

[Shri Nageshwar Prasad Shahi.]

जी को हटाया इसलिए कि ला एंड आर्डर की सिचुएशन ठीक नहीं है, डकैतियां हो रही हैं, रेप हो रहे हैं, लूट हो रही है, मेन रोड पर इस तरह की . . . .

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND SUPPLY AND REHABILITATION (SHRI V. P. SATHE): This is unfair. This is an uncalled for aspersion. The person concerned is not present to defend himself. This is against the May's Parliamentary Practice. This cannot be done.... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Then how to deal with the situation?.. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. P. SATHE: General insinuations could be made, but not personal.. (Interruptions). This is against Parliamentary practice.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: I know what parliamentary practice is. Do not teach me.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I am making a general remark.. (Interruptions) This should be withdrawn. At least do that. You withdraw.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: No, I will not.... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Then substantiate it.... (Interruptions) Sir, this is objectionable.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: Mr. Sathe, take your seat. Do not disturb.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: It is a point of order.... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): I think, Mr. Minister, let us proceed with the other work. In this House there are certain conventions; parliamentary practice might be anything in the other House, Rajya Sabha has its own code and practices; names are mentioned and we ignore them. Now, Mr. Shahi, please conclude.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: I am concluding. I am simply drawing the attention of the Minister present here to bring it to the knowledge of the Home Minister that such things should stop or else Mr. Bhander will go the way of Mr. Chaturvedi.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Next item, the Assam Appropriation Bill, 1980.

### THE ASSAM APPROPRIATION (SECOND VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL, 1980

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

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

Sir, the House at its sitting held on the 11th June 1980 approved the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated 12th December 1979 in respect of Assam issued under Article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from 12th June 1980. As a result the powers of the Legislature of the State of Assam are exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament.

On 14th March 1980 the Budget of the Government of Assam for the year 1980-81 has been presented in Parliament for obtaining a Vote on Account for four months to enable the State Government to meet its requirements up to July 1980.

A need has now arisen to seek supply for a further period of four months for the Government of Assam. Assam Appropriation (Second Vote on Account) Bill 1980 comprises Demands on Account aggregating Rs. 139.82 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 11th

June 1980, and Rs. 18.50 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam. The Second Vote on Account pamphlet which gives details of the expenditure has already been circulated.

*The question was proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): I have to bring to the notice of the honourable Members that the time allotted by the Committee and Chairman is two hours thirty minutes for this discussion. I would only request cooperation of the Members in being brief ...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Sir, before the debate starts, please give me two minutes. I may refer to the encouraging development in Assam. With your permission I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the latest development concerning the agitation in Assam over the issue of foreign nationals. The All-Assam Students' Union has reacted positively to the very constructive speech made by the Prime Minister in this House on 11-6-1980. This is a very encouraging development. The All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad of course does not agree with the AASU and has openly expressed a negative reaction to the Prime Minister. This is exactly what I have been saying all these months that while AASU leadership is sincere, honest and motivated by best of intentions, some groups in the AAGSP have ulterior motives and are determined to frustrate all efforts at a peaceful solution of the problem. Nevertheless, AASU is the real force behind the agitation and the people of Assam have followed only the AASU. I would urge upon the Government to make further positive response to the AASU gesture so that negotiations may be resumed between the Government and the AASU and a mutually acceptable solution can be arrived at without any further loss of time.

I repeat what I said in my earlier speeches in this House that the problem of foreign nationals in Assam is a real one that the fears and apprehen-

sion of the people of Assam are genuine and that the problem must be solved here and now peacefully through negotiations and in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the land. If the settlement between the Government and the AASU is delayed any further, I would like the Minister to take note, the situation will become more complicated, the extremist and divisive forces will get the upper hand and the State and the country will suffer an irreparable damage. I, therefore, urge upon the Government and the AASU to make further moves forward—I emphasise "further moves forward"—which will make it possible for them to come to the negotiating table at the earliest and settle the problem once for all.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA (Uttar Pradesh): Are they ready to withdraw the agitation?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: They have given some indication.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Now that you are saying something, we are also asking that question. I welcome your gesture. But I am putting a question so that you may also consider it. What is the difficulty if they really want a solution in withdrawing the agitation? Why cannot they withdraw the agitation?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Shri Nanda.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): Sir, I reciprocate the feelings expressed by Mr. Das and I also request the Government, through you, Sir, to make "further moves forward."

Sir, we are discussing this Appropriation Bill in a very unusual situation and the time allotted to my Party is so meagre that while I lodge a strong protest against this kind of arrangement, I would confine myself to a few questions as I do in a Calling Attention and not devote myself to a full-fledged debate.

[Shri Narasingha Prasad Nanda]

Sir, we have been asked to agree to an expenditure of Rs. 158,38,00,000 for the year 1980-81 for Assam. If you kindly see the expenditure under various heads, you will find that the capital expenditure is of 24 per cent and the revenue expenditure is of 76 per cent. You make a comparison of the Assam Budget for the last three or four years. The time is so limited at my disposal, I am not able to develop this point. But I would like to know what is the ratio that is maintained by the people who are in the charge of preparation of the Budget for the State between capital expenditure and revenue expenditure and whether there has been any increase in the proportion between the capital expenditure and the revenue expenditure for the year 1980-81. I myself calculated the figure for this year and it comes to 24 per cent minus the amount charged on the Consolidated Fund. If you take into consideration only the amount that is to be voted by the Parliament, then 24 per cent is the capital expenditure and 76 per cent is the revenue expenditure. If this is the state of affairs, this itself shows the kind of awareness or the sense of urgency that the Government has in making the special efforts to boost the economic growth of this region.

The next point that I would like to submit is this: What is the *per capita* investment in Assam? I know that in States like Maharashtra, Punjab and Haryana, the *per capita* investment is about Rs. 1,000. What about Assam? Everybody says that Assam has been neglected and it has remained economically backward. It is one of the States where the gross national income is one of the lowest. Assam has not yet got even a broad gauge line in spite of 30 years of independence. The communication system is still at the primitive stage. Of course, air flights are there. But the road communications and the rail communications are at a primitive stage of development. Therefore, Sir, I would like to know from the hon.

Minister one thing: What is the *per capita* investment in Assam? After all, if you want to rapidly develop this region, there is the need for increasing the *per capita* investment. I want to know whether any effort has been made in that direction.

Sir, I will now come to my third point. Sir, we notice that the inflationary spiral is assuming a very gigantic proportion, and the entire economy of the country may crash as a result of that. Now it is 23 per cent. And we thought that the sagacious Mr. Venkataraman would be able to close the gap in the deficit. We will know it when the Central Budget will be presented on the 18th of this month. And we may have a big deficit also in the Central Budget. In Assam Budget, I find that negative balance will be Rs. 26.41 crores. After all, receipts and expenditure are just accounting. So, the main point that I want to urge is, how long do we go with this kind of a routine budget? Or, what is the main thrust in this Appropriation Bill? You take the revenue and capital expenditure and then square up the account and ask us to endorse it. That is what we are doing. But what is the main thrust? I would not make a reference to the Budget because there is no time. But if you analyse the disbursement of the capital amount which appears in section 5 of the Explanatory Memorandum of the Budget of the Government of Assam for the year 1980-81, it presents a very discouraging picture. In the 1979-80 Budget, the amount that was sought to be invested was Rs. 140 crores and now in 1980-81 Budget, this has been reduced to Rs. 137 crores. This is how we are going to deal with Assam. This is how we are serious about the problems in Assam. This is how we want to develop this region as rapidly as possible.

There are many such points but since I want to leave some time for my colleague Mr. Sankar Ghose, I am concluding my speech after lodging a strong protest for allotting such

small a time to our party on matters like Appropriation Bill for Assam while you take on Calling Attention hours and hours, and on irrelevant matters hours and hours are taken. Thank you very much.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as I rise to support this Bill, Assam Appropriation Bill of 1980 which is seeking to provide Vote on Account to certain expenditure to be incurred in the State of Assam, I cannot help expressing my deepest anguish over the affairs in Assam and over the fact that this beautiful State of Assam has been thrown into a state of chaos, into a state of violence and a state of total instability. It was heartening to listen to Shri Bipinpal Das that AASU has shown some positive response to the suggestions made by the Prime Minister in her speech the other day in this House. And any one who listened to her speech in this House, I am sure, would have no doubt in his mind whatsoever that if there was one person who was extremely serious about finding a solution, without any prejudices, without any preconceived notions and with an absolutely open mind, realising that the people of Assam so far as their apprehensions were concerned—had these genuine apprehensions, the underhand of certain forces notwithstanding, it was the Prime Minister, it was Shrimati Indira Gandhi who was most anxious to finding a solution to the burning problem of the foreign nationals in Assam excepting that she was wanting to solve the problem in a manner which would be a pragmatic approach, an approach which would be able to seek a solution to the problem and not getting involved in a process, a process which would create more problems than the solution seeks to solve. To this, AASU has shown some positive response. I am sure AASU will realise the wisdom of abandoning their agitation and come to the negotiating table so that the miseries and the misfortunes of Assam can come to an end and we do go back to the task

at a stage when the entire economy of the country is at the crossroads, when we are imperilled by very serious problems. If they are very serious problems for the whole country, the people of Assam, the State of Assam cannot be isolated or insulated from the same.

Sir, whenever I have thought of Assam, whenever I have visualised about Assam, sitting in Maharashtra, as you sit, Sir, I have thought of Assam as a State, which is the most beautiful State, from the point of view of scenic beauty, a State which is unparalleled, with its most beautiful and colourful landscape, its beautiful and colourful people, attired in their most colourful and artistic garments. Such is the State of Assam. This is the very State and these are the very people who have braved aggressions from foreigners with exemplary courage and valour and it was, therefore, most unfortunate that they should agitate over a problem which could have been easily solved, a problem which did not require such a massive agitation, which did not require such large-scale destruction, violence, sabotage, arson and so on, which did not require putting the whole State into the hands of divisive and disruptionist forces. Ultimately, what do we see, if one were to look into the very basis of this agitation? Now, let us look at it a little more rationally. Now that the things are likely to be settled, I do not want to say something which would hurt any section of the society. I would not like to say anything which would hurt the agitators, the people, who consider that in Assam, things have been done which has not been fair to them. May be; they have valid reasons for their grievances. Let us look at the problem, let us look at the entire agitation and evaluate and try to judge whether the very premise on which the entire agitation has been based, has been carried on, has a valid foundation. The question is, whether there is a valid foundation for the apprehensions that there was

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a threat to the ethnic homogeneity of Assam. Was there any such threat to the ethnic homogeneity of Assam in the foreign nationals problem, as it was based, as it was sought to be solved? This, Sir, is a problem, unfortunately, created by the vested interests. The other day, when the Prime Minister tried to refer to some of these forces, my friends on the other side felt extremely agitated. Now, of course, they will be exposed a little more clearly and I shall be referring to them a little later on. I shall be identifying them a little later. But, at this juncture, those who talk of ethnic homogeneity, could have done better to evaluate and look at the very basis of the entire population of Assam. Who are the people who constitute this beautiful State of Assam, who have given us colourful dances, who have given us colourful music who have given us a magnificent culture, a culture of which we have been proud, who have given the sentinels of our country who have braved aggressions with valour and courage? These very people have started fighting with us as if they are not part of India. They have started speaking about tea, timber and oil and saying that the exploitation of these resources, the resources of Assam, were to the detriment of Assam and to the advantage of India, as if India and Assam were two different concepts. Sir, the whole concept of ethnic homogeneity of Assam was utterly ill-founded, utterly untenable, created by vested interests, by those who have been expounding an extremely pernicious cult. Sir, it is the very cult which my friends of the RSS have been expounding. Seventy-three per cent of the people of Assam comprise the linguistic minorities, the Bengalis, the Nepalese and others; the religious minorities, the Muslims and the others, and the largest number is of the tribals.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I do not think this figure of 73 per cent being linguistic minorities is correct.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: No, no. I say, the linguistic minorities, the religious minorities and the tribals, all aggregate to 73 per cent, Mr. Bipinpal Das, I have not studied in depth the population problem of Assam, but I have studied this aspect with some degree of sincerity and the totality of them constitute 73 per cent. And surely if these 73 per cent are taken together and if they were outside this agitation, how then did the question of ethnic homogeneity or imperilment of ethnic homogeneity ever arise? When these 73 per cent were outside the agitation, the question of ethnic homogeneity was created surely by vested interests, by those people who have been propagating the pernicious theory of communal hatred in rest of India, they have brought a different theory in Assam. My friends of the RSS are squarely responsible for bringing about the state of confusion, the state of instability, the state of violence in Assam and now today when AASU has come forward with a positive response, I only hope they do not go on inciting the other agitators to keep away and to work upon creating obstructions in the way of an amicable solution.

Sir, look at the character of the entire agitation. It is unfortunate. I do not want to make any comments. Again I want to be careful so that it may not hurt the agitators as such, but sometimes we do things which are really not very reasonable, rational and we are apt to creating problems concretely out of proportions and then perhaps we try to find solution to the problems which are wholly disproportionate to the malaise itself and the remedy sometimes becomes more disastrous than the very problem we are seeking to redress. The Government officials are a party to this sort of problem which has been going on. They are party to the entire agitation. They have been inciting the agitation. Those who are supposed to be the guardians of law are the ones who have been unabashedly siding the breakers of law, the violence, the

sabotage, the arson and all that. The others who are party to this agitation are those who have their base in the urban area. Unfortunately, the agitation has been carried out by those who belong to the privileged and, unfortunately, the privileged caste, the Brahmans and the Kalidasis. If this be so, it is time for the agitators to realise that they would not be able to carry it on too far. Undoubtedly, the problem of the foreign nationals does exist and that was accepted by the Prime Minister. It is accepted by the whole country as such. But the solution of the problem does not lie in doing what they have done all these days. The only solution at this juncture seems to be, having done enough devastation, having done enough damage to the country and to Assam having done enough disruption, they come in a constructive manner to the negotiating table to take care of the problems.

It has to be understood properly that the complaint of swarming and the erosion of the Assamese culture is an entirely untenable idea. Every State has a different culture. You and I and Mr. Sathe speak a different language. In fact, every State has a different language. Undoubtedly, all States bear mark of their own culture, they have their own languages, they have their own dialect, they have own music, their own dances, their own literature, their own ways of life and living. But, Sir, in the midst of these diversities, there is an unbreakable common bond between us as Indians first and Indians last, which bond harmonises our culture and synchronises our lives. There is, thus, a unity in diversity and this balance unites our people as a nation and motivates them to act, not parochially, but in the national interest. And if we do not act in an interest which is to the larger interest of the nation, then it is wholly erroneous to assume that we are ever acting in the interest of the State as such, because Assam is very much, has been very much a part of India. It is today very much a part

of India and it shall ever remain very much a part of India. Interest of Assam is the interest of India. It has been the interest of India, it is the interest of India and it shall ever remain the interest of India.

The second grievance appears to be that the natural resources of Assam—i.e. tea, timber and oil—have been ex-ploited mercilessly to the detriment of the State and without regard to the development of Assam, without regard to the welfare of the people of Assam and only keeping in view the interests of the rest of India. Sir, no allegation can be more unjust, more unfair and more unsustainable on facts. One can never understand how in modern times one can ever think of exploitation of these items. Tea is sold basically in the markets of Europe. Timber is sold throughout India. So far as oil is concerned, Sir, only today we have read that we have lost in foreign exchange Rs. 400 crores. I cannot conceive any rational basis to justify an allegation that these valuable resources of Assam—tea, timber and oil—could ever be exploited to the detriment of the very State in which they are found and to the benefit of the rest of the country. The whole idea, to say the least, is utterly absurd and utterly motivated. No rational can be found...

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** The only point made by the people of Assam is that the entire oil produced by Assam is not refined within Assam. Bulk of it goes out of the State. We have got one oil refinery. This is one complaint.

The other complaint is that while the State is rich in timber and bamboo, all these raw materials are not utilised for building up industries locally.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Ultimately the complaint boils down to this that the region has remained under-developed. Sir, that is a very valid complaint. But is this the only region

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which has remained under-developed in our country? I happen to come from Vidarbha and you, Sir, happen to come from Western Maharashtra. Vidarbha is a part of Maharashtra but has remained hopelessly under-developed—as under-developed as Assam itself. Where do I go? To whom do I complain? There are regional imbalances.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): That is why there is an agitation in Mahavidarbha. The people of Mahavidarbha have started an agitation.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: We shall again start an agitation. I have no doubt in my mind.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Mr. Salve is absolutely right. Even they have to import M.Ps from Calcutta to stand in Chindwara.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: There are brilliant M.Ps from Calcutta. What am I to do if some of them are imported into Rajya Sabha? How can it be helped if Calcutta is saturated and dripping with brilliance? It has got to export something to Chindwara as well as something to Rajya Sabha.

SHRI K. C. PANT (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Salve is an expert from Maharashtra.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am from Maharashtra. I am representing Maharashtra.

The crucial question is the question of regional imbalances. That is a malaise which plagues this country. But is this the solution to the problem? To stop the flow of crude and to put the country to a loss of Rs. 400 crores in foreign exchange at a time when the adverse balance of payment is the single greatest calamity which this country is facing? It is not so much the price and stability which are the problem today. Two years ago, we were paying a petrol bill of

Rs. 1500 crores. Last year, we paid Rs. 3000 crores. This year we may have to pay Rs. 4,997 crores nearly Rs. 5000 crores. And for next year the projections are Rs. 7,000 crores. Where are we going to find so much money? The adverse balance of payments position is going to pose the greatest problem when a time will come when oil will become more difficult and more scarce and more precious in this country than gold, physically and literally. But that is a different aspect of the matter. Four hundred valuable crores have been lost. Can that ever be replenished? This sort of an agitation is never going to restore the imbalances which have come about.

You are certainly entitled to much larger development. Certainly! You work for it; you ask for it; come to the negotiating table ask for more refineries ask for more industries; ask for more employment in your State. And nobody will have any grievance about it. But certainly you have no business to ask licence to kill people and kill people of only one community. Sir, what sort of an agitation is this?—seeking redressal of imbalances in the region where people of only one community have been killed. Today I was told—I was very anguished to hear that and someone will have to answer it—that in Tripura churches after churches have been burnt; the Christian community have been destroyed; they are mercilessly killed. It is most unfortunate that this sort of things are happening in an area which was most peaceful, where people of different castes, different religions, different beliefs have lived in amity and peace. Communal hatred had never touched those areas. But friends of mine have infiltrated into that region; the pernicious RSS philosophy had got into their heads and this is the result. All this is a facade. All this is a make believe thing, that economic grievances exist for them to carry out this sort of an agitation. The real story is something else and it is manifesting itself in the

massacre of people of one particular community. I cannot understand it. One can say, so far as poverty is concerned, that is one single little curse which exists in this country but poverty does not see whether one is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian. A poor man is a poor man, never mind to which community he belongs. How can it discriminate between religion and religion? Hunger never discriminates between man and man, between religion and religion.

My submission, Sir, therefore, is, let us not deceive ourselves unnecessarily and let us not be taken for a ride by those who have vested interests in using you as tools to aggrandize their own personal, vested interests and to utilise you for achieving their own purposes and ends. The Prime Minister very discreetly referred to the very genuine apprehensions she had of the foreigners' hand in all that has been done. Sir, there is the sons of the soil theory which is sought to be put forward. We do subscribe to the sons of the soil theory, but this sons of the soil theory, if it is taken beyond a point, becomes extremely pernicious and it is likely to be destructive to the interests of [national] integration. Therefore, Sir, the sons of the soil theory must not be taken as a means of creating disturbances, anarchy and lawlessness. To a point, to a stage where you seek employment of the less privileged, the under-privileged—for those who are living below the poverty line—I can understand, because they cannot migrate from one State to another, from one town to another, from one village to another and they must be provided . . .

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: Mr. Gundu Rao, after becoming Chief Minister, started this sons of the soil theory in Karnataka. You did not condemn his action. I know, the Prime Minister did condemn it in a meeting. But you people did not condemn it.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am not repudiating the sons of the soil theory lock, stock and barred. I am only saying, let us not take it beyond a point. You cannot (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: The Shiv Sena advocated a certain philosophy and they are in collusion with you.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: We are the people who fought the Shiv Sena ahead of anybody else. It is they who have come round to our way of thinking. We have not come round to their way of thinking.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: You have got the thinking of the Shiv Sena, in other words.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE. This is like saying that the ocean has gone into a drop instead of the drop going into the ocean. Have some sense of proportion. (*Interruptions*)

All right. You are pleased to have your own view. I have my own. I cannot suggest anything about that. That is not the point. I am making this point clear for you, Mr. Nanda, that I am not saying that we completely dispense with the "sons of the soil" theory, but let us have some limits to this theory. We cannot beyond a point impose or import this theory everywhere. If we do that, it will imperil the concept of national integrity. To some extent it has to be brought in, at least in those States where the employment concerned is of those who cannot migrate from their villages, from their towns, from their cities, from their States to other places. At that level, willy-nilly, we have got to accept this "sons of the soil" theory but not to an extent as is sought to be done here for the purpose of . . .

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: In the context of Mr. Gundu Rao's statement, the Prime Minister described it as pernicious, and you are trying to defend Mr. Gundu Rao.



SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: No, I am not trying to defend Mr. Gundu Rao; nor am I trying to defend you. What I am trying to say is what my views are on the matter. Who am I to hold a brief for Mr. Gundu Rao? Are we discussing Mr. Gundu Rao? No, we are not discussing Mr. Gundu Rao. What I am saying is that the "sons of the soil" theory holds good to this extent, for worse or for better. Sir, before I conclude....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Your colleague is on a point of order. Will you please yield to him?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE. Yes, I yield.

SHRI M. BASAVARAJU (Karnataka): Because the name of my hon. Chief Minister is mentioned here, I want to say only a few words.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Don't say a few words. What is the point of order?

SHRI M. BASAVARAJU: What the hon. Chief Minister, Mr. Gundu Rao, meant by the "sons of the soil" theory was that in centrally-sponsored schemes, for the important jobs, the Kannada people should be employed, which is not the case at present. That is what he meant by that, not anything else.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): There is no point of order.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Are we discussing Shiv Sena or Karnataka? The discussion should be on Assam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Yes, Mr. Salve.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I hope the hon. Members have understood by what I meant the "sons of the soil" theory. In the end, I want to submit

that, so far as the cut-off year is concerned, the other day, the Prime Minister stated in categorical terms—and I am saying this particularly for the benefit of Mr. Bipinpal Das who has brought some heartening message from the organisers of ASSU—that she did not say that 1971 was the cut-off year; nor did she say any other year as the cut-off year as such, but that 1971 was to be the starting point for determining and identifying the foreign nationals, let us start going. She said that the whole problem has to be viewed as a problem of human beings. It is a human problem. It is not a problem purely of law. And it is certainly not a problem purely of statistics. It is a question of solving the problems of those who are in blood and flesh very much part and parcel of Assam, living there for several years. Because of some statutory provisions, they may be found to be foreign nationals, but they are none the less human beings and are entitled to treatment as such. And if that be so, without any pre-conceived notions, as she said the other day, ASSU should at least not lose any time in coming to the negotiating table. I think nothing can be more pragmatic than to accept that let 1971 be the starting point, let us start identifying the foreign nationals and then later the cut-off year can be decided. You see the difficulty in working out even on the basis of 1971. Once the process starts, they would themselves realise what the difficulties are, how many people they are able to identify and how their problems are likely to be solved. In the process, it must be realised that for the people of Assam this is spelling disaster for them, it is a spreading unemployment, it is spreading much greater economic hardships among the weaker sections of the people. It is bringing to a complete halt the entire developmental activities. It is spreading disaster and chaos. And last but not the least, the ASSU people would do well to understand that this anarchy in the campus is never going to help them. They have already lost one valuable year of their lives. They

must not lose any further time. They must come to the negotiating table and restore peace and amity in this beautiful State. I am sure their problems would be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Thank you, very much.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. K. Morarka) in the Chair.]

SHRI ROBIN KAKATI (Assam):  
(Started speaking in Assamese).

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश):  
श्रीमन्, ट्रांसलेशन नहीं आ रहा है।

SHRI ROBIN KAKATI: I have already informed them.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: आप हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी में बोल सकते हैं तो इन भाषाओं में बोल लीजिए।

SHRI ROBIN KAKATI: I am speaking in my language. I have already informed them about it. But they have not been able to manage.

श्री हरिशंकर भाभड़ा (राजस्थान):  
श्रीमन्, पिछले सेशन में यह कहा गया था कि सब भाषाओं के ट्रांसलेशन को व्यवस्था की जाएगी, लेकिन फिर भी इसको व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। इस व्यवस्था का क्या हुआ?

SHRI ROBIN KAKATI: Instead of me, Mr. Biswa Goswami may speak

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Mr. Biswa Goswami may speak first and Mr. Kakati may speak afterwards.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Gujarat):  
What is the position in this regard? There is a list of languages in respect of which if an hon. Member gives notice, the Secretariat has to make arrangements for translation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The translator will come

from the Lok Sabha. He may take his chance later. In the mean time the other hon. Members may speak.

नौबहन और परिवहन तथा पर्यटन और नागर विमानन मन्त्री (श्री अनन्त प्रसाद शर्मा):  
आप हिन्दुस्तानी में बोल सकते हैं तो हिन्दुस्तानी में बोलिए।

SHRI ROBIN KAKATI: I can. But I will speak in Assamese.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have been discussing the Assam Appropriation (Second Vote on Account) Bill. Sir, normally, this would have been discussed in the Assam Assembly. But due to a peculiar situation there and as the Assembly is in animated suspension, we are discussing the Assam Budget in Parliament.

Sir, it is a fact that in the last Lok Sabha elections, out of the 14 seats, only in two seats elections could be held, and in the remaining 12 seats the elections could not be held due to a mass movement there on the question of foreign nationals. In the Lok Sabha Assam is unrepresented. So, we are discussing the future of Assam when Parliament is not properly represented by the representatives of the people of Assam.

Sir, the people of Assam have been agitating for a just and genuine cause, for detection and deportation of foreign nationals as per the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the land. It is a matter of great regret that although this demand is a legitimate one, the Government has done nothing to solve this most important and vital problem the State of Assam is facing today. Sir, the immigration into Assam is not a new thing. It is almost about a century old and the immigration started into the State of Assam since the beginning of the century.

In 1911 the line system was introduced in order to contain the immigration, and the tribal belt and blocks were introduced in order to

[Shri Biswa Goswami]

protect the tribals from the onslaught of the immigrants, I may refer to what Dr. Rajendra Prasad said in his book "India Divided". He stated:

"This policy of colonisation of Assam by the Muslims of Bengal continued under the joint auspices of the Muslim League Ministries of Sir Seadullah in Assam and Sir Nizamuddin in Bengal."

This immigration in the name of "grow more food" campaign and colonisation continued, Sir, you will be surprised to know that special trains were run and people were encouraged to travel to Assam from the neighbouring East Bengal. In this way it has come to such a phase that the population growth of the State of Assam has become about 35 per cent, which is far above the growth rate of India. So, there are foreign nationals in the voters list in Assam. That foreign nationals have entered the State of Assam is clear from the observations of Shri S. L. Shekhdar, Chief Election Commissioners of India who observed as follows in the Chief Electoral Officers' Conferences held at Ootacamund from the 24th and 26th of October, 1978:—

"I would like to refer to the alarming situation in some States, specially in the north-eastern region, wherefrom disturbing reports are coming regarding large-scale inclusion of foreign nationals in the electoral rolls. In one case, Assam, the population in 1971 recorded an increase of as high as 34.98 per cent over the 1961 figures and this increase was attributed to the influx of a very large number of persons from the neighbouring countries. The influx has become a regular feature. I think it may not be a wrong assessment to make, on the basis of the increased of 34.98 per cent between the two censuses, that the increased that is likely to be accorded in the 1991

census would be more than 100 per cent over the 1961 census."

So the Chief Election Commissioner observed like this. In spite of that, there was an attempt on the part of the Government to hold Lok Sabha elections in Assam without correcting the voters' list, in spite of strong protests from the local population of the State. The people have been agitating peacefully and they are demanding that the sanctity of the Constitution and the laws of the land should be preserved. They demand that the foreigners should be identified as per the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the land. But their demand has not been listened to. And the question of cut-off year was raised. Sir, nobody is entitled to go against the provisions of the Constitution. Nobody can interpret who is a foreigner and who is not a foreigner according to his sweet will. It cannot be the pleasure of executive decision to determine who is a foreigner. The Citizenship Act and the Constitution of our country have clearly mentioned who is a foreigner. So the demand of the students is simply this: they want the detection and deportation of the foreigners as per the provisions of the Constitution. And here is a Government in our country which is not prepared to concede even this legitimate demand. Sir, again I may mention that the students have shown a very conciliatory attitude. And they have issued a statement two or three days ago. But up till now no initiative has been taken from the side of the Government to bring the students to the conference table for a solution of this problem.

Assam has been kept as a colony from the British days even up till today. It has been treated as a colony and the colonial economy is flourishing in Assam. Assam produces 60 per cent of India's crude oil and we fought for two re-

fineries to be located in Assam. The people of the State had to launch a movement and they had to court arrest and face jails, face lathi-charge, and so on. Then after that movement Assam got two refineries, one at Noonmati and the other at Bongaigaon. The total capacity of both these refineries is 1.81 million tonnes whereas the refining capacity of the refinery at Barauni which is run purely on crude oil from Assam is 3.60 million tonnes. This is the way Assam is treated. Then Assam produces about 55 per cent of India's plywood. Out of that plywood production the Centre gets about Rs. 6 crores as tax from plywood, and what does Assam get. Assam gets just Rs. 35 lakhs. From Assam tea we get practically nothing. Similarly Assam crude, we get royalty at the rate of Rs. 42 only per tonne whereas the Government imports crude oil from outside India at a much higher rate than this. The people had to agitate for a bridge over the Brahmaputra. The people had been demanding for an extension of the broadgauge railway line. That demand has not been conceded. The Janata Government had decided to extend the broadgauge line from New Bongaigaon to Gauhati and started work and wanted to complete it by 1981.

But now nobody knows when this will be completed considering the progress of the work. It may take ten years or so. You will be surprised to know that at the time of the Chinese aggression construction of the North Trunk Road was started. Do you know what the people said? The people called this road Mao Tse tung road. Had there been no Chinese aggression that road would not have been constructed. People say ironically that it is a Mao Tse tung road. This is how Assam has been treated. Colonial exploitation is going on in Assam. There is no attempt on the part of the Government to end this. You will see from all

other proposals of the Government there is no scheme for development of Assam or that area. Cottage industries are there. But in Assam cottage industries are dying for want of Government patronage. We produce beautiful silk which has a foreign market. But for want of Government patronage we have not been able to flourish. In Assam every woman is an expert weaver. But nothing has been developed, nothing has been done for small industries, for weaving industry; nothing has been done to revive the cottage industries in this State. If this colonial exploitation is not ended, if the Central Government does not pay any heed to the genuine problems of the State, I am afraid that a situation may be created not only in Assam but in the entire northeastern region in which the psychology of going out of India may grow and in that case the Government of India will be solely responsible, and not the people, because the people have waited with patience for too long a period but their demands have not been met. Lastly I would like to say that this is an issue of foreign nationals and if it is not solved, then there will be no normalcy. (Time bell ring). I am concluding.

Normalcy should be restored so that that region can be developed. If Assam is lost, India cannot be saved. During the 1962 Chinese aggression these very people in Assam showed exemplary valour and courage and stood by the Government of India as one man. If somebody calls them secessionists, I would like to say that they could be found among the immigrants, not among the Assamese. Because the proposal for a sovereign greater Bengal including the entire North-Eastern region is still there. Among the Assamese there are no secessionist elements. We are for safeguarding our Constitution and for maintaining the integrity and sovereignty of the country. We

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proved our *bona fides* in the past and we will prove it in the future also. With these few words, I would once again repeat that the colonial exploitation of the State must be ended and the Government of India must take proper measures to give a new direction for the economic development of the region and for the solution of the problem of foreign nationals, as per the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the land.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, when you called the distinguished lawyer, honourable Shri Salve, I expected that the distinguished lawyer would throw some new light on the problem and suggest a solution therefor. But he himself admitted that he was speaking without studying the problem in depth. Yet he has hurled a lot of accusations against the people of Assam. I do not like to answer to what he said. May be he has been saying all these on the briefing by the Home Ministry. But it is a tragedy that even responsible people talk about Assam without caring to understand the situation in that part of the country. May I tell Mr. Salve that in the whole North-Eastern region, Assam is in the centre of the main current of the national history of this country. When you say day in and day out that the Assamese are secessionists and they are anti-Indians, you are speaking not only a dangerous untruth, but you are expressing your total ignorance of and indifference to that particular area.

We have been discussing Assam times without number not only in this session but in the sessions in the past. The point is that today we are discussing the Assam Appropriation (Second Vote on Account) Bill, 1980. This account has been submitted by a Government which swears by socialism every morning and every afternoon. What does this Appropriation Bill

indicate except that the Congress (I) wants to maintain its control over Assam politics for a few months more? It is an Appropriation Account to express the people of Assam. The administration in Assam has become anti-Assamese and pro-foreigners. There is nothing in it about any development for attempts to bring about a satisfactory solution or about detection and deportation of foreign nationals which is the most important problem as admitted by the Government and by the entire country. This problem of foreign nationals is closely connected with the problem of economic development of the State. Unless we get rid of the large scale foreigners we cannot have any economic planning. To solve this problem of foreign nationals, people have been agitating. No other country provides an example of such an agitation for nine months with the demands: "Please save us from the foreigners who have infiltrated into and settled in this part of the country." This is really a very surprising situation and antagonising too. We have heard the Prime Minister also. She has been saying all the time that 'I want a solution? I am for negotiations'. But at the same time in this and the other House she has made certain statements without verification which ultimately has led to further complications in the whole problem. The Prime Minister complains that the newspapers publish unverified news. But I do not understand how the Prime Minister can make unverified statements in the House. Now, I request very humbly, as a Member from that area, not only the Prime Minister, but also the Home Minister and the other responsible Members, to be very careful in their speeches and to say things only after proper scrutiny and verification. I do not want to repeat that the movement in Assam is non-violent because that is all unnecessary now. I only want to tell you, Sir, that I am a

student of political science and of the politics of this country. There has never been a powerful movement of this type, strictly non-violent in character, that has ever been started by any organisation so far in India. Now, I would like to refer to certain information in relation the situation in this State. Sir, the honourable Member, Mr. Salve, was pointing out that to demand benefits for Assam out of the natural resources found in that State is anti-national. When Assam has got oil and tea, the people there demand that they must be benefited by these things. But, according to Mr. Salve, it is wrong. Here is a strange socialist theory being propounded by Mr. Salve. I do not know whether the Congress (I) is going to bring about such a kind of socialism. Now, what is the situation there? In Assam, Sir, the position is, that if I am to follow Mr. Salve's logic, then it means that allow huge influx of foreign people to the State of Assam, innumerable people into that State and dump them there but to take all the resources out of Assam and then this will bring about socialism. When such theories are relied on, we can have only chaos and not any development of that State. We can develop only frustrations among the people. Development of the entire North-Eastern region and for that matter, development of India is not possible in this way. Here, if you look at some statistical information, you will find, Assam has got 35 per cent growth in her population while India as a whole has got 22 per cent only then look at another side. You will find that the literacy percentage in India is 29.5 per cent while in Assam it is 19.27 per cent. Look at the figures relating to industrial development throughout the period 1951-61 or at the Plan provisions, you will find that for the whole of India, a sum of Rs. 1,200 crores was provided for industrial development while for Assam it is only 15 crores of rupees. There was a reference to oil and tea. Now, what is the position of the tea

companies? 750 companies, tea companies, are there and, out of these 750 companies, 700 have got their head offices in Calcutta. These are not just a figures. The head offices of these companies being in Calcutta means deprivation, economic deprivation, of the whole State in a very large measure. Now, there is within the Assam biggest fertilizer plant of the Hindustan Fertilizer Corporation. But when the people wanted that the Head Office should be there, there was an opposition from certain quarters and it is proposed to be shifted to Calcutta. Now, Calcutta is a big city and is a centre of capitalist enterprise and management and it continues to be an exploiter of not only the State of Assam, but also of the whole North-Eastern region. Now, this situation has to be changed if we want really to build up socialism in the country at all. Again when we talk about agricultural development, what is the position? For agricultural development, irrigation is a must "In 1951 an average of 18 per cent of the cultivable land was irrigated in India. But what is Assam's position in this regard? Assam's average in the year 1980 is 9.55 per cent. This shows that what Assam has been able to achieve in 1980 is just half the national average of 1951.

So, while the population of Assam grows enormously—more artificial growth through influx of foreigners, then natural increase of Indian citizens—in all other spheres there is retardation. In economic development Assam as a part of India is 30 years behind the nation but in unnatural population growth Assam is ahead of the rest of India. Here lies the clue to the present crisis.

Now, I point out another very important aspect of the economic situation. Among the resources of Assam, tea, oil, rice, jute and the Brahmaputra water are some of the greatest

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

resources—not only for Assam but for the entire country. If we can harness this river, we can produce huge quantity of energy and we can feed half of India. But now what have we done? There was a statement by the hon. Minister Shri Ghani Khan Chaudhuri that a barrage is going to be started at Jogighopa in Colpara in Assam. But for what purpose? For the purpose of feeding Farakka and Calcutta. In other words the Brahmaputra is to be utilised not for the benefit of Assam not for removing floods there but for the benefit of distant areas. If somebody criticises such moves he will be accused of being an anti-Indian. Now, see what is the record of the Government?... (Time bell rings) I will take just two minutes more and finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Mr. Sharma, the total minutes allotted for you are 18; you have taken 11 minutes already.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I am concluding. The point is that the Government has been saying a lot about agricultural development. But if we look at the actual figures, what do we find? I have already said that the present level of irrigation development in Assam is half the national average of 1951, the base year of planning. This is because of the direct result of low investment.

Let us look at the 1975 figures of investment on irrigation development in major river basins.

In the case of Ganga, the total investment is Rs. 1173 crores the total area irrigated is 130.66 lakh hectares. For Krishna, the total investment is Rs. 1026.44 crores and the total area irrigated is 38.60 lakh hectares. For Indus the total investment is Rs. 518.27 crores and the total area irrigated is 50.9 lakh hectares. For Godavari the total investment is Rs. 373.07 crores and the total area irri-

gated is 17.99 lakh hectares. For Mahanadi the total investment is Rs. 218.60 crores and the total area irrigated is 16.67 lakh hectares. For Brahmaputra the total investment is Rs. 15.73 crores and the total area irrigated is 1.06 hectares. (Time bell rings)

This highlights the fact that the Brahmaputra basin is at the bottom in spite of being endowed with one of the highest water potentials in the world.

In conclusion, I would draw the attention of the hon. Members to only one more thing. Merely by accusing the people of Assam you will not be able to solve the problem. Please try to understand the situation. Many of the Hon'ble Members have no knowledge even of the geography of that part of India. Let them visit the area for a geographical idea before accusing others of anti-national feelings. Let them go there and develop a sense of identity with that particular area.

In the end, I would like to make one request to the Government. The hon. Member Shri Bipinpal Das has referred to some statement about the students. Yesterday I met some of them, at Gauhati. Now the point is that the Government of India and the Prime Minister have been saying different things at different times. I request them immediately to call the student and other leaders of the movement for a discussion and finalise the solution. It is dangerous to delay it any more, and accusing anybody else will only harm the country.

This is my request to the Government. I also request the hon. Members that they should visit not only the

State of Assam but the entire North-Eastern region as soon as they find time and come back with a direct knowledge of the situation there. The situation is very complicated. Everybody says that the minorities have been attacked. But actually those who are called minorities by the Government of India have attacked the people of the State. The majority people are not killing the minorities. It is the minority organisations which are killing people, burning houses and rendering thousands homeless in that State and indulging in all sorts of violence.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE (Assam): Sir, while discussing the Assam Appropriation (Second Vote on Account) Bill, 1980, I may submit that the economic situation at present in Assam is rather alarming. Our economy is completely shattered. During this 9 months' agitation, all activities in the economic sphere have come to a grinding halt. Trading is absolutely dull. Prices are shooting up. There is acute shortage of essential commodities in the entire North-Eastern region. It causes great hardship to the common people. The developmental activities are completely at a standstill. Crores of rupees have been surrendered as the Government Departments are paralysed. It is an intriguing situation. While asking for more development fund, the State is not able to utilise what is allocated. Sir, the situation in the State has serious repercussions on the States of the entire region particularly because of transport dislocation which retards development and disrupts supply line. We are talking about development. But we cannot have development unless we have a climate of peace in this riot-torn State. The other day, a friend of mine, an hon. Member, while discussing the Statutory Resolution asking for extension of President's rule by another six months discovered the crisis of confidence in the Government on the part of the people of Assam which according to him is one of the prime reasons of the failure of nego-

tiations for as held by him, during the last 30 years the ruling congress party failed to achieve the objective of deporting the foreign nationals. Sir, it is the privilege of anybody to criticise the party when he is no longer in it. But in or out of congress everybody has to share the responsibility. One hon. Member also claimed—He is no longer in the Congress now—that he drew pointed attention of the then Home Minister and the three successive Prime Ministers within the four walls of the Assam Pradesh Congress Party office in Gauhati. In his own terminology he calls it as a revolt. But, Sir, such so-called revolts have many fathers. But they claimed to be fathers only when they have left the party. Sir, coming back to the crisis of confidence as emphasised by the hon. Member, I would ask: is he also aware that there is a crisis of confidence among the large sections of the people in Assam living together for the last 30 years?

Sir, public memory is not that short as people think it to be. History corroborates that since the preparations of 1951 census and particularly at the time of the States Re-organisation on the basis of language, it is we who went to these people, these minorities whom we are criticising now, with the message of integration. And they responded to our appeal and they identified themselves with the local indigenous people. They learnt Assamese. They adopted Assamese language as their own. In those areas, there is not a single school which has the medium other than the Assamese. Sir, in the three successive censuses, from 1951 to 1971, these people declared that they spoke Assamese in line with the tea garden labour community another sizable community numbering about 30 lakhs who migrated to Assam from Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Andhra in the middle of the 19th century and in the early 20th century. Sir, this is another instance of its cultural ethos synthesising into the concord of composite Assamese culture. Sir, is there no crisis of



[Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique]

confidence when this harmony and equipoise of a composite culture that receives like a melting pot various cultural patterns and trends are threatened by disintegration? Sir, it is those very people, that sizeable section of the minorities who have made the greatest contribution towards making Assam an uni-lingual State, where the Assamese-speaking population, according to the last census of 1971, forms 71.76 per cent of the total population and they are now, Sir, the most disillusioned victims of a crisis of confidence. We now turn around and suddenly discover that they are not loyal. We now suddenly realise that they pose a threat to the security and integrity of the State. And we suddenly unearth as alleged in a telegram read out by an hon. Member in this House the other day, clandestine transmitters declaring attack on Assam by Bangladesh, as if an enemy broadcasts alerting its target before it attacks.

Sir, even the statistics and these are not my statistics; these are the official statistics and at the top of that cited by the leaders of the agitation cited in their various publications reveals that the rate of growth per annum as indicated in the census from 1951 to 1971 almost tallies with the all-India growth rate. Sir, here is a pamphlet—the Agony of Assam. Here as also in the AASU Memorandum it is written that in 1951, the number of voters was 40,66,940. In 1957, there was an increase of 1.7 per cent. Of course, in their pamphlet, they have given the figures for every six years, and we have to calculate and find out the figure.

I have calculated and all these figures tally. It is with me. If anybody wants to see, they are at liberty to do so. Sir, in 1957 the percentage has increased by 1.71 and the all-India rate of increase is 2.36. In 1962, it is 2.56 and the all-India rate of increase is 2.35. In 1966, it is 1.41 and the all-India rate of increase is 3.16. And,

in 1971 it is true that it increased by 10.42 per cent in one year. Now I am coming to that. Sir, this reveals as demonstrated by this data that from 1971 onwards there is no doubt on record a growth explosion in the voters' list, for exceeding the all-India rate of growth. That is accepted. But, then, Sir, the suggestion made by the hon. Prime Minister on 12th April at Gauhati, which breaks new ground, is a change from 1971 as the cut-off point to 1971 as the take-off point. Sir, this is because it is a non-controversial year. From 1971 onwards, as this pamphlet shows, and their own memoranda and their own facts and figures show, there is quite a big increase in the voters list, after 1971, then what is wrong in starting with 1971? Sir, the year 1971 is then sought to be the starting point, since it is a non-controversial year, to start the process of detection, which will help in assessing the magnitude of the problem, while further discussions would continue to work out ways to deal with the problem. And we work backward from 1971. This is the most rational approach. The other day, on the 11th June, the hon. Prime Minister herself said on the floor that it will take years and years together if we begin the work from 1951. Sir, I say if they start the work from 1951, I am afraid this will defeat the very purpose of the agitation, this will defeat the very purpose of the movement. As soon as this new proposal was made by the Prime Minister, there was a propaganda that there was no change, that the Prime Minister did not budge an inch from her earlier position and that she was sticking to 1971 as the cut-off year. That was the propaganda going on at Gauhati. Sir, I remember correctly that the Times of India of the 13th April has it that when a correspondent asked one of the top leaders of the movement, "Why do you say that there is no change in the Prime Minister's earlier stand, namely, that 1971 instead of being the cut-off point, would be the take-off point, the starting point? Don't you think that there is a total change?" The



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shorn of credibility. It is in the interest of the agitation itself that violence must be condemned and disowned. I do not say that the leaders or the activists of the organisation have instigated violence themselves. Far from it, it may so happen that the anti-social elements have taken advantage of the situation, but they should be condemned. In this connection, I raise a point. I do not give my comment. I leave it to this august House to draw its own conclusion. At this time, as I speak, the legislators of Assam, the members of the Assam Legislative Assembly, who elected me to this House and all Members elected by the legislators have been served with an ultimatum. I am not going to mention the incidents which took place in Assam in the past, where, some were assaulted and grenades were thrown on one Member and so on. I am not going into that. But right at the moment, there is a pressure. What is the need of that? There is an ultimatum directing the legislators to declare publicly the acceptance of the agitators' demand of 1951 as the cut-off year and to condemn the demonstrations held by the All Assam Minority Students' Union on the 26th May. I leave it to this august House to draw its own conclusion. No doubt these legislators have been offered police security. But what brand of police security and by what brand of administration? After what happened at Bijni, can we trust the police; can we trust the administration? Sir, the Bijni incident is unprecedented in official barbarity, unprecedented in atrocious indiscipline and unprecedented in shameless partiality. You know what had happened? The peaceful processionists were given verbal permission to proceed to the SDC's office, so that they could submit a memorandum. They were allowed to proceed. They had to cross a bridge. They crossed the bridge and reached the other end of the bridge. Immediately, the Additional Deputy Commissioner is alleged to have given orders for firing. The

O.C. who found, who saw, that it was a peaceful procession, that it was a non-violent procession, instead gave orders for blank firing. Immediately, the Sub-Deputy Collector is alleged to have snatched away the rifle from a constable, hit the O.C. down on the ground and started firing himself. Would you believe this? Then, the policemen ran amuck and fired as many as 72 rounds. The railing of the bridge broke and many fell into the water, trapped in the stampede. Sir, I have placed my views before this House.

Before I conclude, I would like to emphasise one point. It is very often heard in the form of a warning, prophesying like the prophets of doom, that this region would break away. I do not know who wants to break away. At least, I have not met anybody. It may be some idle pseudo intellectuals. But I have never heard such bravadoes from the common run of men and women who have, even in 1977, voted a national party massively to the Lok Sabha, namely, the Congress, despite the debacle in other States. This indicates that the people are always attracted by the national mainstream. The bulk of the populace being poor and belonging to the weaker sections of the society, they believe in the social and economic emancipation which is possible only at the national level, in unity with the toiling millions in the country. Look at the development in the hill States in the last decade. Under the impact of the sense of oneness in this great country, walls of isolation have collapsed. These states today no longer build walls: they build bridges, the bridge of understanding of communication, of cooperation. Sir, it depends upon how one looks at things. The interpretation of Prime Minister Nehru's address to the nation the day Bomdila fell to the Chinese in the NEFA 1962 as a farewell message to Assam, is very often heard on the floor and off the floor, like the refrain of a ballad. Sir, let us brush

up our memory about what exactly he said:

"My heart goes out to the people of Assam at this hour . . ."

Sir, it absolutely passes me to understand how it turned to be a good-bye speech unless one reads motives into it. But has anyone even tried to fathom the depth of an agony tearing a sensitive heart duped and disenchanted while addressing the nation on that fateful day? Sir, it depends upon one's mental make-up, how one looks at things.

Sir, before I conclude, I reiterate my view that in order to get out of the prevailing climate of chaos and confusion, hatred and distrust, return to the dialogue is imperative. After all, this greatly vexed problem has to be settled on the table, and not on the street.

With these observations I support the withdrawal of the sums specified from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of a part of the financial year 1980-81 and do hope that the economy of the State can be put on its legs and conclude with the hope that at no distant date a popular Ministry will come into being under the auspices of the Congress (I) to help defuse the situation, to help restore normalcy, to pursue developmental work and above all, to put democracy which is badly mauled at the moment back on the rails. For I do believe that only through a democratic process there can be abiding normalcy.

Thank you.

**श्री हरि शंकर भाभड़ा :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आसाम के बारे में पिछले सेशन से ही बहुत उत्तेजनात्मक और भावात्मक विचार व्यक्त किये जा रहे हैं और यह बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक है। आसाम का जो पिछड़ापन है और आसाम को पिछड़ेपन में रखने के लिये जो जिम्मेदार हैं जब तक वे असल बात को रियलाइज

नहीं करेंगे तब तक जो वास्तविक समस्या है उससे हम और दूर हटते जायेंगे। मान्यवर, अभी कुछ आंकड़े देकर एक माननीय सदस्य ने आसाम के बारे में बताया कि वह कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है। आसाम हिन्दुस्तान का इतना महत्वपूर्ण अंग है कि जिसको नेग्लेक्ट करना सारे हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा को खतरे में डालना है। इतना महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र होने के बावजूद भी पिछले तीस वर्षों में आसाम को कितना नेग्लेक्ट किया गया वह इस बात से ही देखा जा सकता है कि वहां साधारण मीन्स आफ कम्युनिकेशन हम स्थापित नहीं कर सके, रेलवे लाइन स्थापित नहीं कर सके और जहां तक कि आसाम के बजट का संबंध है इतने कम समय में बजट के बारे में बहुत कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि कुछ प्वाइंट कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने रखे हैं और विचार भी आयेंगे—मैं केवल यह बताना चाहता हूं कि नेशनलाइज्ड बैंक में जो क्रेडिट डिपोजिट्स हैं, उनका बाकी सारी स्टेट्स में 72 प्रतिशत डेवलपमेंट के लिये काम में लाया जा रहा है जब कि आसाम में उसका रेशियो बिलो 40 प्रतिशत है। जिस क्षेत्र पर हमें अधिक से अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए उस क्षेत्र पर हम कम से कम ध्यान दे रहे हैं। यह इस समस्या के मूल में है अन्यथा जहां तक आसाम स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन की बात है वह केवल फारेनर्स को बाहर निकालने की बात करते हैं और इस बात को सरकार भी स्वीकार करती है और हमारे कांग्रेसी सदस्य भी स्वीकार करते हैं कि फारेनर्स को वहां से हटना चाहिए परन्तु दोनों में कोई मेजर डिफरेंस नहीं है। आखिर आसाम में 1947 से और उससे पहले से सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग रहते थे। राजस्थान के लोग बहुत बड़ी संख्या में रहते हैं, बिहार के रहते हैं, बंगाल के रहते हैं लेकिन यह समस्या

[श्री हरि शंकर भाभड़ा]

कभी पैदा नहीं हुई। लेकिन असली बात को जब तक हम समझने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे और उसको किसी न किसी तरीके से पोलिटिकली मोटीबेट करके अपना मतलब हल करने की बात करेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से उसमें कम्पल केशंस होंगी। आसाम में कोई माइनर्टीज का झगड़ा नहीं था। इस सरकार के आने के पहले आन्दोलन था, चल रहा था लेकिन माइनर्टीज का सवाल वहां था ही नहीं। बिल्कुल नान-वायलेंट आन्दोलन चल रहा था, इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं हैं। लेकिन वहां पर साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा देना माइनर्टीज को प्रोसेशन निकालने के लिए कहना और इस प्रश्न को दूसरा कलर देना यह सब बातें भी हैं जो इसके लिए जिम्मेदार हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि इस देश में कोई भी जिम्मेदार नागरिक इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। बार-बार यह कहा जाता है कि फारेनर आए हैं, इस बात को डिसाइड करना बड़ा कठिन है। स्वयं प्रधानमंत्री जी ने भी यह बात कही है कि यह कोई सरल बात नहीं। स्टुडेंट्स यूनियन तो यह कहती है आप कांस्ट्रक्शन के मुताबिक, इंडियन सिटीजनशिप एक्ट के अनुसार जो फारेनर साबित होते हैं उनको फारेनर मानिए। इसमें किसी जाति का सवाल नहीं है। किसी प्रान्त का सवाल नहीं है। कानून के अन्तर्गत जो फारेनर हैं उनको आप फारेनर मानिए। जब आप उनको फारेनर मान लेते हैं तो उनको निकालें। नहीं तो कम से कम उनसे मताधिकार तो छीन लें। यदि डिपोर्टेशन नहीं कर सकते तो डिफ्रेंचाइज तो कर सकते हैं। यह काम तुरन्त शुरू किया जाना चाहिए था। इसके लिए लम्बी चौड़ी चर्चा करने की जरूरत नहीं। मैं समझता हूं कि यह कानूनी पहलू है। फारेनरज का आना 1971 में शुरू हुआ, यह बात नहीं है।

पार्टीशन के बाद आप लोग जानते हैं पार्टीशन के पहले भी आसाम बनिंग क्वेश्चन बना था। उसको पाकिस्तान में लाने की कोशिश की गई थी लेकिन उस समय भी तय किया गया था कि आसाम पाकिस्तान में चला जाएगा तो हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा खतरे में हो जाएगी। 1947 में पार्टीशन हुआ तब से ही उसमें फारेन एलीमेंट्स आना शुरू हुए और उनकी संख्या बढ़ती गई। जब यह संख्या अब इस हद तक पहुंच गई तब वहां के लोगों को लगने लगा कि हम अपने ही प्रान्त में फारेनर बन कर रह जाएंगे और फोरनर्ज हमको प्रिडोमिनेट करेंगे। मैं समझता हूं कि इस स्थिति को कोई भी स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। बाकी के लोग भी स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे। आसाम के लोग शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से विरोध प्रकट करते हैं तो यह जायज है। अब तक यह आन्दोलन ठीक प्रकार से चल रहा था लेकिन माइनर्टीज ने प्रोसेशन निकाल कर उसको हिंसात्मक टर्न जब तक नहीं दिया गया था तब तक यह शान्ति से चल रहा था लेकिन अब स्थिति जो बनी है मैं समझता हूं कि अभी जैसे कि माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि स्टुडेंट्स यूनियन ने जब यह बात स्वीकार कर ली है, वे बात-चीत करने के लिए तैयार हैं तो जो एंग्रीमेंट के प्वाइंट्स हैं वे ज्यादा बढ़ गए हैं और अब बात सरकार के हाथ में है अब सरकार को चाहिए कि वह इस प्रकार ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न करे जिससे यह समस्या हल हो। सरकार यदि चाहे तो यह समस्या बड़ी आसानी से हल हो सकती है यदि सरकार में इमानदारी हो, यदि उनके मन में किसी प्रकार से कोई राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की इच्छा नहीं हो तो यह स्थिति अब बहुत-ही ठीक बन चुकी है। विद्यार्थियों ने इस बात को स्वीकार कर लिया है तो वहां पर सरकार को इस संबंध में

कदम उठाना चाहिए और बातें अभी सरकार की तरफ से कही जा रही हैं उनको बार-बार दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। बैठ कर बातचीत करनी चाहिए। जब उन्होंने स्वीकार कर लिया है तो सरकार को भी तुरंत एक्शन में आ जाना चाहिए और मैं समझता हूँ जितनी जल्दी हो इस में सरकार अपनी नीयत को साफ करे और इस संबंध में काम चालू करे, बैठ कर बातचीत करे। जितनी जल्दी सरकार पहल करेगी उतनी ही जल्दी इस समस्या का हल होगा अन्यथा यदि आप इस चक्कर में पड़े रहे और इसको साम्प्रदायिक टर्न देते रहे और वायलेंस के चार्जज लगाते रहे तब तक समस्या का कोई हल नहीं होगा। यह समस्या और बिगड़ जाएगी। जिस आसाम के पिछड़ेपन को हम दूर करना चाहते हैं करना चाहिए उसके पिछड़ेपन को दूर करना तो दूर रहा एक और नयी बात पैदा हो जाएगी। यह सारी बातें दूर रह जाएंगी उसका कोई मतलब नहीं नहीं होगा। इसलिए अब इस समस्या को हल करना है। अब तो विद्यार्थियों ने भी स्वीकार कर लिया है। सरकार को बात-चीत करके इस समस्या को बैठकर तुरन्त दूर करना है। सरकार को ऐसे कदम उठाने चाहिए जिससे वहां पर शान्ति और सोहार्दपूर्ण वातावरण बने और इस समस्या का हल निकले और उसके बाद आसाम का जो पिछड़ापन है उसको दूर करने के लिए बजट में अधिक से अधिक प्रावधान किया जाना चाहिए। जितना ज्यादा हम वहां पर पैसा लगा सकते हैं वहां पर पिछड़ेपन को दूर कर सकते हैं जितनी जल्दी कर सकें उतनी जल्दी वहां की समस्या समाप्त होगी। इतना ही कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय यह विषय बड़ा अहम है इसलिए मैं शुरु में निवेदन करूंगा कि चूंकि काफी लोग बोलना चाहते हैं इसलिए कल के लिए भी टाइम दिया जाए तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): We will have to conclude the discussion today.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: It is not possible, with so many speakers.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: We can continue for half an hour or one hour tomorrow. I don't think there is any difficulty.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Well, Chairman can decide that. So far as I am concerned, we must conclude today by five o'clock.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: You are in the Chair. You will have to decide. Otherwise we may sit a little late.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमन् आसाम आंदोलन और वहां के आंदोलन-कारियों की जो मांगें हैं उसके औचित्य पर किसी ने डिस्प्यूट नहीं किया है। उनकी मांग उचित है। इसमें कोई दो राय हो नहीं सकती हैं। यह बात क्यों पैदा हुई इसकी साफ वजह यह है कि 1947 से लेकर 1962 तक जब तक चीन ने हमला नहीं किया तब तक भारत सरकार की निगाह आसाम की ओर नहीं गयी। आसाम के डेवलपमेंट की बान को भारत सरकार ने सोचा ही नहीं। आसाम में कोई सड़क नहीं बनी 1962 तक और

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रासाद झाही]

आज भी हालत यह है कि आसाम ही एक ऐसा हिस्सा है जहां इन 30 साल के बीच में एक इंच भी नयी रेलवे लाइन नहीं बढ़ायी गयी। इतना पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका इतना बड़ा स्ट्रेटेजिक एरिया, डिफेंस प्वाइन्ट आफ व्यू से बलनरेबुल फिर भी वहां एक इंच रेलवे लाइन इन 30 सालों में नहीं बढ़ायी गई और अब आंदोलन के बाद 4-5 प्रोजेक्ट शुरू हुए हैं। मैं श्रीमन कहना चाहता हूं कि शुरू में जब यह आंदोलन शुरू हुआ और जिस तरीके से शुरू हुआ वह बहुत-ही शांतिपूर्ण था गांधी जी के रास्ते पर था और बहुत शांतिपूर्ण सत्याग्रह के रूप में था। अब उसमें वैरियस फैक्टर्स एड हुए हैं जिनकी वजह से वायोलेंस का एलीमेंट आया है परन्तु इसकी वजह से पूरे आंदोलन को यह कह देना कि वायोलेंस है, यह बड़ी अन्यायपूर्ण बात होगी। एक बात मैं आंदोलनकारियों से और अपने आसाम के साथियों से जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि किसी भी हिस्से में आंदोलन हो लेकिन इस बात का ध्यान हमेशा होना चाहिए कि किसी आंदोलन से राष्ट्रीय क्षति नहीं होनी चाहिए। क्योंकि आसाम के लोग अगर आसाम से तेल आना बंद कर देंगे बिहार के लोग कोयला जाना बंद कर देंगे, गुजरात के लोग नेचुरल गैस और तेल बंद कर देंगे तो इसका अंजाम क्या होगा कि फिर देश एक नहीं रह जायगा। इसलिये ऐसे आंदोलन में जो रीजनल इम्बलैन्स के कारण पैदा होता है, वह रीजनल इम्बलैन्स का नतीजा है कि

एक क्षेत्र का डेवलपमेंट होता है और दूसरा क्षेत्र छोड़ दिया जाता है। उसका नतीजा यह आंदोलन है। लेकिन ऐसे आंदोलनों में इस बात का ध्यान जरूर रखना चाहिए कि राष्ट्रीय क्षति न हो तथा ऐसे आंदोलनों में सरकारी कर्मचारियों को शामिल नहीं होना चाहिए। यह मेरा मत है। यह जनता का आंदोलन है। वहां की लाखों लाख जनता आंदोलन, सत्याग्रह के माध्यम से भारत सरकार को अपने डेवलपमेंट और अपनी मांगें मनवाने के लिए मजबूर कर सकती है। लेकिन सरकारी कर्मचारियों को उसमें नहीं शामिल होना चाहिए।

श्रीमन, यह पैदा कहां से हुआ। आज जो शिकायत हमारे साथियों को है वह है कि वहां 34 परसेंट पापुलेशन का ग्रोथ इन 10 सालों के अन्दर हुआ है। यह सही बात है। मैं वहां के गांव में गया था। इसलिए कि वहां हमारे यहां के मजदूर आसाम के, अरुणाचल के मनिपुर के हर हिस्से में फैले हुए हैं। दूध वाले को पूछो कि कहां के हो तो वह गोरखपुर देवरिया का है, सब्जी बेचने वाले से पूछो तो वह गोरखपुर देवरिया, या भागलपुर बिहार का है। अतः जितने वहां मजदूरी का काम करते हैं, इसी तरह टी गार्डन के मजदूरों से पूछ लीजिए। मैं उनके बीच गया हूं और वहां देखा है। सही बात

है कि वहां के स्थानीय लोगों को जो काम मिलना चाहिए था, बाहर के लोग वहां छाए हुए हैं और जब से देश का बंटवारा हुआ, ईस्ट पाकिस्तान बना, तब से वहां लाखों की तादाद में लोग भर गये। पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से जो लोग आए वे तो पंजाब, उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार, महाराष्ट्र और मध्य प्रदेश में फेल गये। चूंकि पंजाबी मजबूत होते हैं वह सारे देश के इलाकों में फेल गया। लेकिन जो ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से बंगाली आए, वे बंगाली उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं आए अलावा इसके कि कुछ रिफ्यूजी कैम्प वहां बनाए गये हों बंगाली, वैंस्ट बंगाल में या ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के बार्डर स्टेट्स में, असम में त्रिपुरा में गया। स्वाभाविक था कि वह सरहद पार करके वह वहीं पर जाए और बसे। उससे कहा भी जाता कि तुम उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश में जाओ तो उसके लिए सम्भव नहीं था। उत्तर प्रदेश में नैनीताल जिले में लगभग दो हजार बंगाली परिवार बसाए गये थे। पांच-छह साल के बाद वापिस चले गये, क्लाइमेट सूट नहीं की उनको वहां आराम नहीं मिला, खेतों में काम करना उनके लिए सम्भव नहीं था, इसलिए वापिस चले गये।

तो यह जो आज की परिस्थिति पैदा हुई, वह इसलिए पैदा हुई कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से जितने बंगाली आए, वे बार्डरिंग स्टेटज जो दो ही थीं, वैंस्ट बंगाल और असम और त्रिपुरा में छा गये। उनके छा जाने के बाद वहां बैलेंस बिगड़ा बाहर के लोग ज्यादा हो गये, स्थानीय लोग कम हो गये, जितने काम थे, चाहे सरकारी नौकरियों में, चाहे फ़ैक्टरियों में, प्राइवेट कनसर्न में वे बाहर के लोगों को मिल गया, स्थानीय लोग अपना बाहर रह गये।

इन सब कारणों से और इस कारण से कि असम में आज तक कोई डवलपमेंटल वर्क नहीं हुआ, कल-कारखाने नहीं बिठाए गये, सड़कें नहीं बनी, कोई मेडिकल कालेज,

इन्जीनियरिंग कालेज नहीं बना, किसी तरह का कोई डवलपमेंट नहीं हुआ। उसका नतीजा यह आन्दोलन है। लेकिन देश के अन्दर का आन्दोलन, यह टेबल पर भी तय हो सकता है और टेबल पर ही तय हो सकता है और बड़े सौभाग्य की बात है कि वहां के विद्यार्थी नेताओं ने स्वीकार किया है टेबल पर बैठ कर बातचीत करने को।

अब एक अलार्मिंग चीज वहां से दिखाई दे रही है जिसे भारत सरकार ने भी कहा है और अब त्रिपुरा के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने भी कहा है और जो समाचार वहां से आ रहे हैं, उनसे जाहिर हो रहा है और भारत सरकार कहती तो है लेकिन पता नहीं क्यों शर्माती है चीजों को खुल कर कहने में कि बाहरी हाथ दिखाई दे रहे हैं? बाहरी हाथ दिखाई दे रहे हैं तो कौनसा हाथ है? यह कहने में क्यों शर्माती हो कि कौनसा हाथ है? अमेरिकन हाथ है, चाइनीज हाथ है, कहने में शर्माती क्यों हो? जाहिर है कि इस आन्दोलन के पीछे सी०आई०ए० काम कर रहा है। जाहिर है कि इस आन्दोलन के पीछे चीन और अमरीका का हाथ छिपा हुआ है। श्रीमन्, सी०आई०ए० कैसे काम कर रहा है? फारेन मिशनरीज के जरिए... (Time bell rings)

श्रीमन् जरा समय की घंटी को रोकें। मैं कहता हूं कि यह देश की पार्लियामेंट है और देश की पार्लियामेंट में अहम मसलों पर जरा घंटी रोकें। जरा गौर करें कि त्रिपुरा में जो जैनुसाइड हुआ, उसके पीछे फारेन मिशनरीज, फारेन मनी का हाथ है। यह कल की अखबार 15 तारीख का स्टेटमेंट है

"In the wake of disturbances in Tripura and the reported involvement of the Christian missionaries . . ."

ईसाई, मुसलमान, हिंदू, सिख, सभी धर्म अपना-अपना प्रचार कर सकते हैं लेकिन जब यहां स्वयं ईसाई करोड़ों मौजूद हैं तो बाहर



[ श्रीनागेश्वर प्रसाद शाह ]

के फारेन मिशनरीज का आना और फारेन मनी का आना—इसकी क्या जरूरत है। यहां जब 10 करोड़ मुसलमान मौजूद हैं अपने धर्म का प्रचार करने के लिए, तो इस्लामिक कांफरेन्स को रुपया भेजने की क्या जरूरत है ? श्रीमन्, इस के बारे में शोर करें क्या खबर है :

"In the wake of the disturbances in Tripura and the reported involvement of the Christian missionaries there, Government has decided to keep a close watch on the activities of the Christian missionaries and their aided institutions in the State."

जिस चीज को हम 10-12 साल से यहां कहते आ रहे हैं, अब गवर्नमेंट महसूस कर रही है कि फारेन मिशनरीज और फारेन मनी क्या कर सकता है ? श्रीमन्, आगे कहा है :

"As a first step towards curbing the activities of the Christian missionaries, the Chief Minister has issued a circular to all the district magistrates asking them to refrain from aiding a particular organization . . ."

which is being financed by the foreign countries.

"It has its headquarters in Calcutta."

यहां से पैसा फलो करके असम जा रहा है ।

"The organization was formed in 1975, and according to reports available with the State Government it depends for finances on the Church of North India. It is known to have received financial assistance from the West German Government."

यह है श्रीमन्, अमरीका से, युरोपियन कन्ट्रीज से रुपया आकर यह हो रहा है कि फॉरेन मिशनरीज और सी०आई०ए० एजेंट्स वहां काम कर रहे हैं। उस एरिया की काट

कर ये एक इंडिपेंडेंट स्टेट बना कर वे अमरीका और चाइना का बेस बनाना चाहते हैं, और एक न्यूज श्रीमन्, और है :

"The State Government which has sent an emissary to Tripura in the wake of the disturbances, has gathered a detailed report on the working of the Tripura Baptist Christian Union with which militant leaders of the Tripura Upajati Juba Samity have close links."

तो यह क्रिश्चन बैप्टिस्ट यूनियन का त्रिपुरा जुवा समिति से क्लोज लिंक है, जिसने कि यह कानूज किया है। सारा फाइनेन्स फारेन मिशनरीज कर रहे हैं, सारे हथियारों का इंतजाम चिटगांव बंदरगाह से उतार कर और बांग्लादेश के रास्ते ले जा कर ये फारेन मिशनरीज कर रहे हैं। उनकी तरफ भारत सरकार की आंख कब खुलेगी, मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं।

श्रीमन्, इसमें आगे कहा है—

"Extremist communal organisations of both the communities have scored significant gains out of this. The Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti which has the support of Christian missionary organisations and the Amra Bengali, an adjunct of the Anand Marg, are trying to make maximum political capital out of the roused communal passions. Both are doing their best to rally the two communities under their respective umbrellas."

श्रीमान् एक बात मैं इसी के साथ और कह दूँ कि दस या 12 दिन पहले अखबारों में खबर थी और हमारे कुछ दोस्तों ने भी बताया है, कुछ मुसलिम दोस्तों ने, कि 300 करोड़ रु० आइल रिच इस्लामिक कन्ट्रीज ने आपके मुल्क में पंप किया है—श्री हन्डरेड क रोरस आफ रुपीज। What is the need for it? जिस मुल्क में 10 करोड़ मुसलमान रहते हों और इतने विद्वान और काबिल

मुसलमान रहते हैं और इंडोनेशिया के बाद जहाँ मुसलमानों की लाजेंस्ट पापुलेशन हो —they are competent enough to spread the Islamic message. वे अपने धर्म का प्रचार करने का क्षमता रखते हैं। फिर ये फारेन मिशनरीज क्यों आ रहे हैं। फारेन मिशनरीज आते हैं to get a foreign hold inside the country. ये क्रिश्चियन मिशनरीज, सी आई ए का रुपया और फारेन मिशनरीज का रुपया या इस्लामिक आयल कन्ट्रीज का रुपया क्यों आता है? कोई इन की मुसलमानों से मुहब्बत नहीं है, यहां के क्रिश्चियन्स से उन को मुहब्बत नहीं है, वे अपना होल्ड चाहते हैं, वे अपना कब्जा चाहते हैं, उस रुपए के माध्यम से इस देश में अपने हजारों हजार एजेंट्स बना कर रखना चाहते हैं ताकि मौके पर उन एजेंटों का वे इस्तेमाल कर सकें। भारत सरकार के जो मंत्री यहां बैठे हुए हैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या अब भी सरकार की आंखें नहीं खुल रही हैं। हम लोग नार्थ ईस्ट इंडिया में, आसाम में, अरुणाचल में, त्रिपुरा में, मणीपुर में फारेन मिशनरीज की हरकतों के बारे में 10-12 साल से आप का ध्यान खींच रहे हैं लेकिन आप का ध्यान उधर जाता नहीं। जब भारत सरकार खुद कहती है कि फारेन हैन्ड इस के पीछे है, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट एक्सेप्ट करती हैं कि फारेन हैन्ड है, फारेन मिशनरीज इस के पीछे है, इस जेनोसाइड के पीछे हैं, इस वायलेंस के पीछे हैं तो आप क्यों नहीं कदम उठाते, आप क्यों यहां नहीं फारेन मिशनरीज को डिपोर्ट करते, आप क्यों नहीं फारेन मिशनरीज की वर्किंग को बन्द करते? कौन सी कठिनाई है आप के सामने।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक बात और कह कर खत्म कर दूंगा। त्रिपुरा में जो जेनोसाइड हुई उस में सरकारी फिगर के अनुसार मरने वालों की संख्या 500 है, गैर सरकारी फिगर हजारों से ऊपर की है। वहां पर भारत सरकार को एक ऊंचे मिलिटरी अधिकारी ने, जो आजकल

वहां शान्ति स्थापना में लगे हुए हैं, कहा है कि इस के सामने तो माइ-लाइ की दुर्घटना भी —जो बूचरी माइ-लाइ में हुई थी—वह भी शर्म खाती है। हमारी सी आई डी की व्यवस्था है। दोनों सरकारें, भारत सरकार भी कहती है, राज्य सरकार भी कहती है कि यह जो घटना हुई जेनोसाइड की इस की तैयारी पहले से की गयी थी। माननीय जैल सिंह ने यह कहा कि हम को इन्टेलीजेंस ब्यूरो से इत्तिला मिल गयी थी और हमारी इन्टेलीजेंस ब्यूरो ने स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को इन्फार्म कर दिया था। वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर का आज के अखबारों में बयान है कि हम को कोई सूचना भारत सरकार ने या भारत सरकार के इन्टेलीजेंस ब्यूरो ने नहीं दी। श्रीमन्, कितनी गंभीर बात है। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस बात की सफाई होनी चाहिए कि इस में कौन झूठ बोल रहा है। अगर चीफ मिनिस्टर झूठ बोल रहे हैं तो वहां की राज्य सरकार को बर्खास्त कर देना चाहिए। अयो-जीशन की सरकार है तब भी मैं कहता हूं कि चीफ मिनिस्टर झूठ बोल रहे हैं और उन को पहले से सूचना दी गयी थी इन्टेलीजेंस ब्यूरो द्वारा तो वहां की सरकार को बर्खास्त कर देना चाहिए। अगर हमारे माननीय गृह मंत्री झूठ बोल रहे हैं तो उन्हें तुरन्त इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिए। अगर भारत सरकार का इन्टेलीजेंस ब्यूरो अपने इस काम में फेल हो गया, उस ने स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को इत्तिला नहीं दी और अब इस बात को छिपाने के लिए माननीय जैल सिंह जो झूठ बोल रहे हैं तो उन्हें इस्तीफा देना चाहिए। मैं इस की मांग करता हूं। अगर जैल सिंह की बात सही हो तो चीफ मिनिस्टर और उन की सरकार को इस्तीफा देना चाहिए या उसे बर्खास्त कर देना चाहिए। और अगर चीफ मिनिस्टर की बात सही हो तो जैल सिंह साहब को इस्तीफा देना चाहिए। यह हमारी मांग है।

श्रीमन्, इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह दरखास्त करता हूं कि आसाम के सवाल को शक्ति से न हल किया जाय। आंदोलनकारियों से

[ श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाह ]

दरखास्त करता हूँ कि वह अपने आंदोलन में बायलेंस को कटई न आने दें और तेल का बहाव बिलकुल न रोके क्योंकि इस से राष्ट्रीय क्षति हो रही है और सरकार से दरखास्त करता हूँ कि इस आंदोलन को सेना और पुलिस के बल पर दबाने की कोशिश वह न करे वरना आसाम अलग होगा और उस की जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर होगी। धन्यवाद।

**SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH**  
(West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, before we talk of any solution, we should first devote our attention to the objective facts; we should be guided by the facts as they are, as they stare us in the face. The objective facts will tell us that to do and how to resolve this situation. Now we cannot say that the entire people of Assam have turned violent, but at the same time we cannot deny the fact that certain acts have been committed; lives have been lost; properties have been destroyed; houses have been burnt and people rendered homeless. So the facts are there. Some people may be trying to mislead, there is no denying the fact. But at the same time we cannot say that everything that is done is innacuous or innocent. It was always said during the British period where communal riots were provoked by motivations, it was done by the people. I belonged to the Congress at the time. I know how leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League were not arrested while those like us who were fighting communalism were prevented from moving among the people and preaching against communalism. So by loosening the strings on some points and holding the strings on some points, the Government run the administration. I do not blame the Government only for that. But the point is somebody must take the blame for what has happened and what is happening, for allowing these foreign agents or whoever they are or these

communal agents, who are trying to mislead the people and creating riots.

Secondly, one has got to accept and there is no denying the fact that Assam has been backward, it has remained backward. Now, as one goes into the figures, one has got to emphasise the necessity of immediately taking up development schemes, starting from this vary budget, something for a quick development in Assam. Everybody on every side has said this.

But at the same time we must remember the whole facts as they are.

राज प्रेमचन्द जी की सेंटोना है तो मैं उन्हीं की पाक जवान में कहना हूँ—

“विजयी पराजितों पर जो सबसे कठोर आघात करता है वह है उनका इतिहास जो प्राचीन का पद-प्रदर्शक हुआ करता है। प्राचीन को दूषित करके उससे द्वेष भेद और सीना भरकर भविष्यत् को भुलाया जा सकता है। यही भारत में हो रहा है”।

अब अंग्रेज चले गये, मगर दरवाजे पर और कोई ठोकर नहीं देते हैं, यह कहना ठीक नहीं है, गलत है। बहुत लोग हैं।

There are people who are knocking at our doors. I have seen one of the most provoking books **SONS OF THE SOIL** by an American Professor who had access to all the records in India, both in the custody of State Governments and the Central Government. All the records were open to him. Therefore, the Government have to pay special attention to this. Of course, others have said this.

I also belong to an ethnic group or ethnic community involved in the Assam problem. I look at it from a different angle. You look at the jute industry in Bengal. Do you know the history behind it? Do you know the role of imperialism, landlordism and feudalism? Why did Indians go to Fiji or Trinidad or Mauritius? Did

they go to conquer Fiji or Mauritius just for the pleasure of a journey or travel? Parents of the present generation were taken there as indentured labour by the Britishers. What about plantations in Assam? Originally people from Madhya Pradesh and other places were taken there as indentured labour in the same way. The same is the case with tea gardens. In Bengal there was no tenancy legislation and there was no protection for tenants. People from across the borders were welcomed to cultivate jute in Assam. Not for Bengali peasants or householders of Bengal. They cultivated for the Britishers. So also Assamese land was left open for cultivation by others. Now they are asked to leave their land. I was not one of those who demanded partition. As a municipal councillor I moved a resolution against partition. But then it was the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and my old friends of the Congress together with whom we had fought many battles against communalism that demanded partition. Well, I said, you must face the consequences. If my people were violent, I would not be here. But my body and soul are together here. Similarly I have friends in East Bengal. My friends Mani Singh and Amal Sen are still there. Why I say is this. Why do you forget the mischievous actions of the mischievous people?

It may be said it was made with good intentions. The path to hell as they say, is paved with good intentions. Shyama Prasad gave pledge to the people to Bangalis. So, at that time, the Assamese leaders also were associated with this pledge to the Bangalis people and now you must accept the consequences, and some how that has to be managed. Are all these Bengali people are rich people? Are they multimillionaires like the Birlas and the Tatas? No; they are not. They are having nice jobs there? They pull the rickshaws there in Gauhati and they do such things. They cannot help it. Is it a comfortable job?

Anyway, since I cannot speak more and I am afraid

कि इसको किस तरह से सेंटल किया जाएगा। इसको पालिटिकली सोल्व किया जाएगा सब बैठें और किसी तौर से हल किया जाय। खूसरो ने कहा है :

and I consider Khushro to be one of the greatest poets:

کامر عشق مسلمانى در دگر نیست

†[काफर अशकम् मुसलमाना मरा  
दरकार नैस्त]

I consider myself successor of this culture. At this stage permit me to quote from a book by an American.

"A politics that emphasises ethnic solidarity in response to alien intruders tends to inhibit the emergence of class conflicts and class-defined issues."

This is what Mr. Myron Weiner has said in his book. Assamese people are in favour of socialism. The author says that a politics that emphasises ethnic solidarity in response to alien intruders tend to inhibit the emergence of class conflicts and class-defined issues. So, the foreigners are there pursuing their own ends. They want to investigate and they learn as to what can prevent socialism or democracy from flourishing in this country. That is what the foreigners are after. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, I think we will contribute to peace in Assam if we speak less because enough has happened there. I hope my friends from Assam will agree that things are not what they were before. The relations between communities have deteriorated, perhaps even been poisoned, and the time has now come for all of us to sit down for a dialogue and try to accommodate each other and you have to accommodate. Is it possible for anyone to throw out lakhs of people whose language perhaps is not Assamese? Neither is it possible for

†[ ] Devnagari transliteration.

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

anyone to dominate Assam whose language is one of the finest languages that we are having in India, whose songs are the most lyrical and beautiful songs. As a matter of fact, I am proud that the most outstanding Assamese composer and singer lives in Calcutta even today and we are proud of the Assamese language. It is a tragedy that I do not know the Assamese language and I should try to learn it. But then how to settle the problem? There my first point is that a kind of fear has been created that perhaps the Muslim population has increased very fast in Assam and that is a danger, that is, the Muslim infiltration. And now, Sir, I have got an article by one Susanta Krishna Das which appeared in the "Economic and Political Weekly" of 10th May who has studied the matter in depth and has given all the tables. He has studied the matter in depth and has given demographic transformation of Assam between 1951-71. There he said, after analysing the population growth—and I quote:

"Muslim population of Assam varied almost at par with its Hindu counterpart. There was no hike. This is further confirmed by the fact that during the decade 1961-71 the Muslim population declined by 0.74 per cent of the total population of the vote, the link relative rate of variation also being lower than that for the Hindus and the Christians. This, along with the slow natural rate of increase of the Assamese population shows that the apprehension of 'infiltration' of 'Bengali Muslims' between 1951-71 is not statistically valid . . ."

(Time bell rings)

I have just started. Have some mercy. All those who may not agree . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: Why not continue the discussion tomorrow.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE (West Bengal): Tomorrow if the House agrees.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I would take only a few minutes . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I would request the hon. Members to look to the other agenda for tomorrow, and I would request them to complete this today.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: What is the other agenda for tomorrow? There is very little work tomorrow. Therefore, if this business is postponed, there is no harm.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I would request you to please complete it. If necessary, we can extend the time for half-an-hour . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: The House should be adjourned.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): If the House wants . . . (Interruptions) Is there any difficulty for the hon. Minister if this is not completed today?

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Our difficulties are that the day after tomorrow the Budget is to be presented. The hon. Finance Minister and all the officers who are assisting us in all these matters also will be extremely busy. We shall be grateful to the House if this is completed today. This is our humble request to you.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: In one hour we can finish it tomorrow . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I am not objecting to the allotment of time. Since we will be very much busy in connection with the Budget, we shall be happy if you can help us . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD

SHAH: The House has not decided to sit beyond five. Therefore, the House should not be asked to sit beyond five. It is already five. We should adjourn now . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I am not saying anything against the desire of the House. I am requesting the House to accommodate us and our officers. Tomorrow being the last day, each one of our officers is required to help us. This is my humble request.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD

SHAH: There is no difficulty for the officers coming here for an hour. Your Budget is ready. The Railway Budget has already been presented.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): In view of the difference of opinion, I can go by the consensus of the House. If you want me to take the consensus, I shall do so. Whatever the House says, either today or tomorrow . . . (Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Tomorrow, tomorrow . . . (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Order, please.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): I want to speak on this subject. Tomorrow they are having an Executive Meeting of the DMK at Madras. Kindly permit me to take part in the discussion today.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: What time have the Business Advisory Committee recommended for this?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): That this motion would be taken up today—on Monday, the 16th. It does not say anything further . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD

SHAH: We can spill it over tomorrow.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I am not making this request on technical ground or anything about the decision of the business hours. Nor have I the least desire that there will be any curtailment in the discussion. Those hon. Members who desire may kindly speak a little longer and finish it today. This is only a request I am making.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Do we agree to carry on the debate?

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD  
SHAH: How can you continue beyond 5.00 P.M.?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): We can continue. There are precedents. If the majority of the Members want the House to be adjourned, we can put it to vote.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): In view of what the Minister says, we can finish it today. The House has always agreed to accommodate the Ministers. There is no harm if the House sits a little late. There may be two or three more speakers.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: We have already discussed this matter several times. It has been discussed for three days on the 9th, 10th and 11th of this month. I think the speakers can shorten their speeches and cut their time voluntarily.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, I am prepared to sit as long as the hon. House desires me to sit up to the utmost satisfaction of the Members. But I would request the Members to kindly help us to finish it today.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH (Gujarat): Let us respond to the Minister's desire and accommodate him.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: The kind of fear psychosis which has been created is not based on solid facts. That was my first point. My second point is

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

this. Many hon. Members spoke about the non-violent nature of the movement. May I point out very humbly that it is not so non-violent?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: May I correct Mr. Kalyan Roy on one point? He has quoted one set of statistics. The other speakers have quoted different sets of statistics. Let us not fall into this statistical jungle.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Here is a gentleman who has gone deep into the matter. He has given a table and there has been no contradiction. That is what I have been saying. Secondly, I have found that lately there have been a series of violent attacks not on Bengalis, nor on Muslims. But the Left Parties in particular are the targets. The newspapers of CPI and CPI(M) and the offices of CPI and CPI(M) have been their targets. On May 28, Assam Student's Federation President and CPI member Bhaba Phookan was kidnapped from the local CPI office in the evening. On May 26, two CPI workers were assaulted in Nowgong district. The same day, a CPI member and college teacher, Munin Mahanta, was severely beaten by a gang of rowdies claiming to be supporters of Sangram Parishad. The same day, CPI(M) Nowgong district committee secretary Bhupen Borbora was dragged out of his party colleague, Professor Guna Gogoi's house, where he was discussing something with six other comrades and brutally assaulted. In resisting this murderous assault on Borbora six CPI(M) members were also seriously injured. On May 27, AISF Assam State Unit Secretary, Manoj Deka, district SF Secretary Anup Nath, S.F. workers Biwas Bordoloi and Abdul Salam were surrounded by a 1550 strong rowdies claiming to be supporters of All-Assam Students' Union at Borbhogia village.

Sir, I can go on like this. But I do not wish to waste the time of the

House. The people who have reason to differ with the sponsors of the movement, are being beaten. Sir, my last point is this. Sir, we have reached a point when even the journalists do not have the right to write what they think. Is it democracy? Sir, I am reading from Economic and Political Weekly, dated April 19:

"Among the victims of these tendencies in Assam is a woman journalist of the ultraright Assamese weekly, Nilachal, published from Gauhati, Nirupama Borgohain has been suspended from the paper after 12 years of service for daring to ask a team of junior doctors not to discriminate against minorities in giving medical aid."

AN. HON. MEMBER: Not suspended but dismissed.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am coming to that. She was first suspended. You see the attack on the freedom of the press, the civil liberties, the basic rights of outstanding Assamese intellectuals. Sir, she went to certain villages where she found that the minorities have been attacked, killed, butchered and maimed. She did not know all this. She honestly went there to report. She came back and wrote the articles how in areas after areas the Muslims have been subjected to a series of attacks. I do not want to go beyond that. And what happened when she came back? I am just quoting:

"The next day, January 18, was observed as anti-repression day all over Assam. Rallies were held in different places to protest against army atrocities on Assamese women. Before a huge rally in Judges Field, Gauhati, the 'black' deeds of Nirupama Borgohain was recounted to the audience. . . . The next few days because of picketing, Nirupama Borgohain could not attend office. On the 23rd, when she went to the office of "Nilachal", she

found an envelope marked 'confidential' on her table. Inside was a letter of dismissal because her conduct had not been in keeping with the paper's high standards."

She was dismissed because she dared portray and report what she found after touring village after village. Sir, this is the kind of a thing which has alarmed the minorities, the linguistic minorities and the religious minorities, and those intellectuals, professors, doctors and others. And where are you heading to? And now, perhaps, Sir, the time has come—they also understand and they are in a mood to reciprocate to the offer of the Prime Minister and other political parties—to sit round the negotiating table and settle the matter.

Sir, my last point before I sit down is this. Sir, the trouble will continue to be there in Assam, as one hon. Member pointed out, so long as the 700 tea gardens are controlled by the multi-national companies and monopoly houses because, Sir, the Assam workers today are refusing to accept the starvation wages. So, these big planters want a number of people to be Stateless so that they would not be able to join the trade union movement and they would not be able to bargain for their proper wages, and they can be used as slaves. So, the problem of Assam is basically the problem of Assam tea plantations. The problem is that money coming from the tea plantations is not being spent in Gauhati, is not being spent in Dibrugarh, is not being spent in Calcutta or anywhere but it is being siphoned off abroad. The biggest foreign exchange violations are being done by the Assam tea companies. The biggest racketeering is going on in the Assam tea companies where you find the Tata-Finlay, where you find the Birla Brothers, where you find the McNeil and Magor, where you find the Duncan Brothers. These are the people who want hundreds of workers to be treated as slaves. The problem of Assam will remain so long

as the resources of Assam,—the tea resources, the bamboo resources, etc.,—are not taken over by the State. So long as Assam remains in the hands of a few monopoly companies—some 75 families—the problem of Assam will continue to be there. But, Sir, in the Appropriation Bill, I find no indication to the basic problem. What are you going to do about it? Can you develop Assam unless you take over the resources? No solution will be found by shifting the head office from Calcutta to Gauhati. A demand has been raised in Calcutta that how is it that the Central offices of all the financial institutions, the Reserve Bank of India, the IFC, the ICICI and everything is in Bombay. So, the movement has started that the headquarters of the financial institutions should be shifted from Bombay to Calcutta. So, there will be no end to it and we can go on shifting the headquarters from Bombay to Delhi, from Delhi to Madras, from Madras to Calcutta.

Sir, the problem is that the national resources are today in the hands of the monopoly houses who want to create trouble in order to continue their exploitation. So, the solution to the Assam problem can be found if you take over the resources, the tea gardens and the forests and nationalise them and at the same time have a dialogue between the communities because, Sir, a situation is being created that we can isolate those chauvinistic and fissiparous elements who are very much there inspired and financed by the CIA right from Nepal to Assam. This is the solution which some of the M.Ps. are not able to see. We have got to isolate them and the time has come when we should settle this matter.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me the opportunity to take part in the discussion on the Assam Appropriation Bill. Assam has been



[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

in deep turmoil for the past several months over the issue of foreigners.

Sir, on behalf of the DMK Party, I would like to express our serious concern over the grave situation in Assam. Assam, the beautiful hill State, has been in flame and now the flames seem to have spread to other parts of the North-Eastern region also. Sir, I think the hon. Members will share my sentiments in appreciating the laudable efforts of the hon. Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and leaders of many other political parties in putting out the flames. What is happening in Assam today is not a State problem; it is a national problem concerning the integrity and unity of India. The Assamese are fighting for their own rights. The late lamented Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised on several occasions that ethnical identity of the races should be maintained, should be preserved. So, the Assamese people are fighting for the preservation of their ethnical identity and we agree with their point of view. But, at the same time, any such move should not cut at the very root of the cosmopolitan life of our country, should not cut at the root of federalism, the federal structure of our country which has been erected on the foundations of multi-linguistic, multi-racial and multi-cultural society.

Sir, the Assamese people have been agitating for the past several months. It is not a problem of today or yesterday. In fact, this has been going on for so many years. Even in our Parliament this problem has been voiced before. Sir, the illegal infiltration and immigration into Assam has been going on from partition days. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact endorses this fact. Sir, the time at my disposal is very short, otherwise I would have given you many facts and figures. The sudden increase in population in Assam and other States in the North-

Eastern region is on account of the established fact that infiltration into this territory has been going on for years. So, this illegal infiltration should be checked and these infiltrators should be detected and their names should be deleted from the voters lists and they should be deported. We agree on that. But this should not be the fact of those people who have laboured there, who have cultivated the lands in Assam, who are genuine Indian citizens who have gone to Assam and used their sweat and blood in harnessing the natural resources of Assam. My hon. friend, Shri Dinesh Goswami touched on this point the other day. Sir, we condemn the killing of Dr. Robin Mitra. We also condemn the police firing at Duliajan. We are grieved when we hear the news of harassment and attack on genuine Indian citizens on minorities, on Bengalis, on Oriya women, on people who have gone to Assam from other parts of this country. Sir, at this moment. I would like to bring to the notice of this House and also to the notice of the Government the fact that a dangerous tendency, a separatist tendency, a secessionist tendency is being nurtured by some elements in the region. Some time back in the "India Today" it appeared that a provisional Government in the name of 'NAMMAT' had been formed with its underground headquarters on the Burmese soil. It was reported that the letters in 'NAMMAT' stood for N—Nagaland, A—Assam, M—Mizoram, M—Meghalaya, A—Arunachal, and T—Tripura. Sir, this is a dangerous tendency which is going on in the North-Eastern region. We are not finding fault with the leaders of the agitation. We are not finding fault with the Assamese people. Nobody can suspect their patriotic spirit. Actually, they were braving the Chinese army; they fought for our country; they shed their blood to defend our frontiers even when Assam was about to be abandoned by the Central High Command.

Sir, I speak on behalf of the DMK party, the party which demanded separation, the party which propagated the philosophy of separation and secession, the party which has been the champion of separation in our country. We propagated the philosophy of Dravidsthan, a separate "Dravid Nadu" from the Indian Union. But, Sir, at the same time, I would like to remind the House that in the same year 1962 when the Chinese cannons roared over the foothills of Assam, our great glorious leader Anna gave up the philosophy of separation. Not only that, he gave a call to our youth, our party ranks to come forward and sacrifice for India, to come forward even to lay our lives to defend our country. (*Time bell rings*) Please allow me some more minutes.

So, Sir, we are second to none in rising to the occasion to show our patriotic spirit. Sir, when the Bangladesh war came, it was Tamil Nadu which contributed Rs. 6 crores for the Defence Fund, more than any other State in the country, more than U.P., when it was under the DMK rule. So, we are second to none in our patriotic spirit. At the same time, we come from the southern-most part of the country but we are actually disturbed at the happenings in Assam. So, on behalf of DMK party, I would like to appeal to the agitators, to the leaders of the agitation, to the leaders of ASSU, to the leaders of Gana Sangram Parishad, to come to the negotiating table. They are actually demanding three 'D's—Detection, deletion and Deportation. I want to make an appeal to them to give emphasis on another 'D', that is, Dialogue, because conciliation, mediation, alone can solve the problem, and not the confrontation. At the same time, I would like to point out to the Members of this House that a strong feeling, a strong feeling of anguish and agony exist among the Assamese people that their economic interests have been neglected and have not been looked after properly. They

supply tea, they supply oil, they supply plywood; at the same time, their economic lot is very bad. It is high time to take all possible steps for the economic prosperity of that region.

I hope the present Government, under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi, will embark upon this venture for the upliftment of the masses in Assam.

I would like to appeal to the leaders of the agitation, AASU and the leaders of the movement, on behalf of the DMK, that it is high time to come to the negotiating table. Mr. Bipinpal Das when he spoke, brought to the notice of the House the recent statement of the student leaders and the latest attitude of the student leaders. It gives us hope; it is encouraging; it is a silver lining on the otherwise dark horizon. I would also like to suggest that an impartial commission should be formed which can operate within the broad framework of the agreement as arrived at by Mrs. Gandhi and the leaders of the agitation, so that eviction of foreigners could take place lawfully and also in accordance both with the international commitment and on humanitarian grounds.

With these words, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Budget of Assam that has been presented—I am disappointed that after so many things that have happened in Assam, such a Budget should have been presented. This Budget cannot be called imaginative in any way. The increase in the budgetary allocation is niggardly. Last year, the plan allocation was Rs. 155 crores. We are sorry to see that when this Budget initially was brought before us, the increase was only Rs. 5 crores, that is, with plan allocation of Rs. 160 crores. We are sorry to see that even now, the present increase has raised the allocation only to Rs. 178 crores. In the previous year, the Plan allocation was Rs. 155 crores and, this year, it is only Rs. 178 crores. Again, we

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are sorry to see that the Central assistance of last year of Rs. 113 crores has increased only by about Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 121 crores, whereas, the Plan allocation has increase from Rs. 155 crores to Rs. 178 crores, by Rs. 23 crores. This is even when all these troubles have taken place and when the other questions are there. There is the acute economic backwardness of Assam, but still the increase in Plan allocation is only Rs. 23 crores and the Central allocation is only Rs. 8 crores. This is wholly undesirable. It is high time, even at this late hour, to increase this allocation, because this is warranted.

If there was any constraint on the part of the Central Government, I would have understood. If the Central Government was restrained by the Gadgil formula, not to give more, I would have understood. Because if you give more on the basis of the Gadgil formula, the other States may say 'there is discrimination'. No. So far as Assam is concerned. Assam is outside the Gadgil formula. If the Central Government wants to give more, the Central Government can give more, as in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, Meghalaya, Manipur and the hill States. In the light and in the context of the power which the Central Government has got of not applying the Gadgil formula to Assam, this niggardly increase in the Central assistance, of Rs. 8 crores, for one whole year, is very unfortunate.

A bold and an imaginative approach to the economic problems, to the solution of the economic problems, is necessary. In regard to broad gauge lines, this Budget does not hold out any hope. There is no concrete proposal. So far as a bridge over the Brahmaputra is concerned, this Budget does not say anything in particular. So far as the question of harnessing, the resources of Brahmaputra is concerned, there is no detailed plan. So far as

expanding industries, there is no concrete proposal. So far as augmenting the employment potential is concerned, there are no specific schemes. This is very unfortunate. The Central Government is now concerned with the political question, the foreigners question, on which we debated previously also. But on the Budget, it is very unfortunate that only a niggardly and measly allocation has been made for Assam. This is the primary which I wanted to make on this Budget.

The subsidiary and secondary point which I wish to make is that, there is a great sense of alienation in Assam. There is a sense of Central neglect so far as Assam is concerned. This neglect is proved by this Budget and its meagre allocation. But there is also a feeling in Assam that they are not getting a fair deal in regard to royalties. Now, the Central Government should come out with a White Paper, explaining as to what is the national policy on the question of royalties in the case of oil, coal and so on. It is not a problem in regard to Assam alone. Assam is getting the same royalty as Gujarat. There is no discrimination so far as Assam is concerned, on the question of royalty. Sir, so far as the question of royalty is concerned, for example, in the case of coal of West Bengal and Bihar and in the case of oil of Assam and Gujarat, it is a national problem. It is a question of Centre-State relationship and it is a fiscal question. On this, I hope the Central Government will formulate its policy.

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** Mr. Ghose, don't you think, there should be some relationship between the royalty paid and the price of oil today in the world or in India?

**SHRI SANKAR GHOSE:** The point I am making is this. This is a point which concerns not only Mr. Bipinpal Das, but every Member in this House. It is not in regard to Assam alone. It

is a national question. This concerns not only Mr. Bipinpal Das, but every Member in this House. The point that I am making is that, so far as royalty is concerned, for example, in the case of coal of West Bengal and Bihar and in the case of oil of Assam and Gujarat, it is a national question. Hence, it is necessary that we should not mix it up with the foreigners question.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: There is one difference. The people in Gujarat can stand. A State like Gujarat can stand; but a State like Assam cannot stand. This is the position today.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE: I am sorry. Since he has mentioned this, I would like to give some figures. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. RAM LAL PARIKH: Sir, the point made by Mr. Ghose seems to be correct. Gujarat cannot stand. It has a 14 per cent population of tribals, 7 per cent of Harijans and 12 per cent. of others. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE: Sir, my time is taken.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I do not grudge you get it, but I say that you can stand it.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: If Assam wants royalty.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): No, no, that is not a debate here.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: I must clarify the statement which is wrong.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): No, please sit down. Yes, Mr. Ghose.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE: The primary point which I had made is about the niggardly Plan allocation for Assam. The second subsidiary point which I want to make is that unless

the Government comes out with a White Paper and on the question of royalty of coal or oil and a general national policy is formulated, a feeling of discrimination will be there. The Government has failed in not indicating primarily the two things. Firstly, they have failed in making larger allocation for Assam and, secondly, they have failed in not telling the world that allocation is made for Assam, for Jammu and Kashmir and for all the Hill States not according to Gadgil formula. You cannot solve the problem of Assam unless you increase the plan allocation. As Mr. Bipinpal Das was saying with regard to royalty Assam cannot stand it, my learned friend from Gujarat has also said that Gujarat cannot stand it. But so far as the people below the poverty line are concerned, certain calculations were made. I have got the figures. The figure for Assam is 32.95 per cent people below the poverty line and for Haryana 32.24 per cent people below the poverty line. You will ask me wherefrom did you get the figures? These are all in the Sixth Finance Commission's Report. I am not saying this for the purpose of showing that Assam is not a backward State. Assam is a very backward State. The budget that has been presented is a gross injustice to Assam. But you cannot remove the sense of alienation unless you come out with the White Paper and say that this is the position with regard to the people below the poverty line. Take the figure of per capita plan or non-plan expenditure. What is the plan and non-plan expenditure? If Assam says that it is getting less than Andhra Pradesh, Assam is absolutely right in saying so. If Assam says they are getting less than Maharashtra, then Assam is absolutely right in saying so. If Bihar says—I find a Minister sitting from Bihar—I am getting less than Assam, Bihar would be quite right in saying so. If Madhya Pradesh says I am getting less than even Assam, they will also be right. I am saying this only to bring a national perspective

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to the debate. The budget that has been presented is a niggardly allocation for Assam, it is an injustice to Assam, but you can assuage the sentiments of Assam by doing something more for them. All the Governments, the Congress Government, the Janata Government, the Lok Dal Government and the Congress (I) Government gave Assam about 60 per cent or 70 per cent more Central assistance than the national average. All these Governments gave more and that is our policy. Assam is backward and, therefore, greater Central assistance has to be given. I have got the figures. So, the Government must come out with the White Paper saying that about the royalty the Government will formulate a national policy. This is not a State matter alone. The Government must come out with a White Paper saying what it wants to do with the bridge over the Brahmaputra, what it wants to do with the broad gauge line, about power resources, about industrialisation, about increasing the plan allocation for Assam. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, my time is there. The learned Members have taken my time.

So far as the foreigners' question is concerned, there can be no doubt that Assam people who are patriotic people, who have suffered very greatly during the Chinese aggression, when India did not do fair justice to Assam, have the real grievance over the foreigners' question. Now certain things have happened by which an atmosphere has been created in which a possibility of settlement has emerged, and all that we can do in the House is to see that when this possibility of settlement has emerged, we shall eschew any military solution or police solution or a strong army solution. The solution can only be through negotiations through the conference table and the solution can only be within the framework of Indian nationalism, by which the rights of the linguistic and religious minorities are protected, by which the

refugees who have come and made Assam their home are treated as Indian nationals, by which all those foreign infiltrators are identified, detected and pushed back.

I will also hope that what has happened in Assam will give us a clear picture that India is one, that the oil of India, the coal of India, the wheat of India, the rice of India belong to India and the rice and wheat of India do not belong to Punjab and Haryana, the coal of Bengal and Bihar does not belong to Bengal and Bihar, it belongs to India. The oil of Maharashtra or Gujarat or Assam does not belong to Maharashtra or Gujarat or Assam; it belongs to the whole of India. Therefore, in coming to a solution of this problem, we must solve the economic backwardness of Assam, remove the feeling of alienation they have got. We must increase the Plan size.

Time has come when we can now really solve the foreigners' issue. As Shri Biniopal Das has mentioned and other Members have also said, the AASU has made certain responses and the Prime Minister has taken certain initiative. It is time to solve this question; otherwise the whole of North-Eastern region will be in flames and you can not have any development in future if the whole of North-Eastern region remains in flames. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Shri Kakati. Your party has already exhausted the time allotted to it. But in view of the fact that the translator was not available at that time when you wanted to speak, you may take a few minutes.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I hope the translation is available now so that I may not miss what the hon. Member says.

**\*SHRI ROBIN KAKATI (Assam):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in this House we are discussing the Assam Appropriation Bill today. Sir, the economic problems of Assam, the political problems of Assam are all the more important. The hon. Members of this House are also very well aware and they are very much concerned about these problems. I would like to say two things about the economic situation in Assam. Firstly, I would like to say that, as stated in this House as also in the Lok Sabha, the present agitation which is going on in Assam is not only economic one but mainly political. The economic situation in Assam is very bad. Economic development of Assam has been neglected so far and the expected assistance from the Centre has not been available. This has been accepted by all the hon. Members. Assam is an economically backward State and my previous speaker, Mr. Sankar Ghose, also has proved by statistics that the provision made in the budget is not sufficient.

**SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT:** Sir, the translation is coming both in English and Hindi. I think if the hon. Member speaks a little slowly, it will be more convenient for those of us who want to understand him. I would request him to be a little slow.

**SHRI ROBIN KAKATI:** It is my submission that over the last 30 years, the people of Assam have not been able to get proper attention. They have actually been getting a step-motherly treatment from the Centre. If the situation continues in the same way, it would be very unfortunate.

The allocations made in the Budget are actually very small and totally insufficient. There is another problem to which I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister. And that problem is that in the Budget of Assam, we need a very drastic change. October, November, December, January, February and March and first

part of April are the working months and during this period only the work can be done smoothly. But the Central Budget, as it has been going on from the British period, is continuing on the same line. The problems of the various States are not kept in view. Particularly for the north-eastern States, the financial year should actually be from June to July. Because, Sir, the budget is passed in March, but due to heavy floods and rains the actual work can start only from the month of October. Thus, the Government finds it difficult to utilise the funds and many of the allocations get lapsed. So if the financial year is changed, then it would be more proper for Assam.

Sir, secondly, whatever amounts we may spend for the economic development of Assam, if we are not able to control the floods in the Brahmaputra and its tributaries, no major economic activity will be possible. It is only by checking the floods in the Brahmaputra that we can do something for the economic development of Assam. Sir, any effort for the economic development of Assam is going to be a futile effort because the Brahmaputra and its tributaries destroy Rs. 10 crores worth of crops every year and whatever is being done to meet this problem is not sufficient. Therefore, from the times of the Ahom kings, they have been thinking of constructing bunds on the river banks. They constructed these bunds. If some such schemes are taken up, then, perhaps, they would be more effective in checking the floods. Also the bunds that are constructed have to be repaired and their height has to be raised periodically and for such repairs the state Government have to spend huge amounts of money. Also, Sir, the level of all the tributaries of the Brahmaputra is going up due to the deposition of silt. Therefore if a scheme is taken up to join the rivers by canals, the flood water would be spread evenly and silting could be averted. Therefore, Sir, for that we require more financial allocations and

**\*English translation of the original speech in Assamese.**

[Shri Robin Kakati]

if those allocations are properly utilised, then we shall get more benefit in the flood-affected areas.

Also, Sir, the methods which we are now adopting for the prevention of floods are not very helpful. Now only scientific methods may prove successful in checking these floods. Instead of trying only to control the mighty Brahmaputra, we should also try to utilise the water in a proper way.

I would also like to draw the attention of this House to one thing. On the 26th of May, the minority students Union took out processions as a counter-movement to the present movement and about these procession there was a lot of discussion. Today also it was referred to by some of the hon. Members. I want to say that the people of India are free to raise their demands. But in the processions that were taken out at different places in Assam on the 26th of May the behaviour of the processionists was not non-violent. They burnt the property of the Assamese people. That was only a political conspiracy which was hatched at Calcutta and Delhi. Previously it was decided to celebrate this day on the 5th of May. But later on they were advised to wait till further direction was received. Some minority community leaders met and urged upon them to postpone this procession, but from Delhi and Calcutta these students were directed to go on with the preparation for the counter-movement in order to strengthen the hands of the Centre. They want an instrument. The hands of the Delhi officials would be strengthened, their powers would be strengthened. They got inspiration from Delhi and that is why organised this procession.

Sir, in Assam, there is another problem, and that is in the 'Char' area round about the banks of the Brahmaputra. Foreign nationals living in these areas are misbehaving with the local Assamese villagers, so much so that it has become impossible for the local Assamese people to live there.

Their cattle are taken away, the Assamese farmers cannot go out to search them; they are beaten and killed. The Assamese have become refugees in their own home State. Sir, by the manner in which the Central Government is trying to solve this problem by organising the counter-movement, it shall not be able to solve the problem. If the Government is really serious about solving this problem, they should have talks across the table with the student leaders. Only by way of a dialogue they should try to solve this problem. With these words I conclude.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, once again we are discussing Assam. Though it is the discussion on the Appropriation Bill, the political question has got predominance over the economic question. Sir, as I spoke extensively on the Statutory Resolution, I do not want to go into the political question, except for saying this much that we have seen, as has been pointed out by many hon. friends before, a better climate in Assam because the All Assam Students' Union have responded favourably to the call of the Prime Minister. Even regarding the 1951 as the base of identification and the National Register of Citizens, they have taken a very flexible stand. Of course, I know the new Minister of Finance probably will not be competent to deal with the political aspects. But I want to communicate through him to the Prime Minister that, if the problem of Assam has not been solved by this time, there are many reasons, but one of the reasons is that the Home Ministry officials sitting here at the top have very little idea of the mind of the people of Assam and of the north-eastern region and of the problems of Assam.

Sir, they have—in fact I could have gone on showing—at different points of time, put wrong ideas into the head of the Government. That is why at a time when a solution looked near, they took steps by which the negotiating table was taken farther

away. I would appeal to the Government that at least this time it should try to immediately have a dialogue because the solution today may not be acceptable tomorrow. So, my first and the foremost request to the Government would be to start a dialogue, and I am sure that the areas of disagreement today are comparatively so less than the areas of agreement that if one sits across the negotiating table, the problem can be solved within a very short while.

Sir, on the economic question, obviously, Mr. Sankar Ghose has laid bare the futility of this Appropriation Bill. I told on the last occasion that there is crisis of confidence among the people in this Government or the successive Central Governments, and that is why the problem has not been solved. The Bill itself, when it goes to the people, does not, in any way, solve the crisis of confidence because as Mr. Ghose has pointed out, the Central assistance has been increased by a few crores of rupees. In fact, an allocation of this nature cannot solve the economic problem of the North-Eastern region. What is required is a comprehensive economic policy for the entire North-Eastern region. The North-Eastern Council was brought into existence for that purpose. That also has been bogged down by the bureaucratic labyrinth. I think, apart from this Assam Appropriation Bill, the time has come when the economic Ministry shall have to go deeply into the economic malaise of the North-Eastern region and must have a comprehensive policy. The time will not permit me to go into the depth. You cannot have economic development unless you have infrastructure for economic development. About road communications and rail communications, my friends have stated earlier. What about power? So far as the power consumption is concerned, Assam has 28 kw hours as compared to 180 of Gujarat, 232 of Punjab or even the next figure of 66 coming very close to Assam of Andhra Pradesh as 2½ times of that of Assam. With such an infrastructure, do you expect economic development?

So much has been said about the oil blockade and all that. But is it not a fact that on the question of oil injustice has been done to Assam? Sir, the oil royalty, after a long-drawn struggle by the people of Assam and the Government of Assam, was increased to Rs. 42 per tonne. Gujarat has a similar case. And from the new Minister, I think, we can really expect something better in this regard. But in this royalty what are we getting? We get Rs. 22 crores whereas according to the admission of the Petroleum Ministry this morning, the country has lost Rs. 400 crores during the last five months. If that is so, even in that case, Assam's contribution comes to more than thousands of crores. But you give us a mere pittance of Rs. 22 crores. Barauni, because of the oil it gets from Assam, gets Rs. 60 crores as royalty. And if the people of Assam do not get angry who else will? After all we must fight for our interests. We produce oil there. We get Rs. 22 crores. Barauni where, in spite of scientific investigating report that the refinery should not be set up, the refinery was set up, gets Rs. 60 crores, and we are told that today per month we are losing Rs. 100 crores.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Four crores for a day, we are losing.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: One hundred and twenty crores of rupees per month, and, therefore, about Rs. 1,400 crores per year. You give us a mere pittance of Rs. 22 crores for which we were to fight. We are helping you, I think, in this cause because without any agitation—I hope you are coming from Gujarat...

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Yes.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: ... in your State you may get any benefit. Before an agitation takes place in your State you should settle this matter to the advantage of all.

Let us look to the question of gas. Thirteen million cubic units of gas is burning all the time in Assam, and



[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

nobody bothers about it, whereas the moment there has been an exploration in the Bombay High, care has been taken to utilise it. If such a situation happens, are we not to feel ourselves aggrieved?

Sir, so far as flood is concerned, may I point out one thing? After a long agitation and also... (*Time bell rings*)—I will take two or three minutes—after a long pressure from the people and the Government of Assam the Brahmaputra Bill was brought in the Lok Sabha during the 1971–77 period.

It was shown in the bulletin. 6 P.M. For months it was not placed in the Agenda of business. Ultimately the Prime Minister dissolved the House. Then the Janata Government brought it in the Rajya Sabha. We passed it. Then for reasons best known to the Government, this Bill was not passed by the Lok Sabha for months together and then the next Lok Sabha was dissolved. Now the Bill has gone completely into the vacuum. Are we not to feel aggrieved? This Bill could have been passed in two hours in the Lok Sabha. For months, in spite of the fact that during the 1971–1977 period it was in the bulletin, it was not brought. Then the Janata Government brought it in the Rajya Sabha, but they did not bring it in the Lok Sabha and then the Bill lapsed.

Sir, I will give only two or three figures in order to make my point. Let us look at the bank advance. The advances by the banks to the Northern region were Rs. 255 crores and to the Southern region, Rs. 532 crores. To the North-Eastern region, composed of five States and two Union Territories, it was only Rs. 9 crores. Small-scale industries advances: Northern region, Rs. 295 crores; Southern region, Rs. 390 crores; North-Eastern region, Rs. 9 crores. Then agricultural refinance made available: Northern region, Rs. 204 crores; Central region, Rs. 251 crores; Southern region, Rs. 305 crores; North-Eastern region, Rs. 5 crores; Apart from that, the fact also remains

that there is a substantial outflow of finance from the State. A study made by the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy found that a substantial amount was transferred from the State and it was nine per cent. And that is why we said: establish head offices of important projects in Assam so that this outflow may not take place. And when we ask for it, we are answered with so many things. I know my time is short. I will not go deep into the matter. But the Finance Ministry, if they are serious about solving the problem, must apply their mind for a comprehensive policy.

Before I conclude, I only want to point out one thing which has been said repeatedly. My friend from the DMK also spoke very emotionally about Assam. May I point out that when we are fighting for this cause, we are aware of keeping before us the national perspective. We are fighting because we feel that if Assam and the North-Eastern region remain underdeveloped, then obviously India cannot be developed. You cannot have a healthy body if there is a paralytic hand. This morning I received a letter from a young P. U. boy, a boy who is on the threshold of college, giving expression to the Assam movement. Sir, this is not a publication of either the Assam Students' Union or a pamphlet of some organisation. When I read this letter, I could feel his mind, and I thought I should translate this letter and give it to the Members of the House so that they get a feel of the mind of the Assamese young people. I will quote only three sentences. This has been written by a boy named Naba Talukdar from an area in which many atrocities took place. It is a very long letter. I quote only some sentences. I give the English translation:

"We, young boys and girls of Assam, want to see a prosperous India through a smiling Assam."

You can understand and gauge his feelings. In the next sentence he says:

"Even out of frustration if somebody talks about secession or about his anger towards India, I point out to him that at no point of time can we think of not being a part of India."

And what for are we fighting? He says:

"To respect the Constitution is not my aim only. It is the aim of the entire Assamese people."

And I will again quote his last two sentences. The English translation is:

"It is true that the RSS is trying to put its poisonous atmosphere amongst us, as also the Muslim League.

In spite of the fact that I am a Hindu, I will not permit the RSS to penetrate because the Assamese nation is not the sole monopoly of the RSS or Hinduism."

I thought I should share his feelings with the House. Without really trying to appreciate the feelings of the Assamese young men, who are fighting for a cause, you will not be able to solve the problem. And I have got a complaint against Home Ministry officials that they only look into files and papers and not the minds and ideas either of the people of this nation or the different parts and that is why we see manifestation of different types of political and social disturbances. I therefore feel that the approach of the Government to the Assamese problem, either on the political front or on the economic front, must be based on a proper understanding not only of the economic and political complexities but also on the mind of the people of Assam in which I include all races and communities. So from that point of view I have to say that this Bill greatly disappoints us. I hope in view of the developments that have taken place in Assam, Manipur and Tripura the Government

of India will wake up to the realities and will try to approach the problem from a comprehensive point of view. Thank you.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I reply to the debate and the various points made out by honourable Members, let me say at the very outset that this debate today on this Appropriation Bill opened with a very good message brought by a very respectable leader from Assam, the honourable Shri Bipinpal Das. I felt that the proverbial saying that every cloud has a silver lining has come true in this case when the honourable Member said in this House that a hand of friendship has been extended by the AASU. I can only assure the honourable Member that the hand of friendship, the way it has been extended by the AASU, will surely have its echoe from its other counterparts and the honourable Member can rest assure that our Prime Minister will be second to none in grasping the hand of friendship that has been extended by friends from Assam, particularly the AASU, and the sentiments expressed. It is a coincidence that the debate opened with a message of peace and I must say I am grateful to the honourable Shri Dinesh Goswami for the letter be quoted from a young man of Assam, a young student. It only proves beyond any shadow of doubt the wisdom of the Assamese mind, old and young; we have no reason to doubt their wisdom; we believe in their wisdom, their patriotism is one which we respect, the people of Assam are our brethren although for geographical reasons they might be a little away from here. But they are the people who stood against the Chinese aggression first and we have no doubt about their patriotism, their spirit of nationalism, their spirit of brotherhood; we welcome them. I can only say that our beloved Prime Minister and our Government will be the first to reciprocate the sentiments ex-

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pressed in this House by the honourable Members.

Now, coming to the Appropriation Bill I would like to clarify some points. Pardon me to say, it was said in the House that the budget is disappointing; kindly permit me to correct my senior honourable Members like Mr. Ghose—he knows much more than I can say about it—that this is just an Appropriation Bill. We are compelled to, we are at pains to be here to make this statement in this House. I deal with some of the comments, some of the remarks, some of the observations, that have been made by honourable Members. I am in entire agreement with some of the suggestions made in the House that this Bill ought to have been passed by the Assam Assembly. Well, none would have been happier than the Government, none would have been happier than our party, our Prime Minister, if there had not been an occasion for this House to discuss the Appropriation Bill for Assam and if it had been debated and passed by none else but the Assam Assembly. Another point that was made in the Lok Sabha was: We are only two Members out of fourteen and, therefore, there is no full representation. We are equally sorry that Assam is not fully represented in the Lok Sabha. Let us all ponder over this and address to ourselves the question that if Assam is not today fully represented in the Lok Sabha and if this Appropriation Bill is to be discussed and passed today in the other House and here, who is responsible for it. Those who are responsible for it may also consider how far they want to damage the image of Assam.

My submission to this honourable House would be that in this Appropriation Bill we have to divide the budget estimate exactly into mathematical parts for four months and we have been practically true to the last naya paisa

about it in making this allocation. Therefore, so far as this Bill is concerned, we have not done anything different from what it was last time when the House passed it.

I am grateful to all the Members who participated in the debate. I am particularly grateful to those who spoke against the Bill rather than those who spoke in favour of it because their sentiments represent the agitated minds of the people of Assam. We very much value their comments though we may not agree with them.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not place all the facts before the House not because I want to say that we have done everything for Assam. We do not deny that in that part of the beautiful country, in that land from which the mighty Brahmaputra runs, its waters are not sufficient to extinguish the fire which they still suffer from. We are sorry for it. I would say that many of the misunderstandings about Assam expressed in this House should be corrected. To say the least I will quote a few figures. In the expenditure we have shown, you will be pleased to see the ratio in which we have raised the figures of plan outlays for Assam in spite of the fact we have to present the budget. My friend Mr. Kakati was good enough to tell me that the budget is a step-motherly budget. He said: By this budget you want to bring Assam under your submission, suppression and thump and you want this money to be lost as it cannot be spent. May I ask? What reason can there be for this Government to be step-motherly to Assam or to any other State? What reason could there be for this Government to see that the allocation made to Assam may not be spent? He might at least pardon me if I put the facts clearly and squarely before this honourable House? He said that the Budget has not been prepared to his satisfaction. If you have any complaint that the Budget is not prepared to your satisfaction, kindly permit me to mention

that we did not get all the assistance for this. We did not have any assistance practically to prepare the regular budget. Thanks to the officers, we had to prepare it here. Though Government servants should not participate in the agitation in Assam, it is clear that some of those Government servants who are responsible for preparing the Budget are very much in the agitation itself. We had no assistance in the preparation of regular Budget. If you have your say or message, our appeal is also there which is through you to the people of Assam. Kindly tell them that this Budget is not being passed by the Assam Assembly today and if this Budget is not being prepared to the satisfaction of the representatives sitting in the Assembly of Assam, kindly convey our appeal to them that we have no desire to prepare the Budgets of the States and we have no time and we do not desire to pass the State Budgets in this House. In fact, Sir, in the nine States where we had, under certain compulsions, the President's Rule, the position was that we were required to go in for a Vote on Account previously and we are happily relieved now because these nine States will pass their Budgets and it is now up to the leaders, leaders like Shri Bipinpal Das, Shri Dinesh Goswami, Kakatiji and many others who spoke, it is up to you friends, it is up to you Members, to create a situation and help us in seeing that the Assam Budget is passed by the Assam Assembly itself.

Now, Sir, coming to some of the allegations that the per capita allocation is the lowest, well, Sir, the honourable Finance Minister, speaking in the Lok Sabha, was required to make this point and he said:

"I am not interested in securing small points by saying, 'No; technically you are not correct'. I can only say that the statement that it is the lowest is not correct."

We do not want to hide from you also that this amount is the lowest and there is the complaint of Assam being backward, that there is the complaint that it does not get the allocation of the funds from the...

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: Who said that it is the lowest?

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: One of the honourable Members said,

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: I do not think any of the honourable Members said that. Members said that it is one of the lowest.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Nandaji, I will point out as to who said that.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: The criticism might have been made in the Lok Sabha.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Why waste time on this?

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Nandaji, I am not that much wrong. I will presently tell you who said it. But I am just now only interested in saying that we do not want to dispute this fact. You kindly help me in saying what we are doing for Assam today, how we are planning the things. I will tell you only one thing that so far as Assam is concerned, it is not the Gadgil formula for allocation of central assistance. Assam being a hill State, Assam being a backward administration, it is not equal and a special treatment is to be there and we have, therefore, taken it out of the Gadgil formula and the assistance that the Centre is extending to Assam is much more than what many other States in India receive. I can give a few figures to show what our Plans will give Assam in the form of allocations so that it may satisfy the honourable Members about it.

Sir, we do admit that there is always room for improvement. But,

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so far as the allocations are concerned, I want to say that in the present Budget even, we have made provision for Assam which, looking into the figures of the previous year, is much higher. In addition to this, I want to bring certain concrete facts to the knowledge of this House. At the instance of the honourable Prime Minister, a Committee of Ministers, not only of the Secretaries and other officials, but a Committee of the Ministers—the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Industry, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, the Minister in charge of Planning and the Minister of Agriculture—was appointed and there was a meeting last week which I had the privilege to attend and in which the question of complete economic planning of Assam was discussed threadbare. If I may say so, Sir, this House will be pleased to know that we are worried that before the monsoon sets in, the necessary grains must reach Assam and our railways, who are otherwise busy, are diverting the wagons to Assam so that they do not suffer for the reason that the monsoon has set in. About roads, about mini-steel plants, about the railways, about converting the present State roads into National Highways, the Committee has gone into all these things. Sir, there are proposals to convert some of the State roads into national highways. There is a demand for this. In the Committee we consider how to convert the present State roads and give them the status of national highways, if it is possible. These are matters under active consideration. Mini steel plants is a matter which we have directed to be thoroughly examined, considering the situation and circumstances of Assam. Sir, this House may be pleased to know that we conceded the demand of railway construction—subject to only one correction that one hon. Member said that the Janata gave it but it is not correct; the Congress gave it. The Janata probably continued it and we continue

the legacy. We are making a special arrangement of allocating funds for the railway construction in Assam, and I hope the other Members will not object to it. We are doing this work there. Likewise, there was a mention about the Brahmaputra river bridges. I would only say that this is also being actively considered. For this we are making time-bound programmes, and we are seeing to it that it will be done in a few years to come.

Sir, I want to tell this hon. House one thing more. While replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha the hon. Finance Minister gave one assurance to the House that for the economic development of Assam, the Finance Minister in company with the Planning Minister is prepared to visit that State. Let me tell this hon. House that we know that the mind of Assam has been agitated; it needs a soothing hand, it needs an ointment of peace, and we on our part—as the hon. Finance Minister has already stated, we are prepared to solve the economic problems of Assam. But we want to request you for one thing. Please help us. The hon. Member of the D.M.K. may have his own ideas and thoughts. A reference was made to Barauni. I would like to point out that we are losing Rs. 4 crores per day on this account—Rs. 120 crores per month. You can have even a third refinery if you like. But please create a situation in which your refineries work. We appeal for nothing more than this. You help us in creating a situation where refineries can work.

Sir, I would only say that we have taken care to allocate funds for development even in these four months' Appropriation Bill. I said, it is a painful duty that we have to perform. And I must thank this House.

Lastly, certain suggestions have been made. We welcome the same, and we thank the hon. House that no

body has opposed the Demands of Grants. To that extent I am grateful to the Members of the House. I would only say, in conclusion, that any suggestions made about the economic development, are noted and will be placed before the Committee which is in charge of the development of north-eastern region. I say that this House has been good enough not to oppose this Appropriation Bill. This may also be pleased now to generate a political atmosphere, helping us to bring about peace in Assam which we all desire earlier than anything else.

**SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA:** There is only one thing the hon. Minister should answer. I had raised a basic point about the ratio between the capital expenditure and revenue expenditure, this ratio of 24 per cent and 76 per cent—whether it is a healthy sign of proper economic development in the region... (Interruptions) After the debate in Lok Sabha this point was raised.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA):** Now, I put the motion to vote.

The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA):** Now, we shall take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

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

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

**SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT:** Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was proposed.*

**PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH:** Sir, while the House is unanimously endorsing the Appropriation Bill as moved by the hon. Minister, I would like to appeal to him on two points. Sir, if he wants really the climate in Assam to change, as he has himself appealed to all of us, we want him and the Government of India to reciprocate by making a quick announcement regarding crash employment programme. A large number of students are involved in this movement and there is a widespread frustration in the youth because of unemployment. The Finance Minister must take the earliest opportunity to announce a crash programme for youth employment. This would go a long way in establishing a climate of confidence. In view of the emotional disturbance that has taken place, you must do something to heal the wounds. Secondly, I want to stress this question of royalty on oil which was raised and which the hon. Minister has somehow preferred to avoid. I think it cannot be avoided. It must be settled very soon and if it has to be settled, it has to be settled on principle. It is not a question of A or B or C. Mr. Sankar Ghose said that it is a national question. We all agree to it. But the principle is that it must have a relation with the market price. That principle must be announced. The Government of India has not been committing itself on this point for years now. If you don't commit yourself to the principle that the royalty shall be fixed taking into account not only the number of years that have passed but the market price and the international market price for that particular commodity, it will lead to complications. If the Government makes such a commitment, I think that the Government would be taking a big step in solving not only the problem of Assam but also in resolving some problems that may come up in future also. I hope these two sug-

[Prof. Ramlal Parikh]

gestions will be given due consideration by the Minister.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: We welcome suggestions from the hon. Members. But I only want to say that so far as the crash employment programme is concerned, this is the basic purpose for which this committee is working. Coming to the question of price, the hon. Finance Minister has replied in the Lok Sabha that we pool prices of our indigenous oil and the imported oil. Ultimately we have to keep the consumer's price in mind. Keeping the consumer's price in mind, we have fixed the rates. That is how our policy is decided.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): There is a state-

ment by the hon. Deputy Minister for Railways.

### STATEMENT BY MINISTER

#### Withdrawal of strike by loco running staff

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MALLIKARJUN): Sir, I am happy to inform the House that a section of the loco running staff of Delhi Division of Northern Railway which had resorted to stoppage of work from 7-6-1980 have since decided to call off their agitation with effect from the mid-night of 16/17-6-1980.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-one minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 17th June, 1980.