

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** ज्ञानी जल सिंह भी राजीव गांधी में चक्कर में रहते हैं ...  
(व्यवधान)

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** आप इनको बंटा दें  
न .... (व्यवधान) ...

**श्रीमती उषा मल्होत्रा (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :**  
क्या आप इस तरह से कहते हैं ...  
(व्यवधान) ....

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** क्यों आप खड़ी हो गई हैं ?

**श्रीमती उषा मल्होत्रा :** भगवान से डरते हैं। मंदिर में जाना मुनाह तो नहीं है। भगवान में मैं डरती हूँ। आप नहीं डरते क्या ?

**श्री उपसभापति :** आर्डर, प्लीज ।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** मेरा पॉइंट आफ आर्डर है। सारी स्पीच जो रामेश्वर सिंह जी की पॉइंट आफ आर्डर के नाम पर हुई है, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह, सदन को चलाने की प्रक्रिया संबंधी जो निवमाचली है, उसके किसी नियम के अनुरार हुई है ? अगर उन्होंने किसी नियम के अनुरार नहीं दिया है, अनुरार बाने कही है, तो ... (व्यवधान) ... सुन लीजिए, उनकी परिपाटी रही है, उनकी चादत रही है, सदन में पॉइंट आफ आर्डर उठा कर उनको जो बोलना बोल लेंगे और वह रिकार्ड हो जाता है .... इससे सदन की प्रतिष्ठा कम होती है और जिन लोगों के खिलाफ ये बेबुनियाद अभियोग लगाते हैं उनकी तौहीन होती है। अखबारों में यह छप जाता है, रिकार्ड में भी आ जाता है। मैं आपसे कहना कि रामेश्वर सिंह ने जो स्पीच दी है अगर वह पार्लियामेंटरी प्रोसीजर के किसी रूल

के अन्दर नहीं आती है तो आप उनकी स्पीच को एक्स्पंज कर दीजिए, निकाल देने की व्यवस्था कीजिए, नहीं तो पॉइंट आफ आर्डर रोज़ कर के कोई जो चाहे किसी आदमी के खिलाफ बोल दे। यह परिपाटी बेयर कायम कर रही, यह बड़ी खराब बात है। इसकी आप रोकने की व्यवस्था करें। मैं आपकी सल्लिग चाहता हूँ।

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** सम्मति का विकास पॉइंट आफ आर्डर से हुआ है ... (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. I would request the honourable Members not to just get up and take the time of the House on points of order and things like that. There are no points of order. Just they want to say something in the garb of points of order. I have always been trying to stop that. Now, Mr. Nigam to move the Motion.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Sir, what about the expunction that I asked for?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right. I have made my observations. Yes, Mr. Nigam.

**डा० भाई महावीर :** (मध्य प्रदेश):  
एक्स्पंज होंगे तो आपके भी करने पड़ेंगे।

**I. (Motion seeking revocation of the proclamation issued under Article 356 of the Constitution in tions to the State of Assam.**

**II. Statutory Resolution seeking approval of the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued under Article 356 of the Constitution In relation to the 'State of Assam.**

### III. THE ASSAM APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1981.

श्री लाडली मोहन निभम (मध्य प्रदेश) :  
श्रीमान्, मैं निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करता हूँ :

"यह सभा राष्ट्रपति से सिफारिश करती है कि असम राज्य के संबंध में संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 30 जून, 1981 को जारी की गई उद्घोषणा का प्रतिसंहरण किया जाये।"

उपसभापति जो, जैसा आप का आदेश है कि इसके साथ-साथ असम के वजट पर भी चर्चा चलायी जाये, इसलिए यह विषय और ज्यादा लम्बा हो गया है। मैं राष्ट्रपति के उस अधिकार को चुनौती नहीं दे रहा हूँ कि उनको अधिकार नहीं है 356 धारा के तहत कि वह कार्यवाही न करें। लेकिन अगर इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में जायें और अगर ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था हो रही हो राष्ट्रपति जी के संविधान का सहारा लेने से कि स्थिति और खराब होती चली जायें तो फिर सोचना पड़ेगा। मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि वह दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं, लेकिन जिस मंशा के तहत या सरकार ने सुझाव दिया होगा उसके तहत जब वह कर रहे हैं और जिस स्थिति को नियन्त्रित करने के लिये, काबू करने के लिये कर रहे हैं अगर उससे बिल्कुल विपरीत स्थिति बनती चली जाती है और लोगों को यह लगता है कि किसी भी सरकार से राष्ट्रपति का शासन ज्यादा खतरनाक और गन्दा है तब तो मैं आप से यही कह सकता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान से लोगों का विश्वास उठ जायेगा। असम में पहली मर्तबा हिन्दुस्तान के सर्वोच्च पद की गरिमा दाव पर लगी है। राष्ट्रपति के शासन के समय में जिस तरीके से जुल्म और भेदभाव हो रहा है बेसा अल्पमत सरकार, अनवरा

साहिबा को सरकार में भी नहीं होता था क्योंकि कहीं न कहीं असमी होने के नाते उनको लगा रहता था कि असम की जनता के प्रति हमारा उत्तरदायित्व है। केन्द्र की सरकार शासन चलाती है तो अफसरों के तहत चलाती है, लेकिन उसमें इशारा दिल्ली के लोगों का होता है। अपनी बात और आग कहने से पहले मैं एक अखबार में से कुछ पढ़ना चाहूंगा। यह अखबार है 'नार्थ-ईस्ट टाइम्स'। इस अखबार में जो चीज लिखी हैं वह बड़ी डरावनी लग रही है। यह गोहाटी से है। उसने लिखा है—मैं उसका ही उद्धरण पढ़ रहा हूँ, क्या कहें, बदकिस्मती है, सर्जुमा करूंगा तो समय ज्यादा लगेगा।

I quote:

"Spoil the career of the Assamese youth—the latest and well organised plan is now under implementation in the name of suppressing the Assam movement. It is a part of the long term plan of the vested interest to deprive the Assamese youths from the government jobs. It is believed to be a conspiracy hatched by some high police officials as per the advice and design of a powerful Minister of the Central Cabinet."

"It is reliably learnt that some of the trusted police officers are instructed to arrest the boys in various charges. The latest instructions given to these officers are that the arrested youths should be hand cuffed."

और बहुत गो चर्चे हैं। उां नीचे लिखा है :

"Many final year students of the colleges are arrested and various charges are framed against them conveniently as a result that they cannot go for higher studies outside the state for the planned delay in the court proceedings."

"Some students arrested on the midnight of November 26 were given clear indication by a police officer that their future career will be spoilt."

उसके बाद कहता है :

"The present plea is to take the opportunity of the existing system of which nobody has bothered as yet. Under the present system, any police officer can make a bad police record against anybody."

और आगे कहता है :

"...The police officer called an aged person to show a road..." SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE (Maharashtra): We should adjourn now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish. Then we adjourn for half-an-hour.

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम :** उपसभापति महोदय, बंद के दौरान कुछ लोगों ने कहीं अवरोध किया था और कोई एक आदमी बेचारा गया थाने में बताने कि अवरोध फलां-फलां जगह है। तो उसको कहा गया कि वह जगह बतलाओ और उस जगह को बताने के जुम में उसको थाने में बन्द कर दिया गया। जब शाम को उसकी पत्नी उसका पता लगाते-लगाते वहाँ पहुँचती है तो उसको हुक्म होता है कि उस लड़के को पकड़ कर ले आओ जिसने यह अवरोध किया है। तो अगर कोई नागरिक इस सरकार की इमदाद करना चाहता है उसको कोई सूचना देना चाहता है तो उसके साथ ऐसा सलूक होता है। ऐसा होने पर उसका विश्वास इस सरकार पर से उठेगा ही। और इस समय वहाँ यही हो रहा है और आज जिस तरीके से वहाँ दफा 151 और 107 का खुला उल्लंघन हो रहा है उसके बारे में क्या कहा जाये। आज जो सब से बुनियादी प्रश्न निकलता है वह यह है कि यह आंदोलन क्यों हो रहा है। मुझे यह तसलीम करने में कोई गुरेज नहीं है कि आसाम के

जो राजनीतिक दल हैं वह वहाँ की इस समस्या को सुलझा नहीं पाये हैं। इसका कारण कुछ भी हो। हो सकता है कि राजनीतिक जोड़ तोड़ हो या कोई एतिहासिक कारण हो, लेकिन यह पहला मौका है कि जब किसी इलाके की समस्या की ओर वहाँ के नौजवानों का ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ है। अभी तक पारंपरिक तरीका यही था कि नौजवान अपने मनोरंजन में लगे रहते थे या अपनी पढ़ाई लिखाई में लगे रहते थे। यह पहला मौका है कि उसने इस सवाल को अपने हाथ में वहाँ लिया है। सवाल यह है कि आज सारे पूर्वांचल के नौजवानों में एक विश्वास जम गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रहने से उनको कोई फायदा नहीं है और जो अलगाव वाली शक्तियाँ हैं जिनको आप जानते हैं और आसाम की जमीन के भी एक हिस्से पर उसका कब्जा है और हिन्दुस्तान की तो बहुत सी जमीन आज भी उसके कब्जे में है और उस पर वह अपना दावा करके बैठे हैं, वह ताकत वहाँ कैसे पनप रही है और उसके चलते यह अलगाव बढ़ रहा है। इसको अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम कर के भी दूर नहीं कर सकते और उनके अंदर आप अपने देश के लिये विश्वास नहीं पैदा कर सकते कि हम यहाँ राज करने नहीं आये हैं, हम तुम्हारे आंदोलन को यहाँ खत्म करने नहीं आये हैं, तुम्हारे सत्याग्रह को खत्म करने नहीं आये हैं बल्कि हम तो तुम्हारी समस्याओं को सुलझाने के लिये आये हैं और उनका हल निकालने के लिये आये हैं तो यह काम आज नहीं तो और किसी समय नहीं हो सकता है। आज एक समस्या है वहाँ की। वहाँ के ग्राम लोगों के मन में एक अलगाव बन गया है। अब मैं यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो बातचीत का सिलसिला चला है उसके 14 चक्र हो चुके हैं और अब यह

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

15वां चक्र होगा और उन लोगों ने कबूल कर लिया है कि उसमें सब लोग आ रहे हैं बात चोत करने के लिये।

1 P.M.

जानो जो बैठे हैं, मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे कि ये जो बात हो रही है त्रिपक्षीय बातचीत होगी वह बात तब तक चलती रहेगी, बीच में मुल्लबो नहीं हो जाएगी, बीच में वह तोड़ी नहीं जाएगी, जब तक कि उसका कोई हल, समाधानकारक हल न निकल आये ? असल में मुसीबत यह हो गई है। कि इस वक्त दिल्ली को सरकार एक ऐसा रंगीला शीहर बनने की कोशिश कर रही है जिसकी 10 पत्नियां होती हैं और वह सबको खुश रखना चाहता है, लेकिन किसी को खुश नहीं कर सकता। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग आसाम को समस्या के बारे में क्या निष्कर्ष निकालते हैं ? उसका क्या हल आपके दिमाग में है ? अगर आप इस बात में चले जाओगे कि असम में जितने लोग हैं सब को खुश करना है तो इसने कोई हल निकाल नहीं सकता। उसको करने के लिए तीन महोने में जो रास्ता अख्तियार किया है, जो आन्दोलन में जवानों और नौजवानों जुड़ा हुआ है उसमें आप भेद करने लग गये हैं और उनमें आप जात बना लेते हैं। लेकिन याद रखिये, विद्यार्थी की कोई जात नहीं होती, उसमें कोई वर्ग नहीं होता। मैं यह बात दुखी मन से कह रहा हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान विद्यार्थियों में जो देश के भावी नागरिक हैं, वह हिन्दू-मुसलमान की दृष्टि से सोचने लगे तो देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। हमको याद है, लीग और कांग्रेस की जब लड़ाई हुई थी तो उसमें इतिफाक से कुछ सिरफिरे लोगों ने—अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय का बिल आयेगा तो उसमें यह बात

आयेगी—मुस्लिम स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन के नाम से एक संस्था बन गई। बड़ा कोफत हुई और हम लोग जिन्ना साहब के बम्बई में बालकेश्वर कोठी में गये और एक दर्पे उनसे मुलाकात की। हम लोगों ने उनसे बड़ी अदब से कहा कि हम लोगों में क्यों फर्क डालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, हमारे लिए तो सुभाष पंडित जो और मोलाना आजाद और आप सभी एक समान हैं, फिर आप हमारे अन्दर क्यों भेद डालते हैं ? तो उन्होंने बहुत गम्भीर होकर कहा कि अगर ऐसा बात हुई है तो मैं नवाब जादा लियाकत अली से बात करूंगा और कहूंगा कि उनमें तफरकात पैदा मत करो। यह उस आदमी का कहना था जिसने मुल्क का बंटवारा किया। इसके बाद उन्होंने...

सिचाई मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री जेड० आर० अंसारी) : हुआ क्या ?

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : वही तो बता रहा हूँ कि क्या हुआ। हमने उनसे पूछा कि कायदे आज़म जिन्ना साहब आप जो पाकिस्तान की रट लगाते हैं तो पाकिस्तान की परिभाषा क्या है, आपने अभी तक वह भी नहीं बताई। तो उन्होंने खटाक से कहा—वकील तो वे थे ही—कि पाकिस्तान वही है जो तुम हिन्दू नहीं देना चाहते या पंडित जवाहरलाल देना नहीं चाहते। आज अगर आप इस समस्या का हल इसी तरीके के आधार पर, वर्गों में भेद करके निकालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और उसके बाद करोगे कि नहीं हम वह नहीं मानेंगे क्योंकि तुमने उसकी कोई बुनियाद ही नहीं है तो मामला बनेगा नहीं। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूँ कि वहां की हालत जो पिलपिलो है। राष्ट्रवादी होने के नाते मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि मैं वहां जेल में भी रहा हूँ कितनी मर्तबा आसाम गया हूँ, इसलिए मुझे लगता है कि वह मैदान

इलाका जो हमेशा देश के साथ जुड़ा रहा। वह 1947 के फिरकेवाराना दंगों की आग में जब देश झुलस रहा था, आसाम की धरती में दंगे नहीं होने पाये, आज केन्द्र की जो नीतियां चल रही हैं उनके अन्दर वहां भेद बनाकर रखेंगे तो समस्या कैसे हल होगी। मैं इस प्रश्न को यही कहकर छोड़ना चाहता हूं कि मुझ जैसे लोगों को बड़ी कंपकंपी उठती रही है, निकम्मी सरकार के चलते देश टूटना रहा, कल तक जो आदमी जिम्मेदार थे, आसाम के लोगों ने जिस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान के साथ सारे पूर्वांचल में हमारा साथ दिया, आजादी के गीत गाये, हम तो 1947 में आजाद हुए, वे 1943 में हो गये थे, उन्होंने 1943 में घोषणा कर दी थी आजादी को। हिम्मत नहीं हुई वहां की सरकारों से, इसलिये उनके साथ अलग टूटी करनी पड़ी। खाली हवा में हम समस्या उलझा दें यह नहीं हो सकता। मैं समस्याओं की सब चीजों पर नहीं जा रहा हूं। एक चीज पर आप गौर करिये। आप अपने मन को बनाइये। आप सबको खुश करना चाहते हैं, हर वर्ग को खुश करना चाहते हैं। हर सियासी जुआरी के साथ आप अपना दांव लगाना चाहते हैं जिनकी सियासत ही जुआरी हो गई है। सिर्फ कुर्सी के लिये, चाहे सरकार कैसी भी बने, इसको हम करते चले जायेंगे, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है। मैं बहुत अदब से जानी जी से भरे भरे मन से आपसे कह रहा हूं कि समस्या बहुत गम्भीर है। यहां बैठकर आप बातचीत कर सकते हैं। 14-20-30-40 चक्र आपके बातचीत के हो सकते हैं लेकिन जिस तरह से वहां अविश्वास पनप गया है उसका इलाज आपको सामने नहीं दिखता। कल आपने कोई हल निकाल भी लिया तो वहां का आवागमन वहां की पीढ़ी आज यह महसूस कर रही है कि हमारा भविष्य अन्धकारमय

हो गया है। झूठे मुकदमें उन पर चल रहे हैं। इससे ज्यादा बुराई और क्या हो सकती है। कोर्ट से जमानत लेकर जवान छूट कर आता है और फिर बन्द कर दिया जाता है। हथकड़ी लगाकर निकाला जाता है बेइज्जती के साथ। हथकड़ी इस तरीके से नहीं लगानी चाहिये। एक संभ्रान्त नागरिक को हथकड़ी नहीं लगानी चाहिये। अगर आज वह अदालत से छूट गया तो उसको ससम्मान बरी किया जाता है। उसके बाद भी आपकी पूरी पुलिस डायरी खुली पड़ी रहती है। अगर कल आसाम का लड़का नौकरी के लिये खड़ा होगा तो उसके आगे पुलिस की डायरी रहेगी। उससे कह दिया जाएगा आप इस नौकरी के लिये अपात्र हैं। तुम नौकरी नहीं कर सकते। असम विद्यार्थी खुद यह महसूस करता है कि अगर ज्यादा से ज्यादा नौकरी मिली तो रेलवे वगैरह में मिलेगी। रेलवे विभाग की हालत यह है कि उसके मुख्यालय में अगर 27 हजार काम करते हैं तो चार, साढ़े चार हजार असमी लोग हैं और बाकी दूसरे लोग हैं। आज उनकी पहचान का प्रश्न खड़ा हो गया है। आप शहादतमंद बाप की तरह उसकी पहचान करने दोगे या नहीं, इसका जवाब आपको देना है। (व्यवधान) मैं इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में जा रहा हूं। आज आप एक मनसूवा ला रहे हैं अपने बजट का करीब 54 लाख रुपये इसमें है। दो-तीन बातों पर मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूं। आप जानते हैं कि असम ही एक ऐसी धरती है जो शायद अनादिकाल से बाढ़ की शिकार होती चली आई है। हिन्दुस्तान में नदियां बाढ़ लाती हैं लेकिन यहां एक नद है। हिन्दुस्तान की नदी स्त्रीलिंग है लेकिन एक ही नदी पुरुष है, ब्रह्मपुत्र नाम है। वह कितन बड़ा कहर डालती है? करोड़ों का नुकसान होता है। लेकिन यह सरकार बाढ़ नियंत्रण के लिये जो खपया लाई है केवल 20 हजार

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम ]

आप जानते हैं इससे क्या होगा। इसी तरह से सबसे बड़ी समस्या है असम में आवागमन के साधन न होने की। आवागमन के साधन वहाँ है ही नहीं। सड़कें भी दूर दराज इलाकों में कहीं नहीं है। जब परसों बहस कर रहे थे तो हमारे राज्य मंत्री मकवाणा साहब ने जवाब देते हुए कहा था कि इतनी बड़ी सीमा खुली हुई है। हमारे पास कोई साधन नहीं है कि हम उसकी चौकसी कर सकें। वहाँ 600 मील की सीमा बैठती है लेकिन वहाँ आवागमन का कोई साधन नहीं है। जब कोई आवागमन का साधन नहीं है तो सरकार मनसूबा लेकर आई सिर्फ 11 हजार रुपये का। सड़क व पुल के विकास के लिये सिर्फ 11 हजार रुपये। इससे पता चलता है कि सरकार क्या चाहती है। एक बात कहनी है कि सरकार ने सबसे ज्यादा पैसा मांगा है सड़क के ऊपर। आजकल सरकार भी सड़क लगाती है। सड़क जैसे अर्बोध है। रतन खत्री को हमारी सरोज खापड़ें जानती होंगी।

श्रीमती सरोज खापड़ (महाराष्ट्र) : मैं नहीं जानती। शायद आप उसको अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : हम तो सब को जानते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के हर आदमी को जिसका नाम जुड़ा हुआ है इज्जत और सियासत से उसको जानना चाहिये। हाजी मस्तान को कौन नहीं जानेगा। मैंने आपसे कहा कि सड़क पर 5 लाख रुपये मांग रहे हैं। लाटरी खोलने के लिये मांग रहे हैं। सड़क के लिये सिर्फ 11 हजार रुपये मांग रहे हैं। बाड़ रोकने के लिये 22 हजार रुपये मांग रहे हैं। आपको ठंडे दिमाग से बजट बनाना चाहिये था। (व्यवधान)

श्रीमन्, मेरा मुद्दा यह है कि आज आसाम की समस्या सारे देश की समस्या बन गई है? आज धीरे धीरे उसकी पहचान हो रही है। आप इस भुलावे में मत रहिये कि आसाम दूर-दराज का इलाका है। अखबारों में यह बात आई है कि बिहार में वहाँ पर कोल्हान राज्य की स्थापना की बात शुरू हो गई है। यह चायवासा के पास है, मैदानी इलाका है, कोई पहाड़ी इलाका नहीं है। वहाँ के आदिवासी इस बात को कह रहे हैं। मैं आदिवासियों से मिला था। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि आप झारखण्ड राज्य की बात क्यों करते हो और क्यों अलग होना चाहते हो। मैंने कहा कि आपका अलग राज्य बनाया जा सकता है, छोटा नागपुर का अलग राज्य बनाया जा सकता है, लेकिन तुम लोग अलग क्यों होना चाहते हो? मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि हिन्दुस्तान का आदिवासी हम लोगों से ज्यादा पढ़ा लिखा है। हम लोग समझते हैं कि वह कुछ नहीं है। मैंने जब उनसे प्रश्न पूछा तो कहने लगे कि चन्धिये, हम आपकी सब बातें मान लेते हैं, लेकिन आप एक बात का उत्तर दीजिये कि क्या आने वाले सौ वर्षों में भी आप इस बात की गारन्टी दे सकते हैं कि बिहार में कोई आदिवासी मुख्य मंत्री बनेगा? मेरे पास इसका कोई उत्तर नहीं था। अगर हम तत्काल कोल्हान ले लेंगे, झारखण्ड ले लेंगे तो आदिवासी मुख्य मंत्री बन जाएगा। इस प्रकार की हवा वहाँ पर चल रही है। इसी तरीके की भावना आसाम में भी पनप रही है। आप जानते हैं कि आसाम के साथ मणिपुर जुड़ा हुआ है। वहाँ भी यही भावना पनप रही है। मणिपुर में एक बल बांध है जिस पर पहले 10 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने की योजना थी, लेकिन आज उस पर 180 करोड़ रुपये खर्च हो गये हैं और सन् 1984-85 तक भी आप उसको पूरा करके नहीं

दे सकते हैं। इस क्षेत्र में अमेरिकियों का सहारा लेकर अंग्रेज बर्मी लोगों से लड़े और अंग्रेज लोग जापानियों और नेताजी के साथ लड़े। उस वक्त भी वहाँ पर सड़के नहीं थीं। उस जमाने में जो कुछ भी सड़कें बनो थी वे अब टूट गई हैं। उनकी आप मरम्मत नहीं कर सकते हैं। सारे सोमान्त क्षेत्र के साथ कोई रिश्ता नहीं जोड़ा गया है। वहाँ पर आवागमन के कोई साधन नहीं है। वहाँ पर शरीर का रिश्ता टूट गया है और विचारों का भी रिश्ता टूट गया है और अब धरती से भी रिश्ता टूटता जा रहा है। इसलिए मेरे तीन प्रश्न हैं। अगर यह सरकार उस इलाके की धरती से रिश्ता चाहती है, उसके शरीर का रिश्ता चाहती है, उसके साथ विचारों का रिश्ता चाहती है तो इनके लिए वह क्या कर रही है। इस विवरण में इसका कोई उत्तर नहीं है। आप वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन आप यह राजनैतिक जोड़-तोड़ को छोड़िये जो आपने शुरू कर रखा है। वहाँ के गवर्नर पैसे के नाम पर दिल्ली में दस्तक दिये हुए हैं। वे इसी सदन के सदस्य रह चुके हैं। कल मैंने उनको सेन्ट्रल हाल में देखा था और हो सकता है कि आज भी वे यहीं हों। अगर उनको भिखारी की तरह से योजना मंत्रालय के दरवाजे पर पैसे के लिए दस्तक देनी पड़ेगी तो फिर आसाम में सड़कों का विकास कैसे होगा। बिजली के लिए पैसा कहाँ से आएगा।

आखिर में मैं यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि आसाम में विद्यार्थी 1951 से 1961 की बात पर आ गये हैं। सन् 1971 को भी कोई सीमा नहीं है। सन् 1971 के बीच का भी कोई रास्ता निकल सकता है और यह बातचीत से सुलझाया जा सकता है। मैं यह साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम हर एक आदमी को खुश नहीं रख

सकते हैं। कुछ न कुछ कड़वा तो इसमें होगा ही। आज हिन्दुस्तान की धरती पर आधुनिक अमृत मंथन हो रहा है जो हिन्दुस्तान की मिट्टी और विचारों को जोड़ने का काम करेगा। इस बात को याद रखिये कि जब कभी अमृत मंथन होता है तो सबसे पहले उसमें विष निकलता है। अमृत मंथन हुआ तो कोई न कोई शंकर निकल ही आता है। अमृत मंथन में जब विष निकला तो शंकर उसको पी गये। उन्होंने उसको हजम नहीं किया। अगर हजम करते तो मर जाते। गले में रोक लिया विष पीने से ही नीलकण्ठ कहलायें। इसलिए मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार आसाम की समस्या को हल करने के लिए क्या नीलकण्ठ बनने के लिए तैयार है? एक बात मैं कह देता हूँ, कि विश्वास से, बातचीत से, आप इस समस्या को हल कर सकते हैं, लेकिन याद रखिये, दुनिया में सबसे बड़ी पीड़ा प्रसूति की पीड़ा होती है। प्रसूति की पीड़ा का कोई अन्त नहीं होता है, उसको कोई परिभाषा नहीं होती है। जिस तरह सैंक प्रसूता माँ जिसको मर्मातन्तक पीड़ा होती है उसको भी सहन कर लेती है, इस उम्मीद में कि यह पीड़ा जो है यह क्षणिक है और थोड़ी देर के लिये पीड़ा को वह सहन कर लेती है क्योंकि नई आलाप आने वाली होती है। इसी विश्वास से अगर जानी जो आप बैठेंगे कि जो भी पीड़ा है उसको बरदाश्त करेंगे, इस उम्मीद में कि हमें नया हिन्दुस्तान, नया आसाम बनाना है। अगर इस भावना के साथ आप बैठेंगे तो हम आपके साथ खड़े हैं, यही मुझे आपसे कहना है।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(GIANI ZAIL SINGH): Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on

[Shri Zail Singh]

the 30th June, 1981, under article as of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam, for a further period of six months with effect from the 30th December, 1981."

Sir, the State of Assam came under President's rule with effect from 30th June, 1981, the date on which Proclamation under article 356(1) of the Constitution was issued by the President. The Proclamation was approved by the Lok Sabha on the 20th August, 1981 and by the Rajya Sabha on the 25th August, 1981. The Proclamation will now be in force up to end inclusive of 29th December, 1981.

Sir, the political situation in Assam is still fluid. Accordingly, no Ministry may be able to assume office by 30th December, 1981 by which time the President's 'Proclamation will expire unless approved by a Resolution by both the Houses of Parliament. I would, therefore, request the House to accord its approval to the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 30th June, 1981 in respect of Assam issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from 30th December, 1981.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the Finance Minister.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1981-82, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 54.15 lakhs voted by the Lok Sabha on the 21st December 1981 and Rs. 0.49 lakhs charged on the Con-

solidated Fund of the State of Assam. This expenditure has been incurred by taking advances from Assam Contingency Fund and Parliament's approval is now sought for recouping' the advances to that fund. Full details of the provisions are available in the Supplementary Demands circulated to Members. Sir, I move.

*The questions were proposed.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Motion, the Resolution and the Assam Appropriation (No. 2) Bill are now open for discussion. Shri Dhabe.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: It is better I speak after lunch, because I cannot finish it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have 15 minutes.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: I have to go; I have got some work; and I shall take half an hour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then I call the other Member. Today we have very short time; and still there are 10 minutes for us to adjourn; it is only 1.20. Then I may call another Member.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: If you are compelling, I speak but I want that you may accommodate me for half an hour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will adjourn for half an hour. Yes you may proceed.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam, my hon. colleague. Sir, continuance of President's Rule in Assam is not conducive to democratic functioning in that State. This is only a projection of the policy of the Government pursued elsewhere; what they are doing all over India.



Particularly, in Assam, the situation is such that all developmental work has been stopped. The Budget itself shows only an amount of Rs. 54 lakhs, which they want to provide. Nor, they are keen to restore democratic institutions and allow the formation of a Ministry. Instead of ensuring the welfare of the people of Assam and the youth of Assam, as my teamed friend has said, they are treating the whole thing as a problem relating only to maintenance of peace and law and order. In fact, Sir, if you read the whole story in Assam, you will see, it is a very sad story. It has become more or less a Police State. Trade union offices are attacked. There is no liberty to the people to hold meetings. Censorship has been imposed on the newspapers. Not only that, Sir. Even the MLAs are not free to move. On 28th November, Shri S. C. Sinha, respected leader of my Party and other MLAs were going towards a tea estate. Shri S. C. Sinha, Shri Dulal Barua of Janata and Shri Najmal Haq, MLAs were going to a tea estate in Nagri Joli area, where the police had fired upon the workers. On their way, Shri Sinha and other MLAs were attacked. Therefore, Sir, the situation is very serious. Two problems are connected with this. Before I go to the Assam situation, I would like to mention these problems. Firstly, Government has thrown all norms of running political institutions to the wind. Now, they have only one point programme, namely, destabilising the judiciary destabilising the Legislatures and Parliamentary institutions and people's faith in them, destabilising the opposition political parties. Not only that, Sir, Demoralising the executive which is not today, ready—as we have seen in Bihar and other places—to take decisions on their own. What have they done? And what are they doing?

I am sorry to say, both in Assam and Kerala, they want to impose minority rule. Defections are the order of the day. A Party which has

only eight members, now claims more than forty members. As I had said earlier in this House. I would like to repeat it again—defections of legislators from one Party to another, which is generally called in Parliamentary parlance, crossing the floor, has become, particularly after the Fourth General Elections, a recurring phenomenon and it is a matter of concern to all of us. It has major consequences for stability of Governments, effectiveness of party system and growth of Parliamentary democracy in our country. This is being done by a Government which claims a thumping majority in Parliament as well as in the States; encouraging defections from one Party to another, from other Parties, and admitting members from other Parties without any principle and without even examining what their antecedents were. There is no doubt that such large scale defections from other Parties to the ruling Party, and *vice versa* previously—today, it is only one-way traffic—leads to instability of Governments and this also undermines the morale of the country as a whole. This is not wholesome—for the growth of Parliamentary democracy. This will only lower political standards and undermine the faith of the people in democratic elections. The Home Minister should consider this very seriously whether it is proper for the ruling party to wait till the ruling party gets a majority. When the other people were ready, to form a government, you did not give them the opportunity and installed a minority government in Assam led by Mrs. Taimur, which had no majority in the House. This was conspired by the Government till Ministry was defeated. If that is the criteria for forming a government, then when the Opposition parties met together—I do not want to name all the parties, they are all known—Congress(S), CPI, CPM, Assam Janata Dal—and sent a memorandum to the Governor that they had got a strength of 62 in a house of 119, what was the

reply of the Governor? It is really

[Shri Shridhar Wasudeo Dhabe] shameful. He said: "You give me your list of Ministers. Unless they are allowed to form the Government, unless they are asked to form the Government, it is an internal matter for the Leader to decide what should be the composition of the Cabinet. But for some reason or the other, they were not allowed to form the Government. Congress (I) Party was only waiting for some MLAs from the tea gardens to join, or something to be done to have defections from the other side also so that the ruling party will be Congress(I) only. The same game is being played in Kerala also.

Sir, it is very important for democratic functioning that there should not only be the ruling party but an effective Opposition also. It is very essential that effective Opposition parties remain. It is necessary to organise the social power of the people to check the official power from becoming arbitrary and to act as a vigilant force for the safety of the democratic order. The main casualty in today's political scene is that the party which is expected to live upto

and keep the norms, traditions and conventions is itself behaving in such a way that it has destabilised the whole political system.

What is the position of the judiciary? It is really shameful and tragic that three High Court Judges were not given extensions up to the last minute. Some of the High Court Judges are given extension only for one month. Three Judges of Bombay High Court have had to retire because their term expired on 20th December and the Law Minister had no time to look to this problem, thereby creating instability and uncertainty in the judiciary. If the judiciary, executive and the parliamentary parties system are broken, what will happen to this country? Assam is an example. Let us learn from Assam that this sort of working will not succeed in that troubled State.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all. We will continue after lunch.

उदन की कार्यवाही दो बजे तक के  
लिये स्थगित की जात है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-nine minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Dhabe. Five minutes. Please be brief.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE; I know, Sir. I go by your direction always.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was saying that it is very essential that the Central Government respects the democratic rights of the people and their representatives, and whatever Government they want to form should be allowed to be formed. The Governor has no right to create problems for the parties there to form a Government. On the other hand, it should have been his role to help to form the Government for which a joint representation was made by all the parties that Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha, should be allowed to form the Government.

Sir, there are also other problems which I would like to refer to. One problem is, into Purnea district and other places, large numbers of infiltrators, are coming. I would like the Government to take stern action in this matter and, if necessary, to seal the borders so that no more infiltrators are allowed to cross the borders and come *So*, It will be a very intriguing and also a very dangerous *thing* for the country that guerrillas trained outside India by other forces and other countries are being used in Assam and other north-eastern parts. It is therefore essential that the people of Assam must feel that their problems are solved and feel emotionally—they are part of our country. In this connection. Sir, the most important problem which they are facing is unemployment and that is the basic reason why the agitation started. The other problem is that of

under-development. There are no industries there, worth the name I would plead with the Government to establish oil-based industries in Assam, spend money for communication purposes, for railway communications and other things. And, thirdly, the industries based on tea, which is a great foreign exchange earner for our country, should, also be established. I may suggest one more programme which has successfully worked in Maharashtra, namely, the minimum guaranteed employment programme for the rural people. A large number of people do not get jobs in the rural areas, but about seven to eight lakhs of people are given jobs in Maharashtra under the programme. In Assam, it is not a situation arising out of the foreigners issue only, but mainly on account of the feeling of frustration by the people. What they feel is that they are totally neglected in respect of their economic development and they are not getting adequate employment even in their own area.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to say that many representations have been made. I would like to know from the Minister, after the President's Rule was imposed, what industries have been developed, what programmes have been implemented for generating more employment and seeing that the people there are given jobs. In fact, Sir, it has been an accepted principle with the employment exchanges that 80 per cent of the local people should get the jobs. If that rule is enforced, I think the problem of Assam will be solved to a large extent.

Lastly, Sir, I would say that this will be abuse of article 356. Article 356 says: "...a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution..." Now, what happens if the President cannot carry out the functions as per the Constitution? There is no provision for that. It will lead

the President's Rule is to be extended the Minister must assure the House what programmes they are going to have in the next six months for economic development.

I must also say that in the Schedule to the Assam Appropriation Bill the total provision made is only of about Rs. 54 lakhs. I find therefrom that the provision for roads and bridges is only Rs. 11,000. What can they build in Rs. 11,000? Even repair of one kilometre of road is not possible in Rs. 11,000. I would like to have an explanation from the Minister to this. I would also like to know what industries they want to develop in that area with the provision of a capital of Rs. 37,50,000 only. The only provision which is an attractive one is for the State Lotteries, a provision of 4,31,000. I would not like to comment on it because my friends have already done it. Is this the way we can solve the problem? If the President takes over the powers, it is the Midian people who get a bad name. In Assam, there is a growing feeling that the anti-Indian people are against the Assamese. Some say that it is a secessionist movement, others say that it is a nationalist movement. Instead of going into that question. I would say that they are a part of India and the glorious role played by the plains people in the freedom struggle should be a reminder of that to the Government. No vested interests of any party should come in the way of solving the problem of Assam expeditiously.

Lastly, I would like to say that it is a slur on our administration that the elections to Parliament could not be held there for two years, from 1980 onwards. I request the hon. Minister to take immediate steps for revision of electoral rolls and for a time-bound programme for holding elections to the Lok Sabha so that their representatives are there in Parliament. Let democracy be restored in Assam

there, which is not accepted and which will not be accepted by the people of that land. Thank you.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the reason why the Home Minister has proposed that the President's rule should be extended by another six months, has been very well explained by him. It is true, as Mr. Dhabe has said, that the Opposition parties formed a alliance and claimed majority and asked for permission to form a Government. The Opposition is said to have submitted a list of 62 or 63 Members. But, when the Governor asked them to prove that all those Members actually supported the leadership of Mr. Sinha, Mr. Sinha failed upto how to prove that all those 62 Members or a majority of the Members of the House supported him. That has not been proved upto now for clarification of the Governor.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE; By what method?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Sinha has failed on the point upto now. (*Interruptions*). Please. The main point is that the Governor must be guided by proof, evidence, documentary evidence, of people who are supporting his leadership, and there Mr. Sinha has failed. That is the first point.

The second point is—this is more important—out of the parties which want to support Mr. Sinha's leadership, no major party is prepared to participate in the Government, the Janata, the C.P.I., the C.P.I.(M) and RCPI. These are the major parties in the Opposition. They say, "We are *not going* to participate in the Government." Then, the Governor naturally asks how such a Government can be stable.

These are the two basic points on which the Opposition claim has not

been accepted by the Governor. But the Governor has also not accepted the other side's claim. At the moment nobody has been able to prove to the Governor that he is in a position to form a Government with a majority support in the Assembly. Therefore, the Governor cannot ask anybody to form a Government. And since the Governor cannot ask anybody to form a Government—this, I am saying as of today, the 24th December—the Governor had to suggest to the Centre that the President's rule should be extended. So, the President's rule is being extended by six month on this very important ground that no Government is possible just now as nobody has been able to prove to the Governor that he commands a majority in the House.

Sir, the Governor has also made very clear that he will not allow anybody to form a minority Government. That is a very salutary declaration he has made publicly that he cannot allow any minority Government to be formed. If anybody in future can prove that he has a majority support, from this side or that side, he will ask him to form a Government. That is the normal procedure. What is wrong with it, I do not know.

Many things have been said by Ladliji and Dhabeji about the present Governor. Sir, I must say from my own experience that we have seen so many Governors in Assam. Here is one who, being a politician—I mean, having a political background—has proved to be a man of the people. He has already established good relations with various sections of the people, not only the political parties but also writers, artists, journalists, professors, teachers, with all sections of the people he has established good relations. And even the newspapers, the Press, in Assam have praised his popularity and have praised his mode of functioning. Therefore, it is wrong to say that the Governor has failed in his functions or that he has taken

sides or that he is partial or that he is prejudiced or anything of this kind. He has been able to create confidence among the people as a person, as a representative of the President, 'of the Central Government He is making serious efforts to tone up the administration and accelerate the economic development. Mr. Ladli Mohan himself has said that the Governor was fighting with the Planning Commission in Delhi for additional allocations, higher allocations. The Planning Commission has not agreed, and the Governor himself has been fighting for it. That shows how much feeling he has for the economic development of the State, how much he has been trying to accelerate its economic development. But because of the situation there, naturally, the developmental programmes have not gone that far. But I must also say that he has been able to tone up the administration to the best of his ability.

Sir, the main problem is the political situation there. About foreign nationals, we have discussed that problem several times. I have also spoken several times There is no point in repeating those points over and over again. But I would simply say this, that this problem cannot be solved in the streets and through agitations. This problem must be solved around the table. Quite a number of discussions have already taken place and I know that continuous progress was also made towards understanding each other's point of view, the Government's point of view and the agitators' point of view. Still there are some knots to be untied and fresh negotiations are going to take place. And this time it will be tripartite negotiations. I am happy that the Opposition parties are being associated with the negotiations. I am also happy to know that the agitators have declared yesterday that they will take part in the Negotiations when the Opposition parties would be present. It is a happy sign a 'good sign. I hope through the efforts of

the Government, the Opposition parties and the constructive approach of the agitators themselves, all the remaining knots will be untied and a final solution will be arrived at.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA): They have given a programme of agitation.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I am coming to that. The Government, in my opinion, has shown tremendous patience. No doubt some police action has taken place when there was a question of law and order. Suppose there is road blocking. One of their programmes is road blocking. How can a Government tolerate roads being blocked for traffic? How can a Government tolerate oil being stopped from being supplied to the refineries? How can a Government tolerate employees not attending to their duties because of a call from the agitators? No Government can tolerate Government employees taking salaries and not doing their duties. How can a Government tolerate acts of violence? In spite of all this—whatever police action has been taken—I must say that the Government and in particular the Prime Minister have shown tremendous patience over the last two years in dealing with this problem, because it is a genuine problem. Everybody recognises that it is a genuine problem, it is a real problem, it is a national problem, which must be solved once and for all. It is recognised by everybody—by the public, by the political parties, by everybody. That is why enough patience has been shown by the Government in dealing with the action programmes of the agitators.

Sir, you must remember that while trying to solve this problem, we are going to deal with human beings, not with bricks and mortar. It is not a question of picking up some bags of cement and loading them in a lorry or truck and taking the

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

lorry somewhere else. It is not like that. It is a problem of human beings. Therefore, it is all the more difficult. It is complex, it is complicated. This must be appreciated. People are raving: "So many times negotiations have been held and talks have been held. Nothing comes out of it. It goes on and on till eternity." It goes on and on because of the very complexity and the complicated nature of the problem. I do not say that progress has not been made. Progress has been made. There is better understanding today between both sides. As I said, some knots are yet to be untied. I hope future negotiations will help in that. But I am sorry to say that the leaders of the agitation have again given a call for agitation. They have announced new programmes of agitation. Sir, in my humble opinion, negotiations can be fruitful, can be successful, only in an atmosphere of peace. If an agitation goes on, people get excited all the time. If an agitation goes on, somehow it does something in spite of the wishes of the leaders and the police take action; and something happens and the People get agitated, got excited. In that atmosphere, I do not know how any negotiation can succeed. Therefore, it is very necessary that a peaceful atmosphere should be created. If they do not want to withdraw the agitation, all right, let them suspend the agitation. As long as the negotiations continue, suspend the agitation, all programmes of agitation. Now their programme announced this morning is going to create problems—problems of law and order, breach of peace and all that. And the police will have to come in. Is it not the duty of the police and the administration to maintain law and order? Therefore, I would appeal to the leaders of the agitation that they must suspend the agitation, the agitational programmes for the period that the negotiations continue. They have agreed to take part in negotiations, very good, welcome. Until the negotiations come to an end, they must suspend the agitation. I hope

the negotiations this time will come to an end successfully and they will find some solution.

I also say that negotiations mean compromise. There must be a compromise. Both sides have to move forward. We cannot just stand where we are and dictate terms. Neither can the Government do it nor can they. I appeal to the Government also. I know for a fact that the Government is prepared to come down; in fact, they have already come down, and if what I know is true, they will come down further. The agitators have agreed that all those who came before 1961 would be allowed to stay on in Assam. Fine. The Government has agreed that those who came after 1971 will be deported. Fine. Now the problem is regarding those who came between 1961 and 1971. Seventy-one is not accepted by them, sixty-one is not accepted by the Government. That is the problem, I do not want to say anything more except that a *via media* solution is possible after examining all the facts. One can come to the conclusion that a *via media* solution between these two dates, between 1961 and 1971, is possible, and I hope the next course of negotiation will be aimed at finding out a *via media* solution between the two dates.

And, as I said, I repeat, the movement, the cause, is genuine; it is a real problem, it is a national problem and it has to be solved. But in the course of the movement or the agitation if violence takes place the Government has to take action. No Government can tolerate violence, even stray violence, and action has to be taken. Nobody can blame the Government for that. In the name of satyagraha how can you support Government employees abstaining from their duties when at the same time taking salaries? If I remember correctly, I was a very young boy during Gandhiji's time and during Gandhiji's agitation all those who were called upon to join the satya-

graha, they were asked to resign from Government jobs, and they resigned from Government jobs. Only then did they join the satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi. Even lawyers who did not have to resign, even they had left the legal practice and then joined the movement. This was the moral force behind the satyagraha. But here Government employees are joining the satyagraha, they are joining the agitation, the movement, and at the same time are asking for salaries, demanding salaries, are protesting against pay-cuts. I do not understand whether this is satyagraha at all, whether there is any moral basis behind this type of a satyagraha. I do not understand this. Therefore, I cannot approve of it, if I am correct in understanding what satyagraha really means. We cannot afford such an agitation.

As Mr. Dhabe said, and as Mr. Ladli Mohan said, Assam is a very backward State, a neglected State. All right. Even in a backward State like Assam it is of utmost importance, it is of the greatest importance, that we allow the wheels of production to move, we must not obstruct developmental programmes. Therefore, We cannot afford to see that developmental programmes, economic development activities, suffer in any way. So if they want to conduct an agitation, it should be such which will not obstruct the productivity programmes, the developmental programmes. It is very important for the whole State, even for the boys who are the leaders of tomorrow. How can they run the administration tomorrow in the face of consequences of economic loss that we suffer today? If the administration is not strong, if the economic activities are obstructed, people will suffer, the State will suffer. We have in fact already suffered and we will suffer more.

At the same time I would say it is not proper, it is not correct it is not moral, to disturb the academic

life of the State. The students have already lost one academic year, last year. I do not know how many students will be able to appear for the coming examinations. Some are appearing, I do not know how many of them will appear for their examinations in the coming months. Is it moral to involve them? I thought Satyagraha is a moral movement. Is it moral to deprive students of their one full academic year or two academic years? What does it mean? It is not only the students who suffer. It is not only their guardians who suffer. The State as a whole suffers if we do not produce Engineers in time and Doctors in time. Therefore, I do not think this is a very correct method of conducting agitations. The students should be excluded and the Government employees must be excluded. Production must be allowed to go on. There are various ways of conducting agitations and lodging protests. But nothing should be done to hamper the progress of the State any more. We are glad that negotiations will start very soon after announcing the date. We also hope that a compromise will be reached through give and take. This is my hope. And I hope wise counsel will prevail so that a *via media* solution is arrived at through give and take.

Now, one or two words about, the economic situation because I want to speak on the Appropriation Bill also. There are various problems facing Assam. But there are three major, basic problems. One is the river Brahmaputra. The hon. Members know it. The second is the problem of communications and power. Both are in terrible shortage. The third problem is that there is practically no industry in Assam.

I am glad that the Government of late have taken up some schemes in various directions. Some kind of work has started on the Brahmaputra. But I am sorry the River Board has not yet been set up.

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

Then, Assam produces tea, oil and jute. Our tea and jute are foreign exchange earners. And our oil saves foreign exchange. Now the Assam tea has to pay the highest excise duty in the country. Why? I want an answer to this question. Why should Assam tea pay the highest excise duty?

Our jute growers get the minimum price. They are exploited. Our jute goes out. But jute mills are not coming up. We can have enough jute mills in Assam, because we produce enough jute, next only to Bengal. We have enough forest products. To process these forest products lot of industries can come up. We have now two paper industries. We can have more such industries. Sir, I am not going into details. I am only making points for want of time. So, there is enough scope for more jute mills and industries based on timber. We can have even more sugar mills in Assam. Then Assam produces very good fruits. The Prime Minister one day told me: Your pineapples and oranges are the best in the country. We can develop industries based on these beautiful fruits. In other words, we must develop industries in Assam based on raw materials available locally.

Regarding oil I am very sorry to say—and I am voicing the feelings of all the people of Assam, including those of the Government of Assam now there under the President's rule—that though we are the first producers of oil—we still produce about 5 million tonnes contributing substantially to the nation—the royalty paid to us is grossly inadequate. What is the royalty paid to us? Even the Britishers paid us Rs. 10A before independence. What was that money worth then? Then after independence it was reduced to Rs. 7/50. Then we and the MLAs represented and it was then raised to Rs. 10/-. Then it was raised to Rs. 42/- and now it is Rs. 61/-. There must be some principle followed in this regard, if 20 per

cent of the price of crude is to be given as royalty, we should get a royalty of Rs. 216/- or so. Let me tell the House and the hon. Members that before Anwara Taimur came to power, during the President's rule, the Adviser to the Governor submitted a proposal to the Central Government. And the proposal said that Assam deserved royalty to the extent of Rs. 315/- per tonne. This is not my view. But it is the view expressed by the Advisor to the Governor at that time, at the time Assam was under the President's Rule. Therefore, in this matter, Sir, I think a great injustice has been done to Assam and this must be rectified.

SHRI SYED SHAHEEDULLAH (West Bengal). You tell this to those people on that side.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I am not going into all those details now. I have only made a few points about the economic situation and I hope the honourable Minister will take note of what I have said. I do not know whether there is any allocation in this bill, because this is only a supplementary demand any even if there is no allocation, it hardly matters. But I would only say that since the President's Rule is to continue there, I hope that the honourable Minister will take note of the few points that I have made and try to accelerate the developmental programmes there. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Thank you very much.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Biswa Goswami.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Sir, I support the Motion moved by my honourable friend, Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam, and I oppose the Resolution moved by the honourable Home Minister.



Sir, the administration in Assam under the President's Rule is deteriorating day by day. During the President's Rule in Assam, sir, there has been no developmental work at all. Even the breaches in the roads and embankments caused by the floods have not been repaired. Roads have not been repaired for want of boulders and chips and it is because explosives are not given to the contractors 'for breaking the boulders. The entire administration is cut off from the people. Sir, the people are not allowed' to meet the officers. In the Kamrup district, the Deputy Commissioner has issued orders that the people who want to meet the officers must take permits before entering the offices. So, this is the state of affairs in Assam under the President's Rule. They are only interested in dealing with the law and order situation. So, Sir, there is a strong feeling in Assam that popular Government in Assam should be restored earlier. And, Sir, with that purpose in mind, all the Opposition parties in Assam have formed an alliance and they have agreed to have a common programme and they have elected a leader and the leader has submitted a list of 62 members to the Governor. But Sir, what is the Governor doing? The Governor has asked as to who will participate in the Cabinet. This is not under the prerogative of the Governor. Sir, it is not under the prerogative of the Governor to ask the leader as to who will be in the Cabinet. Exactly one year ago, Sir, what did the Governor do? The Governor installed a minority government there, Mrs. Anwara Taimur's Government. Mrs. Anwara Taimur was not asked to submit a list. It was a minority Government all through. She was never in a majority. She was not asked to submit a list also. And, Sir, she was not asked as to who would participate in her Government. So, Sir, this is the double standard which the Governor is adopting so far as Assam is concerned. But constitutional propriety demands that the alliance of the left and the other democratic

forces, the other Opposition parties, should be given a chance to form the government there in Assam . because only a popular Government in Assam can help in solving this complicated problem of foreign nationals.

Sir, so far as the foreign nationals issue is concerned, 14 rounds of talks have been held so far. Everybody agrees that the problems of the people of Assam are genuine and the Government has also said that it is a national problem. But there is no sincerity in solving this problem. During the discussions with the movement leaders, the differences gradually narrowed down and a congenial atmosphere prevailed in the State of Assam. Then we do not know what happened suddenly. Suddenly, Sir, the Government came out with all-out confrontation with the people of the State. On the 10th of November, the movement leaders wanted to hold a rally in Gauhati. They sought permission for this and they were given to understand that permission would be given to them. But suddenly, at the last moment, a telegram came from Barapeta in the name of the minority student organisation and suddenly permission was denied. People got provoked and the situation again deteriorated. We hoped that gradually the differences between the movement leaders and the Government would narrow down and there was a hope that a solution would be found out soon. But suddenly the situation deteriorated due to the -wrong handling of the situation by the Government. On the 10th of November there was practically a rally of the CRP people and entire Gauhati City was full of CRP and BSF people, and a news was circulated about a bomb explosion, but subsequently it was found out that it was not a bomb. These are the things which provoked the people of the State.

One hon. Member said that the agitation continues. True. But who has created this situation? It is the Government which has created this

[Shri Biswa Goswami] situation. Sir, I want to ask: During the period of the observance of the Bandh, what did the Government do. People on the streets Were beaten up mercilessly. Boys and girls were beaten up. Even people remaining inside the houses were also beaten up. The other day, I referred to one incident in Nowgong that the CRP People entered the house of a veteran freedom fighter, Late Mr. Haladhar Bhuyan, and broke open the doors. His two sons received severe injuries. One 95 year old woman was beaten up inside the house. One 80-year old retired publicity officer was beaten up inside the house in Lakhim-pur. Is this the way to deal with the people?, Sir, I know, after the failure of 14 rounds of talks, the people are frustrated. They lost faith, and they began to think that the Government of India was not going to solve the problem of Assam. There are extremist elements and the extremist elements tried to take advantage of the situation. As you know, Sir, in the entire north-eastern region, except Assam— in Mizoram, in Nagaland and Manipur —there are violent activities going on. There the secessionist elements are active. Only Assam is peaceful. Only the people of Assam are not for secession. There are also extremist elements who are trying to take advantage of the situation. So, under these circumstances, what is the duty of the Government? The duty of the Government is to strengthen the hands of those who believe in a peaceful movement and who believe in negotiations. But what has the Government done? The Government has unnecessarily provoked the peace-loving people. I do not know what is the reason behind it? Do they want to teach the Assamese people a lesson? Do they want to teach the Assamese people a lesson for good? And that is why they are going to beat up the people anywhere and everywhere? Sir, people are arrested under the National Security Act without any reason. They have failed to detect those people who were responsible for violent activities. They have failed miserably. They have not tried.

But so far as the peaceful people are concerned, they are very much up and doing in repressing those people. Sir, I would, therefore like to warn the Government that if this thing continues, the consequences will be very dangerous and it will not be in the interests of the country. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government: Let them retrace their steps and let them realise the gravity of the situation.

Sir, it is heartening to note that though the Government did not believe that the agitation leaders would agree to sit in the tripartite talks—even the hon. Home Minister expressed his doubt in the Consultative Committee—in the papers it has come out that the movement leaders have agreed for the tripartite talks. I believe that the Government will take this opportunity of finding a solution to the problem in these tripartite talks. They should create a congenial atmosphere for that and stop all repressive measures. At the same time, I would also appeal to the movement leaders to suspend their movement for the time being. I don't say that only the Government should stop the repressive measures and the movement should continue. I don't say like that. I hope that the movement will also be suspended. Let the Government show the path. Let them stop the repressive methods. Let them release all those who are arrested. Let them go to the talks with a determination that they are going to solve the problem and that they will not adjourn the talks and that they will continue the discussions till a solution is found. If the Government and the opposition leaders meet the movement leaders 'with this determination, then I am sure that a solution can be found. It is not such a thing that a solution is not possible. I believe that an early solution to this problem is necessary in the interest of the country and in the interest of all. Therefore, I hope that this thing will not be lingered on. We should find an early solution to this problem. It should not be difficult to find a solution when everybody agrees that it is a genuine issue and that it is a national issue. So, a solution can be found.

So far as the development of Assam is concerned, I would say that the State of Assam is full of natural resources. We have got plenty of coal. We have got forests. We have got everything. But there is no development. Many promises have been made so far as the development of communication is concerned, but these promises have not been fulfilled. Even the extension of broad gauge from Bongaigaon to Gauhati is moving at snail's speed. I do not know when it will be completed. The country is short of energy and Assam has got immense hydel power resources. You will be surprised to know that about 13 lakh cubic feet of natural gas is being burnt daily. That gas is not being utilised for the good of the people. If the Government so desires, the State can be developed. But the Government is not interested. So many promises have been made but those promises have not been fulfilled.

Brahamaputra River Board Bill was passed. In reply to a question, the hon. Minister said that the constitution of the Board was in the advanced stage. I do not know how long that advanced stage will continue. There is erosion of Brahamaputra and thousands and thousands of people are affected. Hundreds of villages have been washed away and nothing has been done to rehabilitate the people.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): I hope this advanced stage will not end in miscarriage.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Perhaps it will end in miscarriage. You know what they are saying in the name of protection of erosion. They construct some bamboo spurs. The bamboo spurs cannot protect the river banks. The result is that money is wasted and the benefit is not derived. If the Government is sincere to protect the erosion-affected areas, they should come forward for construction of stone spurs. Let them not construct stone spurs at a time for the entire bank. But let them select places. Let them at least select heavily populated areas and let them construct stone spurs so

that some areas can be protected. (*Time bell rings*) So, Sir if they are sincere, Assam can be developed, Assam resources can be tapped to the advantage of the entire country.

Sir, so far as the royalty on the crude oil is concerned, I agree with what Shri Bipinpal Das has said. The Adviser to the Governor himself said that Assam should get a minimum of Rs. 315 per tonne of crude oil as royalty. But justice has not been done in the case of Assam and Gujarat on this issue. I hope the Government will do justice and at least they will not neglect this State as they have been neglecting so far. I hope they will revise their policy as far as this State is concerned. (*Time bell rings*).

Lastly, Sir, I once again, appeal to the Government. Please create a congenial atmosphere. The student leaders and other. Movement leaders are for a solution of the problem.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already said it.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: No purpose will be served if you say that they are secessionists. They are for a solution of the problem. So, if you create a congenial atmosphere, and if you are sincere, I believe, a solution will be found soon to the problem.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Rudra Pratap Singh—you will have 12 minutes, please.

डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
आदरणीय उपसभापति जी, आपको मैं  
हृदय से आभारी हूँ कि जो आपने मुझको  
आसाम के संबंध में सम्मानित गृह मंत्री जी  
द्वारा प्रस्तुत संक्षेप और सम्मानित विरा  
मंत्रों जी द्वारा प्रस्तावित विनियोग विधेयक,  
1981 पर विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर  
प्रदान किया है। मैं इस का समर्थन करने  
को खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

श्रीमान्, आसाम का एक भौगोलिक,  
ऐतिहासिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक

और संस्कृति महत्व है। आसाम की जनता की भावना, उनकी आकांक्षा उनकी आवश्यकताएं, आसाम की जनता की भावनाएं आकांक्षाएं और आवश्यकताएं न होकर सम्पूर्ण भारत की भावनाएं, आकांक्षाएं और आवश्यकताएं हैं। आसाम की समस्या, आसाम की समस्या न होकर सम्पूर्ण भारत की समस्या है।

श्रीमन्, आसाम में चल रहा आन्दोलन हमारी चिन्ता का विषय है। किसी बाध का उपचार तभी संभव है यदि हम उस बाध के कारण को समझने का प्रयास करें। मुझे आसाम जाने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है और मैंने ऐसा अनुभव किया है कि वहां पर इस आन्दोलन का जन सम्प्रदायक दक्षिणेशी और प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों ने किया है। इस आन्दोलन का जन्म जनता पार्टी के श्रान काल में हुआ और यह आन्दोलन लोकदल के शासनकाल में विस्तृत हुआ, पल्लवित हुआ, पृष्पित हुआ। ईश्वर की कृपा थी कि दोनों सरकारों का शोध पतन हो गया अन्यथा मुझे तो ऐसा...

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा (बिहार) : ईश्वर की कृपा थी ?

डा० ख प्रताप सिंह : हां। दोनों सरकारों का पतन हो गया यह भारत का बहुत बड़ा सौभाग्य था, मैंने कहा कि यह भारत का बहुत बड़ा सौभाग्य था जो इन दोनों सरकारों का पतन हुआ अन्यथा मुझे तो भय था कि यदि ये सरकारें कुछ समय तक और चलतीं तो आसाम में जो विषयों की प्रक्रिया थी वह अभी तक विस्फोटक स्थिति में पहुंच चुकी होती। भारत को प्रभुता, अखण्डता और एकता को एक गहरा आघात लगा होता।

श्रीमन्, यह अत्यंत दुःख की बात है कि आज भी विपक्षी दल प्रत्यक्ष रूप से और परोक्ष रूप से आन्दोलन की अग्नि में सदैव आहूति डालने का कार्य कर रहे हैं।

**अध्यक्ष** : तब इस आन्दोलन की आग

बुझ चुकी होती, अहिंसा की हिंसा और विजय हो गई होती और असम में जन-जीवन सामान्य हो गया होता।

श्रीमन्, विपक्षी दलों ने लोकतंत्र के नाम पर असम में शोध चुनाव कराए जाने की मांग की है, क्योंकि वह ऐसा समझते हैं कि इस समय उत्तेजना में, क्रोध में, आवेश में, वहां की जनता अपनी हित सोचने में भूल कर सकती है, कोई अनुचित निर्णय ले सकती है। तो, मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि विपक्षी दल उनकी पीड़ा से लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं और विपक्षी दलों का लोकतंत्र में कितना विश्वास है, इसको भारत को महान जनता अनेक बार देख चुकी है।

श्रीमन्, पूजनीय श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को असम की जनता के प्रति पूर्ण सहानुभूति है और वह निरंतर वहां की समस्या के निराकरण के लिए प्रयत्नशील हैं। इसको असम की जनता, सम्पूर्ण भारत की जनता और विश्व की जनता जानती है।

श्रीमन्, मुझको आज वह घड़ी याद आती है जब भारत के दुर्भाग्य से आदरणीय संजय गांधी का विमान दुर्घटना में स्वर्गवास हुआ था और उस दिन डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया अस्पताल में हमारी पूजनीय इंदिरा गांधी विपक्षी दलों के नेताओं से असम की समस्या के निराकरण के संबंध में वार्ता कर रही थीं। इसको सभी विपक्षी दलों के नेता और भारत की जनता जानती है और मैं इस बात को दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि भारत की प्रधान मंत्री जो ने, पूजनीय इंदिरा गांधी जी ने, जो महानता का परिचय दिया है, विश्व का कोई भी प्रधान मंत्री इस महानता का परिचय नहीं दे सकता है, और न उनकी कोई समानता कर सकता है। हमें अपनी प्रधान मंत्री पर गर्व है।

श्रीमन्, उन्होंने असम की समस्या के निराकरण के लिए विपक्षी दलों के नेताओं से बातचीत का जो प्रस्ताव किया है, यह भी उनकी महत्ता को एक कड़ो है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि जब से आंदोलन चल रहा है, तब से निरंतर उनका प्रयास रहा है कि असम की महान जनता के साथ, असम के बुद्धिजीवी लोगों के साथ असम के नेताओं के साथ, राष्ट्र के नेताओं के साथ बैठ कर समस्या का समाधान निकाला जाए। यदि असम की जनता को अपने विवेक से निर्णय लेने का अवसर मिले, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि समस्या का निराकरण तत्काल हो जाए। परन्तु समस्या यह है कि विपक्षी दल उन्हें अपने विवेक से निर्णय लेने नहीं देते और उन्हें भ्रमित करते रहते हैं। यहाँ कारण है कि आज तक यह आंदोलन समाप्त नहीं हो पाया है।

श्रीमन्, मैं विपक्षी दल के नेताओं से इस बात के लिए करबड़ प्रार्थना करूँगा कि असम की समस्या को राजनीतिक प्रश्न न बनाएं। यह एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है और राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न पर जिस प्रकार से राष्ट्र के समस्त दलों का, चाहे वह सत्तारूढ़ दल हो, चाहे विपक्षी दल हो, जिस प्रकार से सहयोग के साथ समस्या का समाधान करना चाहिये वह नति अपनाने की क्षपा करेंगे। जिससे कि असम की जनता सुख, शांति और समृद्धि के मार्ग पर अग्रसर हो सके और इस समय पर जो परिस्थितियाँ हैं वे समाप्त हो सकें। श्रीमन्, जिन परिस्थितियों में असम में राष्ट्राति शासन लागू किया गया था, चूँकि वह समस्त परिस्थितियाँ इस समय असम में विद्यमान हैं, इस कारण मुझे माननीय गृह मंत्री जी का यह प्रस्ताव सर्वथा उचित लगता है, जनहित में लगता है। वहाँ पर छः मास और अधिक समय के लिए राष्ट्रपति शासन रहने की आवश्यकता है।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं अधिक समय न लेकर कुछ शब्द विनियोग विधेयक के संबंध में कहना चाहूँगा। मैं उसका स्वागत करते हुए सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि असम के विकास के लिए और अधिक प्रभावी कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए असम की निर्धनता को समाप्त करने के लिए युद्ध स्तर पर प्रयास किए जाने चाहिए। असम में सिंचाई के साधनों में तोव्रता के साथ वृद्धि की जानी चाहिए। असम में सिंचाई के साधनों में तोव्रता के साथ वृद्धि की जानी चाहिए। असम में आज अच्छे नस्ल को गाएँ और वृद्धियाँ दी जानी चाहिए जिससे कि वहाँ की जनता को अधिक पौष्टिक आहार मिल सके। असम की जो प्रमुख फसलें हैं, चाय, जूट, इत्यादि, इस बात का भी प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए कि उनका उत्पादन बढ़े और साथ ही साथ उनको उचित मूल्य मिल सके... (घंटो)... हाथ को बुनाई उनका प्रमुख कुटीर उद्योग, प्रमुख लघु उद्योग है अतएव उस कार्य की अधिक से अधिक प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिए जिस से उनको अधिक से अधिक कच्चा धागा उपलब्ध कराया जाए और उनको अपने माल का उचित मूल्य मिल सके। वहाँ पर रेलवे की बड़ी लाइनें बिछाई जानी चाहिए, सम्पर्क मार्ग बनाए जाएँ, उनपर परिवहनों की अच्छी सेवाएँ आरम्भ की जाएँ और अधिक टेलिविजन और रेडियो स्टेशन खोले जाएँ। खनिज उत्पादन बढ़ा कर, तेल की रिफाइनरी खोल कर वहाँ के बेकार नौजवानों को कार्य करने का अवसर प्रदान किया जाए। इसके साथ ही साथ गांवों का तीव्रता के साथ विद्युतीकरण किया जाए।

अंत में मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि असम की महान संस्कृति की रक्षा के लिए हर संभव प्रयास किए जाने चाहिए। मैं पुनः इस बात के लिए प्रसन्नता व्यक्त करना चाहता हूँ

कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी असम के विकास की दिशा में सतत् प्रयत्नशील हैं। उनके नेतृत्व में उनके सरकार का प्रत्येक मंत्रालय असम की उन्नति में रुचि ले रहा है और मुझे आशा है कि असम के लोगों को जो समस्या है, सरकार द्वारा उनका शीघ्र निराकरण होगा और निकट भविष्य में आशा की एक किरण फूटेगी और यह निराशा की बदली छटेगी। अंत में एक बड़ाई पढ़ कर अपनी बात को समाप्त करूंगा :

“बात ही बात में विश्वास बदल जाता है,  
रात ही रात में इतिहास बदल जाता है  
तो मुसलमान से न घबरा अरे इन्सा  
धरा को कौन कहे, आकाश बदल जाता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने वह जा संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया है और माननीय विभिन्न मंत्री ने जो विनियोग विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है, इन दोनों का मैं हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

3.00 P.M.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will be very brief in my observations because, I think, we have discussed Assam a number of times. We have discussed Assam, even two days back and the situation which was prevalent when we discussed Assam, when the last Presidential Proclamation was brought before the House for approval, is virtually there still.

My first point is—I would like the Home Minister, particularly, to take note of—please do not instal a minority Government in Assam, even if it is in the interests of your Party. Please do not indulge in horse-trading, in Assam; in the present situation in Assam, if a Government is not possible, then, let the President's Rule continue. But if you try to serve your own Party's interests by forming a minority Government of your Party, the situation will be extremely complex. In fact,

you will appreciate that in spite of our strongest protest, you did instal a minority Government in Assam last time. And after the installation of the minority Government, that Government had to go even before the Appropriation Bill could be passed in the Assembly. I do not know what is the assessment of the Home Ministry? But I am sure, any impartial observer will agree that the minority Government has done more damage to the social fabric of Assam than was ever done by any other force or group. Therefore, I would like to submit that 'kindly do not instal a minority Government in Assam' and please do not indulge in horse-trading. So far as Assam is concerned, I am very much concerned to learn that attempts are being made still to instal a minority Government.

My second point is that, today, I am happy to note that the tripartite talks are going to take place and the All Assam Students' Union and the Gana Sangram Parishad have agreed to participate in the tripartite talks. Perhaps, this is for the first time, there will be a discussion in which all the political forces will join hands. Sir, we have always expressed our concern, our serious concern, for the development of Assam, because, we feel that unabated influx from Bangladesh has been a source of great concern from the point of view of security. There is also an apprehension that is growing in the minds of the people of Assam, that numerically they will be swamped, that their culture will be submerged by a foreign culture. Therefore, let us hope that in the tripartite discussions, an effective solution will be found and I would also appeal to the Government and also to the student leaders that they should approach this discussion in a spirit in which some sort of a solution would be possible to be found and let us hope that not only justice will be done to the people of Assam, but they will also keep in view the magnitude of the problem. Because we are aware that what had happened in the last thirty years cannot be washed off by a single stroke.

Sir, Mr. Bipinpal Das has pointed out that the students have done wrong

by calling for the agitational programme. Why have they called for the agitational programme? They have called for the agitational programme because a feeling has developed in Assam that the Government's intention is to carry on the negotiations for eternity to tire the boys out. This feeling has been strengthened by the fact that the Government in the past had succeeded in this way by frustrating many an agitation. A feeling is growing in the minds of the people of Assam that the intention of the Government is only to carry on the talks, without any attempt at finding a solution. They are called to Delhi and, after a few rounds of talks they are told 'Let us now depart; we will continue the talks after a month or so'. It is said that agreements have been reached on some points disagreements are there on other points and so on and then the talks are postponed. This feeling that the Government is not serious for a solution, and this type of negotiations is only a ruse to tire the boys out, or, to frustrate the movement, is an extremely dangerous feeling; and unfortunately this feeling, is growing in the minds of the people of Assam. In fact, Sir, some persons—have in authority at Delhi—are thinking aloud that. We can take things leisurely now, because, according to them the intensity of the movement is dying'. Sir, I have first-hand experience. It is very dangerous to think in these terms that we can take things leisurely, that we can wait, because the intensity of the movement is no longer there. If you decide to take things leisurely because the intensity of the movement is not there, well, then perhaps, it becomes incumbent upon the movement leaders also to prove that the intensity of the movement is still there and that is why, the agitational programme becomes a necessity. You will appreciate, the Home Minister will appreciate, that during the last fourteen rounds of talks, for quite considerable time, there was no agitational programme. And, therefore, let me point out that this type of approach that you can tire the boys out, that the intensity of the agitation is not there, is a very dangerous ap-

proach because it is my feeling that it frustration sets in the minds of the younger generation of Assam, that will be a sad and dangerous day for the entire North-eastern region and for the whole of this country.

I appeal to the Home Minister at the same time that in your talks at the political level you have left out the political personalities of Assam. Who can speak better about the emotions, feelings, sentiments and urges of the Assamese people than those who work at ground level with the people of Assam? I am not saying that others can't. But at least, do something to see that an impression does not gather ground in Assam that people who can really, from the political point of view, express the feelings of the people of Assam are being left out from the arena of discussion.

The other point I want to make is that there is a crisis of confidence in Assam—crisis of confidence in the Government. And this crisis of confidence between the leaders of the movement and the Government has come in the way of finding a solution. Why don't you take such steps regarding the problem of foreigners for which the movement is not coming in the way? What is the difficulty in sealing the border to prevent further infiltration? The fact that you are not sealing the border, the fact that you are not doing things which can be carried out in spite of the movement the fact that these responsibilities of the Government are not being discharged, has created a sense of misunderstanding and I would appeal to the Home Minister to take at least some steps immediately which will prove your bonafides not only on paper but also in practice.

I would appeal to the Home Minister that repression is no solution to the problem of Assam. I read out a number of telegrams on the last day. Even now I have got a bunch of telegrams showing that you have arrested boys, killed boys in police firings, services of employees have been terminated, there has been break in

service etc. All this has created a sense of alienation which I have referred to earlier.

Coming to the Appropriation Bill, it is unfortunate that the Governor of Assam who personally came here and pleaded for more allocation had to go empty-handed I will request the Finance Minister to take note of the fact that Assam's infrastructure is so under developed that one cannot put it at par with the other States. And if you put it a par, economic development is not possible. Mr. Biswa Goswami has pointed out to the delay in regard to the Brahmaputra River Board. The Brahmaputra River Board Bill has a chequered history. Two Parliaments were dissolved before this Bill could become law. And though it has been passed, it is said to be in an advanced stage Our fear is that this advanced stage will not give birth to any child but will end in miscarriage the way the thiangs re going.

About royalty, we have pleaded and it is said that it is under consideration of the Prime Minister. I urge upon the Finance Minister to see that this royalty question is decided early. I think it is in the interest of the Finance Minister himself because the benefit will not go only to Assam but to Gujarat also. So let him do something for his own State also.

I Said, Sir, that I shall be very brief in my observations. I could have taken a very antagonistic posture against the Government. But at the moment when the students, the political leaders and the Government are coming for talks, I would like to approach it from a spirit of conciliation Let us hope in the next round of talks, the serious tangle of Assam problem will be resolved and this North-eastern region, which is an extremely resourceful area, will go from prosperity to prosperity in a better spirit of understanding and conciliation.

Sir, I am extremely grateful for the time that you have given me out of turn.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: A very tempting offer you gave me.

**श्री राम लखन प्रसाद गुप्त (बिहार) :**

उपसभापति महोदय, यह विचित्र विडंबना है कि जहां पर विद्यार्थियों को शांति देनी चाहिए वो कि सरकार का ध्यान वह आकर्षित करते हैं आंदोलन द्वारा, वहां पर आज उनकी भर्त्सना की जा रही है। आखिर यह प्राबलम विद्यार्थियों का अपना कोई निजी प्राबलम नहीं है और वह सरकार में आने के लिये यह आंदोलन नहीं कर रहे हैं यह कोई पोलिटिकल पार्टी बना कर रुत्ता में आने के लिये उनकी कोई योजना नहीं है। बल्कि जब वह विद्यार्थी देखने लगे कि हम अपने घर में हो पराये होते जा रहे हैं, जब वहां विदेशियों को आबादी बढ़ती चली गयी और वहां पर वह अपने को किकर्तव्य-विमूढ़ पाने लगे, सरकार की तरफ से जब 33 वर्षों से जब कुछ नहीं हुआ तब उन्हें इस तरह का आंदोलन चलाना पड़ा है।

उपसभापति महोदय, यह बात अब तो सिर्फ आसाम की ही नहीं रही, अब तो बंगाल में भी और बिहार में भी इसकी प्रतिक्रिया होने लगी है और कटिहार, किसनगंज, साहिबगंज, संथाल परगना, इन सारे जिलों में भी यह स्थिति हो गई है। मैं गृह मंत्री को सावधान करना चाहता हूं कि आप इसका पता लगायें और देखें कि लाखों की संख्या में इन सारी जगहों पर भी बंगला देश के लोग जो आ रहे हैं वहां पर बस रहे हैं, वहां पर समस्याएँ खड़ी कर रहे हैं और वहां पर भी स्थानीय विरोध होते जा रहे हैं। उसे अगर आप नहीं रोकेंगे तो इनमें भी उसी तरह का आंदोलन शुरू हो जाएगा। वह कहना हमारे मित्र के द्वारा



बहुत गलत है कि राजनीतिक पार्टियां इसके पीछे हैं। राजनीतिक पार्टियों ने उसे शुरू नहीं किया, राजनीतिक पार्टियों को ये 'आंसू' वाले अपने अन्दर आने नहीं देते बल्कि वे तो राजनीतिज्ञों को अपने से अलग रख रहे हैं, इसलिए इतना सफल आंदोलन वह कर रहे हैं। इसलिए हम यह नहीं सोच सकते कि ऐसे लोगों के साथ जिस तरह से सरकार दमन की नीति अख्तियार कर रही है वह उचित है। आखिर सभी अपनी आवाज उठाने के लिए लोकतंत्र में अधिकार रखते हैं, किसी को भी अधिकार है कि वह अपने डंग से आवाज उठाये। जब आसाम के चोफ सेक्रेटरी के साथ बातचीत हुई, 'आंसू' वालों ने उनसे परमिशन ली और उनसे कहा कि हम इस तारीख को बन्द करेंगे, उन्होंने कहा ठीक है। लेकिन दूसरे ही रोज वह कहते हैं कि ये माइना-रिटोज स्टूडेंट्स भी उसी रोज करेंगे, इसलिए हम रोकते हैं। अगर वे भी करना चाहते थे तो वे भी स्वतन्त्र हैं करने के लिए। या दूसरे दिन उनको अनुमति दी जाती। उसी दिन के कारण उसे क्यों रोका गया। फिर जब उसी दिन का इशतिहार लगा दिया गया तो यह जो आंदोलनकारी थे उन्होंने कंफ्रंटेशन नहीं किया, उन्होंने मुकाबला नहीं किया, उन्होंने जगह जगह एक शहर के अन्दर कुछ स्थानों पर सभा की। हजारों की संख्या में लोग आये। उन्होंने कोई विरोध नहीं किया। फिर ऐसी हालत में यह सरकार उनके साथ दमन की नीति अपनाये, यह ठीक नहीं है। इतना ही नहीं, जिस समय 14 नवम्बर को चिल्ड्रन्स डे था, नेहरू पार्क में जाकर ये बच्चे वहाँ चिल्ड्रन्स डे मनाने के लिए गये तो उनको तंग किया गया और डिस्पर्स किया गया नेहरू पार्क से बच्चों को इसलिए कि वे आफिशियल फंक्शन में नहीं गये

अगर आफिशियल फंक्शन में नहीं जाते और दूसरी जगह नेहरू पार्क में करते हैं तो उसे डिस्पर्स करने की क्या जरूरत है। उसी तरह से इंदिरा जी का जन्म-दिवस था 13 नवम्बर को...

**श्रीमती सरोज खापड़ :** 13 नवम्बर को नहीं होता। (व्यवधान)। 19 नवम्बर है।

**श्री राम लखन प्रसाद गुप्त :** 19 नवम्बर को, उस दिन 13 वर्ष के बच्चे को सी० आर० पी० की बंदूक से हत्या की गई, यह गिफ्ट मिला उस दिन का असम के लोगों को। इतना ही नहीं, अध्यक्ष महोदय, 19 और 20 तारीख को जब आंदोलन में व्यापारियों ने साथ दिया तो 21 तारीख को उन्होंने व्यापारियों को गिरफ्तार करके कामरूप जिले से 72 घंटे के लिये बाहर निकाला गया जो ब्रिटिश डेज में हुआ करता था। उसके कारण जो आंदोलन मचा वहाँ भी कई लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया। 20 नवम्बर की रात में एक बम फटा, टी० के० बरूवा के घर जो कांग्रेस आई के एम० एल० ए० के भाई हैं, जिसमें एक 16 वर्ष की लड़की की मृत्यु भी हुई, यह सिर्फ इस बात झोतक है कि उस आंदोलन को दबाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। वहाँ विद्यार्थी कोई मुकाबला नहीं करना चाहते हैं, वे चाहते हैं कि इस समस्या का कोई समाधान सरकार करे। आखिर वह राष्ट्रीय प्रवृत्ति के हैं, वह देश के साथ चलना चाहते हैं, वे देश की एकता में विश्वास रखते हैं। पूर्वी क्षेत्र के बहुत सारे लोग हैं जो बांगी हैं, जो देश से कटने की बात करते हैं और खुले-आम आर्म्स लेकर लड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं।

आप इस तरह से नहीं करते हैं। जो व्यक्ति आपके साथ रहना चाहता है,

[श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त]

आपका साथ हर तरह से देना चाहता है आप उसको हटाना चाहते हैं। आप कहते हैं कि बंगला देश से इतने सारे लोग आ रहे हैं। गोस्वामी जी ने बहुत सही कहा है कि बोर्डर को सील नहीं कर रहे हैं, रोक नहीं रहे हैं। हमने देखा है कि बहुत बड़ा बोर्डर है। उसको माइंस से, दिवार से, और दूसरी चीज से रोका जा सकता है। लेकिन इसके अतिरिक्त भी सरकार के जो अफसर चेक पोस्ट पर रहते हैं एक दूसरा ही पासपोर्ट लेकर आने देते हैं। उसे गरदनिया पासपोर्ट कहते हैं। जो बंगला देश से आता है उससे कुछ रुपया ले लेते हैं और गरदन पकड़ कर कहते हैं—जा भाग इधर—यह गरदनिया पासपोर्ट देकर इधर भेज रहे हैं। इसको रोका जाए।

श्री उपसभापति: वह वापस कर देते होंगे।

श्री राम लखन प्रसाद गुप्त: वापस नहीं करते। जब प्रेस वालों ने मकवाणा साहब से पूछा था तो इन्होंने यह कहा था कि दो लाख बाहर भेज दिये गये अगर बाहर भेज दिये गये तो कहां गये यह वह बता नहीं सकते थे। दो लाख बाहर भेज दिये गये थे लेकिन घूम फिर कर आ गये। लोग कहते हैं बंगला देश से नौकरी के लिये आते हैं। नौकरी खोजने के लिये आते हैं तो उनको अपना नाम मतदाता सूची में लिखाने की क्या जल्दबाजी है। मतदाता सूची में वह लिखाने के लिये क्यों परेशान हैं जब नौकरी खोजने के लिये, काम करने के लिये आए हैं। यह गलत बात है। मुसलमान की बात कही जाती है। यह गलत है। हिन्दू-मुसलमान का कोई सबाल नहीं है। इसमें सीधा प्रश्न है देशी और विदेशी का। सरकार का भी कहना सही है कि हम

कहीं भी बढ़ेंगे तो कानून के द्वारा बढ़ेंगे। कानून के द्वारा ही कोई हल निकालने की जल्दबाजी आपको करनी चाहिये। हल निकालने में इतनी देर नहीं करनी चाहिये। मेरा यह कहना है कि असम के साथ सचमुच में कोई अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं हो रहा है। वहां पर अनएम्प्लायमेंट बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गया है। 1965 में मेट्रोपुलिटन बेकार लोगों की संख्या 18 हजार थी जबकि इस समय 42 हजार की संख्या है। 1969 ट्रेड एजुकेटिड अनएम्प्लायमेंट की संख्या 19 हजार थी अब इसकी संख्या बढ़ कर 99 हजार की हो गई है। इसी तरह से असम के गांवों में जो बिजली पहुंचती है सिर्फ 15 परसेंट पहुंचती है जो कि समूचे देश का 41 परसेंट है। यह सारी बात सही है कि घाटा भी होता है। तेल में 12 सौ करोड़ का घाटा हुआ, खाद में 226 करोड़ का घाटा हुआ। इसी तरह से नार्थ-इस्टर्न रेलवे मैनेजर ने बताया है कि 18 करोड़ का घाटा हुआ। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ इसका कारण क्या है। इसका कारण मान लीजिये आप आंदोलन समझते हैं तो आंदोलन को शीघ्र समाप्त करने की बात क्यों नहीं सोचते। आप इसको बढ़ाते क्यों जा रहे हैं। उपसभापति महोदय, इन सारी बातों की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करते हुए अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति: शाहेदुल्ला जी आप भी संक्षेप में बात करें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है।

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by Shri Nigam and oppose the Resolution moved by the hon. Minister. What has been happening in Assam has been reiterated by other hon. Members. I was also permitted to

mention something the day before yesterday. Now the Government has been dragging their feet and the situation is continuing to worsen for all. What is the reason for their dragging their feet? To my mind, and to the minds of some others, it is because somehow it has been attempted to foist a minority Ministry on the people of Assam. So they are trying all sorts of bargaining among the Members and encouraging all these things, so dirty things, so that a minority Ministry can come. Nothing will happen about it. It will only break down as other minority Governments do. When the Opposition united and went to the Governor, they told him that they could form a Ministry. But they were asked for their programme.

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM: They wanted a list of Members.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: They asked for their programme also. This is not demanded of others. In Kerala it is not being demanded. No programme is wanted anywhere else when the Ministry-making game is going on. This programme is not demanded in the case of the Congress (I). But when the Opposition parties unite and claim that if they would establish a popular Government to solve the problem of Assam, they are confronted with this problem by the Governor. And the Governor, as you would realise, is doing what the ruling party wants him to do.

Anyway, We have to face the situation in Assam. In one part of our country, a secessionist demand has got roots among the people. How has this happened? This entire movement began, of course, because of the discontent of the Assamese people, for which this Government has to be responsible. Of course, foreigners, I mean the British, looted this country. But this Government could not remedy the situation. They could not make arrangements for the utilisation of the resources and to increase further employment and

trade and other opportunities. The discontent was there, and taking advantage of this discontent the secessionists have found roots. I am just reading to you from an Assamese language paper.

उसके बाद वहाँ पर क्या हुआ ! उसके बाद पुलिस ने उन लोगों के घरों में रेड करने की कोशिश की।

The police raided their houses and found arms and explosives and also pamphlets entitled "Assam Where South Asia Ends", cyclostyled in Bangkok, Thailand. So, you see, these things are taking place in Assam. Foreigners have found their way into this because of the worsening of the situation and the Government's indifference, simply dragging and dragging its feet or talking of defusing this, but ultimately no solution coming.

Immediate negotiations must be held, whatever. These things must be concluded immediately, and the situation must be improved. We must see to it that the parties should be convinced and persuaded to stick to the commitment already made about the cut-off date of the 25th of

March, 1971. That should be maintained and they should not be allowed to slide back from that date.

Sir, now I draw attention to the plight of those people who are being called foreigners. There are people of Indian origin in Madagaskar, Fiji, Guyana and all over the world. Did they go there to enjoy the sea-breeze? Did they go there for comforts and pleasures? They went there because of imperialism, feudalism, landlordism, deprivation and starvation and just for making a living. They have been caught in such a situation. And they found themselves as indentured labour. Similarly indentured labour came to Assam also. There was the oppressive Permanent Settlement and landlord system in Bengal. Meanwhile the tea gardens brought other labourers. Also jute cultivation was necessary for the British

[Shri Syed Shahedullah]

jute mill-owners. And they wanted people to come to Assam to cultivate jute. It is not out of pure generosity that these people were given encouragement to come there. It was the very vital capitalist interest that took those people there. There are many people working in the jute industries in West Bengal. We do not say that they are foreigners. No Bengalee thinks that they are foreigners there. About three lakhs of jute workers are there in Bengal. Similarly there are other States. The situation has come to this because in Assam its resources have not been opened up. Railways, communications, power, in everything Assam has been poor. So the situation has come to this. I narrated certain things the day before yesterday. One worker was picked up at night. I am saying this to show how repression is going on. Others have related some instances. I am also relating some instances. One worker of a tea garden was picked up at night and there was no trace of him—tortured to death. One lawyer, Abdul Khaliq, was taken with his niece in the middle of the night, and the entire Karimganj had a hartal over it. He is 'such a popular person in the locality. The entire, people wanted him back, and he was returned. So this sort of repression is going on in Assam. These repressions cannot solve the problem. Certain other things are needed. I know that in the core of the hearts of the people of Assam—they are no exception—there is the feeling that they are in India; there is a bond; there is love for the country; and they feel that they must be here. It is there deep in the core. That has not been touched. That has not been tapped. On the other hand, the secessionists have misled them. The secessionists are not pointing to the British looters who had looted and denuded Assam. None of them has done it. They only point to the Gauhati workers. Thank God, I am not there. What does a Gauhati 'rickshaw-puller do? Is he

snatching away the food of the Assamese people? That is the way the secessionists are misleading them. The common Assamese people understand it. The CPI, the CPI(M), and other left democratic parties, liberal parties, who are insisting on the progress of Assam, are asking the people not to be misled by these people. Where do these opposition people get their strength from? It is coming from the heart of these people. So I would appeal to the hon. Minister that instead of bringing this sort of resolution, they should try to set up a popular Ministry there. Instead of having a minority Ministry there, let there be popular Ministry who will take upon themselves the task of enthusing the people to come out of this vicious circle and open a new path for Assam. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ramakrishnan. Please be brief.

\*SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN  
(Tamil Nadu): Sir,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Did you want to speak in Tamil?

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Yes, Sir. I did give notice of my speech in Tamil. I am speaking in Tamil for purposes of statistics; otherwise, the translation facility may go..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right.

\*SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, I rise to express my views on this subject on behalf of my AI-ADMK Party. I feel highly elated for having this opportunity to speak in Tamil today—the day which happens to be the death anniversary of our great revolutionary leader Periyar E. V. Ramasamy Naicker.

'English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

The Assam problem, serious and complicated, as it is, has been crying for solution for the last many years. We need not waste our time over how the problem arose. What we have to do at the moment is to find the ways and means to solve this complex issue. Now the main question is to identify the Assamese and the non-Assamese. When the Central Government wants to fix 1971 as cut-off year, Assamese demand that the cut off year should be 1961.

Meanwhile many persons have lost their lives, refining and distribution oil suffered and economic situation has deteriorated. Shri Parthasarthy, an I.A.S. Officer of Tamil Nadu was murdered. The Central Government has promised necessary assistance and Job opportunities to his family. This loss to the family is irreparable and no amount of compensation can make good the family's loss. There were instances of mass killing in many places and the oil-distribution was completely dislocated. The Centre should know that the economic situation has been steadily deteriorating in the State.' Perhaps, it is the reason why the Central Government headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi has increased the per capita assistance to Assam in the Five-Year Plan. The per capita assistance to Assam in the Third Five-Year Plan was Rs. 78/- although the national average was only Rs. 55/-. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan Rs. 565 was given as assistance although the national average was only Rs. 258. Similarly, while only 51 per cent of the population was below the poverty line in Assam, it was 57 per cent both in Maharashtra and Bihar and 52 per cent in Tamil Nadu. We know that the Centre has been taking all the necessary steps to improve the economic condition in Assam. Let us look at the per Capita income in Some states. It is Rs. 791 in Assam, Rs. 645 in Bihar, Rs. 715 in U.P. and Rs. 726 in M.P. I hope the Centre would take necessary steps in this regard to improve the situation. The Centre

has increased the oil royalty from Rs. 40 to 61. We feel that the Centre is sincere in its efforts.

I welcome the steps taken recently by the Prime Minister Smt, Indira Gandhi, She has held consultations with all the opposition leaders on this problem. I hope, a solution would be found to solve this problem as early as possible. I would also like to mention here some other aspects of this problem. The Assam problem should not be taken as a solitary issue. We have now to face the problem of Khalistan. Instances of fissiparous tendencies have begun threatening the integrity of our country. I hope, the Centre would keep a watch over the situation. We find a similar situation in our neighbouring country Ceylon also. There are some people in Tamil Nadu envious of the good relations between the Centre and the Tamil Nadu Government led by AI-ADMK Party and they seem to be encouraging these fissiparous tendencies there also. We know who are those persons. I do not like now to accuse any opposition party—DMK or any other Party. In case I mention the name of Mr. Karunanidhi some people may not like it. But I would like to request the Centre to be vigilant and curb these tendencies. Those people often raise here some subjects which are purely state-subject. It seems that they may demand a CBI inquiry even on a petty matter, like the one when a person drives a vehicle without light would be caught by the police in the famous Mount Road i.e. Anna Salai—the heart of Madras City. These sort of things should not be allowed.

I would like to warn the Government that unless they take necessary measures now itself to curb these secessionist and communal tendencies, these would threaten the integrity of our nation.

I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to express my views on this subject.

[The Vice Chairman Dr. Rafiq Zakaria) in the Chair.]

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assem): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not want to take a long time on this matter because we have already talked enough on it. Today once again we are discussing the extension of Presidential rule in Assam and also the financial grants for the administration of that State. The Resolution moved by the Home Minister and the Appropriation Bill presented by the Finance Minister confirm both the political instability and the economic instability of this State for a pretty long time.

Economically speaking, it is a long story of deprivation leading ultimately to sense of alienation in the minds of the people in Assam. I need not elaborate this point. The Government documents and the statements made in Parliament by the Ministers during the last thirty years will confirm my statement.

Recently one more dimension has been added to the situation. When the Government and all the Parties failed in the last 30 years to solve the problem of foreigners infiltration into that part of the country, the young generation came up with a protest and a humble demand was placed before the Government; People solve this problem and save us. The Government adopted dilly-dallying tactics instead of boldly facing it. About this also I need not refer because I have already stated it in this House several times. But I would like to tell the Home Minister that for such a prolongation of this movement, you cannot hold the students and the people of Assam alone responsible. If you look back at the development of the movement and the various things done and said by Ministers and other leaders, you will find that they are also to a great extent responsible for the prolongation of the movement there. They by their statements provoked the people and

by provocation they have increased the intensity of the movement from\* time to time.

After this movement had started, there was an attempt to suppress it and the Government's attempt to suppress has now come to a stage of confrontation. About that also I need not elaborate. I have already done it earlier. Now only one thing I want to place before the Home Minister. All along we have found—I have found it after personal contacts with the Minister and other responsible leaders including the Prime Minister—that there has been a kind of wrong briefing of the whole problem. Sir, the wrong briefing and the wrong premise from which the Govt. and the ruling party have started have led to a situation in which there is no solution at all till today, with more complications added. Now, Sir, I will just refer to a statement made by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in the Lok Sabha on 26th May 1971 during the debate on the influx of refugees from the erstwhile East Pakistan. I mention a few lines and I hope the Home Minister will carefully study it. She said;

"In a democratic system, the majority does have certain rights and they cannot be accused of secession if they assert those rights."

And, Sir, dealing with the problem of influx from East Pakistan, she added one very significant sentence and it is this:

"What is happening in Bangladesh is not just a political or economic problem. It is a problem of the very survival of the people of the whole area, the people of Bangladesh."

Now, Sir, if you really come to Assam, if you have the intention to understand the problem there, then you will see that it is a problem of survival and

when this problem faces the people there, the people are naturally prepared to accept any kind of deprivation or any kind of torture and suppression and repression. I would only like to request the Home Minister to read one document, issued by the Indian-Institute of Public Opinion, their monthly, "Public Opinion Survey", Vol. 26, No. 1, Oct. 80. They conducted a survey all over the country on this Assam problem and they have mentioned the results of their survey. They have stated in their conclusions like this:-

"In its present position without making any concession on the period 1961-71, it would not be possible to awaken public support in respect of the Central Government's policy. Govt. have to wait for a time and give the concession to the Assam people for which they have inflicted hardship on themselves. Surprisingly enough, the power of tolerance shown by the people of Assam has surpassed all expectations. It is even beginning to awaken some admiration in the rest of India, the power of the people of Assam against both the military and police power."

Therefore, Sir, I won't add anything further to it. I have already put my questions which I wanted to put to the Home Minister, the Minister of State, Shri Makwana, which he cleverly avoided answering the day before yesterday. But I would only request him to ponder over my questions and try to give a positive answer and appropriate measures.

Now, Sir, I add a few words about the Appropriation Bill placed before this House by the honourable Finance Minister. Now, Sir, without going into any detailed discussion, I would only ask the Finance Minister to talk to the Planning Minister and ask him why, when the Working Group of the Planning Commission recommended Rs. 250 crores for the year 1981-1982, It was reduced to Rs. 210 crores. Does it in any way show the sincere desire

on the part of the Government to help that area which the Government recognises to be a backward area?. Secondly, Sir, in this Appropriation Bill, I do not find any demand made on account of education. Now, as a person coming from that area and being connected with one of the Universities there, may I inform the Finance Minister that in the last one year or so, the Government has not released grants to the Universities and the colleges there to which they are committed. They say they have no money. It is a very great surprise that they have not even released any money even for the clearance of these dues to these institutions. I would request the honourable Finance Minister to look into this matter. The former Governor, Shri L.P. Singh, appointed committee consisting of the Finance Secretary, the Education Secretary and the Treasurers of the Universities and the Committee made certain recommendations. But the recommendations have not yet been implemented by the Government. I would like to know from the Finance Minister what steps he would take in this connection and whether he would be instructing the Assam administration to provide immediately the grants as recommended by that Committee after enquiring into the financial position of the Universities and the colleges there-Thirdly, Sir, I request the Home Minister to stop police atrocities. My friend, Mr. Bipinpal Das, mentioned that there is little police atrocity. I wish he made this statement in any of the towns of Assam and faced the truth about it. (Time Bell rings) Now, if you want to have a solution and create an atmosphere for fruitful discussion, it does not serve any purpose, merely ask the students to stop their agitation. It is also necessary that the Govt. which is a more responsible body and which represents the whole country, must also withdraw its repressive measures. Only then can we create an atmosphere where the problem can be properly discussed. I wish the discussions success. But before that, Government must immediately decide to stop all police atrocities\*

(Time Bell rings) Now, Sir, one minute more.

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAITKAR  
(Maharashtra): Sir he is from Assam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR.  
RAFIQ ' ZAKARIA): Mr. Bagaitkar,  
you go on pleading for more time  
for \_\_\_\_ (Interruptions) But the busi-  
ness has also to be finished.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: The  
I.G.P. in charge of Intelligence, instead of  
providing correct intelligence to the  
Government, has been doing a damage not  
only to the Government but also to the people  
of the State by manipulating wrong informa-  
tion. I want that the Home Minister should  
immediately remove that particular officer,  
otherwise he will not be able to solve the  
problem, because on the basis of wrong  
intelligence he succeeded only in arriving at  
wrong decisions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR.  
RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Handique.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE  
(Assam): May I come near the microphone? I  
am not keeping well. I can't speak loudly.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR.  
RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Yes, you can come to  
the front.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE: Mr.  
Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is quite surprising and  
amusing as well to hear a few hon. Members  
alleging that the Government is not sincere  
and does not intend to solve the foreigners'  
issue in Assam. No doubt, the problem is real.  
But, Sir, there is no cut and dried formula to  
this problem. It is not just like that the repre-  
sentatives of Government and the agitation  
leaders sit across the table and go back with a  
solution in their pockets. Let us be honest  
about it. And if we try to make things appear  
in such a light, we give a misleading im-  
pression to the people about the purpose and  
outcome of the dialogue. It is indirectly  
saying that the

dialogue is futile. It is through common  
consent the Government and the agitation  
leaders decided to resolve the issue through  
dialogue. And no. one can say that the  
dialogue is fruitless. Every round of dialogue.  
I feel personally, has brought forth the  
negotiating parties nearer and nearer and has  
definitely helped exploring the possibility of  
finding a solution. We must bear in mind that  
a problem so complicated can be resolved  
through dialogue and dialogue alone. If the  
solution 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 complexities that have been  
growing over the last fifty years. Even the  
agitation leaders have realised the significance  
of the dialogue. Otherwise there would have  
been an end of it long ago. They are coming  
for the dialogue again shortly.

Sir, it is easy to quote or more precise to  
misquote statistics. No one can say the last  
word on it. And that is what precisely is  
sought to be ascertained by detection. Sir, I  
would however, like to quote in this  
connection the hon. Prime Minister that "The  
minorities are not just statistics; they are  
human beings". So the human aspect of the  
problem need's to be looked into and no  
Government can afford to lose sight of that.  
There are, besides, commitments, national and  
international. Sir, during these 35 years since  
Independence, so many events have rocked  
the nation. Partition came; then followed the  
atrocities on minorities on either side of the  
border, leading to one of the greatest influx  
ever recorded in history. Then came the  
Bangladesh War. Sir, all these convulsions are  
part of history. No one can deny it. If we  
cannot deny that, then how can we deny the  
problems and the magnitude of the problems  
created by such convulsions. So, to say that  
the Government is not sincere about solving  
the problem is motivated by the intention to  
mislead the people and belittle the importance  
of the dialogue. For heaven's sake, let



us not politicalize the situation. Then there are the remarks, very often heard ridiculing the Government contention that foreign hands are pulling some strings of agitation. Although the agitation is not inspired or directed by any foreign power, but I do think—it is true and you cannot deny it. Sir, do those critics know that dumps of arms and ammunitions were unearthed in many places in Assam? In the heart of Gauhati city, in one of the dumps materials more dangerous than arms were detected. One of my friends in oppositions referred to that. It is the cyclostyled copy of an article published in the Bangkok Post. The date of issue is 4th January, 1980. In this article, the author tried to redefine the concept of South-East Asia including Assam, saying that South-East Asia extends right up to Assam-Bangladesh Border. Hundreds of cyclostyled copies of this article were found along with the arms and ammunition. This is one copy. I will quote one or two lines to make the position clear to you and the House.

The Caption of the article is: 'Assam—where South-East Asia ends'

"It is a very different part of India. In Assam and India's northeast region, the brown race meets the yellow. The great northern plain that is the cradle of Indian civilisation terminates in the meandering channels of the Brahmaputra River delta. Further east, past the bulge of Bangladesh that nearly cuts the region off from the rest of India, the land begins to crinkle. Isolated and little known to the rest of India, much less to the world, Assam and its neighbour states, Arunachal, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya, have been India's gateway to the Orient, the point of fusion with the Monoloid races of the Far East. And here South-east Asia ends."

This is the kind of article that is found and which, I say, is more dangerous than any arms and ammunition unearthed in several places in the state. Now, is there any doubt about the foreign hands that want to destabilise the situation in this region? I have already said that the agitation is not inspired or directed by these forces. But in a situation like this, these forces are always there to take advantage and to play their role. I do believe that the saner section of the leadership of the agitation is above such things. But that does not rule out the hands of some foreign power. I am, however, confident that the people of Assam condemn such extraneous forces trying to have a grip on their agitation. It will be a bewildering paradox if the foreigners of one brand come to help driving out the foreigners of another brand. Lessons of history are too eloquent on this question. I wish the leaders of the agitation disowned and condemned such involvement or attempts at involvement in, unequivocal terms and assertions. They should also condemn those cases, of violence and murders which have been going on for the last two years. A few Members spoke about it. Nigam Ji and others narrated some incidents. They give only one side of the practice and said that the students? were arrested and taken to the jail, but they did not mention about the bomb blast which took place recently in Gauhati city killing an innocent village girl killing innocent people that bomb blast destroyed the national property, the railway track and the pipe line. (Time bell rings) Sir, I will take two minutes more.

So, Sir, I appeal to all to look at it dispassionately and impartially and condemn what goes wrong and see that a solution is found Sir, coming? to this Appropriation Bill, a few of my colleagues have already referred, to the developmental side. There are genuine demands, particularly royalty on petroleum has to be increased. But Sir, I come to the basic problem of development. The lacuna is that we do.

not have a Master Plan for the development of the region. Sir, it is gratifying to note that the Government India is of late keen on development of the North East region. A Ministers Committee, of which hon. Minister, Mr. Makwana is the Convenor, has been constituted for the purpose. But we should bear in mind that development cannot be achieved in a piecemeal manner, in a piecemeal approach. There must be a master plan, based on scientifically analysed data on the process of development and changes in socio-economic structures in the entire North. Eastern region. For, in spite of inter-regional differences in many aspects, the constituent States and Union Territories of the region are economically interdependent.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Have you impressed that upon Mr. Makwana? I am coming to that Sir, I shall submit a paper and I want to say this through you so that it is on record.

Sir, the economic growth in any of the constituent units, therefore, can not be considered in isolation. For instance, the solution of the problem of soil erosion and flood control need an overall plan for the entire region. Efforts in this direction will need assistance and co-operation from all the constituent States and Union Territories. Similar is the case with generation of hydro-electric power which has immense potentiality in the region. So, Sir, the study of the entire region for an integrated development is not an easy job. The region is nearly two-thirds hills and one-third plains. The topography and soil of the region vary from snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas in Arunachal Pradesh to marshy lands in Assam. It is inhabited by people of different ethnic origins speaking different languages and dialects and having distinct and different cultural traits and social systems. It is also to be noted that the region is strategically im-

portant being surrounded by foreign countries. So, in spite of Governments and Planners earnestness, in spite of hon. Minister, Mr. Makwana's earnestness to accelerate the pace of economic growth of the region, in the absence of a scientific study and comprehensive research and study, it has become difficult to prepare pragmatic action programmes for different areas of the region. So, what I suggest to the Government is the setting up of a Centre for studying the various developmental problems confronting these States and the Union Territories in the North East region for accelerating the economic growth of the region. And there is no agency to bring together the relevant studies of different schools and Universities on development in the North-East for use of planners Government and other academics. In this connection, Sir, there is a proposal and a scheme submitted to the Government of India by Dr. P. C. Goswami, Professor and Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics of Assam Agricultural University. I do believe that the Government will consider this because study and investigation of such a centre will be a guideline for the development of the region. I have seen, Sir, in other parts of the country, a number of institutes like this. They are doing a good job. In your own State, in Maharashtra, Sir, you have the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, then the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. Similarly, we have in Andhra Pradesh Indian Institute of Economics or in Gujarat Sardar Patel Institute Economics and Social Research (*Time bell rings*).

With these observations, Sir, I do support the Bill and the Resolution for extension of the President's Rule. And it is not true, Sir, as some hon. Members have said that the Governor asked for the Ministers list for the opposition alliance. Sir, what he enquired was that according to the decision of the major national parties whether they would participate in the Ministry. He wants

an assurance from those Members whether they will participate in the Ministry. Sir, at the moment, they have got 54 Members. Out of 54 Members, 49 Members have said that they are not participating in the Ministry. There are only three Members belonging to the Congress (S) and one Member belonging to the Lok Dal and another Naxal party Members. Is it not five in toto—a fun. for just five members to the Government I do not know what sort of fun the hon. Members want to see. *{Time Bell rings}*. Sir, with these observations I conclude. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Jha you are a problem always and you want to speak in the third reading. Now the time is already getting exhausted but I will allow you to speak now. *Interruptions*. I will allow you to speak if you want to speak provided you finish within three minutes because your party's time is already exhausted I have repeatedly said this and you do not understand When the business advisory Committee allots a particular time, the allocation goes partywise and in the partywise allocation your party does not give you an opportunity to speak. So. you come this way. You must try to co-operate with the Chair if the decisions of the Business Advisory Committee are to be implemented. I would therefore, request you to please co-operate. You see, in every situation you do this.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: (Bihar): I say that my party whip has declared, perhaps you have been absent, that whatever you have said is entirely wrong and against the decisions of the Business Advisory Committee. The matter was raised here when..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No, no.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:... it was concurred in by Mr. Mathur and others and it was said that a Member has a right to speak on the third reading. There is no question of a party whip. A Member has a right to speak at the introduction stage. A Member has a right to speak at the amendment stage and so also at the third reading. And, these opportunities are not be curtailed by the so-called, total time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No, no.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: You are attacking on the opportunity of a Member. You have been saying that time... *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Will you please sit down, Mr. Jha?

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: It is in the record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA). Mr. Jha. if your logic is to be accepted, then there will be no question of any allocation of time. Every Member then can say .

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: Go and see the record of the decisions of the Business Advisory Committee

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Therefore, the whole idea of allocation of time by the Business Advisory Committee, arrived at by consensus, by under standing, has no meaning.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: I will not agree to that decision in the Business Advisory Committee. But you are speaking against what has been decided by the Business Advisory Committee. It is on the record, Sir, Then, instead of maintaining the procedure, you want to butcher the procedure. It has no meaning. It is the butchery of the procedure and. from the beginning I have been speaking against it Your expression, you

[ Shri Shiva Chandra Jha] are a problem, is unwarranted, and, should I say, you are also problem in the Chair?

THE VICE-CHARMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Oh, yes, go on.

Now, I will put the motion,

J SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: I have every right to speake on the third reading.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Sir, I am thankful to all the Members who have participated in the debate on the Resolution placed by me before the House. a

' THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA) : Mr, Nigam, do you want to reply?

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM: After the Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No, you speak first.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : आपका बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद । आपने मुझे मौका दिया । . . .

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: How can he speak Sir? The Minister must reply first

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: His Resolution is first; so he will reply first. And then I will reply.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: He does know the procedure.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : बहस शुरू हुई थी मेरे प्रस्ताव पर । वह भी इस प्रस्ताव के हिस्सेदार हैं तो मेरा कहना है . . . (व्यवधान) पूरी तरह उनकी बात सुन लूंगा तभी तो जवाब दूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) : तरीका यह है कि आप अपना जवाब देंगे ।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : तरीका यह नहीं है । फाइनैस बिल पर ऐसा होता है । (व्यवधान) .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) : आप अपने बिल के सिलसिले में बोलिए ।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : अच्छा होना सरकार की तरफ से जवाब आ जाता ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): This is the procedure that is followed always. First the mover replies; then the Minister replies.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I don't know why Ladliji is unnecessarily raising it. This is the practice an through. The mover of the motion replies first and then the Minister will reply. First you will reply to your motion; then he will reply to his Resolution. Motion and the Resolution are discussed together. Don't forget it That is the procedure; look up the past proceedings.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I have to request everyone of you, as this is the last day, we have still to go through the Aligarh Muslim University Bill where there are large number of speakers already listed to speak. Therefore, co-operation from each Member would help considerably in making the task of everyone in the House easier as far as the proceedings are concerned.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : आपके साथ अपोजिशन हमेशा कोआपरेट करती रही है । इसको भी आप आज ही लेना जरूरी समझते हैं । बदकिस्मती यह है कि पहले 6 हफ्ते का सेशन हुआ करता था और अब चार हफ्ते का कर दिया गया । (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) : थोड़ा सा सहयोग और करिये ।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : जो हमारे बुनियादी अधिकार हैं उनका आप हनन

नहीं करेंगे। सब लोग बैठेंगे, देर तक बैठेंगे इसमें क्या फर्क पड़ता है।

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। यह जो आप चाहते हैं कि जल्दी बहस हो जाए तो आप बहस ही क्यों कराते हैं। इसको ऐसे ही पास करा दीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): This is no point of order.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:  
There is a procedure laid-down; the whole procedure is broken.

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम :** मैं किसी भी सदस्य के अधिकार का हवन होने नहीं दूंगा और न होना चाहिये, आप भी इसकी ताईद करेंगे। मैंने जब बहस शुरू की थी, तो मैंने जानबूझकर उन चीजों को नहीं छेड़ा था जिसको लेकर बहस का स्तर कुछ गिर जाता। मैंने कुछ बुनियादी मुद्दे उठाये थे। बहस इसी तरह से होती तो अच्छा होता। कुछ चली भी लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे सत्तारूढ़ पक्ष के कुछ मित्रों ने पता नहीं कैसी-कैसी बातें करना शुरू कर दिया। अगर उन सारी चीजों को खोला जाए जो उन्होंने बहस में कही हैं तो मैं इतना कह सकता हूँ कि फिर जवाब देना बनेगा नहीं। बहस में यह चित्रित करने की कोशिश की गई कि सारा आन्दोलन एक हिंसात्मक हो गया है और जो सरकार की कार्यवाही हो रही है, गोली चलती है, पुलिस के डंडे चलते हैं वे सब जन-हित के लिए हैं, दूसरे लोगों की रक्षा के लिए हैं। जब श्री विजय कृष्ण जो बोल रहे थे तो मुझे बड़ी हैरानी हो रही थी। श्री विजय कृष्ण जी हमारे बहुत नजदीकी मित्र हैं। इनके पिता हमारे देश के संस्कृत के बहुत बड़े विद्वान हैं। उन्होंने जो कुछ इस वक्त कहा है उस पर अगर इनके पिता जी

गौरव का अनुभव करें तो ये यह बात मुझे बता दें। इस आन्दोलन को सबसे पहले गति और आशीर्वाद देने वाले इनके पिता श्री ही थे। मैं किसी के प्रति किसी बुरी भावना से बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर बहस हो रही है तो वह किसी अच्छे आधार पर होनी चाहिए। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस आन्दोलन को चले हुए दो वर्ष के करीब हो गये हैं, इस आन्दोलन में सबसे पहले बम कब फूटा था? मैं समझता हूँ कि श्रीमती अनवरा तैमूर की मिनिस्ट्री बनने के बाद ही बम का विस्फोट हुआ। आप जानते हैं कि वहाँ पर श्री पार्थसारथी मारे गये। वे जौर-हाट में कमिश्नर थे। यह बहुत बड़ा आन्दोलन था। लोग अपने अपने घरों से निकल कर मैदान में पोजिशन लेकर खड़े हो गये थे और कोई भी पीछे हटने के लिये तैयार नहीं था। सारे आन्दोलनकारी विद्यार्थी और अध्यापक मैदान में आ गये थे। वहाँ के 43 प्रिंसिपलों से मैंने मिलने की कोशिश की। मैं भी वहाँ पर गया था। मैंने कमिश्नर से कहा कि आप बड़े आदमी हैं, इसलिए कोई बड़ी बात कीजिये। बात चीत करके इस हड़ताल को समाप्त कराया जा सकता है। आज वे नहीं हैं। श्री पार्थसारथी ने इस बात को कबूल किया कि अगर बातचीत का रास्ता अपनाया जाय तो समस्या का समाधान किया जा सकता है। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आप ने यह कहा है कि यह आन्दोलन हिंसक हो गया है। मैं यहां पर हिंसा पूँया अहिंसा की परिभाषा नहीं करना चाहता हूँ। मैं इतना ही मान कर चलता हूँ कि अहिंसा की परिभाषा करने वाला इस दुनिया में गांधी जी से बड़ा कोई दूसरा व्यक्ति नहीं है। मैं गांधी जी की बात

को ; अपने बाप को बात की, कोट करना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने उस वक्त कहा था कि अगर मुझे हिंसा और अहिंसा के बीच कोई रास्ता अपनाना हो तो मैं हजार बार अहिंसा का रास्ता अपनाऊंगा क्योंकि अगर मेरी अहिंसा किसी कौम को नपुंसक बना देती है तो मैं हिंसा का रास्ता अपनाना पसन्द करूंगा। इसलिये आप लोग हिंसा को इस आन्दोलन के साथ जोड़ने की कोशिश मत करिये। एक बात को याद रखिए, जब यह आन्दोलन नहीं चल रहा था तो क्या वहाँ पर कोई मर्डर नहीं होते थे, कोई कत्ल नहीं होते थे, कोई डकैती नहीं होती थी? मैं किसी पर आरोप लगाना नहीं चाहता हूँ, लेकिन यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप प्रमाणित कर सकते हैं, साबित कर सकते हैं कि इस आन्दोलन के दौरान में और खास करके काटन कालेज के पास जो हिंसा हुई थी, जो कत्ल हुए थे, क्या आपने उनकी पोस्टमार्टम रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित किया है? क्यों नहीं आप देश की जनता को बताते हैं कि ये जो कत्ल हुए हैं इनका सम्बन्ध किस के साथ है? इस प्रकार के कत्लों को इस आन्दोलन के साथ जोड़ना अच्छी बात नहीं है। वैचारिक स्तर पर जो लोग आसाम के अन्दर देशभक्त हैं, जो इस देश की अखण्डता में विश्वास रखते हैं, वे अपने को इस आन्दोलन से अलग नहीं समझते हैं। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इस आन्दोलन के साथ आप हिंसा की बात मत जोड़िये। मैं सदैव हिंसा का विरोधी रहा हूँ। एक मक्खी को मारना भी मैं पाप समझता हूँ। अगर मैं किसी जीव को जीवन नहीं दे सकता हूँ तो मुझे किसी जीव को मारने का हक नहीं है। आज आपने आसाम में क्या हालत पैदा कर दी है? आसाम के अन्दर बातचीत के रास्ते बन्द कर दिये गये हैं। प्रजातंत्र

के दरवाजे बन्द कर दिये गये हैं। लोगों को मीटिंग करने से वंचित कर दिया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में अगर कोई व्यक्ति तीसरे रास्ते पर चला आता है और मान लीजिये वह तंग आकर आग लगा देता है तो आप क्या करते हैं? मान लीजिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी थाने में बलात्कार होता है और जनता उठ कर खड़ी हो जाती है और जनता अगर बलवाई बन जाय तो मैं बलवाइयों को कहूंगा कि जिस थाने में बलात्कार हुआ है, उसके थानेदार को मत जलाओ, जलाना है तो थाने को जलाओ, थानेदार को मत जलाओ। सवाल यह है कि यह सैद्धान्तिक बहस चली आ रही है और शायद आगे भी चलती रहेगी, जब तक दुनिया, खासकर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का विश्वास गोली पर टिका रहेगा। इसलिए इस आन्दोलन को हिंसा से जोड़ने की कोशिश न करो। अभी बहस में बहुत से सदस्यों द्वारा ऐसा करने की कोशिश की गई है। जो उनकी बुनियादी मांगें हैं, मैं भी उन आश्वासनों से हूँ जो पूरी तरह से इस बात पर सहमत है कि इसके लिए कोई न कोई रास्ता निकल सकता है। मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि उनकी जो मांगें हैं वे सब सही हैं। लेकिन जब आप उन पर बातचीत कर रहे हो तो उससे लगता है कि कुछ बातें, मांगें सही हैं। मैं तो चाहूंगा कि गृह मंत्री आज इस बात का ऐलान करें और जैसा कि मैंने सुबह भी कहा कि यह 15वां चक्र शुरू होगा और वह चक्र शुरू होगा बातचीत का और वह उस वक्त तक चलता रहेगा जब तक अंतिम निर्णय त्रिपक्षीय सम्मेलन में नहीं निकलता। मुल्तवी न कीजिए बातचीत को चाहे कुछ हो जाय। इसको प्रतिष्ठा का विषय न बनाइये। यह किसी व्यक्ति का प्रश्न नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह देश की घरेलू और मिट्टी का प्रश्न है। इसके लिए कोई भी प्रतिष्ठा दांव पर नहीं लगनी चाहिए।

दूसरा, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह हैरत की बात है कि जब कभी आसाम में किस का मंत्री परिषद बने, किसका न बने, अल्प संख्यक वाले कैसे अपना मंत्री परिषद बनायें, इस तरह के मामले चलने लगते हैं तो वहां पर तब इस प्रकार की छुटपुट घटनायें हो जाती हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मुझे अनुभव हो चुका है कि पुलिस को अन्दर एक दरता तैयार किया जाता है और पुलिस को अन्दर एक दस्ता होता है कि जलूस को किस तरह से चलायें। मान लीजिए कि सरकार किसी जलूस को तितर बितर करना नहीं चाहती उस जलूस की गम्भीरता और विशालता को देखकर घबड़ाती है तो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पुलिस वाले खुद सादे कपड़ों में जलूस को अन्दर रहते हैं और पत्थर फेंकते हैं और बहाना हो जाता है कि जनता ने पत्थर फेंके गोली चलाई। यह तरीका चला आ रहा है। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूं और मैं बड़े अदब से कहूंगा कि इस सारे आन्दोलन को इसके साथ न जोड़ें, इतनी बात मैं आपसे कहता हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब जब भी हम लोगों में वहां की जनता के इच्छा के विरुद्ध वहां काम करने की कोशिश की है, जब भी जनता की मर्यादा के विरुद्ध कोई काम हुआ तब वहां छुटपुट घटनायें घटती हैं। आप यह भी मान सकते हैं कि वे प्रवासी लोग जो वहां आ गये हैं और जिनके बारे में बहस हो रही है क्या वे कोशिश नहीं कर सकते कि शांतिमय आन्दोलन में कहीं न कहीं हिंसा पैदा की जाय क्योंकि अगर हिंसा हो जाती है तो प्रवासी बच जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह भी

कहना चाहता हूं कि जो वहां पर आन्दोलन है, जो वहां पर करने को है, ये तमाम चीजें मैं आपके सामने नहीं कहना चाहता हूं क्योंकि आपकी बातचीत होने वाली है। किसी न किसी तरीके से उनके साथ रास्ता निकल सकता है। विरोधी दल के लोगों ने भी आपके साथ सहयोग करने का फैसला किया है। मैं आपसे इतना ही चाहता हूं कि सारा धातंधरण देखिए और आज ही अगर आप घोषणा कर दें तो वह बड़ी घोषणा होगी। यह मुलाकात बुद्धभावना के माहौल में हो रही है। यह मुलाकात हम लोगों की तब तक चलेगी जब तक यह फैलने पर खतम नहीं होती। इसको आप कोई प्रतिष्ठा का विषय न बनाइये। एक बात जो मैंने शुरू में कही थी वह यह है कि आप सब को खुश नहीं कर सकते और अगर सब को खुश करेंगे तो हर आदमी को नाराज करेंगे। इस वास्ते कितनी दूर तक जा सकते हैं, सरकार को तत्काल अपनी स्थिति बता देना चाहिए कि बस यह है हमारी सीमा। इसके बाद कुछ नहीं। ताकि फैसला हो जाये कि इस देश में कौन जिन्दा रहेगा। जनमत जिन्दा रहेगा या सरकार जिन्दा रहेगी। यही सब मुझे आपसे कहना था।

एक बात यह है कि एक घृणित कार्य होने जा रहा है और मक्काणा जी आप इसको रोकिये। वहां 119 का सदन है और 119 आदमियों के सदन में जोड़ तोड़ की बात हो रही है। इस वास्ते आप वहां एक मौका और दे दें। वहां के विरोधी जो लोग यह दावा करते हैं कि हम लोग सरकार बना सकते हैं—हमारे दल की वहां कोई हैसियत नहीं—लेकिन जो लोग दावा करते हैं, प्रयोग के लिये, अच्छा अवसर होगा और आप उनको मौका दें ताकि पूर्णतया

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

आप विरोधी दलों को जिनके बारे में आपको डर है कि ये उनके साथ जुड़ जाते हैं या आन्दोलन को बढ़ावा देते हैं, इससे बचा जा सके।

इसलिये मेरी तीन बातें हैं। एक तो पन्द्रहवां चक्र जो शांतान की आंख की तरह धीरे-धीरे बढ़ता न रहे, इसके लिये कोई न कोई सीमा, मर्यादा रखिये। दूसरा इसे तब तक चलाइये जब तक बातचीत का अन्तिम फैसला न हो जाये। तीसरा मैं हाथ जोड़कर कहता हूँ कि इस सारे आन्दोलन को हिंसा की संज्ञा मत दो। हिंसा तभी पनपती है जब वहां पर राजनैतिक जोड़-तोड़ की कोशिश की जाती है और विरोधी दलों को मौका दो ताकि उनके उपर भी जिम्मेदारी आ जाएगी। सरकार बनाएंगे तब कोई न कोई रास्ता उनकी निकालना पड़ेगा। उस पर आप अपनी शर्तें न रखिये क्योंकि आपके पास 356 के तहत अधिकार है अगर वे विरोधी मान्य नहीं होते तो सदन जब बैठेगा तो उस समय फ्लोर आफ दौ हाऊस में गिर जायेंगे। अगर आप यह करेंगे तो आपको सुशीलता बनी रहेगी। आसाम की जनता भी सोचेंगी कि दिल्ली की सरकार हमें परदेसी नहीं समझती बल्कि देसी समझती है। इस वास्ते देश के साथ जुड़े रहना जरूरी है। वहीं जो मैंने कहा था देश में घरती, शरीर और विचार का रिस्ता है। तीनों चीजें दांव पर लगी हुई हैं आसाम में। वहां की पहचान वहीं की घरती के लोग उसके साथ उनका शरीर, रोजगार, उनके विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति से होगी। विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति से साफ है कि आज आसाम के लड़कों को कहीं कोई नौकरियां देने के लिए तयार नहीं है। उसकी हालत है, जैसे मैंने कहा नागालैंड के लड़के

को यहां नहीं मिलती। आपके यहां सरकारी नौकरियों में सेक्रेटेरियेट में कितने लोग हैं बल्कि बहुत अच्छा होगा कभी आप बैठकर यह भी फैसला कर लें कि आल इंडिया सर्विसिज को जो लिस्ट होती है उसमें हम सूबे की आबादी के हिसाब से इतने आदमी रखेंगे। आपने हरियाणा कांडर का आदमी यहां से निकाल दिया . . .

श्री योगेन्द्र मकवाना : : आप ही चाहते थे।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : : मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि अनुपातिक ढंग से अखिल भारतीय सर्विसिज में नौकरियों में स्वानोय लोगों को अधिकार मिले और संरक्षण मिले। यह एक मेरा कहना है मुझे और कुछ नहीं कहना है बस इतना ही निवेदन करना है कि इस अन्तिम प्रयास को हाथ से मत जाने दीजिए और यह जो 15वीं बैठक है इसको तरफ बहुत गम्भीरता से और मुर्ब की निगाह से देख भी देखा रहा है। इस वास्ते आसाम की घरती पर बहुत खून की होली हो चुकी है अब और होली न खेलिए।

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Sir, the Assam problem Has been discussed in this House on various occasions and, two days before, I have extensively replied to all the points which the hon. Members have made here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): You need not repeat them.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: It is nothing but more repetition and I have also to repeat them



I am thankful to Shri Bipinpal Das, the hon. Member, who has replied to almost all the points and to Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique who also has covered some of the points of the hon. Members

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम :** इनको भेज दीजिये वहां मुख्य मंत्री बनाकर (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) :** तो आपको तकलीफ होगी... (व्यवधान)

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Do you approve? Will unsupport him?

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम :** यह मेरे पुराने मित्र हैं, नेता हैं (व्यवधान) क्यों बदनाम करते हो... (व्यवधान)

**श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे (महाराष्ट्र) :** आपको इजाजत नहीं, कैसे आयेंगे (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) :** यह किसी चीज में सुधार नहीं चाहते... (व्यवधान)

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Six while moving his Resolution and even at the time of replying, the honourable Member, Mr. Nigam, repeatedly reiterated one thing, that is that there is no violence and the agitation is peaceful. Some other hon. Members like Mr. Sharma and Mr. Biswa Goswami also repeated the same this. So, Sir in order to put the record straight and or the information of the hon. Members, may I now narrate the incidence of violence which took place right from the beginning? I mean, after the resumption of their agitation and not prior to that. Prior to that, more than 290 persons are reported to have died, including 48 right from the start of the agitation, and 139 persons are reported to be missing even today. Then, 223 cases

of bomb explosion and recovery of bombs have been registered from January 1980 till date...

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम :** सबसे पहले मत कहिये, पहली मर्तबा जब आपने लिस्ट बनाने की कोशिश की... (व्यवधान)

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA. and 17 persons including the Commissioner of the Upper Assam Division, Jorhat, have lost their lives. Now, from November 10, 1981, 27 cases of bomb explosion and recovery of bombs have been reported. Out of these cases of bombs exploded in 18 cases. The Railways and the State Transport offices seem to be the main targets of such attacks. Sir, on November 13, there were several incidents of stonethrowing at the State Transport buses plying on the road through Nowgong. Now they say: Why have you deployed so many battalions of CRP? Why is the place flooded by police? These are the reasons. On the same day, cases of assault on persons travelling by bus were also reported. On November 30, a crowd tried to stop a convey of trucks escorted by police. The crowd pelted stones injured three CRP personnel and one driver was injured seriously. On the night of December 14/15, the Tinsukia-bound Gauhati-Golaghat Super Express was heavily stoned at Bebeji and Uriagaon off Nowgong district. As a result, one driver sustained injuries and had to be hospitalised. On December 14, while one State Transport bus was coming from Dubri to Gauhati, it was obstructed at North Salmara, Golpara district and the public started beating the passengers of the bus. As a result, our passenger received injuries and he was admitted into a local hospital. On December 15, a person was assaulted at North Salmara village while he was purchasing a bus ticket. Now these are the incidents which took place even after the resumption of talks. The hon. Member

[Shri Yogendra Makwana] Shri Bipinpal Das, rightly pointed out that while welcoming the stand taken by the leaders of agitation, that they want to join the talks, they want to renew the talks, at the same time, if they are really interested in the solution of the problem it is not understood why a programme of agitation is given by them.

Mr. Ladli Mohan Nigam is always speaking on behalf of the agitators—we never mind it; he should; because he is in the Opposition, he has to. But, at the same time, I would like him to advise them also. I would advise him: Be balanced at least; don't be on one side and go on criticizing the Government for every act, good or bad. For bad acts you can criticize us. Well, we are there to be blamed for them. But, at the same time, for something good done by the Government, at least you appreciate it once, if not always. I am happy...

श्रीमती हामिदा हबीबुल्लाह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : लाडली मोहन जी आप क्या कर रहे हैं...-

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : मैं मुन रहा हूँ। अगर गांधीवादी आन्दोलन है तो गांधीवादी तरीका यह है कि... (व्यवधान) और आन्दोलन दूसरे हाथ पर चलता है तभी प्रगति होती है... (व्यवधान)

श्री योगेन्द्र मकवाना : गांधीवाद आन्दोलन में... (व्यवधान)

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : 12-12 लाख आदमी सड़क पर आ जायें, कब्रू आप लगा रहे हैं।

श्री योगेन्द्र मकवाना : यह गांधीवादी नहीं रहा।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : यह आपके अहमदाबाद बन्द की तरह रहा... (व्यवधान)

श्री योगेन्द्र मकवाना : क्योंकि उसके बाद और बहुत बिजनेस है। मैं आपको पूरा लिस्ट दे सकता हूँ, मेरे पास सब पड़ा हुआ है।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : पुलिस के पास तो रिकार्ड है ही, आपका भी होगा, मेरा भी रखा है...-

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA; I wanted to give you some samples; and I have given. Sir, I am happy to note that hon. Shri Dinesh Goswami—he is not here, I think—took a right attitude this time. He said that it has been extensively and widely discussed in this House and when they are going to resume the talks we should not vitiate the atmosphere. That is the right attitude which he has taken this time; and I appreciate it.

Sir, so far as the formation of the Government is concerned, Shri Bipinpal Das has given all the figures and he has given the arguments also. I agree with him that these are the reasons for which the Governor can not allow them to form the Government. Mr. Ladli Mohan Nigam says that at least one chance should be given to them. Not one but all changes they have if they have any majority and if they can prove it before the Governor, in which case they should go to the Governor, hand over the list to him and prove the majority and form the Government. Who can prevent them from doing it? Nobody can do that, if they have a majority.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS; And they formed the Government in 1978 and they continued.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA; I do not think that the Governor will not allow them to form a Government.

Mr. Biswa Goswami says that the Government is not sincere. Sir, who is sincere? Is only Mr. Biswa Goswami sincere and Government not sincere? Fourteen rounds of talks have taken place with these leaders of the agitation. With what result? Everytime

they committed something and changed their version later on. That was the position during all these rounds of talks.

श्री लाली मोहन निगम : आप इस पर एक प्रवेत पत्र निकालिये । मैं चाहूँगा कि आप सरकार को कहें कि इस पर एक प्रवेत पुस्तिका, प्रवेत-पत्र निकाले जिससे देश को पता चले कि यह सड़के बदमाश हैं, जिनका स्टैंड बदलते रहते हैं ।

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: And throughout this agitation.. .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): This is a suggestion for action.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: I am noting. I am taking mental note of the suggestions which he has made.

Particularly hon. Members Mr. Goswami and Mr. Ajit Sharma, both of them, are very critical of the Government, and all sorts of words and idioms available in all the English dictionaries, they use for the Government.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Bihar): All the English dictionaries have the same words.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: I think all the dictionaries have been exhausted now. They are repeating the same thing.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: All the dictionaries have the same words.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: So, they are repeating them. And they try to criticise the Government without any rhyme or reason. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, I do not want to say anything more. But the hon. Member, Mr. Shahedullah, narrated the position prevailing in that part of the country, and there are other Members also who pointed out the violence and other things going on at present in the State of Assam. My hon. friend, Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique, pointed

out the article cyclostyled and published in Bangkok and proposed to be circulated in Gauhati and which was found out with the bombs and other arms in Gauhati in a police raid. This is the prevailing situation at present in Assam.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA; Mr. Makwana, could you give the date of that incident?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: If there are people who try to circulate this sort of article which creates a sense of secession in the mind of the people of Assam and try to mislead them and try to create an atmosphere of violence and which can damage the country, no Government can tolerate it, and it is for the Government to take action when such a situation is prevailing.

Sir, as I said in the beginning before two days I have described the situation prevailing in Assam and the problems, and all the questions which they have raised here, I have extensively replied. I need not repeat them again when they have again been replied by the hon. Members, Mr. Bipinpal Das, Mr. Bijoy Handique and others on this side. With these words, I request the House to pass the Resolution moved by my senior colleague, the Home Minister, and disapprove the Motion moved by hon. Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this House has been called upon to pass the supplementary grants because of the Proclamation and there being the Presidents, rule under article 356 of the Constitution of India. In the absence of the Assam Assembly, these supplementary demands have come to us. Sir, during the Budget discussion, I had painfully said that we were passing the Assam Budget and that this Parliament had many privileges which it would be pleased, happy, to exercise, but that passing a Budget of a State was not a matter for which, I think,

[Shri Maganbhai Barot]

Parliament is always happy. We are called upon to do so and so we do it. Therefore, Sir, coming to the supplementary demands, I would confine my submissions to the points raised by the hon. Members. At the beginning I would say that I am grateful to those friends who while devoting more time to the proclamation, also thought of saying a few words on the supplementary demands as well. My very esteemed colleague, Mr. Makwana, has dealt with the other points, and we were greatly assisted by the senior colleagues, Mr. Bipinpal Das, Mr. Handique and Dr. Rudra Pratap Singh. On the question of supplementary demands I would like to say that supplementary grants are sought only where the budget provision under a certain head becomes insufficient to meet any urgent or obligatory payments not envisaged at the budget stage. Four main items cover this amount of Rs. 54.64 lakhs. For those items, in the budget itself there was no provision. Therefore, supplementary grants are now sought.

Sir, while dealing with those points, doubts were raised about the quantum to be provided to certain items like floods education, etc. Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam, while supporting it, said that only Rs. 20,000 have been provided for flood control and Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma criticised the absence of provision for education. So, I would like to correct my senior colleague that this sum of Rs. 20,000 is only to meet a court's decree, which had not been provided for. So far as education itself is concerned, I would like to say that the provision is nearly Rs. 96.32 crores, which comes to nearly 25 per cent of the total estimated revenue expenditure budget for the year. I only hope, as Shri Das was saying, that our younger generation—for whom 25 per cent of the entire State's revenue expenditure is being provided in 1981-82, for their education—utilises it properly.

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM: I said about floods, not education.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I would only expect that this provision of Rs. 96 crores is properly utilised by the younger generation for their education, rather than wasting a year and thereby losing not only the budget provision but also a valuable year and their academic career. Similarly the hon. Member, Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma, asked why, when the working group had estimated or suggested an amount of Rs. 250 crores it was reduced to Rs. 210 crores. Now the budget and the plans are not matters only for someone to suggest. They are always based on collective contribution of the revenues or resources of the States and the Central assistance. In the instant case, I would only like to give a few figures. The Assam State's resources in the current Plan have been estimated only at Rs. 50.90 crores. The Central assistance is Rs. 159.10 crores. Now, Sir, in this connection I would like to say that Assam enjoys the status of a special category State in the allocation of Central assistance for States' Plans. The annual plan of Assam for the current year provides for a financial outlay of Rs. 210 crores, for which the Central assistance is Rs. 159 crores. Here again I would like to say that things were not as they have been probably thought of by some of our Members. I would only like to give the per capita assistance that the Central is giving to Assam and the per capita income of our brothers in Assam. Sir, it may please be noted that the per capita income of Assam is Rs. 791 as against Rs. 645 in the case of Bihar, Rs. 776 in the case of Madhya Pradesh and Rs. 750 in the case of Uttar Pradesh.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: I gave the figures.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I am thankful to Mr. Ramakrishnan. Though he was taking the opportunity to pay compliments to a great leader, at least he came to our assistance—I was happy to hear the translation—by given us some figures. Coming to the

per capita assistance by the Centre, I would only like to submit, if you look at the per capita Plan assistance given to Assam, it is very much higher than the all-India average. In the Third Plan the all-India average was Rs. 55, for Assam it was Rs. 78; in the Fourth Plan the all-India average was Rs. 65, for Assam it was Rs. 119; in the Fifth Plan the all-India average was Rs. 102, for Assam it was Rs. 166. In the current, Sixth, Plan the all-India average is Rs. 258, for Assam it is Rs. 565. From all accounts it may be noted that we are very careful to see that the problems of development of Assam. .

..

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE; What about employment in industries?

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT; I am only saying that this is higher than the all-India average. With regard to comprehensive programmes and comprehensive development of Assam State under the leadership of my esteemed senior colleague, Mr. Makwana, there is a committee appointed which is called the Hill Areas Development Committee. I would only like to say how that Committee and the Government look at the things. Government attaches great importance to the all-round and quicker development of Assam and the north-eastern region. Recognising the need for accelerated development of Assam and the north-east, the Prime Minister has set up a committee of Ministers to review the special needs of the area and to take appropriate measures for speedy implementation of various schemes. A high-power committee of officials under the Cabinet Secretary has been set up to deter, mine areas that require special attention. The committee identified certain sectors requiring priority attention such as development of roads, railways, services, and productivity activities in agriculture, Horticulture, water management handicrafts, handlooms, small industries. Development of manpower has received special at\*

tention. There are a lot of details which I can give as, for example, . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Handique talked of a master plan.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT; I hope, if I cannot master it. I can at least satisfy it with different items.

Some of the important developments which have taken place in the north-east I as a result of close follow-up may briefly be mentioned with particular reference to Assam. They are; extension of broad gauge line from New Bongaigaon to Gauhati is being done fast and is expected to be completed by March 1982. This is the achievement of Makwana Committee, if I may say so. Construction of six railway lines, one in each of the units of the north-eastern region. It was approved and the lines are expected to be opened by the middle of 1982 onwards. The construction of broad gauge lines from Gauhati to Dibrugarh is estimated to cost Rs. 100 crores. It has been approved and included in the Budget for 1981-82. Location engineering and traffic survey is in progress. A suggestion has been made to extend the BG line from Gauhati to Dimapur via Lumdig and from Champapur to Dibrugarh via Naogaon and Sibsagar involving 150 km. existing branch metre-gauge lines and 180 km of new lines. Construction of road bridge over the Brahmaputra at Jagogoba has also been approved. The Ministry of Shipping & Transport have intimated proposals to extend the inland water transport system in the North-Eastern region. The proposals have already been, formulated and will be placed before the Public Investment Board, particularly for management of the investment on Central Inland Water Transport Corporation to carry cargo to north-eastern States. These are some of the things. . .

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Sir, the honourable Minister should tell us. . .

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Would you permit me to complete the record of the Makwana Committee's achievements?.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I only wanted to say. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Why are you interrupting him?

Let him complete the Makwana Committee report.

SHRI MAGANBHAI FAROT: The Makwana Committee achievements . also must be completely mentioned. In order to strengthen the network of both National State Highways, some six roads have been undertaken.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY . (West Bengal): Mere recommendation is no achievement.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: The recommendations are for implementation.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: The Railway Minister in this very House has negatived all these proposals. I do not know whether Mr. Makwana's recommendation takes precedence over what the Railway Minister has decided.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: You are at liberty to quote either of us.

Sir, I respectfully submit one thing. Let us hope that though the Proclamation covers six months, the people's representatives sitting in the Assembly of Assam will be able to from a Government there even earlier and let us also hope that we shall not have to pass the Assam Budget and Assam Appropriation Bill once again. With these words, I request the House to pass the Appropriation Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I will first put the Motion moved by Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam to vote. The question is:

"That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on the 30th June, 1981, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam, be revoked"

*The motion was negatived*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now, I will put to vote the Statutory Resolution moved by the Home Minister.

The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 30th June, 1981, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam, for a further period of six months with effect from the 30th December, 1981"

*The motion was adapted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now I will put to vote the Assam Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1981. The question is:

"That the Bin to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1981-82, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3, *and the Schedule were added in the Bill.*

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

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, I move;

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was proposed*

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Jha, I have

gone through the rules. The practice and the conventions are also clear. But I do not want to enter into an argument with you and spend more time of the House. I would request you to be extremely brief.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : आप टाइम बता दीजिये। एक मिनट, दो मिनट।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) : आप 5 मिनट ले लीजिये।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : ठीक हैं, आपका बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद। और आप मान लें कि बर्ड रोडिंग में...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) : इस पर आप बहस मत कीजिये।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : इसी लिये मैं कह रहा था? यह मेरा किस्मत है कि आप ने मुझे 5 मिनट दे दिये। वह भी मैं छोड़ देता हूँ। मैं नहीं बोलूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) : ठीक है।

The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now, the Home Minister may lay on the Table a copy of the Government of Assam Notifications.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE— contd.

##### Notification of the Government of Assam Political (A) Department and related papers.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, Under sub-section (2) of section 2 of the Essential Services Maintenance

Bill, 1981

(Assam) Act, 1980 as amended by the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981, a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Government of Assam (Political (A) Department), together with a statement explaining the reasons for delay in laying the Notifications:—

(i) Notification No. PLA. 334/80/220 dated the 10th April, 1981 declaring certain services in connection with the production, supply and distribution of water and electricity including the Services under the Assam State Electricity Board constituted under the Electricity Supply Act, 1948 to be essential services within the State of Assam for the purpose of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980.

(ii) Notification No. PLA. 583/81/10 dated the 14th August, 1981, modifying the Notification mentioned at (i) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. Lt-3261/81 for (i) and (ii)].

#### THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY AMENDMENT) BILL, 1981

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRIMATI SHEILA KAUL): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act, 1920, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, before the House proceeds with the discussion on the Bill, I seek your indulgence and that of the House to say a few words on it.

Sir, the measure which is before the House and which we are going to consider today is one of momentous significance. I wish to recall that our party, in its election manifesto of 1980, gave a pledge that the minority char-