

really sincere about it, would you give us an assurance today that you will not give consent to the Bill so that your sincerity about freedom of the press can be really judged by your action ?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:
So far as Bills of any Government are concerned, the Central Government is absolutely impartial and if any Bill is in conformity with the constitutional provisions, it will be duly considered and sent for assent to the President. There is no discrimination between Tripura and Tamil Nadu. My honourable friend may not be under that illusion. Secondly, about the constitutionality or otherwise, of this Bill it can be challenged in a court of law. That is what I have already stated. It is for the courts to decide whether this Bill is within the framework of the Constitution.

SHRI G.C. BHATTACHARYA :
In the one hand you say you will change the Constitution, on the other hand, you say you go to the court. How are you saying this ?

MOTION FOR EXTENSION OF TIME FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSES ON THE VISVA-BHARTI (AMENDMENT) BILL- 1978

SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) Sir, I beg to move—

“That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Visva-Bharti (amendment) Bill 1978, be further extended up to the last day of the Hundred and Twenty-fifth Session of the Rajya Sabha.”

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

I. MOTION SEEKING REVOCATION OF PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT ISSUED ON 19TH MARCH 1982, UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ASSAM

II. STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL FOR CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT ISSUED ON 19TH MARCH 1982, UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ASSAM

III. STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE ISSUE OF NOTIFICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, POLITICAL (A) DEPARTMENT, NO. PLA, 906/82/3, DATED THE 5TH MAY, 1982, DECLARING CERTAIN SERVICES TO BE ESSENTIAL SERVICES WITHIN THE STATE OF ASSAM

IV. THE BUDGET (ASSAM), 1982-83—GENERAL DISCUSSION

V. THE ASSAM APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1982

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar): Sir, I beg to move—

“That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on the 19th March, 1982, under Article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam, be revoked.”

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN) in the chair]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, असम में जो राष्ट्रपति शासन का समय बढ़ाया जा रहा है, यह मैं समझता हूँ कि 18वीं बार है और देश में 68वीं बार है। केरल में जब प्रेसिडेंट रूल बढ़ाया जा रहा था उसी समय मैंने कहा था कि असम में जो प्रेसिडेंट रूल होगा वह 67वां टाइम होगा, अब जो 6 महीने के लिए फिर बढ़ाया जा रहा है, वह 68वां समय है सारे देश में।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सरकार को आदत है प्रोपेसिटी टु यूज प्रेसिडेंट रूल। पंडित जवाहरलाल और लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के काल में आजादी के बाद यदि राष्ट्रपति शासन कितनी दफा लागू किया गया उस पर गौर करेंगे तो ऐवरेज बैठता है दो साल में, यदा-कदा पंडित जी और लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के काल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाता था जायज बातों के लिए। लेकिन जब से इंदिरा गांधी का शासन शुरू हुआ 1966 से, तब से लेकर अब तक अगर आप जोड़ेंगे राष्ट्रपति शासन कितनी दफा लागू किया गया तो ऐवरेज बैठता है चार-पांच महीने। हर चार-पांच महीने में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है इनके काल में और यह ख्वाहिश, यह तृष्णा कब से बढ़ी, उसकी तफसील में जाने पर साफ हो जाएगा कि केरल में जब नम्बूदरिपाद की सरकार थी और इंदिरा गांधी कांग्रेस की प्रेसिडेंट थी, उस वक्त उस जिन्दा सरकार को इन्होंने घसीटकर सड़क पर फेंक दिया। नम्बूदरिपाद जब कुल्लू मँनाली गये, जहाँ जवाहरलाल जी विश्राम कर रहे थे, उन्होंने बड़ी वकालत की, लेकिन पंडित जी का जो तरीका था, उन्होंने कहा—अश्वत्थामा हतः नरोवा कुंजरोवा और वहाँ राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दिया गया, नम्बूदरिपाद की सरकार

गिरा दी गई। तब से यह तृष्णा बढ़ी और 1966 से जब से इनका काल शुरू होता है, जनता पार्टी के काल को छोड़कर तब से हर चार पांच महीने में राष्ट्रपति शासन इनके काल में लागू हुआ। तो एक अथारिटेरियन टेंडेंसी, इनब्रिल-नेशन साफ है। असम में आप 6 महीने के लिए क्यों आप बढ़ा रहे हैं। असम की जो समस्या है उसका पहला और बड़ा निराकरण है कि आप वहाँ चुनाव करायें। संकटकाल, एमरजेंसी काल जब देश में था उसका पहला और बड़ा निराकरण भी, सोल्यूशन भी चुनाव कराना था। जब इमरजेंसी का समय था तो 1976 के नवम्बर में यहाँ से प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने ऐलान किया कि चुनाव होने जा रहे हैं। लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कलकत्ता से इसका स्वागत किया। हम लोग मीसा में जेल में बन्द थे। यह एक बड़ा अच्छा पहला कदम था। इससे समस्या का हल निकला, रास्ता निकला। लेकिन असम की समस्या आप कम्पली-केटिड कर रहे हैं, उसको और बिगाड़ रहे हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इस समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं तो आप शीघ्र ही वहाँ चुनाव करायें। लेकिन जो चुनाव आप करायें वह निष्पक्ष रूप से होने चाहियें। यदि आप जो वहाँ की वोटर लिस्ट है, इक्वोरल लिस्ट है उसको ठीक नहीं करेंगे तो चुनाव निष्पक्ष नहीं हो सकते। जो हिन्दुस्तान का सिटिजन नहीं है उसका नाम यदि वोटर लिस्ट में है तो वह कैसे वोट दे सकता है, उसको कैसे वोट देने का अधिकार है। यही वहाँ के आन्दोलन-कारियों की मांग है, वहाँ के नौजवानों की मांग है कि जो हमारे नागरिक नहीं हैं उनको वोटरलिस्ट से हटाओ। क्या आपने यह काम कर दिया? सब आंदोलनकारी हमारे यहाँ आए थे।

दो 'टे' से ज्यादा उनसे मेरी बातचीत हुई। मैंने उनसे कहा कि एक-एक प्वाइंट करके उठाओ। उंडे दिमाग से अपनी सारी बातें उठाओ और फिर उसके बाद कोई बात न उठाना यह पहली गारण्टी मुझे दे दो तब मैं बात करूंगा। एक-एक बात उन्होंने उठाई और दो बटे से ज्यादा उनसे बात हुई। आखिर में मैंने उनसे कहा कि जो काम करना है साइंटिफिक दृष्टिकोण से करना चाहिये। हमारे नेताओं ने हमें यही सिखाया। हमारा दृष्टिकोण वैज्ञानिक होना चाहिये चाहे छोटा मसला हो या बड़ा मसला हो, देश के अन्दर का मसला हो या अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मसला हो। यदि हम अपना दृष्टिकोण ठीक रखेंगे तो हल हमें मिल जायेगा, रास्ता निकल आयेगा, देश तुम्हारा साथ देगा। ये सब बातें मैंने उनसे कही। उन लोगों को विल्कुल जायज मांग है कि जो नागरिक नहीं हैं उनको वोटर लिस्ट से हटाया जाए। क्या आपने यह काम किया? जब से आन्दोलन चल रहा है क्या आपने यह काम कम्पलीट किया? इसको आपको पूरी मुस्तैदी से करना चाहिये और चुनाव कराना चाहिये। असम की सारी सिच्यु-एशन को एक बिनी पिग बना दिया। आसाम को इग्नोर किया गया डेवलपमेंट के मामले में और दूसरे मामले में। हर तरह से असम की उपेक्षा की गई। आर्थिक दृष्टि से देखते हैं, विकास की दृष्टि से देखते हैं सारे देश के स्तर पर, तो साफ है जितना कुछ यहां होना चाहिये था वह नहीं हुआ। अब असम में वह इलाका नहीं है अब वह इलाका चिरा-पूँजी मेघालय में पड़ जाता है। चिरा-पूँजी में सीमेंट की फैक्टरी लग रही है। मुझे पता लगा है कि इसको हटाया जा रहा है। ऐसी घटनाएं असम में भी होती हैं। वहां अशोक पेपर मिल है। जब एक दिन मैंने सवाल पूछा था

तों मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि हम कागज थोड़ा ही मंगते हैं। कागज की हमारे यहां कमी नहीं है। हमारे यहां अशोक पेपर मिल है वह तुम तोड़ रहे हो। उसकी एक यूनिट बिहार में भी है। इसी दृष्टि से बेकारी की समस्या भी बढ़ रही है। जिस रूप में भी आप देखेंगे, पता लगेगा कि असम की उपेक्षा ही हो रही है। रेल गाड़ी जो असम के नाम पर है 'असम मेल' उसको भी हालत आज खराब है। इसको यहां कहने की जरूरत नहीं है। हर तरह से असम को इग्नोर किया गया। वहां से राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में जिन्होंने भाग लिया उनमें विपिन चन्द्र पाल और लाल बाल पाल हैं। लाल, बाल और पाल ने हमें देश की आजादी के आन्दोलन में प्रेरणा दी है। श्री विपिन चन्द्रपाल का सम्बन्ध आसाम था... (व्यवधान)। लाला लाजपतराय और विपिन चन्द्र पाल से हमें प्रेरणा मिली। इन लोगों ने हमें समाजवाद की प्रेरणा दी। रानी हिंडोला ने भी हमारे देश की आजादी के आन्दोलन में भाग लिया। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने अपनी अटोबाईग्राफी में रानी हिंडोला को सेल्लुट दो है। रानी हिंडोला जब 16 साल की थी तो गांधी जी के असहयोग आन्दोलन में उसने भाग लिया और तब तक जेल में रही जब तक देश आजाद नहीं हुआ था। इस तरह से और भी बहुत से लोग उस क्षेत्र में हुए हैं। उनका कंट्रिब्यूशन, उनका योगदान भारत को आजादी के लिए, भारत की सांस्कृतिक एकता के लिए किसी से कम नहीं है। खास करके जो हम मैथिली क्षेत्र के लोग हैं, नार्थ बिहार के लोग हैं उनका आसाम से ऐतिहासिक सम्बन्ध रहा है। उनकी भाषा और हमारी मैथिली, दोनों सिस्टर लैंग्वेज हैं। आसामी, बंगला, उड़िया और मैथिली, ये सभी एक ही परिवार की भाषाएं हैं। इससे आसाम के साथ हमारा सम्बन्ध बढ़ जाता है।

इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप यह जो राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि बढ़ा रहे हैं, यह संविधान के आदेशों के अनुरूप नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इसको बढ़ाना रोक दें और चुनावों की तैयारी करें। अब बहुत हो गया है, आपने आसाम को बहुत तंग किया है। वहाँ के नवजवान बहुत तंग हो चुके हैं। आप यह धाद रखिये, आसाम के नवजवान भी उसी परिवार के हैं जिस परिवार के नवजवानों ने हमारे देश की आजादी के लिए लड़ाई लड़ी थी। आपको याद होगा, आज 9 अगस्त के दिन अंग्रेज साम्राज्यवादियों के खिलाफ सन् 1942 में हमारे देश के नवजवानों ने आन्दोलन किया था। हिन्दुस्तान के एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक 9 अगस्त को विद्यार्थियों ने क्रांति की थी। ये नवजवान कौन थे? ये नवजवान वही लोग थे जिन्होंने लोक-नायक जय प्रकाश जी के मातहत आन्दोलन शुरू कर जो तानाशाही इमरजेन्सी में आई थी उसको खत्म किया। उस वक़्त जो एक मीसा का काला शासन था, जो धब्बा भारत के संविधान में लगा था उसको समाप्त करने के लिए हमारे नवजवानों ने ही आन्दोलन किया था। इन लोगों की इमेज पर भी एक धब्बा लगा था। लेकिन जिस तरह की कालिमा इमरजेन्सी के काल में लगी वह कभी मिट नहीं सकती है। इमरजेन्सी के बाद चुनाव करा कर उसके लिए रास्ता निकल आया था। इसीलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि आप आसाम में भी चुनाव कराइये। उसके लिए आप इलेक्ट्रॉनल रोलस को ठीक करायें और विद्यार्थियों से मिल कर कोई रास्ता निकालें। इसलिए यह जो राष्ट्रपति शासन को बढ़ाने का प्रस्ताव आपकी तरफ से लाया गया है, इसका मैं पूर्णतः विरोध करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति शासन को रिवोक कर दिया जाये।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:—

“That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 19th March, 1982, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam, for a further period of six months with effect from the 19th September 1982.”

Sir, as the honourable Members are aware, the President's Rule was promulgated in the State of Assam with effect from the 19th March 1982 on the recommendation of the Governor of the State and the State Assembly was dissolved. The Proclamation issued by the President under article 356(1) of the Constitution was approved by the Lok Sabha on the 27th March 1982 and by the Rajya Sabha on the 29th March 1982. The Proclamation is now in force up to September 18, 1982 on which date the six-month period stipulated under article 356(4) of the Constitution will expire. There is no prospect of elections to the Legislative Assembly of Assam being held before September 18, 19. The agitation on foreigners' issue is still continuing and discussions in the three rounds of combined meetings of representatives of Government, Leaders of Opposition in Parliament and AASU/AAGSP to find a satisfactory solution have remained inconclusive. Efforts, however, are continuing and another round of combined meeting would be held soon.

Hon'ble Members are aware that I have been having informal talks with the Leaders of various groups in Parliament. We have discussed the subject in the meeting of the Leaders of Opposition Parties/Groups in Parliament on 6th August, 1982.

As the Parliament is not likely to be in session in the month of

September, it has become necessary to obtain the approval of both the Houses of Parliament for extending the term of President's rule in Assam for a further period of six months from 19th September, 1982. The term of the President's rule so extended will expire on 18th March, 1983. Necessary action for completing elections before this date is proposed to be taken at the appropriate time.

The Resolution was approved by the Lok Sabha on 5th August, 1982.

With this I would request the House to consider and approve this Resolution.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:—

“That in pursuance of sub-section (2) of Section 2 of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980 (41 of 1980), as amended by the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981 (40 of 1981), this House approves the issue of the notification of the Government of Assam, Political (A) Department No. PLA. 906/82/3, dated the 5th May, 1982 declaring the following services to be essential services within the State of Assam for the purposes of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1900:—

(i) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Government for storage, supply and distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities.

(ii) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Government for storage, supply and distribution of agricultural inputs and machinery.

(iii) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by State Government for publication, production and distribution for text books.

(iv) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Government for storage, supply and distribution for seeds for agricultural operation.”

Sir, as the House knows that the All Assam Students Union and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad who have been spearheading the Assam agitation on the foreigners' issue, had been giving calls, from time to time, for Assam *Bandh* and non-cooperation of Government and semi-Government public corporation employees and employees of various statutory Boards and Corporations. These calls, led to serious disruption of public life, working of public/Government offices and caused grave hardship to the community.

The AASU/AAGSP gave a call for 24-hours Assam *BANDH* on 6-5-1981. The services connected with storage, supply, distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities, agricultural input and machinery, publication and production of books for the student community and seeds for agricultural operations were not essential services under the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980 as on 5th May, 1982. As these services had been affected by *BANDHS* on previous occasions, it was apprehended by the State Government that there was every likelihood of these services being affected in the context of the call for Assam *BANDH* on 6-5-82. The State Government was of the opinion the strikes in the aforesaid services would prejudicially affect maintenance of supplies and services

necessary for the life of the community and would result in infliction of grave hardship to the community. They, therefore, declared these services as essential services within the State of Assam in exercise of powers under sub-clause (v) of clause (b) of sub-section (1) of section 2 of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980 as amended by the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981. The State Government also issued an order on the 5th May, 1982 prohibiting strikes in the essential services so notified.

This measure was approved by the Lok Sabha on 5th August 1982.

4. With this I commend that the Resolution approving the issue of the notification by the Government of Assam be passed by this House.

4 PM

THE MINISTER OF STATE
IN THE MINISTRY OF
FINANCE (SHRI SAWAI SINGH
SISODIA): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1982-83 as passed by the Lok Sabha be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 619.53 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 5th August, 1982, and Rs. 357.62 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam. These sums are required to meet the expenditure of the Government of Assam for the year 1982-83 and include the sums already authorised in the Assam Appropriation (Vote-on-Account) Act, 1982. Full details of the provisions are available in the Demands circulated to the Members.

The Questions were proposed

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN
(SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Now, the Motion, the Statutory Resolutions. The Budget and the Assam Appropriation Bill are open for discussion. Mr. Sukomal Sen. Your party has got 16 minutes and there is one more speaker. Please keep that in mind.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN
(West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are entering into discussion on a very serious and delicate topic. In the present state of affairs, extension of President's rule in the State of Assam is inescapable and inevitable. But I very much oppose the Resolution of Mr. Laskar for declaring certain services as essential extending the scope of Essential Services (Maintenance) Act because this is against democracy. It will put further restrictions on the Government employees and the people of Assam. Sir, the problem of Assam has been lingering on and we find that there is no immediate prospect for a satisfactory solution of this difficult problem. The fact is that Assam and several other parts of the country have been ignored by the Union Government economically and industrially and still they are being ignored. There are certain genuine grievances in the minds of the Assamese people. Their economic and industrial backwardness have created a sense of deprivation and nobody can deny it. The Government should have taken appropriate action to remedy the situation to satisfy the Assamese people's claims so that the sense of deprivation is removed. But these measures have not been taken. As a result, the genuine grievances of the Assamese people are now sought to be misdirected by the present agitation and we find that the State has been engulfed in a serious situation. Normal,

functioning of the Government, normal activity of the people are being seriously curbed. But there is one thing. I want to draw the attention of the Government and also of the House that Assam agitationists have put forth certain demands. They are working upon the genuine sentiments of the Assamese people and they are trying to direct their strength and energy towards disintegration of the entire North-East region. And I find that forces of destabilisation are working. And some hands of the imperialist are there who are working behind the agitation, trying to misdirect the entire people towards the secessionist and separatist movement. I do not feel that the people in Assam in general are separatist minded. Just on the contrary, their role was different. They are part and parcel of the Indian Union, fought for the Indian freedom, fought for the integration of the entire country. But during the recent days, their entire sentiments have been worked up and their sentiments are being channelised in the wrong direction. And can we deny, can we ignore the hands of the imperialists behind all these things. In the North-East region, we find that the imperialists are working. Not only in the North-East region, if we look at the Khalistan movement, we will find that some people based in Canada or the USA are doing all mischief in Punjab, they are rousing the people for the demand of Khalistan. If we look at the present state of affairs in Jammu and Kashmir, we will find imperialists' hand there also. So, with the advent of freedom in 1974, if we feel that we have been free from the imperialist danger that will be a wrong thing. We cannot forget what is happening in the countries around, what is happening in Pakistan, what is happening in Bangladesh, what is happening in Sri Lanka or what is happening in the Latin

American countries. Everywhere the imperialists are plying their nose, imperialist conspiracies are taking place and they are working hard. The net of the imperialist is being widened and spread throughout the world and so our country is also not free from all this imperialist danger, and particularly the role of the churches is dangerous in the North-East region. The churches are also working as of the imperialist agencies. Sir, I will just quote a circular issued by a church in Nowgong of Assam. It is the Catholic Mission of Nowgong, Assam, which issued this letter to the Catholic communities. This circular was reprinted in our Party journal and I am quoting some lines from this circular. It says :

"Every year the Mission celebrates its annual Congregation." Then about the Congregation, it says : "Today we want to give you a special advice. The prime enemy of Catholic church is communism. That is why Christian priests are put in jails in those Countries and are killed". Then the circular goes on to say : "The Communists help people at times only to win them over to their side. No Catholic ever, even by mistake joins the unions led by the CPM or the CPI. Communists are opposed to religion. They will not tell the facts to the ignorant masses."

Sir, in this way, the churches entering into the civic and political life of the people and they are urging the people to fight against democracy and Communism. And not only the churches, now we find that other religious organisations like the Viswa Hindu Parishad are also working in that region. Recently, in the convention that was held at Silchar, the President of that convention of the Viswa Hindu Parishad

urged in his speech that Muslims should be ousted from the Indian soil. It is said, Hindus are not foreigners, Hindus who have come from across the border, they may remain in Assam. But the Muslims who are staying in Assam, they should be ousted since it is a Hindu rashtra. So, on the other side, the Hindu religious organisations, like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, are fanning out the passions amongst the people and creating a disturbing situation in the region. And this is happening not only in Assam. We find that in Mizoram and in other States in the North-Eastern region these imperialists are working. (*Time Bell rings*). And recently, as the newspaper reports go, the self-styled President of the Seven States Liberation Army was arrested in Manipur. And what is the indication? What is the seven states liberation army and who is the president? How was he arrested in Manipur? What was their programme? The programme was to destabilise the entire North-Eastern region. There is no denying the fact that the imperialists are openly working in that region. On the other hand, the Government is keeping silent on it. Are we to believe that our Defence Minister or the Home Minister are not aware of what is happening in that region? But who are the foreign powers who are working behind it. Why these foreign powers are not being named? Why are they not being identified? All these things are important and these are my points to the Ministers who are sitting here.

Now, another point is the detection of the foreigners. Who were the foreigners? We fully appreciate the point that on the Indian soil a Pakistani citizens, or a Bangladeshi citizen or a Sri Lankan citizen or any other outside citizen could not have any firm footing. They might come as visitors and go back. But what are

the modalities of deciding who are the foreigners who are staying in Assam? We find that in the name of identifying the foreigners the Assam administration are evicting the Indian citizens, Indian citizens who have been living there for 20 years to 30 years or even more than that or even Indian citizens who have genuine citizenship certificate of India, they are being evicted from Assam. I will give some instances: Over 200 families were ruthlessly evicted in Longai, Badshahi and Roshanabad in Cachar district in Assam. Their houses were burnt, cattle were lifted and properties destroyed and the evictees were left stranded under heavy monsoon rains. Their paddy crops were seized. Most of the victims have been arrested. At Badshahi and Longai Reserve 86 Hindus, 112 Muslims and 26 Tribal families were evicted. At Roshanabad 91 Muslim families were evicted. In this way many people have been arrested and some of them have been sent out of the borders of Assam to Bangladesh by the Assam Police. One Shamboo Nath Saha he was a citizen of India, living at Barpeta. On the 28th of May he was arrested by the Inspector of Police Barpeta and sent out of the borders of Assam. And his wife has been moving from one Government department to another Government department for bringing back her husband, who is a genuine citizen of India, but to no avail. In this way many Indian citizens are being harassed. I will also give reference to a report published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of June 12. The Patrika says: A systematic policy is being followed by the Government. (*Time Bell rings*).

THE VICE CHAIRMAN
(SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN):
Your time is over. Please conclude. Otherwise your colleague may not be able to speak.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: He may not speak.

AN HON. MEMBER: He may.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, a systematic policy is being followed by the Assam Government under the latest rules, under the Preseidents' rule, to evict poor cultivators, belonging to the Scheduled Castes, backward classes and other weaker sections belonging to linguistic and religious linguistic minorities. Over 9,600 such families in two districts have been affected.

"Many are on the verge of eviction in the other districts of the State.

A vigorous policy of eviction directed against these sections of the toiling masses was initiated at the district and the sub-divisional levels on the 'foreign nationals' issue in 1979-80. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, after being apprised of the situation had to intervene in the matter in March, 1980 and all evictions were stayed by the Union Home Ministry. It was decided by the then Governor and his adviser that no eviction would be carried out by the district and sub-divisional authorities without the prior permission from the State Government.

This decision remained in force during the first Congress (I) Ministry of Mrs. Syeda Anwara Taimur. But this policy was reversed during President's Rule of July 1, 1981 to January 13, 1982 and the stipulation about prior permission from the Government for eviction by the district/sub-divisional authorities was withdrawn giving a free hand to officers at lower levels to do as they liked."

Everybody knows that the Assam Administration is very much in league with the agitationists. The agitationists and the Assam Administration are conspiring to evict Indian citizens from the soil of Assam. Sir, this state

of affairs is going on in Assam and I would request the Union Government to see that the genuine Indian citizens are not harassed, beaten, tortured, arrested and evicted, so that the minority community, whether linguistic or religious, feels secure on the soil of Assam.

Sir, the Government propose to expand the scope of ESMA. This means, further repression on the Government employees. The Government employees in Assam are facing a difficult situation. The Government is threatening them that if they respond to the call of the agitationists and abstain from work, they would be punished, they would be put under suspension. But there is a good section of the employees which wants to join duty and attend to the work. They are being threatened that if they join duty, if they join their work, they will face dire consequences; they are being threatened by the agitationists like this. As a result, the Government employees are facing a dilemma. If they join work, they will be beaten by the agitationists. If they do not join work they will be punished by the Government, they will be put under suspension and they will face many harassments. Sir, the Assam Government has failed to give protection to its employees who are interested in doing their work in the offices. As a result, the employees have been put in a very difficult situation. The Assam State Employees' Federation is trying to mobilise the employees in favour of joining work and in ensuring smooth administration. On the other hand, the Karmachari Parishad, the newly floated body, by the agitationists...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Sen, if you sit down now, your party will have one minute so that your party colleague can start and get two or three minutes more.

Otherwise, he would not be able to speak at all.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN : Sir, I am just concluding. As I said, the Government employees are actually being attacked by the agitationist the Karmachari Prishad, newly floated by the agitationists, are urging the Government employees not to do any work. The Government is not in a position to give any protection to the employees. Therefore, if the scope of the ESMA is further expanded on the one hand, on the other if the Government fails to give protection to its employees, it will mean further danger to the Government employees in Assam.

Now, I come to the other point. This is about holding elections in Assam and starting the democratic process in Assam. Here, you are again going to extend the President's Rule in the State of Assam. It will continue up to March next year. But how long it will continue? If it continues beyond March, 1983, it will create some Constitutional crisis. But where is the prospect of holding elections in Assam? We find that the ruling party is not very serious about holding elections in Assam. They have not yet appointed the Chief Electoral Officer. They have not yet started the preliminary work for preparing the electoral rolls. As a result, elections are a far cry in Assam. Actually, the people of Assam as such are not against elections. May be, there are some pockets, there are some parts here and there, where the agitationists have some concentration, have some influence on the people and may obstruct elections. But in the greater part of Assam, people are in favour of holding free and fair elections in the State. But the Government has not taken steps in that direction. On the contrary, the Government is interested, I find the ruling party is interested in installing

a minority Ministry in Assam. So long as Assam Legislature was there they were interested in installing a minority Ministry. They were trying to manipulate and manouvre here and there so that democratic process in that region was not established. Not only in Assam, in Mizoram also the ruling party has an electoral alliance with the MNF. The president of the ruling party there is a very rich man. He has a strong support of the MNF. Similarly Tripura also is suffering from the same trouble. There also you find the ruling party is in league with TUJS. As a result of this, the secessionist ideas of the TUJS are being encouraged by the ruling party itself. Until and unless the ruling party changes its policy, there is no immediate prospect of beginning a democratic process in Assam. So, I would urge upon the hon. Minister to see that steps are taken so that by March, 1983 we can hold a fresh election in Assam. About the cut-off year, I would again suggest that something is going on behind the scene.

The agitationists are demanding 1961 to be the cut-off year and the *Indian Express* has come out with a report that there are people who are suggesting a compromise that 1967 should be the cut-off year. I repeat the point that there is no ground for deviation from 1971 to the cut-off year and the Government should stick to it, persuade the agitationists and make it clear to the Assamese people that the 1971 would be the cut-off year. On that basis some solution has to be found out in Assam so that election can be held in the near future.

With these words, I thank you all.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, well, I am very often amused to see whenever some hon.

Members speak on Assam situation they seem to have blown hot and cold in the same breath. It is not only this time, I have listened to a number of debates in this House. Sir, the allegation is in the air that the Government is not sincere about finding a solution to the foreigners issue. But it is also a fact that on the slightest pretext, imagining things which far-fetched and tailoring convenient excuses, they would take the first opportunity to keep away from the Government's efforts to handle the issue at various forums. A few days ago, on the 6th August, all political parties were invited by the hon. Home Minister to discuss the Assam issue, but a few political parties did not participate on the plea that the agitation leaders might suspect some kind of an unholy alliance if the discussion was not held in their presence, as if the Government and the political parties never met on previous occasions to discuss the Assam issue. Because tripartite talks are under way, it does not mean that any two of the three parties cannot meet at any stage to discuss the issue. Moreover, the agitation leaders never at any moment expressed their disapproval of such a meet. Rather they came to Delhi to put across their view point to different political parties a few days before the discussion was scheduled to start. And what is interesting is that the political parties did discuss the issue with the agitation leaders, without, of course, the Government which is also a party to the tripartite talks. So, does that, in any way, jeopardise the tripartite talks?

There is nothing wrong in exploring more than one avenue to find a solution particularly since the role of the political parties is that of a mediating agency between the Government and the agitation leaders. So, Sir, the allegation that Government is not sincere about resolving the issue is politically motivated. Rather the rejection of the Government's asking

for cooperation to prepare the ground for the next round of tripartite talks shows who is sincere and who is not sincere.

Sir, the allegation that Government is not sincere about the dialogue is a serious allegation, because by alleging that Government is not sincere about the dialogue, they are giving the misleading impression to the people about the purpose and the desired outcome of the dialogue. It is indirectly saying that the dialogue is futile. If the solution, Sir, has not so far been found, it is not due to lack of sincerity on the part of the Government, but due to the magnitude of the problem with all its complications which have been growing over the last 50 years and not just 35 years, as has been thought by many. I am afraid such indirect propaganda against the dialogue will help only those forces which are out to scuttle it.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is amusing to see someone talking about the importance of the dialogue and at the same time belittling the importance of the dialogue. It is easy to quote, or rather to be more precise misquote statistics, even though no one can say the last word on it. That is precisely what is sought to be ascertained. It is interesting to note that statistics grow galore as one's enthusiasm grows too. I would however like to quote the Prime Minister that the minorities are not just statistics; they are human beings. So, Sir, nobody can lose sight of the human aspect of the problem, nobody can lose sight of. Besides, there are commitments—national as well as international. During the last 35 years, so many events have rocked the nation. Partition came followed by the atrocities on the minorities on either side of the border leading to one of the greatest influxes ever recorded in human history. Then came Bangladesh

[Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique]

sending waves after waves of refugees into India through the three States on the border—West Bengal, Tripura and Assam. These convulsions are a part of history and nobody can deny it. If we cannot deny it, how can we deny the problem and the magnitude of the problem created by such convulsions? It is not like this that the Government's representatives and the agitation leaders just sit across the table and walk out with a solution in their pockets as if there is a cut and dried formula. We should bear in mind one important point—that the refugees who came from Pakistan are victims of our political decision to partition the country, even though it was the inevitable solution; we have to admit that. But I do admit that there is some kind of discrimination. Unlike their counterparts migrating from West Pakistan, the refugees from East Pakistan were not declared as Indian citizens. And that is one of the snags. Even then, you cannot take advantage of this technical lapse or, maybe, expediency for some political reasons, to falsify history and brand them as foreign nationals. For all practical purposes, we have seen, whether in Assam, whether in west Bengal or Tripura, they are Indian citizens. They have been given rehabilitation loans. They have settled down in the States. They own land and other businesses. How can you throw them out on technical grounds that they have not been declared as Indian citizen when they first came to Assam. These refugees do not need the sanction of a declaration: they have the sanction of history. Sir, it has been pointed out also that Government is not sincere so far as deportations are concerned, that it was never done in the past. It was done. I will give you the statistics. 2.20 lakhs were deported out of 3.52 lakhs detected from 1961 to 1981. Even in 1981, detections and deportations did not stop. That means, while, still the movement was on, 1,165 cases were detected and 1,065 were deported; even from January to 31st May,

1980, 594 families were detected and 483 were deported. Yes, there might be here and there, one or two cases, as pointed out by my friend there, where genuine Indian citizens were harassed. Anyway, I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister to look into those case to see that under no circumstances genuine Indian citizens are harassed.

Sir, according to a Government study, the estimated figure of excess population in Assam between 1961 and 1971 is 9,40,000—and this rate of growth of population is rather the normal rate of all-India growth—and out of 9,40,000, only 28,000 were Muslims. I am sorry I have brought in this question. I do not want to bring in any communal matter; I do not want to bring in the Hindu-Muslim factor into it. But when you have to analyse the situation, let us know the facts. I will explain why I have placed the facts before you. Sir, out of these 9,40,000, 9,12,000 were Hindus and 28,000 were Muslims. It has been said that the Government has brought in the Hindu-Muslim factor. Never. After these statistics have been revealed one of my friends has referred to an organisation called the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Vishwa Hindu Parishad organised a big conference in Gauhati really a big conference, and declared, that Hindus could never be foreigners. And the precursor of this slogan was however, Shri Balasaheb Deoras while addressing a rally in Calcutta a couple of weeks before this conference. I need not tell you with which political party Vishwa Hindu Parishad is associated.

And, Sir, we are accused that we do not want to deport the foreign nationals as there would be an erosion of our so-called vote bank. It has been said a number of times in this House and outside the House also. That is why I take this opportunity of giving the reply. First of all, I should say that this term "Vote bank" is a very derogatory remark against a section of the electorate. Yet, for the sake of argument in their own line, I would like to say that many are

under the illusion regarding our grip on this so-called vote bank. And just to remove that I cite some data. Sir, the Dhubri parliamentary constituency of Goalpara district, the Gauhati parliamentary constituency of Kamrup district and Mangaldo-parliamentary constituency of Darrang district, which was constituted after the 1966 delimitation where this so-called vote bank is alleged to be located, had been returning not Congress candidates but the Opposition candidates till 1971. And the Mangaldoi constituency was won by the Janata candidate in 1977. If you go through the records, you find that the Dhubri Gauhati and Mangaldoi parliamentary constituencies were ruled for ages, by the representatives of FSP, which later on became one of the constituents of the Janata. We have been accused that Congress is not for deporting foreign nationals because we do not want to break the vote-banks. These are the places where, the common allegation is, the so-called vote banks are alleged to be located, it is not that we own but it is they who own from those constituencies. Sir, I leave it to the august House to judge the so-called vote banks, there is at all, as I have already made it clear, there is such a thing under the Sun. I have made it clear because I do not personally believe that they exist. But to meet their argument, I have raised this point. What I want to say is that in this allegation, too, the boot is on the other leg.

Sir, I reiterate my view that foreigners must go. We have been saying it a number of times. We have said it already here, and we continue to say the same thing, but on the plea of deporting foreign nationals no genuine Indian nationals must be made to suffer. It is my firm belief, Sir, that dialogue, and dialogue alone, holds the key to finding a commonly acceptable solution. But one thing, we must bear in mind. There cannot be any pre-condition as a prelude to dialogue. The hon. Prime Minister announced as far back as 1980

April, that 1971 should be the take-off line, the starting base, not the cut-off date. The scrutiny was proposed to be started from 1971, and if found satisfactory the scrutiny could have been worked backward. Had it been accepted then, I am sure we would have made much headway by now. Sir, even if the agitation leaders want that this cut-off date, 1971, should be made negotiable, well, the only place to do so is the negotiating table. Let us sort it out there. There should be frank discussion about it. If you want that particular date should be negotiable, right, come to the negotiating table and try to find out whether it is possible or not. But one thing must be borne in mind that humanitarian grounds should not be allowed to be ignored by any solution, no matter who suggests the solution, whether it is the Government or the representatives of the agitation.

Sir it is true that there is a valid point that they have made. The refugees came to Assam. Why should they not be dispersed all over the country? Sir, I am referring to the problem which is 35 years old. They have been living there for the last 35 years. The normal tendency of the people when they leave their country due to abnormal condition is to go to the either side of the border. There are three sides of the Bangladesh border. Most of them came to West Bengal. When they found that West Bengal was overflowing with refugees, many of them went to Tripura and then at the same time many came to Assam. So, Sir, it is true that at that time had we thought about it, possibly we could have distributed all the refugees all over the country. But that is a thing of the past. Having not done so, today how do we turn around and say it now? How can you physically uproot these people who have been living there for ages, for 35 years? Rather, I would like to know about scheme. There was Pakistan Infiltration Prevention Scheme, Sir for the Pakistani Infiltration Prevention Scheme, the Government of India

[Shri Bijoy Krishna Hândique]

gave annually Rs. 1 crore. How many infiltrators were detected under the Scheme, may I know? Well, if the report that I have with me is correct, probably in one year it came down to one. There should be a probe into the working of this Scheme. I wish the agitation leaders made a demand for a probe into the PIP Scheme.

This contradictory approach, as I said, of blowing hot and cold in the same breath, is again the approach of some of the hon. Members to the Government's declaration of certain services as essential. Sir, the Government is very often criticised for alleged failure of the law and order machinery, for allegedly allowing some elements to hold the society to ransom, for letting innocent citizens suffer, due to disruption of essential services. But when the Government wants to maintain the essential services so that people do not suffer, the Government is criticised on the ground that it resorts to repression against Government employees. Sir, in the Resolution certain services are sought to be declared essential services, the minimum of services without which it is not possible to carry on the daily round of existence. This is only an addition. We have already passed an Act last year, listing certain services. Sir, if these services are maintained, the question of taking punitive action does not arise at all. We have to bear in mind that ours is a service-oriented State and the Government has a deep commitment to the people. It will be just dereliction of duty and shirking of responsibility if the Government fails to keep this commitment. It is a trust mighty big trust reposed in the Government. The way some hon. Members speak, it seems as if the beneficiary of this Act on essential services is the hon. Home Minister himself. Sir the real beneficiaries are the people and no Government can afford to keep its eyes shut and remain passive when people suffer for no fault of theirs due to disruption of services. It is interesting! Sir, to

bear criticism from some hon. Members I would, however, like to quote a distinguished Member of this House on a similar issue namely, preventive detention. Why I have raised this point is that the like preventive detention maintaining of essential services arises out of a particular set of conditions and circumstances that dislocate the harmony and equipoise of society and make people suffer. I quote:

"But so long as there are certain weaknesses in our society, well, it may be necessary for a Government whichever Government is in power, whichever party is in power—one day one party may be in the Government; another day another party may be in the Government—the Government may require the use of those special powers for the benefit of the people themselves."

Sir, this was said in this august House on the 28th August, 1978, by the then Janata Law Minister, Mr. Shanti Bhushan. Sir, I quote Mr. Shanti Bhushan not to justify our action in bringing forward this Resolution. We have our own sense of service to the people. But I do so because the criticism comes from such Members who were in power with such a Law Minister directing the ways to deal with an extraordinary situation.

Sir, I do agree with the hon. Members that the utmost caution and restraint should be taken while taking action against those who violate the Essential Services Act. One Essential Services Act is already in force and we have no report of any reckless use of its powers. Yet, I would request the hon. Home Minister to give strict directions to the State administration so that they exercise caution and restraint in the use of the power. Because, I know what happened in a certain case. That was 8th June when the Gana Sangrama Parishad gave a call for a "light off" protest in Assam. In my town, Jorhat, a number of officers of Assam State Electricity Board including the Superintending Engineer, were arrested and put

in the police lock-up even though they were on Duty. These things must be looked into. There should be some kind of a safety device so that this power is not misused. Continuing the same blowing hot and cold in the same breath, or should I call it running with the hound and holding with the have," that the Government has been accused of too often, even now by my honourable friend there for going ahead with preparations for holding elections and trying to impose elections on the people without resolving the foreigners' issue but at the same time the Government has been accused of trying to avoid the election. Sometimes the Government has been accused that while the Government is going ahead with the preparations to hold elections, they want to impose the election on the people of Assam, at the same time they will say that the Government is not doing anything to see that the elections can be held on time. Both these propositions are self-contradictory. They do not go together.

Regarding the development of the region, so many things have been always spelt out in the House—railway improvement, TV, royalty of the crude oil to be raised; tea has its problem; and so on so forth. I have been saying a number of times. There is something basically wrong with the planning there because our approach is piecemeal. I would not have raised this matter today because I have raised it on a number of times in the past, but since the Home Minister was the honourable Finance Minister at the time when I raised this point, and since today he is here as the honourable Home Minister, I would like to place it today for his attention on what I feel about this particular region. It is not a question of Assam or Nagaland or Mizoram. The entire region should be considered as one zone for integrated development. Not one single unit; a State or a Union Territory can not be consider in isolation. But to consider it as one zone for integrated development there are certain problems, because there are difference between

the various units of the north-eastern region, even topographically. Topographically it varies from the snowcapped peaks of the Himalayas in Arunachal down to the marshy lands of Assam. Again the people in the different states and Union Territories of the region speak different languages, they speak different dialects, they have different social customs, they have different cultural traits. So what is required today is that there should be some investigation some studies considering it as an integrated zone for development, and it is also not possible for any individual scholar or any individual university to conduct this research work. Even if it is possible sometimes, there is no co-ordinating agency to bring together the relevant data the results of the studies and investigations, for the use of the academicians and planners who are engaged in the exercise of planning in the entire region. So I suggest that there should be a centre for economic growth. There are at least twenty-five all over the country. Some of them are really doing good job. If they can do really good job in other parts of the country, why it cannot do a good job in this region? I place these matters before the hon. Home Minister for his kind consideration. I can assure my hon. colleagues that we are sincere in our desire to hold elections. I personally believe that normalcy can be restored only through the process of democracy and democratic institutions are today off the rails and if we hold elections then and then alone we can put back on the rails these democratic institutions and the entire democratic process.

With these observations, I appeal also to the leaders of the agitation to the call of the Government to create a climate congenial for holding elections to keep the democratic process and to bring peace and prosperity and development back to the state which it was badly lacking in the last few years.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI
(Assam): Mr. Vice-chairman! as expected

ted, the Resolution moved by the Home Minister for the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the president of India imposing President's rule in Assam has come up for discussion so far as this statutory resolution is concerned, I will have no objection to it because I do not think election in Assam is actually possible by September. So there is no other way but to support this Resolution.

But so far as the Statutory Resolution moved by Mr. Laskar is concerned, not only I strongly oppose it, but I am even amused by it. Mr. Laskar has said that he is being compelled to add these four items because of serious disruption of public life because of the bandh. May I request him to go through the news bulletins of the All India Radio and T.V. coverage and to the Home Minister's own observations or the Government's observations that in the last few months and one and half years whenever the bandh call has been given, life in Assam has not been disrupted, life is normal there, people have attended offices in their thousands and there has been no disruption and the bandh is a failure? If that is so, are you telling a lie by saying now that there has been disruption of public life? Or, is your media telling a lie that there has been no disruption of public life and the life is normal? The country and Parliament is entitled to know which one is telling the truth—Mr. Laskar or the media. We have a right to know what is the real state of affairs. If there was serious disruption of public life, then you have misled the entire country through your media and your information and Broadcasting Minister should resign. And if not, if really speaking there has been no disruption of public life, then you have brought forward this Resolution to curtail the democratic rights of the people in which case Mr. Laskar should resign. If you both have some respect for democratic norms, then both of you cannot hold your res-

pective positions. But we know that respect for democratic norms is a thing which we should not expect from you.

I am very happy that Mr. Venkataraman has now taken over the Home Ministry. He is a man who is widely respected in this House. He is a man who is conversant with the laws of this country. And I am sure, while trying to negotiate for solution of the Assam problems, he will try to find out a solution within the framework of the law.

The Home Minister has made a statement, both here and in the other House, that the Government proposes to hold election in Assam in March, 1982. It is a Constitutional obligation because the alternative to election is emergency. And I for one will not like emergency to be imposed in Assam. I would, therefore, like the elections to be held in Assam. But the Government has not made their position clear as to whether they will hold election in Assam even if the solution to the vexed problem of foreign nationals is not arrived at between the negotiators and the Government. Are you determined to hold elections because there are so many press reports that the Government is also contemplating to hold election partially only in those constituencies where it is possible? Mr. Laskar is reported to have made some sort of announcement that election will be held in 84 constituencies where Assamese are not in majority. And, therefore, not being in a majority.....

SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR: I think I have to deny what you are saying. Just wait a minute. Because you mentioned my name, you have also to hear me. I have never said that. I said that election is to be held in Assam and there is no alternative. It is always a question of elections throughout the State. If election is to be held, it should be throughout the State.

Now, Sir, the point that I am making is this: Is the Government thinking of holding elections even without waiting for a solution. Mr. Venkataraman has also said to some—I hope, Mr. Venkataraman, you will excuse me if I divulge a secret—that he will rather like not to hold the election rather than facing a confrontation between the people and the Government on the issue of foreigners. Therefore, the fundamental question remains and we would like to know what the stand of the Government is on this. After all I want elections to be held in Assam. I feel that if the elections are held, without arriving at a solution and thereby hurting the feelings of the people, the sentiments of the people of Assam, three dangerous consequences are likely to follow: One that there is a possibility of a very large-scale violence; the second is that there is a possibility of social fragmentation and communal and linguistic feelings will undoubtedly grow and the third, about which I have been worried throughout, is that there is a feeling of alienation in Manipur and the plains of Assam, the two cradles, the two places, where Indian nationalism flourished and that alienation will be allowed to continue and grow if this situation is allowed to remain as it is. Now, what is the solution? My friend, Mr. Handique, has said that we have a national commitment and that there are humanitarian considerations. I think the issues have been mixed up. Undoubtedly, there is a national commitment and there are humanitarian considerations and I can understand that. But the Constitution declares who is a citizen and who is a foreigner and the Government up till now has not announced that they are thinking amending the Constitution. The Constitution is there to determine who is a citizen and who is a foreigner. Once we detect a person, can we say that because of these considerations we are not going to detect whether a person is a foreigner or a citizen?

This is the fundamental question to which I have not been able to get an answer from the Government of India up till now. The question is this: If people have come from Bangladesh, their legal status must first be determined. If the people who have come from Bangladesh are constitutionally citizens of India, then there is no question and they have got all the political and legal and constitutional rights. But, if they are not citizens of India, then the first question is to detect them, identify that they are not citizens and then the second question comes and that question is as to what we do with them. Do we turn them out? Do we throw them out? Do we treat them compassionately? Do we act on humanitarian considerations? Do we grant them citizenship? And, if we decide to grant them citizenship, then the question that automatically comes is that they have got a right to vote also. Can any government in any democratic and constitutional set-up say that it is not going to identify a foreigner even if under the Constitution he is a foreigner? Can the Government say so even if he is, under the law, a foreigner? This is a question to which the Government has not given me an answer up till now? There may be differences of opinion on this. Well, the Government may decide that even if somebody is a foreigner, because he has come for political compulsions—there may be economic compulsions also—the Government cannot throw them out, that is will grant them citizenship. But, if you do not identify them and grant them citizenship, how are you going to solve this problem? Even if you are not solving the problem, in 1991, somebody else may rake it up. A different Government may come there and may rake it up and say that these persons are not citizens under the Indian Constitution. Therefore, I say, let us do detection, deportation and deletion. We should agree to detection and if we agree to detect,

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

then the question will be: What do we do with the minorities, the religious minorities, who, because of political persecution have come to India? We will treat them separately and grant them citizenship. That will follow only when we accept the question on detection. The point is that the Government of India has all along been talking that it is not prepared to detect them even if they are foreigners and even if they are not citizens and this is going against the Constitution of this country and till now I have not got an answer and, knowing full well Mr.

Venkataraman, I hope he will

5 P.M. give me some answer.

Is his your contention or the Governments of India's contention that even if a person is a foreigner within the law and Constitution of this country, we will not detect certain categories of foreigners. Once you detect, the question is what we do to them. That maybe a separate aspect which we may discuss separately. So far as 1961 and 1971 are concerned, Mr. Handique has said that from 1961-71 only 9 lakh people have come and it is a very normal growth. If it is a normal growth and if you are not to deal with certain very abnormal number of people between 1961-71, why don'ts you detect them? This is again a contradiction. On the one, hand, Mr. Handique says that there are 9 lakh of people which is a normal growth. There has not been anything abnormal in the rush from Bangladesh. On the other hand, the Home Ministry says how can you deal with lakhs and lakhs of people who have migrated. We would like to now whether there has been any abnormal migration between 1961-71. If there is nothing abnormal, why don't you identify, detect and solve the problem on the negotiating table? I am pointing out the contradiction. The Government has, at some

point of time, said something. Why can't this House be taken into confidence. It cannot be a market place somebody saying one rupee and some one else saying 4 annas and then we arrive at a compromise of 8 annas. Your legal and constitutional questions cannot be decided by bargaining at the market place. Important political questions must be discussed and debated and decided within the framework of law and the Constitution. I would like to know whether the Government is thinking of holding elections in March, 1983. If my information is correct, no directions have been given to the Election Commission. You cannot give a direction to the Election Commission without a solution to the problem. But I would like to know whether you have approached the Election Commission. What is their verdict? I feel that so far as deletion is concerned, it will be a subject matter not within the domain of the Government, but within the domain of the Election Commission. All the time, we have been told that 3 lakh people have come and 2.95 lakh have been deported. Will the Home Minister kindly tell us whether the names of all those persons against whom deportation notices have been issued have been deleted from the voters' list? This is a positive and pointed question that I am putting to the Home Minister. Right from 1951, have you deleted the names of those persons against whom you have issued notices of deportation or whether their names still exist on the voters list? This is my grave allegation with the sense of responsibility on the Government of India that the names of a large number of persons whom you always say you have deported are still on the voters list. Why have you not corrected those voters' lists? The Government of India assured us about sealing of borders. Nothing has happened. There have been explosions. In my city of Gauhati

there have been explosions in which 17 innocent people have been killed. Some persons have been arrested. I would like to know whether it is true that one of them came from a neighbouring State and belongs to a Left Party. I do not want to name him. I do not want to generate heat. It is said by the Assam Administration, that some kingpins have been arrested. We would like to know who are these kingpins, whatever their political affiliations may be. To whom do they belong and what are their political affiliations?

So far as eviction is concerned, the difficulty is that whenever the foreigners have been sought to be evicted, there is a hue and cry that the Indian nationals are being evicted and always the evictions are stayed. They say that in these evictions not only linguistic minorities, religious minorities but the people of the majority community have also been evicted. We have not protested. Assamese people came to me and told me that they had been given the orders of eviction. They came to me for help. I said : If you have occupied Government land illegally, we are not going to stay it because, the moment, we stay it, it will come in the way of a solution to the foreigners' problem. After all, one of the basic and fundamental problem in Assam is that the land reserved for the tribal people has been occupied by people who have come from across the border and if they sought to be evicted in order, to give the land to the tribal people, why should this eviction be stayed? I do not want to accept the allegation that the Assamese officers are pro-Muslims. In fact, I am sure, that the Home Minister at this stage will not accept it. Therefore, why do you suddenly make a *ad hoc* order of stopping evictions? If there are individual cases brought to your notice that a person who is an Indian citizen has been evic-

ted, undoubtedly protect him and take action against the officer. But the moment you pass a general order to stopping these evictions, you stop this process. And let me point out that if such type of orders would not have been passed right from the Independence, the problem probably would not have reached the magnitude that it reached today. Therefore, so far as the Assam problem is concerned, I also appealed to the students and also to the Government because I feel also that the democratic process in Assam should come back as early as possible—that on the negotiation table, a solution will be available. And I am sure that with the charming approach of the Home Minister whom we cannot provoke at any point of time even if we try to, he will be able to find a solution. But the solution has not been possible because, as somebody has said, not only the students have taken a firm stand but the Government of India also has not taken up a very clear stand on the constitutional and legal and political question.

Now, Sir, coming to some of the problems, I will just be making a passing reference because my friend, Mr. Sharma is speaking, and you are very kind enough to give some time to me out of turn. The first point is that so far as oil royalty is concerned, the Government of India, really speaking, has cheated the people of Assam. I will say how. Under the Act, oil royalty once made will not be revised for four years. What the Government of India did was that they announced the oil royalty. And after announcing the oil royalty, they raised the price of crude so that the benefit of the rising of the price of the crude does not go to the people of Assam. We are assured in this House by the Petroleum Minister that the Prime Minister is seized of the problem and she was thinking of giving some greater relief to the people

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of Assam. Why has this not been done? Then there was a demand for a rail-cum-road bridge connecting Jhogi Gopa in the Meghalaya region. And we found a report in the 'Assam Tribune' on the basis of a statement from the Governor. And I have checked up that this statement of the Governor was undoubtedly true, that the Prime Minister has cleared this project. But in an answer to a question, Mr. Mallikarjun said that this is subject to the availability of the funds and the clearance by the Planning Commission. Now, this has again created a crisis of confidence in the people of Assam because when the report goes out that the Governor has said that the Prime Minister has cleared a project, the people feel that the project has been cleared. But in the next moment the Deputy Minister comes and says that it is subject to the availability of funds and clearance by the Planning Commission. Naturally the people of Assam feel that the Government's words cannot be even trusted. Even a deputation is coming from that region. I will request the Home Minister to clarify the position and also to accent it. Now, what have you done about the Brahmaputra Flood Control Commission? I do not want to go into the details. Assam is under the grip of deep floods, and on a war-footing the Brahmaputra flood problem should be tackled.

Sir, the last question is regarding a very great irregularity that came to our notice about the Indian Oil Corporation in the purchase of agars. After all, whenever we have referred to it and in spite of my best efforts to get it under a Calling Attention or otherwise, we could not succeed. Sir, what we found is that the Indian Oil Corporation purchased some agars from some unauthorised persons without paying the required taxes. And the answer

given by the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals and Fertilizers, in reply to a question put by Mr. Robin Kakati, is that the Indian Oil Corporation has not purchased any agar wood oil but they have recently purchased agar wood from two parties. The concerned State Government authorities, some of whom who came to the refinery also pointed out to the IOC that certain royalty and sales-tax charges were payable on this item. As soon as this was done, all necessary dues amounting to Rs. 12,200 were paid to the State Government. So, I would like the Home Minister to make an independent enquiry into this because though it was from the Assam forest, Assam Government does not permit now this type of sale. And this was shown to have been purchased on an Arunachal Government transit permit. And it was reported in an important newspaper. I would also like the Home Minister to take note of the fact that the officials of the IOC itself took strong objections to the procedural aspect because I have with me a certified copy of the letter of the Senior Finance Manager of the Indian Oil Corporation, who said that the payment may be made to the party after the reduction of the Assam Sales Tax and only after receipt of the clearance from the Department of Economic Offences of the Government of Assam, functioning under an I.G. Also it is seen that but for the fact that the Assam officers came to the refinery, this should have gone unnoticed and also this is my information that the case was filed Offence No 6/25, but it has been dropped. I would like the Home Minister to make a very independent inquiry into the whole thing. Therefore, Sir, I would submit that so far as this Statutory Resolution of Mr. Laskar is concerned, it is totally uncalled for because it has unleashed a reign of repression on the Assam employees and it is better

that the Government do away with it and the Government does not follow this type of policy. I do hope that the hon. Home Minister will try to sort out the problems of the Assam issue. But it is possible only if we approach the whole problem not only from the point of view of humanitarian considerations but also keeping in view the legal and constitutional perspective properly.

***SHRI ROBIN KAKATI (Assam):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Hon'ble Home Minister has come forward with a proposal to extend the President's Rule in Assam. Most probably, in the other state of India, President's rule for such a long period was in practice after independence. I want a categorical reply from the Home Minister that at what point of time the President's rule in Assam will come to an end and what effective steps are being taken by the Home Ministry to improve the situation in Assam.

There have been discussions on many occasions in both the Houses regarding the problems in Assam. Many rounds of discussions took place between the Government and the movement leaders of Assam; but they have not been able to find out a solution but instead the problem has been becoming more complicated now. According to the movement leaders the Government is not keen to solve the problems of Assam. The Government is trying to suppress the movement by means of repression and other oppressive methods. Meanwhile, enough mischief has been done by New Delhi, C.R.P. forces unleashed an atmosphere of terror in Assam, by committing large scale brutalities including crimes of worst type against women folk. Although the discussion is continuing for a long time, it seems that the Government is not at all sincere at their efforts. They are trying to

hoodwink the people just like a cunning fisherman, who plays tricks with the fishing hook, sometimes tightening the rope and sometimes loosening the rope to weaken the fish concerned and in the long run the poor fish is caught. The Central Government also is playing the same trick with the movement leaders of Assam. The Central Government is adopting dilly-dallying methods. The Government is perhaps thinking that the movement will fizzle out automatically. But this is a wrong idea on the part of the Government. The Government is thin king to decide unilaterally and they want to impose their decision on the people of Assam. Therefore, I want to know from the Home Minister that what positive steps are being taken to solve the vexed problem of Assam.

Although the President's rule is in vogue in Assam, but in reality who is conducting the state of affairs in Assam? Whether the Assam administration is under the control of the Home Ministry or it is under the control of the advisers to the Governor or it is being controlled by some unseen power? For example, the heads of the administration as well as the advisers to the Governor are not Assamese people.

There are large number of encroachments on Government Reserve Forests. Railway land and other Government land. In some places these encroachers, becoming very oppressive and it becomes law and order probroems to the District and the State Government. Some of them are engaging in anti-social activities as stated by N.F. General Under such circumstances in such places the eneroachers. The Government passed orders for eviction against those illegal encroachment of these places only. state Government decided to evict. After a few days,

***English translation of original speech delivered in Assamese.**

the eviction started, that eviction order was stayed by the Central Government. An influential M.P. from another State made contact with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and he apprised of the Prime Minister that the religious and linguistic minorities were harassed as a result of the eviction order and he got the eviction order stayed. It was also alleged that Indian citizens were harassed by evicting them. On the other hand, eviction is being done against the Assamese encroachers. In Maligaon and Pandu some Jhopries have been demolished. But hundreds of Assamese people were evicted and their pacca houses were demolished. There was a news item on the 30th July, again that an M.P. met the Home Minister and the eviction order in the Forests Reserve was stopped because the said M.P. told the Home Minister as it is alleged that the linguistic and religious minority are being harassed their houses, were burnt. In this connection a news was culminated in the "Patriot" on the 7th July—"Assam officials doubt legality—Controversy to stay eviction." It is alleged that there is a controversy in between the Central and State Governments.

These phrases are being used—such as —linguistic minority, religious minority, Indian citizen and so on, are being harassed just to mislead the Indian leaders—Central Government and People of India. It is an established fact that during the last 35 years the Assam Government had to stop eviction at least for 30 times. It happened so—simply because of the fact that there is a very strong lobby which can influence the decision of the Central Government. Under the influence of that powerful lobby the Assam Government had to stop eviction against those illegal occupants and their pro-

gramme of detection, deletion and deportation of foreign nationals could not be materialised. These phrases of linguistic minority, religious minority are playing a havoc with the people of Assam. Whenever these "Slogans" are raised the Central leaders and Government become nervous. It is like a magic wand in the hands of the encroachers specially railway land encroachers and as well as to the foreign nationals in Assam.

Therefore, I want to say that the Central Government is very much responsible for the foreigners problem in Assam, since no firm principle was formulated by the Central Government. Even today the Forest Reserve land, the Railway land are being encroached in a systematic manner as a result of such a wrong policy of the Central Government. Even now Jhopries are being erected by Bangladeshies whenever they found a convenient place. The Government is not taking any action against such offenders although the State of Assam is under the President's rule. When some action is initiated, they are stopped under the lame excuse of harassment of linguistic minority, religious minority, Indian citizen and so on.

Today, in Assam the bonafide Assamese are being treated as foreigners. The Government have enough forces to maintain law and order in the country. They have got at least 15 thousand C.R.P. personnel at their disposal in Assam. There were 158 bomb explosions cases in Assam. So many murders took place in Assam. In spite of these police and intelligence sources, the Government failed to arrest the real criminals. May I know why? Of course some persons have been arrested. If we look at these arrested persons, we find that majority of them are non-Assamese. On the other hand some innocent Assamese youths have been arrested unnecessarily and

even bail is not granted to them. But the non-Assamese persons are granted bail. I know a certain persons, who is non-Assamese and who was arrested 5 times but every time he was released on bail. Some tender Assamese youth are arrested without any definite charge and they are harassed and inhumanly tortured by the police.

I want to know from the Hon'ble Home Minister whether Assam is an integral part of India? Whether Assamese people are Indian citizens or not? Much atrocities are being committed over the Assamese people by C.R.P. personnels—as if Assam is under colonial rule. Dishpur, the capital of Assam is just like a fort. Barbed wire fencings are all around. No common men can go there. There are so many police, C.R.P. and Military guards at different points. One has to obtain a pass to enter that areas. There is total brain-wash of the C.R.P. personnel posted there. A dangerous idea has been injected in them that Assamese people are secessionist, they are rebel, they are anti-Indians, therefore, they are to be terrorised and repressed. A C.R.P. officer stated—Do you know—why we have been posted in Assam? Because they are to be terrorised and repressed. To break down their morals and their anti-Indian movement this is also mentality of some of higher rank. As I.P.S. officers posted in Assam. There officer do not even trust their labour Assamese officers. Even common Assamese people move days fears to move freely. No body knows when suddenly C.R.P. will appear and lead them. Even at home students and youths are not safe. Any time they may be dragged out of their home, taken to police thana and beaten. What is happening in Assam today, some of them are worse than Jalian-walabagh.

Even today people from Bangladesh are pouring into Assam. The Government has utterly failed to

stop infiltration. Therefore, I urge the Government to take some effective step to stop infiltration. There is a real need for all ardent lovers of democracy to cry a halt to all these mischievous designs of the Government of India. Assam no doubt, would fight the evils to the last. But certainly the rest of India cannot afford to remain silent onlookers of this deliberate conspiracy against democracy and peace loving people of Assam who are fighting for a right cause.

I had many more points to refer, but another member from our party is participating in the de-bate. So, with these words I conclude my speech.

श्री असद मदन (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
 जनाब नायब सदर साहब, मैं इस बात से मुतफिक हूँ और यह मानना जरूरी है कि यह आशाम में गैर-मुल्की का ममला, एक कानूनी और आइनी मसला है। इसको हमारे आइन और कानून के मुताबिक जैसाकि हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन ने कहा है कौन शहरी है और कौन शहरी नहीं है, इसको बिल्कुल साफ किया है कि अपने शहरियों, सिटीजन्स के मामले में ऐसा तरीका-ए-कार अख्तियार करना चाहिए जिससे यहां के शहरियों पर कोई जुल्म, ज्यादाती, ना-इन्साफी, खोफ परेशानी न हो और वे अमन और अमान के साथ अपनी शहरी हुकूमत का इस्तेमाल कर सकें और सहूलियत के साथ ज़िदगी गुज़ार सकें। मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि आज कानून का हवाला उन लोगों के हक में दिया जा रहा है जिन्होंने कानून को, अमन को, इन्साफ को, हिन्दुस्तान की हुकूमत, हिन्दुस्तान की दौलत, हिन्दुस्तान की शहरियत इस मुल्क की ज़िदगी का मफलूज करने की कोशिश की, पेट्रोल बन्द किया, अरबों रुपये की दौलत से मुल्क को महरूम किया, महीनों में ज्यादा मुल्क पेट्रोल से, कच्चे पेट्रोल के आने से महरूम रहा, तिजारत

बन्द रही, फिसाद फैलाया, बदअमनी फैलाई, मारधाड़ की, वहाँ के अफसरों को, उनको औरतों को, बच्चों को, सड़कों के रोकने में, ट्रेफिक के रोकने में, बदअमनी फैलाने में, मारधाड़, इन सब में शरीक किया, डाक्टरों को मारा गया, तालेबिनमों को, जो स्टूडेंट, नोजवान उनकी एजिटेशन में शरीक नहीं हुए, उनको क्लासेज में, उनको बोर्डिंग हाऊस में निहायत तंग किया गया और जो लोग उनके साथ शरीक नहीं थे, आसामी थे या नान-असमो थे, उनकी जिदगियां खतरे में पड़ी, लड़कियों की बेआबरूई हुई, नोजवानों को रास्ते चलते परेशान किया गया, हर किस्म के ला एण्ड आर्डर को खत्म किया गया, तबाह किया गया। आज वह उलटी बातें कह रहे हैं और यह कहते हैं कि अमन होना चाहिए, इन्साफ होना चाहिए। अमन और इन्साफ का तो कहीं दूर-दूर भी हवाला नहीं, बदअमनी—आज हिन्दुस्तान का असम हमेशा से अंश है और रहेगा।

लेकिन वह दिन याद करना चाहिए जब सारी दुनिया में वह फोटो छपा था कि इंडियन डाग्स गो बैक, या क्या कहा था। मैंने ही वह रसाला पालियामेंट में पेश किया था। अगर हिन्दुस्तानी सब के सब डाग कहे जा सकते हैं, तो फिर क्या कहना कहने वालों का। वह लोग हिन्दुस्तान के वफादार हो सकते हैं। क्या वह चन्द लोग इस काबिल हैं कि उनकी इज्जत की जाए और उनके साथ कोई अच्छा बर्ताव किया जाए। यह हमारी कमजोरी है कि इस किस्म के लोगों का हम लोग सिर पर बिठाते हैं और उनको बदअमनी और फिसाद और लोगों की जिदगी तबाह करने के—यह बात कि बंगला देश से कोई आता है, तो हो सकता है कि हमारे बाज लोगों को उनकी खबर हो, उनका फर्ज है कि अफसरों को उनकी लिस्ट दें, नाम दें,

तहकीकात का मौका दें और यह पता चले कि बंगला देश से कौन आ रहा है और कौन नहीं है, जिनकी उनको खबर है।

हम तो यह जानते हैं कि बार्डर पर सख्ती है और होनी चाहिए। हम किसी भी गैर-मुल्की को गैर-कानूनी तौर पर हिन्दुस्तान में रखने के हक में नहीं हैं। लेकिन इसी तरीके से हिन्दुस्तान के शहरियों को बाजार, घाट, हाट, रास्ते में किसी बेचारे गरीब मजदूर को, जिसके पास कागज साथ नहीं और सहूलियत नहीं है, मिट्टी काट रहा है किसी गांव में किसी बांध पर, उसको वहां पकड़ लिया जाए और यह कहा जाए कि तू हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं है, लोगों का चलना-फिरना दुर्भर हो—मैं खुद असम जाता हूँ और मैंने वहां मंजर देखे हैं कि बदअमनी, फिसाद है, एजिटेटर्ज का तरफ से सड़कों पर चलना नामुमकिन है और हर तरफ से खतरा है और उनकी जहनियत निहायत खराब है। एरोड्रोम से आना-जाना बंद है, कोई ला एण्ड आर्डर नहीं है। अगर जरा उनके साथ नमी हो, यह हमारी सरकार की भूल है कि इस किस्म की एजिटेशन चलाने वालों के साथ किसी किस्म की नमी होनी चाहिए।

वह हिन्दुस्तान के, असम के अमन में कानून के दुश्मन हैं। उनके साथ दुश्मनों जैसा व्यवहार होना चाहिए। वह चन्द लीडर हैं जिन्होंने लोगों को पागल बना रखा है और जहां तक ताल्लुक है गैर-मुल्कियों का, बेशक अगर कोई गैर-मुल्की गैर-कानूनी तौर पर यहां रहता है, उसके लिए कानून मौजूद है, हुकूमत मौजूद है, उसको रोकना चाहिए।

लेकिन उसके साथ यह बात कि पुलिस के हाथ में सब मामला चला जाए और कोई इन्साफ न हो, कुछ बात न सुनी जाए, यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि आज भी वहां के लोगों को

जुल्म के साथ, हिन्दुस्तान के शहरियों को, सिटिजंस को जुल्मन वहां से निकाला जा रहा है और बाज़-बाज़ इलाकों में बगैर नोटिस, बगैर उनको मौका दिये कि वह अदालत में जाएं, या किसी जगह जा कर अपने कागजात दिखाएं, उनके बगैर पुलिस पकड़ती है रास्ते, घाट से और उनके कागजात अगर वह दिखाना चाहते हैं, तो कागजात फाड़ करके फेंक देते हैं और अगर कोई ऐसा मौका नहीं होता है, तो कहते हैं कि हम ले जाते हैं, कल आकर पुलिस स्टेशन से ले लेना। पर फिर कहां मिलता है। कागजात जाया कर दिये जाते हैं और इस तरीके से जुल्मन रोज़ाना लोगों का असम से निकाला जा रहा है। हिन्दुस्तान के शहरियों को, नागरिकों को और अगर किसी गरीब, किसी मजदूर जिसके पास घर नहीं है, झोंपड़ी में रहता है, अपनी जमीन नहीं, अपना खेत नहीं, मजदूरी करके पेट पालता है तो क्या वह हिन्दुस्तान का शहरी नहीं होगा इस लिए कि कहीं उस का नाम नहीं। कोई गरीब आदमी ऐसा हो जिस के पास कोई तहरीरी सबूत नहीं लेकिन उस को देखने वाले 50-60 साल से हिन्दुस्तान में मौजूद हैं, वह यहीं रहा, लोगों ने उस का बचपन देखा, जवानी देखा और अब वह बूढ़ा है, उसको आप पकड़ें और कहें कि तुम्हारे पास तहरीरी सबूत नहीं, इसे निकाल दो—यह जुल्म है जो कातिल के साथ भी नहीं होता। कोई कत्ल करता है, मर्डर करता है तो भी उस का सफाई का मौका दिया जाता है। यह सरकारी मशीनरी को जिम्मेदारी है कि वह किसी को गैर-मुल्की कहती है तो फिर साबित करे कि वह कैसे गैरमुल्की है, उस को मौका दें कि वह साबित करे कि वह हिन्दुस्तानी है। अगर वह हिन्दुस्तानी अपने को साबित कर लेता है या सरकारी मशीनरी उस को गैर-मुल्की साबित नहीं कर सकती तो उस को यहां रहना चाहिए, उस पर जुल्म नहीं होना

चाहिए। लेकिन अगर वह साबित नहीं कर सकता है तो कोई उस का हामी नहीं, उसको मुल्क से जाना चाहिए। इस तरह से जुल्म करना और सताना और उस के लिए वकालत करना, इस तरह की फिजा बनाना बिल्कुल नामुनासिब है।

जहां तक वोटर लिस्ट का ताल्लुक है इस तरह का आन्दोलन चलाया गया, प्रेस को पिक्केटिंग की गई, लोगों का रोका गया, तमाम फेहरिस्टें जाया कर दं गयीं। इस तरीके से नामुक्मल, गलत तरीके की लिस्टें बनाने का कोशिश की गई। पहले इलेक्शन हो चुके हैं, जा वोटर लिस्टें एक मर्तबा इलेक्शन में आ चुकीं इलेक्शन जिन के आधार पर हो चुका है उन का मानना चाहिए। अगर आप के नजदीक कोई गैर-मुल्की है तो आप साबित कीजिए। वोटर लिस्ट का सवाल नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में उसे रहने का हक नहीं अगर वह यहां का मिटीजन नहीं है। पर इस तरीके से लाखों का तादाद में जिक्र करना, मुख्तलिफ तरीके से हवाला देना, लाखों आदमियों का हिन्दुस्तान का शहरियत से महरूम करना कोई अमानो-अमान की फिजा बनाने की बात नहीं है।

हमारे बहुत से बेचारे हिन्दू भाई पाकिस्तान के जमाने में भी और उस के बाद भी बांग्ला देश की सरजमीन में, जो पहले पाकिस्तान था, आये हैं। अगर ऐसे कुछ लोग आये हैं और वहां मजबूरी महसूस करते हैं तो हमारा फर्ज है कि हम उन को पनाह दें। अगर वहां से कुछ लोग आ जाते हैं, वे परेशानी में हैं, मैं तो कहता हूं कि हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों, सिख हों या किसी भी मजहब के हों—पहले तो एक ही मुल्क था—उन को इस लिए रोकना कि दूसरे मुल्क के रहने वाले हैं ठीक नहीं है। हां, बिला वजह नहीं आने देना चाहिए। हमारे मुल्क में इतनी जगह नहीं है कि हम लाखों-करोड़ों को

घुसा लें, लेकिन अगर दो-चार आदमी मजबूरी से आ जाते हैं तो भी हम उन्हें बसने न दें, ऐसी कोई नीति बनाना कोई भली बात नहीं है। सब चीजों का ख्याल रखना चाहिए। अगर इस तरह कुछ आ जायें तो उनको भी यहां मौका देना चाहिए। कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि पहले मौके पर उन्हें शहरियत दे दें। अगर यहां रह सकें, मौका हो तो जरूर बन जायें, नहीं तो वापस चले जायें, मगर इस तरीके से एक कायदा बना कर लोगों को यहां से निकालने को कोशिश करना कोई मुनासिब बात नहीं है।

मैं इस बात का जिक्र कर चुका हूं कि पुलिस के हाथ में इस कां देना, जिस तरीके के वहां खराब किस्म के आफिसर्स हैं जो एजीटेड्स के जहर से रंगे हुए हैं उन के हाथ में मामला देना और जो लोग उन के मुकाबले हुकूमत की वफादारी करते थे उनको हटाना—यह बात गवर्नमेंट के लिए किसी तरह मुनासिब नहीं है। इससे फिजा खराब होगी और आसाम का अमन तबाह होगा। यह वहां हो रहा है। खास तौर से दारंग जिले में बहुत जुल्म हो रहा है। वहां एक गांव है कालाचर। 7 अप्रैल को वहां मुहम्मद अली 40 वर्ष का उम्र का है, स्क्रीनिंग के नाम पर उसके तमाम कपड़े उतार दिये गये, नंगा कर दिया गया और नंगा कर के उस के बदन को नापा गया और क्या क्या किया गया। इसी तरह दूसरी जगहों पर लोगों को मारा गया, पीटा गया, उन के कागज फाड़ दिये गये। इस तरह स्क्रीनिंग के नाम पर मुसल्ला पुलिस को ले कर जाते हैं, पूरा गांव घेर लेते हैं। अनपढ़ अंधा, जाहिल देहाती—आर्म्ड पुलिस ने आ कर गांव घेर लिया, बुला-बुला कर धक्का दे-दे कर पूछते हैं, किसी के चपत मार दी—बेचारे मगर उन के पास कागज ही भी तो

मुसीबत में उन्हें दिखाना भूल जाते हैं कह नहीं सकते, बयान नहीं कर सकते, दूढ़ नहीं सकते और उनको कह देते हैं कि तुम तो गैर मुल्का हो, निकल जाओ। तो इस तरह के मजालिम का रोकना चाहिए और इन हालात को दुरुस्त करने की कोशिश करना चाहिए। इसी तरीके से आसाम में ब्रह्मपुत्र और दूसरी बहुत सी नदियां हैं। वह दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा बारिश वाला इलाका है। वहां बारिश से और बाढ़ से और दरियाओं के तूफान से और उन के कटाव से बराबर नुकसान होता रहता है और जब कोई गांव या घर या लोग उस बाढ़ का जद में आ जाते हैं तो उन की जमीन कट जाती है। आखिर वह गरीब कहाँ जायें। कहीं जायेंगे तो कहा जायगा कि तुम तो तीन साल के हिन्दुस्तानी हो। तुम सबूत दो और नहीं तो निकलो यहां से। इसी तरीके से अगर सिटीजनशिप का फैसला होगा कि एक गरीब यहां से वहां चला गया, मंतकिल होने पर मजबूर हुआ और उस का गैर मुल्की बना दिया गया तो किसी का भी सिटीजन रहना यहां मुश्किल हो जायगा। इस तरीके का जुल्म और ज्यादाती को रोकना चाहिए चाहे वह सरकारी जमीन में बस गया हो या मजबूरी में वहां बस गये हों। उन के साथ ऐसा मामला होना चाहिए कि वे वहां रह सकें। जाहिर है कि जब किसी का गांव और घर उजड़ गया दरिया में बह गया तो वह कहाँ जायगा। उन के पास कोई माल या असास तो बाकी नहीं रहता। पहले 50 बीघे के वह मालिक थे तो अब 10 या 5 बीघे में ही अपनी गुजर कर रहे हैं गरीबी के साथ, लेकिन उन का भी अगर गैर मुल्की कह दिया जाय और कह दिया जाये कि तुम सरकारी जमीन में बैठ हो, निकलो, तो यह तो ठीक नहीं होगा। यह बीस सूत्री प्रोग्राम का जमाना है। आज तो जो बगैर जमीन के लोग हैं उन को जमीन देने की बात

गवर्नमेंट सोच रही है और जिन को जमीन किसी भी हालत में मिली हुई है जो मजदूरी कर रहे हैं उन को भी उजाड़ कर बेजमीन कर दिया जाये, यह तो इंसानियत का तकाजा नहीं है। चाहे ऐसे लोग आसामी हों या बंगाली हों या कोई उस में मुसलमान हों या हिन्दू हों या सिख हों, यह इंसानियत का और इसाफ का तकाजा है कि उन के साथ अच्छा बर्ताव होना चाहिए। मैं यह भी जिक्र करना चाहता हूं कि एक एस डी ओ साहब हैं, आज कल बहुत ज्यादा तनतने वाले हैं। वह पहले तो बरपेटा में थे। तो बरपेटा में उन्होंने एक पुलिस के अफसर को, डी एस पी को बुलाया और कहा कि अब्दुल लतीफ के खिलाफ जो एक्ट-एम एन ए हैं और एक्स—मिनिस्टर हैं रिपोर्ट करो कि उस की वजह से कम्युनल रायट होने का खतरा है। उस डी एस पी ने कहा कि अच्छी बात है और वह वहां से हट गया। उस ने रिपोर्ट नहीं दी। तो उन्होंने एक छोटे पुलिस अफसर को बुलाया और उसको बुलवा कर रिपोर्ट लिखवाई और अब्दुल लतीफ, एक्ट—मिनिस्टर का जेल में डाल दिया और 15 दिन तक उन की जमानत नहीं होने दी और उसके बाद बड़ी मुश्किल से जमानत दी। आप एक बार करीमांज बाजार तशरीफ ले आये और कहा कि मैं मुरादाबाद का रहने वाला हूं। सब को ठीक कर दूंगा। एक लड़की का कोई मामला वहां था और आप तहकीकात के लिए वहां तशरीफ ले गये थे। देहात में देख भाज के लिए गये थे। यह तो अच्छी बात है लेकिन फिर वहां से करीब के बाजार में तशरीफ ले गये। वहां के लोग उन के पास जमा हो गये। उन में कोई डाक्टर था, कोई दुकानदार था, कोई नौकरी-पेशा था जब वह सारे लोग जमा हो गये तो पुलिस से उन्होंने कहा कि इन सब को पकड़ लो। उस गांव के बाजार का मामला नहीं।

जहां मामला था वहां से हो कर चले आये थे। जो कुछ उन को करना था उस मामले में वह कर चुके थे और वहां से आ कर दूसरे बाजार में बैठ गये थे। लोगों ने सोचा कि एस डी ओ साहब तशरीफ लाये हैं इसलिए वहां कुछ लोग जमा हो गये। लेकिन उन्होंने उन सब लोगों को हथकड़ियां डलवा कर बगैर वारंट के हवालात में बन्द करवा दिया इस जुर्म में कि एस डी ओ के पास तुम क्यों तशरीफ लाये, तुम क्यों जमा हुए। उसके बाद रातावाड़ी में एक गांव है, उसका नाम खैर इस समय यहां नहीं है, लेकिन वहां कुछ जंगलत को जमीन थी। वहां उस को कुछ गरीबों ने चन्द साल पहले, दस, बारह साल पहले उस फारेस्ट के अफसर से ले लिया था, डां एफ ओ से ले लिया था। थोड़ी-थोड़ी जमीन पर वह गरीब लोग अपनी काशत करते थे। वहां गन्ने का फ़ैक्टरी बनी है। तो वहां फारेस्ट वालों ने कुछ दिनों के बाद केस किया। एक जगह उस केस में फारेस्ट वाले हारे। वह जमीन बाजान्ता सरकारी तौर पर उन्होंने ली थी। दूसरी जगह अमीन की गई और वहां से फिर वे हारे। फिर वहां उन एस डी ओ साहब ने विजिट किया और वहां जमीन पर उन्होंने जबरदस्ती कब्जा कर लिया। वे लोग जा कर स्टे ले आये लेकिन उस के बावजूद उस स्टे के बाद भी डी एफ ओ के साथ उन्होंने उन के तमाम जानवर और सामान और मालमता, गाय, बैल, उन सब को लुटवा दिया। उसके बाद उनके घर तोड़े, उनकी खेतियां जलाई, उनके मकानात जलाये। उनकी खेतियों का यह हाल है, मेरे पास फोटो है यह देखिए। उनके वक्त्रों, उनकी मसजिदों, उनके मकानात सब के सब जला डाले। यह मैं चेयरमैन साहब की खिदमत में पेश कर रहा हूं, यह देखिए, यह हाल है।

इसी तरीके से वह एस० डी० ओ० ब्राह्म के कारनामे सुनिये। एक फखरुल इस्लाम वहां मिनिस्टर थे, एम० एल० ए० थे वहां पर तहकीकात के लिए वह आ रहे थे। आप करीमगंज से तशरीफ लाये और उनको पकड़ कर जीप में ले गये और बन्द कर दिया गया। बाद में वारन्ट तामील हुआ। उसके बाद दूसरे दिन जमानत हुई। वहां कछार के 22 अहम लोगों के खिलाफ वारन्ट इश्यू किये। जब मैं वहां गया हूं इस मामले को देखने के लिए उस वक्त तक खेतियां, मकानात बगैरह जलाना जारी था। यह है वहां के अफसरान का हाल। अगर ऐसे ही अफसरान वहां रहेंगे, उनकी हिम्मत अफजाई होगी, उन्हें तरक्की दे दी गई, 15 दिन वह कहीं और रहे और फिर तशरीफ ले आये, यह हाल होगा तो असम में क्या होगा, यह कहना मुमकिन नहीं है। उस गांव का नाम रौशनाबाद है जहां यह कांड हुआ।

इसके बाद मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि जिस तरीके से मरकजी निजाम वहां काम कर रहा है, मरकज कहती है, हॉम मिनिस्ट्री ने यह ऐलान किया है कि जो रेलवे और फारेस्ट की जमीन जोतते बोलते हैं उनसे उसको खाली नहीं कराया जाएगा, इसी तरह से जरूरी है कि रिजर्व खास लैंड जो है उसके बारे में भी हॉम मिनिस्ट्री ऐलान करे कि उनको भी इसी तरीके से खाली नहीं कराया जाएगा और लोगों को बरबाद नहीं करेंगे। जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है, उनको सरकार जमीन देना चाहती है, जिनके पास थोड़ी-थोड़ी जमीन है, जो गरीब हैं, जो इस परेशानी से फंसे हुए हैं, संलाब से या किसी और तरीके से तबाह हो गये हैं उनको अगर आप उजाड़ेंगे तो इसका नतीजा क्या निकलेगा? लाखों जो मुसोबत जदा लोग हैं, मेरी दरखवास्त है कि जो रिजर्व

खास लैंड है, जब तक वहां कोई सरकार बने और वह कोई सूरत सोचे, कम से कम उन लोगों को वहां की जमीनों से नहीं हटाया जाएगा। उसके बाद जो नीति बनेगी इंसाफ पर उसको देखा जाएगा। इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि हुकूमत मजबूती से वहां काम चलायेगी और कोई कम्यूनल टेंशन, कोई बदअमनी, कोई फिसाद, कोई बेचैनी वहां नहीं बरती जाएगी और जिस तरह से वहां जुलम हो रहा है, लोगों को परेशान किया जा रहा है, न कोई सबूत देने का मौका दिया जा रहा है, उन पर कड़ी नज़र रखेगी। जो अच्छे अफसरान हैं, जो वफादार अफसरान हैं उनकी हिम्मत अफजाई होगी और जो गैर-वफादार अफसर है उन पर कड़ी नज़र रखी जाएगी ताकि वे लोगों को सता न सकें।

इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि हुकूमत को पालिसी से वहां फायदा होगा और मुल्क तरक्की करेगा।

†[شہری اسعد مدنی (ایڈیٹر دیپش):

جذاب نائب صدر صاحب - میں اس بات سے متفق ہوں کہ... اور یہ ماننا ضروری ہے کہ یہ آسام میں غیر ملکی کا مسئلہ ایک قانون اور انڈیائی معاملہ ہے - اس کو ہمارے آئین اور قانون کے مطابق جیسا کہ ہمارے کانستٹی - ٹیوشن نے کہا ہے - کون شہری ہے اور کون شہری نہیں ہے - اس کو بالکل صاف کہا ہے کہ اپنے شہریوں - سٹیٹزن کے معاملے میں ایسا طریقہ کار اختیار کرنا چاہئے جس سے یہاں کے شہریوں پر کوئی ظلم - زیادتی ناانصافی

اور پردیشانی نہ ہو اور وہ امن و امان کے ساتھ اپنے شہری حقوق کا استعمال کر سکیں اور سہولیت کے ساتھ زندگی گزار سکیں۔ مجھے اس بات کا افسوس ہے کہ آج کانوں کا حوالہ ان لوگوں کے حق میں دیا جا رہا ہے جنہوں نے قانون کو امن کو انصاف کو ہندوستان کی حکومت ہندوستان کی دلات کی حکومت ہندوستان کی شہرت اس ملک کی زندگی کو مفلوج کرنے کی کوشش کی پتھروں بند کیا۔ اربوں روپیہ کی دولت سے ملک کو محروم کیا۔ مہیادوں سے زیادہ ملک پتھروں سے کچھ پتھروں کے آنے سے محروم رہا۔ تجارت بند رہی۔ فساد پھیلایا۔ بد امنی پھیلائی۔ مار دھار کی۔ وہاں کے افسروں کو انکی عورتوں کو بچوں کو روکے میں تھپک کے روکے میں بد امن پھیلانے میں۔ مار دھار۔ ان سب میں شریک کیا۔ قائدروں کو مارا دیا۔ طالب علموں کو جو اسٹوڈنٹ۔ وجوان انکے ایجوکیشن میں شریک نہیں ہوئے انکو کلاسز میں انکو بورڈنگ ہاؤس میں نہایت تلک کیا گیا۔ اور جو لوگ انکے ساتھ شریک نہیں تھے آسانی سے یا ناج آسانی سے۔ انکی زندگیاں خطرے میں پڑیں۔ لڑکیوں کی بے آبروئی ہوئی۔ نوجوانوں کو راستہ چلتے پریشان کیا گیا۔ ہر قسم کے لائیڈ آرڈر کو ختم کیا گیا تبہ کیا گیا۔ آج وہ الٹی بنائیں کر رہے

ہیں اور یہ کہتے ہیں کہ امن ہونا چاہئے انصاف ہونا چاہئے۔ امن اور انصاف کا تو کہیں دور دور بھی حوالہ نہیں۔ بد امنی۔۔۔ آج ہندوستان کا آسام ہمیشہ سے انگ ہے اور رہے گا۔

ایک دن یاد کرنا چاہئے جب ساری دنیا میں وہ فوٹو چھپا تھا کہ۔۔۔ ہندوستان قانس گو بیک؟ یہ کیا کہا تھا۔ میں نے ہی وہ رسالہ پارلیمنٹ میں پیش کیا تھا۔ اگر ہندوستانی سب کے سب توگ کہتے جا سکتے ہیں تو پھر کیا کہنا کہنے والوں کا۔ وہ لوگ ہندوستان کے وفادار ہو سکتے ہیں۔ کیا وہ چند لوگ اس قابل ہیں کہ ان کی عزت کی جائے اور ان کے ساتھ کوئی اچھا برتاؤ کیا جائے۔ یہ ہماری کمزوری ہے کہ اس قسم کے لوگوں کو ہم لوگ سر پر بٹھاتے ہیں اور ان کو بد امنی اور فساد اور لوگوں کی زندگی تبہ کرنے کے۔۔۔ یہ بات کہ بلکلہ دیہی سے کوئی آتا ہے تو ہو سکتا ہے کہ ہمارے بعض لوگوں کو ان کی خبر ہو ان کا فرض ہے کہ افسروں کو ان کی لسٹ دیں۔ نام دیں۔ تحقیقات کا موقعہ دیں اور یہ پتہ چلے کہ بلکلہ دیہی سے کون آ رہا ہے اور کون نہیں۔ جس کی ان کو خبر ہے۔

ہم تو یہ جانتے ہیں کہ بارڈر پر سختی ہے اور ہونی چاہئے۔ ہم کسی بھی غیر ملکی کو غیر قانونی طور پر

ہندوستان میں رکھنے کے حق میں نہیں ہیں لیکن اسی طریقہ سے ہندوستان کے شہریوں کو ہزار - کھات - ہات - راستہ میں کسی بیچارے فریب مزدور کو جس کے پاس کاغذ ساتھ نہیں اور سہولیات نہیں ہیں - مٹی کاٹ رہا ہے کسی گلوں میں کسی باندھ پر - اس کو وہاں پکڑ لیا جائے اور یہ کہا جائے کہ تو ہندوستانی نہیں ہے لوگوں کا چلنا پھرنا دوبہر ہو.... میں خود آسام جاتا ہوں اور میں نے وہاں ملنا دیکھے ہیں کہ بد امنی - فساد ہے - ایچی ٹیٹرس کی طرف سے سڑکوں پر چلنا ناممکن ہے اور ہر طرف سے خطرات ہیں اور ان کی ذہنیت نہایت خراب ہے - ایرودم سے آنا جانا بند ہے - کوئی لائیڈ آرڈر نہیں ہے - اگر ذرا ان کے ساتھ نرمی ہو یہ ہماری سڑک کی بھول ہے اور اس قسم کے ایچی ٹیٹرس چلانے والوں کے ساتھ کسی قسم کی نرمی نہ ہونی چاہئے - وہ ہندوستان کے آسام کے امن میں قانون کے دشمن ہیں ان کے ساتھ دشمنوں جیسا ویوہار ہونا چاہئے - وہ چند لہڈر ہیں جنہوں نے لوگوں کو ہائل بنا رکھا ہے - اور جہاں تک تعلق ہے فیر ملکوں کا بیشک اگر کوئی فیر ملکی فیر قانونی طور پر یہاں رہتا ہے اس کے لئے قانون موجود ہے - حکومت موجود ہے - اس کو روکنا چاہئے -

لیکن اس کے ساتھ یہ بات کہ پولیس کے ہاتھ میں سب معاملہ چلا جائے اور کوئی انصاف نہ ہو - کچھ بات نہ سنی جائے یہ بات نہیں ہونی چاہئے - مجھے اس بات کا دکھ ہے کہ آج بھی وہاں کے لوگوں کو ظلم کے ساتھ - ہندوستانی کے شہریوں کو - سٹوڈنٹس کو ظلم رہاں سے نکالا جا رہا ہے اور بعض بعض علاقوں میں بغور نوٹس - بغور ان کو موقع دئے کہ وہ عدالت میں جائیں یا کسی جگہ جا کر اپنے کفالت دکھائیں - اس کے بغور پولیس پکڑتی ہے راستہ میں - کھات سے اور ان کے کاغذات اگر وہ دکھانا چاہتے ہیں تو کاغذات پر ہار کر کے پھینک دیتے ہیں - اور اگر کرنی ایسا موقع نہیں ہوتا ہے تو کہتے ہیں کہ ہم لے جاتے ہیں کل آ کر پولیس اسٹیشن سے لے لیا پر پھر کہاں ملتے ہیں - کفالت دئے کر دئے - تے ہیں اور اس طریقہ سے ظلم روزانہ لوگوں کو آسام سے نکالا جا رہا ہے - ہندوستان کے شہریوں کو ناگروں کو اور کسی فریب - کسی مزدور جس کے پاس گھر نہیں ہے - دیوہڑی میں رہتا ہے - ایلی زمین نہیں - ایلا کویت نہیں - مزدوری کر کے پیمت پالتا ہے تو کہا یہ ہندوستان کا شہری نہیں ہوگا اس لئے کہ کہیں اس کا نام نہیں - کوئی غریب آدمی ایسا ہو کہ جس کے پاس کوئی تعدادی ثبوت نہ ہو لیکن اس کو

دیکھنے والے ۵۰-۶۰ سال سے ہندوستان میں موجود ہیں۔ وہ یہیں رہا۔ لوگوں نے اس کا بچپن دیکھا۔ جوانی دیکھی۔ اور اب وہ بوڑھا ہے۔ اس کو آپ پکڑیں اور کہیں کہ تمہارے پاس تھریزی ٹھوت نہیں اسے نکال دو۔ یہ ظلم ہے اور قابل کے ساتھ بھی نہیں ہونا۔ کوئی قتل کرتا ہے۔ مقرر کرتا ہے تو اس کو صفائی کا موقع دیا جاتا ہے۔ یہ سرکاری مشینری کی ذمہ داری ہے کہ وہ اس کو غیر ملکی کیتچ ہے تو پھر ثابت کرے کہ وہ کیسے غیر ملکی ہے۔ اس کو موقع دیں کہ وہ ثابت کرے کہ وہ ہندوستانی ہے۔ اگر وہ ہندوستانی اپنے کو ثابت کر لیتا ہے یا سرکاری مشینری اس کو غیر ملکی ثابت نہیں کر سکتی تو اس کو یہاں رہنا چاہئے۔ اس پر ظلم نہیں ہونا چاہئے۔ اس طرح سے ظلم کرنا اور ستانا اور اس کے لئے وکالت کرنا اس طرح کی فضا بنانا بالکل نامناسب ہے۔

جہاں تک ووٹر لسٹ کا تعلق ہے اس طرح کا آندولن چلانا گیا۔ پریس کی پکچرنگ کی گئی۔ لوگوں کو روکا گیا۔ تمام فہرستیں زائد کردی گئیں۔ اس طریقہ سے نام مکمل فلت طریقہ کی لسٹوں بنانے کی کوشش کی گئی۔ پہلے الیکشن ہو چکے ہیں۔ جو ووٹر لسٹیں اب تک

مرتبہ الیکشن میں آچکی الیکشن جن کے ادھار پر ہو چکا ہے۔ ان کو ماننا چاہئے۔ اگر آپ نے نزدیک کوئی غیر ملکی ہے تو آپ ثابت کیجئے۔ ووٹر لسٹ کا سوال نہیں ہے۔ ہندوستان میں اسے دھلے کا حق نہیں اگر وہ یہاں کا سٹیژن نہیں ہے۔ پر اس طریقہ سے انہوں کی تعداد میں ذکر کرنا۔ مختلف طریقہ سے حوالہ دینا لاکھوں آدمیوں کو ہندوستان کی شہریت سے محروم کرنا کوئی امن امان کی فضا بنانے کی بات نہیں ہے۔

ہمارے بہت سے بیچارے ہندو بھائی پاکستان کے زمانہ میں بھی اور اس کے بعد بھی بلکلہ دیہی کی سر زمین سے۔ جو پہلے پاکستان تھا اٹے ہوں۔ اگر ایسے کچھ لوگ آئے ہیں اور وہاں مجبوری محسوس کرتے ہیں تو ہمارا فرض ہے کہ ہم ان کو پناہ دیں۔ اگر وہاں سے کچھ لوگ آجاتے ہیں وہ پریشانی میں ہیں۔ میں تو کہتا ہوں ہندو ہوں۔ مسلمان ہوں؟ سب ہوں یا کسی بھی مذہب کے ہوں۔۔۔ پہلے تو ایک ہی ملک تھا۔ انگو اسلئے روکنا کہ دوسرے ملک کے دھلے والے ہیں تھپک نہیں ہے۔ ہاں بلا وجہ نہیں آنے دینا چاہئے۔ ہمارے ملک میں اتنی جگہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم لاکھوں کروڑوں کو کھسالیں۔ لیکن اگر دو چار آدمی

مجھدوری سے آجاتے ہیں تو بھی ہم انہیں بسنے نہیں دیں ایسی کوئی نئی بلانا کوئی بھلی بات نہیں ہے - سب چھڑوں کا خیال رکھنا چاہئے - اگر اس طرح کچھ آجائیں تو انکو بھی یہاں موقعہ دینا چاہئے - کوئی ضروری نہیں ہے کہ پہلے موقعہ ہو انہیں شہریت دے دیں - اگر یہاں وہ سکین موقعہ ہو تو ضرور بن جائیں نہیں تو واپس چلے جائیں - مگر اس طریقہ سے ایک فائدہ بنا کر لوگوں کو یہاں سے نکالنے کی کوشش کرنا کوئی مناسب بات نہیں ہے -

میں اس بات کا ذکر کر چکا ہوں کہ پولیس کے ہاتھ میں اسکو دینا جس طریقہ کے وہاں خراب قسم کے آئیٹس ہیں جو ابھی تیسٹرس کے زہر سے رنگے ہوئے ہیں انکے ہاتھ میں معاملہ دینا اور جو لوگ انکے مقابلے حکومت کی وفاداری کرتے تھے انکو ہٹانا - یہ بات گورنمنٹ کیلئے کسی طرح مناسب نہیں ہے - اس سے فضا خراب ہوگی اور آسام کا امن تباہ ہوگا یہ وہاں ہو رہا ہے - خاص طور سے دارانگ ضلع میں بہت ظلم ہو رہا ہے وہاں ایک گاؤں ہے کالاجر - 7 اپریل کو وہاں محمد علی ۴۰ ورہ کی عمر کا ہے اسکریٹنگ کے نام پر اسکی تمام کھڑے آثار دسے گئے - زنگا کر دیا گیا اور نلکا کر کے اسکے بدن کو ناپا گیا اور

کیا کیا کیا - اس طرح دوسری جگہوں پر لوگوں کو مارا گیا پیٹا گیا انکے کانڈ ہواڑ دیئے گئے - اس طرح اسکریٹنگ کے نام پر مصالح پولیس کو لے کر جاتے ہیں پورا گاؤں گھیر لیتے ہیں - ایچو ہواڑ - جاہل دیہاتی .. آرمد پولیس نے آکر گاؤں گھیر لیا بلا بلا کر دھکا دے دے کر پوچھتے ہیں - کسی کے چومت مار دی... بے چارے اگر انکے پاس کانڈ ہوں بھی تو مصدومت میں انہیں دکوانا بیول جاتے ہیں - کہہ نہیں سکتے یہاں نہیں کر سکتے - ڈھونڈ نہیں سکتے اور انکو کہتے ہیں کہ تم تو فدر ملکی ہو نکل جاؤ - سو اس طرح کے مظالم کو روکنا چاہئے اور ان حالات کو درست کرنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے - اس طریقہ سے آسام میں برہمپتر اور دوسری بہت سی ندیاں ہیں - وہ دنیا میں سب سے زیادہ بارش والا علاقہ ہے - وہاں بارش سے اور بارش سے اور دیوایوں کے طوفان سے اور انکے کنارے برابر نقصان ہوتا رہتا ہے اور جب کوئی گاؤں گھر یا لوگ اس بارش کی زد میں آجاتے ہیں تو انکی زمین کٹ جاتی ہے - آخر وہ فریب کہاں جائیں کہیں جائیں گے تو کہاں جائیں گے کہ تم تو تین سال کے ہندوستانی ہو - تم ٹھوٹ دو اور نہیں تو نکلو یہاں سے - اسی طرح سے اگر سٹیشنر شپ کا فیصلہ ہوگا

کہ ایک غریب یہاں سے وہاں چلا گیا - ملحقہ عوٹے پر مجبور ہوا اور اسکو فہرہ ملکی بلدا دیا گیا تو کسی کا بھی سٹوڈن نہ تھا یہاں مشکل ہو جائیگا - اسطریقہ کی ظلم اور زیادتی کو روکنا چاہئے چاہے وہ سرکاری زمین میں بس گیا ہو یا مجبوری میں وہاں بس گئے ہوں - نئے ساتھ ایسا معاملہ ہونا چاہئے کہ وہ وہاں رہ سکیں - ظاہر ہے کہ جب کسی کا گلوں اور گھر اجڑ گیا - دریا میں بہہ گیا تو وہ کہاں جائیگا - انکے پاس کوئی مال یا اثاثہ تو باقی نہیں رہتا - پہلے پچاس ہیکٹہ کے وہ مالک تھے اب دس یا پانچ ہیکٹہ میں ہی ایذا گزر کر رہے ہیں غریبی کے ساتھ - لیکن انکو بھی اکر فہرہ ملکی کہہ دیا جائے اور کہہ دیا جائے کہ تم سرکاری زمین میں بیٹھے ہو نکلو تو یہ تو تھپک نہیں ہوگا - یہ بوس سوتیرہ پروگرام کا زمانہ ہے - آج تو بغیر زمین کے لوگ ہیں انکو زمین دینے کی بات گورنمنٹ شوچ رہی ہے اور چلکو زمین کسی بھی حالت میں ملی ہوئی ہے جو مزدوری کر رہے ہیں انکو بھی اجازت کر بے زمین کر دیا جائے یہ تو انسانیت کا تقاضہ نہیں ہے - چاہے ایسے لوگ آسامی ہوں یا بلالائی ہوں یا کوئی اسمین مسلمان ہوں یا ہندو ہوں یا سکھ ہوں - یہ انسانیت کا اور انصاف کا

تقاضہ ہے کہ انکے ساتھ اچھا برتاؤ ہونا چاہئے - میں یہ بھی ذکر کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ایک ایس - سی - او صاحب ہیں آچکل بہت زیادہ نفعی والے ہیں - وہ پہلے تو بریپنگا میں تھے تو بریپنگا میں انہوں نے ایک پولیس کے افسر کو سی - ایس - پی کو بلایا اور کہا کہ عبداللطیف کے خلاف جو ایکس ایم - ایل - اے ہیں اور ایکس مسٹر ہیں رپورٹ کرو کہ اسکی وجہ سے کمیونل رائف ہونے کا خطرہ ہے اس سی - ایس - پی نے کہا کہ اچھی بات ہے اور وہاں سے ہٹ گیا - اس نے رپورٹ نہیں دی - تو انہوں نے ایک چھوٹے پولیس افسر کو بلایا اور اس کو یاد کر رپورٹ لکھوائی اور عبداللطیف ایکس مسٹر کو جیل میں قائل دیا اور 15 دن تک ان کی ضمانت نہیں ہونے دی اور اس کے بعد بڑی مشکل سے ضمانت دی - آپ ایک بار کریم گنج بازار تشریف لے آئے اور کہا کہ میں مراد آباد کا رہنے والا ہوں سب کو تھپک کر دوں گا - ایک لڑکی کا کوئی معاملہ وہاں تھا اور آپ تحقیقات کے لئے وہاں تشریف لے گئے تھے - دیہات میں دیکھ بھال کے لئے گئے تھے - یہ تو اچھی بات ہے لیکن پھر وہاں سے قریب کے بازار میں تشریف لے گئے وہاں کے لوگ ان کے پاس جمع ہو گئے ان میں کوئی ڈاکٹر تھا -

کوئی دوکاندار تھا - کوئی نوکری پیشہ تھا - جب وہ سارے لوگ جمع ہو گئے تو پولیس سے انہوں نے کہا کہ ان سب کو پکڑ لو - اس گاڑی نے بازار کا معاملہ نہیں جہاں معاملہ تھا وہاں سے ہونے چلے آئے تھے - جو کچھ ان کو کہنا تھا اس معاملہ میں وہ کر چکے تھے وہاں سے آ کر دوسرے بازار میں بیٹھ گئے تھے - لوگوں نے سوچا کہ ایس - ڈی - او - صاحب مشرف لائے ہیں اس لئے وہاں کچھ لوگ جمع ہو گئے - لیکن انہوں نے ان سب لوگوں کے ہتھیاریں ڈال کر بغیر وارنٹ کے حوالات میں بند کر دیا اس جرم میں کہ ایس - ڈی - او - کے پاس تم کیوں تشریف لائے - تم انہوں جمع ہوئے - اس کے بعد رانا بازی میں ایک گاڑی ہے اس کا نام خیر اس وقت یہاں نہیں ہے - لیکن وہاں کچھ جنگلات کی زمین تھی وہاں اس کو کچھ غریبوں نے چند سال پہلے دس سال پہلے اس فارمسٹ کے افسر سے لے لیا تھا - ڈی - ایف - او - سے لے لیا تھا تھوڑی تھوڑی زمین پر وہ فریب لوگ اپنی کاشت کرتے تھے - وہاں گنے کی فیکٹری بنی ہے - تو وہاں فورسٹ والوں نے کچھ دنوں کے بعد کیس کیا - ایک جگہ اس کیس میں فورسٹ والے ہمارے وہ زمین باضابطہ سرکاری طور پر انہوں نے لے لی تھی - دوسری جگہ اپیل کی گئی اور وہاں سے پہلے

وہ ہمارے - پور وہاں ان ایس - ڈی - او - صاحب نے وزنہ لیا - اور وہاں زمین پر انہوں نے زبردستی قبضہ کر لیا - وہ لوگ جا کر اُسٹے لے آئے لیکن اس کے باوجود اس اُسٹے کے بعد بھی ڈی - ایف - او - کے ساتھ انہوں نے ان کے تمام جانور اور سامان اور سال و تناع گائے بیل ان سب کو لٹوا دیا -

اس کے بعد ان کے گھر نوزے گئے - ان کی کھیتیاں جلائی گئیں - ان کے مکانات جلائے - ان کی کھیتوں کا یہ حال ہے مہرے پاس فوٹو ہے یہ دیکھئے - ان کے بچوں ان کی مسجدوں - ان کے مکانات سب کے سب جلا ڈالے - وہ میں چیئرمین صاحب کی خدمت میں یہس کر رہا ہوں - یہ دیکھنے پر یہ حال ہے -

اسی طریقہ سے وہ ایس - ڈی - او - صاحب کے کارنامے سنئے - ایک فخر الاسلام وہاں مسٹر تھے - ایم - ایل - اے - تھے وہاں پر تصدیقات کے لئے وہ آئے تھے - آپ کریم گنج سے تشریف لائے اور ان کو پکڑ کر حبيب میں لے گئے اور بند کر دیا گیا - بعد

میں وارنٹ تعمیل ہوا۔ اس کے بعد دو-دو دن ضمانت مہی - وہاں کچھار کے ۲۲ اہم لوگوں نے خلاف وارنٹ ایشو کئے - جب میں وہاں گیا ہوں اس معاملہ کو دیکھنے کے لئے اس وقت تک دھمکیاں - مکانات وغیرہ جلانا جاری تھا - یہ ہے وہاں کے افسران کا حال - اگر ایسے ہی افسران وہاں رہیں گے ان کی ہمت افزائی ہو گی - نہیں - قی د - د گڈ - ۱۵ دن وہاں ہیں اور دے اور پھر تشریف لے آئے - یہ حال ہوگا تو اسام میں کیا ہوگا تو یہ کہنا ممکن نہیں ہے - اس گاؤ کا نام روشن آباد ہے - جہاں یہ کانت ہوا -

اس کے بعد میں عرض کروں گا کہ جس طریقہ سے مرکزی نظام میں کام کر رہا ہے - کڑ کہتی ہے - ہوم منسٹر نے یہ اعان کیا ہے کہ جو ویلوے اور فوریسٹ کی زمینیں چڑھا دی جوتے ہیں ان سے امر کو خالی نہیں کرایا جائے گا - اسی طرح سے ضروی ہے کہ رزرو خاص ٹھکانہ جو ہے اس نے بارے میں ہوم منسٹری اعلان کرے کہ ان کو بھی اسی طریقہ سے خالی نہیں کرایا جائے گا اور لوگوں کو پرہیز نہیں کریں گے - جن کے پاس زمینیں ہیں وہ ان کو سوکار زمین دینا چاہتی ہے - جن کے پاس تھوڑی تھوڑی زمینیں ہیں - جو غریب ہیں - جو اس پریشانی میں پھنسے ہوئے ہیں سیلاب

سے یا کسی اور طریقہ سے تباہ ہو گئے ہیں ان کو اگر آپ اجازت دیں تو اس کا نتیجہ کیا نکلیے گا - لاکھوں جو مصیبت زدہ لوگ ہیں مہی درخواست ہے کہ جہ رزرو خاص لینڈ ہے جب تک وہاں کوئی سرکار ہلے اور وہاں کوئی صورت سوچیں کم سے کم ان لوگوں کو وہاں کر زمینوں سے نہیں ہٹایا جائے گا - اس کے بعد جو نیکی ہلے گی انصاف پر اس کو دیکھا جائے گا -

ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اسہد کرتا ہوں کہ حکومت مضبوطی سے وہاں کام چلائے گی اور کوئی کمپنیل تھیشن - کوئی بدامنی - کوئی فساد - کوئی بھیچھلی وہاں نہیں ہوتی جائے گی - اور جس طرح سے وہاں ظام و رہا ہے لوگوں کو پریشان کیا جا رہا ہے - نہ کوئی رت دینے کا موقعہ دیا جا رہا ہے ان پر کوئی نظر رکھے گی - جو اچھے افسران ہیں جو وفادار افسران ہیں ان کی ہمت افزائی ہو گی اور جو غیر وفادار افسر ہیں ان پر کوئی نظر رکھی جائے گی - تاکہ وہ لوگوں کو ستا نہ سکیں -

ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اسہد کرتا ہوں کہ حکومت کی پالیسی سے وہاں فائدہ ہوگا اور ملک ترقی کریگا -

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश):

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कुछ दूसरे तरीके से इस समस्या पर अभी अभी सोच रहा था लेकिन एक तकरीर को सुनने के बाद मुझे अब लग गया कि मैं कोई ज्योतिषी तो नहीं हूँ, लेकिन लश्कर साहब अगर यही हालत रही तो इस देश को टूटने से कोई बचा नहीं सकता। मैं जवाब नहीं दे रहा हूँ। मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता कि अगर आपके पक्ष के किसी आदमी का ऐसा दिमाग है तो फिर क्या गुरेज है कि काश्मीर में शेख अब्दुल्ला कौन मुल्की है, कौन गैर मुल्की है, किसको अपनी इजाजत दे और किसको न दे, यह अधिकार अपने हाथ में लेता है तो आप क्यों नहीं उसको मानते। यह बात तय हो चुकी है कि केन्द्र की सरकार अभी तक शहरी के मामले में कि शहरी कौन है, कौन नहीं है, इसका फैसला करने में ही अपना दिमाग नहीं लगा सकी है। मैं इस दृष्टि से कह रहा हूँ कि पूर्वांचल में घट रहा है उसकी जहूनियत को अगर हम नहीं समझेंगे तो मैं आपसे सच कहता हूँ कि कोई ताकत नहीं है जो इस देश को बचा सके। हिन्दुस्तान को अगर हम देखें, डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ साल तो मैं ज्यादा कह रहा हूँ पिछले ही कुछ सालों का देखें तो पता लगेंगा कि पहले होता है फिर टटता है। बदकिस्मती है हम लोगों को कि आजादी को 34 वर्ष हो गये, टटने का सिलसिला जारी है ही। यह भी जानने का कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि वहाँ के लोग इस चीज को क्यों कह रहे हैं, क्यों इस चीज को मांग रहे हैं। यह मत भूलियेगा कि वह पीढ़ी जिसने हिन्दुस्तान की एकता का सपना देखा था, जिसने आजादी के साथ अपने को जोड़ा था वह अब पीढ़ी खत्म हो रही है। अब नई पीढ़ी आ रही है जिसकी कोई बात स्थाई नहीं है। उसका एक ही स्थाई सपना है कि अपने को कैसे बचाया जाए। मौलाना साहब मैं तारीफ करता हूँ। आप अपनी पार्टी में प्रस्ताव

पाम करो। मैं इस बात को मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि कभी शहरी का मामला नहीं उठाया जायेगा। हम जानते हैं कि भविष्य में क्या होने जा रहा है। एक तरफ आप कहते हैं कि यह समस्या है कि कुछ लोग बाहर से आए हैं और फिर दूसरी तरफ हम धर्म के नाम पर हम वहाँ खोज करनी शुरू करें कि कौन किस धर्म का है। अगर वह परदेशी है चाहे हिन्दुस्तानी हो या मुसलमान उससे कोई मतलब नहीं। आप एक मर्तबा सारे इलाके में इसकी जांच करा लें कि वहाँ कितने परदेशी हैं। उसके बाद देखें कि उनको कहां बसाना है। क्यों उनको दिल्ली में नहीं ले आते? यह समस्या बड़ी राष्ट्रीय समस्या रही है। अगर दिल्ली में हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के बंटवारे के बाद लाखों लोग यहाँ खपाये जा सकते हैं तो जो वहाँ चार-पांच लाख आदमी विदेशी हैं और उनके वहाँ रहने की समस्या है तो ले आइये उनको दिल्ली में। फिर देखेंगे कि उनको कहां बसाना है, यहाँ बसाना है या कहीं और भेजना है। जो वहाँ की समस्या है उससे कैसे आप अपना मुँह मोड़ना चाहेंगे। शहरी नागरिकता देने का जो आपने कानून बनाया है अगर उसमें थोड़ी सी भी आपने लोब दी तो मैं फिर आपसे कह रहा हूँ कि भविष्य—दिख रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान के जो कानून बने हुए हैं अगर उनका पालन नहीं होता है तो फिर हर राज्य अपने आप नागरिकता तय करने को परिभाषा बनाना शुरू कर देगा। ठीक है आप वहाँ गये होंगे मौलाना साहब, लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि उस धरती से मेरा भी बहुत नजदीकी रिश्ता रहा है। इतना ही गुनाह है कि मैं किसी असभिया मां के पेट से पैदा नहीं हुआ। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में जब आग लगी थी, फिरकाबाराना दंगे हो रहे थे जिसको मुल्लाओं ने दाढ़ी नहीं रोक सकी, जिसको पंडितों को चोटा नहीं रोक सकी उस समय असम की धरती पर कोई दंगा नहीं हुआ।

यहां इस बात पर लड़ाई होती है कि यह किताब उर्दू में क्यों नहीं आई, यह किताब हिन्दी में क्यों नहीं आई जब कि असम में कभी भी प्रश्न नहीं खड़ा हुआ। असम में कभी भाषा का प्रश्न नहीं खड़ा हुआ। असम में कभी भूसा का प्रश्न नहीं खड़ा हुआ। असम में कभी भोजन का प्रश्न नहीं खड़ा हुआ। आज उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति का प्रश्न खड़ा हो गया है। अगर यह चलता रहा तो आर्थिक तौर पर देश टूटेगा ही। यह मत भूलिये कि इसके पड़ोस में मणिपुर है। इसके साथ जुड़ा हुआ बर्मा है। इसके साथ जुड़ा हुआ नागालैण्ड है, मिजोरम है। अगर बरतानिया की सरकार को अपनी फौजों को भेजने के बावजूद उस इलाके से समझौता करना पड़ा देश को एकता और सुरक्षा को बनाए रखने के लिए तो आज आप उनसे क्यों बात करने को भी तैयार नहीं है। शतानी आंखों की तरह बात बढ़ती ही जा रही है। हमारे आदरणीय बैकटा-रामन जी जिन्होंने एक लम्बा इतिहास आजादी का देखा है उन्हें पता है कि शायद इतना बड़ा हिंसक आंदोलन कभी नहीं हुआ। हो सकता है कि आज वहां पर टट-फट हुई हो। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वहां पर कोई टट-फट नहीं हुई है। आज उन लोगों के सामने कोई रास्ता नहीं रह गया है। आप उनके सब रास्ते बन्द कर देना चाहते हैं। अगर किसी इंसान के सारे रास्ते बन्द कर दिये, कोई रास्ता उसके सामने नहीं रहे तो आप इस बात को कबूल करेंगे कि फिर उसके सामने दो ही रास्ते रह जाते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि आप इस मंसूबे से उन लोगों के लिए सब रास्ते बन्द कर देना चाहते हैं, रोक देना चाहते हैं। आप चम्बल के डाकुओं को नहीं रोक सके, उनकी दस बन्दूकों पर कब्जा नहीं कर सके तो कैसे आप असम के नौजवानों का रास्ता बन्द कर पाएंगे, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं

आता। अगर वहां के नौजवान का अहिंसा से विश्वास चला गया, गांधी की अहिंसा से उसका विश्वास चला गया तो फिर क्या होगा? नागालैण्ड में जो कुछ हुआ, यद्यपि वह इससे जुड़ा हुआ नहीं है, लेकिन वह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। दो तीन सवाल इससे जुड़े हुए हैं। आप एक ही काम करिये कि क्या आप इस बात के लिए तैयार हैं कि वहां पर कौन देशी है और कौन परदेशी है इसकी जांच करने जा रहे हैं या नहीं करने जा रहे हैं? अगर आप जांच करने जा रहे हैं तो उसका तरीका क्या होगा? अभी तक इस सरकार ने कोई मंसूबा किसी के सामने पेश नहीं किया है। आपने खुद कबूल किया है कि वहां पर रदेशी हैं। दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि वहां पर जो मूल आदिवासी हैं, वे आदिवासी जो बेघर हो गये हैं, जिनकी धरती उनसे छीन ली गई है, क्या आप उसकी धरती उसको वापस कर देंगे मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हम लोग अपने आपको शरीफ समझते हैं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का वह दूर-दराज का रहने वाला आदिवासी, जंगलों और अन्धकार में रहने वाला आदमी हम लोगों से कहीं अधिक स्वाभिमानी है। हम जो लोग दिल्ली में रहते हैं वे दिल्ली की सल्लतनों के साथ बहिन-बेटियों का विवाह कर समझौता करते आए हैं, लेकिन दूर-दराज के व्यक्ति ने अपनी इज्जत को सदैव बनाये रखा है। उसने कभी गुलामी स्वीकार नहीं की। आज वही गरीब आदमी अपनी धरती से हटाया जा रहा है, बेदखल किया जा रहा है। अगर दूर-दराज के लोगों को इसी प्रकार से बेदखल किया जाता रहेगा तो फिर यह समस्या चलती रहेगी। मैं चाहता हूं कि आप इन बातों का जवाब दीजिए। त्रिपुरा में क्या हुआ? मैदानों से सारे लोगों को निकाल कर पहाड़ों में पहुंचा दिया गया।

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

असम में भी यही किया गया। मैदानी इलाकों से लोगों को निकाल कर पहाड़ों में भेज दिया गया। कोई भी ताकतवर आदमी उन लोगों को जमीन लेकर उनको बेदखल कर सकता है। मैं भी अगर 10-15 आदमियों को ले कर जाऊं तो आदिवासियों की जमीन लेकर उनको बेदखल कर सकता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार का आदमी जा कर वहाँ जमीन खरीद लेता है और उनको बेदखल कर देता है। वहाँ का रहने वाला आदमी कुछ नहीं कर सकता है।

जहाँ तक आर्थिक पहलू की बात है, मैं इस राय का हूँ कि कम से कम आप एक फैसला अभी तक नहीं कर सके हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में जहाँ जहाँ पर राज्यों में तेल है उसके लिए सब को समान रायलिटी दी जाय। अगर आसाम का नौजवान यह महसूस करने लगे कि गुजराती के मुकाबले में वह नम्बर 2 पर है, अगर आसाम का नौजवान यह महसूस करने लगे कि मराठी के मुकाबले में वह नम्बर 2 का है, अगर आसाम का नौजवान यह महसूस करने लगे कि तमिलनाडु के मुकाबले में वह नम्बर 2 का है और उसकी आर्थिक विषमता इसी प्रकार से बढ़ती गई तो फिर वह क्यों हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रहे, यह प्रश्न उसके सामने खड़ा हो जाता है। असम के लोग क्यों हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रहें, क्यों न अलग हो जाएं, यह प्रश्न उनके दिमाग में पैदा हो सकता है। उनको हमारे साथ रहने से क्या मिलने वाला है? वे सिमटे हुए लोग हैं। उनकी तादाद खत्म होती जा रही है, उनकी जवान खत्म हो रही है, उनकी भाषा खत्म हो रही है। ऐसी स्थिति में वे हिन्दुस्तान के साथ क्यों रहें? शायद वे दिन बहुत खतरनाक होंगे। यह बात हम सभी जानते हैं

कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दरूनी इलाकों में और मिडियम इलाकों में जो धरती है वह आसाम की धरती से कुछ अलग है। असम की धरती की अपनी अलग विशेषता है। सारे हिन्दुस्तान पर कब्जा करने के बाद अंग्रेजों को आसाम की धरती पर कब्जा करने में 80 वर्ष लगे थे। इस बात को मैं दोहराना चाहता हूँ लस्कर साहब कि अगर आप खाली यह समझते रहे कि समस्या इस तरह की है और आप निकल कर चले जाओगे, तो 80 वर्ष नहीं एक वर्ष में अगर उन लोगों को यह पता चल गया कि दिल्ली का गोहाटी के साथ कोई रिश्ता नहीं हो सकता है, तो 80 दिन नहीं लगेंगे देश को टूटने में। मैं कड़वे मन से दुखदाई बात कह रहा हूँ। आग का खेल मत खेलिए। आपके पास पच्चीसों कानून हैं। आपके पास मीसा जैसा कानून बना हुआ है। उसके बाद भी आपको क्या जरूरत पड़ रही है जो ऐसा गंदा कानून लायें। इस वास्ते मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ कि मेरा एक ही मूढ़ा है कि आप आज निश्चित घोषणा करिये कि वहाँ की नागरिकता का मामला तय करने की जो बात है तो वह जो संविधान में दिया हुआ है वही तय रहेगा या उसमें संशोधन-परिवर्तन करके बनाना चाहते हैं ताकि मामला साफ हो, आख-मिचोली न हो। वह वहाँ से भागकर यहाँ न आये और आप यहाँ से वहाँ न जायें और यह नाटक आगे देखने का मौका न मिले कि जम्हूरियत में अल्पमत की सरकारें बनाई जायें, किसी को मारा पीटा जाय। इसलिए पहले आप यह साफ कर दें कि सरकार के इस सम्बन्ध में ये नियम हैं और अब हिन्दुस्तान में जो भी नागरिकता तय की जायेगी वह इस आधार पर तय की जायेगी। आपका बहुमत है आप पास कर सकते हैं। आप चाहें तो सारे संविधान को बदल सकते हैं। आप अपने बहुमत के बल पर कह सकते हो कि संविधान सभा

नया संविधान बना डाले। लेकिन आज तक जो संविधान है, उसके अन्दर निहित जो सिद्धान्त हैं, उसके अन्दर जो निहित कानून हैं, उसके तहत हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की नागरिकता देंगे या नहीं यह प्रश्न मैं आपसे करना चाहता हूँ।

दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि आसाम में चुनाव हों। एक आदमी के डंडे, लाट साहब के डंडे से वहाँ का शासन नहीं चलना चाहिए। मैं तो जम्मू-रियत पर शुरू से ही इस काले गुंबद राज के खिलाफ हूँ राष्ट्रपति भवन से जो चना जाता है आदेश कि जिस राज्य को चाहो गुलाम बना दो। जम्मू-रियत के लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि चुनाव हों। अगर चुनाव होता है तो चुनाव कमीशन ने जो आपत्ति बताई है, जिसकी वजह से वह चुनाव अभी तक नहीं करा पा रहे हैं तो उनका कहना मत मानिये। उन्होंने जो कहा है, यहाँ तक कि जब तक यह मामला तय न हो जाय कोई मतदाता सूची नहीं बन सकती, इसके बारे में आपको सफाई करनी चाहिए कि क्या पुरानी मतदाता सूची, जिसके आधार पर चुनाव होते आये हैं, उसी के आधार पर यह होगा। नई मतदाता सूची नहीं बन सकती और यह भी सही है कि खाली कोई कमीशन बैठ कर नागरिकता कानून की बात शुरू करे उसे तय करने में जो समय लगेगा तो वह 6 महीने होगा नहीं। यह बिल्कुल साफ है। आपके सामने दो ही विकल्प हैं। समय-वद्ध, एक महीने, दो महीने के अन्दर बैठ कर फैसला कर दें कि कौन नागरिक कौन विदेशी हैं और कह दिया जाय कि उसके बाद वहाँ पर कोई विदेशी नहीं है। मैं उस राय का नहीं हूँ कि कह दूँ कि विदेशियों को वहाँ से मारकर भगा दो, रखो, लेकिन आसाम ने उसके लिए क्या कोई पाप किया है जो यह सारा उसके सर पर हो। बंगाल में क्यों नहीं

रहें, मध्य प्रदेश में क्यों नहीं रहें। अगर कोई भला-भटका वहाँ से सताया हुआ हिन्दुस्तान में आता है तो आये। मैं उसके लिए तैयार हूँ। कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार, यह संसद् पास करे कि पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान का एक कनफ़ेडरेशन हो और अगर हिन्दुस्तान या पाकिस्तान में कोई आना-जाना चाहे तो उसके लिए यह जो बीसा है मैं उसके खिलाफ हूँ। लेकिन आप कहेंगे कि यह बड़ी वैसी बात है। लेकिन आप जो यथार्थ हैं उसको क्यों भूल जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं आपसे चाहता हूँ कि आप बिना बिलम्ब चुनाव करायें। ... (व्यवधान) ... शायद आसाम पर वहस करने का मौका न मिले कल्पनाथ राय जी।

नागरिकता का आधार क्या होगा यह आपको तय करना है। अगर चुनाव कराने हैं तो पुरानी वोटर लिस्ट के आधार पर चुनाव होंगे या नहीं? आदिवासी, वहाँ के मन लोग हैं जो अपनी जमीनों से बेदखल किये गये हैं, जंगलों पर कब्जा किया गया है उनको वापस आप वे जमीनें देंगे या नहीं। अगर आप नहीं दिला सकते तो आपकी मंशा क्या है। इसके साथ साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर अगर मौतवी साहब की जैसी 10-15 तकरीरें हो जाय तो मैं आपको दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ पर फिरकावाराना दंगे हो सकते हैं, बिल्कुल निश्चित रूप से हो सकते हैं। खैर, मैं तो उन आदिमियों में हूँ जो यह समझते हैं कि बोलने का अधिकार सब को है और उन्हें जो बोलना है वह बोलें और जिनका काम उससे पैदा होने वाली जो स्थिति है, उसको रोकना है वह उसको रोकें। और इसलिए मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ कि जो अब तक डिटेक्शन आपने किया है जो मेरी सूचना है कि उमका कुछ आधार आपने धार्मिक बनाया है। क्योंकि इस मामले में हिन्दुस्तान

[श्री लाडली मोह निगम]

की सभी पार्टियां पिलपिली हो जाती है उनको लगता है कि अगर हिन्दू आ गया तो उसको वापस कैसे भेजेंगे तो मैं उन लोगों से अभी कहना चाहता हूं जिनको बहुत मुहब्बत है हिन्दू से, धर्म से तो उसे बाबा अपने घर में लेकर रखें वहां क्यों उनको रखते हो। इस वास्ते मेरा दिमाग इस पर साफ है, धर्म के नाम पर तो मैं मानता ही नहीं, मेरा बस चले तो हिन्दुस्तान में जब हम कहते हैं अपने को, विधर्मी तो नहीं लेकिन धर्म निरपेक्ष, अपने को कहते हैं तो कुछ बड़ी बात होना चाहिए लेकिन कहां होगी धर्मनिरपेक्षता इस देश में, जहां हिन्दुस्तान का सदर शपथ लेते ही सब से पहले कहता है मुझे कही जा कर अर्दास करनी है, कोई कहता है मैं अपनी चादर चढ़ाऊंगा, कोई कहता है तिरुपति जा कर प्रसाद लूंगा तभी जा कर बसूंगा। हिन्दुस्तान के राज करने वाले अगर हर पत्थर को पूजते फिरेंगे, हर मजार को माथा टेकते फिरेंगे तो फिर इस देश के जो बुद्धिजीवी हैं, इस देश के जो मालिक हैं—जब इनका दिमाग इतना भरा हुआ है—तब वे समझेंगे कि यह पत्थर इका कुछ दे रहा है, यह तंत इनको कुछ कर रहा है। तो फिर देश कैसे चलेगा। उसकी जनता भी धर्म के नाम पर संवेगी। तो मैं चाहता हूं कि धर्म के नाम पर आपने जा इलेक्शन किया है उसको बन्द कीजिए।

ज्ञानी जल सिंह जो पूर्ववर्ती थे आज सदर हो गये हैं। उनका ही बयान है कि दो लाख अस्सी हजार के करीब उन्होंने डिटेक्ट किये थे। तो उस में से कितने भेजे ? यह खोज करेंगे कि नहीं ? जिन लोगों को आपने खुद ही खोज लिया है उनको तो वोटर्स लिस्ट में नहीं रखेंगे या वे रहेंगे यह भी अगर रखना है तो कह दीजिए। यह बिल्कुल साफ सवाल है कि जो अब तक डिटेक्ट हो चुके हैं जिनकी

पहचान हो चुकी है जो खोले जा चुके हैं क्या उनको मत का अधिकार रहेगा ? इस वास्ते मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं, एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूं, उसे सुझाव तो नहीं कहूंगा एक छोटी सी विनती है कि आप तत्काल वहां कितने कब से आये, विदेशी कौन है, कौन बाहर से है इसकी लिस्ट बना दीजिए। जब तक आप जो कट इयर रखते हैं उसको रखें हमसे कोई मतलब नहीं है, आप किसी को बाहर भेजें न भेजें मैं इसको भी नहीं कह रहा हूं, मैं सिर्फ इतना ही चाहता हूं कि आप जो निश्चित साल कर लें उसके बाद भी आये हुए—आदमी को भेजने की बात नहीं करता, कम से कम उसको डी-फ्रेंचाइज तो कर सकते हैं कि मत में हिस्सा नहीं ले सकता है। जब तक उसकी दूसरी शर्त पूरी नहीं कर लेता तब तक नहीं करेंगे। तब आपकी नीयत पर कोई शक नहीं करेगा। नहीं तो चुनाव भी दिखावटी हो सकता है। यह बात भी कहीं गई है कि वायोलेंस हो रहा है, हिंसा भड़क रही है। मुझे ताज्जुब होने लगा, अभी जब मैं आसाम गया पिछले जमाने में तो मैंने उन लोगों से कहा कि तुम लोग इतने सहनशील हो, अब तो मेरा विश्वास भी कभी कभी बोली से हटता जा रहा है। कितनी दूर तक सहते चले जाओगे। हमने कहा कि तुम से अच्छे तो वे नागा वाले लोग थे। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आप कभी वहां चलिए, बड़ी अच्छी जगह है। जब इम्फाल जायेंगे तो दीमापुर से रास्ता जाता है और कोई तो रास्ता नहीं है। आज भी मिलिटरी कन्वाय के अन्दर हिन्दुस्तान की पैसैंजर्स गाड़ियां और बसें वहां चलती हैं आप ताज्जुब करेंगे दीमापुर से इम्फाल की दूरी 136 मील है, 6 सुबह बजे बैठा, शाम को आठ बजे पहुंचा। यह नहीं कि वह बस धीमी चलती है, बस चलती है, चलते चलते एकदम रुक गई शायद उसको कहीं आड़ियों में कुछ हिलता नजर आया। यहां पर एक

नागा लड़का सारी फौज को हिला देता है। उनको लगता है मार देंगे। अगर ये लड़के भी नागा बन गये, खुकी बन गये, मँतई बन गये तब क्या करियेगा। इसलिए उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत गम्भीरता से इस वास्ते कह रहा हूँ, आज मेरा कहने का मन है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की जो घर मंत्री बना है, कम से कम अभी जो है उनके अन्दर तो कम से कम एकता, देश को बचाये रखने, देश को जोड़ने की भावना है। मैं औरों की तो बात नहीं कहता। आपके मुखिया या आपकी सरकार के जो दूसरे लोग हैं उनके बारे में बात नहीं कहता हूँ। लेकिन आपसे कम से कम मैं उम्मीद यह करता हूँ कि आप इस देश को खण्डित होने से बचायें। क्योंकि आपके साथ आजादी की लड़ाई की परम्परा जुड़ी हुई है, इस मिट्टी के आप निकले हुए हैं। इसलिए आपने जो बात करने का फैसला किया है करिये, मैं नहीं कहता मत करिये लेकिन अब की यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि दिल्ली से बिना हल निकले लोग वापस चले जायें। इसके लिए आप आज आश्वस्त कर दीजिए। एक रोज लगे, दो रोज लगे, महीना लगे, उनको यहां से जाने नहीं दें, सब विरोधी दलों को बिठाना चाहें, उनका बिठाइये, लेकिन अन्तिम हल आपका हो ही जाना चाहिए और अगर आप नहीं करेंगे, तो उसके लिए मैं किसी सरकार को दोषी नहीं, आपको दोषी पाऊंगा। मुझे हक नहीं है किसी की नीयत पर शक करने का, लेकिन तब मैं मान कर के चलाऊंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान का गृह मंत्री भी इतना असहाय है कि वह अपनी बात कह नहीं सकता, करवा नहीं सकता, सरकार का वह गुलाम है, सरकार का साज्जेदार नहीं है।

इस विश्वास के साथ श्री वेंकटरामन जी कि देश की एकता आपके हाथ में आज है, जिस तरह से आप जब गृह

सीट पर बैठे हो, गृह सीट पर बैठने वाले आदमी के हाथ में संविधान की चाबी रहती है, न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश के हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत रहती है, वेंकटरामन जी आपके हाथ में देश की एकता है, उसको खण्डित होने से बचाइये। बस सिर्फ इतना ही मुझको कहना है।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज हम लोग विचार कर रहे हैं कि पिछले छह महीने तक जो असम में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया था और सरकार की इच्छा है कि छह महीने को अवधि और बढ़ा दी जाए और उसी के साथ-साथ दूसरा भी एक प्रस्ताव है कि बहुत सारी जो वहां पर नौकरियां हैं, सरकारी नौकरियां हैं, अर्ध-सरकारी नौकरियां हैं, उनके ऊपर असेशनल सर्विसेज मेंटेनेंस एक्ट बढ़ा दिया जाए।

मैं इन दोनों का विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ और जो विरोध करता हूँ, उसके पीछे कुछ कारण हैं। सरकार के विरोध में शिव चन्द्र झा जी का जो प्रस्ताव है, उसका समर्थन भी करता हूँ।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाल्लू मोहन निगम) पीठासीन हुए]।

मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो पिछले छह महीने बीते, जो आपने छह महीने का समय लिया, उसमें आपने इस समस्या के निदान के लिए क्या किया? उस बीच में यह हुआ कि जो सरकारें चल रहीं हैं, दो बार जबरदस्ती अल्पमत को सरकारें बनाई गई केन्द्र के इशारे पर बनाई गई और उन्होंने हाउस फेस नहीं किया, हाउस फेस करने के पहले वहरिजाइन करके चली गई। आपको पता था कि वहां पर अल्पमत है, लेकिन आप यहां से अपन सरकार वहां पर कायम रखना चाहते हैं। छह महीने के अन्दर क्या केन्द्र को सरकार

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

जब वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन है, बीच में कोई दूररा नहीं है, आपने कोई भी काम जो आपका दायित्व है, क्या सब से बड़ी समस्या यहां से प्रारम्भ हुई थी, विदेशी नागरिक आ रहे हैं? सरकार ने स्वीकार किया है कि विदेशी नागरिक इस देश में आ रहे हैं, क्या सरकार के गृह मंत्री आज यह आश्वासन सदन को देने की स्थिति में हैं कि आज विदेशी नागरिकों का आगमन बन्द हो गया है? क्या वह कंटेगारिकली कह सकते हैं कि आज विदेशी नागरिक असम के अन्दर घुसपैठ करके नहीं आ रहे हैं? मेरी जानकारी है कि आज भी उसी गति से विदेशी नागरिक आ रहे हैं।

आपने बड़ी उपलब्धि यह की है कि जो 48 वार्डर पोस्ट्स थीं, उनको 79 कर दिया गया है। आज सरकार स्वाधीनता से लेकर आज तक अपने देश के एक कोने के अन्दर पड़ा हुआ जो असम है और साथ के प्रदेश हैं, मणिपुर है और त्रिपुरा है, वहां पर जो सीमा है, उसकी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था नहीं कर सके। आन्दोलन इसी पर से हुआ कि विदेशी नागरिक घुसपैठ करके आ रहे हैं। विदेशी नागरिकों के इस देश में आने के कुछ नियम हैं—सिटिजनशिप के कुछ कानून हैं। कानून के तहत कोई आए और उसके अनुसार यहां पर आ कर के नागरिक बने। हर देश स्वीकार करता है, हमारे भी बहुत से भाई-बन्द अमरीका और इंग्लैण्ड में जाते हैं, वहां की नागरिकता स्वीकार करते हैं। परन्तु रात के अंधेरे में चोरी-छिपे आ कर चुपचाप घर में घुस जाना और उसके बाद दूसरे दिन वोटर लिस्ट में नाम लिखवा करके यहां के नागरिक बन जाना, अगर सरकार इसी को सिटिजनशिप राइट देना चाहती है, तो सरकार यह भी कहे कि हमने सिटिजन राइट में

कुछ कानून बदला है। अब जो आया और वोटर लिस्ट में नाम लिखवा लेगा, उन सब की सिटिजनशिप स्वीकार है। इसी पर से तो मसला शुरू हुआ है। बड़ी संख्या में वहां विदेशी नागरिक आए हैं, यह सरकार ने भी स्वीकार किया है। इसी को लेकर असम का जनमानस उद्वेलित हुआ है। आन्दोलन चल रहा है ढाई साल से। एक दिन आन्दोलन दो दिन आन्दोलन बड़ी मुश्किल से चलता है। जब तक कोई विशेष उद्दिग्नता न हो, कोई विशेष परिस्थितियां न हों, आन्दोलन नहीं चलता। आन्दोलन किस बात के लिए है? विदेशी नागरिकों को आइडेंटिफाई किया जाये, कौन विदेशी नागरिक हैं जो वोटर लिस्ट में आ गये हैं उन को डिलीट किया जाये, डिफ्रेंचाइज किया जाये। इसके लिए आना-कानी करने का स्पष्ट अर्थ है कि इन विदेशी नागरिकों के अन्दर सरकार का कोई वेस्टेड इण्टरेस्ट है। मेरे मित्र उधर के कह रहे थे वोट बैंक की बात। उनकी बात से लगता है कि वोट बैंक की बात है। इसी लिए जब-जब इस तरह का प्रश्न उठता है—गुलजारी लाल नन्दा के जमाने में उठा, ट्रिब्यूनल्स बने, महीने भर उन्होंने काम किया, उसके बाद उन को रोक दिया गया—बराबर इस तरह की घटना '47 के बाद से चल रही है। कुछ तत्व हैं जो उनको रोकने देना नहीं चाहते, इस लिए घुसपैठ हो रही है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के माध्यम से गृह मंत्री के सामने रखना चाहता हूं कि घुसपैठ अब आसाम तक सीमित नहीं है, बिहार के कटिहार जिले में, संथाल परगना जिले में, पश्चिमी बंगाल में भी हो रही है। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह जरा पता करे। आज से दो-ढाई साल पहले ढाका के अखबारों में छपा था, हमारे यहां भी छपा था, कि

बांग्ला देश में 12 लाख बिहारी मुसलमान कहे जाने वाले मुसलमान हैं जिन को बांग्ला देश स्वीकार नहीं कर रहा। आज वह कहां गये? आज वह बांग्ला देश में नहीं हैं। उन्होंने घोषणा की थी कि हम लोग मार्च कर के लाहौर चले जायेंगे, लेकिन वह लाहौर नहीं गये, वह सब कटिहार, संचाल परगना, पूर्णिया और पश्चिमी बंगाल में और आसाम के मैदानों में आ कर बस रहे हैं। सरकार इसकी जानकारी करे, पता करे। अभी इसी सत्र के अन्दर राज्य सभा के अन्दर मकवाणा साहब ने कहा कि हां, घुसपैठ बिहार में हो रही है। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या आप ने इस की जानकारी की है? क्या आप ने उन को सिटीजनशिप राइट देने का तय किया है? अगर यह सरकार की नीति है कि जो आयेगा वह आये, हमारा दरवाजा खुला है, रहो, किसी के लिए मना नहीं होगा तब ठीक है। परन्तु पूर्व में एक कानून है, पश्चिम में दूसरा कानून है। '71 की लड़ाई के बाद जो सिन्ध से आये थे '78 तक वे स्टेटलेस सिटीजन हो कर पड़े थे। '78 में जनता गवर्नमेंट ने उन को सिटीजनशिप राइट दिये। आज भी काश्मीर में बहुत से लोग ऐसे हैं जो स्टेटलेस सिटीजन हो कर पड़े हैं।

श्री कल्याण राय (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : जिन रिफ्यूजीज को आप ने मध्य प्रदेश भेजा उन सब को भी सिटीजनशिप नहीं दी गई।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : गृह मंत्री जी इस का जवाब दें। वहां यह समस्या है। अगर सिटीजनशिप कानून में कुछ गलत है उसमें संशोधन करने का प्रयास करें। एक ओर सरकार कहती है कि विदेशी नागरिक हैं, आसाम की समस्या है, बातचीत

करती है, सत्रह दौर बातचीत के हो गये, परन्तु क्या किया।

लस्कर साहब जाते हैं, गौहाटी में कहते हैं, आसाम ट्रिब्यूनल में उनका वक्तव्य छपता है 25-5 को —

“The Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Laskar told reporters at Gauhati last week that detection of post 1971 migrants was going on in full swing, without any let up. Similar information has been dished out by the Dispur through a number of press reports earlier. But from these statement the actual situation seems to have remained unclear.”

मैं लस्कर महोदय से जानना चाहता हूं कि जो उनका वक्तव्य छपा है उसमें कितनी सत्यता है? कितने लोगों को उन्होंने डिटेक्ट किया है जो विदेशी हैं और जिन को डिटेक्ट किया है उन को डिफ्रेंचाइज किया है या डिपोर्ट किया है? इसी सूचना के अन्दर दूसरी सूचना छपी हुई है। उसमें छपा है—

“The highest number of thirty-eight suspected foreigners has been detected in Lakhimpur district so far and from other districts namely, Kamrup, Nowgong and Darrang five to ten persons have been detected. Those cases have been sent to the district and sub-divisional screening committees.”

मैं लस्कर साहब से स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा कि उन का स्टेटमेंट ठीक है या जो प्रेस कहता है वह ठीक है? वास्तव में वहां विदेशी हैं? अगर विदेशी हैं तो उन को निकालने का, डिटेक्ट करने का प्रोसेस हो रहा है? अगर नहीं हो रहा है तो उस के लिए वह क्या कर रहे हैं? आज तो ऐसा लगता है आसाम में जाने के दाद कि वहां सरकार का नाम नहीं है। वहां कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। वहां प्रजातंत्र के नियमों का हनन किया जा रहा है। वहां भयंकर अत्याचार

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

हो रहे हैं। हमारे मौलाना साहब ने अत्याचारों का एक चित्र यहां पेश किया और मैंने स्वयं भी वहां देखा। पिछली बार आंदोलन हुआ था। तेजपुर में आन्दोलन हुआ था। वहां गोलियां चलाई गयीं और लोगों को मारा गया। वह लोग मारे गये कि जो जहां भीड़ थी उस से चार चार सौ गज दूरी पर थे। जैसे जानबूझ कर उन को मारा गया हो यह पता चलता था। इतना ही नहीं, एक महिला प्रोफेसर को, अकेली एक फार्म के अन्दर रख दिया गया और सरकार ने कहा कि हम तुम्हारे लिए भोजन का व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते, तुम्हारे लिए सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते लेकिन तुम को इस फार्म के बाहर नहीं जाना है। एक महिला को इस प्रकार आप रखते हैं तो यह आप की दमन नीति नहीं तो क्या है। वहां एक सरकार का दमन चक्र चल रहा है और राष्ट्रपति शासन में एक प्रोपेगेंडा चल रहा है कि आन्दोलनकारी वायलेंस कर वायलेंस कर रहे हैं। को गौहाटी शहर में अम्बारी फटासील बाजार में एक बम फटा। और कुछ लोग उस में मरे। कुछ घायल भी हुए हैं। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि कौन लोग इस के लिए जिम्मेदार थे। इसी प्रकार से वहां कई बम बिस्फोट हुए हैं और उन में कौन दोषी है यह आज तक आइडेंटिफाई नहीं हो सका है। आज तक उनके लिए दोषी व्यक्तियों को पकड़ने में सरकार असमर्थ रही है। उन को सजा दिलाने में सरकार असमर्थ रही है और इस प्रकार से यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जाये कि वहां के लोग दोषी नहीं हैं, यह सरकार का खुद की कारस्तानी है तो आप क्या कहेंगे। या तो सरकार इतनी अक्षम है कि वह दोषियों को पकड़ नहीं सकती और अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो दूसरी बात है। यही नतीजा इस से निकाला जा सकता है।

इतना ही नहीं, आज वहां बंगला देश के नागरिक आ रहे हैं। उन के बारे में छप

रहा है अखबारों में और उस में से कुछ मैं पढ़ रहा हूं ज। आसाम ट्रिब्यून में छपा है 29 मई के ईश्यू में :—

"Bangladeshi in Assam Assembly Secretariat. Two Bangladeshis are understood to have been appointed in the Secretariat of the Assam Assembly recently and many more suspected to have entered already. According to a report received here, the appointment of those persons were opposed by two officers of the Secretariat on the ground of those persons being of doubtful citizenship. To utter surprise of those officers, the two persons are now serving in the Secretariat under their nose."

इसका कोई कांटेडिक्शन आज तक नहीं हुआ है। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूं कि इस के बारे में उस का क्या स्पष्टीकरण है। इस बारे में कई अखबारों में छपा है, परन्तु आज तो वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन है और गृह मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हैं। वे इसका जवाब देंगे कि इस के बारे में उन को क्या कहना है? अगर बंगला देश से आये लोग इस प्रकार से वहां की नागरियों में बैठ रहे हैं तो आगे क्या होगा। दूसरा प्रश्न है कि आप बातचीत करेंगे। सरकार ने 17 बार बात की। तीन बार अपोजीशन के लोगों के साथ बैठ कर बात की। लेकिन जो वहां का सारा मसला है उसको राजनीतिक रूप दिया जा रहा है। कहा जा रहा है कि वह राजनीतिक मसला है, लेकिन जहां तक मेरे सोचने का तरीका है यह सारा सोशल प्राबलम है, इकोनामिक प्राबलम है और यह कल्चरल प्राबलम है। आज आसाम का मूल निवासी समझता है कि जिस संख्या में यह लोग यहां आ रहे हैं यदि वह आते रहे तो वह अपने ही देश में विदेशी करार दे दिया जायेगा और इस बात से उद्विग्न होकर वह आंदोलन कर रहे हैं और इस के लिए उनको विशाल जन समर्थन प्राप्त है। वहां एक काल जाती है और सारा आसाम बन्द हो जाता है।

उसके लिए उन को कोई प्रचार और पिकेटींग नहीं करनी पड़ती। परन्तु सरकार का दमन चक्र जांचन रहा है वह आपसे सामने है। अब यह जो बातचीत चल रही है, उसके लिए मैं अपने नये गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस बात को गंभीरतापूर्वक लें। आज तक अबचारा में जो इस बात का स्वप्न आया है उस से यह बात तो बहुत निम्नस्तर पर की जा रही है। प्रधान मंत्री जी को आज तक बातचीत करने का कभी अवसर नहीं मिला। कभी उन्होंने बात नहीं की कभी-कभी हमारे पुराने गृह मंत्री जी, जो आज कन राष्ट्रपति हैं वह बात चीत करने जाते थे। पर उन को ज्यादा फुरसत नहीं रहती थी। वह बीच में चले जाते थे और अफसर लोग बैठ जाते थे और जब अबचारा वाले उन अफसरों से पूछते थे तो वे अफसर कहते थे कि क्या बातचीत हुई इस का उन को पता नहीं। हम कोई विचार नहीं दे सकते। तो ऐसे चालू डंग में आप बात चीत न करें। आप उन को बात चीत के लिए बुला रहे हैं। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह समय निकालें। मेरे साथ श्री निगम जी ने जो कहा मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी समय निकालें। आज पूर्वांचल जल रहा है। उस के लिए समय निकाल कर वे इस समस्या का निदान करें। चुनाव 1983 में वहां हो रहे हैं और सरकार गोली की नोक पर वह चुनाव कराना चाहती है और वह वहां का वोटर लिस्ट को ठीक नहीं कराना चाहती। इस प्रकार की आशंका वहां के लिए उत्पन्न की जा रही है जिस के कारण वहां की स्थिति बिगड़ सकती है। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि स्थिति को स्पष्ट करें। श्रीमान्, उनकी 8 मांगें हैं, 5 मांगों पर तो सहमति हो चुकी है पर उनका कार्यान्वयन नहीं हो रहा है। अगर 1971 के बाद जो लोग आप समझते हैं कि प्रदेशी हैं, उनका डिलीशन का प्रोसेस

आरम्भ कीजिए, हो सकता है कि डिलीट और डिटेक्ट करके समस्या का हल हो सके। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उनको आप बाहर उठा कर फेंक दें, ब्रह्मपुत्र में जा कर डुबा दें। बंगलादेश उनको स्वीकार नहीं करता तो भूखे भेड़ियों के पास उनको भेज दें। जैसे राजस्थान और अन्य प्रदेशों में फारन सिटोजन्स कुछ दिन रह सकते हैं उनको स्टेटलेस करार दे कर आप नई वोटर्स लिस्ट बनाइये। जो नई सरकार आये उस मामले को वह तय करेगी। इतना ही नहीं सारे देश में जनगणना की गई, असम में जनगणना नहीं करा सके, इसका भी मैं मंत्री जी से उत्तर चाहूंगा। क्या असम के अन्दर सरकार जनगणना कराना चाहती है। यह सारे देश के अन्दर भावना फैल गई है कि सारे पूर्वांचल के अन्दर फैल गई है कि दिल्ली वाले समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं करना चाहते। असम के नागरिकों को यह विश्वास होने लगा है कि हमको जो कुछ मिलेगा वह अनशन और प्रदर्शन से मिलेगा, डंडे के जोर से मिलेगा। 1962 में साराई-घाट में जो पुल बना गोहाटी यूनिवर्सिटी वनो वह सब आन्दोलन के बाद बनी। अब केवल रोड ब्रिज बन रहा है, सालघाट में जब कि रेल और रोड दोनों बन सकता है। अगर सरकार के ऊपर प्रभाव डालकर इसको गलत कहें तो क्या किया जा सकता है।

तीसरे पुल की बात आई है। अभी-अभी प्रश्न आया, उसकी चर्चा हुई। एक छोटी सी मांग है, कई बार उठ चुकी है, मैं भी उठा चुका हूँ। 80 मेल, असम तिरहुत मेल और गोहाटी ऐक्स्प्रेस गाड़ियां हैं उन्हें उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार से उसको तिन-मुकिया तक ले जाने में रेल विभाग को क्या तकलीफ होगी? उत्तर प्रदेश के बहुत से नागरिक तिनमुकिया तक जाते हैं, मगर उनको केवल छोटी लाइन ही दी गई है, उसको बढ़ाने में, ब्राड गेज करने में दिक्कत है, गाड़ी को गोहाटी से आगे ले जाने में दिक्कत है, समय लगता है, खर्चा लगता

है तो रेल को बढ़ाने में तो समय नहीं लगता है। लेकिन इतनी छोटी मांग के ऊपर भी दिल्ली सोया हुआ है ? इसका भी प्रमाण सदन के सामने है।

श्रीमन्, अभी-अभी बोंगाईगांव रिफाइनरी और पेट्रोकेमिकल इंडस्ट्री वहां बन रही है। उसके अन्दर घोषणा की गई कि उसमें जो बाई-प्रोडक्ट बनेंगे उसमें कहा गया है कि 30 हजार एम० टी० ए० पोलियस्टर फाइबर बनेगा जिसके हिसाब से 20 सिपडल मिल्स वहां चल सकती हैं। अभी तक केवल दो को लाइसेंस दिया गया है। 18 कहां होंगी पता नहीं। अखबारों में छप रहा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार चाहती है कि सारा पोलियस्टर फाइबर देश के अन्य भागों में जाये और असम में न खुले। बोंगाईगांव में जो लोग काम कर रहे हैं उनका कहना है कि 1984 तक हम ये चीजें बनाना शुरू कर दगे। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूं कि असम की स्पिनिंग मिल्स का जो प्रावधान है उसके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं। वह जो 20 स्पिनिंग मिल बनने की बात है, एक-एक में 25 हजार स्पिण्डल्स लग सकते हैं, उसका क्या हो रहा है ? इसी प्रकार असम में हाइड्रोइ पावर का इतना बड़ा यूनिट 200 मैगावाट का हो सकता है, सरकार ने आज तक उसके लिए कुछ नहीं किया। कोल माइंस वहां निकली हैं उनका जितना उपयोग होना चाहिए, आज तक नहीं हो रहा है। इसका कारण यह है कि एक प्रेशर दिल्ली के ऊपर पड़ता जा रहा है।

इतना ही नहीं, पीछे एक टास्क फोर्स बना था 28-10-80 को जिसकी सरकार ने आधिक प्रगति के बारे में एक रिपोर्ट दी। मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि असम की आधिक प्रगति का क्या नक्शा है, उसके बारे में सदन को और असम की

जनता को अपने पक्ष में लें। वहां नार्थ-ईस्ट मेडिकल इंस्टीट्यूट बना, उसकी क्या स्थिति है। पता लग रहा है कि उसको असम से बाहर ले जाने की चर्चा हो रही है। मैं आपसे आश्वासन चाहूंगा कि आप बतायें कि वह कब से बनेगा यह बतायें तो वहां जो धारणायें उठती हैं वह समाप्त होंगी। मुझे यह जानकारी मिली है कि नेशनल इलेक्ट्रॉनिक कार्पोरेशन जो अखिल भारतीय है वह असम के अन्दर इलेक्ट्रॉनिक कार्पोरेशन असम बनाने की बात कही गई है। उसके बारे में मंत्री महोदय से मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह बात सही है कि आप इसे करने जा रहे हैं ? अगर करने जा रहे हैं तो क्या करने जा रहे हैं। असम के अन्दर रेशम उद्योग बहुत बड़ा उद्योग है। खादी बोर्ड उसको बहुत अच्छी तरह से कर सकता है। उसे जितना प्रश्रय मिलना चाहिए उतना क्या सरकार दे रही है ? इस उद्योग को बहुत बढ़ाया जा सकता है और लोगों की आर्थिक उन्नति भी की जा सकती है। एक मांग वहां बहुत दिनों से उठ रही है जिसके बारे में कभी-कभी सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि सोचा जा रहा है। मांग यह है कि युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट कमीशन का कार्यालय वहां खोला जाए। क्या इस बारे में सरकार सोच रही है ? यह जो उनकी आर्थिक मांगें हैं अगर आप इन आर्थिक मामलों पर सोचेंगे तो मैं समझता हूं वहां काफी उन्नति हो सकती है।

अन्त में एक बात और आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहूंगा कि असम की समस्या केवल असम की नहीं है। फोरेन इंफिल्ट्रेशन की समस्या बिहार और बंगाल की भी है। दिल्ली दूर है यह पूर्वांचल की भावना है। नागालैण्ड में आप जाइये, अरुणाचल में मणिपुर में आप जाइये तो वहां के लोग कहेंगे यह फारेन

कंटरी के लोग हैं। यह भावना वहां के लोगों को बनी हुई है। इस भावना को उत्पन्न कराने में निश्चित तौर पर केन्द्रीय सरकार का बड़ा दोष है। आज त्रिपुरा के अन्दर गैस निकल रही है उसका क्या उपयोग हो रहा है। क्योंकि वहां रेलवे लाइन नहीं है इसलिए उसका पूरा लाभ नहीं उठाया जा रहा है। वहां सिर्फ 18 किलो-मीटर तक लाइन है इसलिए उसका सही उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि नागालैण्ड की क्या स्थिति है उसको देखा जाए। वहां फुटबाल का मैच हो रहा था तो लोगों ने उनको घेर लिया और उनके अफसरों को रात भर अपने पास रखा। भारत सरकार के अफसरों की वहां पर बेइज्जती की गई। अगर शांति की वार्ता खत्म हो जायेगी तो महात्मा गांधी का दरवाजा खत्म हो जायेगा, वन्द हो जायेगा। आज उसके आस-पास नागालैण्ड, मिजोरम, और मणिपुर में क्या हो रहा है इस तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। गृह राज्य मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हुए हैं वह स्वयं इस प्रदेश के और उनकी भावना से परिचित हैं। मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि असम की आर्थिक प्रगति पर विशेष ध्यान दें। जब वह केन्द्र में मंत्री हैं और वह ध्यान नहीं देंगे तो और कौन उस ओर ध्यान देगा। जो बजट है उसका वहां अधिक से अधिक उपयोग किया जाए। आप उनके साथ बातचीत करिए। उनको बुलाइये, उनके मसलों को तय करिये। वहां शांति की स्थिति उत्पन्न होने दें। यदि वह इससे परे हटेंगे तो शायद इतिहास उनको क्षमा नहीं करेगा। पूर्वांचल जल उठेगा, ऐसी भावना स्पष्ट दिखाई देती है। इसी के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): Shri Dhabe. Not there. Shri Kalyanasundaram.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Statutory Resolution moved by the Home Minister, Shri Venkataraman, for the extension of the President's rule for another term of six months no doubt has become inevitable and although the ruling party is responsible for this abnormal situation. The House has no other alternative except to support it. Regarding the Budget also, it is necessary to support it because the Government in the State must run. But I have to appeal to Mr. Laskar to withdraw his Resolution, especially now when the crucial negotiations are to take place and confidence-building is very essential. If I am right the Home Minister will be having a tripartite discussion alongwith the leaders of Assam agitation. For those leaders, confidence should be created that the Government is earnest and serious about the negotiations. Government cannot conduct investigations and invite the leaders on the point of pistol. If this Resolution is withdrawn, that would go a long way to create confidence in the minds of the agitation leaders that the negotiations will be conducted with a view to reaching a settlement.

Sir, the situation in Assam no doubt has become more complicated and abnormal. Blames can be apportioned both ways. It is no use blaming the Opposition or the ruling party. It is a serious issue. The ruling party no doubt is essentially responsible for this complication. Earlier, the Left parties came together and worked out a formula and other parties which were earlier supporting the agitation also joined with them. Ten parties together formed a front and wanted to take over power; they were in a majority. But with a narrow partisan view the ruling party called Congress (I) to form the Ministry. That Ministry fell within two days after the first sitting of the Assembly. Even at that stage, the ruling party could have corrected the mistake. They could have called the front that was ready to take over power. They had a formula which was accep-

table to majority of the parties there. But the ruling party in their wisdom thought that it was not necessary to hand over power. They wanted to run the show themselves ; and they are facing the situation. It is all right in Haryana, they can have their own way but in a State which has been tormented for three or four years continuously with turmoil is this the attitude the ruling party should take, especially when they know that there are forces in this country, there are people who do not want a settlement there, who do not want peace in that region? So the ruling party must share the blame for this abnormal situation.

Now, how to proceed further? The negotiations with the leaders of the agitation must be conducted without any loss of time, because there is no further time for holding the elections. Elections will have to be completed before March, 1983. For that, the process will have to be started now because elections cannot be held without proper electoral rolls and electoral rolls cannot be prepared unless the question of foreign nationals is settled amicably. So negotiations are essential and a settlement is also essential. The Government must assure the House that they will call a meeting as early as possible and take steps to reach an amicable settlement on the crucial issue of foreign nationals. Afterwards, let us discuss how to deport, how to settle them, where to settle them, whether Assam alone should bear the entire burden. All these are issues arising out of it. Reach a settlement here and proceed further. If there is no possibility of a settlement, there should be some understanding at least. I will appeal to the leaders of the agitation also. How long do you want to carry on this agitation? It is neither good for Assam nor good for the whole country. Assam is not separate, it is an inseparable part of India. Its development, its problems are all part of the problems faced by other States also. So I would appeal to them. No doubt they have genuine grievances because

in their own homeland they are likely to be reduced to a minority. That is their interest. But, at the same time, they should feel that India is their own country. Their struggle for better life, their struggle for development, more progressive development, is part of the struggle of the Indian people as a whole, especially workers and peasants, for a better life against exploitation. All of us together are exploited by the new forces. So, Assam people should join the mainstream of the struggle for democracy and socialism in the country. That is my appeal. If there is no settlement, what is to happen? This is a question to which the Government of India should get ready with an answer. The Government of India should not be tempted to rely on article 356 (5). They think there is a way out, that is, by declaring emergency. No more emergency. The Assam leaders must realise that if they prolong the agitation and if there is no settlement, there is a danger to our Constitution, danger to our democratic institutions as a whole. So, on behalf of my party I want to advise the Government of India that a crucial stage has been reached already. Negotiations must be conducted sincerely for evolving an acceptable formula. If by any misfortune there is no accepted formula, then, the Government of India should themselves come out with their own formula openly. Go to the people. The forces which stand for national integration and secularism are not so weak. They will assert. There are forces who want to disrupt the unity of the country. There are forces who want to create chaos not only in Assam but also in the entire region. But how to mobilise the forces which are for national unity and for solving this problem in a constitutional way? That should be the concern of all concerned. Particularly the ruling party should not arrogate to itself all the capacity to administer a State by themselves or solve a problem by themselves. Of course, they hold meetings. Of course they hold the meetings. But meetings should not become

a formality. There are Opposition parties which want to exploit the situation. So, on behalf of my party my suggestion is, again to repeat, that sincere negotiations must be conducted immediately with the leaders. Earnest efforts must be made to reach an amicable settlement. If there is no settlement, an understanding must be reached. The Government of India should announce their formula openly and go to the people and try to implement it, not only announce it but every step must be taken to implement that formula. Then, simultaneously steps must be taken to prepare for holding elections before March, 1983. No other way seems to be possible. And I warn the Government again. Do not fall a prey to the temptation that we have article 356 (5) under which we can declare an emergency.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today the Home Minister has brought before us his motion for extension of the President's rule for another six months, the Minister of State for Home Affairs has brought the Resolution to approve a notification declaring certain services to be essential services within the State of Assam for the purposes of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, and the Finance Minister has placed before us a deficit Budget for the State of Assam. All these three combined together present before us a picture of the crisis of a colonial situation in a part of our country.

This part, now known as Assam and which formerly included almost the whole of the present North-Eastern Region, still remains a place which is treated by the Government of India for all practical purposes as a colony economically and also politically.

The people of Assam have been protesting against the situation at various times, but their protests have gone in vain. Added to this economic situation, a new dimension was added by the large

scale on rush of people from the neighbouring State which is now Bangladesh and also from Nepal. These people who came from this area posed a threat of a new expansion—an new expansionist horde. So I would like our hon. Home Minister to kindly remember this basic background of the situation which is a combination of colonialism and expansionism, leading to a situation where the people of Assam nowadays genuinely feel that their existence is at stake. Anybody who may care to visit that area will realize this conclusion. They will see that the psychology of the people there is the result of a justified grievance and a justified sense of insecurity. I very humbly request our hon. Home Minister not only to immediately complete negotiations on this issue with the leaders of the Assam movement, but also once again to visit Assam and see how his administration, how the Presidential administration under the Home Ministry, has been further alienating the people of the State. Today if you go to Assam, you will find that the presence of the huge number of CRP forces and also military forces, and their attitude and functioning has led the people to think that they are under an occupation force. The people are not secure even in their residences. Even in Gauhati, the capital city, where I reside last time when I went there, one night a young man ran literally mad to me and told me that the police had entered his house and arrested three of his brothers without any cause being shown. And when I telephoned to the police officer, he simply refused to entertain my complaints. The Deputy Commissioner was not available over the phone and the boys were kept for three days in the Thana and then

(Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma—Contd.)

let off without any charge. Now these things are going on everywhere. The students of Universities and Colleges are constantly threatened. I have written to the former Home Minister also. And our present Minister of State for Home Affairs must be knowing, even though he may not say it openly that things are happening that way in the whole State. Now, Sir, I do not want to dilate on these matters except to request the Home Minister to instruct this administration in Assam to change their course and behave in a civilized manner. No administration can run if they decide to pursue an anti-people policy, a policy of revenge. If the Government of Assam under President's rule comes to prove as an out-and-out anti-Assamese Government, then you cannot create confidence among the people. Look at how the administration is running there. You find that any Assamese officer or any other officer, whether he comes from Punjab or any other part of the country, if he is suspected to have any kind of remote sympathy for the cause of the movement, then he is immediately transferred and put in some very inconsequential position. Now this is what has been done in the administration for the last one and a half years. Can this administration have any confidence of the people? And even if you provide thousands of crores of money in the budget, this administration is not going to utilise that money for the good of the people. Now the whole administrative set-up has become not only corrupt but also completely revengeful and inefficient. They have no interest in administration, no interest in doing good to the people. We have been talking about this problem of foreign nationals for a pretty long time. For the last 3 years we have been talking about this issue in this House. We have discussed the Presi-

dential proclamations for five times; we have passed the Assam Budget for the fourth time. Why has this unusual situation continued for such a long time? Does it do any credit to the Government of India? The Government have failed to solve the problem and they have allowed things to drag on why? It is again a pointer it is a vital question before the present Home Minister. I had several talks with the previous Home Minister on this issue. From his talks I could only guess that he did not have a mind to solve or he did not have the will to solve the problem or he was prevented from coming to a correct decision on 24th December 1981 in this very House he made a statement, he made an open invitation to the leaders of the movement calling them for the next discussion. He also stated that there will be no condition from either side, neither from the side of the Government nor from the side of the leaders of the movement, that the Government will have an open discussion, which means there will be no pre-condition of 1971 or anything like that. But after making the statement, for three months he remained silent, no invitation was issued even after a commitment made in this very House. Now I point out this thing in order to let the present Home Minister know that all these developments have created a crisis of confidence in the minds of the leaders of the movement and the people of Assam. The movement leaders have come seventeen times for discussion and every time they have gone back disappointed because whenever any issue was to finally settled, then suddenly the discussions were suspended. Therefore, you cannot blame them. They are young men and it is their future which is at stake, not the future, not the personal future of the Home Minister of the Central Government or anybody who is in Delhi. These young men are facing a very dark future for their lives. That is why they are so much concerned with this problem of foreign infiltra-

tion. Therefore, this aspect must be taken into consideration, otherwise you cannot solve this problem. I did not want to mention all these things. But I am constrained to do so. If you need the statements made by the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and other Ministers, in both the Houses, you will find that there is the lack of basic sympathy for the people of Assam. All these statements made by responsible persons are sufficient to destroy any sense of confidence in the minds of the people of Assam. I may also tell you, Sir—just before me the honourable member Kalyana sundaram advised the people of Assam that they should come into the mainstream of India. Very respectfully let me remind the Honourable member that the people of Assam, the Assamese people, are not behind anybody in India in that respect. Let me also remind him, when at the time of partition Assam was almost sacrificed to Pakistan by our national leaders, it was the people of Assam, with the help of Mahatma Gandhi and Lokpriya Bardoloi who resisted it and this is how they remained in India. So, whenever you choose to the Assamese people as secessionists, please remember this history. Apart from that, Sir, when I was listening to the Maulana Madani Sahib's speech, I was simply aghast. It is true leaders like him very often go to Assam, to collect votes for the congress at the time of elections, they make speeches in the mosques, collect money and incite the people communally.

If such people are allowed a free hand, you cannot save Assam from being a part of Bangladesh. The whole north eastern will be lost. It is not a question of either language or religion that is relevant to the present situation. It is not a question of Bengali language or Islamic religion. As my friend

Nigam ji has stated, Assamese /society is a remarkable society where communalism has never raised its head. Even during these three and half years' movement, you cannot cite a single instance of that type communal fracas in any part of Assam. This long movement has been continuing without any communal tension.

What has happened is that for generations in the past. But there is a qualitative difference between immigration before 1950-51 and the immigration after that. So far as those who came earlier are concerned, whether they were Muslims or spoke Bengali, they all become part and parcel of the society and they were all integrated into a stronger Assam. But later on when people came from Bangladesh, they came as political elements with political ambitions and political and cultural designs. The new immigrants and refugees became an expansionist force. Then the people of Assam considered them to be a threat to their future existence socially, culturally, linguistically and politically. There is no other State in India where so many people from outside have been accommodated. There is no other State except Tripura, where guest have sought to throw out the host.

You look to the Railways. Today people of Assam, young men and women, do not get any job in the railway administration. But in 1950 when more than 20,000 employees of the Railways falling under the present Bangladesh had to be transferred to India, and when no other Railway accepted them, it was the leaders of Assam who accepted them in the Assam Railway. Remember they were all Bengalis. No body objected to their languages. The Assamese people then looked

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

at from an humanitarian point. Today when we are called anti-Bengalis, I want to ask these Bengali leaders : is it because we accommodated more than 20,000 Bengali employees ? Now children of these 20 thousand Bengalis have put up the claim whereas the people of Assam, tribals or non-tribals, do not get any job in the railways.

I want to draw the Home Minister's attention to two more important facts which have caused damage to the sense of trust among the people of Assam. One, there has been a demand for a separate Assam Posts & Telegraphs Circle. This was accepted seven years back. But somebody manipulated and the circle was prevented. When we pursued this matter with the present Government, they sought to bifurcate the North-eastern circle with headquarters at Shillong into two. The original proposal was for an Assam circle and N.E. Circle. But the proposal for a separate Assam circle was dropped. One circle was created with Assam and Meghalaya and another circle with Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Arunachal with headquarters at Imphal. Any body who has got the minimum geographical knowledge of this area will realise how the PMG with his headquarters at Imphal can run the postal department upto Arunachal Pradesh. But it was done so that Assam can not be given a separate circle. If Assam is given a separate circle with Gauhati as its headquarters, then the people of Assam will get some chance of employment. To deny them this chance, this game was played. Ultimately, when we protested, a more funny proposal was made. The whole proposal was reversed and the North Eastern Circle was again revived and the PMG, who was appointed at Imphal, was

transferred to Delhi. He is now functioning from Delhi as the Additional PMG for the North-Eastern Circle. Can you imagine such a preposterous plan in any other State in India ? Is it colonial conspiracy ? Or what else ?

Now, Sir I refer to another point which relates to the Home Minister's recent order stopping evictions of unauthorised occupants in the railway lands, government lands and the various reserve forests in Assam. I do not know what the 20-Point Programme says. But, in the 20-Point Programme, I have, one of the items is to preserve the forests. Now, Sir, the Home Minister's order has just violated that and he has allowed damage to be done to the various forests. And, then, Sir, what about the railway lands and what has happened there ? In this very House, the Railway Minister has repeatedly stated in answer to questions, in written answers, that large-scale Bangladeshis, Bang'adish nationals, are in occupation of the railway lands in Assam, that they are unauthorisedly occupying the railway lands in Assam. His statements are on record. Even the last Railway Minister Mr. Pande, wrote to me a letter saying, "We have decided to evict all of them. Kindly help me by persuading the Government of Assam to give us police help". Now, to our utter surprise, we find that suddenly there is an order from the Home Ministry. In this connection I met the General Manager, NE Railway and he told me : "I am trying. But how can I do that ? Delhi orders me to stop it. Delhi knows it better". May I know from the Home Minister one thing ? Can any people in any State believe that a Government which makes an order like this is at all interested in solving the foreign nationals problem ? The Government says

on the one hand that the problem is genuine and they want to solve it. But what has the Government been doing all along? Every action of the Government is against the Assamese people, against the Indians in Assam and all their actions are in favour of those who are suspected foreigners in the State of Assam. This is the total impression of the people of Assam from actual experience of Government actions.

In this context, if the people lose faith in the Government. You cannot blame the people for that.

Now, Sir, I want to know from the Home Minister as to what his idea is about the solution of the current problem. In 1980, in the very first discussion that was held by the Government of India with the leaders of the movement, they had agreed to certain things. The Government had agreed that the foreigners would be detected, that their names would be deleted from the electoral rolls and they would be deported. Now, these were all accepted in the very first meeting and the Government are committed on these points. In this House and in the other House also, the Government also clearly stated that Indian citizenship could only be defined under the provisions of the Constitution, the Citizenship Act, the Passports Act and the Foreigner Act and no other document would be valid for determining the Indian citizenship. This is another commitment by the Home Minister made in this very House. Now Sir, when the Government spokesman were all speaking about what is called the international obligations, without defining what the obligations are, once I put a question to the Foreign Affairs Minister to give me the names of the different international agreements or pacts with Bangladesh and to lay them on the Table of the House, the texts of those agreements, of course, the first answer was that the Government was collecting the informa-

tion. In the next session, I again put another question and this was not allowed on the ground that it was already answered. Then, in the third session, I put yet another question to obtain the information. This time I asked him as to whether it was a fact that the agreements and pacts between India and Bangladesh were missing from the foreign affairs office and, if so, whether the officers responsible for this have been punished. Then there was an immediate answer. The answer was that the pacts and the agreements were intact in the Foreign Office. Within a week copies of the pacts were supplied to me. Now, in these copies, not even in a single sentence, there is an indication of any obligation on the part of the Government of India to accept the citizens of Bangladesh as the citizens of India.

7.00 P.M.

I raise this point because I do not want that Government should deceive the people. If you go on deceiving the people, then ultimately a situation will be created in which you will completely alienate the people not only of Assam, but of the entire North Eastern region. There is a strong movement in Arunachal Pradesh started by the students last month for the removal of foreigners from that area. There was firing and some 60 students were injured in the firing by the C.R.P.F. May I point out that you cannot save the situation like this.

I am playing all these matters before Mr. Venkataraman because he was not directly connected previously and because he is now in charge of both Home and Defence. (Time Bell Rings)

I request him to consider the whole background in its right perspective without any prejudice for this side or that side and with a real intention to solve the problem.

As far as I can understand, the hitch remains about the question of detection and deportation. I learn the leaders of the movement are not very much insisting on immediate deportation. On detection and deletion of names from the voters' list, there must be a clear and precise formulation of the point of view of the Government of India. I may also remind that the former Home Minister made a statement that if Assam cannot accommodate all the foreigners after they have been detected, then he would make arrangements for their dispersal into different States. This is on record. The words spoken by the Minister are the words of the Government. The Government should not go back on them. It does not serve the national purpose if you say that the leaders of the movement go back from their words. There is a strong propaganda let loose by the Government that the leaders of the movement discuss something here in Delhi, then they go back on reaching Gauhati. If I may say so, the correct position is reverse.

The Government of India has neither made up its mind nor has acted on its own words. Now, the Government must make up its mind.

I will mention two things about the budget and conclude. (Time Bell Rings). I would only mention two things here. One is regarding the Home Ministry and the other is regarding the Education Ministry. If we take a total picture of the Government of Assam, it is a non-functioning Government. I find that the Governor's orders are not carried out by the Advisors and the Advisors' orders are not carried out by the Secretaries. It is not known who decides what. There is an immediate need for change in the personnel of the top level of the Home Department in Assam. I do not want to discuss the details. I would request the

Home Minister to take up this problem. Otherwise, he cannot solve any problem whether of administration or of the foreigners infiltration. (Time Bell Rings). Secondly, the Education Department needs a thorough overhauling there. It is the biggest Department with the largest amount of money involved. But that Department has remained completely inefficient resulting in great damage to the future generation of the country. (Time Bell Rings.)

With these words, I hope that our present Home Minister will be able to put a stop to the unending business of negotiations and he will succeed in bringing about a happy solution to the problem. I also hope the Minister of State for Home Affairs would not say anything about elections or make any statement on that issue without solving the problem of foreign nationals and without first coming to a settlement with the leaders of the movement.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is not the first time that we are discussing the Assam Budget and the extension of President's rule in Assam.

Sir, 12 seats from Assam in the Lok Sabha and two seats from Assam in this House are unrepresented and the Assam Assembly has been dissolved. If the elections are not held by March, 1983, then a constitutional crisis will develop. But the elections cannot be held without solving the foreign nationals issue in Assam.

Sir, several rounds of talks have been held but with no effect. At the time of the dissolution of the Assam Assembly, last time in this House we demanded that urgent steps should be taken to find an amicable solution to the Assam problem. We were assured that the Government was keen to find an amicable settlement. After that,

the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs visited the State of Assam recently. But through his utterances at different places we were given to understand that the Government of India was determined to hold elections whether or not the Assam problems was solved. So, the people got provoked. Here is the Minister of State for Home Affairs who is touring the State and meeting the people and addressing meetings. And from his speeches, the impression was gathered that the Government of India was determined to hold elections even without solving the foreign nationals problem in Assam. After his visit, we saw another thing that the eviction of illegal encroachers on railway land was stopped. And there was a blanket stoppage of all evictions in the State of Assam. Sir, in Assam, encroachment is the problem. This is the problem of Assam. Where do the infiltrators stay. Either they occupy the Government lands or forest lands or railway lands. If you are determined or if you are willing to solve the foreign nationals issue in Assam, you cannot but evict those encroachers. Sir, some Members in this House have alleged that the minorities have been evicted, the linguistic minorities are evicted. Maulanasaheb has said that landless people have been evicted, that religious minorities are harassed. Sir, whenever we talk of eviction of illegal encroachers, these issues are raised and the evictions are stopped. But I want to inform this House that eviction was done not only from the railway lands but a large number of Assamese people were evicted, packa buildings were demolished in Gauhati, Jorhat and many other towns. But those things are not reflected and when the Assamese people are evicted there is nobody to shed tears for them. The moment the Government makes bold to evict those infiltrators, then some people come up and say that the minorities are being harassed, linguistic and religious minorities are being evicted. Sir, Maulanasaheb doubted the sincerity of the

Assamese people. I want to tell him that in 1962, when the Chinese invaded India, the Assamese people stood by the Government of India. And I want to inform this House that there were people in Tezpur who hoisted the Pakistani flags and they were ready to receive the advancing Chinese soldiers because China and Pakistan were friends. And because of this, the Government of India instituted an enquiry and Mr. Mallick was deputed and on the basis of his report the scheme of Pakistani Infiltration Project (PIP) was adopted. And, today there are people who doubt the sincerity and patriotic feelings of the people of Assam. Sir, the movement that is going on for the last three years, is not for secession, it is not a secessionist movement. The movement is going on for the detection and deportation of foreigners and this issue, has not been raised by the people of Assam first. This issue has been raised by no less a person than the Chief Election Commissioner himself. It was he who first announced that there were a large number of foreigners' names which were included in the voters' lists of Assam. So, Sir, it is a genuine cause for which the people of Assam are fighting. In Assam we are facing a situation where the majority community is going to be converted into a minority community. It is because of this apprehension that the entire people have joined in this movement. Sir, we want an early solution of this problem. But where is the sincerity of the Government of India? They had first announced that out of the eight demands they accepted five demands. But the Government did not implement those demands. They have not even protected the borders. Even now, even today, infiltration is going on (*Time Bell rings*). Sir, I want a few more minutes.

The infiltration is still going on. So, the need is the Government's sincerity to solve the problem. I would urge upon the present Home Minister, please, do not announce,

that you are determined to hold the elections without solving the foreign nationals issue in Assam. The foreign nationals issue should be solved through negotiations and voters' lists should be prepared by deleting the names of the foreigners from the voters lists. Sir, I hope the present Home Minister will be able to do this job. We have got faith in him and I have also heard that some formula is being mooted by the hon. Member from the Lok Sabha, Shri Ravindra Verma, who had a talk with the agitation leaders also and we hope that if sincere efforts are made then the solution can be possible.

Sir, I want to say that the Government of India is not keen in detecting those who are responsible for the violent incidents. They are very keen on assaulting people in the streets, assaulting the students and peace-loving people. But up till now they have not been able to detect the culprits who are responsible for bomb blasts, who are responsible for the death of Parthasarathi, for the death of Subhash Das. I hope the Government of India will take stern measures against all violent incidents and violent activities. Their present repressive measures on the peaceful people, peaceful students, should be stopped.

Sir, I want to tell the Government that by such repressive measures and by this policy of repression the people cannot be suppressed. I, therefore, hope that they will retrace their steps and will solve the problem through negotiations.

Sir, coming to the Assam Budget, I want to say that in Assam there is a colonial economy, and colonial exploitation is going on. The hon. Minister has said that more money has been earmarked for plan projects. But I want to ask the hon. Minister as to how much money was returned last year, during the last plan period? I hope that this money will be pro-

perly utilised. Sir, I may mention that only more money will not solve the problem of Assam. (Time Bell rings). Sir, in Assam if the economy is to be developed then this colonial exploitation must stop. The agro-based industries, forest-based industries, small-scale industries should be developed and it cannot be done by giving license to the capitalists. Here is a place where if you are really sincere to help the Assamese people, then you cannot but adopt socialist economy in that State. Capitalist path of development will not help the people of Assam. In that case, the people of Assam will be exploited. We have seen how the industrialists, in the plywood and other industries, are exploiting the people; they are only interested in exploiting the area and in exploiting the people. What is needed in Assam is a socialist economy. You have to nationalise the tea gardens. You have to nationalise the plywood industry. Moreover, the small-scale industries, the cottage industries, the agro-based and forest-based industries, should be developed. Then, the hydel power, natural gas, oil and other resources should be properly developed and utilised and the ancillary industries of the petro-chemical complex should also be developed.

Then I would request that the Brahmaputra river should be declared a national waterway. I would also request that the royalty on crude oil should be increased. I made this demand in my speech in the last Session also. The royalty on crude oil should be increased to Rs. 315 per tonne. Then, Sir, Assam is facing a serious situation due to erosion and floods. Unless the erosion and floods are controlled, unless the Brahmaputra Flood Control Board takes urgent measures to stop the erosion and floods, Assam's economy will be doomed. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to those hon. Members who have

spoken in favour of my Resolution and those who have opposed the extension of President's Rule in Assam. There are a few points on which I would like to have clarifications from the hon. Minister. Let us say, a person living in the United States or in the United Kingdom, having the U.S. or U.K. Citizenship there comes, to India. Let us say, some election is going to be held in his area and he decides to give up the U.S. or U.K. Citizenship; in such a case, is he entitled to Indian Citizenship or not? I want a clear-cut answer. Now, you are deleting the names of the foreigners, the foreign nationals in Assam, from the electoral rolls of Assam. When these names are being deleted, have you come across a situation where they have expressed a desire to become Indian citizens? You are deleting a persons' name. If that person is willing to acquire Indian Citizenship, what will be your reaction? What will be your decision in such a case? Have you come across such a situation? In that context, in such a situation, can be, the person who is a foreign national at present, acquire Indian Citizenship or not? I would like to have a clear-cut, unambiguous, clarification from the hon. Minister.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, as I said in the beginning, the student leaders came to me. I went into the details. I wanted them to put forward every point which they had in mind. This was my argument before them. They said, these persons are foreign nationals. I asked them this question. They may be foreign nationals. But after all, they have gone from India. They might have gone from Bihar or U.P. or West Bengal or somewhere else. But if, after living there for ten or twenty years, they have come back here, or, they want to come back here and acquire Indian Citizenship, whether they would be entitled to Indian Citizenship or not? This is the basic question. As I asked in the beginning, can an Indian, living in the U.S. or in the U.K., having that Citizenship, acquire Indian Citi-

zenship or not? Can Indians, who had migrated to Pakistan/Bangladesh at the time of partition, and who have come back here and have been living in Assam for a long time, decide to take up Indian Citizenship—you are detecting them and deleting their names from the electoral rolls—acquire Indian Citizenship or not? Will you clarify the position?

Lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to know from the hon. Minister: are you going to give an assurance to this House that elections will be held in Assam by March next year? Do you think that you will be able to detect foreign nationals and delete their names from the electoral rolls? Are you sure, their names would be deleted, the names of foreign nationals? Do you think, you would be able to complete all the other preparations in regard to holding the elections by that time? Can you give an assurance to this House that there will be no further imposition of President's Rule in Assam? There are the points on which I would like to have an answer. This I want for my personal clarification because this was the argument I had to face with the agitation leaders from there.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a large number of speakers have taken part in the debate. They have covered a very wide ground. The opposition will not be worth its salt unless it attacked the Government, and naturally I had a full share of such attack. But then I will neither be persuaded nor will I be provoked to answering both criticisms which are not germane or relevant to the matter which is before the House and the matter which requires very careful consideration by the entire country. Therefore, If I do not answer some of the points raised, it is not because I cannot do it, but because I do not want to waste the time of the House by referring to matters which will not have a bearing in solving the

problem. I proposed to confine my reply only to those matters which will help to solve the problem.

At the outset, I would like to repeat what I stated elsewhere that Government are keen on, having the elections conducted before the 18th March, 1983. They are very anxious to have it and they will take every possible step for the purpose of holding elections before the expiry date of this Proclamation.

The second point which I wanted to state even at the outset is that the tripartite negotiations will be held on the 25th August of this month. We have decided to resume the tripartite negotiations on the 25th. In fact, the purpose of my calling all the opposition parties on the 6th of August was to get an idea as to the suitable date on which the tripartite negotiations could be held. Since a large number of people could not come for various reasons, Government have taken a decision to hold them on the 25th of August.

The third point which I want to place before the House is that for the purpose of negotiations the discussions that were held and the sort of a draft that was reprepared as a basis for discussion on the 23rd August, 1981, will be taken up. This was also the matter on which I wanted to have a consultation with other opposition parties. I mentioned to Mr. Kalyanasundram and others who came to the meeting that we propose to start the negotiations not *de novo*, from the beginning, but start from the

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:
Why did the others not come?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
The attendance is optional. Therefore, as far as I am concerned..

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM : I hope it will not amount to any precondition.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
Nothing. Infact, we should start from some basis. Otherwise, the negotiations will again start from the beginning. On the 23rd August there was a sort of understanding and it is on the basis of which further discussions are sought to be pursued.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM : What I mean, adjustments are possible.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
You must have working paper, a working formula on which you can add, subscribe, modify or change..

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM : Negotiable.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
That is right. I said that this will be the basis for discussion. That is the point which I wanted to make and this is what we propose to do. Since I do not have a direct access to the agitators, I have used the forum of this House to convey to them that we will be any having negotiations on the basis of the 23rd August, discussions from which they broke. That will certainly be quite acceptable to others also because the discussions broke up to that stage and it was on this basis that some of the opposition leaders have made some of the suggestions. Hon. Revindra Verma also made some suggestion. It is on the basis of 23rd August that the various changes/modifications were suggested. Therefore, I do hope that it will form the basis.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM : Wish you success.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
I will deal with the few points which have been raised in the course of the debate. It has been charged that the Government did not do anything in respect of preventing further infiltration of foreigners etc. You know that the border has a wide range of terrain which is just plain land and it is very

difficult to put any sort of obstruction on the border. One of the suggestions made that we should put a barbed wire, fencing, a wall etc. Hon. Members know how difficult it is to put up a wall around a State or a country. No country in the world has raised a wall as a boundary and it will be impossible. And the money should be spent on the people rather than on brick and mortar. All that we have done is to increase the number of border posts from 48 to 79; we have increased the number of speed-boats so that they can chase the people who come via the riverine border.

Then we have also passed legislation on regulating the acquisition of property by the foreigners and the detection of people has been going on. In the year 1981, 1165 persons were detected and 1056 persons were deported. Upto May, 1982, 594 were detected and 473 were deported. Therefore, this work is going on. It would be wrong to say that we have not done anything in this matter.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA :
On a point of clarification. About the transference of land to the foreigners, you have said that it has been stopped by legislation. But unless you know who are the foreigners, how can you really implement that particular law ?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
The detection is on the basis of 1971. There was a consensus among all the people that those—whatever they are—who came after 25th March, 1971, will be deemed to be foreigners. It is on that basis that this detection is going on. It was as a result of consensus in which all the leaders of Opposition parties participated.

This leads made to the next question—of detection of foreigners. Almost every Member insisted that we must detect the foreigners and then send them out. In fact, they are begging the question. The problem

is to find out who is a foreigner and then the question of detection comes. In the course of negotiations, certain preliminary ground had been covered. For instance, it has been agreed—I won't say "agreed"; it has been suggested—that all those who were in India before 1961 should be treated as people who are Indian citizens. People who came after 25th of March—that is the Bangladesh Agreement—should be treated as foreigners. The question narrows itself to a short complex—between 1961 and 1971, in this period who is the foreigner is the issue and unless we retain the parameters with regard to these foreigners, we cannot say who is a foreigner. How can we say that foreigners must be detected, the foreign nationals must be deported unless we know who is a foreigner? For this purpose, negotiations have been going on and among the various points which have been discussed with them is, the foreigners shall be detected on the basis of the Constitution and relevant laws as exist today *including*—this is the mistake which the hon. Member has made—including the Foreigners Act 1946, the Citizenship Act 1955 and the Passport Act 1967. In doing so, enquiry shall be conducted on the basis of set guidelines in the form of questionnaire to be attached. This is the discussion which has been going on in the tripartite talks. And I would also like to draw the attention of the hon. Members to a legislation which was passed in 1950 by Parliament. This is the Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950. Hereunder, this Act says :

"The Central Government is of the opinion that any person, or a class of persons, having been ordinarily resident in any place outside India, has or have, whether before or after the commencement of the Act, come, he shall be deemed to be a foreigner and rejected."

There is a proviso which is very important, which the hon. Member should know.

[Shri. R. Venkataraman]

"Provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any person who on account of civil disturbance, or fear of such disturbance, in any area now forming part of Pakistan, has been displaced from, or has left his place of residence in such an area, and who has subsequently resided in Assam."

So these persons cannot be thrown out. We have an Act. There are so many things that we have to take into account before we say who is foreigner. And that is why all these relevant factors, including the laws, the relevant laws as exist today, will be taken into account and then it would be decided. It can be decided only by an authority. It cannot be a rule of thumb. You cannot say X, Y and Z who come under this definition will be foreigners; those who do not come under this definition will be citizens. But it has to be done by some authority who will take into account the citizenship law, the Foreigners Act, the passport law, the immigration law which I have read. All these things, various parameters, will have to be taken into account. And then that authority has to decide who is to be declared to be a foreigner and who should not be declared to be a foreigner. Now, therefore, you are begging the questions. When you say that you declare him a foreigner and send him out, the difficulty is to find out who is a foreigner. That is the problem which is facing us and that is what we are trying to solve.

So I would appeal to the hon. Members to understand that as a result of this presentation, what is very important is the ascertainment of the fact. And this can be done only by negotiations, not by anybody just passing something. Some people ask the Government: Why don't you, on the basis of the Census etc., say that all these people who come after 1971 alone should be thrown out as foreigners and other should be given citizenship? Well, it is a sug-

gestion made to the Government. But even the Assam agitators do not accept it. They wanted to unilaterally enforce this thing. Government is not ready to do such a thing. We want to find a solution in consultation with the Assam people—agitators, students and the people—in which both will make sort of a concession. There must be an amount of give and take. Government will give up some position; the Assam people will give up some position. There will have to be some give and take and mutually acceptable basis should be found. Without this, this problem cannot be solved. If each one says, stick to one particular legal position and then try to solve it. I am afraid it will be very difficult. Therefore, I am making an appeal to all the political parties to stand by the move which the Government has undertaken, to find a solution on the basis of give and take, not on the basis of any particular rule, any particular law, any particular set of criteria which you lay down to be blindly applied without a certain measure of discussion and compromise and a mutual agreement. This is the position I wanted to place before this House and I hope.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA :
Here also, I am just seeking a clarification from the hon. Home Minister. Supposing we decide the question of citizenship by negotiation, will that be legally valid?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
Well, we will enact a law to make it binding. If you agree, it is very easy. We have a majority in the House to put through that legislation.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA :
That is true, but it will involve the whole country again.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :
Yes. In fact, that is why I am more worried. Thank you for reminding me. Sir, this is not a problem of Assam alone. Take Tamil Nadu. There are people from Sri Lanka who have come and settled there, there

are people from Burma who have settled there. Take Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. People from west part of Pakistan have come and settled there in every place. Take West Bengal itself. A large number of people have come and settled there. Therefore, you cannot accept anything only for Assam. It will have very wide and deleterious consequences on other parts of the country. That is why we are very keen that we should have an agreement in which all aspects will be taken into account, and it will be done in such a way that it does not affect anybody and that it satisfies also the aspirations of the Assamese people.

So far as Government is concerned, I want to assure again that we want to stand by the aspirations of the Assamese people to protect their culture, their language, their ancient traditions and everything. We would not be a party to their being submerged by the infiltration of a large number of people damaging or disrupting their entity in any way. I give this assurance. Practically this will cover all that is necessary for the purpose.

I will only answer a few points which have been raised in the course of the debate. Shri Shiva Chandra Jha asked me a few clarifications. They have been covered by what I have said in this.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: Not covered. Has anyone who has been detected desired, wished, to acquire Indian citizenship? Have you come across that phenomenon, that situation? I want an answer to that.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Please sit down. You cannot ask legal questions to be decided by a Home Minister on the floor of the House. This is a question involving law and all that. It will have to be decided on the basis of law which we will have to enact. At the moment you may apply the present law. You

must give me fee for giving a legal opinion on this matter. As Home Minister I am not bound to give a legal opinion.

The second point which has agitated a number of people is about evictions. Evictions have been stopped. Everybody mentioned that. We must make a distinction between the detection of the foreigners and the eviction of the people who have occupied the Government land, forest land and all that. There is a difference. Anybody can be an occupant of the Government land and all that, and it is a question of eviction essentially. They are not thrown out of the country. Detection is different. It has been represented to me by almost all the parties, excepting people representing Assam that this has caused a great deal of harm and inconvenience to the people. Assam is now having monsoon. At this time, when you evict them, throw them out, they are exposed to the floods, rains and all that. It causes such a human misery that I thought that in the interest of human welfare I should stop it temporarily till the whole question is decided. This is a simple question. This is the first point. I said that it should be stopped temporarily because a number of people have been thrown out of their dwellings. This is not the time to do eviction. Even if Government wants to evict, wants to carry out its legal rights, justice must be tempered with mercy. It must always be done at a time when people will not suffer. This is exactly the time when they are having floods as well as rains in Assam: they are having the worst time. Therefore, I said that it should be temporarily stopped.

Secondly, I want to create a climate. It is more important. We are now going to have discussions and all that. At those discussions I do not want to have another problem created, some people saying that they are citizens, not citizens,

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

foreigners, not foreigners and that they have been thrown out. Mr. Madni was here. He was saying that every fellow was being bundled out lock, stock and barrel. This kind of thing, I do not want. If we are going to have negotiations in August, we must have some kind of quiet in that area, and this temporary stoppage will not in any way affect anybody. On the contrary, throwing them out will disturb the peace and disturb the conditions. Asking them to stay there will not disturb anybody's peace. Therefore, this is the second reason which induced me to stop the evictions temporarily.

Then, Sir, Mr. Kalvanasundaram mentioned about the foreigners' issue being settled and elections being held only after that. Also a number of other Members mentioned this point. Some people asked me this question: what would you do if the negotiations do not succeed? Will you go on with the elections if the negotiations fail? Well, I am a person who crosses the bridge when he comes to it. I have infinite confidence and faith that the negotiations may have a breakthrough this time and that it would be possible to come to some kind of an understanding. Therefore, we may have both the question of foreigners as well as the question of elections settled smoothly. But I will not in any event, even at this stage, envisage or contemplate what I will do if something fails because if I begin to think what I will do if something fails, it means that I persuade my mind to think that it will fail. I do not want to think of failure. We will consider it. I will consult all of you afterwards. That is the only answer I can give. I will consult all the leaders. If the talks do not succeed, then again I will consult you. But I have every confidence that it will succeed and I have no doubt about it.

Then a number of persons said that Assam has not been given its

due share in economic development. I want to remind the hon. Member there that the very thing which he had suggested, that we must have a regional development centre, is already in vogue there. The North-Eastern Regional Council is looking after the development of the whole of this region. The development of power plants, communications through the Border Roads Organisation and all infrastructure connected with the whole region, not only Assam but the whole north-eastern region, is being taken up by the North-Eastern Regional Council and it is being properly attended to. We have made allocations for this purpose and it is being implemented.

Then the hon. Member asked whether the money which has been allocated has been spent. I am very happy to inform you that the utilisation is 97 per cent. Therefore, even there not only has a larger allocation been made but even the allocation made has been fully utilised.

Mr. Goswami—he is not here now—put some dialectical questions. He said: if the Government said the "Bandh" was a failure, why does it want security measures? Then if the Essential Services Act is required, then it shows the situation is different. I am afraid this logic is not very correct because the "Bandh" might have failed and yet sabotage might have taken place. A few persons could have done sabotage and the Government would not be wrong in saying that certain sabotage took place, done by some miscreants. It need not be by political organisations. Very often it has been our experience that whenever there is some political agitation, miscreants come into the picture and create some difficulties and unsettlements with the result that either the political parties get the blame or it gets accentuated. Therefore, I would not say that his argument is correct. Then he said, oil royalty should be revised. Well, it has already been

raised by a number of people. It does not apply only to Assam. Gujarat also has oil. It also wants the royalty to be increased. This is a matter which will be properly considered. I want to assure him the Jogi Gopa bridge has been cleared and it has been sanctioned. I was really rather pained by Robin Kakati's passionate speech. I want to remind him and I want to tell Kalyanasundaram that in 1948 Robin Kakati and I both represented the plantation labour. He represented the Assam plantation and I represented the Nilgiri plantation workers and we fought against the planters and got a very big, successful, deal for the workers. And that is the camaraderie existing between us at that time. Today he is a very bitter man. He complains of the rest of India treating Assam as a colony and so on. I want to assure him that so far as the rest of India is concerned, our feeling towards Assam is one of brotherhood and we will not let anything to injure that kind of relationship. It is a great heritage that we got and all of us have struggled for our freedom and have got together this great country of ours. Temporary aberrations may set in and may cause some kind of misunderstanding, some bitterness, but I hope it will not be allowed to go deep, and I am sure that when once this matter is settled, and I hope it will be done by the end of this month or later, we will forget all the bitterness and we will continue to have the same brotherly feeling which we had.

Then the question was asked whether we will have a new electoral list. The question of electoral list is again linked up with the question of foreigners. Now, some list should be taken up because it will be difficult just to work in a vacuum. Some list may be taken up and in that you can add, make additions and deletions on the basis of the parameters which we have fixed. Well, this is a matter which we will put to the tripartite committee for negotiation and I will like that to consider this matter.

All I want to say is that I am very thankful to honourable Members for the very valuable cooperation they have rendered, particularly in trying to find a solution to this problem. Only some people do have a sneaking hesitation towards the essential services. But I wish to assure them that it will not be misused; it will be used only for the purpose of maintaining essential supplies in that area

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: What about the complaints made against the CRP and police atrocities?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Well, it is not possible to reply in a debate on Assam. They are only allegations. On that I must get the other side of the question. After all, ultimately the principle of jurisprudence is *audi alteram partem*. I must hear the other side before I say anything. Therefore, I thank you with these words. (ends)

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA: Sir, the honourable Home Minister has very ably, properly and satisfactorily replied to all the political aspects as well as the economic aspects of the debate and the points raised here. In order to make the position more clear I will only like to put before the House some facts and figures which are quite relevant and I will briefly deal with this matter. The total outlay for five years from 1974-79 was Rs. 460 crores for which the Central assistance was Rs. 302 crores representing about 66 per cent. The size of the Sixth Plan has been fixed at Rs. 1,116 crores. The Central assistance has been fixed at Rs. 826 crores which constitutes about 75 per cent of entire Plan outlay. The per capita outlay for Sixth Plan comes to Rs. 764 on the basis of 1971 census. In the Fifth Plan the per capita Central assistance for all States was Rs. 102 while for Assam it was Rs. 166. In the Sixth Plan

the per capita Central assistance to all the States is Rs. 258 while for Assam it is Rs. 565..

As far as utilisation is concerned, the hon. Home Minister has stated just now that the Plan fund has been utilised to the extent of more than 97 per cent in 1980-81 and 1981-82.

As far as important services in Assam are concerned, for power the Plan outlay for 1980-81 was Rs. 74.80 crores. For 1982-83 the outlay has gone up to Rs. 90.70 crores. For agriculture and allied services, the outlay for 1980-81 was Rs. 37.97 crores and in 1982-83 it has gone up to Rs. 52.87 crores. For major and medium irrigation the outlay for 1980-81 was Rs. 9.75 crores. In 1982-83 it has gone up to about Rs. 11 crores. Much has been said about roads and bridges for which the outlay for 1980-81 was Rs. 14 crores, but in 1982-83 it has gone up to Rs. 16.50 crores. For industry and minerals the outlay for 1980-81 was Rs. 6.19 crores whereas in 1982-83 it is Rs. 10.75 crores. Other aspects have already been covered. Still, I want to mention two important points which were raised by hon. Members.

One is regarding roads in Assam. For this item also the plan outlay has been continuously increasing. In 1980-81 it was Rs. 14.79; in 1981-82 it was Rs. 16 crores and in 1982-83 it was Rs. 17 crores. Some roads of inter-State importance are being built with North-Eastern Council assistance. In 1982-83 this Council will provide assistance to the tune of Rs. 2.23 crores.

About royalty, the Home Minister has given some information. The position actually at present is like this. I think Mr. Dinesh Goswami raised this point about royalty. The last review of this was made in 1981 and the rate was revised from Rs. 42 per metric tonne to Rs. 61 per metric tonne. Under the existing

Oilfields (Regulation and Development) Act, the next revision is due only in 1985.

These are some of the facts and figures and these will clarify the points and remove all doubts raised by some hon. Members. I want to conclude in just one sentence. The Central Government has taken special care for the economic development of Assam and North-Eastern region and there is no question of any negligence or carelessness on the part of the Central Government.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : What about Ashok Paper Mill ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : अब मैं श्री शिव चन्द्र झा के प्रस्ताव को मत के लिए पेश कर रहा हूँ।

प्रश्न यह है कि —

“यह सभा राष्ट्रपति से सकारिश करती है कि असम राज्य के सम्बन्ध में, संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 19 मार्च, 1982 को जारी की गई उद्घोषणा का प्रतिसंहरण किया जाये।”

The motion was negatived.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : अब मैं श्री आर० बैकटरामन के संकल्प का मत के लिए पेश करता हूँ। प्रश्न यह है कि —

“यह सभा असम राज्य के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 19 मार्च, 1982 को संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन जारी की गई उद्घोषणा के 19 सितम्बर, 1982 से छः महीने की और अवधि तक प्रवृत्त बने रहने का अनुमोदन करती है।”

The motion was adopted.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री साडली मोहन निगम) : अब मैं श्री नीहार रंजन लस्कर के निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव को मत के लिए रखना चाहता हूँ।

“आवश्यक सेवा अधिनियम, 1981 (1981 का 40) के द्वारा यथा संशोधित आवश्यक सेवा (असम) अधिनियम 1980 (1980 का 41) की धारा 2 की उपधारा (2) के अनुसरण में यह सभा असम सरकार राजनैतिक (क) विभाग की उस अधिसूचना सं० पी० एल० ए० 906/82/3 दिनांक 5 मई, 1982 के जारी किये जाने का अनुमोदन करती है जिसमें आवश्यक सेवा (असम) अधिनियम, 1980 के प्रयोजनों के लिए निम्नलिखित सेवाओं को असम राज्य के भीतर आवश्यक सेवा घोषित किया गया है :—

(1) राज्य सरकार के स्वामित्व वाले अथवा नियंत्रण वाले किसी भी उपक्रम या प्रतिष्ठान में खाद्यान्नों तथा अन्य आवश्यक वस्तुओं के भंडारण, सप्लाई और वितरण सम्बन्धी सभी सेवायें।

(2) राज्य सरकार के स्वामित्व वाले अथवा नियंत्रण वाले किसी उपक्रम या प्रतिष्ठान में कृषि आदानों तथा मशीनरी के भंडारण, सप्लाई और वितरण सम्बन्धी सभी सेवायें।

(3) राज्य सरकार के स्वामित्व वाले अथवा नियंत्रण वाले किसी उपक्रम या प्रतिष्ठान में पाठ्य पुस्तकों के प्रकाशन, उत्पादन और वितरण सम्बन्धी सभी सेवायें।

(4) राज्य सरकार के स्वामित्व वाले या नियंत्रण वाले किसी उपक्रम या प्रतिष्ठान में कृषि कार्यों के लिए बीजों के भंडारण, सप्लाई और वितरण सम्बन्धी सभी सेवायें।”

The motion was adopted.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री साडली मोहन निगम) : अब मैं असम विनियोग (संख्यांक 2) विधेयक 1982 जैसा लोकसभा में पारित किया गया, उसको मत के लिए रखता हूँ :

प्रश्न यह है कि :

“1982-83 के वित्तीय वर्ष की सेवाओं के लिए असम राज्य को संचित निधि में से कतिपय राशियों के संदाय तथा विनियोग का प्राधिकार देने वाले विधेयक पर, जिस रूप में वह लोकसभा द्वारा पारित किया गया है, विचार किया जाये।”

The motion was adopted.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री साडली मोहन निगम) : अब हम धारा-ब धारा इस बिल को विचार के लिए लेते हैं।

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISO-DIA : Sir, I beg to move.

“That the Bill be returned.”

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1982

SECRETARY-GENERAL : Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the