

4 P.M.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): Will Mr. Sisodia read it again?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no need. He is laying on the Table of the House a Notification issued under the Customs Act. That is all.

**I. THE BUDGET (ASSAM) 1980-81.—  
GENERAL DISCUSSION**

**II. THE ASSAM APPROPRIATION  
(NO. 2) BILL, 1980**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we shall take up the Assam Budget, 1980-81 and the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Sir, I am on a point of order. Sir, you know that we gave a number of Calling Attention Notices, when we approached the hon. Chairman that these Calling Attention motions should be discussed, he pointed out that as the Assam Budget is coming up for discussion, the Calling Attention motion may not be necessary. Then we pointed out that on the discussion on Assam Budget only the Finance Minister will remain present, and the points about which the Home Minister has to reply will not be replied to because he will not be present. Then the Chairman assured us that he will request the Home Minister to remain present during the discussion on the Assam Budget so that he may also reply. Sir, I do not find the Home Minister here. At least, an assurance may come from the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs..

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SITARAM KESRI): Sir, a communication has been sent, and either the State Minister for Home Affairs or the Home Minister will be here.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: So, somebody will be coming here.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Yes.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Of course,

the reply will be by the Finance Minister.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I request the House to discuss the Assam Budget and also the Appropriation Bill. Now, the Minister has to move the Bill.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1980-81, as passed by the Lok Sabha be taken into consideration."

*The question was proposed.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, both the discussions will go together.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): May I just point out to the Minister that the normal practice is that he makes a speech explaining the points?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him reply.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Let him speak. Let him at least get the training. Let him speak. We are not going to interrupt him. We know that he is a new person.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I am on a point of submission. You are quite right. He will reply. But he will reply to what we say. And we will have to say on what they will have to say. Therefore, it is proper that when the Government asks for consideration, they should give us the reasons as to why it should be given consideration. That is the general practice. And the hon. Minister can say something.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: We assure you that we would not interrupt you. You can say something because, after all, it is going to help you. You say something.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, I thought I might save the time of the House by giving more time to the

hon. Members rather than my taking the time of the House. Anyway, Sir, as the hon. Members are aware, twice we came to this House for Vote on Accounts in the matter of Assam, and this time we have come for the Budget because the President's Rule is prevalent. And we have to do so before the 1st of December because by the 12th of December, one year being completed, the President's Rule shall have to be over. We have to provide for the expenditure of the State of Assam the necessary sums and for that purpose we have presented the Budget before the hon. House and before the hon. Members. And I will certainly reply to the points to be raised by the hon. Members. And the Home Minister will also reply.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Very well.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** The Budget of Assam, 1980-81 and the Appropriation Bill are open for consideration. Now, I would like to inform the House that the time allotted for the discussion is two hours.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** It cannot be done.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Every Party has been allotted time accordingly. I will call now Mr. Sankar Ghose. You have got ten minutes.

**SHRI SANKAR GHOSE** (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when the Assam Budget was presented in this House last year that was the first time in history that Assam's Budget was presented in Parliament. Then, again, Assam's Budget was presented for the second time and now for the third time the Finance Minister has presented the Budget of Assam in this House. He has presented more Budgets for Assam than he has presented for the Union of India, and the situation will become such that the Union Finance Minister will be known as the Finance Minister of Assam rather than the Union Finance Minister, having more expertise in presenting larger number of Budgets for Assam than for the Union.

**[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande) in the Chair.]**

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we understand that an attempt is being made to form a Ministry in Assam. If a genuine and proper Ministry without defections and without horse-trading is formed, it is welcome. But we understand that the ruling party which had 8 Members originally and which has 52 Members now, which is not adequate for forming a Government, is making an attempt to form a Government through defections. The Finance Minister present here will explain through which other method a Ministry can be formed now with a minority vote, except through defections and through horse-trading.

Sir, a very serious situation has developed and the Assam problem remains unsolved. Two things have become very clear about Assam which we have discussed a number of times. One thing is that through this agitation the problems of Assam have been brought to the notice of the nation, the economic problems, the backwardness of Assam and also the question of foreigners. The other thing is this: that merely through strong-arm methods the Assam problem cannot be solved. The Assam problem cannot be solved through the National Security Ordinance, through arrests, through firing and through brandishing sticks. This has been demonstrated by events that have taken place. It has also been shown that unless there is a national consensus over this matter, merely by the process of agitation and merely by the process of blockade Assam problem will not be solved. By blocking oil, oil will not belong to Assam and the problem will not be solved. If Gujarat and Maharashtra say that oil belongs to them and they start a blockade, no problem will be solved. If Bengal and Bihar say that coal belongs to them and they start a blockade, no problem will be solved. If Haryana and Punjab say that wheat and pulses belong to them and they start a blockade, no problems will be solved. Nor, on the other hand, the National Security Ordinance and the arrests and

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firing that have taken place, will solve this problem.

Some initiative has been taken and a suggestion has been made that through a tripartite conference in which the Government is represented, the leaders of the agitation are represented and the political elements including the opposition parties are represented, the Assam's problem has to be solved.

Now, before I come to the specific problem so far as this Budget is concerned, I would say that when last time the Budget was presented the plan allocation was very meagre, very measly and I commented on that at that time. At least now it is little more satisfactory because from Rs. 160 crores of plan in the interim Budget it has been raised to Rs. 198 crores. I had said at that time that Rs. 160 crores was very meagre. Even Rs. 198 crores is not adequate. So far as the Central Government is concerned, Assam is not bound by the Gadgil formula. Therefore, you can give Assam more by just going into the needs of Assam. In respect of the other States you have to go by a formula where there are restraints. In Assam there is not that restraint and therefore it is essential that Assam plan should be adequate.

Assam has very many problems. So far as the Brahmaputra is concerned, the bridge over the Brahmaputra has to be there, harnessing of the power resources of the Brahmaputra has to be there. So far as transport is concerned, the roads of Assam and transport system need attention; they need finance and they need allocation

So far as the problem of unemployment, educated and uneducated, is concerned, that problem is there. Then there is problem of industries, of power. All these economic problems are there in Assam and the plan that has been presented is still not adequate.

In the document presenting this budget, two very surprising state-

ments have been made. One is that supply of essential commodities through public distribution system has been maintained adequately in Assam all through this time. It is a most surprising statement and yet it is printed. You can ask any Assamese whether adequate supply of essential commodities is there. Nonetheless, a statement of this character has been made. Another statement, still more surprising, has been made that prices of essential commodities in the State of Assam continue to compare favourably with the prices prevailing elsewhere in the country. Sir, there is acute shortage of essential commodities in Assam; prices are sky-rocketing, and nonetheless, these two statements have been made, which are not correct statements and this does not show that the Government is fully aware of the situation there.

Sir, the strong-arm method has failed, as the National Security Ordinance cannot solve the problem and as blockade of oil has not been able to solve the problem, therefore, it has to be solved through national consensus and in having that national consensus, the question of foreigners has to be settled taking into account all the factors. Sir, the 1951-document is an important document; that has to be taken into account. Subsequent events that have taken place, the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, Indira-Mujibur Rahman Pact, the letter and the spirit of these pacts, have also to be taken into account. So far as foreigners are concerned, they have to go, there is no question about that, but it has to be ascertained who the foreigners are. And under our Citizenship Act, normally if people are in India for about eight years, then subject to certain formalities, they can acquire citizenship. Humanitarian considerations have to be taken into account. People who have been there for long periods, have to be considered. The question of the rights of the minorities has to be taken into account. Economic backwardness and need for greater assistance have to be conceded and the genuine grievance to get the foreigners out has to be conceded. But

no Indian should be treated as a foreigner and no refugee should be treated as a foreigner and the question of foreigners should not get mixed up soil theory, because the son-of-the-soil theory, because the son-of-the-soil theory that people of the locality will get the jobs has nothing to do with foreigners.

Assam has got acute problem of unemployment. Therefore, more Central assistance is necessary but if we mix up the question of the son-of-the-soil and the employment question with the question of foreigners, then we will be treating Indians as foreigners. In West Bengal, 60 per cent of the working force, the labour force, is from outside West Bengal. In textile mills, 75 per cent of the workers are from outside West Bengal. In transport, 50 per cent are from Punjab. In business, 50 per cent are from Rajasthan. If in Assam or if in Bengal, this strategy of the son-of-the-soil theory is introduced, the whole of India will break up. If we are sons of the soil and not the sons of mother India, India will be completely broken. Therefore, a dialogue has to take place and the economic problems of Assam have to be solved. The economic problems of Assam are different from the genuine problem over the foreigners' question. In the case of Sikkim and Tripura, there is also no question of foreigners. There it is a question of Indians coming there from other States. That is not a question of foreigners, that should be delinked from Assam question. Therefore, so far as Assam is concerned, its problem cannot be solved by force of the agitators; it cannot be solved by resort to firing. It has to be solved only by a national consensus. Therefore, there has to be an awareness among the people, among the political elements, the Government and the agitators...that the problems of Assam have to be solved without hurting the interests of the minorities there, without creating a difficult situation. Sir, India is passing through difficult times. So far as the international situation is concerned, it is very tense. Assam

is a sensitive border region and, hence unless this problem is solved soon and with the co-operation of all, we shall be in very great trouble. Hence, we had appealed even on the last occasion when the last Assam Budget was presented that this is the time when we must, everybody must, come to the negotiating table. The negotiations which have broken off should be started afresh. The fresh dialogue should be held on the basis of the tripartite approach which has been formulated. The national elements, the political parties, the political elements should also be involved. Any solution can be only within the Indian framework.

Now, Sir, finally, I would say that the Government should not concern itself merely with the installation of a Government through defections and horse-trading, but to solve the genuine problems of Assam. Sir, so far as the Plan is concerned, which has been presented, the allocation should be increased further. The increase is not adequate enough. The economic problems of Assam should be solved simultaneously with the foreigners' question.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam:) Sir, the Budget has come before us for reasons known to everybody, because Assam today is under President's Rule. Some of the economic problems which Assam is facing have been mentioned by Mr. Sankar Ghose and the Government of India, I am sure, is quite conscious and aware of it. I also know that they have taken up some schemes and some other schemes are in the process. I would only request the Government to expedite the completion of those schemes which are not yet complete and to expeditiously implement the schemes which they have already announced.

Sir, while discussing the situation in Assam, we have to speak with some amount of restraint. Parliament's approach also should be constructive. Otherwise, you cannot help in solving the problem faced by Assam today. Emotional and sentimental approaches

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will not solve the problem, will not help in any way in solving the problem, but may create more difficulties and complications.

One point my friend, Mr. Sankar Ghose, has mentioned just now. I would like to make it clear at the outset. I am very sorry that a very sober and mature colleague of mine, as Mr. Sankar Ghose is, has said it. Some other leaders of some opposition parties have also said this outside, that the Government of India is just now busy only about the formation of a Ministry in Assam. What is the real situation? This question of formation of a popular Ministry has arisen because of the constitutional obligation imposed by the Forty-fourth Amendment brought about by the Janata Party. They have created this situation. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SANKAR GHOSE:** Is defection also a constitutional obligation? (*Interruptions*) I was opposing defection. Is that also a part of constitutional obligations? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** I did not interrupt you.

Sir, now, the question before the Government is the President's Rule will come to an end on 12th December. Some people have suggested the dissolution of the Assembly. Dissolution of the Assembly is no solution, because dissolution of the Assembly means continuation of the President's Rule which cannot be continued beyond 12th December. Hence, a popular Ministry must come into existence. Who said the opposition parties will not be allowed to form a Ministry? Nobody is going to stand in the way if any opposition party or a combination of opposition parties can provide a majority in the House. If the Congress(I) can provide a majority, the Congress(I) will form the Government. If somebody else can provide a majority, they will form the Government. This is a constitutional process which will go on. Hence, on this point, I think, unfair and unjust criticism should not

be levelled against my party and the Government

It is very unfortunate that the situation created by the agitation in Assam is yet to become normal. As a result, the people and the State and, if I may say so, the whole nation, continues to suffer. Sir, so far as this problem is concerned, the Government and the Prime Minister took the initiative to have negotiations with the leaders of the agitation for a settlement. Series of discussions took place. But it is unfortunate that no final settlement has been arrived at. Both sides came to some understanding on certain points. The remaining points of difference will also have to be settled only through negotiations. The Government have declared that they have kept open the door of negotiations. But may I point out how can there be negotiations in a proper atmosphere if the agitation goes on? So, I plead that the agitation be suspended and a congenial and peaceful atmosphere be created so that the talks could be resumed for settlement of the outstanding points.

It must be very clearly understood that no problem can be solved through agitation. I have not come across any single instance in the political field, in the social field, or even in the wars—I say, including the wars—which has not ended up by some kind of agreement across the table, by give and take process, by compromise. This is the human history. This is the history of human society. Therefore, we must understand that the agitation will not help in solving the problem. The agitation, in my opinion, has already served its purpose. It has focussed the whole problem before the nation. The nation has become alert. It has brought about consciousness among the people. Therefore, it is time now for us to sit down across the table and sort out the problem. I do not think there is any problem which cannot be sorted out if there is goodwill on both sides. If we delay this, it is not good. The more the delay, the more is the suffering of the State and the nation and the people as a whole, economically or

even otherwise. Therefore, it is high time that the actual work of identification and detection of the foreigners in Assam is started on the ground. This is what we have been asking for. If this is what is being asked for, the actual work must be started on the ground now itself. The agitation, I am afraid, is only delaying the process of actually starting the work on the ground. The work can be started at least on those points where the Government and the leaders of the agitation have already come to some understanding. Difference of opinion on one or two points must not be allowed to hold up the entire process of starting the work by the Government.

The Government have agreed that the problem must be solved in accordance with the Constitution, in accordance with the relevant laws of the land, in accordance with the national commitments, international obligations and human considerations. The Government have agreed that the problems must be solved through due process of law and for that purpose special machinery will have to be set up.

The Government have never said that 1971 is the cut-off year. The Government's position is, if I have understood correctly, let the work be started taking 1971 as a starting point. Let us first understand the size, the magnitude, the complications and implications of the problem, and then if necessary, go back from 1971, as far back as possible, until an agreed date is arrived at. This is the Government's approach so far as the question of cut-off year is concerned. Therefore, there should not be any quarrel over the cut-off year. Government have also conceded the demand of the agitators that the NRC of 1951 will be considered as a basis, as one of the documents along with other relevant documents, as the basis for detecting and identifying the foreigners in Assam. This is the demand that the Government has conceded.

The checkposts along the Indo-Bangladesh border are being increased and further strengthened. After detection and identification of the foreigners, Government have agreed that the electoral rolls will be revised accordingly and all the names of foreigners will be removed from the electoral rolls. It has also been agreed that all voters will be given identity cards with photographs so that no foreigner can vitiate the electoral process. The Government have agreed that in future citizenship certificates will be issued only by the Central Government authorities and not by any State Government.

So we can see that most of the demands of the agitators have been conceded. I say 'most'. Whatever points of difference remain can be sorted out across the table alone—not in the streets. In any case, the problem can be solved only through such steps and measures as are realistic and practical. Idealistic solution will not help. The solution must be capable of being implemented in a peaceful and orderly manner; otherwise there is no sense in suggesting any solution which cannot be implemented on the ground.

The problem is not so simple. It is difficult. Similar problems have arisen in other countries elsewhere in the world. And one does not know the magnitude of this problem. Nobody knows what is the total number of foreigners. The problem is not so simple. It is complicated. There are complications; there are difficulties. We must appreciate this and unless we do that we will never be able to find a solution to the problem. But I must say that we have to solve this problem once for all. Assam cannot be allowed to go on burning. It has to be solved once and for all. I say this to the Government and everybody concerned. It cannot be allowed to hang on. The more the delay, the more complicated the question will become. Let us all put our

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heads together and cooperate with the Government in their effort to find a permanent solution to this problem through negotiations with the leaders of the agitation. I hope the Members of this House, all political parties and all concerned will approach this problem with this end in view, with this constructive attitude. Let us not say something which is sentimental or emotional, which we can say very well for record's sake. But it helps none; it does not help in solving the problem. Again, we cannot solve the problem here. Let us be realistic and practical. The problem ultimately will have to be settled between the Government and the leaders of the agitation across the table. It is the reality and must be accepted. We can help from outside. But we must not create more difficulties either for the Government or for anybody.

Sir, today unfortunate things are happening. Everyday we hear and read news. It is with a sense of anguish and sadness that I am saying all this. I am only appealing to the leaders of the agitation. Let them not withdraw the movement. I am not suggesting that they should withdraw the movement. Let them at least suspend the movement. And the Government has already offered to have talks with them again. So continue the talks to sort out the remaining points. Some points, as I have already enumerated, have already been settled. One or two points remain. Let the talks be resumed. Talks can produce results only when there is a peaceful, calm and congenial atmosphere. Therefore, it is necessary that the agitation be suspended. Talks must be resumed between the Government and the leaders of the agitation and the remaining points sorted out in a realistic and practicable manner. I emphasise this. Some people have been suggesting idealistic solutions, so lutions which can never be implemented. Perhaps no Government in the world can implement them; I don't know, because we are yet to

know the magnitude of the problem. Therefore, our approach should be realistic and practical. Let us find a solution which we can implement on the ground. There is no dearth of goodwill on both sides—from all sides. If we approach this problem from that angle, I am sure the problem will be solved at the earliest. Thank you very much.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, rise to oppose this Assam Budget. We are discussing the Assam Budget. While we are discussing it, the situation in Assam is deteriorating day by day. Though the movement has been going on for the last 12 months, the Government failed to come to any amicable settlement with the movement leaders. The Government is not at all sincere about the solution of this most important and most vital problem facing the people of Assam. What they are doing is, they are saying different things at different times. Sometimes the Prime Minister assures that if Assam is not prepared to accept the foreigners, the Government of India would distribute them in different States, but now they are not willing to do so. The Government is trying to misrepresent the movement. Sometimes it is said that it is anti-Indian. Sometimes it is said that it is anti-Bengali and anti-Muslim. It is neither anti-Indian nor anti-Bengali nor anti-Muslim. It is against the foreigners, and the people who are launching the movement in Assam are doing a patriotic job by pointing out to the Government that lakhs of foreigners have entered our country. It was the duty of the Government to find out the foreigners even before the agitation was started, but they did not do so. The other day the Prime Minister said that the foreigners will be a few thousands and not millions, but the Home Minister said some days before that there are about three lakhs of foreigners. Whom should we believe?

Sir, I would like to give some of the very few quotations from some men in authority. In the Census Re-

port of 1931, Mr. C. S. Mullan, the Census Commissioner, depicted an alarming picture. He said:—

"It is sad but by no means improbable that in another thirty years Sibsagar district will be the only part of Assam in which an Assamese will find himself at home."

Again, Sir, in 1951, Mr. R. B. Vaghaiwalla, the Census Commissioner wrote:—

"Despite the present political, constitutional and psychological climate of Assam and despite the passport system and other difficulties, many Muslim immigrants will yet run the gauntlet of these legal and administrative barriers and attempt to settle down in Assam."

Again I quote from the Census Report of 1961:—

"From 1901 to 15th August, 1947 the movement of people from East Bengal to Assam was of Indian citizens from one part of India to another part of India. After independence the movement may have been a continuity of the past, but legally, it becomes the movement of foreign nationals into Indian territory, be they Hindus, Muslims or any other religious community."

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, late Prime Minister of Pakistan, suggested in 1968 that he wanted some areas of India's North-East to be included in Pakistan. In his book, "The Myth of Independence" he elaborated.—

"It would be wrong to think that Kashmir is the only dispute that divides India and Pakistan, though it is undoubtedly the most significant." Then after some lines again he has written: "One at least is nearly as important as the Kashmir dispute, that of Assam and some districts of India adjacent to East Pakistan. To these, East Pakistan has very good claims."

He advocated "a policy of special relationship with the non-Hindu po-

pulation of Assam until that wrong (of Assam being an integral part of India) can be finally righted". Even in spite of all these things, the Government has preferred to show to the people of India that the foreigners in Assam are in thousands, not in millions.

Then, I may quote Mr. Shakhder, the Chief Election Commissioner. On the 24th September, 1978, he said: "In one case, the population in the 1971 Census recorded an increase as high as 34.98 per cent over the 1961 figures, and this increase was attributed to the influx of a very large number of persons from the neighbouring countries. The influx has become a regular feature. I think that it may not be a wrong assessment to make on the basis of increase of 34.98 per cent between the two Censuses, the increase that is likely to be recorded in the 1991 Census would be more than 100 per cent over the 1961 Census." Then, Sir, he again observed: "Another disturbing factor in this regard is the demand made by the political parties for the inclusion in the electoral rolls of the names of such migrants who are not Indian citizens without even questioning and properly determining their citizenship status." Everybody knows that in Assam the Congress Government encouraged this immigration in the hope of getting block votes. So the Chief Election Commissioner has himself observed that it is a great menace in Assam, but our Prime Minister says that the foreigners there are only a few thousands.

Sir, the Government is not at all sincere to come to a settlement. They are not ready to see to the miseries of the people of Assam and the people of the rest of the country on account of the continuation of this movement for such a long time. Had they been so, a solution would have been found. One hon. Member suggested that they should suspend this movement. The students did suspend the movement and there were talks in Delhi.



[Shri Biswa Goswami]

The differences between the movement leaders and the Government considerably narrowed down. The movement leaders agreed that those who came between 1951 and 1961 should be regularised. The only point of difference was about distribution all over the country of those who came between 1961 and 1971. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, already we have met the Chairman and he has assured as that, so far as the Members of the north-eastern region are concerned, they would be given more time, because there was a Calling Attention Motion and that Motion was not pressed. I have not completed even half of my speech. I should be given more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): We have got limited time at our disposal.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: I will try to finish soon.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: May I point out to the hon. Vice-Chairman that we approached the Chairman and we told him that we were not pressing the Calling Attention Motion if he assures us that the time that is allotted for the Calling Attention Motion would also be taken into account at the time of this discussion. The Chairman assured us that the Members of the north-eastern region would be given time liberally. So it is on that assurance that we did not press for that Calling Attention Motion. So the two-hour time that was allotted by the Business Advisory Committee has been modified by the Chairman's assurance. So time should be given to the two or three Members of the north-eastern region and the other Members who want to speak because in the Lok Sabha, as everyone knows, in spite of the fact that we do not have a representative there, was so much of discussion on it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): I will try to accommodate, but the Chairman's instructions are not here.

श्रीनागेद्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश):

बाइस चेयरमैन साहब, बिजनैस एडवाइजरी कमेटी ने यह भी तय किया है कि अगर आवश्यकता हो तो छः बजे के बाद भी हाउस बैठेगा। चूंकि यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय है और आसाम के बजट पर बहस होने के साथ-साथ आसाम के मसले पर भी चर्चा हो रही है। इसलिये मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि इसका समय बढ़ाया जाय।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I also feel that the Members from the north-eastern region may be kindly given more time. I agree with Shri Dinesh Goswami. Two hours' discussion on the subject is nothing; it is purely a ritual. Even as it is, it is bad. But you know the importance and the urgency of the subject. It should not look as if we treated it very lightly and casually, specially when Members from Assam and that region have to say something.

श्री सताराम कंसरी : मान्यवर, जैसा कि बिजनैस एडवाइजरी कमेटी में फैसला हुआ था कि इस विषय को दो घंटे का समय दिया जाय, लेकिन शाही जी का आदेश है कि छः बजे के बाद भी ...

(*Interruption*)

श्री नागेद्वर प्रसाद शाही: मेरा आदेश नहीं है, निवेदन है।

श्री सताराम कंसरी : उनका परामर्श है, सलाह है कि छः बजे के बाद भी हाउस बैठे। मेरा माननीय सदस्यो से यः निवेदन है कि वे सीमित समय तक ही बोले। इस विषय पर काफी बहस मुबाहिसा हो चुका है। अगर आवश्यकता होगी तो 10-5 मिनट आगे बढ़ा दिये जायें, इस पर हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, my friend... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): Don't take his time, please.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): They are taking the time of the House, not his.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Sir, I was saying that the Government of India is not at all serious about solving this problem. Rather they are more interested in installing a minority Government of defectors in Assam. Sir, after the election, the Congress (I) had only eight members. Now they have become 53 through defections. Even now they are not in a majority. But they are going to instal this Government. It is an insult to those who are fighting for a genuine cause and for the interest of the country. It has insulted the people and it has provoked them. It is a clear indication that the Government is ready for confrontation with the agitation leaders.

Sir, in the last talks, what did the Government do? There were differences only in regard to the migrants between 1961 and 1971. They could have postponed the talks. But what did they do? They unilaterally declared that 1971 would be the cut-off year and the Government would start work from 1971 whether the agitation leaders supported it or not. This has provoked the people there. The agitation leaders had suspended their movement. They had decided to reopen schools, colleges and universities. But the Government could not utilise that opportunity for coming to a settlement because the Government is not willing to solve this problem. Sir, so many things have been raised. The question of minorities has been raised. I agree that the minority interests must always be safeguarded, be it linguistic or religious. But how does this question come so far as detection of foreign nationals is concerned? We are to detect foreign nationals on the basis of the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the land, taking into consideration the NRC and other relevant documents. Now it has been said that the NRC has been rejected by the High Court. Either the hon. Minister does not know or he is deliberately saying this. The Gauhati High Court rejected only one

copy submitted by one gentleman, one certified copy of NRC, which was not certified by a Government officer but was certified by the District Secretary of the Jamat-e-Ulema-e-Hind. That is why the High Court rejected it. The High Court has not rejected the NRC. The NRC is the only document for it. People were deported on the basis of the NRC in the past. So the Government cannot deny this fact that the NRC is an important document. Then the question of humanitarian considerations has been raised, the question of international agreements has been raised. What are these international agreements? We do not know. What is the Nehru-Liaquat Pact? The Nehru-Liaquat Pact envisaged that those Muslim citizens of Assam who migrated to East Pakistan as a result of the disturbances would be taken back by Assam and they must come before the 31st December 1950. That is the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Everybody said that the Nehru-Liaquat Pact should be observed. Yes, we also said, Nehru-Liaquat Pact should be obeyed? Was it is this Indira-Mujib Pact? Was it passed in Parliament? If this was the agreement, if at all, it was done between the Prime Minister of India and Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh and today Bangladesh says that it is not going to accept a single individual who came after 1971 to Assam. So they have already violated the provisions of the Indira-Mujib Pact. And why should we go on saying, about international commitments? What are those international commitments? It is only to befool the people and side-track the issue that the Government is saying this.

Then the problem of Assam is such that India cannot bypass the question posed by the Assam agitation leaders. It must not be forgotten that India is a multi-national and multi-lingual country in which every nationality should get protection under the Constitution. If we take an objective view of the movement then we will see the Assamese people are afraid that they may be outnumbered. They have seen it in Sikkim and Tripura

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They fear that they may be outnumbered they are afraid that their identity may be lost. So, the Indian Constitution and Indian democracy should give protection to this small nationality, that is, the Assamese nationality. This movement has raised this question and the intellectuals of the country, the thinkers of the nation, must come forward with a solution, with a lasting solution of the problem. It is not enough to decry the movement, it is not enough to slander the movement. I regret to say that the Government of India is trying to divide the people of Assam. A minority students organisation was propped up under the aegis of the Government. The other day a minority students delegation came to Delhi for discussions. Do you know what they said in Gauhati? They went to a Muslim gentleman in Gauhati and told him, "Well, Mr. Zail Singh, the Union Home Minister, has asked us to have a State office at Gauhati; so you should help us to open a State office at Gauhati." What business has Mr. Zail Singh got to suggest to the minority students to have a State office at Gauhati? We have got proof that the Government tried to divide the people. They are pursuing a very dangerous policy. The policy which they are pursuing will be disastrous to the country. And yet they are pursuing it. It is a suicidal policy they are pursuing. The minority interests must be protected. But, as you know, the minorities question does not come on the question of detection of foreign nationals in Assam. But an attempt has been made by the Government of India to give a communal colour to the whole problem. In Assam there was no communal riot in the past. But now an attempt is being made to instigate one community against the other so that there may be communal riots. Perhaps, the Prime Minister wants that the stalemate should continue. Perhaps she wants that there should be trouble and violence so that she may use it as a plea to declare emergency in the country as she did in the past

or to switch over to the Presidential form of Government, which is being discussed in the country today. So, the Government will be well advised to try to solve the problem through negotiations.

In 1960 there was language disturbance in Assam and the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dashed to Gauhati at that time, met the people there and rebuked some people and brought a solution to the problem. In contrast, what are our Ministers doing now? They do not go to Assam. Recently the Finance Minister visited the North Eastern States, but he did not visit Assam. The Home Minister visited Arunachal but he did not visit Assam. They should have gone to Assam earlier and should not have ignored Assam like this. Do you know the reaction in Assam to this attitude? They think that these Ministers and leaders want to terrorise them by ignoring them. This attitude must be condemned by all right-thinking men.

A solution to the problem can still be found. What is the harm or what prevents the Government to distribute those who have come to Assam between 1961 and 1971 in different States in the country? After all the refugee problem is a national problem. It cannot be a problem for Assam alone. The West Bengal Chief Minister has again and again said that West Bengal cannot accommodate a single refugee in his State. There is nothing wrong in what he has said. But when the people of Assam who are being suffocated by millions of foreigners cry for help and complain that their identity is going to be destroyed, you call them parochial, secessionist and communal. This attitude will not serve any purpose.

In 1955, when the people of Assam launched a movement for the location of a refinery in Gauhati, the then Home Minister, Govind Ballabh Pant dashed to Gauhati, met the agitation leaders and solved the problem, then and there. Why cannot the Prime Minister go to Assam? Why not the Home Minister go there for talks? The Government

of India invited the agitation leaders to Delhi for talks. But this time they wanted the talks to be held in Gauhati. What was wrong in that? Some Ministers could have been sent to Gauhati. That was not done. This attitude of the Government of India and particularly of the Prime Minister is most unhelpful for the legitimate aspirations of the people of Assam. It is most unhelpful. What do the people of Assam need today? They need sympathy and understanding from the national leaders particularly from the ruling party. But what have they got from the ruling party? They have got Army and CRP. The agitation leaders were discussing the question of flushing out of stagnous crude in the pipeline with experts. But the Government decided that it should be done by the Army without waiting for their decision. What happened? Due to the non-cooperation of the oil employees, the reconditioning plant could not function. What did the Army do? They pumped chemically treated crude instead of reconditioned crude and the experts say that there is danger today of the entire pipeline being damaged. Why did the Government do this? Then, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): How much time would you take?

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: I am concluding now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): You have already taken twenty minutes.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: So, Sir, I appeal to the Government: Let them study the problems and there should be a correct appraisal of the situation. I would, in this connection, suggest that a Committee of Parliament Members should visit Assam to know the things for themselves without listening to the propaganda that is being carried on here to misrepresent the movement. Why can we not do this? Let a Committee of Parlia-

ment Members be sent to the State of Assam to study for themselves what is happening there. I know that the Government will not agree to this suggestion also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): Please conclude now.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Sir, coming to the Assam Budget, I do not find from the Budget that the Government is keen to develop this region. It is not keen about the development of the North Eastern region at all. No mention has been made about the extension of the BG line up to Dibrugarh. The allocations for industry and for irrigation are also very meagre and it is said that they are giving more. Some Members also have said that Assam is being given more. But nobody says how much money the Centre gets from Assam. Will the Government say this also? How much money the Central Government gets from Assam? They should say this also. They say that they are giving more. What more they are giving? Some increased amount. But that cannot solve the problem. The industries cannot be built with that. The irrigation projects also cannot be taken up with that. (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): Please conclude now.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Then, so far as solving the problem of unemployment of the educated people is concerned, they have sanctioned one crore of rupees. They seem to think that they can solve the problem with one crore of rupees. I would say that so long as the right to work is not enshrined in the Constitution, the Government will never give any importance to the solution of this unemployment problem. Therefore, in this manner, in this stop-gap manner, this gigantic problem of unemployment cannot be solved. If right to work is enshrined in the Constitution itself, then the Government will realise its responsibility and perhaps

then this unemployment problem can be solved.

I would once again appeal to the Members of the ruling party to look to the problem of Assam with sympathy and understanding so that the situation does not deteriorate further and a solution is found, I mean, early.

With these words, Sir, I oppose this Assam Budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): Now, Mr P. Ramamurti. Not here Yes, Mr. Dinesh Goswami.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मेरा नाम था कैम पास आन कर गये ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिशम्भर नाथ पांडे) : नम्बर मेरे पास लिखे हुए हैं उन्हीं के अनुसार मैं चल रहा हूँ ।

श्री सीताराम केशरी : आप काहे बड़ाले हैं ।

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir... (Interruptions). Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with a sense of agony, I approach this debate today. For more than one year, Sir, the People of Assam are fighting (Interruptions). Sir, I have already started.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मेरा चौथा नम्बर था ।

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, for more than one year, the people of Assam are fighting on an issue which should have been tackled by the Government long back. Harboursing a foreigner is one of the serious offences under the law of any country in the world.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: What is it that Mr. Bhale-rao is doing? (Interruptions).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, will this honourable Member permit me to speak without interrupting me? In that case, we will also be interrupting you.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: I am not interrupting you; I am talking about the office. (Interruptions).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Then don't interrupt me. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): Order, please. Let the speaker continue.

5 P.M.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Harboursing foreigners is one of the most serious offences one can think of not only in this country but in the laws of any country in the world. What are we asking for in Assam is to take action against foreigners. But the Government are harbouring foreigners contrary to all laws. The people of Assam are demanding Identify the foreigners wherever possible and also disenfranchise them so far as some of them are concerned. I do not think there is any parallel in the history of the world where the people had to launch a movement to tackle problem of foreigners. This is the tragedy that we have suffered. Shri Bipinpal Das is not here. He has stated that a Government has to be established in Assam to fulfil a constitutional obligation. May I ask Mr. Das *in absentia* whether he...

AN HON. MEMBER: He is present here. (Interruptions).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am sorry, I missed him as he is not in his seat. May I ask him: Where does he find that constitutional provision that a minority government can be installed? You cannot play fraud on the Constitution to fulfil a constitutional obligation.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Just one point. What I...

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am not yielding... (Interruptions). I am not yielding.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: What I said... (Interruptions).

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** The fact is that you are thinking of installing a minority government. Does it not mean that you are playing a fraud on the Constitution? Where did you find such a constitutional provision that to fulfil a constitutional provision, you can play a fraud on the Constitution.

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** I am sorry it is a distortion of what I said.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** May I ask, when the Leader of the House, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister met the opposition parties, knowing the constitutional provision did they put forward a proposition that as none of the parties has a majority, so let us all form a Government to fulfil the constitutional obligation? Was this suggested from the side of the Government? Mr. Das has said that the agitators should suspend the movement. The agitators did suspend the movement and sat at the table with the Government. But for the last one year the Government are playing hide-and-seek with the problems of Assam. Here in the statement attached to the Budget it has been said that all the essential commodities are now available at reasonable prices. May I remind the Finance Minister that the hon. Prime Minister just a few months ago complained that even DDT could not be supplied to Assam because of the agitation. Then how do you justify the statement that now you are supplying the essential commodities at reasonable prices. Is it that the Prime Minister is telling lie or, Mr. Finance Minister, you are telling lie? One of them must be distorting the facts and the House is entitled to know whether you are telling a lie or the Finance Minister.

Sir, let me look to the Government's position. When this agitation was launched, we were told that there is an international commitment—Indira-Mujib Pact—that people before 1971 cannot be deported. I wrote a letter

on the 15th March 1980 to the Prime Minister that as a student of law I have read every clause of the Indira-Mujib Pact and there is no single provision which says that people coming before 1971 will be treated as citizens. In fact, you cannot make this Pact without the concurrence of Parliament. I wrote on the 15th March 1980. Today it is November. I have received a number of replies to my letters written to the Prime Minister but not to this letter. If you have a commitment that you cannot deport people who came before 1971, how is it that Giani Zail Singh is today saying that let 1971 be the starting point and that the Government will go back from 1971 after the first phase of the operation is finished. When you say that you have got an international commitment that you cannot go back to 1971, are you not trying to deceive the people of India? You can deceive some people all the time, you can deceive all the people for some time, but you can't deceive all the people for all the time.

Next it was pointed out, "Look here. So many lakhs of foreigners are there. How can we tackle it?" I can appreciate the complexities of the problem. It is a problem where we have to tackle lakhs of people, and there Mr. Bipinpal Das has asked for a realistic approach. But what about the press conference of the hon Prime Minister? In reply to a question, she said that the number of foreigners will be only a few thousands. Who is telling the truth? Is it the Home Minister or the Prime Minister of this country? Who is trying to fool whom? The country and the Parliament are entitled to know at least from the Home Minister whether the version of the Prime Minister that there are a few thousands is true or whether the version of the Home Minister that it comes to lakhs is true. Then, Sir, we were told, "There are so many foreigners in Delhi. How can we drive them out" Where do you find the foreigners in Delhi? We have asked for the deportation of the foreigners. We

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have asked for the deportation of those who have come under the definition of 'foreigner' in accordance with the law and the Constitution of this country. Those people who have come from Pakistan and who have acquired the citizen-ship are citizens as any other citizens and there cannot be any quarrel regarding them. And if in Delhi, there are foreigners then they should be identified. If they are not identified, then the Government are not doing a national job; you are doing an anti-national service because the foreigners are definitely to be identified. I don't think any country in the world can take up the position that it is not going to identify the foreigners.

Then, Sir, take the question of the National Register of Citizens. It was said by the Home Minister that NRC is not a valid document and that the Gauhati High Court has ruled that the NRC is not a valid document. Mr. Home Minister, may I point out that section 15 of the Census Act says that documents in which NRC is also included can be used for the purpose of prosecution for the violation of the Census Act? And you, the Home Minister, are taking up a position that where the very right which is given to the Home Department to prosecute persons for the violation of the Census Act has been invalidated by the Gauhati High Court. I have gone through the decision of the Gauhati High Court. What happened in that case was that a person was served with a notice as a foreigner. He did not file any document in the first trial court. He did not file any document in the appellate court. He wanted to file a copy issued by the Secretary of the Jamaite-Ulema in the High Court. And the High Court rejected this document. And may I point out that there are two judgements of two different courts, including one from your own State Punjab—1968 Punjab 331; 1957 Mysore 182—where it has been held that documents under the Census Act

are admissible documents? A valuable right is given to the State and I am surprised that the Government are prepared even to give it up for the sake of the foreigners.

Sir, the Prime Minister here in this House made a solemn commitment to the people of Assam on 17th June that the foreigners will be distributed to other States. Now, you are saying that you cannot do so. You say that the people have blocked the oil. And you have made a very solemn statement that oil is a national property. Who has said that oil is not a national property? But can it be the case that oil belongs to the nation but the foreigners belong to the State of Assam? You say, "Oil is a national property". The nation must have it. The assets must be shared by the nation. But what about the liabilities? Is not the liability also the concern of the nation? When you want the assets to be shared, the country must be prepared also to say that the liabilities also must be shared by the whole nation. I expected you and some of the hon. Members who want to make us aware all the time about the national integration to stand up and say that as Assam has so much of excess foreign population, we are prepared to take some responsibility. That would have given impetus to the spirit of national integration. After all, charity begins at home. But you say that you are not prepared to take any of our problem and you want to teach about national integration to us, to a State which has stood by you in the moment of peril of 1962 when the rest of the country virtually gave it up, when the Chinese came to our territory a State which has stood the crisis in 1965. 1971, a State which has contributed the highest amount to your exchequer so long in foreign exchange by way of tea, jute petroleum and other resources Sir, when we asked for a refinery as Mr. Biswa Goswami pointed out we were told, we were parochial and chauvinists. If you had not told us parochial and chauvinists and if you had listened

to some of our genuine problems, the problem today would not have acquired this much of magnitude. We know from time to time, from 50s, we have been accused of being parochial, being chauvinists. Well, you can brand us like that. But such cheap accusations will lead nowhere.

Sir, today you are bringing in Assam a policy of repression. The Government have tried to divide communities from communities. The Government are motivatively alleging that the agitation leaders are trying to drive out the minorities. For heaven's sake, do not identify the minorities with foreigners. A minority is not a foreigner and a foreigner is not necessarily a minority community. By not preparing to identify the foreigners you have put the Damocles sword over the head of every minority for the purpose of your vote game, for the purpose of ballot box. By this you are doing the greatest disservice to the minority community in the State. I told you at the very beginning that if you identify the foreigners the minority citizens, be they linguistic or religious, if somebody tries to harass them, they can stand up and say, we are citizens of Assam, as any other citizens are, we have got full rights as any other citizens. But by not trying to solve this issue simply because of political end you have put the Damocles sword over the heads of minorities. I must say with all respect that, by this you are trying to make minorities a pawn in the game of chess throughout the country with tremendous disastrous consequences. And, may I also point out in this context that the idea of having a few battalions from minorities and the Scheduled Castes, may ultimately inject for the first time communal feelings in the minds of army and police and it may have disastrous consequences in future. Let us keep this in mind. Let us not play with the concepts of minorities. Let us not make minorities pawns in the

game of chess. It is another question that the foreigners should be identified so that the citizens, even if they be minorities, can rightfully stand up and say, well we are the citizens of India as any other citizens.

Sir, I want to point out that nowhere the All Assam Students Union have said that the oil belongs to the State of Assam. They have only used it as a part of leverage because they feel that it is a weapon to raise the consciousness of this Government to the fundamental issues on which they are carrying on the movement. Mr. Home Minister says that the students agreed on many points but when they went back to the Assam House, they changed their stand. Mr. Home Minister, I have pointed out many instances where the Government have taken up a stand in this House, and a different stand in the other House. The Government have taken up a stand in the morning and another in the evening. The Home Minister and the Prime Minister comes out with different versions. Will you kindly give me one instance, where the AASU has gone back from the stand which they have taken? I challenge you, Mr. Home Minister, here, on the floor of this House, please place before this House one document which shows that the AASU gave a commitment earlier and they have gone back on that commitment. Whereas I can place before you instances after instances when you make a statement in the morning and in the evening you make a different statement.

I am happy, Sir, that at least the speakers who have preceded me from the Congress (U) and the Congress (I) and other speakers have said that repression is no solution to the problem. I know Mr. Minister that many of your colleagues, many of your party members came and told you that if repressive measures are taken the movement will subside. I hope that by now you have learnt a lesson that every man, woman and



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child in Assam is emotionally involved on this issue. The people are prepared to undergo all kinds of sacrifice. The prices of essentials have skyrocketed in spite of what you have said. Diesel is not there. Vehicles are not moving. Students have lost one academic year but we have suffered all this with a smile. There is no complaint; and I can tell you that we will continue to undergo all sufferings with a smile till a just solution is arrived at, whether our agitation is right, wrong, just, proper probably we are not the best persons to judge; the history will judge it. But no people can carry on such movements for such a long time without commitment to a cause. Have you seen such a movement anywhere in this country at any point of time? When people are committed to a cause, repression is no answer. As I pointed out earlier, a feeling of a psychological alienation is growing in the mind of younger people of Assam today. They are beginning to question us. They say: Look here, you speak of integration but if after one year of long struggle, with all our sacrifice when the Government is not prepared to protect us from foreigners do you think that really that is the way you can enhance the spirit of national integration? Repression will only add to gradual deterioration of the feelings of integration. You have tried repression in Nagaland right from the time of Independence. Have you been able to do anything? You have tried repression in Mizoram right from the time of Independence. Have you been able to do anything? You are fighting insurgency from the plains of Assam. Psychological alienation in the minds of the younger generation of Assam will not only cause the greatest harm to the State of Assam but to the whole of India, because we know that our security lies in being a part of the totality of the nation. We know that we are a part of India as any other Indian is. And what we

are struggling for today is that a large inflow of population from Bangladesh should not create a situation that a day may come when we may cease to be a part of India. This is the fight to remain linked up with India and every repressive step that you will take will only alienate the younger generation. Already—forget about what happened in Assam—every unemployed youth is a volcano all over the country. You have seen it in Nasik and I can point out that with the credibility of the political life being under strain, the values being lost in the political life, we may find a situation that the politicians and the political parties may become irrelevant in many parts of the country.

Therefore, I will submit with all humility, substitute 'R' by another 'R'; substitute 'repression' by 'responsibility'. Agree at least to identify the foreigners.

Sir, I do not want to take much of your time but as many other Members have said, the situation in Assam and in the north eastern region is extremely serious. With further repression, even an acceptable solution today may not be acceptable tomorrow. The Government have called meetings of the opposition. It is a tragedy that for one year the movement has gone on and the members from Assam—some of us—have been participating in discussions voicing the views of Assam movement. But we have not been called for a discussion even for once by the Home Minister except in the corridor he told me yesterday: "I want to discuss Assam with you." This shows lacunae in the approach of the Home Ministry. You listen to all other views but not ours. I must say Prime Minister gave me interviews a number of times. But the Home Minister surprisingly did not care even to hear once from us. And maybe, if you go through your files, you will find that many of the reports which were given by your officials have been proved to be wrong and our assessments have proved to be correct. They have com-

pletely a wrong assessment because many people in the Home Ministry who are sitting there have no genuine feeling about the north-eastern region.

Sir, I would like to conclude by giving a note of warning. The people of Assam are as national as the rest of the country. We want a solution of this problem, because, who suffers if this problem continues? But, as Mr. Bipinpal Das has pointed out, this problem should be tackled once and for all. You cannot begin from 1971 and then have a second operation for people who have come before 1971. Will you go to a village and say that those people who have come after 1971 will be identified and will you again go back to the same village and say that those people who have come between 1961 and 1971 will be identified? The operation can be carried out once and only once. That is why, the students have said that they want a package deal. They are not prepared for these piecemeal operations. In regard to the people who have come before 1961, they have said that even if they are foreigners, they can be regularised and they can be given the legal status of citizens; the difference is there only in regard to the period between 1961 and 1971. If the Government of India does not stand on prestige, this difference can be sorted out very easily. May I point out to Mr. Bipinpal Das: Why does he not convince the Government about the solution which he himself has suggested? The fact that this solution has not been accepted by the Government shows that the Government has been unreasonable. Hence, I would submit, let us face this whole situation seriously. I am happy that I have seen a different atmosphere in this House today than what I saw on the 9th July. On the 9th of July last year, in this House, when I stood up to speak, I was interrupted by some of my friends here. But perhaps, we all have also realised that through repressive measures and by a spirit of antagonism against the people of Assam, the problem is not going to be solved. The people of Assam today beg of all of you for understanding,

sympathy and goodwill; understanding, sympathy and goodwill so that we may remain a part and parcel of this country; understanding, sympathy and goodwill so that Assam can maintain its own culture and heritage. In Tripura earlier the Tripuris comprised 63 per cent of the population. Today, they are only 26 per cent. There is talk of giving them protection under the Sixth Schedule. Sir, the people of Assam want to live with honour and respect, not in protection like the Red Indians in America. We beg of all of you in the name of Indian nationhood, in this moment of peril, treat the problem of Assam with understanding, sympathy and goodwill. I assure you, my friends, that as Assam has stood with the rest of the country in the forefront during the Independence struggle, as Assam has stood with the rest of the country in times of peril when Pakistan and China attacked us, Assam will stand with the rest of the country now and will give all its resources to this country, provided, you also give a sense of belonging to us by meeting our just demands. I am extremely grateful to all the hon. Members of this House for giving me a very patient and uninterrupted hearing. Thank you.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : उपध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बजट का विरोध करता हूँ और यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि इस बजट से, जो कुछ सरकार कर रही है और कह रही है, इससे साफ जाहिर है कि सरकार असम के मामले को हल करना नहीं चाहती है बल्कि असम के मामले में अपना दलीय लाभ खोज रही है।

श्रीमन्, जैसा सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया था, हम यह समझते थे कि केन्द्रीय सरकार बड़े पैमाने पर असम की सहायता के लिए आगे आयेगी। असम के औद्योगिकरण के लिए, असम के बेकारों के लिए काम की व्यवस्था करने के लिए और असम में सिंचाई तथा दूसरी तरह की विभिन्न विकास योजनाओं को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए भारत सरकार कम से कम 500 करोड़

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

रुपये का बजट असम के लिए बनायेगी। लेकिन यह 190 करोड़ का बजट है। इस बजट में गोहाटी से डिब्रूगढ़ की छोटी लाइन को बड़ी लाइन में लाने का कोई प्रावधान इसमें नहीं किया गया। इस बजट में सिचाई योजनाओं को आगे बढ़ाने का कोई प्रावधान नहीं है। इस बजट में असम में औद्योगिक संस्थान स्थापित करने के लिये कोई प्रावधान नहीं है। जो बेसिक चीजें हैं जिनके कारण आज असम समस्या की खड़ी हुई है उनमें से किसी का प्रावधान नहीं है। श्रीमन्, दिल्ली की सरकार यह समझती है कि असम के नागरिकों में फूट डालकर मैज्योरिटी और माइनोरिटी का सवाल खड़ा करके, वहां हिन्दू और मुसलमान का सवाल खड़ा करके असम के आंदोलन को दबाया जा सकता है। यह सरकार समझती है कि सेना और पुलिस के द्वारा आंदोलन को दबाया जा सकता है। इसलिये सरकार मसले को तय करने के लिये ईमानदारी से कोई प्रस्ताव सामने नहीं ला रही है बल्कि डिवाइड एण्ड रूल की पालिसी अपना रही है। किसी प्रकार 12 दिसम्बर के पहले वहां अपने दल की सरकार बैठाना चाहती है।

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : कोई बुरी बात नहीं है। आपको भी छूट है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : असम की प्रोब्लम देश के पार्टिशन की देन है। 1947 में जब देश का बंटवारा हुआ उस बंटवारे के साथ-साथ असम की समस्या पैदा हुई। उस समय यह सवाल पैदा हुआ था कि पाकिस्तान में जो माइनोरिटी बची हुई है उनके लिये क्या होगा। उस समय देश के नेताओं ने और इस देश की सरकार ने पाकिस्तान की माइनोरिटी को यह एश्योरेंस दिया था, यह आश्वासन दिया था कि भारत सरकार उनके लिये कुछ करेगी।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Just a Minute. I am not interrupting him, he will continue. There are so many speakers. I would suggest that the discussion can go on till 6 O'Clock. After that we cannot continue. If we had known it, we would not have fixed up so many engagements. Suddenly you want us to participate in the discussion after 6 O'clock. We cannot sit.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी (गुजरात) :

उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस बात में सहमत हूं। हम अध्यक्ष जी से मिले थे कुछ दिन पहले। उस समय कहा था कि असम के संबंध में कालिग अटेंशन होना चाहिये। इस पर चर्चा भी हो। लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि बजट के समय जब चर्चा होगी तो काफी समय मिल जाएगा। लेकिन लगता है कि बजट का जो समय रखा गया है दो घंटे का इससे समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। समस्या काफी जटिल है और बहुत सारे सदस्य बोलना चाहते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ सरकार भी इसको स्वीकार करेगी।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is the best approach. I hope the Government will agree to that. Tomorrow we can do it. Tomorrow there is no Calling Attention. So, there is no difficulty. We will do that tomorrow.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : केसरी जी आ गये हैं। वह भी सहमत होंगे।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केसरी) : मेरा निवेदन यह है कि आज ही यह बहस खत्म कर दी जाए। साढ़े छः बजे या सात बजे तक, जितना भी समय लगे इसको खत्म किया जाए।

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: We cooperated with the Government last time. We are cooperating every day.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) : काफी लोगों को इस पर बोलना है।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : अगर कभी वित्तीय समस्या होती है और बिजनेस को उसी दिन खत्म करना होता है तो हम आपके साथ कोआपरेट करते हैं ।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केसरी) : कल 27 तारीख लास्ट डेट है ।

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Is there any such financial compulsion, any procedural compulsion? I do not think. Let the Finance Minister explain.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, we have a compulsion because before the 1st of December, in any event, we have to get the President's assent. Otherwise, a situation may arise which will be very difficult. We are prepared to sit late. So far as the request for time of the hon. Members is concerned, we concede to it that we may sit a little more and do it. We request that it being a Finance Bill, kindly help us to pass it today.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Tomorrow we should pass it.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Sir, he has just now pointed out that it has to be completed before the 1st. I am sure he would appreciate that even if we conclude it tomorrow, there is ample time for the President's assent.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not against it.

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केसरी) : श्रीमन् इस तरह से तो हाउस का शिड्यूल डिस्टर्ब हो जाएगा । आप लोगों ने पहले ही निर्णय ले लिया था कि 6 बजे के बाद भी बैठेंगे और उस को हमने स्वीकार कर लिया था । आप 6 बजे के बाद साढ़े छः बजे तक, सात बजे तक बैठिये और इसको पास कीजिये ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have all agreed.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: We have engagements today. If we were told that we were to sit up to 8 o'clock, we would have come prepared for it. Now we have fixed engagements which we cannot forego. What are we to do? You please tell us.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SITA RAM KESRI): The suggestion has already been accepted that we are ready to sit after 6 o'clock. Why leave it for tomorrow? It has already been announced.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: After 6, we go. (Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What does the Government lose by it. The Government does not lose anything by it. We are not interested in obstructing it.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair] We are not interested in not allowing it to be passed or creating difficulties for you. In fact on a Bill like this, naturally people would like to say something—not so much on this or that item of allocation but on the national issues. That is what they want. Therefore, Sita Ramji you should understand you don't lose anything whatsoever. If you had lost anything, I would have understood it, and I would have agreed.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : हम और किसी दिन आपके काम के लिए बैठ जाएंगे ।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केसरी) : श्रीमन्, हम काफी कमिट-मेंट देख चुके हैं । यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय है इसलिए आज विलम्ब में बैठ जाइये जिस तरह से आपने पहले निर्णय लिया था उसी तरह से कीजिये । अगर यह काम कल होगा तो फिर सरकारी बिजनेस में अवरोध उत्पन्न हो जाएगा । दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारी डिफिकल्टी यह है

[श्री सीताराम केसरी]

कि हमारे बहुत से माननीय सदस्य आज उपस्थित हैं। कल को वे नहीं रहेंगे।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : इसको हम कल पास कर लेंगे।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not going to oppose it or vote against it. At least some of us are not. We shall not vote against it.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: We shall ensure quorum. You will have no difficulty.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Don't get worried about the presence of your Members.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SITA RAM KESRI): Please continue now.

Then we will see. अभी तो बहुत टाईम है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर (उत्तर प्रदेश). श्रीमन्, पहले यह फैसला हो जाय कि आज 6 बजे के बाद बैठेंगे या नहीं। जैसा अभी श्री आडवाणी जी और अन्य माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि यह ऐसा महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है कि अगर इनके सारे सदस्य नहीं भी रहेंगे तो हम इसको पास कर देंगे। ऐसी स्थिति में इसमें अड़चन क्या है?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: The Government should understand that today when they are trying to evolve a consensus, it is better for them to hear all the people. That would create a proper atmosphere for the meeting they are seeking. Let them hear us patiently.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not opposing it. We will pass it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On this issue . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We want it to be continued tomorrow. It is a very important subject, as you know. On this, I don't think by and large there is any disagreement. It

should be passed. We are all in favour. One or two Members may say, "I oppose the Bill", but we will see that it is passed. You will have no difficulty. We are not discussing the details. Because of these special reasons, we want to speak on this. You hear us and it will be helpful even from the point of view of tackling the problem, or handling the problem outside the House.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI RRANAB MUKHERJEE): I want to make one submission. I agree we can have it tomorrow. But my only submission, through you, Sir, to the hon. Members would be that the problem we are having is that the Calling Attention Motion is taking much time. Today let us continue with it. It can continue tomorrow. After it is over naturally the Calling Attention may be admitted by the Chairman, that can be taken up later. After the Assam Budget is over, we can take up the Calling Attention, if the hon. Members agree.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Agreed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We agree. That is a reasonable suggestion. Where there is a will, there is a way.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we have to continue with it. It has been agreed that this Bill will be taken up tomorrow immediately after the Question Hour. No Special Mentions will be allowed. (Interruptions). And the Calling Attention will be taken up later in the day. This Business will continue till it is passed. I request Mr. Shahi to continue. Today we sit as long as we can because there are a large number of Speakers. Every day we are seeing that we cannot get more than 2 hours for the official Business. This is the only difficulty. Even today we had Special Mentions for half an hour and the Calling Attention continued for 2 hours and 45 minutes. So whatever the promise you make it

It is very difficult for me to regulate the proceeding. I have to keep on reminding the Members to keep to the promise. About the promise you are making today, I request that for once you keep your promise. Particularly the leaders, I am afraid, do not cooperate.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Let Shahiji speak fully.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, as a running matter he will take. I am not going to accept what he says.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवर्णा : वह ऐसा नहीं करेंगे ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not going to be guided by his advice in this matter particularly.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह आसाम का मसला जद कि पार्टिशन हुआ उस समय पैदा हुआ था और उस समय पाकिस्तान में जो माइनारिटीज रह गई थी उनको हमारे नेताओं ने आश्वासन दिया था कि अगर उनके ऊपर कोई संकट आयेगा तो हम उसके साथ होंगे । माननीय जैल सिंह जी इस बात को मानेंगे कि संकट इस तरह का आया कि पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से माइनारिटीज को साफ कर दिया गया और भुट्टो साहब की साजिश से पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में भी यही चीज पेश हुई । लेकिन क्योंकि पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से जो माइनारिटीज आई थी वह पंजाब में आई और पंजाब से भी करीब करीब इतने ही लोग पाकिस्तान में गये थे, अपनी जमीन, अपना घर, अपनी सम्पत्ति छोड़कर के, इसलिये पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से जो माइनारिटीज पंजाब में आई वह वहां बस गई, उनकी व्यवस्था हो गई और जो पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से माइनारिटीज आई उनके लिये कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हुई । आज यहीं समस्या आसाम में खड़ी है । जो लोग पाकिस्तान से हिन्दुस्तान में आये,

जिनको रिफ्यूजी हम कह सकते हैं उन को बगाने की जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार की है, आसाम सरकार की नहीं है । यह आसाम सरकार के बूते के बाहर की बात है, यह आसाम सरकार के रिसोर्सेज के बाहर की बात है, इतने लाखों-लाख रिफ्यूजीज को बसाने की व्यवस्था करना, उनकी रोजी की व्यवस्था करना, उनके लिये इम्प्लाइमेन्ट की व्यवस्था करना । यह जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार की है । पार्टीशन के समय इस देश के नेताओं और सरकार ने इसका उन्हें आश्वासन दिया था । श्रीमन्, वह आश्वासन आज भारत सरकार पूरा नहीं कर रही है । भारत सरकार अपनी जिम्मेदारी से कतरा रही है । बीसियों क्या पचासों लाख लोग जो पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से बंगाल में आये, आसाम में आये और त्रिपुरा में आये उनको बसाने की, उनके पुनर्वास की सारी जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार की है । भारत सरकार अगर अपनी जिम्मेदारी का निर्वाह करती तो आज यह समस्या पैदा नहीं होती । भारत सरकार चूँकि अपनी जिम्मेदारी का निर्वाह नहीं कर रही है इसलिये पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए लोग आसाम के लोगों के लिये पैरासाइट बन गये हैं । वे उनकी रोजी-रोटी को हड़प रहे हैं । जो आसामियों को मिलना चाहिए, जो त्रिपुरा के निवासियों को मिलना चाहिए वह पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए लोग असिमिलेट कर रहे हैं और इसलिये यह समस्या खड़ी है । श्रीमन्, आज अगर भारत सरकार उस तरह की व्यवस्था पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए बंगालियों के लिये करती जैसी व्यवस्था कि पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए लोगों के लिये की गई और उसी पैमाने पर रुपया खर्च किया गया होता तो आज कोई इस तरह की चीज पैदा नहीं होती । आप भी जानते हैं श्रीमन्, कि आज आसाम में चले जाइये . . . . .

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

कितनी गरीबी है। सारे लाखों पढ़े लिखे बेकार लोग घूम रहे हैं। यह आन्दोलन चलता कैसे है? यह आन्दोलन इगलिये चल रहा है कि यूनीवर्सिटीज और कालेजों से निकले हुए लाखों नौजवान आज बेकार हैं उनके लिए कोई रोजी नहीं है। पिछले 30-32 सालों में आसाम में कोई कारखाना नहीं खोला गया। आसाम में बड़े पैमाने पर औद्योगीकरण नहीं हुआ। आसाम में बड़े पैमाने पर कोई सिचाई की व्यवस्था नहीं हुई। आसाम में बड़े पैमाने पर ट्रांसपोर्ट की व्यवस्था नहीं हुई। आसाम में सड़कें नहीं बताई गई और न ही रेल लाइनें बिछाई गईं। जनता सरकार जब दो साल पहले आई तो उस समय पांच नई रेलवे लाइनों को बनाने की बात की गई और उस सरकार ने भी स्वीकार किया कि पांच नयी रेलवे लाइनें वहां बिछाई जाएंगी। श्रीमन्, मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि पांच करोड़ रुपये हम एक ऐसी फिल्म बनाने के लिए खर्च करने जा रहे हैं जिसका नाम तो गांधी जी के नाम पर जरूर होगा मगर उसका कोई संबंध गांधी जी के जीवन से नहीं होगा। 50 करोड़ रुपये एसियाड पर खर्च करने जा रहे हैं लेकिन 30-40 करोड़ रुपये में गोहाटी, डिब्रुगढ़ लाइन को मीटर गेज से ब्राड गेज में कन्वर्ट नहीं कर सकते। उसके लिए बजट में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। एसियाड के लिए 50 करोड़ और आसाम की डवलपमेंट के लिए कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है ऐसा क्यों? (Time bell rings) ऐसा इसलिए है कि हम तो अभी भी इस युग में प्रिसचार्स के स्वागत की बात से चते हैं हम 1947 के पहले की सारी बातें ल गये....

श्री हरिसिंह भगुबाबा महिडा : जब आपकी सरकार थी तब क्या फरेन डिगनटरीज का स्वागत नहीं करते ?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : हम इस लिए स्वागत कर रहे हैं प्रिस चार्स का क्योंकि हम अपने देश में प्रिस राजीव गांधी की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं (Interruptions).

डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह यह गलत है। ((Interruptions))

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: He is preaching universal brotherhood.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : प्रिस चार्स का स्वागत इसलिए कर रहे हैं क्योंकि हम अपने देश में प्रिसडम और किंगडम लाना चाहते हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : आप आसाम की बात कीजिए, इससे कोई फायदा नहीं है। (Interruptions)

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं आसाम की ही बात कर रहा हूं श्रीमन्, आप मेरी बात से सहमत होंगे आप सब लोग, इस सदन की ओर से और पूरे देश की ओर से आसाम के आन्दोलनकारियों को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। जैसे शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलन आसाम में चल रहा है लाखों-लाख स्त्री, पुरुष, बूढ़े और नौजवान सड़कों पर निकल आते हैं लेकिन कहीं कोई हिंसा नहीं है। 400-500 लोग जहां इकट्ठा होते हैं, छोटा मोटा जलूस निकालते हैं तो वहां हिंसा हो जाती है। इतने बड़े पैमाने पर आसाम का आन्दोलन चल रहा है और वहां पर कोई हिंसा नहीं है। श्रीमन्, यह सरकार जब तक अपने दिमाग से इस बात को नहीं निकाल देती आसाम आन्दोलन होगा और पुलिस के बल पर इसको दबाया जा सकता है तब तक कोई सालूशन नहीं निकल सकता। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि यह सरकार आसाम समस्या का हल ढूढ़ने के बदले इस बात का सालूशन ढूढ़ रही है, माननीय जैल सिंह जी इसमें व्यस्त हैं कि कैसे वहां पर कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार बैठा दें। उन्हें आसाम की आग को

बुझाने की चिन्ता नहीं है, उन्हें चिन्ता है ब्रह्म अपने दल की सरकार को बैठाने की। और इनकी सारी इच्छा और समय उसी में केन्द्रित हो रहा है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब समाप्त करिये।

**श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही :** श्रीमन्, मैं इतना ही निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार इस मामले का पोलिटिकल साल्यूशन ढूँढ़े राष्ट्रीय साल्यूशन ढूँढ़े। बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि वहाँ के आन्दोलनकारियों ने यह साफ शब्दों में स्वीकार किया है और ऐलान किया है कि वे आसाम की सम्पत्ति को राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति मानते हैं।

**श्री हरिसिंह भगुवावा महिडा :** इस-लिए बम रखते हैं।

**श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही :** वे मन आफ दी मायल थ्योरी में विलीव नहीं करते हैं। वे केवल तेल को अपने आंदोलन का सहारा बनाये हुए हैं और उसको अपने राज्य आसाम की सम्पत्ति नहीं कहते हैं। इसलिए श्रीमन्, और जहाँ तक बम की बात है मेरे साथी ने कह दी, मैं आखिरी बात कहकर समाप्त करूंगा कि आज आसाम के आंदोलन में जहाँ कहीं भी बम या हैण्डब्रेड की बात हो रही है वह माननीय जैल सिंह जी की साजिश है, अगर वहाँ कहीं कोई हिंसा हो रही है तो वह गृह मंत्री जी का प्लान है, अगर वहाँ हिन्दू-मुस्लिम का कोई सवाल पैदा हो रहा है तो वह माननीय जैल सिंह जी पैदा करवा रहे हैं। ये माइन्टारिटी स्टूडेंट्स को बुला बुला कर शह देते हैं, ये समझते हैं कि डिवाइड एण्ड रूल की पालिसी से उस आंदोलन को दबा लेगे; इनका यही विश्वास है इसलिए ऐसा कर रहे हैं, लेकिन वे यह नहीं समझ रहे हैं कि ये जो कुछ वहाँ कर रहे हैं वह राष्ट्र के लिए घातक हो रहा है। माननीय जैल सिंह जी आज वहाँ हिन्दू मुस्लिम को लड़ाने की कोशिश कर रहे

हैं। अपने दलीय स्वार्थ के लिए आप देखेंगे कि देश में हिन्दू मुस्लिम लड़पे जायेंगे इसलिए उपसभापति महोदय इन शब्दों के साथ में ....

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप समाप्त करिये।

**श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही :** अब भी निवेदन करता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी अपने बजट में जो उन्होंने प्राविजन किया है 190-99 करोड़ का उसमें आसाम के विकास के लिए, वहाँ रोजी रोटी की व्यवस्था करने के लिए, वहाँ रोजगार फैलाने और तेल के बढ़ाने की व्यवस्था करे, अन्यथा।

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम :** हाऊस चाहता है कल कर लिया जाय।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** कल ही कीजिए अब।

**श्री उपसभापति :** और बोलने वाले हैं, इसलिए जितना हो जाय उतना ही अच्छा रहेगा।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMI (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Shri, I am grateful to you for having permitted me to take part in the discussion on the Assam Budget.

Sir, the flames of the agitation have not yet been put out in Assam even after a lapse of 12 months. It is most unfortunate, Sir. But nobody can deny the fact that the Central Government, under the dynamic leadership of the hon. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has shown commendable understanding and exemplary patience in dealing with the Assam agitation because the Government knows that one hasty decision may boomerang into serious consequences. That is why the hon. Prime Minister spoke in the National Integration Council meeting that firm handling of the matters might have yielded some results at the beginning but in the process might have left scars too deep to heal at all.

This is not the concern of the people of Assam only. This is the



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concern of every citizen throughout the length and breadth of our country. I was very much touched by the emotional speech of my esteemed colleague, Mr. Dinesh Goswami. But I am, disturbed to hear that a sense of alienation exists in the minds of the youth in Assam. Sir, I would like to point out that some extremist elements in that organisation, particularly who are interested in the underground movement, who are interested in sabotage, who believe in arms, go and meet the bosses of the neighbouring regimes, I am told. This is what we hear, or read in the press. If it is so, it is an alarming situation, Sir, because, as you know, we cannot tolerate that type of temperament and attitude. Also I would like to place before this august House a secret circular purported to have been issued by the All Assam Students Union which was distributed in the All India Trade Union Congress at Visakhapatnam on October 29. I quote from the *Hindu*, dated October 30. "The circular gives the guidelines for total revolution in Assam. It calls for the formation of secret societies at different levels with underground headquarters and under a single leadership. Apart from collection of funds, it also warns of identification of Assamese politicians, Government servants and exploiters who work against the interests of the society and fixing a date for local trial."

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:

Sir, to set the record straight, this document has been denied by AASU. They have said that some people who want to create confusion and denigrate AASU have published this. I say this to set the record straight.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I thank Mr. Dinesh Goswami for the denial. If such a temperament is existing here. We cannot tolerate it. I be-

long to a Party which fought for separation, which demanded separation. I belong to the DMK. Sir, in this country, for a pretty long time it was anticipated or it was feared in some circles that the South may secede from the North even before Partition. It was propagated the philosophy of separation, but the Partition came in 1947 in the North not in the South. So now also we are very much worried that there should not be any partition again in the north-eastern region. Sir, on behalf of the DMK, in no uncertain terms I would like to submit that we extend whole-hearted, fullest support and co-operation to the Central Government regarding this Assam problem.

Sir, we all know that the Central Government is trying to explore all avenues and is taking earnest steps to discover a meeting ground for reconciling the differences. That is why in the all-party leaders' meeting, when one party leader suggested that there must be a tripartite conference, immediately the hon. Home Minister conceded the demand. So they are trying in all earnestness. Then why did the talks fail? That is the problem. Why did the Imphal talks fail? Sir, Mr. Goswami comes from that region. He is well versed with the problems there. I read only the press reports. But I would like to ask my friend why the Imphal talks failed. And why did the Shillong talks fail? And what is the impression? The sponsors of the agitation, the leaders of the agitation are oversensitive about pre-conditions, about petty matters. That is why the Shillong talks also failed. Sir, I fully agree with the sentiment expressed by Mr. Goswami that there is a genuine apprehension and fear among the Assamese that their cultural identity would be lost and they would be economically swamped by outsiders. That is a genuine apprehension existing there, I agree. But is it a problem of today or yesterday or of the seventies or sixties? As you know, this problem started right from the end

of the 19th century. As a student of history I want to say that people migrated from East Pakistan to Assam because the fertile lands of the Brahmaputra Valley drew them there, because enough hands were not available locally to cultivate the vast fallow lands. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, this is a very serious matter. Although only four or five minutes are allotted to my party, I belong to a party which is very much interested in this subject...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But you have already spoken for five minutes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I need some time...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have yet to make my points.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When I say, please conclude, it does not mean you should stop straightaway. You can speak for one or two minutes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have not spoken half of my speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Unless I ask you, you will not conclude. That is the difficulty. Anyway, please finish quickly.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It started by the end of the 19th century. The Government which was there in Assam itself encouraged immigration. Mr. Syed Mohd. Saidullah, who was the premier there for several years, connived at the immigration. Then came the Partition. And also it was said that Mr. Gopinath Bordoloi who was the Chief Minister during the time of Partition, had agreed to take five lakh Bengalis from East Pakistan—five lakhs Bengalis. At that time there was the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. What was it? According to Nehru-Liaquat agreement the Hindu minority in East Pakistan and the Muslim minority in India were allow-

ed freedom to move, to dispose of their property. Then came the Bangladesh war. More than 10 million people crossed the border. It was said most of them had returned to their homeland. But according to Indira Gandhi-Mujibur Rahman agreement Bangladesh won't be responsible for those who entered before March 25, 1971, the day Tikka Khan launched his campaign of genocide in East Pakistan. So they won't take back. So this is a human problem. Illegal immigrants running into millions constitute a gigantic human problem which cannot be solved overnight without the cooperation of the States and also the neighbouring country. I accept foreigners must be detected and their names must be deleted, they must be deported. Yes, Assam contributed to the nation, so all the States also must share the burden—that is the view of my friend, Mr. Dinesh Goswami. I entirely accept it. But which State is prepared? Are you prepared to create another Dandakaranya? How many members will be there? And if people are asked to show certificates, many people who went there, settled there, sweated there and cultivated the area, even for twenty years, thirty years, they did not bother to get any certificate, and all of a sudden if you demand that they should produce a certificate, where will they go? If their number is, say, ten lakhs, where should they be sent, to which State, to which spot or place? Can they be thrown into the Bay of Bengal? This is a human problem. I belong to Tamil Nadu which accepted lakhs of people from Ceylon and Burma from where they came back as repatriates. Even today that problem is not solved. Of course, this is not the time to speak about that. So this is a human problem.

Then, much was said about minorities, that the cultural identity and originality of the Assamese people

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should be protected. That is one view we accept. But at the same time the linguistic, religious, ethnic minorities, their interests should also be protected and their interests should be protected at any cost. But their interests are not at all protected. They feel insecure. That is why they come to Delhi, they come to Delhi to seek the protection of the honourable Prime Minister. The Prime Minister also said, and it is also reported in the press, that their interests will be protected. Is it not our duty as a citizen to safeguard the interests of another fellow citizen who belongs to a minority? I remember the words of the great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Lok Sabha some twenty years ago when he intervened in a debate regarding Assam riots which took place in the month of July, 1960. He told the Lok Sabha that "some Indians have become refugees in their own homeland". He spoke about minorities. It is our duty to protect the interests of the minorities.

6 P.M.

When the leaders of agitation, the students leaders and the Sangram Parishad leaders, come to the negotiating table, they should have some flexibility of mind. Both sides should display this flexibility. Rigid approach and adamant attitude would not help anybody at the negotiating table. Then only any problem can be solved.

What a great loss has been caused to this country by this agitation? What a great calamity has been caused to this country? The economic loss that has been caused to this nation has been Himalayan. Nearly Rs. 2,000 crores worth of loss has been caused to this country. Every month the blockade has cost us hundred crores of rupees directly and Rs. 75 crores indirectly, as per the Petroleum Minister. The cumulative loss will be nearly Rs. 2,000 crores. Fortunately the pipelines have

been saved—thanks to the Government and the Army. It was feared that only experts could handle the pipeline... (Interruptions). Nearly 1,700 kms. distance of pipeline was in danger and in peril unless the crude was pumped out of it. Near the major portion of the crude has been pumped out. Otherwise, the pipelines would have got choked and burst because the crude would have frozen inside.

We share the feelings of Mr. Gowsami. At the same time we also share the apprehension and fear of the minorities and other people. Their problem is also of serious concern.

The Government does not believe in gun power. Had they believed in gun power and blood, had they believed in police power, they would not have cringed before the agitation leaders to open a dialogue. This shows that the Government does not believe in gun power. They know that gun power is no match against the will power of the people.

Therefore, the restoration of normalcy in Assam and peace in the whole North-Eastern region hinges on the success of negotiations between the Government and the agitation leaders. The day when this problem is settled will be celebrated all over, from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and that will give a sigh of relief and happiness to all.

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही कल सवेरे 11 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at four minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 27th November, 1980.