

[Shri C. K. Jaffer Sharief]  
that whoever is found guilty will be suitably dealt with.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): It is not only this wild-cat strike which has completely disrupted the train services, but, unfortunately the railways" are functioning so inefficiently that all trains are running late. It is only one situation that the Minister has described. But we find that all the trains are running late. The fast-moving trains are no longer fast-moving. They are so slow that if you are supposed to be in Delhi today, you are arriving the next day. This kind of thing is happening and the Minister only comes forward to make an appeal to the loco-running staff to resume duty but does nothing to look into the inefficient running of the entire railways in the whole country? No train is running in time. It should be a matter of shame for the Government not to be able to run the trains in time and more efficiently.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ASSAM—Contd.**

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if the Government had come to this House for the extension of the period of the President's rule in Assam, it is mainly on account of its total incapacity to tackle the problem of that State. The problem, which has acquired new dimensions recently, has its roots in the history of Assam itself. For the last 50 years or more, the problem of illegal infiltrators into the State of Assam has been there and has been increasing in proportions. I would like to give two quotations, Sir, before I proceed and I would like to ask the Minister to identify the person who said this, if he can. Sir, I quote:

"As soon as the time comes for the Constituent Assembly to go into Sections, you will say, Gentleman, Assam retires. Whether you have that courage, grit and gumption, I do not know. You alone can say that. But if you can make that declaration, it will be a fine thing... Each unit must be autonomous and able to decide and to act for itself. I am hoping that in this Assam will lead the way. If you do not act correctly and now, Assam will be finished. Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold it against the whole world. Else, I will say that Assam has only minikins and no man. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Assam in any way".

Can you identify the person? I do not think you can. This was Mahatma Gandhi. When Assam was being huddled together along with Muslim majority group, according to the formula of the Cripps Mission, the people revolted against it, and it was on the occasion that Mahatma Gandhi gave this call to the people of Assam.

I would like to give another quotation, Sir, and again I would ask the Minister to try to identify from which source I have got it.

"Probably the most important event in the province during the last twenty-five years, an event, moreover, which seems likely to alter permanently the whole future of Assam and to destroy more surely than did the Burmese invaders of 1820, the whole structure of Assamese culture and civilization has been the invasion of a vast horde of land-hungry Bengali immigrants, mostly Muslims, from the districts of Eastern Bengal and in particular from Moymensingh. The invasion began sometime before 1911, and the Census Report of that year is the first report which makes mention of this advancing host. By 1921 the first army corps had passed into Assam and had practi-

eally conquered the district of Goalpara. It is sad but by no means improbable that in another thirty years Sibsagar District will be the only part in Assam in which an Assamese will find himself at home. In fact the way in which they have seized upon the vacant areas in the Assam Valley seems almost uncanny. Without fuss, without tumult, without undue trouble to the district revenue staff, a population which must amount to over half a million has stransplanted itself from Bengal to the Assam Valley during the last twenty-five years."

Sir, we have to see the present agitation in this background. May I ask: During the last 33 years, particularly after Independence, what did the Government of India do to solve this problem? Well, today an effort is being made by the Prime Minister and others to give a twist to the whole agitation in such a way as to make it look that it is anti-Bengali or anti-minority. It is not so. If you look at the demands of the students, nowhere have they said that the legitimate citizens of this country should be driven out. It is only in regard to the illegal, illegitimate infiltrators who have been pouring into the territory of Assam over the last several decades that they are opposed and they want them to be identified and driven out of their State. Well, Sir, during the last five months, after this Government took office, did the Government make any sincere effort to solve this problem?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What did you do when you were in power? The whole thing started in your regime. The whole thing started in your time.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: I will tell you what we did.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: You started it.  
265 RS—6.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Order, please. Mr. Kalyan Roy, you must listen now. You have put a question. Let him reply.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: I am not responsible for what they did during the last thirty years. In the 2½ years that my party was in power, for the first time tremendous resources were diverted to that State. For the first time new railway lines have been sanctioned; for the first time new hydro-electric projects have been sanctioned. That is what we did. But this problem . . . {Interruptions}.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA; It was a continuous process.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: We tackled that problem also. We started tackling that problem.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: May I ask one question, Mr. Hedge? Please name one project you sanctioned yourself which was not sanctioned earlier. Give one single project.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: I can give a list of them.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: One! Yo\* cannot give even one.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: I can give a list of them.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: When Morarji and Charan Singl. were there, thousands were killed and deported from Assam.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: I am sorry, you are ill-informed. If at all a Prime Minister spent one full week in that region, it was Mr. Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister, of the Janata Party. Not even Panditji did it, though he had a great liking for the people of the region. {Interruptions}. He was also not able

[Shri Ramakrishna Hegde] to spend that much of time. For the first time in the country the Prime Minister visited and spent one full week in the north-eastern region. The crisis was no doubt developing during the Janata period; it was there in a subdued form. But it had not burst out, it had not exploded. After this Government took over, what did it do, except for having one meeting with the student leaders and another one with the Opposition party leaders when most of the Opposition leaders were busy in their constituencies? I do not think this Government has done anything . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: . . . except for declaring that it would be a disturbed area.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: I am coming to that. Instead of trying to understand the problem in its proper perspective, in its historical perspective, this Government took action with vengeance as it were. I have quotations from speeches made both by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. Even the other day the Home Minister said that this agitation will be crushed with all the might. Well, "do it if you can. You are playing with fire, I warn you. It is not possible to crush such a popular, such a genuine and such an honest and a real movement. Sir, the Prime Minister, in her speeches—whether it was relevant or not, I do not know; she should know—during the elections—practically in every election meeting—alleged that the Opposition parties had fomented this trouble. Well, I would like to ask the Prime Minister and the Government to prove it. Which is the party which is involved in this agitation? It is reminiscent of the agitation by the students in 1974 in Bihar and later in Gujarat. They must take a lesson from that. They must heed to this warning. Well, there may be one or two demands which nobody can agree to. For instance, they ask for doing away with the constitutional guarantee given to the Scheduled Castes and the

Scheduled Tribes. Similarly, they ask for special constitutional guarantees to be given in the same way as in the case of J&K. Even in this regard there may be a difference of opinion. But when they make their other demands, we must appreciate their difficulties, their apprehensions. For the last 50, 60 or 70 years a consistent and constant effort has been made to invade them. I do - not accuse any particular community, any particular linguistic or religious group. Take, for instance Tripura. Thirty years ago, the local tribal population was three-fourths of the population. Today it has been reduced to one-third. So the identity of the local people is being obliterated. It was Panditji who said that we must keep intact the ethnic identity of these people, they are beautiful people and it is a beautiful region and we shall do everything possible to protect and preserve the ethnic identity of these people. He also gave an assurance, a guarantee, to keep the various linguistic groups intact. But what has happened today is just the reverse, the opposite.

Sir, if you go at the root of the problem, the whole trouble started as long ago as 1905. Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of our country, according to the characteristic policy of divide and rule, first divided the Bengal Presidency into two. On what basis? Not geographical, Not on any rational basis, but on the basis of Hindu majority and on the basis of Muslim majority. Assam was tagged on to the East Bengal Province which had Muslim majority, and from then onwards the infiltration has started because there was pressure of population in both these provinces. They had hunger for land, and naturally they moved wherever land was available. I do not blame them. But after that, continuously, this problem went on like this.

Then, it was perhaps in 1950. No, it is more recent, in 1964. You must permit me to quote this for the benefit of the Government benches be-

cause they claim that they are the real Congress, and, therefore, they must take it as having come from their own party, may be 15 to 20 years ago. The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee adopted a resolution on the threat to the security of the State posed by the Pakistani infiltrators, on the 1st April, 1964, and suggested some very practical and important measures. What are the measures?

"The problem of Pakistani infiltrants is posing a serious problem for the security of this frontier State. The Committee welcomes the various announcements made by the Union Home Minister after about a week's visit to Assam on the question of expeditious deportation of illegal infiltrants.

"The Committee also feels concerned about the reports of harbouring infiltrants in some areas. The Committee will like to make it clear that such anti-national activities call for stringent measures against the offenders. In the interest of security and peace in the State it is very necessary that every man should extend his full cooperation in tackling this problem. The Committee, therefore, appeals to the people of Assam to extend their full cooperation to the Administration in detecting such illegal infiltrants.

"Strict vigilance is necessary on the part of the..."

I need not go into that. The concrete steps they have suggested are four, and they are:

"(1) That a target date not later than March, 1965 to complete the deportation of Pak infiltrants in Assam be announced and acted accordingly.

(2) That the citizens National Register with house numbers intended for preparation of the census of 1951 be made on the basis of tracing out Pak Nationals and deportating them without delay.

(3) That adequate number of Tribunals be appointed immediately to achieve complete deportation of Pak Nationals within the target date.

(4) That a strip of land with such depth as may be needed along the entire East Pakistan border be cleared of all habitations and declared a Prohibited area ..."

What more the students are asking for, may I ask? This question was specifically pointed out by the State Unit of the ruling party as long ago as 1964. May I ask whether the Government has taken any action?

Sir, in 1950 an Act was passed by the Government of India, called the Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act. But for several years no action was taken to implement any of the provisions of the Act. When Mr. Mehdi who was the Chief Minister, persuaded the Central Government to make certain amendments in view of certain practical difficulties, he himself was thrown away. I can name the people who collaborated in this illegal immigration into Assam, but I do not want to because they all belong to the ruling party. It might hurt them. But the point is, who is to pay for the sins of those people? The students, innocent people? Men, women and children are being killed by the military. And Mr. Zail Singh says, "We will crush it." Is it possible to crush any popular movement? Has it ever happened in the history of mankind? Do you resort to this sort of revengeful attitude? It will not solve the problem. Sir, the Consultative Committee in 1962, when Mr. Lai Bahadur Shastri was the Home Minister, made some recommendations. The then Home Minister, Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, declared in an informal meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament for Home Affairs that the Central Government had agreed to take measures to check the inflow of illegal entrants into Assam

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE

from across the borders, as short-term and long-term measures, and some of the measures were: increasing the number of border outposts and check-posts, strengthening of existing check-posts, and delegation of full powers under the Foreigners Act, 1946, to the Superintendent\* of Police and District Magistrates in the border districts for summary deportation of Pakistani infiltrants. It was also suggested by the Members of the committee that deterrent and exemplary punishment should be meted out to those who harboured and shielded the illegal entrants. But no effective steps were taken for the implementation of this declaration of the Home Minister. Sir, do we blame the students for these lapses? I do not find any fault with the students because the situation had reached the boiling point. If it has reached that stage, it is only because of the inaction and the failure of the Central Government and other authorities. Today the problem has reached such a stage that the people cannot take it any longer. That area was declared a disturbed area. What is the meaning of it? What is the implication of it? It is virtual martial law. A 'shoot at sight' order was issued. And when they declared curfew and called in the military, my brothers here from Assam know and I think even my friends from Bengal also know, that there were 3 1/2 lakhs of people on the streets. Gauhati has a population of only 1 1/2 lakhs. It is not an exaggeration. And as quickly as it was promulgated, this black order had to be withdrawn. That shows the power of the people. Zail Singh or even a hundred Zail Singhs cannot crush it, I can tell you. And today if this problem has to be tackled, it has to be tackled at the negotiation table. It cannot be tackled through force. So we suggest that you call the representatives. First, release the representatives of students. Try to understand their psychology, try to understand their problems and discuss with them. M

you consider any of the demands. Objectionable or unreasonable, well try to convince them. You argue with them. If you cannot convince them, you be convinced. This is the way this problem has to be tackled today. (Time-bell-rings) Just a couple of minutes more and I will close.

The Prime Minister, so far as I know—I do not know whether the Members in the Treasury benches know—has not taken any definite stand in regard to this issue. Well, you know, she has her own art, her own way of tackling things. She makes somebody to say something; she makes somebody else to say something; and ultimately, whichever is convenient, she will adopt her own line. This has been her customary style. But should we not expect the Prime Minister of the country, when the whole region is on fire, ablaze, to say something in regard to how she proposes to tackle that problem? So far she has not indicated her mind. She only says 'I do not say that 1971 should be the cut-off year'. Actually after the meeting in the first instance an official release was given to the press saying that everybody agreed that 1971 should be the cut-off year. She has gone back. But she does not say which should be the cut-off year. If you do not consider it necessary that we should treat any year or date as cut-off year or date, then you start the work. But the thing is whatever date you may fix, the people only want that those who are not citizens of this country should not be allowed to stay. I would suggest if you do not want to accept any year as cut-off year, it does not matter; first give an assurance to the people of Assam, 'Look here, no foreigner will have any right in this country, no foreigner will be allowed to stay in this country'. It is not against West Bengalis. There has been some psychological tension, because of history again. There was a time, I might remind our Bengali colleagues, when in 1954 before the SRC a demand was made that Goal-

para district should be added on to Bengali because Bengali-speaking population had increased, or, maybe, it was predominant at that time; and similarly another suggestion was made before the Commission that Tripura and certain adjoining areas of Cachar district should be converted into another independent State. All these things have their effect and therefore, if they have some genuine apprehension, we must appreciate and try to understand it. But today we are not looking at this problem—from the point of view of the inconvenience of or the apparent displeasure that has been expressed by the Assamese people against Bengalis, Marwaries or Biharis or Nepalese, but it is from the angle whether a foreigner a man or a woman, who is not a legitimate citizen of this country has a right to live in this country permanently. You accept that he cannot, a solution will not be difficult and there is no question of dilly-dallying any more. If you think that AASU is divided, well, you're mistaken. I know on behalf of the ruling party and the Government efforts have been made to divide them. I know it is done but I do not want to disclose it here. But you will not succeed. You will not succeed in dividing those people. The only way is to call them, release them and withdraw the military, withdraw that black order, that nefarious order declaring that area as a disturbed State. Then only can you solve the problem.

One last word now. Why do you not restore the representative Government there? This is a very peculiar style of the present Prime Minister. During her eleven-year rule earlier as many as 30 or 31 Ministries were dismissed and on many occasions Assemblies were kept in animated suspension. They are the elected representatives of the people. Today they have no voice. Why don't you hand over the administration to them? You do not even try to let

the Governor call the party which secures the majority in the Assembly. But it is not going to be done because during the last four and a half months the Governments only concern was to capture State after State. How? If possible, through defection; if not, through dissolution and election. And because they did not succeed in engineering defection on a large scale in Assam, there is no popular Ministry there. Today I do not know whether this measure will be passed; even if it is passed, we should not wait for six months. Immediately an effort should be made by the Governor to install a popular Ministry. If it is not possible, dissolve the Assembly and hold fresh elections.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (दिल्ली) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह आसाम की समस्या जो गम्भीर रूप धारण करके सब के सामने आई है यह सारे देश के लिए चिन्ता का विषय है। जब स्वयं प्रधानमंत्री ने विरोधी दलों का सहयोग मांगा इसका मतलब यह है कि समस्या को देखने की दृष्टि दलगत भावना से प्रेरित नहीं होनी चाहिए। हमारे मित्र कल्याण राय जी हों या हमारे मित्र बिपिनपाल दास जी हों इन्होंने क्या किया, उन्होंने क्या किया यह समस्या नहीं है। आज अपने को क्या करना है यह समस्या है। अब पीछे क्या हुआ इसकी हम कितनी भी चर्चा करें इससे समस्या का हल होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए मूल रूप से यह समस्या जैसे है वैसे इसको सही रूप में समझने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। यदि ईमानदारी से किसी समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं तो समस्या को समझने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। आज की अधिकांश सरकार में यदि कोई सबसे बड़ा दोष है तो वह यह कि चाहे जो भी समस्या हो वह उसको इस रूप में देखती है कि वह विरोधी दलों द्वारा पैदा हुई है तो इससे पता लगता है कि समस्या को हल करने की सरकार की मंशा नहीं है। अभी मेरे मित्र बिपिनपाल दास जी ने कहा कि घात० एस० एस० वालों ने कुछ किया।

[ श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी ]

अब मुझे लगता है कि जितनी जल्दी आप आर० एस० एस० फोबिया से दूर जाएंगे उतना ही देश का भला होगा और आपका भी भला होगा। मैं यहां पर यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसी सदन में हवाई जहाज उड़ाने वालों की बात चली थी तो हमारे आदरणीय कमला-पति त्रिपाठी जी ने कहा था कि यह संघ वालों का काम है, आर० एस० एस० वालों का काम है। आज हमने देखा कि उनको इंदिरा कांग्रेस का टिकट मिल गया और वे चुन कर आए हैं, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। यानी यह समस्या हल करने का इनका तरीका है—कहीं भी कुछ हो, आर० एस० एस० वालों का हाथ है। तो मेरी यह प्रार्थना है आप पहले इससे बाहर निकलें। दूसरा यह कि ईमानदारी से समस्या को समझना है तो इस समस्या को डिस्टार्ट करने की कोशिश करने से कोई लाभ नहीं है। जब भी कोई ऐसी समस्या खड़ी होती है तो उसका अन्ततः प्रभाव बहुत रहता है। कोई भी दावे के साथ नहीं कह सकता है कि यहां बंगालियों के खिलाफ कुछ होना जरूर नहीं आती है या कहीं छुट-पुट अत्याचार नहीं हुए हैं। जब समग्र प्रदेश में ऐसी समस्या आगे आती है तो इसमें छोटी-मोटी भावना रहती है किन्तु आज पूरे आसाम प्रदेश में all political parties and political leaders have become absolutely irrelevant.

इसलिए किसी पार्टी का दोष देना कि उन्होंने किया, इन्होंने किया, कुछ मतलब का नहीं है। आज वे समग्र समस्या हाथ में ले कर जो आन्दोलन चला रहे हैं, आल आसाम स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन या गणसंग्राम परिषद् उन्होंने साफ-साफ कहा है। उन्होंने यह कभी नहीं कहा कि यह भारतीय नागरिकों के खिलाफ है, यह उन्होंने स्वीकार नहीं किया। आज भी यदि कोई कहे तो इसको स्वयं ही नहीं करेगा। संविधान में सब को समान...

श्री कल्याण राय : जो चोरी करता है वह नहीं कहता...

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : इसलिए हम कहते हैं जो होता है उसको समझने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। यदि असम की समस्या जल्दी हल नहीं हुई तो इसका गलत असर और प्रदेशों में होने की सम्भावना है। मध्य प्रदेश से ही एक आवाज निकली है कि यहां भी विदेशी नागरिक हैं उनको मध्य प्रदेश से निकालना चाहिए। कुछ साल पहले मुझे याद है यहां पार्लियामेंट में एक सवाल पूछा गया था कि वेलिड प स्पोर्ट की अवधि समाप्त होने के बाद बम्बई में कितने पाकिस्तानी हैं। जवाब यह मिला कि 5,000 से ज्यादा हैं। आज भी यदि अन्दर जा कर देखने की कोशिश करें तो स्थिति कुछ निराली नहीं होगी। यदि हम असम की असली समस्या को न पहचानते हुए, हम ऐसे ही इसके साथ कुछ करते चले जायेंगे तो इसका प्रभाव मेघालय, मणीपुर और त्रिपुरा में भी होगा और यह देश के लिए अनहितकारी सिद्ध हो सकता है।

इसलिए जितनी जल्दी हम इस समस्या को हल करने की कोशिश करें उतना अच्छा है। कुछ मैं यह बताना चाहता था किन्तु आसाम के सर्वोदय समाज ने इसके बारे में जो कहा है वह जरा देखने लायक है :

"We, the workers and sympathisers of the Sarvodaya Mandal of Sib-sagar, Assam,, have been closely studying the present movement in Assam sponsored by the All-Assam Students' Union and the All-Assam Gana Sagram Parishad and are convinced that this is a peaceful mass movement to preserve the sanctity of the Constitution of India and to safeguard the sovereignty of the Indian Republic and to preserve the socio-cultural existence of one of the most peace-loving people, that is, the Assamese in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. We believe that it is a slur on any nation and its government to allow any illegal intrusion of foreign nationals into the country."

यानि जब खुद सर्वोदय समाज, उनको तो आप यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि किसी पक्षपात से कहते हैं, वे जब कहते हैं कि शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से यह आंदोलन चला है तो ऐसी अवस्था में इस आंदोलन को बदनाम करने के हेतु यह कहना कि यह आंदोलन हिंसावादी है, फलाना है, इसके खिलाफ है, उसके खिलाफ है, मुझे लगता है कि आंदोलन को हल करने का तरीका नहीं है। दूसरा यह जो मैं बिल्डज से कोट कर रहा हूँ। सभापति महोदय, यदि कोई कहे कि मुसलमानों के खिलाफ है या किसी और मिनारिटी के खिलाफ है तो स्वयं जो बिल्डज ने कहा है वह मैं कोट करना चाहता हूँ :

"The Muslims of Barpeta, it is learnt, have sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister reiterating their support to the movement launched by the AASU and the AGSP demanding 1951 as the best year for detection and deportation of foreigners."

यह तो बिल्डज का है और उन्होंने भी जो कोट किया है वह बारपेटा के मुसलमान का है तो ऐसी स्थिति में जानबूझकर इस आंदोलन को गलत रूप देने की कोशिश करना, मैं नहीं मानता हूँ कि यह आंदोलन को हल करने की दिशा में कोई अच्छा कदम है। अब कोई यह बात कहे कि आसाम में यह सारे बारपेटा के मुसलमान और आर० एस० एस० एक हो गए तो मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूँ। यानि आखिर समय आसाम जब एक आदमी जैसे खड़ा है तो वहां तुम्हारे कांग्रेस (आई) का हो, कांग्रेस 'यू' का हो या हमारे भारतीय जनता पार्टी का हो या जनता पार्टी का हो तो यह स्वाभाविक है कि वे सब साथ खड़े रहेंगे। इसलिए इसका उसका कहने का कोई कुछ मतलब नहीं है। आज इतने महीने होने के बाद भी इतना दमन चक्र चलाने के बाद भी शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से वास्तव में यदि समस्या हल करने के लिए समग्र प्रदेश उठ खड़ा होता है तो मुझे लगता है कि अभी भी अपने देश के

अंदर जान है। कोई चिंता की बात नहीं है। जितना भी दमन चक्र चलाने की कोशिश करें तो भी बिल्कुल शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से महात्मा गांधी जी की कल्पना में जो आंदोलन था, उसी शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से समस्या को हल करने के लिए यदि समग्र प्रदेश उठ खड़ा हो सकता है तो यह देखकर वास्तव में बड़ा आनन्द होता है और वह भी जब विद्यार्थी उसको चला रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह आंदोलन कोई हिंसात्मक रूप न ले, इसकी कोशिश की है, इसलिए मैं तो

I would like to congratulate them wholeheartedly.

कि इतने समय से चलाकर भी उन्होंने उसको ध्रुवा न लगे, इस दृष्टि से जो प्रयास किया है, यह बड़ा अभिनन्दनीय है। अब सवाल यह है कि यह जो बाहर से आये हैं और बसे हैं, उसमें कई हैं, उसमें आखिर रंग भी कई हैं और कोई भी समझदार नागरिक इसको स्वीकार नहीं करेगा कि जो कि विदेशी नागरिक हैं वे इस देश के भी नागरिक बन सकते हैं या मतदाता सूची में नाम डलवा सकते हैं, किंतु यह कहने करने के पहले जो कुछ प्रक्रिया हम लोगों ने बनायी है :  
he procedure to adopt the citizenship of a particular country.

उस प्रक्रिया से जाना पड़ेगा। केवल यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि जो वहां से भाग कर आये हैं, जान बचाकर भाग कर आये हैं, वे वापस जाने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं, हम समझ सकते हैं कि वे वापस जाने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं किन्तु फिर भी वे बंगला देश के नागरिक हैं या उस समय के ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के नागरिक हैं चाहे वे किसी सम्प्रदाय के लोग थे। यह सवाल नहीं है। यानि जहां तक उसका सैद्धांतिक और कानूनन पहलू है वह यही है कि वहां से जो जो भी आया, पाकिस्तान बनने के बाद या बंगला देश बनने के बाद, चाहे उसका सम्प्रदाय कौन सा भी हो, वह विदेशी है। सब से पहले सरकार को आगे आकर इस बात को

[ श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी ]

स्वीकार करना चाहिए। यह कट-आफ इवर भूजको समझ में नहीं आता, यानि कि 1970 में जो विदेशी है, वह 1951 में क्या स्वदेशी बन सकता है। यह कैसे हो सकता है? विदेशी, विदेशी है—जब तक वह विदेशी है, वह 1951 में, 1961 में या 1971 में भी विदेशी ही है। तो आखिर जितने विदेशी हैं, उनमें से ऐसे कौन हैं कि जो वापिस नहीं जा सकते, जिसको आप बार-बार कहते हैं कि ह्यूमैनिटेरियन प्रॉब्लम है। इसे मानवीय दृष्टिकोण से देख कर जब आपको लगेगा कि ऐसे कुछ लोग हैं कि वह लोग वापिस नहीं जा सकते, हम उनको भेज नहीं सकते, तो फिर उनका पुनर्वसन करना पड़ेगा। उनके नागरिकता के अधिकार पाने का जो सारी प्रक्रिया है, उस सारी प्रक्रिया से जाना पड़ेगा। उनको पहले नागरिकता का अधिकार देना पड़ेगा और इसके बारे में जो असम की शिकायत है कि वे त्रिपुरा और वेस्ट बंगाल से नागरिकता का अधिकार लेकर आते हैं, यह उनकी बात बिल्कुल सही है; क्योंकि कौन क्या लेकर आए, यह पता नहीं।

तो केन्द्र को अपनी जिम्मेदारी को ढालना नहीं चाहिए। यदि केन्द्र ऐसा समझता है कि जो लोग आए हैं, उनमें से वापिस नहीं जा रहे हैं तो उनको यहाँ की नागरिकता का अधिकार दिलवा कर फिर बाद में मतदाता सूची में उनका नाम होगा। तो पहला काम यह करना पड़ेगा कि विदेशी नागरिक कौन हैं—identify the foreigners. यह तो करना ही पड़ेगा, राइट फ्रॉम 1951 से यह करना पड़ेगा। लियाकत पैकट के बाद भी 31 दिसम्बर तक आह्वान करके टाइम दिया गया था। उसके बाद जो भी आए, वे सारे विदेशी नागरिक हैं। उनको पहचानना पड़ेगा।

आज तुरन्त मतदाता सूची से उनका नाम हटाना पड़ेगा। यह नहीं चलेगा कि विदेशी

कोई नागरिक है और हमारी वोटर्स लिस्ट में है। अब वे कैसे एक दम आ गए, कहते हैं कि जनता पार्टी ने क्या किया? It is always the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

तो लास्ट स्ट्रॉ कब आएगा, कहा नहीं जाता। जब उप-चुनाव में हमारे स्व० हीरा लाल जी पटवारी के देहांत के उपरांत यह सवाल आया तब पता चला कि एक कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी के अन्दर जब यह शिकायत की गई कि यहाँ विदेशी नागरिक हैं—पचास हजार के बारे में। तो उनके बारे में तहकीकात करने के बाद पता चला कि पैंतालीस हजार विदेशी हैं। यानि एक कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी के अन्दर यदि इतनी तादाद में विदेशी हैं, तो आगे चल कर फिर वह जो हम कहते हैं नागरिकता अधिकार कि हमारे राज्य चलाने का हमारा अधिकार—वह हम खुद होकर विदेशियों के हाथ में देंगे, उसमें मुझे नहीं लगता है कि कोई भी देश इतना बेवकूफ हो सकता है, इतना नासमझदार हो सकता है कि विदेशी नागरिकों का घर में बुला कर उनको मतदान का अधिकार देकर अपने भविष्य को धूमिल करने की कोई कोशिश करेगा, ऐसा मुझे नहीं लगता। इसलिए शासन को सब से पहले यह करना चाहिए कि

Identity the foreigners, first.

दूसरे वोटर्स लिस्ट से उनके नाम को निकालना पड़ेगा। तीसरे जितने जा नहीं सकते हैं, उनको पुनर्वसन करना पड़ेगा और जो जान-बूझ कर असम में फिल्ट्रेट करके उसको एक ही सम्प्रदाय रंग देकर यह सारी भूमि अपने लेने के इरादे से आए थे, जिन्हें

कह सकते हैं कि पाक इरादा नहीं है, नापाक इरादे हैं, ऐसे लोगों को रिपोर्ट करना पड़ेगा। आज असम भुक्त चुका है। पानी अपनी गलती भुक्त चुका है। हमने उस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया।

तो जब आखिर देश का विभाजन हुआ, असम का विभाजन हुआ तो असम का सिलहट जिला चला गया। असम भुक्त भोजी है। उन्होंने खुद इसका अनुभव किया है। तो इसलिये आज ही वास्तव में विरोधी दलों के साथ बैठ कर, एक, दो, तीन, चार ऐसा करने पर यदि कोशिश करते तो वास्तव में जितना उग्र रूप आज आया हुआ है उतना नहीं आता। किन्तु मुझे क्षमा करिये यह अच्छा नहीं, यानि मुझे दुःख है कि इतने दिनों के बाद भी आन्दोलन समाप्त नहीं हुआ तो उन्होंने प्रतिआन्दोलन चालू करवाया, हम तो आरोप करते हैं कि चालू करवाया, क्योंकि जैसे ही यह माइनारिटीज के प्रोटेक्शन के नाम पर माइनारिटी विद्यार्थियों की तरफ से आन्दोलन चालू हुआ तो आज तक स्वयं जैसे मंत्री महोदय ने स्वीकार किया कि 49 मौते हुई हैं। इस आन्दोलन में दो, तीन दिन में ही चालीस मौते हो गईं, यानि जान बूझ कर के इसको हिंसात्मक रूप देकर दबाने की कोशिश करना, यह कोई समस्या को हल करने का तरीका नहीं है, यह बिलकुल कोई तरीका नहीं है क्योंकि यहाँ पर ब्लिड्ज को कोट करने का मोह मुझको होता है। उन्होंने खुद कहा है कि माइनारिटीज प्रोटेक्शन के नाम पर जान बूझ कर हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन खड़ा करके कई असमी बंधु जो हैं उनके मकान जलाए गए हैं और वे खुद निर्वासित बने, यानि उनके खुद के प्रदेश में वे खूद निर्वासित बने

They are in refugee camps.

तो आज जो वास्तव में यहाँ रिफ्यूजी बन कर के आए हैं, उनका पुनर्वसन करना तो दूर जो घर में ही निर्वासित हुए हैं इतनी बिडम्बना विधि की बनी है कि असमी जो अपने घर में ही रिफ्यूजी बना तो उनको भी ऐसे स्वच्छ वातावरण निर्माण कर बसाना पड़ेगा, किन्तु घर ही नहीं है, जल गया है। तो उनको सारी सुविधा देकर उनको खड़ा करना पड़ेगा और मुझे लगता है कि यह सारा काम वहाँ की लोक प्रिय सरकार कभी भी अच्छे ढंग से करेगी। किन्तु इस सरकार का क्या है, हमको समझ में नहीं आता यहाँ अफ़ाल है, यहाँ पानी नहीं है। यह कहते हैं कि हम दिल्ली में बैठ कर सब को पानी दिलायेंगे समझ में नहीं आता है। दिल्ली में भी पानी नहीं आता है, बिजली नहीं आती है स्थिति ऐसी है कि न कार्पोरेशन है और न मैट्रोपोलिटन कौन्सिल। एक आदमी खड़ा होकर कहता है कि मैं सब कहूँगा। यह समझ में नहीं आता। आखिर अधिकार जो है यह जनता के हैं, जनता देती है और जनता का विश्वास है तब तक चलता है किन्तु वह जनता के अधिकार सब समाप्त करके पंचायत से लेकर पार्लियामेंट तक अपने हाथ में अधिकार लेकर बैठ कर समग्र हिन्दुस्तान जैसे एक विविधतापूर्ण विशाल देश की समस्या हल करने की कोशिश किसी से होगी, यह सम्भव नहीं है।

अग्नेजों ने किया। लेकिन अग्नेजों के तौर तरीके अलग थे। उस तौर तरीके से हम अपना राज नहीं लबाना चाहते। इसलिए आज मैं कहता हूँ कि समग्र पूर्वांचल प्रदेश जो है इसके बारे में जो ध्यान देना चाहिए था उतना नहीं दिया गया है। तो ऐसा है कि हेगड़े साहब ने भी अच्छी तरह उत्तर दखर कहा है कि इस क्षेत्र के विकास के लिये हम लोगों ने

[श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी]

लक्ष्य दिये हैं। इस क्षेत्र के विकास के लक्ष्य देना बहुत जरूरी है। एक तो यहां का सारा प्रदेश, नागालैंड, मिजोरम, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, मणिपुर, कोई भी हो, आज हर प्रदेश की अलग-अलग समस्याएं हैं। किन्तु इनके मन में एक ऐसा भय है उनको लगता है कि हमारा जो रूप है, यह बदल आएगा, आइडेंटिटी जो है हमारा व्यक्तित्व ही है, यह खत्म हो जाएगा, We will become faceless. अब वह भय इसलिए रखते हैं क्योंकि उनको वास्तव में इस देश की विचारधारा का पता नहीं। यदि पता होता तो ऐसा नहीं होता। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य हमारा भी है कि हमारे देश की विचारधारा वहां तक पहुंची नहीं, मणिपुर तक नहीं पहुंची आगे गई नहीं। यदि विचारधारा का पता चलता है तो दुनिया में यह एक ऐसा देश है जो किसी व्यक्ति की विशेषता समाप्त नहीं करना चाहता। उस विशेषता को स्वीकार करते हुए उसी विशेषता से उनके विकास को परम लक्ष्य पहुंचाने की कोशिश करता है। तो अपने देश ने यह किया। इनकी विशेषता को धक्का नहीं लगेगा। वे जैसे लंगोटी लगाते रहे वैसे ही लगा रहे हैं। यह जैसे अघनंगे रहते थे, वैसे ही रह गए, यानि कि जिसका जैसा रंग है, वैसा ही रह गया।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: You are so fond of them, that you want to ban cow-slaughter even in Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI:

Mr. Kalyan Roy, you will have to go a long way to understand cow protection.

यह उनको कहिए, विनोबा भावे जी को फास्ट छोड़ने के लिए श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने कहा था। वह भी उन्होंने किया नहीं।

मैं यह कह रहा था—श्री कल्याणराव जी को पता नहीं है। वास्तव में नागालैंड में तो माय छोड़ दी गई है, नागालैंड में तो कुत्ता खाया जाता है। यह अवस्था है, कोई उसको स्वीकार करे या न करे, किसी को अच्छा लगे या न लगे। मैं जो बोल रहा था वे जानते ही नहीं हैं। वास्तव में यहां जो भी

It is not a Moscow dictate that every body will accept it.

यह होगा नहीं हिन्दुस्तान में और जो भी यहां करने की कोशिश करेगा उन्होंने भारत को पहचाना नहीं है। इसलिए मैं बताना चाहता हूं और अपनी गलती बताना चाहता था कि हमने किसी की विशेषता को धक्का नहीं लगाया, किन्तु विकास का मार्ग हमने उनको दिखाया 3 P. M. नहीं वह जहां थे वहां उन को छोड़ दिया, यह ठीक नहीं। आज उन के मन में यह जो भय है कि— we will lose our identity

.No, you will not have to lose your identity.

आइडेंटिटी न लूज करते हुए विकास के मार्ग में कैसे पहुंच सकेंगे, यह दिखाना बहुत आवश्यक है। इसलिए इस क्षेत्र की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दें इस क्षेत्र की जनता का विश्वास प्राप्त करना है। यह जो आंदोलन चल रहा है यह जितनी जल्दी समाप्त हो इस दृष्टि से इस आंदोलन के जो प्रणेता हैं, नेता हैं, उन को जेल से बाहर निकालना, वहां एक स्वच्छ वातावरण पैदा करना, यह पहला काम होना चाहिए। एक टेबल पर बैठ कर, हम कहते हैं, दुनिया की सारी समस्याएं हम हल कर सकते हैं। इन्दिरा जी बेलग्रेड से आईं तो उन्होंने कहा कि दुनिया वाले हमारी तरफ देखते हैं कि हमारी समस्याएं हल करने की दृष्टि से हम उन को सुलझाएंगे। तो "चैरिटी ब्रुड बिगिन एट होम" हमारे यहां एक

समस्या खड़ा है, असम एक डिस्टर्ब एरिया घोषित किया गया है यानी अशांति-ग्रस्त क्षेत्र घोषित किया गया है, निवारक नजरबन्दी कानून यहां लागू किया गया है, यहां तक कि शूट एट साइट—देखते ही गोली मारो—यह किया गया; मिनटों में पकड़ कर जेलों में बंद करो, ऐसा किया गया। इस तरह से समस्या हल नहीं हुआ करती। दुनिया के बारे में हम क्यों कहते हैं, चीन के साथ, पाकिस्तान के साथ हम एक साथ बैठ कर शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से समस्या का समाधान करें। अगर यह जरूरी है तो क्या अपने उन नेताओं के साथ बैठ कर एक छोटे से प्रदेश की समस्या हम हल नहीं कर सकते हैं ?

That is the attitude which is coming in the way.

यह जो अपने को लगता है, बिग ब्रदर्स एटीट्यूड, यह अपने आदमी को भी नहीं लगता चाहिए कि हमारी बात कोई सुनता नहीं है, मानता नहीं है, समझता नहीं है। इसलिए किसी को भी नहीं समझना चाहिए कि छोटा है। तो यदि इस समस्या को शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से हल करना है तो एक-दो-तीन-चार मैंने कहा कि सबसे पहले तो आईडेंटिफाई दी फारेनर्स; नं० 2, मतदाता सूची से उन का नाम निकाल दीजिए फारदी टाइम बीइंग सही, नं० 3, जिन को यहीं हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर ही रहना है उन को भारत का नागरिक बन कर रहना चाहिए उनकी नागरिकता के अधिकार की प्रक्रिया को पूर्ण कर के, नागरिकता का अधिकार प्राप्ति करने के बाद उन्हें फिर मतदाता सूची में रखें। लेकिन जो लोग सीमा लांघ कर और जान बूझ कर असम की अल्प-मत संप्रदाय को बहुमत में कर के पाकिस्तान के साथ जोड़ेंगे ऐसे लोगों को आईडेंटिफाई करना

चाहिए। उन को फिर वापस भेजना पड़ेगा और ऐसा नहीं देखना चाहिए इन्होंने किया या उन्होंने किया, किसने क्या आंदोलन छोड़ा है। यह समस्या को जटिल करेगा। अगर शांतिपूर्ण ठीक ढंग से टेबल पर बैठ कर हो सकता है तो इसे आगे बढ़ाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं। लोकप्रिय सरकार वहां निर्माण होती तो लोकप्रिय साधन बनते। इसलिए यह जो प्रोक्लेमेशन को बढ़ाने का विचार है, इसका मैं विरोध करता हूं।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी मैं उन बातों को नहीं दुहराऊंगा जो माननीय सदस्य-गण इस समस्या का वर्णन करते समय उल्लेख कर चुके हैं। मैं इसके कुछ दूसरे पहलुओं की तरफ आप की मार्फत सदन और देश का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है, आज की मौजूदा सरकार दो जीभ वाली सरकार बन गई है। चुनाव के पहले कुछ और बयान था, आज का जो बयान प्रधान मंत्री जी का है, जो कल उन्होंने अपने संसदीय दल की बैठक में दिया वह कुछ आशा वाला है। तो मेरी समझ में अभी तक नहीं आया कि जब यह मामला हल हो गया है कि 1951 या 1971 की बहस नहीं है, साल के ऊपर किसी की जिद नहीं है, सवाल सिर्फ नागरिकता को हल करने का है, तो फिर यह आंदोलन क्यों किसी के बीच अड़चन में आता है ? नागरिकता को हल करने के लिए अदालती व्यवस्था, जुडीशल प्रोसीजर बना हुआ है। रहा सवाल यह कि जो विदेशी हिन्दुस्तान की मतदाता सूची में जुड़ गए हैं, मैं नहीं कहता एकदम किसी के कहने से हटा दो। पहले नागरिकता का सवाल हल हो जाए उस के बाद हटाना चाहते हो तो कम से कम उन को उस समय तक के लिए वोट के अधिकार

[श्री लाडला मोहन निगम]

से बंचित किया जा सकता है, जिसको न्याय दिया जा सकता है : यह कोई बंसी समस्या नहीं है मुझे लगता है कि सरकार जानबूझ कर इस देश के साथ ईमानदारी और सच्चाई को छिपाने की कोशिश करती चली आयी है । शायद आप को पता हो कि एक ही प्रश्न पर प्रधान मंत्री का आज का बयान और घर मंत्री का बयान दोनों एक दूसरे के विपरीत हैं । एक कोशिश कर रहा है कि कोई समाधान खोजे जब कि दूसरे की भाषा लड़ाई की भाषा है । मेरी अब तक समझ में नहीं आता कि लड़ाई किस से करोगे ? किस को दबाओगे ? मेरे काबिल दोस्त मकवाणा साहब मुझसे इतिफाक करेंगे कि पांच लाख का नागा प्रदेश है, तीस वर्ष फौज का इस्तेमाल कर चुके हो, हाथ-पांव जल चुके हैं, आगे हाथ मत जलाने की कोशिश करो, अब दम्भ की भाषा, फौज की भाषा बोलना बन्द करिए । मैं जानता हूँ किस फौज पर आप यकीन करने जा रहे हैं । यह वही फौज है जिसके कारण आज का सारा पूर्वांचल और असमिया प्रदेश हिन्दुस्तान के साथ जुड़ नहीं रहा है । असम अब तक 1962 की याद वह भूला नहीं है जब विदेशी उस पर हमला कर रहा था । मुझे 21 नवम्बर का हिन्दुस्तान के प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री का भाषण याद है जब उन्होंने कहा कि आसाम के लिए मेरा दिल रो रहा है । सारी फौज और जो वहाँ के गैर असमिया अफसर वे वापस बुला लिये गये । किस के भरोसे उसे छोड़ आये थे ? क्यों आसाम रिश्ता रखे ? इस पर कभी नहीं सोचेंगे । आज मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हिन्दुस्तान की अखंडता चाहते हैं वे हिन्दुस्तान के नक्शे पर एक नजर डालें । एक 14 मील की छोटी सी पट्टी है ।

हिन्दुस्तान अमर शरीर है तो वह गर्दन जैसी है । किसी आदमी को खत्म करना है तो उस की गर्दन दबा बीजिए मर जायेगा । पिछले तीस-बत्तीस वर्ष में कोई तरीका अपनाया नहीं गया वहाँ के सामाजिक आर्थिक विकास का । यह हिन्दुस्तान का इतिहास रहा है कि जब कभी केन्द्र आन्तरिक कलह में कमजोर होता है—गुलामी के जमाने में भी और आजादी के बाद भी—तो उस का नजरिया रहता है दूरदराज के इलाकों को लड़ाते रहने का । यह कभी मत भूलियेगा कि देशी-परदेशी का जो झगड़ा खड़ा किया गया है वैसा नहीं है । बम्बई के रहने वाले लोग जानते हैं कि किसी जमाने में शिव सेना का सवाल खड़ा किया गया था । केरल का बच्चा महाराष्ट्र की धरती पर परदेशी था । उस जमाने की सरकार उन के साथ मिल कर कहा करती थी कि यह लुंगीवाला उपरिया परदेशी है; परदेशी को भगाओ, तब तुम को नौकरी मिलेगी । पिछले तीस वर्ष में हिन्दुस्तान का जो आर्थिक नियोजन हुआ है उस का 74 फीसदी पैसा हिन्दुस्तान के चार सूबों में लगा है—महाराष्ट्र, बंगाल, तमिलनाडु और कर्नाटक । मैं हिन्दी इलाकों के जरिए बहस करूँगा तो लोग पूर्व-पश्चिम और उत्तर-दक्षिण का सवाल उठा देंगे । मैं मिसाल के लिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान का धुर दक्षिण का इलाका केरल, जो हिन्दुस्तान के खजाने में 14 फीसदी की विदेशी मुद्रा अकेले कमाकर देता है, पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में उस पर केवल 2.8 फीसदी पैसा खर्च हुआ है । इसी लिए केरल का लड़का कहता है कि जो मैं कमाई कर रहा हूँ यह तो कम से कम मुझको दे दो । आज आसाम का बच्चा अपनी धरती पर विदेशी बन गया है । आप को पता है पहले एक सनसेट ला होता था । आसाम सारे देश का उपनिवेश बन गया था । कलकत्ते में बैठा आदमी

आसाम को उपनिवेश समझता था। शाम तक, सूरज छपने तक जितने इलाके पर कब्जा कर लो वह तुम्हारा हो गया। तभी ये बड़ी-बड़ी जमींदारियाँ बन गयी थीं। अंग्रेजी राज से आज तक आसाम हिन्दुस्तान में सब से ज्यादा जूट पैदा कर रहा है लेकिन वहाँ कोई जूट मिल नहीं। उस का उद्योग-धंधा दूसरी जगह होगा। चाय का उत्पादन वहाँ होता है, लेकिन चाय बेचने का हक उस को नहीं, दूसरे बाजारों को होगा जिस तरह से बिहार के खनिजों का दोहन होता है, लेकिन सारे हैडक्वार्टर प्रदेश के बाहर हैं। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि सारा मामला दो वर्ष में नहीं पका है। वहाँ पर जो आर्थिक असमानता बनी हुई है वह तीस साल की देन है। क्या यह भूल गये कि नेहरू लियाकत अली पैकट में यह था कि आवागमन के जो पुराने रास्ते हैं वे कायम रहेंगे? कायम रहे क्या? आज 14 मील की पट्टी है। कोई विदेशी आकर ब्लाकेड कर सकता है और 14 मील की सीमा पर कब्जा करना बहुत बड़ी बात नहीं है। सारा पूर्वांचल कट जायेगा। अगर 3200 मील की सीमा पर चीन खदेड़ सकता है तो 14 मील की सीमा पर खदेड़ना उस के लिए बहुत बड़ी बात नहीं है। मेरे यह सब कहने का मतलब यह है कि विकास के लिए वहाँ कुछ किया नहीं गया। एक दूसरा ऐतिहासिक सबाल यह पैदा होता है कि मैं बहुत अदब से सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश के राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में असम की हिस्सेदारी देश के किसी भी दूसरे सूबे की हिस्सेदारी से ज्यादा है और बराबर की है। अभी जब हमारे काबिल दोस्त विपिन पाल दास जी बोल रहे थे तो मैं बड़ी गम्भीरता से उन की बात सुन रहा था। लेकिन आज वहाँ जो स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सैनिक थे उन्होंने हजारों की

तादाद में अपने ताम्र पत्र लौटा दिये हैं और आज उन को अफसोस हो रहा है कि जिस आजादी के लिये हम लोगों ने इतनी कुर्बानी की वह ही हम लोगों को अभी भी नहीं मिली। बड़ी नागालैंड का हाल है। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब मैं पहली बार नागालैंड गया था—पता नहीं कि हमारे गृह मंत्री जी वहाँ कभी गये हैं या नहीं, लेकिन मैं चाहूँगा कि आप लोग वहाँ जायें और उस जगह को देखें। वहाँ का जो कश्मिस्तान है। आप ने देश की आजादी तो 15 अगस्त 1947 को हासिल कर ली, लेकिन आसाम और नागालैंड के बेटों ने, मणिपुर के बेटों ने तो उस धरती को 1943-44 में ही आजाद कर लिया था जब कि उन को पता चला था कि उनकी पहाड़ियों के पास आजाद हिन्द फौज के सिपाही पहुंच चुके हैं। आज वहाँ उनका कश्मिस्तान है। उन्होंने वहाँ के अंग्रेजों से लड़ते-लड़ते अपने देश की धरती को उस समय आजाद किया था। देश के लिए वह शहीद हो गये। वहाँ आप आइये आप को वहाँ लिखा मिलेगा आप का स्वागत है। लेकिन जब आप यहाँ से जायें तो एक हमारा संदेश अपने साथ लेते आइये। अपने लोगों से जा कर कहियेगा कि हम लोगों ने अपना आज आप के आने वाले कल के लिये खोया है। 1943 की शहादत वाले लोग, रुक्मणी के बेटे, कृष्ण के बेटों से आज बदजन हैं। फाइलें और पुलिस की रिपोर्टों से कोई मामला नहीं निपटता। आप देखें कि किस तरह से इतिहास ने मजाक किया है उस की धरती और उस के बेटों के साथ। इस लिये मैं विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस चीज को छयाल में रखिये कि अगर समस्या का ईमानदारी से कोई समाधान निकालना है तो उसका समाधान कोई प्रति आंदोलन करने से नहीं निकलेगा। वहाँ किसी

[श्री लाडला मोहन निगम]

प्रकार के दंगे भड़का देना एक मामूली चीज है। किसी मस्जिद में एक गोश्त का टुकड़ा फेंक दो। कौन जानता है कि वह गाय का है या सुअर का है, लेकिन उसे ले कर चिल्ला दो और उस से ही दंगा हो जायेगा। किसी मंदिर में एक गोश्त का टुकड़ा फेंक दो और आसानी से झगड़ा हो जायेगा, इस से हम को मतलब नहीं, लेकिन जहाँ किसी प्रकार का कभी कोई कम्युनल मामला नहीं उठा, जहाँ हिन्दू मुस्लिम का कोई सवाल नहीं था वहीं आज यह पैदा किया जा रहा है और ऐसे ही कई दूसरे सवाल वहाँ अब पैदा हो गये हैं और उन के कारण जो वहाँ के मूल निवासी हैं उन के बीच में बेचैनी फैल रही है। वह आज बेचैन हो रहे हैं। इस सबका एक ऐतिहासिक पहलू है। इस के कुछ आर्थिक कारण हैं और कुछ सामाजिक कारण हैं। सामाजिक गैर बराबरी भी इस का एक कारण है। इस को मद्देनजर रखिये और साथ ही साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आसाम की समस्या आप हल नहीं करेंगे तो कोई बाहर वाला हल करेगा, यह मुझे भय है। इस लिये कम से कम उन लोगों को और खास कर सत्तापक्ष पक्ष के लोगों को शर्म आनी चाहिए। उन की नेता और प्रधान मंत्री जी कहती हैं कि उन के पास कोई दस्तावेजी सबूत नहीं है कि इस में किसी विदेशी का हाथ है। इस के साथ ही साथ वे यह भी कहती हैं कि ऐसा भी नहीं है कि किसी दल या व्यक्ति का हाथ है। अब इस में क्या सच है वह आप जानें। जो आज की ताजा चीज है उस को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे याद है कि सरकार दो जीभ वाली बन गयी है। पहले कुछ कहती थी, आज कुछ कहती है। लेकिन खैर, देर आवे दुरुस्त आवे, आज भी कुछ करने

की हैसियत है, आज भी अपने को सुधार सकते हो तो सुधारो।

तीसरी चीज यह है कि आसाम के बारे में एक यह भी बहस की गई है कि असम में सरकारी विज्ञप्ति के अनुसार तीन लाख लोगों की नागरिकता का सवाल हल किया जा चुका है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि तीन लाख की समस्या हल की जा सकी तो बताओ, सदन के पटल पर रखो कि तीन लाख की समस्या कैसे हल की। बाकी 60 लाख की क्यों नहीं हल कर देते? नागरिकता को आधारित करने के लिए कानून बने हुए हैं संविधान में।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं तो चाहूंगा कि असम की समस्या पर पुनः किसी दिन पूरी बहस हो क्योंकि असम एक बिल्कुल पिलपिला गरम पिछला इलाका बन गया है। पता नहीं किस वक्त वहाँ आग लग जाए। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश की अखण्डता का प्रश्न है, राष्ट्रीयता का प्रश्न है, इसलिए उस पर पूरी बहस होनी चाहिए। इसलिए जरूरी है कि सदन से कोई चीज नहीं छिपायी जानी चाहिए और सदन को विश्वास में लेना चाहिए। इस वास्ते मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार में जो भी लोग हैं, जो सरकारी या गैर सरकारी प्रतिनिधि सरकार ने भेजे, गवर्नर के सलाहकार के रूप में जो लोग गये, वसीन साहब तीन मर्तबा गये उन्होंने जो रपटें दी हैं, कम से कम वह तो सदन के पटल पर रखो, वह रपटें तो बता दो और अगर सरकार में ईमानदारी है तो मैं चाहूंगा कि आपका इन्दिरा-मुजीब का जो 1971 का समझौता है वह सदन के सामने रखो तो हकीकत का पता चल जाएगा कि क्यों 1971 पर बार-बार जोर दिया जाता है। इसमें शक करने की गुंजाइश हो जाती है? मेरा इतना ही कहना है कि हमारी ओर से कोई ऐसा काम न हो कि शक करने की कोई गुंजाइश हो। मैं नहीं कहता कि उस पैकट में आपने मुल्क

को बेच दिया है। इससे मुझे कोई मतलब नहीं। नेहरू लियाकत पैकट किया तो उस पर पार्लियामेंट ने अपनी मुहर लगाई थी। मौजूदा संसदीय कार्य मंत्री को पता होगा, ये लोग उस समय सदन में थे। 1971 वाले पैकट पर क्यों नहीं मुहर लगी? अगर वह मुहर उस पर लगाई गई होती तो उसके बाद कभी किसी की हिम्मत नहीं होती कि आज कोई ऐसी बात कर सकता। अगर उस सेना को भेजोगे जो बомडीला में बम गिरने पर तेजपुर खाली कर भाग गई तो वहाँ कोई सेना नहीं रह सकती।

इसके साथ ही साथ मेरा यह निवेदन भी है कि वहाँ जो जिमी-नोलिटिकल सिचुएशन है, प्रकृति से जड़े हुए राजनीतिक रिश्ते हैं, इनकी तरफ भी हमें ध्यान रखना होगा। इनको मद्देनजर रखें वगैरह अगर हम कोई हल निकालने की कोशिश करेंगे तो हल नहीं निकलेगा। इसलिए आर्थिक असमानता व नियोजन की जो खामियां रही हैं 30-32 वर्षों से, जिनके कारण एक प्रदेश दूसरे का दुश्मन बन जाता है। स्वाभाविक है कि जहां पैसा और पूंजी होगी वहीं नौकरी होगी, लोग वहीं चले जायेंगे। जो असम का नागरिक है वह अपने को दो नम्बर का समझता है। बिहार का आदमी वहां जाकर काम करता है तो इसको नफरत होगी। चाहे विलासपुर का मजदूर हो चाहे कोई हो उसके अन्दर भी नफरत पैदा हो जाती है कि हमारा भी शोषण होता है। सवाल यह है कि एक बड़ा कुचक्र चल रहा है। उस कुचक्र को तोड़ने का एक ही तरीका है कि सभ्यता से, सच्चे मन से, ईमानदारी से, राष्ट्रीयता की भावना से ओत-प्रोत होकर जिसको देश की मिटटी से प्यार है वह कैसे गैर-जिम्मेदाराना बात कहेगा, वह कभी ऐसी बोली नहीं बोलेगा ये कहते हैं हम कुचल देंगे। किसको कुचल दोगे? मुझे याद है कि यहीं दिल्ली के तख्त पर बैठकर यही बोल साम्राज्यवादी बोलते थे, वह शासन नहीं रहा। अगर आज के राज

करने वाले भी साम्राज्यवादी जूता पहनकर चलना चाहें तो मैं फिर उनको आगाह करना चाहूंगा कि अगर तुम यह बोली बोलोगे तो तुम भी नहीं रहोगे। इस वास्ते इंसानियत व देश का तकाजा है कि आप इस समस्या का हल करें। बाकि जो पहलू लोगों ने उठाये हैं, उससे मैं इतिफाक करता हूँ। जो हेगड़े साहब ने कहा, उससे मैं इतिफाक करता हूँ। मैं यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हम राजनैतिक स्वायत्त ढूंढने की कोशिश न करें।

मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हमने इस सवाल का शीघ्र हल ढूंढने की कोशिश नहीं करता यह समस्या लोगों में आपस में नफरत की आग फैला सकती है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस मामले को तत्काल हल किया जाये। मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि आपके पास उस क्षेत्र के विकास के लिए जो भी विकास योजनाएँ हैं और भविष्य में आप वहाँ पर जो भी विकास का काम करना चाहते हैं उनको आगे लाइये अगर इस इलाके को अंधेरे में रखा गया तो बहरा बाहर के लोग उस अंधेरे को और बड़ने का कोशिश करेंगे। सब से बड़ा दुर्भाग्य की बात तो यह है कि आज भी आजाद हिन्दुस्तान में स्कूलों में और खास तौर पर उस क्षेत्र के स्कूलों में स्कूल मास्टर और प्रोफेसर जब बच्चों को इतिहास पढ़ाते हैं तो कहते हैं कि आर्य, द्राविड़ और तुम मंगोल जाति के हो। हम यह भूल जाते हैं कि जब कोई जन वहाँ आता है तो उनसे कहता है कि तुम्हारा नाक चपटा, हमारी नाक चपटी। तुम्हारा चेहरा गोल, हमारा चेहरा गोल। तुम्हारी आंख गोल, हमारी आंख गोल और हम मंगोल तो तुम मंगोल। मैं ऐसा कोई कारण नहीं देखता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिकों को इस तरह का चर्चा पढ़ाई जायें। जब उन लोगों के मन में इस तरह का चर्चा बैठ गई

### [श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

जायगी तो उनका क्या असर होगा, इस पर स्वयं विचार कर सकते हैं। जिन लोगों ने सन् 1943 में सबसे पहले अपनी धरती को आजाद किया उनको समझने की जरूरत है। इसलिए इस सदन में मैं बहुत विनम्रतापूर्वक यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि असम की समस्या एक बहुत विकट समस्या है। इस पर बहुत छिछलेपन से विचार न किया जाये, बल्कि गम्भीरतापूर्वक समस्या पर विचार किया जाय। मैं चाहूँगा कि सन् 1971 में जो इंदिरा-मुजीब समझौता हुआ था उसकी प्रतियां तत्काल सदन के पटल पर रखी जायें और जो भी सरकारी नुमायन्दे वहाँ गये हैं, उन्होंने जोरपट दी है उन सारी रपटों को सदन के पटल पर रखा जाय इसके साथ साथ सब विरोधी दलों के साथ बैठ कर आप इस मामले को शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से निपटाने की कोशिश कीजिये और वहाँ के लोगों को यह विश्वास दिलाइये कि आने वाले वक्त में असम में आर्थिक निर्माण होगा। बाहरी शोषण नहीं होगा श्रीमन्, इससे बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात और क्या हो सकती है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान का आजादी के 32 वर्षों के बाद भी असम को राजधानी गोहाटी किसी भी बड़ी रेलवे लाइन से जुड़ी हुई नहीं है। असम में अधिकांश क्षेत्र ऐसे हैं जहाँ पर आवागमन के कोई साधन नहीं हैं। पहले वहाँ पर कुछ आवागमन के साधन उस क्षेत्र के माध्यम से उपलब्ध थे जो अब बंगला देश है, लेकिन बाद में वे भाँटूट गये। जब सन् 1971 में बंगला देश बना तो यह सोचा गया था कि अब बंगला देश के माध्यम से वहाँ पर आवागमन के साधन उपलब्ध हो जाएंगे, लेकिन वह भी नहीं हो सका। ऐसी स्थिति में स्वाभाविक है कि वहाँ पर जो जूट बकस हैं, जो चाय बगानों में काम करने वाले लोग हैं या जो खनिज तेल कारखानों में काम करते हैं

उनमें आपस में नफरत पैदा हो। अगर महाराष्ट्र में महाराष्ट्र का लड़का केरल के लड़के से नफरत कर सकता है और उसके अन्दर केरल के लड़के के लिए नफरत पैदा हो सकती है तो स्वाभाविक है कि असम के बेटे में बंगाल के बेटे के लिए नफरत होगी। यह भाई-भाई का झगड़ा बिलकुल स्वाभाविक है। अगर कोई बाप अपने एक बेटे को दो रुपये देता है और दूसरे बेटे को इस रुपये देता है तो लड़कों में जलन पैदा होना स्वाभाविक है। लेकिन आप यदि रखिये, अगर एक बार जलन की आग पनप गई, लोगों में आपस में नफरत पैदा हो गई, तो फिर वही नफरत आगे चलकर बटवारा करवाती है। इस पूर्व इतिहास को हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिए। इसी नफरत से हिन्दुस्तान खंडित हुआ था और आज एक भाई मुसलमान पाकिस्तान में बैठा हुआ है और एक भाई हिन्दुस्तान में बैठा हुआ है। इसलिए मैं श्री मकवाना जी से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि असम के अन्दर इस नफरत की आग को आप आगे बढ़ने से रोकें और वहाँ पर कमण्डो के बेटों को कृष्ण के बेटों से लड़ने न दें। और इस समस्या को तत्काल सद्भाव व बराबरी के आधार पर हल करें।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are facing a very difficult problem and I agree with many Members of this House that this problem cannot be solved by means of repression. At the same time, this problem has got to be solved taking into consideration the aspirations of the Assamese people and this problem has to be solved by sitting across the table. And this is what our Party has been urging from the very beginning. I would like to remind you that the first time the Parliament met, after the present Lok Sabha was

constituted, it is our party apokesman who made the suggestion in the Lok Sabha that the Prime Ministr should call a meeting of all the national parties as well as the political parties in Assam and try to find a consensus on the basis of which this problem could be tackled. Therefore, as far as our party is concerned, from the very beginning we have been taking into consideration the fact that Assam has not been fully developed. Economic development of Assam has been very tardy. All these things are quite true. And in my last speech on the question of Assam in this House I had made it absolutely clear that if some regions in this country are less developed than the other regions, the<sub>n</sub> that is the inevitable law of capitalism. One of the inevitable laws of capitalist development is that there is unevenness of development. This uneven development of the country is the inevitable consequence of the capitalist path of development that our country has taken to. On that I do not want to dilate. But this has to be rectified. How to rectify it is a question which al] of us have to address ourselves to. Therefore, on that question there is no dispute among all the parties that are here. Even the Government of India today, I understand, has accepted the position that some special attention must be paid to this area for solving some of the economic problems that are there. I do not think they will succeed in that so long as they pursue the present policy of capitalist development i<sub>n</sub> this country. Their intentions might be good. But as somebody has said, the way to hell is sometimes paved with good intentions. Good intentions alone will not solve the problem. Unless, the problem of economic development, the problem of evening out the uneven development of this country i<sub>s</sub> taken in hand—not by resorting to capitalist path of development but by following some other path of development—we will not be able to solve this problem. This is the warning that I want to give them.

365 RS—7.

Now, Sir, as far as this problem is concerned, it is stated that the movement is entirely peaceful that no violence is there the students are not indulging in any violence, that it is entirely directed against foreigners who have infiltrated into this country, that if has nothing to do with other people, the movement is not directed against any Indian citizen who has gone and settled there. This is the sort of thing that is made out here. Persistently this is stated, and particularly my friends from the Bharatiya Janata Party today spoke very clearly that this is not directed against Indian citizens, that the leaders of the Assam movement—the students—have not said that the Indian citizens should be driven out of this country. Well, the protestation may be there. But what is the reality? I would like to read out, Sir, extracts from a report by a team sent by the Delhi Branch of the People's Union of Civil Liberties, an organisation which was formed during the emergency by Mr. Justice Tarkunde, to study the situation in Assam. I do not want to read the whole report, a part of it has been published in the newspapers. What does that report say how peaceful thi<sub>s</sub> movement is?

"In addition to this, a regular hate campaign has been launched against the minorities, more particularly against the Bengali-speaking minority. For nearly four months now the Gana Sangram Parishad and the AASU have acquired absolute control of official machinery in the State and are running a parallel Government. They have inspired and, in any case, not objected ..."

thi<sub>s</sub> is what I want to underline—to wall paintings and posters inciting violence against the so called Bahirgatas. Here are a few examples: Tf you see <sup>a</sup> snake and a Bengali, kill the Bengali first' The Bengali-speaking community ia

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

terrorised. The Press has already reported the murder of Dr. Robi Mitra, the famous Geologist in Duliagaon. He was lynched to death on 18th January.. we would be pleasantly surprised if the murderers of Anjan Chakravorty were actually apprehended and punished.

Then it goes on to say:

"The fact remains that the worst incidents of violence took place in Mukalmua and Nalbari areas of Barpeta sub-division of Kamrup district. According to the Deputy Commissioner himself four thousand houses have been burnt, forty-two persons have been killed---- We visited the Mukalmai camp there, 510 inmates, all Bengali Muslims, are living. According to the account given to Us by the villagers there, some four thousand Assamese people came shouting slogans and armed with spears and other lethal weapons. They set the houses of the Bengali-speaking people living in the area on fire, killed many people and wounded many others. The most pathetic scenes were seen in Rangafali camp, also in the Nalbari area. There are more than four thousand inmates in this camp. Most of them are Bengali Hindus. We saw hundreds of badly wounded people. The attacks were indeed barbarous.

[The Vice-chairman, (Shri Sawaising Sisodia) in the Chair]

"Of course, the movement is peaceful towards the administration. The Fact-finding Committee comments, 'otherwise, the satyagraha itself has been rather peaceful'. But it could hardly be otherwise. The entire Government machinery is party to the satyagraha... As one witness told us, 'The Government of Assam is running the movement and the AASU is running the Government'."

The Government of Assam is running the movement and the AASU is running the Government. This is the actual situation that exists today. Therefore, actually, as far as the Government is concerned, the administration is a non-functioning administration. It does not function at all. In Assam there is no administration. This is the actual position that exists today in Assam.

Therefore, when they say there is no anti-minority overtone in this propaganda, I would like to ask them: why is it that nearly 6,000 Bengali-speaking people have already run away from the Goalpara district and why should they run away and seek asylum in West Bengal and West Bengal has got to bear the expenditure of maintaining them? Why should so many camps be set up of minorities inside Assam itself? If the movement was directed purely against foreigners, why should the Bengalis and other Assami people—minorities, not only Bengali minorities but even the tribal minorities—be terrorised and why should it be necessary for the Government of India to set up camps for their protection? So to go on saying that it is absolutely peaceful is just trying to give an alibi to a violent movement in the name of aliens— but directed against all the minorities, Indian citizens who are minorities there whether they be Bengalis or Rajasthani people who had gone there or the tribal people, the Oriya people and the Madhya Pradesh people who are working in the tea gardens for years. And all these people are being terrorised. This is the situation which we have got to recognise. There is no use of running away from the facts.

Therefore, Sir, what is the actual position? I will give you the census figures. The percentage of Muslims in Assam is, according to the census figures, 25.20 in 1951, 25.94 in 1961 and only 25.31 in 1971. Therefore,

the percentage of Muslim population in the whole of Assam has been marginally less in 1971 than in 19&1. Therefore, this problem of the people of Bangladesh having infiltrated into Assam and trying to convert this area into a Muslim majority province is blown out of all proportions. Certainly there has been a certain infiltration: nobody denies that. Now, therefore, in order to solve this problem, what are we to do?

Here Sir, I would like also to read their 35-point programme: "All-Assam Students Union Guideline for Total Revolution in Assam." There is a secret circular issued in the name of All-Assam Students Union Guideline for Total Revolution in Assam. "1. Formation of secret society in different levels with underground headquarters under single leadership with strict discipline, code and conduct." I do not want to read all the 35 points they have set but one of the most important things they have said is about the deportation^ foreigners. "Hindus should be pushed back through Dawki Police Post (Meghalaya) and Muslims should be pushed back through Golakganj Police Post." Then, the main point they want to make is, "We should tell Calcutta and New Delhi..."

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I would request one thing.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Allow me to speak. You put a question and I will answer later.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA): No interruptions, please. Let him finish.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: When you quoted the circular, are you really confident that it was issued i<sub>n</sub> Assam?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am answering that. "We should tell Cal-

cutta and New Delhi.... (*Interruptions*) You keep quiet, "...that we require from you salt for our bare necessity of life and your requirements from us are tea, coal, crude oil, plywood etc. we should make understand that Assamese are not alone in the world." And then there is one more point. What has been stated is that "we should link up with the Thai Buddhist society in Thailand". Off course I know that openly they have refuted it. \* statement has been issued saying that it was not done, but a mere statement does not mean much. A downright condemnation of that was necessary when slogans were written all over Assam "Indian dogs, go back". Where is the condemnation from the All-Assam Students' Union? They did not condemn it. When the attacks were taking place on the Bengali minority and other minorities, where was the condemnation? They are saying that they are not responsible for it. That is no good. The point is when attacks are taking place, when the minorities are attacked, if this movement is not directed against them, it was necessary for them to condemn the movement and come to the protection of the minorities. Did any leader of this movement come to the protection of the minorities when they were being attacked? So all these protestations do not mean anything.

What I want to point out is that unfortunately secessionist overtones have been given to this movement and certain foreign powers are encouraging the secessionist movement in the entire north-eastern region. Last time when I spoke on this question i<sub>n</sub> this H<sub>o</sub>use, I quoted the State Department circular to the CIA, called "Operation Brahmaputra" and today that "Operation Brahmaputra" is in operation there. That is what is being implemented now. Why was it necessary for the Ambassador of the United States of America, here to go

[Shri P. Ramamurti] to Assam at least half a dozen times during this movement? The last time when he wanted to go again, I am glad the Government of India prevented him from going there. And then very recently the American Counsel from Calcutta has visited that place. Why should all these things be taking place? Sir, we must understand that there are foreign agencies which are today operating in this region. When they are operating and working towards secession, what is involved in this today is the integrity of the country, the unity of the country. Let all of us realise that this unity of the country, the integrity of the country has been achieved only through the freedom struggle. Never before in the history of the country was India a united country. It is only during the anti-imperialist movement that all the different peoples speaking different languages in this country came together in their common struggle against imperialism. Even now we have got to face the same problem of imperialist domination of this country by so many means. Through the multi-national corporations and various other means, the western powers are trying to dominate over us and there are various kinds of threats. All these threats can be met by the united will of the people, by unity of the entire country. Therefore, it is from that point of view that we should preserve the unity of the country and see that it grows stronger so that we are able to face threats of neocolonialism that is hanging over us, and which are increasing day after day. That is why today what we have got to seriously consider is how to preserve and strengthen the unity of this country in order to face the difficult tasks ahead, the difficult challenges that are posed before us by the foreign imperialists. Sir, in this connection, I am astounded by the behaviour of the Government of India, though it is also aware of the presence of the foreign agents here because the Prime Minister, during her speeches in the

election campaign, made a reference to it. I am not going into other questions. Certain very bad statements she made. I had pointed out to her about it in the meeting. I am not bothered about that. She herself has made the confession that certain foreign elements are also involved in this. During this period she has made it very clear. Now I want to point out that when the Government of India is there, they must be in possession of the facts and identify the foreign elements which are there. Why do they not come out with the elements which are involved in it? For example, they know that the American CIA is involved in it; why do they not get the courage and say that the CIA is involved in it? Is it because we want to go to them with [giving] bowl for the sake of aid? For the sake of aid, are you prepared to barter away the unity and integrity of the country. Are you prepared to tolerate the CIA activities and those of the other organisations there which want to disrupt the country because you have got to depend upon them for aid? To hell with that aid. We do not want that aid. We will live without that money, without that aid. We will put up with difficulties, but we shall not allow those people to interfere with the affairs of our country. Why does not the Government of India take this position? This is the simple question I want the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to answer. If they are not capable of finding who the foreign agencies are that are operating there, then they do not deserve to be in the Government because the independence and the integrity of this country is not safe in their hands, if they do not have the capacity to find out who the foreign elements involved are, name them openly and put on guard the entire people of the country against that country or those countries involved in this. Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to them to do that.

Now, Sir, with regard to facts, certainly some infiltration has taken

place, but it has been blown out of proportion. As I pointed out, the percentage of the Muslim population, according to the census figures, has declined a bit. A fear is being raised that the Hindu majority will be converted into a minority. It is raised day in and day out. My friend, Jagannathrao Joshi had raised that slogan. When actually the percentage of the Muslim population has marginally fallen from 1951 to 1971, where is the idea that the Hindu character of the State will be converted into that of a Muslim State? How does it come? Who preaches it except RSS, let me understand. Do we preach it? Who preaches this? It is the RSS that is ringing into the peoples ears that this State will be converted into a Muslim State against all the facts of life. The facts of life show that the percentage of Muslims in the State has declined marginally. These census figures were taken before, and nobody objected to them.

Take the question of infiltrators. I have not got the figures here. But year after year some infiltrators have been reported from 1951. From 1951 year after year some infiltrators were detected. According to the figures put out by the Government of India from year to year, calculating the whole thing, I find that over 3.5 lakh infiltrators have been deported from 1951 up-to-date. It is not consolidated. Year after year in the gazette they are put out. I find that the total number of infiltrators who have been deported are 3.5 lakhs or near about. I do not have the exact figure. Therefore, deportation has also been taking place.

In 1947 a large number of people, Hindus migrated. We have got the responsibility. We have accepted that responsibility. Then there was the Liaquat Ali-Nehru Pact. Where is the relevancy to the question of 1971? How does it arise? The question of 1971 arises this way that during the terrific suppression of the East Bengal popu-

lation by Pakistan—it was precisely at that time—a large number of people from East Bengal flocked into India. And the number went up to as high as two million into Assam. Ten million people from East Bengal came as refugees into India during that period, that is, during the struggle of the East Bengal people for State autonomy and when Pakistan was trying to suppress that movement. It is precisely because two million people had crossed over to India . . .

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Ten million came to India.

PROF. P. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): Two million came to Assam.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Yes, ten million people had migrated to India from East Bengal. Therefore, the problem had assumed tremendous proportions. It is because of that we had to go into war against Pakistan in order to liberate East Bengal. Otherwise we would not have interfered in that. As a matter of fact, the American Embassy, the American Government at that time was telling the Government of India, 'We will maintain those 10 million people. Why do you bother about it. You do not interfere in the affairs of Pakistan.' That is what they said. But this problem created by the influx of 10 million people from East Bengal necessitated our country helping the East Bengal people in their struggle for liberation from Pakistani oppression. Therefore, this question of ten million people becomes important. It is in that background that after the liberation of Bangladesh, an agreement was reached between Indira Gandhi and Mujib that all those people who had migrated to India, whether it was Assam or Bengal, after March 1971 would be deported, would be sent back to Bangladesh. By and large that agreement has been kept. Mujib was graceful enough to accept

[Shri P. Ramamurti] that so many people had gone out of his country and, therefore, he must take them back. Therefore, most of them have been taken back. That is how the question of 1971 assumes some relevance. Otherwise 1971 does not assume any relevance. The year 1971 assumes relevance precisely because of this fact. In 1977 also elections were held, but nobody objected to the electoral rolls of 1977. Nobody objected...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Till 1978 nobody objected.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Even in 1978 nobody objected to the electoral rolls. Suddenly after 1978 this whole question flared up. That is why although we were of the opinion, since nobody objected to the 1977 electoral rolls when the elections were held, that 1977 might be taken as the cut-off period, yet for the sake of consensus in that meeting called by the Prime Minister sometime in March, if I remember right, we said "Let there be a consensus" and all the parties, including the political parties of Assam that were represented there, most of the parties, accepted 1971. As far as the Assam parties were concerned, they had accepted 1971. There is no doubt about it. As far as the Lok Dal is concerned, the Lok Dal in Assam accepted 1971. But Mr. George Fernandes belonging to the same Lok Dal and representing his party in that meeting, said, no, he did not accept 1971. That is how in that meeting there was a consensus. Consensus does not mean unanimity. But there was consensus in the sense that excepting Mr. George Fernandes, all the other people had accepted 1971. It is consensus; it is not unanimity. On that basis, let the cut-off date be decided as 1971 and all those people who have come after that date be identified and deported. And if we cannot deport them, let us make some arrangements so that Assam does not have to meet all that expenditure. This is what was agreed upon at that time. I want to remind the opposition parties. I want to remind

all of us that this is what we had agreed to. Now the question arises I that we have got to talk to them, that we have got to bring them to a common table. How to do that? That is the whole problem. That is the problem with which we are faced. Everyone of us is anxious that this problem must be solved across the table. How to solve it? If those boys go on saying "We will not go to the table unless -beforehand you agree that 1931 will be the cut-off date", how to bring them to a common table? That is what I do not understand? Of course, Mr. Jagannath Rao Joshi does not say that. But then Mr. Jagannath Rao Joshi was an embodiment of sweet reasonableness when he spoke here. The whole point is when you say 1951 only must be the cut-off date, how can you forget all these historical things that have taken place? You cannot write off history. Mere law does not work. It is a human problem in the sense that people have migrated from there and for some reason or other you have allowed them. It is none of their fault and they have remained here all these years. Right from 1951 onwards they have remained here. The law of the country says that if a man has been here for ten years and applies for citizenship of this country, then he should be given the Indian citizenship. Most of the people who migrated after 1951 are illiterate people. They are people who do not understand the law of the land and therefore, not understanding the law, they have not applied for the citizenship. What are you going to do with them? Will Pakistan or will Bangladesh accept them as their citizens simply because you declare it? Therefore, the question is this problem has got to be solved taking into consideration this human aspect and this legal aspect. This is the whole problem.

In the other House Mr. Samar Mukherjee is exhibiting the permit given by the AU-Assam Students Union to a Deputy Commissioner and

other officials to go and work in the office. Today the position in Assam is this that the administration is colluding with them. There is no doubt about it. That is what is happening there. This is what the report says. This is a report by the All-Assam Students Union. All-Assam Students Union is running the Government and the Assam Government is running the movement. There is no difference. This is what is happening. The protection of minorities there becomes a special responsibility of the Central Government. The Central Government has got a special responsibility to protect the minorities, whether they are Bengalis, whether they are tribal minorities; all these minorities have got to be protected. Now take the tribal minorities there. The tribal minorities demand that there must be some sort of autonomy for them. The students are opposed to it. The All-Assam Students Union is totally opposed to it. Why should they oppose autonomy for the tribal people and why should these Parties say they are quite right? Is that a proper attitude to adopt? In this connection I would point out when we passed the Tribal Protection Act in Tripura, my friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, in his speech here welcomed it. But his party in Tripura is now organising a movement against that Act. This is the wonderful way in which the ruling party is behaving today. Somebody stated here till recently three-fourth population of Tripura consisted of Tripura tribal people, but today three-fourth population is Bengali people and the remaining one-fourth are Tribal people. We want to protect their rights and we want to give them some sort of autonomy. An Act was passed to set up district councils. But a hartal is being organised against it. By whom? By the Congress (I). I cannot understand; have you got a policy? If this is the way you are operating, you alone will be responsible for the disruption of this country. Why don't you ask your own party people.

"Don't join this kind of a demand?

After all, it is our responsibility to protect the minorities, to protect the tribal people, to preserve their special characteristics and not see that they are..."

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: First you make them minorities and then protect?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: You have made them a minority already. You have already made them a minority. And we have objected to that. We have objected to that. And after that we wanted to give them some protection . . . (Interruption) You can go on shouting...

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: You have made them a minority.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: No, I did not make them a minority . . .

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: You have made them minorities. Tripuris have been reduced to one-third or one-fourth and you are talking of protecting them, like the Red Indians. . .

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: We are protesting in Assam while you are encouraging. Unfortunately you do not appreciate . . . (Interruption by Shri Dinesh Goswami).

AN HON. MEMBER: Interruptions are not permitted.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Interruptions are permitted. It is not that you cannot make interruptions. Interruptions are permitted.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: My friend Mr. Goswami must know that ever since 1952 our Party Member in the Lok Sabha has been protesting against the conversion of the Tripuris into minorities. We did not take to this path of agitation. But we have been protesting and we said that the tribal lands must be protected . . . (Interruptions). How can I go on answering questions? I am not yield-

[Shri P. Ramamurti] ing. We have been protesting against the conversion of the Tripura majority into minority and we have been asking for the protection of their lands\*. This is what we have been doing from time to time. Unfortunately we were not governing there. When we came to power and when we tried to protect their lands, the Congress (I) Party is protesting against that. This is what I said. You must have certain policy. Have you any objection to our protecting their lands? Now, you are blowing this problem of aliens in Assam out of all proportions. I quoted the census figures. Are you challenging these figures?

AN HON. MEMBER: You were misquoting the figures.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: You must talk across the table and find out a solution. Somebody said this. I agree. He also said that the process should be started immediately, whether the year is 1971 or not. You begin the process. Who is to begin the process? The process can be begun only when certain normalcy can be maintained there. To identify who are the foreigners and in order to understand the real issues of the problem, the process has got to be begun. In order to begin the process, let us start with 1971 and then see what is the nature of the problem and what is the extent of infiltration. Later on if something has to be done, we are not closing our options. But, let the process start.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR (Maharashtra): You participated in the meeting called by the Prime Minister. The radio quoted the Prime Minister's statement that she is not wedded to any particular cut-off year. She has herself resiled from that position.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: At that time we agreed to it. Now let us start something. Let those people agree to come and talk. Let there be

reciprocity from the Government's side also.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: They are all in jail.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: You convince them and if they express their willingness to come and talk across the table, I will be the first person to demand their release. This should be a simultaneous process. I would appeal to all in the entire country to realise that this problem can be solved only across the table. Let the AASU and Gana Sangram Parishad also agree to enter into talks without any pre-condition. Let them not say, "Unless you accept 1951 as the cut-off date, we are not prepared to come and have discussions with you." 4 P.M. Let this not take place. Without any precondition let them agree to this and the Government of India also simultaneously release all those people. Let some mediators go and have this kind of a thing. Without making any such effort or without doing any such thing, this continuous shouting that it is only against the infiltrators and not against the minorities does not cut any ice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA): Mr. Ramamurti, you have to finish now.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am finishing now. The number of people that have been killed in this, I do not want to mention and all those figures have been given. The minorities are affected. The minorities can put up with it for sometime. But, they are being continuously attacked and when they form associations and try to demonstrate, they are attacked and the Assamese police attacks them. That is what is happening. Even a worm will turn and protest. Similarly, when the minorities, including the tribal minorities, join them, they are being attacked and any political party which is opposed to their demands is not allowed to hold any meetings and their members are beaten up. Our

offices are attacked. The CPI offices are attacked; the CPM offices are attacked; professors are being beaten up; even the Assamese professors are being beaten up, those professors who do not agree with them. Therefore, there is no democratic right of free expression as far as Assam is concerned. This coercion and intimidation of even free expression of opinion is going on on such a terrifically large scale and let them stop this intimidation. Let them agree to have talks across the table and let all the repressive measures be withdrawn. Let both of these things take place simultaneously and I hope that all my friends who are so very anxious to have a solution will co-operate and call upon—let us all call upon—those people to allow both these things to take place simultaneously and let them withdraw movement so that a proper atmosphere is created and the whole process can start, the process of finding out who the foreigners are. Only then we can solve the problem and we can think of ways and means of seeing how the economic advancement of the States in this area can take place. Otherwise, all that I would say is that you are playing with fire. The Government of India must come out and find out who the foreign agents are that are there. They should not shirk responsibility and they must take suitable action against them. Even if it becomes a question of cutting off diplomatic relations, it does not matter. The country must be prepared to pay the price for the unity and integrity of the country. We may not get any aid from them. It does not matter. But the unity and the integrity of the country are paramount and for that we must be prepared for any sacrifice. Therefore, I would appeal to all sections of the House to bring to bear on these agitators sufficient pressure to make them agree to come to and sit across the table without any condition whatsoever and let the Government of India also not impose any condition. Without any condition let them come together and let them with-

draw this and let the Government of India release all those people so that both the things can go on simultaneously and let them not stand on any prestige. Thank you, Sir.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Sir, while supporting the Government's proposal for the extension of this Proclamation, I would like to emphasise the question at stake now in Assam. It is really it is literally, the unity and integrity of the nation. The other day, the day before yesterday perhaps, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan lamented over the partition of India, and rightly so. Just now Sir, Ramamurti referred to the fact that the minorities in Tripura have been swamped by the re-fugee majority Bengalis from the erstwhile Pakistan, now Bangladesh. Now, this is the legacy of partition. Whether it is right or wrong this part of the history cannot be undone. But, from this part of the history, we have to take certain very serious lessons. We have seen that those who have come from Bangladesh as refugees were driven out because, at that time, our Muslim friends, perhaps with some justification, I agree, were angry with us as our presence stood in the way of fulfilment of some of their economic aspirations.

We left. The problem was not solved. West Pakistani<sup>3</sup> came there. There was again frustration of aspirations and again bloodshed. So, Sir, this violent way of solving the problem, partitioning the country, may appear as a temporary solution of the problem, but it does not provide the real, durable solution of the problem at all. Even after the partition, we have seen that Andhra was carved out from composite Madras. But then we have also witnessed the Telangana agitation, paralysing that State nearly for a year. We have seen in 1958 how united Maharashtra-Gujarat was separated. But that was not the end of the story. Even then we heard > voices of dissensions and secession at times from Marathwada and Vidarbha

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

Sir, what I say is that the issue which brings our attention to the main question is the national integrity and national unity. I must say that we must appreciate the problem of Assam. We must appreciate the genuine aspirations of the Assamese people. There is no denying the fact. Though I come from Bengal, though I know very well that already six thousand people, officially speaking, have come to the Government refugee centres opened in North Bengal but in fact nearly 10,000 people have already left Assam. Even then, we should not be swayed by emotion, of the Bengalis or of the Assamese, the narrow regional, communal or linguistic, minority, majority questions. I agree the Assamese people must have their legitimate aspirations fulfilled. But under what terms and conditions? Is it at the cost of national unity and integrity? Some people with good intentions have said that ethnic identity of the Assamese should be maintained. This sounds very reasonable. But, Sir, if you look into the back-drop of Assamese cultural history, the ethnic identity of the Assamese is a confused question, because the Assamese people are not ethnically homogeneous. There are tribals who think that they are the real owners of Assam, real inheritors of Assam, but they have been cornered by people who came there from Kanauj or from the foot-hills of the Himalayas, etc., a hundred or two hundred years ago, and moved to the Assam Valley. Or the Ahoms or some Bhattacharyas from Bengal, some Sharmas from Kanauj, whose descendents are represented in this House, who must be knowing . . . (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not the Goswamis?

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: I did not want to be personal or specific. But it is covered by the general principles I have suggested. Goswami must be knowing that.

The tribals of Assam are not with this movement. Sir, if you discount the linguistic minorities and religious minorities, the people who are spearheading the movement constitute less than thirty per cent of the population of that State. But it is not a question of quantum. Even if it is twenty per cent and there is substance—and I say that there is some substance in their movement, it should be appreciated. But, Sir, the point is exaggerated. There are difficulties. We know, some genuine economic grievances are there. The Prime Minister has said this right in the beginning, in the first meeting held by the Prime Minister, if I remember aright, she has had as many as five meetings—one on the 1st March, second on the 7th March, the third on the 12th April, the fourth on the 22nd April and the last on the 31st May, with different political leaders. Sir, in the first meeting, she told very clearly that the Assamese movement has some economic justification. We do appreciate it. Not only the Prime Minister of India, but all the right thinking people in Bengal or in the neighbouring States do appreciate it. But the point is that after all Assam is a part of India. Assam has already been balkanised five times in the last 30 years. If by these sorts of violent methods, surreptitious and not so surreptitious of late, they want to have the issue clinched in their favour, then some southern district might say that they are a linguistic minority or a religious minority and since they constitute an overwhelming majority in their area, they will carve out another State. There is no end to the story. The tribals of Tripura who constitute 7 lakhs out of a total population of 20 lakhs have started saying it. This larger perspective should be borne in mind not only by our Assamese friends who are spearheading the movement but all those who are supporting it from within Assam. I do not know whether it has some political connections from outside. The backdrop of Assam Muslims has

been magnified beyond all proportions. It has not been borne out by the official statistic. I think the Assam movement should be seen in its proper perspective. I do not like to repeat the harsh words of Shri Jyoti Basu who said the other day that it was a lunchpack agitation of the Assam's urban educated elites, and that only for emotional reasons, a fringe of the rural people could be brought within the orbit of this movement, I do not use harsh words but there may be some elements of truth in that. If you take the break-up of the population, as I have said, the movement is being actively supported by less than 30 per cent. Nobody should try to misuse the emotional vulnerability of a section of people, maybe 30 per cent or 25 per cent of the total population. The question is of the integrity of the nation. The integrity of the nation is being threatened from different quarters. But it is doubly threatened in the North Eastern areas. Foreign elements are actively engaged and understandably so. There is no point in disowning it officially. They know it. Our friends in the opposition know it very well. They are well-informed. But they are taking a sort of blinkered view of the whole thing.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Why is the Government keeping silent on the foreign elements? The Prime Minister should make a statement. The Home Minister should say that.

PROF. D. P. CHATTAPADHYA: Our more informed people will respond to your point later on. The real point at issue is the question of education of young boys, the students. In our lives, one year or two years may make no difference. But in the lives of young students it does. One academic year has been totally lost and another year is going to be lost.

You be in touch with the Education Ministry or the University Grants Commission or with other universities in West Bengal and you will find that thousands of students want to come out of Assam. I know it personally because in our University of Jadavpur, lot of Engineering and Science students are coming to Calcutta. The students are panic-stricken and want to rush to Calcutta. This is one aspect, i.e., the total paralysis in the field of education. The second point is about the total paralysis in the field of economic activity. No developmental activities or economic activities are taking place. Even activities such as fighting against epidemic diseases are being neglected there. Sir, there is a dangerous type of malaria, I am told. If that mosquito bites, people will have brain fever leading almost invariably to death.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Encephalitis.

PROF. D. P. CHATTAPADHYA: Yes, encephalitis. And that sort of deadly diseases are not being administratively fought because every governmental activity has come to a stop. This is a very sad thing. Thirdly, Sir, because of transport bottlenecks, many essential commodities are not moving that way. And people who have a better purchasing power and living in towns, and having a better access to the shops, there are not the people affected most by the bottlenecks. But the stoppage partial in some cases and total in many other entails untold miseries particularly for the rural people, the poorer people. This is also an aspect to be borne in mind not by ourselves alone but by all concerned.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I want one clarification from him. Are the mosquitoes being brought up by the movement leaders?

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYA-  
YA: Sir, I expected a more serious intervention from him. Serious shortage of essential commodities in Assam and the North-Eastern Region is causing great hardship to the common people, particularly the rural people. Sir, there is a loss of Rs. 3 crores per day on account of picketing of the oil installations. The loss is Rs. 3 crores per day. The sixth point of the total picture is that apart from other petroleum products, the monthly loss of production of diesel in the three refineries in Assam and the one at Barauni is about 1,30,000 tonnes. Similarly, the loss of production of kerosene is about 30,000 tonnes. And coal is being now literally carried to New Castle as oil is being carried to Assam. The other point is curtailment in the fertilizer production and its non-availability to farmers resulting in crop damage. It may not affect the town-living people but it does affect the farmers. The eighth point is curtailment of production of steel and power due to non-movement of petroleum products, and the whole country suffer on that account. Lastly, there is disruption in the movement of timber, bamboo, plywood and jute out of Assam, and it has its feed back effect on employment because the Assamese themselves "who are in this business employ a lot of people. And we are told that it is to fulfill the economic demands of the Assamese people that the agitators are continuing the movement. But what about these employees who are engaged in these areas of trade and commerce? I must say that this aspect should not be forgotten.

Sir, eight demands have been made by our young friends, the Assam student organisations and also the Gana Sangram Parishad. What are those eight demands? Let me mention them. The first one is detection and deportation of foreign nationals. On this, all have agreed. Second is the deletion of names of foreign nationals from the electoral roll.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: According to Mr. Ramamurti, there are no foreigners. And where is the issue?

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYA-  
YA: Do not misquote him. He said that the foreigners were found out. There were three lakhs and more of foreigners, he said.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Why not the Government \_\_\_\_\_

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
SAWAISINGH SISODIA): Let him continue. You are also going to speak.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYA-  
YA: You are misquoting him. Do not misquote him.

So, Sir, on the second point of deletion of names of foreign nationals from the electoral rolls, there is no difference and we agreed. The third point is the prevention of inclusion of names of foreign nationals in the future electoral rolls. On that also, there is agreement. The fourth point is the protection of borders to check infiltration. It was agreed. And even during the last three months, the check-posts have been increased and more motor boats have been pressed into for overseeing so that people do not come from the other side of the border. The fifth demand is identity cards with photographs for voters. It has also been accepted. Of the eight demands made by the agitators five have been agreed to, not out of grace but because these are reasonable. So, if you talk reasonably, who can quarrel with you? Now, the sixth point was the necessary constitutional safeguards. This is a very important thing. It has to be concretised specified, spelt out by the agitators and it is being considered. It has not been ignored or rejected outright. It has only been pointed out to them, let us sit across the table and look into the implications so that it could be sorted out. Sir, the seventh point is that the Government of West Bengal is to be

authorised to reject certificates issued by the Governments of West Bengal and Tripura. That is an extraordinary demand, Sir. But if there is substance even in this extraordinary demand, I would request the Government of India, the hon. Home Minister to look into it but I would again say that it looks to me to be an extraordinary demand. The eighth point is the withdrawal of authority from the State Governments to grant citizenship certificates. Sir, this is also controversial but negotiable. I must say that the Government of India, its representatives, chief spokesmen, the Home Minister, even the Prime Minister, if I am not mistaken, agreed to consider even the last three, i.e., the 6th, the 7th and the 8th points. The other five points have already been agreed to.

Sir, some of our friends are saying that the movement is non-violent. Sir, ten thousand people have fled Assam. Thousands of people are suffering irreparably because of the closure of educational institutions. Economic magnitude of the problem in quantified terms has been spelt out. Now houses are being burnt and looted and several people have been killed. We are only talking of Dr. Robin Mitra, how brutally he has been murdered and how Shri Neogi has been killed and how Shri Gohain has been assaulted the other day. These are well-known cases. Every day you must be hearing, Sir, that more dead bodies have been discovered and so the death toll is going up. One does not know how many people have been killed. There is the total collapse of administration, lack of total faith in the administration. I do not like to repeat what Mr. Ramamurti was saying that students are running the administration and the administration is fanning and supporting the students. That may be a <sup>very</sup> strong formulation but may not be an incorrect one. I do not know. It is not a question of antagonising or embittering the students. We want a settle-

ment, a peaceful solution because if this is the way to solve the problem, it would not lead us to a solution of the problem of Assam but it would be the beginning of the dissolution of Assam. I would appeal to our friends both in Assam and outside Assam, extending help to the students, not to resort to such a course. Even the little that is left of Assam of 1947—five pieces are already there—will not be there if these emotionally surcharged demands are pressed further. These will lead not to a solution of the problem of Assam but it will be the beginning of the dissolution of Assam. So, it is not only for Assam's sake but for the sake of the whole country, because Assam is an integral part of the whole country, that this problem should be solved peacefully. Assam has borne the brunt of 1947 as West Bengal has done again in 1971. So, we have every sympathy for our brethren but they also must have some sympathy for us. The other day one of my friends in West Bengal, the former Labour Minister of Ray Ministry, was telling somebody that in Calcutta 93 per cent of all jobs carrying emoluments of more than Rs. 1500 are being held by non-Bengalis. It is a staggering figure.

Does that justify an *Amra Bengal* type of movement or the R.S.S. type of movement?

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI (Uttar Pradesh): Calcutta is not of Bengal, but of India.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Yes, we should talk like that; otherwise there is no end to this game of fratricide.

Sir, I have all sympathy for the genuine aspirations of the concerned people. I am myself a refugee from Bengal and I bear no grudge for the Muslims who have suffered because of Hindu-zamindars. I am ashamed of the role of the Hindu-zamindars. Mr. Kalyan Roy must be knowing, being a son of zamindar, but not a zamindar in his attitude.....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: The whole trouble started because some of the school masters have become millionaires.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: You know everything and you being in touch with them will be telling us what the truth is. So, the point is, whether in Assam or in Bengal, we have appreciation for the genuine aspirations. But in the name of aspirations they started arson, looting, violence, and killing. You already had partition for five time; you cannot have it sixth time now. That is the point. So, I think all friends who really wish well for Assam, should impress upon the Assamese agitators who are going the wrong way, see to the reason. Nobody except some leftist parties has condemned this violence. Thousands of people have been rendered homeless and have fled Assam and have taken refuge in the refugee camps. Dead bodies are being discovered even today. These things should be looked into and condemned in unequivocal terms.

Now, in the name of Hindus and Muslims, some people would support the 31-point programme. It is a surreptitious document and it is a concocted document. Now, whether it is a concocted document or not, let the leaders of the movement say that it is absolutely concocted. Therefore, all the responsible people, right-thinking people, people who want the unity of India and the integrity of India to remain, must condemn this violence, this arson and looting and not only this party or that party, but all the national parties should appeal to the students of Assam who are campaigning and agitating, to come back to the negotiation table. These things cannot be solved by force or by violence or brow-beating. "This is really a human problem. It has really some serious and difficult aspects which just by speeches cannot be solved. It requires patience and a sympathetic appreciation. The Government has

extended its hand of friendship To the leaders of the movement seven times—five times the Prime Minister and two times the Home Minister have discussed the problem. They want to discuss the problem. But if the agitators insist intransigently that they will have 1951 as the cut-off year and there is no budging and no retreat from that point, I would say this is not an attitude of negotiation; it is not conducive to a rational settlement through discussions. So, I would request all friends, all parties concerned, inside the Parliament and outside, to persuade friends in Assam, particularly the younger ones who are emotionally more vulnerable, to come to the negotiating table. Five of their eight demands have already been accepted by the Government and as regards the remaining demands, the Government have already said that there is room for negotiation. I think now they should respond. It is high time they do not force the students of Assam to lose another academic year. Therefore, I would request my friends in the opposition who are otherwise very co-operative, rational and constructive, to advise properly the friends in Assam so that they come to the negotiating table with an earnest desire to have a negotiated settlement and not campaign the way they have been doing. Enough damage has been done to the economy, to the academic life, to the social fabric of Assam and no more damage should be inflicted.

SHRI KALYAN ROY Sir, I agree more or less with what Mr. Ramamurti and Mr. Chattopadhyaya have said. Sir, as we see, there are four or five aspects of this problem. One is, which is worrying us more today is, the extraordinary interest which particular super power is taking, not only taking, but there are reasons to believe that they are very much in the movement itself. It has not been denied that diplomats, pseudo diplomats, known CTA agents, unknown CIA agents, are moving about in the disturbed parts, unfortunately, meeting some

of the leaders of this movement and then disappearing to Nepal and again reappearing, particularly in those places where there have been repeated reports of violence. This is one aspect. The other aspect is, we should all take up this challenge. It is not a question whether the minorities are being attacked, or the whole attack is concentrated in the Muslim areas, or Assam's cultural identity is being lost or Assam is being warmed. The challenge is whether India will remain one or not, whether this particular federal structure built on multi-national multi-racial and multi-cultural basis, will be able to survive against this attack. The third point is whether it is really a genuine mass movement in a sense whether minions of the down-trodden, millions of the landless peasants, lakhs of Assam tea garden workers, Assam boatmen, are taking part in it or is it being led financed and organised by a section of the people who have not lost much so far either in terms of land, or in terms of tea gardens, or in business or in trade. In other words, the question is whether the movement is led by the elite, the upper section, the upper class, or, it being led by "these who belong to the lowest ladder of Assam. The third point is the role of local Government. The fourth-point is where and how we should break the stalemate the impasse, and how to bring about a conciliation, peace and understanding in a most difficult situation where one group is speaking in terms of confrontation and violence. These are the four or five aspects of the unfortunate incidents which started during the Janata regime and which are still continuing. Sir, I must point out that some people in the Western world must be laughing at us. It may not be so openly or so crudely. But in effect you say that there are millions of foreigners in a particular part of the country, that means, Assam, and that they are a threat to the peace, prosperity, culture and tradition of this particular area. I thought and

they also thought perhaps that Enoch Powells are in England only. But I do see, there are many Enoch Powells in India too. After all, what does Mr. Enoch Powell say? He is saying you should not allow these Indians, these Pakistanis, these men who have come from the Pacific Islands, from Africa and so on and who have been staying in England for the last thirty years, forty years, and even hundred years. But these people are doing very fine work.

They are the dockers, the transport workers, in police and in steel plants. Then England would be swamped and one day the whole Thames would be converted into a river of blood. So, the only solution is to deport *en masse* millions of Indians, Pakistanis, Bahamas and all those who have settled in England and if this is done, the problem of England will disappear. And when this is happening, how many times have you shouted that England is taking a very fascist attitude towards these Indians who want to settle there and who are even married to European or English citizens? And the things have deteriorated under Mrs. Thatcher's regime where a wife of an Indian origin is not allowed now to go to England to stay with her husband. Things have come to such a stage and it all appeared to be innocuous and innocent, but now we find riots are taking place in South Hall. Indians are afraid of going out in Birmingham in the evening. People think twice before they have to go through Hyde Park at about 4 o'clock. And areas after areas are now being demarcated as black areas and white areas. The beginning was so very innocent. Now we are faced with this situation; exactly that is what is happening in Assam. When this AMSU, the Assam Minorities Students Union, took a very "revolutionary" step, an 'anarchic' step—and what is the step? They wanted to present a petition to some of the officers and that was their crime—not only were they surrounded and beaten up

[Shri Kalyan Roy]  
 in a large number of areas in numerous Places, particularly in Bijn'f, "but the police opened fire, round after round, and as Mr. Chattopadhyaya has said, everyday we find stories of discovery of new bodies and we do not know the dimension of casualties yet. That is how it is a very peaceful movement Mr. Sharma. Nowhere in the world have we seen such a peaceful movement except, yes, in the thirties when some psychological frenzy was created in Berlin that the Jews were completely disrupting the Nazi economy, the Jews were a danger to the cultural life of German; so the Jews had to be sent to the concentration camps the shops owned by the Jews had to be snatched, the Jews had to be removed from all the steel plants : and the mines and the chemical factories and the ultimate solution was to put them in a gas chamber. I find, I am sorry to say, a parallel between what happened! in the thirties in Germany and what is happening in the eighties in India. And that is why a particular super power is so much interested in this. The BBC ! and the Voice of America are giving details of the so-called movement, how Assam is about to be scrapped, is about to be swept off. Is it so innocent, so innocuous? What about this particular Godman who visited Assam five or six times between November and June and today nobody knows whether his name David Godman is a correct name of that person? > He, according to a paper, carries two-three passports and as usual our policemen wake up too late. They are more after the trade union leaders and the peasant leaders than after the CIA agents. Ultimately, when this gentleman, according to the Press, was found meeting secretly with the AASU leaders, the police woke up. And he was politely asked to go out. How many Goodmen are there, I do not know. News was given that two or three American women . . .

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA:  
 Goodman or Godman?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I don't know what is the spelling—"Good" or "God".

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA:  
 He cannot be obviously "Goodman".

SHRI KALYAN ROY: There is no such person of that name. I do not know, he must be carrying out some directions.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT:  
 God cannot be good.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I have not yet become as revolutionary as you are. I do not know how many "Goodmen" or "Godmen" are working there now. Some of the things must have been very grave; otherwise why should the Government of India refuse the American Ambassador to go to that areas? It did not happen suddenly. There must be some background. There must be some facts. They must be having some information. What is that information? You havn got to take the people into confidence, because there are millions of Ipeople in Assam, speaking Assamese language, who do not like to be a part of the movement. But they have been carried away by the very organised, sinister propaganda to join the movement. Is it not your duty to isolate the chauvinist, the communalist, the secessionist, the separatist from the rest of the people? But you have not put up your case. We have failed. We, the progressives, the left democrats have failed. But we are proud that more office-bearers of the Communist Party and the Communist Party (Marxist) have been assaulted. We are proud that eight District Secretaries are in hospital, ten offices of the CPI and CPM have been burnt. You have heard from Shri Bipinpal Das what happened to the Marxist intellectual, Dr. Gohin. If this is not fascism, what is the definition of fascism? Things have come to such a stage that 7 non-Congress (I) Opposition parties issued a joint state-

ment appealing to the AASU. Well, you have a right, you are agitating, you are demonstrating, you are offering Satyagraha before all the offices even when you are offering Satyagraha, your attendance is being marked—such is the revolutionary zeal of the people who are participating in the movement—but for heaven's sake don't attack, assault and burn houses of all those who are dissenting with you honestly. You must congratulate the minorities that in spite of being beaten in spite of having nervous collapse, they are somehow gathering courage to stand up against this naked fascism. Perhaps all the Jews were not honest. Some of them were dishonest. Some of them were responsible for making money during the Depression days. But that does not mean that all the Jews should be picked out or put into the gas chamber. Maybe, some of the people are not good. But that does not mean that you will go on surrounding the offices of the other political parties who refuse to surrender to your dictat; you will not allow them to go to the market; you will not allow them to distribute their journals; and lastly, you will not allow them to take out a procession. Is it a democratic movement? And things have come to such a stage that the AINEC had to send a deputation, consisting of a few journalists, to find out after all what is happening in Assam, whether actually the movement is violent or non-violent. According to our sweeping RSS leaders, everything is so peaceful. Only 10,000 people had to migrate to West Bengal. So what? The cause is good—out with the Muslims! For that, if 10,000 people are made refugees, a hundred thousand houses are burnt and bodies are dug out of the earth, so what? Everything is peaceful! But to him if a Muslim is killed, it is peaceful. If a Hindu is killed, this is violent. This is the type of thinking with which I cannot compete. But that's trouble, Sir, is that this movement originally may have had fine ideas, but it has now degenerated and is

actually today in the hands of those whose object is to isolate Assam from the rest of India and convert it into an imperialist base. There is no doubt about it. So this has to be nipped in the bud. This has to be stopped. And for that there is the consensus. As Mr. Ramamurti has said, we all agreed that 1971 should be taken as the base year. But we even went a step further. All right let them start the identification process. But you withdraw movement, you call off the agitation. Definitely, leaders should be freed. Leaders cannot be in the jail and the movement called off. No, no leader or the AASU and the political parties should be kept in jail but should be brought out and a serious reconciliation should begin because it is no use camouflaging it or covering it up. Relations with the communities have otherwise deteriorated in Assam. You cannot imagine citizens in their thousands leaving their hearths and homes and jobs and seeking shelter in another State from the violence. How the movement is degenerating. When Mr. Biswas, an officer of the ONGC was served with a transfer order, he went to join his duties in Assam. As soon as he went to report at the oil installation, he was taken to a police station and arrested as a foreigner. He showed his transfer order. His wife sent a cable to the Chief Secretary as well as to the Chief Minister of West Bengal saying that they were from Calcutta; he has been working in various places in India, that she told him not to go but he had to carry out the orders; as otherwise he would be suspended but now he was in jail. I don't want my husband to work there. Let him quit the job. Please try to send him back. The Chief Minister of West Bengal wrote to the Chief Secretary and the Chief Secretary wrote back that he is in jail and he is being bailed out. So all such people are foreigners. I do not want to go into the story of Mr. Mitra who was killed. But each day new things are coming out.

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

In Assam, the coal-mines in the Margherita area are totally shut down. They can produce the best metallurgical coal, over one million tonnes. The workers there are from the North-West Frontier—the bulk of them. And they settled there some 80 years back. The President of the Union there is one Mr. Aslam Khan. Our General Secretary, Mr. Badin Chowdhury, is a foreigner because he is there only for the last thirty years. So also is Mr. Hazarika. Union office after union office is surrounded and workers are being told to leave unions affiliated to AITUC, CITU and INTUC and join the union which will be led by those who only speak Assamese. Such a fine character of a peaceful movement! This has happened because—I charge—both the previous Government and this Government have played politics in it. Secondly, they have not taken strong steps against the officers who have been leading the movement, helping the movement, assisting the movement, abetting the movement. How do I explain it? A minority community procession in Bijni with 30 to 40 thousand people was fired upon by a section of police and the O.C., Mr. Laskar was locked up in the police station. Round after round was fired and, according to the press, 200 people were killed. The situation is that—I am not very happy about it—the West Bengal Government is wanting a judicial inquiry and sending a cable to the Assam Government. Is it a good development? If one State sends letters to another State demanding judicial inquiry, the other State protests to the third State against certain activities, what will happen to the whole country? Is it the beginning of balkanisation? Europe has seen this again and again and that is why they are afraid of further division. This has happened in Yugoslavia once in every fifteen years. Turks after Croats, Croats after Montenegrins and Montenegrins after Muslims. This is what has happened. And that is why Tito was so very

important. He, could unite all of them, Croats, Turks and Montenegrins. And here what do we find after so many years of the liberation movement? Churchill always told that India will never be united. We were united. We developed a new culture, assimilating all the cultures, to the great disappointment of the Anglo-American bloc. And that is the more important issue at stake, besides the chauvinistic movement, besides the secessionist movement, besides the disruption movement. This is the real danger. This movement is not alone. The whole South-East Asia is in it. The Chinese attacking Vietnam, the entire North Burma being under total domination of the Chinese Army, the Chinese Army helping the Afghanistan rebels, America developing their biggest base in Diego Garcia. The stumbling block is what? What is the wall? India. So the conspiracy is against India united, strong, non-aligned, developing in industrial structure, having friendship with the Soviet Union. This is the danger. Having failed to divide into parts the socialist States like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia—which they have been attempting all the time—they want to see if this could be done here. They did it in Vietnam. For as long as thirty years South Vietnam was different from North Vietnam. Today they are doing this in Korea. The Korean students have been massacred and the Army had to march from one town to another to capture it. They have not allowed Korea to be united. United Korea is a danger to the American imperialism; united India is a danger to the American imperialism. So find out the trouble spots, start a mob frenzy, tell them out that their religion is in danger, their culture is in danger. Which culture is in danger? In the mines in Asansol there are 1,30,000 workers. The House should know that out of them, 70,000 are what are called Biharis—they come from Azamgarh, they come from Deoria, Monghyr, Arrah, Chhapra—20,000 from Orissa—Ganjam, Sambalpur—

and the remaining 15,000 to 16,000 are from Bengal. And what is the composition of the workers in the jute mills in West Bengal? Seventy-five per cent come from Bihar and UP., 20 per cent from Orissa and Tamil Nadu., 10 per cent from Bengal.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम: वह मेहनत का काम है इसलिए . . . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Go to Durgapur. Hundred per cent workers are Bengalis. Ask Mr. Pranab Mukherjee...

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : मेहनत करने का काम ब्रेशरा गरीब करता है ।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I say, what is the composition? That question has been raised. And don't misunderstand it. The question is being raised: extreme reactionary secessionists, provincially communal elements in West Bengal; out with them. And we are taking out processions after processions to defend their rights, to defend their right to work there, the right to buy land, the right to stay wherever they like. Nobody has the power and courage in West Bengal to touch even their hair. We are proud of their contribution to the West Bengal economy, to the West Bengal culture. We are proud that Assam has produced a man like Bhupen Hazarika who is the greatest singer in West Bengal, who sings in the Assamese language and whose records are today sold in every town in West Bengal. We are proud of the Assamese language, which is much older than the Bengali language.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: And sung by ASSU also.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: And sung by ASSU also., which is not very good. Here is a poet who sang, "One of my eye is the Brahmaputra and one of my eye is the Ganges". There is imperialistic machination, and the upper class in Assam feared the spread of radical ideas because for the first time the progressive and democratic forces in Assam got the

largest number of seats in the Assembly and for the first time the working-class of Assam demanded nationalisation of the tea estates. The tea estates are financing this movement. Otherwise, Mr. Goswami, tell me one thing. For nine months they did not allow oil to go to Calcutta which is a foreign country! They did not allow oil to go to Patna which is a foreign country and to Barauni which is a foreign country.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Will you kindly tell me, Mr. Kalyan Roy, one thing? Is there any country in the world in which the students are to demand expulsion of foreigners, from the Government? Is there any parallel in the world? (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: The students have been misled there. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Mr. Goswami, fortunately, all the students are not with you today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA): Mr. Roy, please conclude. It is more than half an hour.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am finishing, but for the disturbance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA): That is all right.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Let me point out that the words used by Mr. Kalyan Roy identify the movement-makers almost with Hitler.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I did not say that. It reminds me of that. I think he will get a chance.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: When the words will go to the people of Assam, how will they react? I would appeal to the House to consider what will be the reaction in Assam?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I have seen their reaction.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** What kind of impact will they have on Assam?

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** You have been saying it for the last nine months. Mr. Goswami, and going thereto agitate against the minorities, the linguistic minorities and the communal minorities. Till today you have not said a word against the massacre of the Bengali minorities and other minorities. You say that you do not like and you do not appreciate it. But you have no courage to go and stand there with the victims. You have no courage.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** Your people did not go. I have gone.

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** You read any newspaper including the ASSAM TRIBUNE. (Interruptions)

**SHRI ORNAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAH:** Mr. Chairman, UP is ready to welcome all the Assamese and all the Bengalese. You send them to UP.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA):** Mr. Kalyan Roy, please finish.

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** I am finishing.

How is it that you have stopped plywood, coal and other goods of the public sector? All right.

**PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA:** Why all right?

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** You have done it in regard to plywood, petrol, coal, but not tea. Why? Is it because it is owned by the Brooke Bond, the Duncan Brothers, the Birlas, the Bird and Co.? Is it because of this? Let them say why not a single ounce of tea has been stopped if they are so much against foreigners utilising their raw materials.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA):** Mr. Roy, please conclude.

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** I am only appealing that strong measures have to be taken.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA):** Please conclude.

श्री लाइ रो मोहन निमि : देश का उत्पादन वहां होता है ।

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** If you accept their theory, India has to be divided! (Interruptions) Coal should not be sent to Tamil Nadu! Jute should be consumed in West Bengal! It should not be exported outside. Coal should not feed the thermal power stations in Delhi! Assam oil should not go to Barauni! For nine months it is closed. So I am saying, Sir, that this sort of inflammatory languages to fool some people have failed. We can fool some people for some time. You can fool all people for some time but not all people for all time. The people of Assam are also getting fed up. Mr. Bipin Das says that the AASU is totally disagreeing with the Gana Sangram Parishad. It is bound to be so. Now the time has come when we should sit down for a dialogue. People should be released, the movement should be called off, linguistic minorities or communal minorities or any persons who have been forced to leave their houses or jobs must be brought back to where they were, and a dialogue must start. If this is not done, Sir, it will not damage them much, but India will not be what it is today.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA):** It is 5 o'clock now. Mr. Goswami, will you like to start your speech?

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** Yes, Sir.

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** Tomorrow.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA):** Only five minutes and then we will adjourn.

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** Tomorrow.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI; One sentence, and. then tomorrow.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, I have heard Mr. Kalyan Roy's speech. It is 5 now; I should not start now. I ask your permission to start my speech tomorrow,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA); The House adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 10th June,. 1980.