my hands with Mr. Biswa Goswami that the statement of the Home Minister, in spite of the fact that he has left out certain portions from being read in this House, has not helped in really creating an atmosphere of harmony or normalcy in the State. He has made all sorts of accusations against the people, the students, the All Assam Gana Sangrama Parishad. I find no remorse in his statement so far as the Government is concerned. When the State has more than 3500 people hav©

[Shri Dinesh Goswami] died, for whatever reasons it may be-, is it not that you owe some responsibility in a country where a Minister had resigned because there was a rail accident? Was he the driver of the train that he took responsibility? No, but because in a democracy the responsibility for a decision rests with the Government. And if for a decision of this Government 3500 people have died, lakhs have been rendered homeless, then, somebody must take responsibility here. Either the administration at the Centre or the administration at the State must take responsibility. But I do not find a word of remorse, a word of accountability, a word of responsibility, in this statement. Things have come 'o such a pass that the cost of every item is rising except that of human lives, and the cost of human lives in the northeastern region seems to be much less than that of the rest of the country. If 3500 people had died in any other State, there would have been a storm but I find only a ripple here. There is no remorse whatsoever. My friend, the Home Minister, talked about all sorts of violence. I condemn unequivocally all violence that has taken place. Let me express my condemnation of the violence that resulted in the death of a relative of the Chief Minister, and I appeal to the people of Assam that those forces which are taking away the lives of innocent persons like this one, must be identified. I may have a political grievance against the Chief Minister, and I have strong political grievances. I have strong grievance against those who fought the election. But to kill an innocent boy simply because he is the relative of the Chief Minister, is something which one can never condone. The Minister has given many instances. May I ask him only one thing? He said in April, 1980 an attempt was made on the life of Shri Hiteswar Saikia, the then MLA. Then in April, 1981 Mr. Parthasarathy, the Commissioner of Upper Assam Division, was killed. It is now March

1983 on almost April, 1983. Three years have passed since the first case occurred, two years have elapsed since the second one took place. Have you been able to detect, identify, find out, who the culprit was? If a Chief Minister's car was attacked or a Commissioner was beaten to death while he was attending office, what is the investigating machinery of the Central Government doing, that it has not been able to find out for two years or three years, as to who has done it? Why do you blame the AASU and the AAGSP? I put the blame upon the Government. Or, is it that you have made an investigation and the guilty persons is one who has got links with you and therefore you are not disclosing the name? You, Mr. P. C. Sethi, are the Home Minister. Of course, I don't blame you because you have taken over only recently. But a Home Minister who has failed to bring to book the culprit for three long years, the culprit who was responsible for the hand-grenade explosion on the office of the Commissioner, should resign his office because he has failed to protect the lives and liberties of the people. You have not done it. In many cases if the investigation is carried to its logical conclusion, the people found guilty will not be AASU and AAGSP. Even if they belong to AASU and AAGSP, why don't you prosecute them? Why don't you bring them to book? Don't make allegations. You have said, yes, people have died, 272 people have died in three years. Compare it with your record 126 in less than one month. In one month of your election process because of police firing 126 youths in our State have lost their lives. I ask you, will you please find out who the killers are of these 272 cases? Don't just make allegations that AASU and AAGSP are responsible for violence. They have condemned violence all the time. I would like to know whether your investigation has resulted in any definite cases, in case No. <i>i> an attack on the life of Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, in

case No. (iv) explosive dev^es in the house of Dr. T. M. Baruah, in case No. (iii) attack on the life of the Upper Assam Division Commissioner, and also the other cases that you have cited. I would like to know how you have denied in the other House that you have received any letter from the Chief Election Commission. I have before me a report from the Statesman and other evidence to show that the Chief Election Commission submitted a ten-page note to the Union Home Ministry impliedly suggesting postponement of the polls in the second and third phases. If they did not suggest it specifically it was because the Constitutional provisions did not permit such a suggestion I would like to have a specific reply from the Home Minister whether a ten-page note was received in the Centre and in the light of that ten-page note, the State election body was asked to consider whether the second phase and third phase of the election ought to have been postponed or not. You have this responsibility because a paper like the Statesman has at no point of time been sympathetic to the Assam movement and, therefore, I hope you will clear your position. I would like to quote from the Statesman; if I am permitted to do so: It says:

"In any case," with two senior Cabinet Ministers denying in Parliament that the Government had received any communication from the Commission, the latter is sending another note today—possibly, the old note itself, with a covering letter."

Speaking about violence, if you follow the events, you will notice that violence started from the day the election campaign was started by Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury. But what do we find here? We see a strange phenomenon here. Specific allegations were made against Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury that in his election speech he said- "we want 'blood, blood, blood', and if they kill one we will kill two."

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have before me the tape of Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury's speech. Will you permit me to play it in the House?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. No, no.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Why? I have a tape-recorder. I have brought it here and I am prepared to play the tape in the House. I gave specific allegations against him. Yesterday, Shri L. K. Advani made specific allegations against the Minister. But the Minister did not have the guts to deny the allegation in the House. I have made a specific allegation against him today at 12 in writing on your directive Where is Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury?

Mr. Home Minister, when you talk about violence, you must condemn the violence of Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury. Mr. Deputy Chairman, in spite of very serious allegations against him, he has not come forward to deny them. Therefore, by implication, he stands guilty before the Bar of this House and the whole country for the carnage that took place in Assam which was due only to the inflammatory speeches made by Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury there.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, in no other democratic country can such a thing be tolerated. In no other democratic country, the Government would have been able to continue in power after 3,000 persons lost their lives. But democracy seems to have no meaning here. This Government talks about democracy. Do you follow democratic conventions in the country?

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAITKAR: Please allow him to play the tape.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: If you permit, I am prepared to play the tape.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No... (Interruptions)

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAITKAR:
Let us hear Mr. Chaudhury's voice.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, so far as Mr. Chaudhury is concerned, he has made even the Home Minister mislead the House. I would quote what Shri Sethi has said...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him complete his speech.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The Home Minister himself has said...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I would not allow that. . . (Interruptions).

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Let him quote it.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am all for condemning violence. If anybody of the All Assam Students' Union and Gana Sangram Parishad is found guilty or is responsible for violence, kindly, bring them to book. Let them be punished according to the law. But at the same time, you must also punish those persons who are guilty of committing State violence. So long as you are not able to pinpoint the persons who are guilty of committing violence, do not throw accusations at the AASU and AAGSP and say that they are responsible for

violence. Have you realised, 5 P.M. Home Minister^ the danger of such a statement? The students for the last three years are trying to keep the movement as non-violent as possible and I know that in Assam and in the neighbouring areas, there are many forces which want that violence should come to the plains of Assam, that violence should come to the plains of Assam from Nagaland, and from Mizoram. So, when you continue to accuse the students who are trying to remain as non-violent as possible, when they, are violent and

violent and you give a handle to the extremists. For heaven's sake, in the interest of the country, kindly do not do that.

You have spoken about the elected representatives of the State. You have said that about 33 per cent people voted there. Mr. Biswa Goswami has referred about it and has given the figures. There was five per cent of polling in 21 constituencies, five to ten per cent in eight constituencies, 10 to 15 in 11 constituencies, 15 to 20 per cent in 7 constituencies and 20 to 25 per cent in 41 constituencies. It makes 51. Now, my friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy, was saying something. Your own party, the CPI, has now accused that its candidates lost because of the total rigging in the elections. That is not my statement. This is what one of the parties which have fought the election has said, that is, even in this -five per cent polling, there was rigging!

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The CPI has said that.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: The CPI has said that. Now, Mr. Home Minister, will you kindly tell us how many of your own candidates have voted in this election? Sir, when the candidates of their party went to Mrs. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, she asked them: "Will you kindly show me your fingers to find the ink marks and tell me whether you have voted?". I know that their fingers showed no indication, there was no black dot on their fingers, but I do not know whether money was paid or not. That is an internal matter and it is for them to go into.

Sir, I have before me definite information and I have also written a letter to the Chief Election Commissioner that in two places, Samaguri and Kampun, the election results have been announced in spite of the fact that all the ballot boxes were not accounted for. I would like to as for

the Home Minister to take this House into confidence and tell us whether all the ballot boxes of Kamun and Samaguri were accounted for. If he says that they are accounted for, I may probably be able to tell him something more as to where he can find some of the ballot boxes now. Even now the ballot boxes are still available, probably in some places, and if you are interested, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have also got some photostat copies of these ballot papers which are available in plenty in the State now and if you permit me, I can show some of these ballot papers, and if you want, I can hand over them to the honourable Home Minister. I say this because the election has been conducted in such a manner that nobody knows whether the votes were put into the ballot boxes or not. We know that Mr. Advani is a witness to the fact that when he was coming to Delhi he saw that ballot boxes were not taken to the office of the Returning Officer, but some of these boxes were handed over to some of the officers who were not authorised under the law to collect the boxes. I do not want to go into the entire gamut of the election. That we have discussed. In spite of that if you say that the people exercise their vote, exercised their democratic right, and that this Government is an elected Government of the people of Assam, then you are living in a fool's paradise. The people of the Brahmaputra valley have thoroughly rejected this Government and this Government is unable to bring back normalcy in the State.

These is another matter of great worry. It is the atrocities committed by the paramilitary forces today. I have before me some details and I do not want to state the names of the ladies because that would be unfortunate. I have got the doctors' certificates also. But I do not want that the ladies' names should come in the public records. There is clear proof of rape committed by the CRPF men on a married woman. I have got 5, 7 or 8 cases altogether with a doctor's

certificate which I will hand over to the honourable Minister. Five ladies in the village Amorisat, Nowgong, 4 ladies in Hazanpara, and then, a case of the wife of a particular person in Beeragaon, Goreswar—I am not giving the names of these poor ladies because I do not want their names to come in the records. Mr. Home Minister, do you realise the dangerous consequences of this grave crime committed by the paramilitary forces? Mr. Home Minister, you have shown some slogans, but you have omitted some here. You have given the indication that the people there are against India. Has it come to your notice, Mr. Home Minister, that in Mangaldoi there is an arch which says: Indian Soldiers, You are welcome as our brothers? Unfortunately, I do not have this copy with me today, but I promise to lay it on the Table of the House, with your permission. This has come in a newspaper 'New Star', where the Indian military personnel have been welcomed. You have put seven districts under Army rule, including the capital. And probably, having seen that there is a constitutional difficulty if you put the capital within the military rule where the Assembly is going to meet, I am told, this area has been de-notified. The danger of keeping these districts under military rule for long should be obvious to the Home Minister. The dangers are two-fold. One, it gives the idea, if you keep the army in control of civilian law and order, it gives the idea to the army that if they are to control a major portion of the country for long, why not they themselves take power in their own hands? In many of the neighbouring countries, democratic process has been jeopardized or the Army came to power because the army was put too long and very frequently in the operations to quell civil disturbances. The second danger is that in the North-eastern region, which is a sensitive area from the point of view of its geographical location and from the point of view

[Shri Dinesh Goswami] of history and otherwise, the presence of the army for long will create a total cleavage between the people and the army, and in a sensitive area like the north-eastern region if, the impression goes round that the army is not patriotic, the army is there to curb the people (*Time Bell rings*) the army has a tendency to molest women, in that case, there is always the possibility of the danger and the Home Minister knows about articles appearing how the army treated the people and women in Nagaland. Therefore, I would like you to be very careful and inquire into these cases. My grievance is that when atrocities were committed in North Kamrup and I made specific allegations in this House, I was assured by the Government that they will enquire into these allegations of molestation of women by the paramilitary forces. But unfortunately, no reply has come from the Government even now. I will like the Minister to look into the allegations which I am specifically bringing to his notice and to see that if actually these are correct, immediate steps should be taken. Sir, you have rung the bell a number of times and there are several others who are going to speak. Therefore, I conclude but once more I plead that create an atmosphere of normalcy, for heaven's sake, Mr. Home Minister, do not make statements of this nature where you accuse the entire people of Assam. Whether you like it or not, even if you ask your own candidates who fought the election, they will tell you. One may like or dislike it, but 95 per cent of the Assamese population followed the directives of the All Assam Students' Union. I myself may not like it. Many here will like them to follow the All-India political parties. But, no, they followed the directive of the All Assam Students' Union. And this has been confirmed not only by the writings of some people who are sympathetic to the movement but also by the writings of the people who are totally unsympathetic to the movement. How is it possible that

by coercion you can keep out voters from going to the booth? You had all sorts of coercive machinery. You had the entire police force. You had the military force behind you. You applied the Essential Services Maintenance Act, N.S.A. You applied salary cuts. But even then you could not compel the employees to go and participate in the election process. Therefore, it is not merely that the people are not voting because of a fear psychosis, but whether you like it or not, their writ to a great extent runs in the State of Assam. If you ignore that reality, you will be ignoring the basis on which a solution is possible. I will also like to refer to the allegations and counter-allegations that the relief materials are not being evenly distributed, and that there is a discrimination also in the matter of relief. I hope you will like to inquire into them.

I will put six specific questions for your kind consideration and answer. One, whether any note was received by the Government from the Election Commission implying that the situation was such where the second and the third phase of the election should be stopped, and even an inquiry was made to the Attorney-General. Secondly, you have spoken about an administrative enquiry by the State Government. Do you feel that a disaster, a holocaust of this magnitude can be enquired into by an administrative machinery? Are you prepared to have a judicial enquiry, headed by a Supreme Court Judge to find out facts and also to find out the people responsible for the holocaust? In fact, if your accusation is that the All-Assam Students Union and the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad is responsible for this holocaust, why not have an independent enquiry by the Supreme Court Judge, and they will find out and we will accept the verdict. Therefore, if you are *bona fide*, if you are serious, why not have an independent judicial inquiry by a Supreme Court Judge to find out the various aspects in the matter?

Now, my third question is whether the Government has an intention of restarting the negotiation. Again, we find a very peculiar situation on the part of the Government where statements and counter-statements...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Please put your questions.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am formulating the questions. If the cutoff year is going to be 1971, that you are going to start the process from 1971—what is the stand of the Government. Will you identify foreigners before 1971—or not for heaven's sake, tell us, tell the country what is your position regarding this. And my fourth question is this: What specific steps are you taking in the State for creating a congenial atmosphere? And I echo what my friend, Mr. Biswa Goswami, has said that a congenial atmosphere is not possible in the State unless the irritant of the State Government is removed either by dismissal of the Assembly or by keeping it in suspended animation and the foreigners problem is solved. I hope, while replying to the debate the Minister will give replies to the specific questions which I have put before the House. Thank you.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I am glad that both the speakers who spoke before me have now—I emphasise the word 'now'—unequivocally condemned this violence from whichever quarter it has come. I am saying this because the violence started from 1979. Many debates had taken place in this House after that. In this period, I did not find any outright forthright condemnation of the violence on the minorities, on those people whom they thought to be aliens in this House from those quarters. That is why if realisation has dawned on them now, even though it is too late, it is good and I welcome that condemnation.

Now a question is asked, and Mr. Goswami, for example, stated that

only a few persons have been involved in this. I agree with him that it is the responsibility of the Government to find out the culprits and punish them. That is true. But if only a few persons have been involved in this and if the All-Assam Students Union and the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad is a mass movement and has got so much influence of the entire Assamese-speaking people, how is it that they were not able to prevent this? If they had not encouraged this, if they had not connived at it, when such a big mass movement claiming the allegiance of the entire Assamese speaking people is there, how was it possible for a few people to indulge in this kind of murder, arson and all that?

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Ramamurti, in 1942, the entire country was involved under Gandhiji's leadership. But still there were cases of violence.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I know that. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: He has asked me and I am answering him.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: In 1942, the slogan was 'do or die'. I am not comparing this movement to 1942. I can have a debate with you on that question. We can have that later on and as to what was the mood of the entire country then.

Therefore, Sir, to say that the All-Assam Students Union and the other people had nothing to do whatsoever and that they were extremely nonviolent people is something which I cannot swallow because my own Party, in this entire period, has been the victim. Many of our people have been the victims of that violence. Many Members of our party have been killed. Our offices have been attacked and all this has been done by these people. And, all this has been done after the elections. I can give that

[Shri P. Ramamurty]

list of names of our party people who have been killed. This has been done after the elections and during the elections. I do not want to go into the details and I do not want to waste the time of the House because that will take a long time. I have got a complete list from our party office, from our committee, in Assam. It contains the names of the people, the number of the people, who, when and where and all that. Therefore, Sir, this argument, as far as I am concerned, does not cut any ice.

Now, Mr. Biswa Goswami had stated that this question of foreigners has been there from the time of Mr. Gopinath Bordoloi. May I ask one straight question? From 1977 the Central Government was run by the Janata, the Jana Sangh and all those people; I mean it was the Janata Party Government. In 1978 the elections were held. Why is it that on this question of foreigners they did not raise their little finger?

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: No, no, they started it.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: The whole trouble started when the Communists started to win the elections. (Interruptions).

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am not going to be provoked. My whole question is that the whole question of foreigners was raised for the first time in 1979. In the Gauhati Corporation elections the Member whom we had put up had won. He had been elected as the Mayor of the Gauhati Municipality. He was not a Bengali. He was an Assamese who belonged to our party. The whole movement started after that.

SHRI*. DINESH GOSWAMI: He did not belong to your party. (Interruptions')

MR. "DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am correcting him.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: All right, he was supported by our party. It is only after that the entire movement was started, the question of foreigners, throwing them out, and all that. I leave it to the House and to the people to draw their own conclusions from this, that in 1977 when our party, without any support, was able to get 23 or 24 seats in a House of 122, and when it was growing, and when it went to such an extent that in an Assamese dominated area like Gauhati^ the capital of the State, a person who was supported by the Left, i.e., when he was elected as the Mayor, the whole movement started after that. This much I would like to point out. I leave it to you to draw your own conclusions. I shall say nothing else. (Interruptions).

Nobody says that there are no foreigners. I have never stated that. We have never stated that. We have repeatedly stated in this House that we owe certain obligations, that we have made certain commitments, the commitments that we have made on behalf of the entire people, the commitments that all our national leaders including late Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee made to the entire people of that area, of Bangladesh and also of Pakistan at the time of partition, and that in honour bound we are committed to honour those commitments. Now, Sir, I am not going into all the details. We have discussed them before. But the question arises, these are all great votaries of democracy. They now say, let this Assembly be dissolved. What happens then? Then there is the President's rule. Is President's rule different from a Congress Government, I would like to know from them. Is Indira Gandhi's rule preferable till the question is solved? Indira Gandhi's direct rule, for them it is preferable. As far as we are concerned, we do not prefer the President's rule. I want to be very clear and categorical on that question. I agree with them that in many constituencies, elections were a farce. I agree with them. But at the same

time, in most of the constituencies, conditions also were created where people could not vote. For example. I would like to reinforce this fact that it was our member, the leader of out-party in the Lok Sabha, who raised for the first time in the Parliament the issue about the speeches made by Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhuri. And that still remains unanswered. He has got the tape recorder and it is for the Home Minister to find out whether Mr. Ghani Khan Chudhuri made such kind of speeches. It is not only what my friend has stated, many more things had been said. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chaudhuri and many Congressmen there in Kamrup, in the Bengali-dominated, Bengali-speaking area, had been going about saying; If you don't elect us, you will be thrown out of this area. But for that kind of speech, things would have been different. Therefore, is this the kind of election campaign that you have got to conduct? Your own important leaders, a Cabinet Minister would go and say: If you don't elect our party which is in the Centre, you will be thrown out? That means if any other party comes to power, they will have no protection. I would like to have an answer whether such speeches have been made or not.

Then, Sir, another important point which I would like to make is, how is it that the overwhelming majority of refugees that have come either to West Bengal or the refugees who are there inside the camps, about 3 lakh odd people in Assam, happen to be Bengalis or tribals? What conclusion can we draw? Are there many Assamese also? Why is it that tribals are there? Therefore, the question has to be viewed in the proper perspective as to how so many thousands and lakhs of people are driven into the camps? My contention is, the Government has failed to give protection to the people and that is my charge against the Government. But at the same time to say that these lakhs and lakhs of people had to flee their homes and take refuge in these

refugee camps and will come out of

the State, shows that it is an anti-non-Assamese movement that has been started, whatever might be your pretensions for outward purposes. It is a movement directed against the non-Assamese people; other things follow automatically.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: In that case, Bihar and U.P. refugees should have been there in the refugee camps. You say only Bengalis are there.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I say non-Assamese. Why is it that lot of Bengalis are there and tribals are there and some Bihar Muslims are also there? Majority of the people are non-Assamese and it happens to be the area dominated by the Assamese; that is at least the single biggest group. Then, how is it also that in the district of Cachar where the overwhelming majority of people are Bengalis—and there are also Assamese—no such riot has taken place? Can you point out one single case where in the Cachar area people had been attacked, where Assamese people had been attacked? Therefore, some forces have been egging them on and I am very sorry to say that they are now shedding so much of tears over the issue of foreigners. In 1978 when they were in power, when the elections were held in 1978 and the Janata Party was there or other parties were there, if they had raised that question and taken some steps in 1978 before holding the elections—after all infiltration of these people has been going on for years, from 1971—if you had taken action to detect these people, at least those who had come after 1971, before holding elections in 1978... You were there in the Centre. You knew the position. Your party people knew the position. If you had taken action against these people, for detecting these people, if you had taken action in 1977, when you were in power, when the Janata Party was in power, I could have understood it. If, at that time, Mr. Goswami had pointed out, in 1978, that the elections should not be held

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

on the basis of the 1977 list, I could have understood the position. But today, suddenly you are saying that this Government should not be there. I do not bother about this Government. In regard to the capacity of the Government, I do not know what it can do. But that is a different matter.

But as far as I am concerned, I would like to make it absolutely clear. Now, these people who talk so much about democracy, who wanted the Act to be amended, the Constitution to be amended, who agreed to some portions being amended, are now saying that the Constitution should be further amended and there should be President's Rule in Assam. They seem to prefer President's Rule to an elected Assembly. This is something which I cannot understand. If this is what they say, I do not know what their commitment to democracy is. At least as long as the Government is there, some pressure could be brought to bear upon the Government by the local people and some response will be there. But if for everything they have to come to Delhi and wait upon the Ministers here, wait upon the sweet will and pleasure of the Ministers here, is something which is totally unacceptable to me. This is what I would like to say.

I am glad, as far as the final position is concerned, that all the parties here have now realised the need for restoring normalcy so that a final solution could be found to this question. We also join in adding our voice to this appeal. But I would like to point out to them that had they not encouraged these people to continue this kind of thing, these things would not have happened. When it was said that elections will be held, when they threatened that they will not allow the Government to hold the elections, if these parties had not encouraged them and if these parties had not boycotted the elections, this kind of thing would not have happened. On the other hand, if they had openly proclaimed to them that they

should not do anything to mar the elections, that the people should be allowed to give their verdict, so that we will be able to tackle the question in a proper atmosphere, things would have improved and this kind of thing would not have happened; they would not have got this moral encouragement from these people. I charge them that they have given this kind of moral encouragement to these people which has resulted in this violence during the elections.

As far as the future is concerned, let us all join our hands together and see that the appeal which we made in this House is really translated into action there. Let them go there and appeal to them to create a proper atmosphere so that, later on, this problem could be tackled. Thank you, Sir.

श्री अश्विनो कुमार (बिहार) :
माननीय उपसभापति जी, अभी माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने आसाम की समस्या के ऊपर एक स्टेटमेंट दिया है। मेरे मित्र श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी जी ने उसके ऊपर कई प्रश्न उठाये हैं। मैं उन सब को दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। परन्तु एक बात जरूर पूछना चाहता हूँ। आसाम के अन्दर हिंसात्मक घटनाएँ सन् 1980 से हो रही हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन हिंसात्मक घटनाओं में से कितनों के लिए सरकार ने न्यायिक जांच बैठाई है? मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि न्यायिक जांच के अन्दर कोई व्यक्ति दोषी पाये गये या नहीं पाये गये? इन तीन सालों के अन्दर जो बम बलास्ट हुए उनके लिए दोषी पाये गये लोगों को आप पकड़ सके या नहीं? अगर आप इन अपराधों में दोषी पाये गये व्यक्तियों को नहीं पकड़ पाये तो आपकी सरकार को सरकार कहलाने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। यदि इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जाय कि ये बम बलास्ट चूँकि सरकार के इशारों से होते हैं, इसलिए सरकार

इन अवसरधियों को पकड़ना नहीं चाहती है तो गलत नहीं होगा। यह एक प्रश्न चिन्ह है, जिस पर विचार किया जाना चाहिए।

इस समस्या के संबंध में बहुत सारे बातें हैं, लेकिन मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हिंसात्मक घटनाएँ हुई हैं, हमारी पार्टी और हमारी पार्टी के नेताओं ने हमेशा हिंसात्मक घटनाओं की निन्दा की है। आन्दोलन अहिंसात्मक चलना चाहिए। अभी-अभी वहाँ पर जो वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री जी के भतीजे के साथ हुआ वह बहुत दुखद है। मैं अपनी ओर से और अपनी पार्टी के ओर से इसके लिए दुःख व्यक्त करता हूँ और सारे हिंसात्मक घटनाओं की निन्दा करता हूँ। आखिर असम की समस्या जो खड़ी हुई है, अभी हमारे मित्र माननीय राममूर्ति जो कह रहे थे कि 78 में क्यों नहीं यह समस्या उठाई जब आप सरकार में आये। वास्तव में यह समस्या, 58, 59, 60 में हमारे दल के आज के जो अध्यक्ष हैं, लोक सभा के सदस्य अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने उठाई थी और उस समय उन्होंने कहा कि इन्फ्लेटेशन हो रहा है, बंगला देश से बड़ी संख्या में, बड़े मात्रा में लोग असम में आ रहे हैं और उस समय आज का जो नेतृत्व है, चाहे वह किसी दल का हो, सा० पी०(एम०) हो या कांग्रेस (आई) हो सब ने कहा कि साम्प्रदायिकता बढ़ गई जा रही है और समस्या का निदान नहीं किया। उस समय राम की समस्या का हल करना जरूरी था। असम के लोग भी नहीं जानते थे कि यह समस्या इस तरह से खड़ी होगी और उन्होंने भी कहा कि यह साम्प्रदायिकता का है और इसका निदान हो जाएगा, केन्द्र द्वारा उसका हल निदान दिया जायेगा। केन्द्र पर पूरे देश का पूर्ण विश्वास था।

यह इतिहास की स्पष्ट घटनाएँ हैं। केन्द्र ने दो बार कमीशन बैठाये। श्री गुल-जारी लाल नंदा का कमीशन बना और कुछ विदेशी नागरिकों को आइडेंटिफाई किया गया और कुछ बाहर भी किये गये। फिर पता नहीं किस अक्षय हाथ से कमीशन का काम रोक दिया जाता है और विदेशी नागरिकों का आना चलता रहता है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आज वह कह सकते हैं इस सदन के सामने, देश के सामने कि आज की तारीख में विदेशी नागरिकों का आना बन्द हो चुका है। मैं स्पष्ट कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे गृह मंत्री अभी गये थे बांडर पर, वे असम गये थे 12 नवम्बर को। मैं श्रीर श्री जयवन्त सिंह भी गये थे उसी वक्त वहाँ। हमने गृह मंत्री को लिखकर दिया, असम के मुख्य सचिव को लिखकर दिया कि अगर सीमा पर टहनते हुए चले जायें तो कहां बंगलादेश है और कहां भारत है यह पता नहीं चलता वहाँ बाउंड फेंसिंग नहीं है, कोई सीमा का पिन नहीं है। दो हिलोमोटर के ऊपर एक इंच भी नो मैन लैंड नहीं है। कहा गया है कि नहीं रोका जा सकता है। क्यों नहीं रोका जा सकता है? उस समय जब यह प्रश्न उठाया गया था तो खर्च का प्रश्न उठाया गया कि बहुत खर्चा होगा। देश की सुरक्षा पर आप लाखों-करोड़ों खर्च कर रहे हैं, विमान खरीदे जा रहे हैं, सब कुछ खरादिये, हम इसका समर्थन करते हैं पर जो आज बंगलादेश से हमारे यहां पापुलेशन अप्रेशन हो रहा है, उसको और सरकार सो रही है। मैं स्पष्ट आरोप लगाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार सो रही है। पापुलेशन अप्रेशन के प्रन्दर कांग्रेस (आई) का हाथ है। वहाँ जो विदेशी लोग आये वे अब उनका वोट बैंक बनकर रह गये हैं। इस चुनाव में असम ने क्या सिद्ध कर दिया है?

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

चुनाव का किसने बहिष्कार नहीं किया जो बंगलादेश से आये थे वे चुनाव के समर्थक थे, चाहे वे हिन्दू हों और चाहे मुसलमान हों । असम के अन्दर बाकी भारत के जो लोग हैं उन्होंने चुनाव का बहिष्कार किया ।

महोदय, यहां पर रेल मंत्री के भाषण की बहुत चर्चा हो चुकी है । मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता । परन्तु सबसे पहले जो क्लेश हुआ, संघर्ष हुआ, बंगलादेश से आये हुए नागरिकों के ऊपर जो हमला हुआ वह उस समय हुआ जब माननीया प्रधानमंत्री गान्धाटी के मलिगांव में भाषण दे रहीं थीं । डेढ़ बजे भाषण था 12 फरवरी को । उस दिन सुबह 8 बजे समारोह उत्तर पर हमला हुआ । पुलिस से सुरक्षा मांगी गई लेकिन पुलिस प्रधानमंत्री की सुरक्षा पर लगी हुई थी । पुलिस 3 बजे बाद पहुंची । तब तक 12 लोग मारे गये थे । तो श्रीगणेश उस दिन हुआ । उसके बाद बराबर 12 तारीख से ग्वालपाड़ा और तिनसुखिया, जहां इनके समर्थक थे उनको कांग्रेस (आई) के लोगों ने उकसाया कि वे चुनाव में वोट नहीं देंगे उनको सीधा कर दो । चुनाव में लोगों की भावना ऊपर चढ़ती है यह ठीक है लेकिन भावना में मारपीट नहीं होती, गांवों को नहीं जलाया जाता, महिलाओं को रेप नहीं किया जाता है । लेकिन ग्वालपाड़ा में क्या हुआ ? 17 गांवों को फूंक दिया गया । ग्वालपाड़ा और तिनसुखिया में लोग डिप्टी कमिश्नर के पास गये कि हमारी सहायता कीजिए । लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि हम इलैक्शन में व्यस्त हैं हम आपकी कोई सहायता नहीं कर सकते । उस समय असम राइफल के जवान 48 घंटे की ड्यूटी से आये थे । उन्होंने कहा कि हमको भेज दीजिए ; हम जाने के लिए तैयार हैं । इसके

ऊपर असम राइफल और सी० आर० पी० के बीच संघर्ष हुआ, गोलाबारी हुई और लोग मारे गये । श्रीमन्, इससे ज्यादा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना क्या हो सकती है कि जिन लोगों ने हमला किया, जिन लोगों के नाम पुलिस में दर्ज कराये गये, जो हमलावर थे, जो लूट मचा रहे थे उनके नाम दर्ज कराने के पश्चात् भी उनको नहीं पकड़ा गया । क्योंकि वे कांग्रेस (आई) के समर्थक हैं ।

दिसपुर कस्टीडियन्सी की घटना है जहां पर सचिवालय स्थित है । उस इलाके में क्षेत्री पुलिस स्टेशन के अन्तर्गत 13 तारीख को सवेरे 10 बजे असमिया गांव के ऊपर हमला होता है । बंगाली हिन्दू, बंगाली मुसलमान मिलकर गांव जलाते हैं । पुलिस आती है और वहां से 52 लोगों को पकड़ कर थाने में रखा जाता है । 13 तारीख को ले कर उनको थाने में गये हैं और 14 तारीख को उस क्षेत्र के कांग्रेस (आई) के प्रत्याशी उनको छोड़वा कर ले आते हैं । आज तक वे पकड़े नहीं गये हैं पुनः थाने में नहीं गये हैं । श्रीमन् यह घटना दिसपुर की ही नहीं है, मंगलदोई में क्या हुआ, लोहारी घाट में क्या हुआ, मोरी गांव में क्या हुआ सब एक दूसरे से सटे हुए क्षेत्र हैं, गोपुर के अन्दर एक विचित्र घटना हुई । बाकी सब जगह से बंगलादेश से आए हुए लोगों ने हमला किया घरों को लूटा । लेकिन सरकार क्या करती रही ? वह यह कहती रही कि मेरे पास सुरक्षा की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है । हम तो चुनाव करा रहे हैं । जिस चुनाव को कराने के लिए सी० आर० पी० के लगभग दो लाख जवान वहां मौजूद थे वे लोगों की सुरक्षा प्रदान करने के लिए नहीं थे शायद ऊपर से आदेश था कि जो कांग्रेस का विरोध कर रहे हैं उनको सबक सिखाया जाए । आज कांस्टीट्यूशन की बात हो रही है कि कांस्टीट्यूशनल आब्लीगेशन

के लिए हमें चुनाव कराना पड़ा। मैं व्यक्तिगत अनुभव के आधार पर कह सकता हूँ। मैं अक्तूबर में आसाम में गया, नवम्बर में वहाँ गया। मैं जिस जिला अधिकारी से भी मिला उसने कहा कि हमसे रिपोर्ट मांगी गई कि चुनाव हो सकता है। ऊपर से यह आदेश दिया गया है कि यह रिपोर्ट भेजी जाए कि चुनाव हो सकता है। हमने कह दिया है कि चुनाव जरूर होगा परन्तु उसके साथ रक्तपात भी हो सकता है। मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूँगा कि जिन अधिकारियों ने कहा था कि रक्तपात होगा यह चुनाव कराना उचित नहीं है, क्या उनको लम्बी छुट्टी पर लॉग लीव पर नहीं भेज दिया गया? मैं उन अधिकारियों के नाम नहीं लेना चाहता। आसाम के जिन अधिकारियों ने भी यह सजगता दिखाई थी कि वहाँ यह स्थिति उत्पन्न हो सकती है उनको उठा कर लम्बी छुट्टी पर भेज दिया गया। केन्द्रीय सरकार की नीति अक्तूबर मास में ही तय हो गई थी कि चुनाव वहाँ पर कराना है और वहाँ कांग्रेस (आई) की गवर्नमेन्ट बनाना है। आज मैं प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो विदेशी आ रहे हैं 1972 में वोटर लिस्ट में 63 लाख नाम थे, 1977 में 72 लाख, 1978 में 79 लाख और 1979 में 86 लाख नाम थे। सात आठ लाख लोग प्रतिवर्ष बढ़ते गये क्या यह नेचुरल ग्रोथ है? सरकार ने स्वयं स्वीकार किया है कि विदेशी नागरिक आए हैं तीन वर्ष तक सरकार विदेशी नागरिकों के मामले को हल नहीं कर सकी। यह विचार करते रहे कि 1951 में किया जाए, फिर 1961 स्वीकार किया जाए, 1971 स्वीकार किया जाए तो सरकार ने स्वीकार किया कि 1971 के बाद जो विदेशी आए हैं उनको हम डिटेक्ट करेंगे उनके नाम वोटर लिस्ट में से डिलीट करेंगे, और हो सकता है उनको आसाम के बाहर भेजें,

यह सरकार न स्वयं त्रिपक्षीय बातों में स्वीकार किया है। मेरा प्रश्न है कि सरकार ने जब स्वीकार किया तो क्यों नहीं सरकार करती है उसको रोके हुए क्यों है। अगर आज आप सारी वैधता कहते हैं आप स्वयं बताइये सरकार बताए जिस वोटर लिस्ट में वह स्वयं स्वीकार कर रही है कि हजारों लाखों विदेशी नागरिक हैं और उसके साथ-साथ 1979 से 1982 तक जो 10 लाख के लगभग आसामी जवान हुए होंगे उनके नाम वोटर लिस्ट में आने चाहिए थे उनका बहिष्कार कर दिया गया जो मूल निवासी है उनको वोटिंग राइट नहीं दिया गया बल्कि विदेशियों को जोड़ा गया। अगर इसी आधार पर चुनाव कराना है उसको वैधता देनी है तो इसकी वैधता शायद लां की किताबों में हो सकती है जनता की किताबों में नहीं है। आज आसाम में क्या स्थिति हो रही है? आपने कहा कि यह जो मूवमेंट है यह एंटी इण्डिया है भारत विरोधी है! क्या विदेशियों को भारत से निकालना भारत विरोधी मांग है? विदेशियों को भारत में रखना, वोटर लिस्ट में रखना क्या यह भारत विरोधी नहीं है? आपने कहा है कि एक स्मॉल ग्रुप है बुल्ली कर सकता है जो वास्तव में दिखाई दे रहा है कि आसाम के अन्दर एक छोटा सा ग्रुप जिसको केन्द्रीय सरकार का प्रश्रय प्राप्त है सारे आसाम को बुल्ली कर रहा है, वहाँ हर तहस नहस कर रहा वहाँ पर अनुरक्षा की भावना है समाज की सुरक्षा समाप्त हो चुकी है। लोग रिलीफ केंद्रों में आए हैं।

[उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० राम कृष्णन)
पीठासीन हुए]

उनके घर द्वार जगह - जगह फूंक दिये गये हैं। अभी-अभी गृह मंत्री जी ने अपनी स्टेटमेंट में कहा है कि उनकी

[ओ प्रश्नोत्तर]

600 ग्राम प्रति दिन दिया जा रहा है जिसको मैं 4.2 किलो प्रति सप्ताह मानता हूँ। मैं आपकी जानकारी में ला देना चाहता हूँ कि परसों तक खैराबाड़ी कैम्प के अन्दर मेरी आंखों देखा घटना है जहाँ 18 हजार बंगाली हिन्दू बैठे हैं... उनको दो किलो प्रति सप्ताह चावल दिया जा रहा है, दाल नहीं है, कैरोसीन नहीं है, फायर वुड नहीं है। ऊपर ढकने के लिए त्रिपाल नहीं है। कुछ बांस उन्होंने काटे हैं उन बासों के ऊपर अपने चौथड़े से कपड़े लगाये हैं और वहाँ वे टिके हुए हैं और यह रिलीफ कौन कर रहा है? यह एक कैम्प की घटना नहीं है सब कैम्पों में इस प्रकार की दुर्बल्य है। इसलिए अगर सरकार वास्तव में जो पीड़ित हैं उनको मलहम लगाना चाहती है रिलीफ देना चाहती है तो मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करूँगा कि जो हमारे मित्र श्री विश्व गोस्वामी जी ने कहा इस रिलीफ के आपरेशन में आसाम के नागरिकों को जोड़िये। सारे भारत में आज तक की परम्परा है कि जब इस प्रकार की विपत्ती आती है तो नागरिक लोग जुड़ेगे बड़ी मात्रा में सहयोग करेंगे। ये सरकारी अधिकारी कौन हैं? जिन सरकारी अधिकारियों ने आपके आदेश पर चुनाव कराया आसाम की जनता के अन्दर उनके प्रति मन खट्टा हो चुका है। उनमें अविश्वास की खाई उत्पन्न हो चुकी है। आपने एम० एल० ए० और मिनिस्टर बना दिये। 426 एम० एल० ए० जीते हैं। लेकिन वे एम० एल० ए० आज भी किस ढंग से घूम रहे हैं। एक कार होती है उसमें पाँच छः पुलिस वाले होते हैं और उनपाँच छः पुलिस वालों के बीच में एक एम० एल० ए० होता है। जनता से उसका कोई सम्पर्क नहीं है। सरकार के

अधिकारियों से उसका सम्पर्क है। वह गांवों में नहीं जा सकता है, वह लोगों से मिल नहीं सकता है। वह रिलीफ कैम्पों में जाने से घबड़ाता है। वह क्या सरकार की सेवा करेगा? चुना हुआ प्रतिनिधि वह होता है जो जनता और सरकार के बीच में पुल का काम करे। वह पुल टूटा हुआ है, वह अज्ञान है। क्योंकि जनता के अन्दर उनका विश्वास नहीं है। वे जनता को फेंक नहीं कर सकते हैं और इस प्रकार की भावनाएं वहाँ उभर चुकी हैं। जो हमले 12.83 से लेकर आज तक हुए हैं और जिन हमलों को उन्होंने एम० एल० ए० के दायें-बायें के लोगों ने लीड किया है इसके चलते वहाँ समाज के अन्दर आपस में बड़ी भारी खाई उत्पन्न हो चुकी है। इस खाई को पाटने के लिए आपको सोचना पड़ेगा इसमें केवल बंगाली हिंदुओं का प्रश्न नहीं है। बंगाली मुसलमान जो कैम्पों में आये हैं अब उनको घर भेजा जा रहा है। किसी को हजार और तिनो को दो हजार रुपये दिये जा रहे हैं। कहा गया है कि पाँच हजार रुपये दिये जायेंगे। क्या व्यवस्था की है, कौन देगा। एक गांव के अन्दर मेरी जानकारी के अन्दर ढाई घंटे के अन्दर ढाई लाख रुपये गांव में महान बनाने के लिये बांट दिया गया। कितनी एकोनियेंट सरकारी मशिन की आप कल्पना कर सकते हैं, जो किड़को बाँटा, कहा गया, पता नहीं। इसलिये अगर उ३ क्षेत्र के लोगों को नहीं जोड़ेंगे तो जो पैसा बाँटेंगे वह मुझे आशंका है कि केवल एक वर्ग विशेष को जायेगा। सरकार के बाटुकारों में जाएगा, जनता के बीच नहीं जाएगा जिससे खाई और बढ़ेगी और बढ़ने के बाद इसके अन्दर और समस्याएँ आँवेंगी। इतना ही नहीं आज स्टेटमेंट भी हमारे राज्यपाल महोदय का आया है कि कैम्प छोड़कर रिफ्यूजो जा रहे हैं। गोरखपुर के अन्दर बंगाली हिन्दू कैम्प है। लेकिन वहाँ उनको डंडे के जोर से बाहर निकाल

दिया गया है। कहा गया कि अपने गांव में जाओ। लेकिन सुरक्षा नहीं प्रदान की जा रही है। वह कहते हैं कि सुरक्षा दीजिए, हम घर जाने के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन वे सुरक्षा प्रदान नहीं करते हैं। इसलिये वे कैम्प के बाहर डेरा डालकर बैठे हुए हैं।

जहां जहां कैम्प हैं, वहां हाइजीन की व्यवस्था नाम मात्र को भी नहीं है। 18 हजार लोगों का कैम्प खैराबाड़ी में है। आसको जानकर आश्चर्य होगा कि वहां लोगों के पीने के लिये पानी मात्र पांच हैण्ड पम्प लगे हुए हैं जिनसे बराबर 18 हजार लोग पानी ले रहे हैं। वहां क्या स्थिति होगी यह सोचने का विषय है। यह जो सारी स्थिति हुई है, इसके कारण आसाम एक और विचित्र स्थिति में आ गया है। तिनमुखिया के अन्दर पिछली फरवरी/मार्च से अभी तक बैंक बन्द हैं और बैंक शुरू हुए हैं तो केवल सरकारी काम कर रहे हैं। तो वहां के व्यापारी व्यापार खुलने के बाद भी माल नहीं मंगा पा रहे हैं। क्योंकि वहां के बैंक टूट्टी बनाकर नहीं दे रहे हैं। जब तक टूट्टी वहां से नहीं जायेगी तो माल वहां से नहीं जायेगा और माल नहीं जायेगा तो क्या होगा? अगर सरकार इस ओर विशेष ध्यान नहीं देगी तो शायद आसाम जनता को जो पैसा खर्च कर सकती है उसके खाने पीने के लिये दाल, चावल, गेहूं, कैंरोसिन कुछ भी मिलना असंभव हो जायेगा। एक विचित्र स्थिति पड़ी हुई है। फिर एक बार गृह मंत्री जी से यह जाना चाहता हूं कि जिन जिन जगह अटक हुए हैं मास अटक हुए हैं उनको लीड करने वालों के नाम जो दिये गये हैं उसमें से कितने लोगों को पकड़ा गया है; कौन लोग हैं वे, ? अखबार में

मैंने एक जगह पढ़ा कि 30 लोग पकड़े गये हैं। पर यह घटना ग्वालपारा से तिनमुखिया तक है। संगलदोई से लोहार घाट है वहां कितने लोग पकड़े गये हैं।

अब मैं सरकार से इन सारी स्थितियों के बाद दो तीन बड़े स्पष्ट प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या आप विश्वासपूर्वक कह सकते हैं कि आज हमारी सीमा पूर्ण सुरक्षित है।

और कोई भी इन्फिल्ट्रेटर नहीं आयेगा। इस प्रकार की पूर्ण सुरक्षा उन्होंने कर ली है? अगर आयेगा तो उसके बारे में आप क्या करेंगे? इतना ही नहीं अखबारों में निकला कि कांग्रेस (आई) के पास काफी मात्रा में हैली-कोप्टर थे, उनसे परचे बांटे जाते थे। जिस समय मह अटक हुए उस समय कहा गया कि परचे बांटे और उनके माध्यम से अटक हुए। इसमें कितना सत्य है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के पास हैलीकोप्टर थे, उनका कितना उपयोग हुआ है और उससे कितनी आग भड़की।

तीसरा प्रश्न यह है—जैसा कि पहले भी कहा गया—कि व्यवस्था लाने में क्या आप आसाम के नागरिकों को जोड़ना उचित समझेंगे और ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न करेंगे जिस में लोगों का विश्वास सम्पादन हो। आज खाईयां बन गई हैं और ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है कि समाज के लोग एक जगह इकट्ठे होकर, मिल-बैठ कर एक-दूसरे के सुख-दुख में भागीदार हों। समाज के सब वर्गों के ऊपर संकट आया हुआ है।

चौथी बात यह दोहराना चाहूंगा—जो दिनेश गोस्वामी ने कही—कि सारा मासकर हुआ है उसके लिये सरकार ने एक इक्वायरी कमेटी बनाई

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

है, क्या उसकी जगह सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज के अन्दर में जुडिशियल इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बनायेंगे? इसके पहले भी आसाम में भाषायी गायट्स हो चुके हैं। उसके ऊपर भी जुडिशियल इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बनी थी। क्या सरकार ने उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की और क्या वह उसे अब प्रकाशित करने के लिये तैयार है।

अन्त में, मैं इतना ही जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आज वास्तव में सरकार आसाम की स्थिति में सुधार लाना चाहती है, एक हीलिंग टब लगाना चाहती है तो क्या यह विधान सभा के रहते हुए हो सकेगा जिसको देख कर प्रतिदिन घृणा का वातावरण उत्पन्न होता है। उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आप के द्वारा सरकार से अपील करना चाहता हूँ, गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री से अपील करना चाहूंगा कि इस समय देश की पूर्वोत्तर सीमा पर संकट की स्थिति है, इस समय पार्टी पोलिटिक्स से ऊपर उठें, एक स्टेट्समैन की दृष्टि दिखाएं, एक प्रान्त में अगर आप की पार्टी की सरकार नहीं रहेगी तो कोई ऐसा अन्तर नहीं पड़ेगा, इसलिए उस सरकार को समाप्त कर के, नये अधिकारी ले जा कर, जिन के अन्दर द्वेष नहीं है, विद ए क्लीन स्लेट—ऐसे अधिकारियों को ले जा कर फिर से प्रशासन स्थापित करें, नार्मलसी की स्थिति लाएं, फिर से चर्चा प्रारम्भ करें, जो विदेशियों की समस्या है, जो देशभक्तिपूर्ण समस्या है, जो केन्द्रीय सरकार को साल्व करनी चाहिए, जिस के लिए—केन्द्रीय सरकार की अक्षमता के कारण—वहां के जवानों को आन्दोलन करना पड़ा है और जिसके लिए वहां के नौजवानों को धन्यवाद देना चाहिए सेशानिस्ट कहने के बजाय, उन

की मांग पर विचार करना चाहिए। जो नेशनल कमिटमेंट है, जितने बंगला देश से आये हैं,

is that the only commitment?

उन का इतना ही कहना है कि उन में से कुछ लोगों को अन्य प्रान्तों में भेजना चाहिए। यह ऐसी बड़ी समस्या नहीं है जिसको सोल्व नहीं किया जा सकता।

Whether there is political will with the Government, has to be shown by the Government.

इतना ही कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I hold no brief for the Government on this issue of Assam which has rightly figured in this honourable House on a number of occasions. But I do hold a brief for the ideals of the nation, its democratic institutions, and the Constitution of India, from which all my rights and freedoms have flown. If today I have full freedom to stand in this honourable House and give expression to my thoughts and share them with the hon. Members, it is because of the Constitution of India. It is with that spirit that I have stood up today, Sir, to share my thoughts with the hon. Members of this House. It is my firm conviction that what holds a country together is its ideals, its institutions, its constitutional framework and the will of the Central* authority to preserve and uphold them.

It is, therefore, necessary to consider what the essential features of the present debate are. To my mind, Sir, there are two essential features; One, was the Government right in taking the decision to hold the elections? And secondly, what has been the role of the Opposition parties during the conduct of the elections? Sir, this is not for the first time in history and not in India alone that such challenges have been brought up to the

constitutional institutions of democracies. Such challenges have figured in the history of the leading democracies of the world at different times. I shall take the United States, France and then India. The Constitution makers of the United States, France and India were fully aware of the possibility of such challenges being thrown up against the authority of the land and the manner in which these challenges were to be met.

Take the United States, going back to the history of the 19th century when Abraham Lincoln was elected the President, He declared, "The Constitution of the United States does not permit slavery of man by man. A nation cannot survive half slave and half free." What were the consequences? The people in the South stood up, and they said that this was an attack on their identity.' On the opening day, on the Assam issue, the hon. Member, Mr. Jaswant Singh, had said. "The people in Assam are fighting for their identity." This is exactly what the people in the South in the United States had said, "This is an attack on our identity, on our social institutions, on our economic interests." What was the reply which Abraham Lincoln gave? He was advised to enter into compromising negotiations with the people of the South, and his reply was this. I just quote:

"Demands for surrender once recognized, are without limit as to nature, extent and repetition. They break the only bond of faith between public and public servant, and they distinctly set the minority over the majority."

His voice to the people of the South was clear, succinct and forthright. And this is what he said to the people of the South;

"The Government will not assail you unless you first assailed. You can have no conflict without being the aggressors. You can forbear the assault upon it. I cannot shrink from the defence of it."

And that is how the present nation, the United States of America was made out of the blood and the struggle of the people who stood up for the ideals of the nation and its democratic and constitutional institutions.

Now I come, to the 20th century. Article 4 of the Constitution of the United States of America provides that the Central, Federal, authority shall ensure the republican form of Government in every State. I will show how this article was invoked in the 20th century. I shall refer to some situations having confronted the leading democracy of the world in 1950s. The Governor of Arkansas led the people of the South in an agitation against the admission of the non-white students into the white schools. It was the Governor who led this agitation. And what was the response of the Federal authority led by President Eisenhower? He sent companies of the US Army to crush this agitation of the people in the State of Arkansas who were also asserting that this was an attack on their identity. And what happened a few years later? In the State of Mississippi a similar situation arose when one Negro student, whose name was Meredit, was denied admission into the university. There was a mob violence which acquired the proportions of an insurrection. President Kennedy said: "I give you a warning that I shall not tolerate any compromise with the Federal Constitution and its ideals. I shall fight it out." The people did not listen. He sent thousands of US troops into the State of Mississippi and crushed this violent agitation against the Constitution of country, its ideals and the Federal authority. And the U.S. Supreme Court declared in *Debb's* case that the United States Government had the power and duty to use "the entire strength of the nation to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of the national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care." And it was the exercise of the entire national strength by President

[Shri Madan Bhatia] Kennedy which brought about the obedience of the Constitution of the United States and its ideals.

What happened in France in 1968? In 1968, the students of France set up barricades in all the cities and the streets of Paris. They were supported by a national strike of the workers. What was the response of De Gaulle? He invoked article 4 and article 16 of the French Constitution which give the power and impose a duty upon the President of France to ensure civic order and compliance with the Constitution of the country. And he gave a warning to the people: "if this agitation is not withdrawn, I shall be left with no alternative except to invoke my powers to uphold the Constitution of the country." And the insurrection collapsed and peace returned to France.

Now I come to India. What has happened in Assam? Article 355 of the Constitution imposes a solemn obligation on the Government of the day. It says:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to ensure that the government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution."

It is the solemn constitutional obligation of the Central authority in this country under article 355 of the Constitution to ensure that the government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. And every member of the Government has sworn in the name of God an oath of allegiance and faith to the constitution. There is collective responsibility of the Government and individual responsibility of every Minister to preserve and uphold the Constitution and its provisions. I would go to this extent that if the Government had failed to enforce the elections and conduct the elections which were required by the Constitution of India, the Government would not have been worth being called a Government; it should have

packed up its pipes and gone home. It was a right decision by the Government of India and it was consistent with the code of conduct of the Central authorities of the various leading democracies that this decision was taken and was enforced. (Time-bell rings) Just two or three minutes. I would like to say a few words on the role of the Opposition. It is said by some hon. Members of the *Opposition* that the elections were boycotted by them, because it was impossible to hold the election in that particular atmosphere. On 12th January Mr. Vajpayee, the president of the BJP, declared that they had decided to boycott the elections because it was not possible to hold the elections without revision of the electoral rolls. This was the only solitary reason given by Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and not because there was any atmosphere of fear prevailing in Assam or because there were other circumstances why elections could not be held. It was their personal political decision sitting in Delhi that these elections they decided to boycott. And the reason which was given was nothing but a facetious plea, because on the basis of these very electoral rolls elections had been conducted in 1978. And I submit and I charge them, the real reason was that it was a political move to whip up the frenzied passions and the agitations in Assam, in order to create disaffection against the Central Government, in order to achieve narrow political ends in total disregard of the national interests. This is confirmed by their subsequent conduct. I would only quote the "Assam Tribune." It carried a news item On February 1, that BJP and other parties had intensified their campaign to win public support to their decision to boycott the election through public meetings. It is not the people of Assam who had boycotted the election. It is the leaders of the BJP and other parties who descended in Assam in order to create an atmosphere of boycott of the election. And then, after that, the report comes on February 3: Mr. Jaswant Singh addressed meetings at Gauhati, Dibrugarh, Tinsukia,

Shibsaga, and Jorhat exhorting people to boycott the election. It was a calculated, concerted, effort to exhort the people to boycott the elections in order to serve their political ends and in total disregard of the national interests. And then on February 5 as the days by their language become more strident and more violent because they started feeling, I suppose, a little frustrated in their efforts to have the elections boycotted. And what happened on February 5? Lokeshwar Gohain, the president of Assam BJP, gave a warning that if the elections were not stopped, this would lead to far-reaching consequences. And then on February 8 Mr. Vajpayee—and I charge Mr. Vajpayee with a very serious statement—made a statement which has appeared in the "Assam Tribune". The statement contains an open encouragement to those who were indulging in violence and destruction of the Government and people's property. He says and I quote:—

"If some people have set fire to bridges, Shrimati Gandhi has set fire to the whole of Assam." This was to tap on the back of those who have destroyed the bridges with a pre-plan that the police forces should not reach the intended victims of violence."

I respectfully submit that this was an open encouragement to the people that they should and if they indulge in violence, then they will have the protective hand of the BJP. Then, after that, Mr. Jaswant Singh called upon the people to make a total boycott of elections a success and persuade others to do so. Mr. Jaswant has stood up here on the first day and he said, with great respect to the honourable Member, that the Brahmaputra is on fire. I respectfully submit that subsequent statements which have been made by leaders of the BJP would show that all the waters of the Brahmaputra will not be able to wash the stains of Wood.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: from the protective hand.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: ... from their guilty hands.

On the 11th February, Mr. Ram Jethmalani an open statement inciting people to communal violence. This is his statement. This is very serious. I quote:

"The influx of foreigners was part of a conspiracy hatched in 1910 to get the State included in Pakistan".

It was a clear incitement to the people of Assam to indulge in communal violence. These gentlemen, said that the elections could not be held. It is they who said that there could not be any free and fair election. It is they who are responsible for creation of aU this violent atmosphere which resulted in so many deaths.

I would request the hon. Home Minister to go into this matter and place before this honourable House a detailed statement on the activities of these opposition parties in Assam during those days before the election.

It is not possible for the BJP to take the people for a ride... (Interruption). This was a veil in open. But what had been happening in secrecy was revealed by the Statesman in its issue of the 24th February. The paper reported that there were agents provocateurs working in different areas inciting people to violence. I had drawn the attention of the Home Minister to this that RSS has infiltrated into AU Assam Student Union and the other Parishad. It is the RSS which is at the back of the whole thing. I may submit that they tried to take their own colleagues for a ride by saying that RSS is a cultural organisation. Even their own colleagues refused to believe them. It is the political militant arm of the BJP. It is for them to explain to what extent they knew the activities of the RSS in Assam. I respectfully submit, the hon. Home Minister

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

may throw some light on all these activities of the RSS and the connection between the RSS and the BJP and to what extent the activities of the RSS were known to the leaders of the BJP during those days before the election.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): On a point of order. The hon. nominated Member...

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA (Andhra Pradesh): To call him a nominated Member is not in good taste.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH:... -speaking as a proxy Member for the Treasury Benches, has spoken about United States, France and BJP. The discussion this afternoon is about Assam. However, he has been good enough to mention me personally, by name, and my taste is being questioned by some sour-looking Member.

I would request the Home Minister, who is here, that a specific enquiry be conducted into my conduct for the last three years, during the tripartite talks and during the last six weeks that I have had the pleasure of being in Assam. I travelled in Assam without police escort and, as a matter of principle, unarmed and I have travelled certainly to the places mentioned, not just there, but to a few other places also and, therefore, I would request the honourable Home Minister to specifically make an inquiry against me and my conduct in Assam and also the utterances that I made there because, Sir, unless this is done, all these accusations in this House, in the other House, against me and the leader of my party and against my party itself will not be cleared. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE (Assam): Sir, I have been listening with interest to the statement made by the honourable Home Minister and also to the deliberations of Hon'ble members on the statement.

Sir, the Home Minister's statement is a comprehensive one on the Assam

situation and a correct assessment of the conditions leading to such a situation. I am also glad to head Mr. Dinesh Goswami condemning the murder of a young boy who is related to the Assam Chief Minister. But, Sir, here is a condemnation by Mr. Goswami only. That he always does. But that is not the condemnation from those organisations which are spearheading the agitation. In fact, Sir, it is a very interesting situation. Acts of violence will be committed outside Parliament and Mr. Goswami will go on condemning them in the House but Mr. Goswami is not associated with the agitation. How he can condemn the violence on their behalf?

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I can condemn them on my own behalf and I am condemning them.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE: That I have seen. He always condemns such things, such acts of violence, wherever they are committed.

Sir, in the recent holocaust, emerging from the violent resistance to elections, which took a toll of hundreds of unfortunate men, women and children, truth is equally the worst casualty. An impression is being sought to be created that the election is responsible for these tragic happenings. Sir, it is not that those who want to create this impression are not aware of the fact. They know it fully well that it is the resistance, violent resistance, to the election that is responsible for this terrible situation.

Sir, without going into the compulsions of this unavoidable course, I am prepared to accept this position that had the agitation leaders just appealed to the people to boycott the elections, that would have been a real test of the public response and opinion. I cannot think of any other convincing way to demonstrate the support of the people which they always claim they have. Sir, judged by any democratic

norms, the whole country would have bowed down to such a sense of solidarity had the agitation leaders organised a massive boycott by mobilising the popular opinion in a non-violent and peaceful way. Unfortunately, Sir, on the contrary, the leaders talked of a blood bath if the elections were held and that dictated the course of events. "Me or the deluge", or more precisely "Me or the blood bath."—that is their democratic way! Sir, these are not stray incidents of violence, but they are significant incidents. I want to cite three incidents. These incidents are significant in the context of the widespread violence that rocked the entire State a few days later. I cite these incidents not, for the sake of citing, Sir, but because they are the premonition of the things to come. Sir, the first indication of things to come was the brutal murder in broad daylight of the proposer of a candidate for Teok constituency, next to my home town Jorhat. The second incident, at the same time the 15 year old son of a candidate for Palasbani constituency near Gauhati was kidnapped and the threat was held out to the candidate that his son would be murdered if he filed nominations. The candidate conceded and the boy was found tied down to a tree in a jungle after 5 days. Then came the news of two young workers hardly 21 years, belonging to a Left political party missing in Sibragan District. Within a couple of days their bodies were discovered in a jungle. Sir, these incidents sent a shock-wave throughout the State in the initial days of the election and there was panic. Immediately there was the manhunt for the candidates and their supporters, who had to take shelter in police guarded resorts. Sir, what intrigues me is that the hon. Members who are so eloquent on the Assam holocaust so conveniently keep mum on these incidents which are not just incidents but trend-setters-indications that gave shape and direction to what happened in Assam within the next few days. A few leaders of political parties visited Assam while the State was reeling under violence. Am I to believe

they did not know about all these incidents and panic flowing out of them? Was there any forthright condemnation of violence on their part? No. At least I have not heard of any. On top of that, Sir, they exhorted the agitationists to resist election at any cost. I want to name a political leader in this connection. At first I thought I won't name that honourable Member, who is a Member of the other House. But on second thought I felt that since he is the President of a national party. I can name him. He is the hon. Member Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee. He addressed a meeting at Jorhat. He said that the election must be resisted at any cost. After the meeting he went to a place in a fleet of cars, to Titabon 12 miles from my town, just to see a few dead bodies, of two or three persons, who were killed in police firing while attacking the police station and burning down the vehicles. He accused the police officer, asking: how did you kill these people? The poor police force officer said: Sir, you have listened to one version, I won't say anything, you have come all the way from Delhi, you just drive down just another five miles and see the scene of occurrence yourself. He refused to do so. He said: I am not interested.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE: Sir, this is how the political leaders from outside exhorted the people to resist the election at any cost. And, yes, a section of the people did respond to their call by intensifying their sabotaging activities. Sir, this is nothing but instigation. And, what kind of violence? Of course, it has been pointed out in the statement made by the Home Minister also. Bridges were either burnt down or blown up. Police stations were attacked by mobs armed with bows and arrows and other lethal weapons. Armed groups of people made mince-meat of the road communications in almost all constituencies. And you call it non-violent, peaceful resistance? You cite a few instances of police excess and

[Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique]

keep your eyes and mouth shut ^{on} mob fury, organised, methodical mob fury. Well, if there is police excess, I am prepared to condemn it. I am not holding brief for them. But that does not mean that you want the administration to connive at the organised violence. In such a situation, no one can claim that poll percentage was low due to popular will against the election. Rather, I would say that the voters were terrorised, they were prevented from casting their votes. And if I say so, can anybody contradict me with proof and evidence? You cannot blow hot and cold in the same breath. On the one hand, you do not allow the voters to exercise their franchise and on the other you take the view that the voters did not participate in the election because they were opposed to the election. So, this is blowing hot and cold in the same breath.

Sir, much has been said about violence. The hon. Home Minister has already given a statement on the violence committed in Assam. But it is amusing to hear from some hon. Members as if the election was the sole cause of violence, as if there was no violence in the last three years in the course of the agitation. And on that, the statement of the hon. Home Minister is very exhaustive and I do not want to go into the details of the acts of violence.

Sir, everybody knows that communal tension was building up to the point of explosion due to terrorisation, and a climate of hatred was being created against some sections of people on the false plea of their being foreigners. Even local indigenous Assamese people who in their wisdom chose to hold a different view on the issue of foreign nationals were subjected to social boycott, Pressurisation and assault. Intimidation was the order of the day. And, now, some hon. Members suddenly discovered that violence erupted only (because of the election. Sir, it is a vital question whether you want the

Parliamentary form of Government to live or die. For once if it is established that the democratic process can be halted by taking the law into their own* hands on the part of a section of people, Sir, this is the beginning of the end of the system. Election will be stalled anywhere at the sweet will of some people, I hope, Sir, those who sermonize us in season and out of season in high-flown rhetoric on democratic values will pause for self-introspection and try to appreciate the implications and the ultimate consequences of their action.

Then, Sir, some data has been given by the hon. Member on the election results. I know, Sir, that this is not a normal situation in which the elections were held. But my friend, Mr. Goswami, has chosen only a ^{few} worst. Now, let me quote a few best. Sir, I will only give the data of the poll percentage of those constituencies which are above 50 per cent and not below 50 per cent. And in that case, I leave out Cachar because Cachar as you know and everybody knows is free from agitation and there is no poll boycott. So, let us start from Haflong. This is North Cachar hill district of Assam inhabited by tribal people, the original people of Assam, and nobody can question it. The votes secured by the candidates were: Haflong—50.12 per cent; In Karbi Amlong, another hill district in Diphu—5.74 per cent; in Mankachar in Goalpara district—79.43 per cent. Sir, these are the percentage votes secured by the candidates. Then Dhubri 64.59 per cent. If you have any doubt, I can give the more detailed figures also. The number of total voters is 71,079 and the number of votes polled is 45,915. In Assam if we go through the records this is not very far from the usual pattern of voting. So, I won't exhaust the time of the House. These are the papers with me. If anybody wants to see them, they can satisfy themselves

Then, again, Sir, it has been pointed out that the people of the Brahmaputra valley, the local indigenous Assamese did not participate in

the elections, I have already said that it is not so. I come to the hill districts in the Brahmaputra valley. Sir, in districts north of the Brahmaputra, where the tribal population form a sizeable part of the electorate, namely, Goalpara and Darang, the poll, despite the violence, is satisfactory. I name two constituencies Kokrajhar East and Kokrajhar West, reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, in Goalpara district. In Kokrajhar East 40,080 votes out of 62,493 votes were polled. And in Kokrajhar West 45,136 votes out of 63,936 were polled, and the winning candidate secured 23,664 votes. Then I cite another constituency Udalguri, i.e., in Darang, another reserved constituency reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, where 33,573 votes out of a total of 65,627 votes were polled. Sir, this is more or less the same figure as in the past elections. So, it shows clearly that the Tribal people, i.e., the original people of Assam were not against the elections. When you say that the Assamese people boycotted the elections, you must not create that rift as they are not the Assamese. They are the original people of Assam.

*

Sir, in the case of tea gardens also I want to refer to a delicate point because trouble is brewing in the tea gardens of Assam at the moment. I won't give the statistics of the votes because nobody has challenged them. The population of this tea garden community will be around 40 lakh, the biggest community in upper Assam, who had migrated from Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh about a century and a half ago, when the British started tea plantation in Assam. And, Sir, so far this community was a piece of harmony in Assam but that harmony is under great strain at the moment and it has already shown signs of cracking. Sir, these tea garden workers were neither for agitation, nor against it. They were never involved in the agitation during the last three years. However they, in their wisdom were willing to participate in the recent elections and there were not less than 26 candidates belonging to the labour

community. But as a result of Pressurisation, intimidation, harassment and a sort of prevention offered by those who opposed the elections, there was trouble and clashes leading to death and the age-long cordial relationship is under strain. Even the local Assamese people working in offices of the tea gardens and offices are in trouble now. And what is more, tension prevails in many gardens even now. I have raised this point to convey to the House the gripping sense of futility of such a course of action resorted to by those who opposed the elections. Sir, what I would like this august House to appreciate is the composite character of Assamese society and culture. If you fail to take note of this aspect while handling the issues that concern the ethnic interests and status of various sections of the varied people of Assam, the harmony and equipoise of the very fabric of Assamese society is gone and disintegration will set in. No doubt, in the thick of this complex population pattern, the socio-cultural identity of Assamese people must be protected and preserved. There is no difference over it; there are no two opinions about that, and I have always said that being in the national stream is not enough. What Assam wants in the mainstream is a place in the Sun with honour and justice. And this the Parliament must bear in mind, the Government must bear in mind and the nation must bear in mind. But to achieve that, it is the Assamese people who have to create the kind of understanding, the climate of understanding and cooperation and provide the assurance of safeguards and a sense of security to all other sections of the people.

Sir, at the moment, I am afraid, we the indigenous people of Assam, are being alienated from every section of the people of Assam. Let the Government of India be alive to the real problem of economic backwardness of the people and accelerate the development; let it not be just a catchword. Sincere efforts must be made to identify their grievances, pin-point the

[Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique]

problems and give the state its due share in the national prosperity in proportion to the contribution of the resources to the national economy.

Sir, before I conclude I want to say this much Assam issue has been debated for not less than a dozen times on the floor of the House and it was our apprehension, and many of us voiced it, that an explosive situation was building up. There were already manifestations of such a situation in many incidents in the course of 3 years, which has been adequately pointed out by the Home Minister also. A climate of hatred, bitterness has been created threatening the bond that has kept the various segments of society together. I am not speaking out of anger, but out of anguish, a deep gnawing anguish. This is the anguish of every Assamese today, whether one speaks out or does not speak out. We have to live in the society. I love my society; I love my State; I love my culture and for that nobody needs to certify my *bona fides*. Sir, it has been a practice to say, nay a platitude to say that Assam is burning. It has been a very cheap catchword now. But has anybody, who sermonises us, cared to see that the concept of oneness, the bond of Assam society is disintegrating. Sir, I appeal to the hon. Home Minister that a sympathetic and realistic understanding of the situation will alone help restore the sense of being together. I hope the Government will take adequate measures in creating a sense of security among those who have lost everything in their life and who are now living in camps. The future is dark for them. They do not know what will happen tomorrow. A proper atmosphere should be created, a proper climate should be created and proper security should be provided to them so that they will be able to go back. I have myself visited a number of those camps and a number of these affected places, where I am happy to note people have started going back to their villages. But this is a very slow process yet. I hope the Home Minister will apply his mind to this problem, how to

rehabilitation work can be accelerated, because the agricultural season, the crop season has already come. They should be in a position to go back to their fields, because they live on this and they toil on this and they (should be helped to restart their lives. Thank you Sir.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा (बिहार) : मान्यवर, हम उन तमाम लोगों के प्रति संवेदना प्रकट करते हैं जिन्होंने अपने परिवार का कोई भी सदस्य खो दिया है पिछले कुछ महीनों में। गृह मंत्री जी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में हम लोगों को बतलाया कि क्या वहां पर रिलीफ और रिहैबिलिटेशन का काम वह कर रहे हैं। लेकिन आज के ही अखबार में जो खबर आई कि वहां के नव-निर्वाचित मुख्य मंत्री यद्यपि हम उनका समर्थन नहीं करते हैं क्योंकि यह एक अलग प्रसंग है, के भतीजे को छुरे से मार दिया गया है। यह आतंकवादी कार्यवाही आज भी जारी है और जब तक उस तरह की वहां हालत है, तब तक रिलीफ का काम, रिहैबिलिटेशन का भी काम सही तरीके से नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए मान्यवर, असम में सब से पहली आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि वहां शान्ति और सद्भावना की स्थापना की जाए। शान्ति और सद्भावना उन तमाम समुदायों के बीच चाहे वह असमिया भाषी समुदाय के हों या बंगाली भाषी समुदाय के हों, चाहे वह साम्प्रदायिक अल्पसंख्यक हों, चाहे वह आदिवासी हों, जब तक इनके बीच सद्भावना की स्थापना नहीं होती है तब तक हम सही माने में रिलीफ और रिहैबिलिटेशन का काम नहीं कर सकते हैं। तीन लाख आदमी कैपों में पड़े हुए हैं। कितनी असाधारण स्थिति है। हम गृह मंत्री जी की इस बात से सहमत हैं कि हमें तमाम लोगों से मिलकर अपील करनी चाहिए। हम उससे भी

आगे जाना चाहते हैं कि क्या यह सम्भव नहीं है कि इस संसद् का एक सर्वदलीय प्रतिनिधिमंडल तमाम लोगों के पास जाए और पूरे देश की हमदर्दी उनके प्रति दिखलाये और उनके बीच सद्भावना कायम करने की कोशिश करें। हम समझते हैं कि आज सबसे बड़ी जरूरत इस बात की है।

मान्यवर, बहुत बाद-विवाद हो रहे हैं और बहुत दिनों तक होते भी रहेंगे कि बोटर लिस्ट के सवाल पर यह सारा तूफान उठा। प्रश्न उठा कि बोटर लिस्ट से कुछ लोगों का नाम हटा दिया जाए या नहीं। पर हमने देखा क्या? साढ़े तीन हजार आदमी मार डाले गये। बोटर लिस्ट के नाम हटाने का काम इस दुनिया से हटाकर किया गया है और उसके बाद भी लोग कहते हैं कि वे शान्तिपूर्ण चुनाव का बहिष्कार कर रहे हैं। यह शान्तिपूर्ण चुनाव का बहिष्कार नहीं, बोटर लिस्ट से जिनको वे निकालना चाहते थे उनको दुनिया से निकालने की कोशिश उन्होंने की। जो बच गये वे संभाग्यशाली हैं, जो चले गये वह वहाँ लोग थे जिनके नाम बोटर लिस्ट से निकाले जा रहे थे। हमारे पास समय नहीं है, नहीं तो हम बतलाते कि त्रिपक्षीय जो वार्ता हुई, दो बार्ड साल तक यह वार्ता चलती रही। कुछ उन बैठकों में हम को भी शामिल होने का मौका मिला। हम को तो लगता था कि अब बात तय हो जायेगी, अब बात तय हो जायेगी लेकिन बात तय नहीं हुई। नहीं तय हुई इसका कारण यह है कि वहाँ पर आंदोलनकारियों के जो प्रतिनिधि थे वे नहीं चाहते थे कि तय हो। वे चाहते थे कि जितने भी बंगाली आए हैं उन तमाम लोगों को असम से निकाल दिया जाए। क्या यह संभव था और क्या यह उचित था? मान्यवर, देश के कानून के मुताबिक

और देश के कानून के मुताबिक ही नहीं बल्कि हमने जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समझौता किया है, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिबद्धता की है उसके मुताबिक उन तमाम बंगालियों को हम शरण देने के लिये बाध्य हैं, हम कृतसंकल्प हैं। जो बेचारे साम्प्रदायिक आग से बचने के लिये भाग कर असम आए, पश्चिमी बंगाल आए, त्रिपुरा आए या कहीं भी आए हम कहते हैं कि वे देश के सबसे अभाग्य लोग हैं। उन्होंने हमारे देश की आजादी के लिये सबसे बड़ी कुर्बानी की है। बंगाल का बटवारा हो गया, पंजाब का बटवारा हो गया। हमारे देश के ये आगे बढ़े हुए प्रांत हैं। बंगाल का बटवारा हुआ और बटवारे के फलस्वरूप करोड़ों हिन्दुओं को पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में जाना पड़ा। जब भी वहाँ पर साम्प्रदायिक आग फैली तो उनको जान बचाने के लिये भाग कर आना पड़ा। हम 1964-65 की बात जानते हैं कि वहाँ पर क्या हालत हुई। 1965 में जब कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में पाकिस्तान की फौजी हुकुमत ने नरसंहार शुरू किया उस वक्त बहुत से लोग भाग कर आए। उसके बाद बंगला देश हुआ, मुजीबुर्रहमान आये। उनके साथ हमने समझौता किया। हम तो कृतसंकल्प हैं कि ऐसे लोगों को जिनको हमने शरण देने की प्रतिज्ञा की है उनको हम शरण दें। उनकी कीमत पर हमने आजादी हासिल की है। जब हमने उनकी कीमत पर आजादी हासिल की है तो क्या हम उनको शरण भी नहीं दे सकते हैं?

[श्री उपसभापति पीठासीन हुए]

बोटरलिस्ट से विदेशियों के नामों को हटाने के नाम पर उनको ही दुनिया से हटा देंगे, दुनिया से भिटा देंगे यह बर्बर और अमानुषिक कांड है। यहाँ पर हम इसकी निंदा करते हैं और इसकी निंदा हर व्यक्ति करेगा जो देशभक्त है और

[श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा]

जो मानवता प्रेमी है। वह इसकी निंदा के बिना नहीं रह सकता।

सवाल उठाया गया कि संविधान को संशोधन करके एक साल की अवधि बढ़ाई जाती है तो मामला खत्म हो जाता। मामला खत्म नहीं होता। इसलिये नहीं खत्म होता कि जो लोग आंदोलन-कारियों का नेतृत्व कर रहे थे, अभी हमारे गोस्वामी जी नहीं हैं, हम असम-वासियों की बात नहीं करते हैं, लश्कर साहब भी असमवासी हैं, हम असम की जनता की बात नहीं करते हैं, उनमें ऐसे जरूर थे जो देश के दुश्मनों के हाथों में खेत रहे थे और ब्रह्मपुत्र प्रोजेक्ट जो सी० आई० ए० का प्रोजेक्ट है उस प्रोजेक्ट को चर्चित करने की कोशिश कर रहे थे। मान्यवर, हम जब बात कर रहे थे तो असम गणसंग्राम परिषद् के जो प्रतिनिधि थे उनका एक नेता है निवारण बोड़ा। अखबारों में यह बयान निकला कि श्री निवारण बोड़ा ने कहा कि गण-संग्राम परिषद् में सी० आई० ए० के एजेंट हैं और गण-संग्राम परिषद् की ओर से भी बयान है कि श्री निवारण बोड़ा सी० आई० ए० के एजेंट हैं। मान्यवर, इसके बाद बताया कि संदेह को कोई गुंजाइश रह जाती है कि गण-संग्राम परिषद् में सभी भले आदमी या ईमानदार आदमी नहीं थे? इससे साफ जाहिर है कि वे सी० आई० ए० के एजेंट जरूर थे। इसके बाद इन बातों में कोई शक या संदेह नहीं रह जाता है।

जब हम लोग आशाम के बारे में बात कर रहे थे तो गण-संग्राम परिषद् के एक नेता जो पहले बहुत बड़े पुलिस के अफसर थे, हम लोग उनसे कह रहे थे कि मार्च के पहले चुनाव हो जाने चाहिये और अगर मार्च में चुनाव नहीं होगा तो फिर क्या होगा। इस समबन्ध में हमने उनको अपने दूसरे

लोगों के साथ, दूसरे मित्रों के साथ यह बात करते हुये सुना कि अरे, तुम लोग चुनावों के लिये क्यों परेशान होते हो, क्यों चुनावों के लिये कोशिश कर रहे हो, अभी चुनाव मत होने दो, कांस्टिट्यूशन में संशोधन मत होने दो, अपने आप आशाम स्वतन्त्र हो जायेगा। यह बात गण-संग्राम परिषद् के एक मेम्बर जो हमारी त्रिभाषीय वार्ता में शामिल थे, हम से बात कर रहे थे, कह रहे थे। इसके बाद यह कहने की जरूरत नहीं है कि ये लोग हमारे देश के दुश्मनों के हाथ में खेल रहे थे। इसका यह अर्थ भी कदापि नहीं है कि आशाम के तमाम लोग उनके हाथ में खेल रहे थे। लेकिन ऐसी हालत में वहां जो हवा फैली, वहां पर जो वातावरण बनाया गया वह हमारे देश के हित में नहीं है। हमें अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे अखिल भारतीय पार्टियों के नेताओं ने वहां जा करके उतका जो समर्थन किया उससे उनके और भी मंसूबे बढ़े, उनका उत्साह बढ़ा। उनका काम होना चाहिये था आग में पानी डालने का। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उन्होंने जो कुछ किया और जो कुछ कहा उससे आग में पेट्रोल पड़ा। हम भी सुन कर परेशान हैं और हम समझते हैं कि श्री आडवाणी जी भी परेशान हुए होंगे यदि इनके नेता यह कहें कि पुलों को उखाड़ना या पुलों को जलाना सही है क्योंकि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी पूरे देश को जला रही हैं तो पुलों को उखाड़ने या पुलों को जलाने का यह समर्थन नहीं है तो और क्या है? ऐसी बात कह करके, जो निरधार है, आग में पेट्रोल डालना नहीं कहें तो और क्या कह सकते हैं?

मान्यवर, कुछ अखिल भारतीय नेताओं के अलावा इस स्थिति के लिये हम सेठी जी की सरकार को भी दोषी मानते हैं। दोषी इस मायने में कि यह बहुत ढुलमुल-पन से चल रही थी। यह बहुत ही

सेल्फ-कम्प्लेसेन्ट थी। वे जानते थे कि वहाँ पर यह हालत पैदा होने जा रही है, लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने उसके लिये काफी इन्तजाम नहीं किया। वोटरों की सुरक्षा के लिये आवश्यक कदम नहीं उठाया जब कि वोटरों के सामने यह सवाल पेश था कि यदि वे वोट देने के लिये जायेंगे तो उन्हें मौत का मुकाबला करना पड़ेगा। ऐसी हालत में आपने उन वोटरों को सुरक्षा प्रदान नहीं की। यह आपकी असफलता है और इस असफलता का कारण यह है कि आप खुशफहमी के शिकार थे। अभी कुछ दिन पहले इस सदन में हमारे श्री कल्याण राय ने एक सवाल पूछा था। क्या यह सच है कि एक फाइल तैयार की गयी थी कि असम में वाइल इन्स्टालेशंस की हिफाजत कैसे की जाये और विदेशों से धन आंदोलन कारियों को आ रहा है वह किस स्रोत से आ रहा है, इसकी भी एक फाइल तैयार की गयी थी। जब यह सवाल किया गया तो इन्होंने कबूल किया कि फाइल थी और फाइल गायब हो गई है। जब फाइल गायब हो जाती है तो पुलों की हिफाजत कैसे करेंगे? वहाँ पर 350 पुल बरबाद हो गये। यह मामूली चीज है? यह शांतिमय चुनाव का बहिष्कार है कि 350 पुल एक छोटे से असम राज्य में बरबाद हो जाये, तोड़ दिये जायें, जला दिये जायें? मालूम होता है कि वहाँ पर जंग हो रही थी।

श्री प्रकाश चन्द्र सेठी : 1580

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : 1580 पुल तोड़ दिये गये, बरबाद हो गये और आप बचा नहीं सके। इसलिये नहीं बचा सके कि आपके पास जो फाइल थी वह फाइल गायब हो गयी थी।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: No steps were taken to find out how the file was gone.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : जब फाइल गायब हो जाती है तब क्या करें। तो मैं आपको इसके लिये बहुत जिम्मेदार समझता हूँ। यदि आप ब्रिलिएन्स और खुशफहमी के शिकार न होते, यदि आप वोटरों को सुरक्षा प्रदान करते तो यह हालत न होती।

मान्यवर, एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि जो सरकार बनी है उस सरकार को आपको निकाल देना चाहिये। तो फिर हालत वही हो गयी। हम समझते हैं कि समस्या यह नहीं है हमारे सामने। यह सही है कि सरकार संवैधानिक औपचारिकता की पूर्ति करती है लेकिन साथ ही साथ यह भी सही है कि निष्पक्ष और शांतिपूर्ण चुनाव की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति नहीं हुई है और उसके आधार पर यह सरकार नहीं बनी है, इससे भी इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता है। लेकिन आज हम इस सवाल को नहीं उठाना चाहते हैं क्योंकि आज यह असम की समस्या को हल करने के लिए प्राथमिकता का प्रश्न नहीं है। प्राथमिकता का प्रश्न यह है कि कैसे वहाँ पर विभिन्न समुदायों के बीच, विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों के बीच, विभिन्न भाषा एवं साम्प्रदायिक अल्पसंख्यकों के बीच और अल्पसंख्यकों के बीच सद्भावना और एकता स्थापित करें। हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि ज्यों ही स्थिति सामान्य हो, अभी स्थिति सामान्य नहीं है, लेकिन ज्यों ही स्थिति सामान्य हो त्यों ही न केवल उन लोगों के प्रतिनिधियों, जिन प्रतिनिधियों से आप बात कर रहे थे, यह भी एक अजीब बात है इस सरकार की, एक नया सिलसिला बना है कि जो भी लड़ता है यह उससे बात करते हैं और जो बेचारा नहीं लड़ता है उससे बात नहीं करते। इसका मतलब है कि सरकार चाहती है कि वह भी लड़ें। आप असम के बारे में बात कर रहे थे। आसू के प्रतिनिधियों

[श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा]

से बात कर रहे थे। गंग संग्राम पत्रि-
षद् के प्रतिनिधियों से बात कर रहे थे
लेकिन अल्पसंख्यकों के प्रतिनिधियों से
क्यों नहीं बात कर रहे थे, साम्प्रदायिक
अल्पसंख्यकों के प्रतिनिधियों से क्यों नहीं
बात कर रहे थे, भाषाई अल्पसंख्यकों के
प्रतिनिधियों से क्यों नहीं बात कर रहे
थे? वहाँ पर यह जो समस्या है इसके
लिये इन तमाम समुदायों के बीच एकता
और सहभावना चाहिये। इसलिए आगे
जो भी बात हो उस बात में इन तमाम
समुदायों के प्रतिनिधियों को भी
बुलाये और इनके साथ बात करें और
उनके जो चोट खाये हुए दिल हैं, घाव
भरे हुए दिल हैं उनको भरने की कोशिश
करें। 71 की बोटर लिस्ट...

श्री उपसभापति : छोड़िये इसको।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मैं छोड़ रहा हूँ
लेकिन एक बात आपको बतला दूँ मान्यवर,
हमारी जनता पार्टी के कुछ लोग बैठे हैं।
डा० सिद्ध साहव बैठे हैं, शाहाबुद्दीन बैठे
हैं, गोस्वामी जी बैठे हैं इन्हीं के नेता
लोक सभा में श्री रविन्द्र वर्मा जी हैं।
उन्होंने आन्दोलनकारियों से मिल कर के
एक फार्मूला तैयार किया और हम विरोधी
दलों के तमाम लोगों ने कहा कि हम
इस फार्मूले को स्वीकार करते हैं और
सरकार के प्रतिनिधियों ने भी कहा कि
वे हम इस को स्वीकार करते हैं लेकिन
आन्दोलनकारियों ने बाद में कहा कि हम
नहीं स्वीकार करते हैं। इससे क्या नतीजा
निकलता है। आज रविन्द्र वर्मा जी उल्टी
बात करने लगे। वह फार्मूला जिसको
उन्होंने आन्दोलनकारियों से मिल कर के
तैयार किया था जिसको तमाम विरोधी
दल स्वीकार करते थे जिसको सरकार
स्वीकार करती थी और उसको बाद में
आन्दोलनकारियों ने कहा कि वे हम नहीं
मानते हैं तो नहीं हुआ। हो जाता तो
हो जाता। तो इससे स्पष्ट है कि

आन्दोलनकारियों में ऐसे लोग जिनको
आप एक्सट्रिमिस्ट कहते हैं हम उनको
देश का दुश्मन कहते हैं। देश के ये पृथक्ता-
वादी विध्वंसकारी तत्व नहीं चाहते थे।
वे बोटर लिस्ट से ही उन्हें नहीं निकालना
चाहते थे बल्कि वे तो दुनिया से उन
लोगों को निकालना चाहते थे और
अफसोस की बात है कि एक हद तक वे
इसमें कामयाब हुए, उनका हम बचा
नहीं सके। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ हम फिर
एक बार अपील करेंगे आज सब से बड़ी
आवश्यकता है सहभावना और एकता वहाँ
के विभिन्न समुदायों के बीच स्थापित
करने के लिए हम सब मिल कर कोशिश
करें।

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil
Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the
bloodbath that has taken place in the
Brahmaputra Valley and which is
continuing to take place is singularly an
unfortunate episode in the history of our
country. And, on behalf of our party, the
AIADMF, I should say that we are
second to none in condemning the
violence which is taking place in Assam
or which has taken place already. We are
also second to none in echoing the senti-
ments of the hon. Home Minister who in
his statement has said that the integrity of
our country should be upheld under any
circumstances and at any cost. But, at the
same time, Sir, I would only like to say
that, though the hon. Home Minister's
statement is full of high rhetoric and also
logic, at the same time, it is rather tragic
that it merely repeats several platitudes
that we already know and it has not
really offered any meaningful or practical
solution to the whole problem.

Sir, the Assam problem is one which
has agitated the minds of one and all,
from the highest in the land to the lowest
walking on the streets of the country.
But, even when I met several
intellectuals, several

politicians, several journalists, several lawyers and asked them as to what they would do if they were in position or they were in the Government, what concrete steps they would take to solve the problem, I am sorry to say, none of them would come up with any real solution. They could not offer any concrete steps. So I really do not blame the Government of India or the Home Minister in that they are still after so many rounds of talks and after so many years or negotiations are still going round and round the circle. But one thing has to be said. The outrages which have taken place, the arson, the looting, the rapes, particularly the photographs of the Nellie tragedy that we have seen in magazines like 'India Today', are rather tragic reminders that if we in our country cannot solve problems in a peaceful way, how are we going to be leaders of the comity of nations which we are now seeking to take on? 7 P. M.

The solution to the Assam problem should be found sooner than latter, but the method and the means should only evolve as we go on naturally.

Sir, I would only like to say a few things. Most of the points have been made again and again, and I would not like to repeat them. But at the same time, having visited Assam a few months back, I could sense, the feelings of the local people are running rather high. And this is no time when there should be any ego on the part of anyone. There should be no feeling that we have taken a certain stand and that therefore we cannot deviate from this stand. If the situation warrants, the Government should definitely claim down or resile from their earlier stand, if that is going to offer a concrete solution.

But, Sir, any solution which may come, which, I hope, God willing, will come soon, cannot take place unless the local leaders who are now accused of so many things—I do not know the facts of the case—are taken into confidence. And one of the

things which I believe and which I am informed is that their interests lie in the dissolution of the Assam Assembly. Though the Home Minister has advanced very sound arguments in his lengthy statement, I would suggest a via media that, if this is going to help solve the problem, the Assam Assembly can be kept in a state of suspended animation. It is provided for any exceptional circumstances in our Constitution. Therefore, the Assembly can neither be dismissed nor at the same time will it continue. For such period of time as the negotiations take place it can be kept in a state of suspended animation.

The Home Minister has said that one of the reasons why they had to order the poll was that the Opposition parties did not co-operate on the Constitutional amendment. I have already made it clear on behalf of my party that we were one of the parties or rather the only party which came forward with giving unqualified support to the Government at that time when they wanted to bring the Constitutional amendment. But that is all past history.

The only thing I can now say is about the poll. My very learned friend on the other side, Mr. Handique, has quoted some statistics of the poll saying that it was fair, and friends on this side have also quoted other statistics. But on an overall view of the figures which have come today in the newspapers I think that when facts are clear, comment is superfluous. While in some areas a high percentage of polling could have been there, by no stretch of imagination can it be said that a candidate is truly representative of the constituency where he has got elected by getting 237 out of 371 votes polled. Nowhere in the world will they believe that he is truly the representative of the constituency. But whatever may be the reasons which weigh with the Government, this is all past.

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

The only thing which I will now say is that the solution which is sought by most people is one which can only come by a lot of statesmanship, a lot of cool thinking, and there should be maturity of outlook of spirit of give and take. And I am sure that the Home Minister and the entire Government of India will have the co-operation of all the parties, if they take a fresh look at the whole situation and start the whole thing anew.

With these few words, I conclude.

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति जी, कोई भी देशभक्त हिंसा को, साम्प्रदायिकता को या अराजकता को पसंद नहीं करेगा। उसकी निंदा होनी चाहिए। लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी आपसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि यह एक तरफा मुद्दा नहीं होती है। हिंसा के भी कारण हुआ करते हैं और वे कारण गौण हैं। हमने माननीय मंत्री जी का वक्तव्य गौर से सुना। जो कुछ भी असम में हुआ है या हो रहा है किसी ने आज तक नहीं कहा कि वह नाजायज है। उनकी मांगें नाजायज नहीं हैं और अगर नाजायज थीं तो उनसे आपने वार्तालाप क्यों चलाया। सीधा मतलब है कि उन की मांगें नाजायज नहीं हैं, संविधान के अनुकूल हैं, संविधान का पालन करने लिए वे लड़ रहे हैं, देश के कानून का पालन करने के लिए लड़ रहे हैं। यह हो सकता है कि उत्साह में इधर-उधर भटक गये हों। हर मामले को यह कहना कि वह विदेशियों की शह पर हो रहा है मैं नहीं समझता बड़ा उचित है। अगर हम अपने घर में न्याय नहीं देंगे, अगर हम अपने घर के लोगों को सम्भाल कर नहीं रखेंगे तो हमारा दुश्मन बेवकूफ होगा अगर उससे लाभ न उठाये। अगर हम असम के लोगों को सन्तुष्ट नहीं कर सकते, उन की तक-

लीफों को दूर नहीं कर सकते तो विदेशी शक्तियां अपने हाथ ज़रूर सेकेंगी और सेकती हैं तो हमारा फर्ज है कि उन को सेकने का मौका न दें।

आपने लोकतंत्र के नाम पर चुनाव करवाया। आप ने वही किया है कि जूते की दुकान में जायं जूता खरीदने, जूता फिट न आये तो बजाय अपने पांव का जूता बनवाने के, पैर ही कटवा दें जूते के मुताबिक। मान्यवर, संविधान लोगों के लिए है, लेकिन आप ने संविधान के लिए लोगों को बदल दिया। लोकतंत्र का मतलब जो हम ने समझा है वह है कि जनता की जनता के लिए, जनता के द्वारा सरकार होनी चाहिए, आफ दि पीपुल, फार दि पीपुल, वाइ दि पीपुल। लेकिन आप ने उस को असम में बदल दिया है, फार दि फारेनर, आफ दि कांग्रेस '(आई) एंड बाई दि सी आर पी। आप ने सी आर पी को लगा कर वोट डलवाया है, आप ने अपने लिए वोट डलवाया है, आप ने लोगों को पिटाया है, मरवाया है केवल इस लिए कि उन की मांग थी कि विदेशियों की पहचान होनी चाहिए। मैं नहीं समझता आप ने लोकतंत्र की रक्षा की। बिल्कुल लोकतंत्र के साथ आप ने मजाक किया है, खिलवाड़ किया है, आप ने लोकतंत्र की हत्या की है। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिंसा का वातावरण कैसे बनता है, क्या बनता है। अगर किसी नेता ने कहा कि किसी ने घर जला दिया तो वह हिंसा को प्रोत्साहन देता है और जब लाल किले से प्रधान मंत्री कहती है विषमता नहीं मिटी तो खून की नदियां बह जायेंगी, गरीबी नहीं मिटी तो खून की नदियां बह जायेंगी तो जो विषमता

में पोंड़ि है वगैर। उनको यह प्रोत्साहन नहीं देती कि तुम्हारी विषमता नहीं मिटती तो तुम खून की नदियां बहाओ। इस सरकार ने हमेशा लतखोरी लाल का काम किया है। लत खाने के बाद इस को अन्न आया है और वही धन्ना आसाम में यह कर रहा है। मैंने उस दिन कहा था... (शरवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : कुशवाहा जी, शब्दों का ध्यान रखिए, अर्थ का अनर्थ मत करिए।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : मैं अर्थ का अनर्थ नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : बड़ी साहित्यिक भाषा बोल रहे हैं।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : बिल्कुल साहित्यिक है।

श्री उपसभापति : नये साहित्य का सृजन कर रहे हैं।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : ऐसा है देश में कांग्रेस ने वादा किया था....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (XSHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIH): That shows the culture of the member.

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : अब कल्वर मुझे मत सिखाओ आप गोली की कल्वर देश को सिखा रहे हैं। वह आपको भी भोगनी पड़ेगी, हमको भी भोगनी पड़ेगी। विषयान्तर हो जायेगा।

श्री उपसभापति : संक्षेप में कहिए।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : बिल्कुल संक्षेप में कहूंगा। कांग्रेस ने वादा किया था कि देश में भाषावार प्रान्त बनेंगे।

[उपसभापति (श्री अर० रामकृष्णन) पीठासीन हुए]

उसी भाषावार प्रान्त के लिए पोट्टी रामलु ने आंध्र प्रान्त के निर्माण की मांग की तो आप ने सुना नहीं। जब तक वे शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से मांग करते रहे आप ने सुना नहीं। जब पोट्टी रामलु मर गये और आंध्र की सड़कें लाशों से पट गयीं, लोगों ने रेल-तार सम्बन्ध तोड़ना शुरू किया तो आंध्र प्रदेश ही नहीं बना, सारे देश में भाषावार प्रान्त बन गये। आप ने बम्बई प्रान्त बनाया। वहां पर आन्दोलन हुआ, सत्याग्रह हुए, प्रदर्शन हुये गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र को अलग करने के लिए। आप ने नहीं किया। लेकिन जब बम्बई की सड़कें लाशों से पट गयीं तो आप ने गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र बना दिया। वही काम पंजाब और हरियाणा के बंटवारे में किया। बात आप सब मानते हैं लेकिन हिंसा करवाने के बाद, देश का नाश करवाने के बाद। आप ने यह परम्परा डाली है कि जब तक तुम हिंसा नहीं करोगे तब तक तुम्हारी बात नहीं मांगेंगे। मैं नहीं समझता 1942 के आन्दोलन में इतनी जानें गयीं जितनी जानें आसाम में गयी हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि जितना धन जन का नुकसान असम में हुआ है उतना 1942 के आन्दोलन में भी हुआ था। लेकिन अंग्रेज हयादार थे और लोकतांत्रिक थे। वह मान गया कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग हम को नहीं चाहते हैं और इस लिये वह चला गया लेकिन आप तो बेइयायी पर उतर आये हैं और चाहे जिस तरह से भी हों अपना शासन बनाये रखना चाहते हैं और इसी लिये यह सारी कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप ने उत्तेजित किया असम के लोगों को। आप के कारनामों से, आप के हर काम से यह बात सिद्ध होती है कि जब तक तुम हिंसात्मक कदम नहीं उठाओगे तब तक हम तुम्हारी जायज से जायज मांगों को भी नहीं मानेंगे। यह बात केवल

[श्री राम शंकर कुशवाहा]

असम में ही नहीं है। बिहार के 12 जिलों में आज नक्सलपंथियों की समानान्तर सरकार चल रही है। जो अपराधी पकड़ लिया जाएगा उस की आंख फोड़ दी जायेगी, उस को विकलांग बना दिया जाएगा। ऐसा होने पर क्या कोई अपराधी पकड़ा जायेगा कानून के सामने। अपने जीने जी तो वह कोशिश करेगा न पकड़े जाने की। वह आप की पहुंच के बाहर चला जाना चाहता है और वह भाग जाता है। या तो नक्सलपंथी हो जाता है या फिर चम्बल के बौहड़ों में दाखिल हो जाता है और आज असम से ले कर सारे देश के सामने यही वातावरण बना हुआ है। अगर आप इस हिंसा के वातावरण को खत्म करना चाहते हैं तो लोगों की जायज मांगों को मानने की आदत डालिये और जब तक वह मांगें नाजायज न हों तो बिना हिंसा के बिना आंदोलन के, बिना किसी सत्याग्रह के आप उन को मान लीजिए। यह मौका कौन देता है? कौन आंदोलन करने का उन को मौका देता है? श्रीमन् आप की ओर से एक मित्र ने कहा कि आर.एस.एस घुस गया है। किस ने घुसने दिया? हम ने? इस सदन के किसी सदस्य ने? किसने उस को घुसने का मौका दिया? मैं कहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने उसे घुसने का मौका दिया। आर.एस.एस. को घुसने दिया। उस को हिंसात्मक मोड़ देने का मौका सरकार ने दिया है। इस लिये मैं मान्यवर, कहना चाहता हूँ कि तफरीह के लिये 3000 से अधिक जानें नहीं गंवाई गयी हैं या 5000 लोग वहां से केवल तफरीह के लिये नहीं निष्कासित हुए हैं। 500 पुल तोड़े गये हैं, इतना धन जन की हानि हुई है, इतनी बर्बादी हुई है और आप इस को खिलवाड़ समझ रहे हैं। अगर आप सोचते हैं कि आप वहां

संगीनों की नोक से शासन चला लेंगे तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नहीं चला सकते। अगर आप का यही रवैया रहा तो आप सारे देश को भट्टी में झोंकने जा रहे हैं। दोनों काम आप ही करेंगे। एक बार जो विमान अपहरण करेगा उस को माला पहिना कर असेम्बली और पार्लियामेंट का मेम्बर बनायेंगे। दूसरा आदमी जो विमान अपहरण करेगा तो उस को आप छोड़ देंगे और तीसरा आदमी जो विमान अपहरण करेगा तो उसको आप गोली से उड़वा देंगे। क्या आप कर रहे हैं? क्या खिलवाड़ चला रहे हैं? कोई मापदंड, कोई सिद्धांत तो हों। नहीं आप के सामने कोई सिद्धांत नहीं है। इस देश के लिये तो आप के सामने केवल एक सिद्धांत है कि आप येन-वेन प्रकाण कुर्सी पर बने रहना चाहते हैं संगीन के जोर से, सी० आर० पी० के जोर से, या झूठ और फरेब की बदौलत बने रहना चाहते हैं।

मैं अन्त में आप के माध्यम से इस सरकार से कहूंगा कि वह अपनी आदत डाले सभी लोगों को जनता की जायज मांगों को सुनने की, समझने की और उन को मानने की परंपरा, स्वस्थ परंपरा डाले और नहीं तो देश बड़ी ही खतरनाक जगह पर जा रहा है। इस लिये मान्यवर एक बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा। मैं नहीं समझता कि कितने राजनीतिज्ञ और कितने बुद्धिजीवी इस देश के नहीं बात सोचते हैं। क्योंकि सब लोग बातचीत में कहते थे आड़ में कि आंध्र और कर्नाटक में तो कांग्रेस ही जीतेगी। लेकिन सब की राय के बाद भी वहां कांग्रेस हार गयी और जब दिल्ली में चुनाव हो रहा था तो लोगों की राय थी, लोग आड़ में कहते थे कि यहां तो कांग्रेस हार जायेगी। पत्रकार लिखते थे, बुद्धिजीवी लिखते थे कि यहां तो कांग्रेस हार जायेगी, लेकिन यहां दिल्ली में वह जीत गयी। तो हम और आप पीछे हैं

और जनता आगे हैं। इस लिये मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अब भी जनता की भाषा समझने की कोशिश करें नहीं तो आप तो डूबेंगे ही, हम को भी ले कर डूब जायेंगे।

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, regarding this statement by the Home Minister, I saw this report first at Gauhati yesterday morning. And the sentences which he has withdrawn from this House were published in the newspapers and it had its immediate reaction among the people of Assam. When he has withdrawn particular passages from this House, it also shows that so long and even today the Home Minister has been wrongly briefed or he has been misled by wrong persons in his Secretariat. It also confirms our suspicion and the facts that during the last three years as to why the negotiations have failed between the Government and the leaders of the Assam movement.

I do not want to go into details nor do I want to cite detailed records, but I have kept all records with me since the beginning of the negotiations. And it will positively prove that the Government has failed to honour its own words at different times. I do regret the very nature and the wording of the statement and the collection of facts and their presentation in the statement of the Home Minister.

Possibly, truth is the first casualty in his statement. And I must also add, had this statement been made by an ordinary citizen of the State, I would call him a dishonest man. I do not

want to use that word to the hon. Home Minister.

May I ask him, what is his definition of democracy? Is it a Government according to the will of the people or is it a Government for killing its people? Now, he has cited a long list of violent incidents. Of course he has managed to show that every violent incident has been caused by the AASU and the Gana Sangram Parishad, very happily ignoring more than 400 young men and women of Assam who were killed by police bullets, and a majority of them without provocation. The Government must, if it is an honest Government, appoint a high-level judicial committee to go into the entire massacre starting from 1979 till today. Then only the Home Minister should accuse those persons who are found guilty. Without that if you go on accusing anybody, that shows lack of honesty on your part.

When you talk about violence, the Government must recognise and admit that when the movement started, it was non-violent and the simple demand was to revise the electoral roll. That was negated by the Government. Thereafter, the Government itself produced an atmosphere of confrontation which gradually resulted into a chain of unfortunate incidents.

May I draw the attention of the Home Minister, which I did many times, to the way the CRP jawans and officers and the police created havoc in the villages? I may cite one instance. In Mangoldai, ten thousand people came to the police thana. Why did they come? On the previous night, a big platoon of the CRP forces went to the village, broke open every door of every house to find out young men and started beating everyone of them and the next morning all the people sat together and said, "If, in an independent country, we are to live like this, it is better that we die and let us all go to the police station and find out whether they are going

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma] to continue this again.". That was the reason why they went to the police station. May I ask the Home Minister one question? In 1981, in a debate in the Lok Sabha on the road-block movement started by the Congress (I) in North Bengal to stop all communications to Assam in which in one day five people were killed and several buses were burnt, in that discussion, the Prime Minister justified all those actions by saying, in one sentence, "These things are the reaction to what has happened in Assam.". She said that it did not emerge out of a vacuum. Let me remind the Home Minister that whatever violence has occurred in Assam is the result of the reaction to the extensive State violence continued for 21 years. Please do not forget this point. I also want to remind him that the State of Assam and the Assamese society which is a composite society have been free from any kind of violence, communal or otherwise, for the last 45 years of independence. You could not have seen any incident of communal violence in this State. But why has it happened now? Is it the fault of the people there or is it the fault of the Government and its imperial policy of repression? You cannot atop the people from demanding the detection, deletion and deportation of the foreigners. (*Time bell rings*) Please give me some more time.

Sir, one of my honourable friends, Mr. Bijoy Krishna Handique, referred to the composite society there and its composition. The Assamese society is a composite society. Many of the honourable members do not know its composition. Please do not make any distinction between the Assamese and the tribals or the Assamese and the Muslims there. What is known as the composite society in Assam is an integral society of all people, the tribals, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Christians, and all others. It includes those immigrants to who had settled there earlier as Indian citizens. Today, if you go and visit those areas, you will see what has happened there. I regret that the Home Minister has

not cared to visit those areas where the age-old Assamese villagers have been driven out of their houses by people by burning everything. Lakhs of rupees worth of property has been destroyed. He has not visited those places. Comrade Ramamurti has stated that the majority of the refugees are Bengalis. May I inform him that out of the three lakhs, as many as two lakhs are Assamese citizens who had their homes for generations and they have all been uprooted.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal)
: Bengalis also.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA:
Yes, Bengalis also. I am not denying that. But there was no attack on the Bengalis. They have fled out of fear. That is all, and that is the difference. But these villages of the Assamese have been burnt and they have fled. So the difference is there. If you go there and see and if you analyse, you will see that there is no question of anything being communal there. The Hindus and Muslims who have recently come to Assam or to India have formed one block and attacked the Assamese villagers and that is what has happened in the various parts of the State. That is what has happened in various parts of the State. Now, I would like to request the hon. Home Minister: please do not throw an affront on the people. What you have done by holding the election without correcting and revising electoral rolls, what you have done amounts to telling the people: 'unless you agree to what we dictate, you must suffer'. In 1979 the people protested against the election on the basis of wrong electoral rolls. You have imposed the same thing now with vengeance. Today what does it mean? Is it not a serious affront on the people? Does it not mean that you are telling the people; "well, you must remain as our slaves. You can remain". Hon'ble Home Minister—in you have no right to make any demand". Hon'ble Home Minister—in your statement you have said in so many words that the people have no

right to demand even deportation of foreigners, (lime belt rings)... that they must agree to whatever you say. The Government is concerned only with its responsibility towards the minorities in Bangladesh. But it appears it does not believe that it has any responsibility to the people residing in Assam as Indian citizens? The Prime Minister travelled throughout those different areas dominated by Bangladeshi nationals as if she were the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, and not of India. Do you think this will not have any reaction? This & the kind of reaction leading to this violence, which nobody wants, and above all we do not want. I, therefore, say that this Government which you have established in Assam is a serious affront. Unless and until you dissolve this Assembly and Government. (Time bell rings) no efforts from your side to have a settlement of the issue will emerge, and unless and until you accept realities... (Time bell rings) The first main issue is of foreigners. You will not succeed in bringing a democratic government Or political stability or peace in that area until this problem is solved... (Time bell rings). This is a life and death issue which you must settle. I request you to do two things immediately: One, please dissolve the Assembly, and secondly, please start, re-start, your negotiations honestly to find a solution.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have listened very carefully to the debate today. We have debated this issue many times but it is the first time that I venture to participate in this discussion.

Sir, I have been to Assam recently and spent five days there. I do not exaggerate if I tell you that what I saw there took away five years of my life. It is something which defies description. Perhaps there is scope for argument on these legal and constitutional questions and on political aspects, why the talks broke down,

whether the Constitution should have been amended or should not have been amended, whether the Constitution could or could not have been amended, whether the election could have been avoided, whether the minimum conditions for a free and fair poll existed, whether the elections were conducted in accordance with the rules of the game, whether the elections should or should not have been boycotted, whether the role of the Election Commission was in consonance with the dignity of that high, august constitutional body, whether in the election campaigns things were said which should not have been said and whether the Government that is there today is legitimate or not legitimate? Over all these there can be arguments on both sides. But are we here today to debate these issues?

There is no scope, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for argument on the basic fact that violence, mass violence, has taken place in Assam on a scale unprecedented since Independence. And I am not talking of poll violence, and I am not counting the violence in the course of the agitation. I am talking of the violence committed against the innocent people who, in many cases, did not exercise their right to vote. Sir, I know there is State violence. I know police violence exists. But the mass violence that has occurred there has genocidal dimensions. Does it console a person that he has been killed because he speaks a particular language and not because he professes a particular religion? People are quibbling now whether it is communal violence or ethnic violence or linguistic violence. At that, Mr. Vice Chairman, does not make sense to me. The impression I have is that we have reverted to the jungle, to the medieval age. A programme has taken place a carnage has taken place. You call it senseless killing, Mr. Home Minister. There are no words to describe it. Massacres have been followed by a systematic scorched earth policy; nothing has been left standing, not even trees. You do not see even cats and dogs in those villages. There is

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin] no scope, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for any argument that such violence is unworthy of a civilized society, that this violence does not behove a cultured people, it certainly does not behove the country of Buddha and Gandhi. B.t, it seems to me, Mr. Vice-Chair, man, that mass violence has been forgotten, lost in all legal and constitutional quibblings and political debate. We have become insensitive to agony and pain. Everyday we receive a daily dose of violence, sometimes from the State, sometimes from the forces opposed to the State, and our nerves have become used to it and our hearts are becoming immune to human suffering.

Sir, my view is that the Assam movement was definitely based on a genuine grievance, On a real problem. It was definitely secular in its object, tives. But every mass movement has its ups and downs, and consists of many strands and different strands predominate at different stages. Situations have been created and this movement appears to have been penetrated by—you can call them—extramists though its leadership was definitely moderate. May be, some secessionist elements have been playing their game though I have no doubt about the overall nationalist objective of the movement. May be, violence-inclined people have gone into it although it had in the beginning maintained a non-violent stance and even condemned violence several times.

Over the years, Assam has become a scene of ethnic confrontation. Religious emotions have been aroused, ethnic passions have been heightened. And there has been so much propaganda I have called it in a statement of Goebellesian dimension about the quantum of infiltration—70 lakhs of foreigners, as if every other person in Assam is a foreigner.

The passions of the man in the village, the man at the grass-root level have been aroused—And the Government, I am sorry to say, Mr. Vice-Chairman has done

nothing to cool the tempers, to bring down the temperature. They have not even placed the facts that are available with them before the people. The least that the Home Minister should have done is to issue a White Paper so that the Assamese people, the people of India, the people of the country as a whole know the real dimension of the problem. It was not done. This I consider to be a major failure of the Government. On the other hand, when I talked to my AASU friends I told them that the way you have been using the words 'foreigners' and 'indigenous', you have been using them without qualification without saying what exactly you mean, without defining these terms, the impression that has been created at the grass-root level which may be quite different from what you have in mind. The foreigner has come to mean every non-Assamese and the indigenous has come to mean only the Assamese. This is not what we think when we think of Assam as a composite society. (*Time bell ring;*.) Mr. Vice-Chairman, you have to give me a few minutes more. Sir, elections triggered this high level of tension into mass violence because it polarized the Assamese society into the hostile compartments. All Assam was divided on religious, ethnic and linguistic lines, and the election campaign was conducted in a manner in which the minorities in Assam were told on one hand that if you wish to stay in Assam, you vote for the protective hand. And, they were also told by others that if you dare vote and do not boycott the elections then you shall have to face the consequences. Lost between these two, the wretched people have lost their lives, their hearths and homes and everything that they had.

Now, Sir, the right to vote is as sacrosanct as the right not to vote. Nobody can force me to vote and nobody has the right to force me not to vote. This could all have been avoided

in a peaceful, civilised manner. Unfortunately, it was not done.

What is the pattern of violence? Killings in broad daylight. Hardly ever I came across any case in which raids were conducted or mob violence was conducted at night. It was all preplanned, deliberate and military precision came into play. There were several reports of participation by elements belonging to the Assamese police. I was told by a very responsible leader of the ruling party that perhaps some people had put on police uniforms. There are reports against Assam battalion which is the equivalent of the infamous PAC. There was large-scale use of the firearms, not just bows and arrows. I have seen people with ten, twenty and thirty bullet injuries on their backs with fostering wounds. A policy of selective extermination was followed and in the same village you could see that there were several ethnic groups; some groups were left out and some groups were massacred. Why?

What was the scale of violence? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to say with full responsibility that this estimate of 1500 that the hon. Home Minister has placed before the House or 3500 that has been mentioned is perhaps very low. Responsible Assamese gentleman belonging even to the ruling party have told me that the level, the quantum, of killings is at least 10,000. What did you see in Nelli? Nelli was only the tip of the iceberg. There, I was told a thousand out of twelve hundred were despatched. I went to Barabori, a forest village. Six hundred out of nine hundred were finished. The number of displaced persons, the Home Minister has already admitted, is over three lakhs. It may be half a million. Now, such is the scale of violence. Was this violence avoidable? Yes. It was avoidable, as I said, if all the facts were placed before the people. I will not go into the details because I do not have the time, if all concerned condemned violence repeatedly, consistently, constantly, if the

terms 'foreigner' and 'indigenous' were used with restraint and caution and precision, and above all, and that is a failing of the Government, if the mass violence could have been anticipated and could have been administratively handled. You promised them protection. What protection did they have? What protection did they have when they were attacked? This was a clear case of administrative and governmental failure. And finally, Sir, the violence was avoidable if restraint and caution was used in election campaign and the things would not have reached this pass.

Now, Sir, the killers people did not drop from the heavens. I am sorry that Vajpayeeji, a leader of national eminence, said in Gauhati that he had heard that Razakars were being parachuted into Assam from helicopters to commit these murders. That I thought was like spreading a village or street rumour. Thank God, no other responsible person has talked of foreign hand. These killers were not the angels of death dropped from the heavens. These were our own people. They were not professional killers. They were ordinary men. They were led by professionals. The planning and deliberation came from the professionals and they incited the mobs. *(Time bell rings), (Interruptions)*. I have read the statement in the Assam Tribune. *(Interruptions)* You can reply to it later. I want to know who led them. I want to know who incited them. It is for your Government, Mr. Minister to find out who did all these things. It is the responsibility you cannot escape by just appointing an Administrative Committee. You are responsible before the bar of Indian public opinion, before the world, if I may say so, and before the bar of history and you have to pin down the responsibility for this carnage. You should have the courage of your convictions. You must clearly appoint a high-powered Commission, call it a Commission of Inquiry, call it a Fact Finding Committee with people like Supreme Court judges, jurists, eminent public

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin] figure, so that they can go into this matter... (*Time bell rings*). I will take two minutes more. It seems to me that Assam today is a ravaged land. Assam which is wounded, fractured, fragmented and broken, should be made to live again. Some people have expressed doubts whether it can ever be same again. But I think time is a great healer. I am sure wounds will get healed. But, some steps are urgently needed apart from the detailed information that I have asked for. First is the question of security. Till the passions cool down, till sanity returns, till the people affected, have faith in the police force, especially in the Assam Battalion, it must be a Central responsibility. The relief and rehabilitation, Mr. Minister, leaves much to be desired. You have talked of 600 grams per head per day. But people are not getting even 150 grams, and they are not getting anything except rice and salt. You require a separate relief organisation from top to bottom with the participation of voluntary agencies and citizens at every level, at State level, at district level and at local level, if you really want to see that the money you sanction and the relief you send goes down to people who are affected; otherwise, it will never reach them. Then, you must conduct, as I said, an enquiry and you must think of a solution. Finally, a political solution must be reached. There is no escaping from it and a solution can only be reached in an atmosphere which is conducive to negotiations. You must apply your mind on creating the circumstances in which you would be able to discharge your duty to resume negotiations and take it to a peaceful and practicable end. Thank you.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: On a point of order, Sir. Mr. Vajpayee is an eminent Member of the other House and the privileged position of Members in this House is never availed of to make allegations of this kind. I asked him whether he had even checked up with Shri Vajpayee and all that he says that he can refute it.

I request this should not be on record, because allegations against a Member of the other House are never made.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I can place the source—Assam Tribune—before the House.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: He is a Member of the other House and this House is never used to make allegations. .. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Advani, I will ask the Secretariat to look into it and see what is to be done. *Prima facie*, Mr. Advani is right. Before referring to a Member of the other House, one has to exercise lot of care and caution. Anyway, I will ask the Secretariat to look into it.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I can place before you the original clipping of Assam Tribune.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The matter will be looked into. Shri Dhabe now.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are discussing this very grave and tragic situation in Assam and the tragedy which has taken place during elections, including killings etc., in my opinion it is worse than Jalianwala Bagh massacre. There are three issues involved. Firstly, there is the question of immigrants. The most important reason for which all this started, is the economic backwardness of Assam and denial of employment opportunities to the large number of Assamese people who thought that people coming from outside would have an upper hand. This is one reason why the movement started. There is total neglect so far as economic development of Assam is concerned. Third and the most important question before us in the restoration of peace in that area.

It is admitted in the statement by the Minister that—it is given in para 3—since 1979 democratic functioning of the institutions and Government have been systematically subverted. So, the Government is aware that from 1979 democratic institutions are being subverted in Assam.

Negotiations were going on. In the same paragraph, it has been stated by him, just to transfer the baby, transfer the liability to others, that the group of students who are fighting this battle, who are fighting for their rights, cannot be the prosecutor-judge and also the jury in their own actions. Can the Government say like this? I belong to that party which participated in the elections. My leader in Assam, Shri Sarat Chandra Sinha, was the leader of the opposition led Left Democratic Front which participated in the elections. It has been stated that election offences are there, that voting was not there, that there was zero per cent voting in regard to a winning candidate and so on. I am not going into those points. The election machinery is there and it can look into it and solve this question. The mother is also there to look after the baby which has been born out of the democratic elections in Assam.

But as my hon. colleague has just pointed out, it is the duty of the Union Government, under article 355 of the Constitution, to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbances. Therefore, the Central Government cannot escape its responsibility even after the State Assembly has come into existence and a new Ministry has been formed. The Central Government is duty-bound, under article 355 of the Constitution, to see that internal disturbances do not take place. What is the performance of the Government?

Sir, two things are very important in this debate. Firstly, whether any report was received from the Governor of Assam that there is peace in Assam and that the normal election

process can take place, that the elections can be held. I would like to know whether such a report has been received by the Government, by the Home Ministry. Because this is the normal system in holding the elections in any State, when there is no Government and when the Governor is the representative. What is the report with the Government? Has the Governor told you that elections can take place? I do not know what statements the Governor has made outside. I would like to know from the Home Minister what the stand of the Governor was. I think, any Governor would have resigned voluntarily and gone out, or, he would have been removed by the Central Government in such situation.

Secondly, Sir, a statement has been made by the opposition parties that they were willing to support the Government in regard to amendment of the Constitution. To what extent that is true and to what extent this offer was there is a different matter. If that was the offer with the Government, to amend the Constitution and extend the President's Rule, where was the question of holding the elections. I know, even Members of the ruling party were called here as if the Constitution Amendment Bill on Assam was coming up. For reasons best known to the Government, it was postponed and the Prime Minister took a decision to hold the elections in Assam. What was the basis? According to me, this is the most important question in this whole situation and in this debate. Who took the decision for holding the elections in Assam? If the situation was so bad, if they could not control the situation,—my hon. friend has pointed out that people had no faith and there was complete alienation—where was the necessity for holding the elections? When some of the opposition parties had said that they were ready and willing to support the Government in amending the Constitution, what was the necessity for holding the elections? Can the

[Shri S. W. Dhabe] Central Government escape its responsibility in this connection? I would like to know from the hon. Minister; Who took the decision to hold the elections and why the poll was ordered in Assam? If this is so, if this is the position, then, there has been total miscalculation on the part of the Home Minister. Any Home Minister would have resigned on this issue that he has miscalculated. Who is responsible? This was before the elections. The new Government in Assam cannot be held responsible. Can you say that you have miscalculated, that you were not aware of the situation, when there is all this machinery with you, intelligence, CID and so on? Therefore, my question is: who took the decision for holding the elections which resulted in so much bloodshed there?

Sir, my third question is, it is very essential and I join with other Members that peace must be restored there and this cannot be done unless some solutions are found out. It is for the Government to do it. But the most important question is, even in the foreign rule in our country 'rule of law' was supreme. Personal life and property was protected. Why is Government not in a position to give protection of individual liberty and property to the people of Assam? Government must make it clear why it has failed to do so. If it is not possible for them to do so, then the situation is very serious.

Lastly, I would also like to say something about firings in Assam. Whenever even an ordinary firing takes place in a particular State commissions are appointed under the Commission of Inquiry Act and an enquiry is held. Why is the Government shy of appointing a Supreme Court judge, as my friend has demanded, to have a judicial enquiry into the affairs of the two or three firings which have taken place after the elections, when this massacre and killings took place? If that is done, it will assure the people of India that Government is very keen to have the

position cleared. And it is the duty of the Government to fix the responsibility and find out who are real culprits in this whole affairs.

Lastly, on 14th February, when the first election round took place in 61 constituencies, the Election Commission wrote a letter to the Home Minister to postpone the remaining election because the law and order situation there was not conducive to holding the elections. I would like to know whether this is correct and if not, the Minister should clarify the position.

I think this is a very serious matter and responsibility must be fixed on those who are responsible for the tragedy of Assam. With these words I conclude.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me time to speak on this subject. I think this debate on Assam has taken place several times. One such debate took place immediately after the election and the same arguments are being advanced by the parties every time. I do not think that we should go on like this, trading excuses or abuses or making certain allegations against each other. What the time requires is to look forward and not to what has happened. Of course, allegations can be made as to who has incited these things, whether the AASU were right in putting forth their stand and so on. Just now Shri Advani said something interrupting Shri Shahabuddin. I too have a press cutting with me in Kashmir and I can produce it about a speech made by Mr. Vajpayee in Jaipur in which he has very categorically stated that out of the immigrants in Assam 7 lakh odd Hindus were refugees whereas 1 lakh odd Muslims foreigners were there in Assam. Such statements are there on record which can very well agitate the minds of those people, but I do

not want to go into that. It is no use going into those things at this stage. It is also no use to say whether the AASU people or the AAGSP people had a very tough attitude or a strong attitude on these things. The whole issue cannot be solved like that. What is required is, we must understand the human agony as pointed out by Mr. Shahabuddin. The human agony is there, I agree with him. The Minister has stated that 1500 odd people have died. I have received a report today that at least 10,000 people have been killed. I do not want to exaggerate the issue, but I want to bring this to the notice of the Home Minister because if he takes 1500 into consideration, the relief and the finances that would flow, to them would be according to that figure and if he takes the realistic figure of 10,000, then the relief and finances would be commensurate with the deaths that have actually taken place.

My second point, I entirely agree with the Home Minister that this is not the opportune time to dissolve the Assembly or to dismiss the Ministry. That will strengthen the hands of the extremists on either side. What is required is, however, I will request the Home Minister, he should start a dialogue.

I do not know, I have received reports—newspaper reports—that two leaders of AASU had gone last week to Jammu to meet Dr. Farooq Abdullah and ask him to mediate in the political discussions. That means that the AASU people and the AAGSP people are ready for talks. I would request the hon. Minister that he should start a dialogue with them, associate the present Government also, associate the other elements also with them to start a dialogue because dialogue once started will end in some solution to this problem. Simultaneously I would request the hon. Minister that he should strengthen the relief organisation from top to bottom. He has earmarked Rs. 5 crores for the time

being. This is a very small amount compared to the agony that has been mentioned by my friend, Mr. Shahabuddin. I would request him that at least straightway he should tell the people of Assam, those who have suffered, that 25 crores of rupees as a first instalment have been sanctioned by the Central Government for relief operations and that further funds will follow as and when required.

Again, on behalf of the secular people of Kashmir, I would request and appeal to the people of Assam, who, like us, are also suffering from the agonies and handicaps of being backward areas, that they should live together in peace so that peace again comes there and, as Mr. Sharma has said, a mixed society continues to flourish in that part of the land. Thank you very much.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, as far as my original statement is concerned, in deference to the wishes of some of the hon. Members I had not read certain portions, although they are a part of my speech in the other House as well as in the note which has been circulated here, because I was informally advised by them that this would help in the situation. But now Mr. Biswa Goswami has said that my facts are devoid of truth. Therefore, I would again like to reiterate that the statement which I have made is a statement of facts and realities and not of untruths.

Sir, as far as P.M's, speeches are concerned, she could not participate in the debate in this House, but she did intervene in the debate in the other House and I had made it amply clear that day that she has clarified with regard to her speeches what the position is and the speech "attributed to her was denied. As far as the Railway Minister is concerned, I would only like to say, he himself has made a statement here yesterday and therefore I do not want to take more time of the House in clarifying the position.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: He has not denied. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not the Railway Minister who has denied it, but it is the Home Minister who has denied what has been alleged in this House. In a way Shri Chaudhri has misled him into misleading this House and made him vulnerable to the charge of breach of privilege. Today Mr. Dinesh Goswami has again said that he can substantiate it and he is willing even to play the tape.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: That is all right. As far as I remember, during the debate on the Railway Budget, certain points were raised and he clarified the position.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: He did not deny it. What he merely said was: "I am a democrat and I do not believe in violence" which is not the issue.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Therefore, I have said that he has clarified the position.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: He has not clarified, he has confused it.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Whatever he has clarified, beyond that he is not taking any further responsibility.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: You are not willing to say what you said the other day. I have before me the proceedings of 22nd February in which you said: "With regard to Railway Minister's speech which was referred to by the hon. Members, I contacted him this morning. He told me that this charge that he told "if one of us is murdered, we will take the lives of four" was completely baseless and absolutely false".

8 P.M.

He has not said four; he has said two. So, is this the only incorrect Part of it. This has been stated by you.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, as far as that part of my repetition is concerned, it is a part of the proceedings and I can't go back on that.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: What a mess he has put you in!

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, as far as the investigation part of the various things is concerned, one case of the Commissioner was particularly mentioned by Shri Dinesh Goswami. I have information that this case was investigated by the CBI and the case has been challanned and chargesheeted. Therefore, it is not as if all the cases have gone unnoticed and no challans have been put.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Who are those persons? Any idea?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Well, the case has been challanned. If you like I will find out.

As far as the deployment of CRPF and BSF is concerned, it was also mentioned here that enough protection was not given when the elections were to be conducted, and certain allegations were made against the CRPF and BSF. Sir, it may be true that in any force there may be one or two black sheep here and there but, by and large, as far as the country goes and even as far as Assam goes, the role of CRPF and BSF has been appreciated throughout. As a matter of fact, even in U.P., when the riots took place, the CRPF and BSF were deployed and they were greeted with cheers. Wherever I went in Assam, people said, "Please do not withdraw the BSF and CRPF; we want them because they are very useful as far as protection is concerned." Therefore, Sir, this is the only force whose work has been appreciated, whose attitudes have been appreciated, and it is not desirable to condemn this force also.

Sir, as far as border arrangements are concerned, I would like to say that it is possible, looking to the

riverine border particularly, that some infiltration might be there, but now we have taken steps to strengthen the Border Security Force, and the distance of the checkpost which was 5.6 kilometres has now been reduced to 3.4 kilometres as far as the land border goes. Then there is a Committee going into the entire question and also examining the question whether a certain zone should be created as no-man's zone so that if any infiltrator comes he can be identified. In this very connection, Sir, I would also like to point out that in Assam it is not as if infiltrators were not detected and not sent back. I would like to quote certain figures right from 1953. In 1953, 1,148 were detected and deported. Then, in the following years, 1,259, 1,328, 5,334, 2,970; 1,398; 1,373; and 2232. The total comes from 1952 to 1960, to 17,107. Then, from 1961 to 1970—I am not giving the details—in all 1,91,898 people were detected and sent back. Then, as far as 1971 to 1980 is concerned, 1,09,715 people were detected and sent back. As far as 1981 is concerned, about 1,056 people were detected and sent back. As far as 1982 is concerned, about 1529 people have been detected and sent back.

Therefore, the process of detection and sending back is going on. It is *not* correct to say that the Government is not absolutely clear in this respect and not doing its job. As far as further infiltration is concerned, I would like to say that we are trying our best to further increase the security posts and, if necessary, go into the recommendations of this Committee which is still sitting and having its deliberations, and we will take all possible measures to see that infiltration is stopped. Sir, in this connection, I would also like to point out that, as far as the future detection is concerned, now whatever may be the decision about the cut-off date, either by negotiations or by the Government, as far as the period 1971 and

onwards is concerned, the Government is committed to that. We have discussed this matter with the Assam Government and steps are being taken to appoint tribunals and go into the question of foreign nationals; and these tribunals will be appointed as soon as we receive the report from the Assam Government and then we would start the work. I hope, Sir, that as soon as normalcy is restored, we will start the negotiations again. It is not correct to say that when we were having negotiations with AASU and AAGSP representatives, we did not consult other parties. Of course, in the tripartite talks we had talks with AASU and AAGSP, but outside the tripartite talks we had consultations with AMSU, we had consultations with the tribals' representatives, we had consultations with the representatives of Assam, whosoever came and met us. Therefore, we shall continue that process of consulting the people.

Sir, as far as the question of a missing file is concerned—Shri Sharmaji mentioned it—I would like to say that this file was in two portions. As far as the relevant information and record of decisions and correspondence and action are concerned, they are, I hope, contained in Vol. I of File No. 11011/28/81-NEIV, which is absolutely safe and intact. The second part, which was dealing with the follow-up, particularly of the increase in the C.I.S.F. affairs, is missing. Therefore, all relevant documents which he has mentioned with regard to this file, which are of importance, are absolutely safe in the first file. The second file is misplaced and all efforts are being made to locate it.

Therefore, I would like to say that, as far as the Assam situation is concerned, the need of the hour, as many honourable speakers have said, is to create peace and harmony there. Sir, in this connection, I would like to say that exaggerating the number of persons killed also

[Shri P. C. Sethi] creates a sensation. I have positive reports from the State Government that 1,344 people were killed, but my other sources and other reports indicate the figure as 1,500 and 2,000 as missing. Some hon. Members have said 3,500. Even if all the persons who are missing are considered to be dead—which, I do not think, will be the case—the figure in any case does not go up to that staggering figure of 10,000. Therefore, this should be clear,

Sir, with regard to the distribution ...

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Mr. Minister, please issue a village-wise list.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: It will take a long time to compile.

Sir, as far as relief is concerned, I have said in my Statement that in the initial stages relief might not have reached, but now relief has reached all the places. Not only that. As against 100 gms. which was originally decided by the Assam Government, they have now met the requirement of 600 gms. of rice and 100 gms. of dal. They have also taken a decision during my recent visit there that they would associate the local people in the relief work so that it is taken up in right earnestness. As far as the money part is concerned, up to 31st March, not Rs. 5 crores but Rs. 10 crores have

already been given to them. And if the demand for more money comes from the Assam Government—which, I am sure, will come because this does not form part of the reconstruction of villages and other things; this is only relief; the reconstruction of bridges alone will require more than Rs. 5 crores—we will see. And, therefore, all that will be taken into consideration and more relief will be provided and more money will be provided.

Sir, the urgent need of the hour is that normalcy should be restored in Assam as early as possible, and I am happy that by and large the hon. Members of this House have supported this view and are prepared to help in the restoration of normalcy.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I ask a question whether the Home Minister. ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): He has covered most of the points. Any further discussion can be had outside. This concludes the discussion on Assam.

The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. on Friday.

The House then adjourned at eleven minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 18th March, 1983.