

the result of the very unfavourable working conditions obtaining in the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. This organisation, you may well realise, is a very important organisation as agricultural production is the subject-matter and we know that this organisation does valuable work in this field. But it is said that in all our national institutes and particularly this organisation, instead of an atmosphere of research and investigation bureaucratic methods have got hold of them and the scientists are unable to pursue their research or investigation with proper opportunities. It was pointed out that for scientists working in the field of biochemistry in their laboratories there are no chemicals and they have no separate places for maintaining chemicals or other things. Over and above that a serious lacuna came to my attention that these national research institutes are not statutory bodies. Those working there have no protection of their services. This is the situation which is creating frustration and dejection amongst our scientists who are either leaving the country or, as I told earlier, suicides also have occurred among them. This is a matter which should seriously engage the attention of the Government. An inquiry should be instituted into the way in which our research organisations are functioning and, most of all, statutory safeguards must be provided for those who are working in these institutes. That is what I would like to bring to the notice of the Government and this House.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION APPROVING THE PROCLAMATION OF 12TH DECEMBER, 1979 UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ASSAM

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

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 12th December, 1979, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam."

Following the resignation of the Janata Ministry headed by Shri Golap Borbora, a Ministry headed by Shri Jogendra Nath Hazarika of the Asom Janata Vidhayani Dal assumed office on 9th September, 1979. In the wake of the deteriorating law and order situation in Assam, the Congress (U) and CPI withdrew their support and Hazarika Ministry was reduced to a minority.

In his report to the President, dated the 11th December, 1979, copies of which were laid on the Table of the House on 23rd January, 1980, the Governor recommended issue of a Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution. He also recommended that the State Assembly may be kept in suspended animation.

Possibilities are being explored for having a stable Ministry in the State. It is, however, possible that no Ministry may be able to assume office by the 12th February, 1980 by which time the present 'Proclamation' will expire unless approved by Resolution of both Houses of Parliament. I would request the House to grant its approval to the proclamation issued by the President on the 12th December, 1979 in relation to the State of Assam.

The question was proposed.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while giving our approval to the proclamation of the Presidential Order with regard to the dissolution of the Cabinet in Assam, may I point out a few concerns that all of us as Indians have towards what is happening in Assam now? Sir, it is a fact that the Ministry headed by Mr. Golap Borbora was instrumental in unsettling the issue. He started the initiative. It was his Government which printed

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forms for cancellation of the votes of the voters in different areas and even employed police officials for it. The police officials used to go and get the signatures of some village people on blank papers and then those papers were brought to the office and some other officials, including the staff there, used to fill up those forms. It is unheard of that the whole police machinery is used by a Chief Minister and his colleagues to get the blank forms signed and then the forms are filled by officials negating the right of voting as voters of hundreds and thousands of people. It was done on two grounds: (1) those who don't speak Assamese language; and (2) those who are religious minorities. It is a matter of shame for any Indian anywhere that they can behave in such a way and utilise the Government machinery for the selfish ends of the party in power. Then it came to such a pass that a frenzy was aroused, passions were aroused, and it became a communal thing. No right thinking citizen of India approve of such moves. Ultimately, Mr. Golap Borbora's Cabinet had to go and then came Mr. Hazarika's Government. That Government also could not control the situation and there was no alternative to have a spell of President's Rule there, though the Assembly was kept under animated suspension.

Sir, what do we find there in Assam? Assam was a very big State with so many ethnic cultures, with so many groups speaking different languages, having different ways of life. They all were living peacefully. Then at a certain stage the issue went so far as to get as many as five States out of Assam. Even now the people there are not living in complete amity and complete co-operation with each other. The State Government there not only failed miserably but was also instrumental in having this unrest created in Assam. Right thinking

people should consider that if one part of this country undergoes this kind of turmoil, we cannot keep quiet. What happened there is that there is a large chunk of Muslim community which felt all of a sudden that they do not have any citizenship, though they were voters for the elections starting right from the General Elections of 1952. Now all of a sudden they were asked to produce certain documents. Sir, you know that this being a border State, so many refugees also came there and so many Muslims, due to the pecuniary conditions, from the other side of the border also crossed over to this side. May be they do not have valid documents. But even then they were allowed to stay there. There was a stage in Assam, just before Partition and beginning of Partition, when a rail-road link was established which connected the border of the erstwhile East Pakistan—at that it was East Pakistan—to this side of the border and which was instrumental in bringing in minority community people and concentrating them in different border areas of Assam. We do not approve of it because there was no justification for having that rail line in the interior villages going right upto the East Pakistan border only to bring the Muslims so that the Government which supported the Muslim league Ministry could get a big population of Muslims at that time. Then, while the Mujibur Rehman revolt took place, people had to take shelter, both Muslims, mainly Muslims, and Hindus in some parts of Assam. The other refugees from the then East Pakistan also crossed over. Naturally, the economy of Assam was not only stagnated but it declined to a great extent. A small State like Assam could not accommodate all the people who crossed over. Sir, their's is a legitimate demand when they say that Assam cannot take the whole burden of the then East Pakistan's Bengali refugees, the Muslims who crossed over and also the displaced persons who came from 1948 onwards mainly from Sylhet and other adjoining dis-

tracts of Assam. So, their economy suffered the employment opportunities also became less and less for the Assamese, the sons of the soil. There is no doubt that they are suffering, and I do not know if effective steps are being taken.

Taking advantage of this economic suffering, when a particular interested section, however strong or weak it may be, calls for agitation, it gets public support. And when the people come forward, it is mixed up with so many anti-social and anti-national elements also in it. They take full advantage of the situation and create a law and order problem not only for that particular State but for the whole of India. As a citizen of this country I can realise their agonies. I can realise the price rise that took place because they cannot be self-sufficient with whatever they grow. They must have things from outside, and outside means outside Assam. So, naturally, they feel that they should not take the burden of so much of excess population.

Then, we know that some of the anti-national elements are getting support from countries which are not very friendly with India. They also got mixed up not only in Assam, Meghalaya and other places, but in the whole of the North-Eastern region, and it became really a problem. At this particular moment some anti-national elements who got into the movement are issuing leaflets. It has now got absolutely out of control of the students who started the agitation. The anti-national and the anti-social elements are rampant and they are trying to start a sessionist movement.

The Government, up till now, has shown utter negligence utter callousness, in finding out a solution for this. The students of Assam met me. They said that their demand was not to turn out any citizen from their State and that they were being maligned. I agreed and said that I also felt that

they were being maligned and asked why they were allowing the anti-social and the anti-national elements to rear their heads through their movement. They denied it and said that they had come on their own and that it was very difficult to get them out. The result is that some of the people who do not speak their language, have been forced to leave their hearths and homes. The Bengali population, the people who are Bengalis, who were voters not only in one election who were born there and who are living there for generations and generations are also being harassed, murdered and butchered.

The minority community people are also feeling the same stresses and strains and their houses have been attacked. There is a leaflet, a copy of which is in my possession, which has been surreptitiously circulated by those who are taking advantage of this movement. They say: 'What is this India? We want to go out of India. We want to be free.' And in that leaflet, they have given a catalogue of their steps and they have mentioned the names of persons who are to be murdered. They say: 'First start the movement. And if you feel that you can do it in a non-violent manner, you are absolutely wrong. Don't follow Gandhiji or Jayaprakash Narayanji. Their method will not be applicable in India. You have to have a bloody revolution.' And in that they mention that the first two victims will be Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha, erstwhile Chief Minister of Assam and leader of my party in the Assembly there and Mr. Dev Kant Barooah. These two will be the first victims. Then in the second list there are names belonging to most of the parties. And in the third list they say that this 'puja' that they have started will end with the sacrifice of Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi and Mr. Jyoti Basu. I do not know why they have brought these two names who have got nothing to do with the Assamese movement or with what the people are doing there. Now this is nothing but an incitement to

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violence. They are not only inciting people to violence but they are killing people every time. I do not want to mention the name of Rabi Moitro again. It has been sufficiently discussed. They say it have got nothing to do with the movement. And what was the fact? Two or three persons who are employees of that organisation were attacked and they were lying in the hospital. Dr. Moitro, a well-known scientist, felt that as he was the Manager he must meet the employees who had been attacked and who were lying in the hospital. As soon as he came near the hospital, he was dragged out from his car and mercilessly beaten with stones and other tools. When he died, even his face could not be recognised by any of his relations. His body was identified through the ring that he was wearing on one of his fingers. I am saying this not because I happen to be a Bengali or Dr. Moitro was a Bengali. It could be an Assamese also; it could be anybody. Do we encourage this kind of thing? Now the other day, the Forward Bloc Members, Mr. Amarprosad Chakraborty tried to say, "Come and visit the refugee camps in Cooch-Bihar, in Alipur-Dua, on the Assam border. They are staying there even now." What are you doing to rehabilitate them? What are you doing to hold elections there? We do not support that foreigners should have voting rights. If they are foreigners, they cannot have anything to do with our country, with our voters' list. But in the name of 'foreigners' we do not want any harassment, Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha, who is the leader of our party, there, has also said that we do not want harassment of any individual citizen in the name of 'foreigners'. So, the Government of India has to find out a solution for this problem. And if you dilly-dally with the matter—it has already gone beyond the control of even those who started this movement—it will be encouraging anti-national, anti-social, secessionist ele-

ments anywhere in India to raise their heads again. Sir, the turmoil should not be allowed to continue. It is not only the case of Assam; it is everywhere. Dissolution of the Assembly is not the main thing. I want to know from the Minister what is their analysis of the situation. What do they intend to do in this matter? The question of dissolution of different Assemblies has also come up. In this particular case, the Assembly is kept in suspended animation. On the other hand, there is the question of threat to all elected Assemblies. May I say, with all the emphasis at my command, that if you believe in democracy, if this Government has been elected democratically, then those who have been elected to the Assembly have also been elected through the same democratic process? If you honour any democratic system, how can you dissolve the Assembly? By this very democratic system they have been elected in the State Assemblies. So it is not a question of who rules the Government of India. It is a question of democracy which has come to stay in India, we will not allow any one of them, any one of the ruling party, to have this feeling that they can get away with whatever they want. It is very easy to put pressures on Rajya Sabha Members for defection. And those who are defecting, their voice is the loudest in this House because they want to prove their *bona fides*. Let me say this, even if we do not remain Members of Parliament, we are loyal and sincere to our party and we will resist their attack on our party and we will resist this method of defection. A man has been elected on a party ticket. But he does not resign this seat; he quietly goes over and sits there. If is not buying, if it is not purchasing, MPs, what else is it?

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र (बिहार) :
उपसभापति जी, मैं एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण
घटना के बारे में सदन का और माननीय गृह
मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ।

बिहार की कानून व्यवस्था कितनी गिर चुकी है यह मैं बताना चाहता हूँ। सीताराम झा जो प्रमुख हैं (Interruptions). उनके ऊपर उसी स्थान पर जिस स्थान को कपूरी ठाकुर संसद में रिप्रेजेंट करते थे हमला किया गया। मोहन राम मिनिस्टर के अंगरक्षक और राकू विलास पासवान सांसद को अरेस्ट किया गया था 1978 के उपचुनाव में और उसी स्थान पर सीताराम झा जो कांग्रेस के कर्मठ सदस्य और प्रखंड के प्रमुख हैं उनकी गरदन पर वार किया गया . . . (Interruptions)। इससे पता चलता है कि जनता पार्टी के मन में कितनी बदले की भावना है। यूपी कांग्रेस के लोगों का आज शान्तिपूर्ण प्रदर्शन होने जा रहा है तो बिहार सरकार ने धारा 144 लागू करके बसों को बन्द कर दिया और यातायात बन्द कर दिया ताकि वे प्रदर्शन न कर सकें। यह सब जनता पार्टी की सरकार बदले की भावना से कर रही है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री जी बिहार की सरकार को जल्द से जल्द भंग करें। . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of order. What is all this going on?

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : उपसभापति जी, मैं आपको धन्यवाद दिये बिना नहीं रह सकता कि आपने मुझे इस पर बोलने की इजाजत दी। असम एक ऐसा प्रान्त है जो मेरे बिहार प्रान्त के बिल्कुल नजदीक है और आज असम सारे देश का ध्यान आकृष्ट किए हुए है। उपसभापति जी, असम की समस्या आज की समस्या नहीं यह बहुत पुरानी समस्या है। सब लोग जानते हैं कि असम एक बहुत बड़ा कृषि प्रधान प्रान्त था और असम की आबादी भी बहुत कम थी। लोगों के बसने के लिए प्रचुर मात्रा में जमीन थी, जंगल थे। इससे आकर्षित होकर हिन्दुस्तान के कई प्रान्तों से लोग धीरे-धीरे यहां चले आये और असम में बसते गये। शुरू शुरू में चूँकि असम के लोग अधिकांशतः कृषि विशेषज्ञ थे और कृषि में

दिलचस्पी रखते थे इसलिये वे चाय बागानों में मजदूरी का काम नहीं कर पाते थे और मजदूरी का काम करने के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार, मध्य प्रदेश और रांची से मजदूर जाते रहे और काफी संख्या में इन प्रान्तों में कृषि मजदूर चाय बागानों में काम करते रहे। इस कारण भी मैं समझता हूँ वहां की आबादी बढ़ी। फिर धीरे-धीरे जो बड़े-बड़े कारखाने थे तेल शोधक कारखाने थे उनकी संख्या बढ़ी और इन कारखानों में अधिकांशतः लोकल आदिमियों को न ले करके बड़े-बड़े ओहदों पर मारवाड़ियों द्वारा जो बड़े-बड़े उद्योग धंधे खुले उनके प्रान्तों के लोगों को रखा गया। इन्हीं लोगों ने इन बड़ी-बड़ी जगहों पर अपना आधिपत्य जमा लिया यह जो एक कारण था जिसकी वजह से उन लोगों के मन में यह भावना जागृत हुई। असम में इस प्रकार से हाटें बनने शुरू हुई उपसभापति जी, हम सब लोग जानते हैं कि किस तरह से बड़े अधिकार। जब किसी प्रान्त में बड़े अफसर बन जाते हैं तो अपने प्रान्त के लोगों को, जिस प्रान्त के वे रहने वाले होते हैं, छोटी छोटी जगहों पर ले जाते हैं। आसाम में भी यही हुआ है। उनके प्रान्त में इतना बड़ा तेल का कारखाना है और खनिज पदार्थ भी बहुतायत से पाए जाते हैं। लेकिन हम यह देखते हैं कि इन कारखानों में दूसरे प्रान्तों के लोग भरती किए जाते हैं। आसाम के लोगों को उनमें जगह नहीं मिलती है। बिहार के लोग भी आसाम में बहुत हैं और दूसरे प्रान्तों के लोग भी हैं। इस कारण से आसाम में आसामियों की संख्या कम होती जा रही है और दूसरे जगह के लोगों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है। इसलिए उनके मन में आक्रोश है। तीसरी बात यह है कि नेपाल आसाम के बहुत नजदीक है। नेपाल की आबादी अधिक है, जमीन कम है। नेपाल से आकर लोग आसाम में बसने लगे। आपको याद होगा कि जिस वक्त हमारे

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

देश का बंटवारा नहीं हुआ था उस वक्त भी बंगाल से बहुत बड़ी संख्या में लोग आसाम में जा कर बसने लगे थे। आसाम की उर्वरा भूमि में खेती करने लगे और उन्होंने काफी बड़ी संख्या में आसामियों से जमीन खरीद ली और वही पर बसने लगे। इस कारण से भी वहां पर आक्रोश बढ़ने लगा। हिन्दुस्तान के बंटवारे के बाद ईस्ट बंगाल से भी काफी संख्या में वहां के अल्पसंख्यक हिन्दू आसाम में आए क्योंकि आसाम उनके बहुत नजदीक पड़ता था। ये लोग आसाम में आ कर बस गए और वहां भी आबादी बढ़ती गई। यही नहीं, एक बहुत बड़ा इन्टरनेशनल षड्यंत्र भी चलाया गया कि आसाम को ऐसा प्रान्त बनाया जाय जिससे शनैः शनैः यह ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में विलय हो जाय। मुझे इस संबंध में श्री मुहम्मद अली जिन्ना को यह बात याद है कि जब उन्होंने कहा कि घबराओ नहीं, चन्द सालों के बाद आसाम एक मुस्लिम-बहुल प्रान्त बन जाएगा। बात यह थी कि हिन्दुस्तान के बंटवारे के बारे में विचार करने के लिए एक कमीशन बना था। उसने यह रिपोर्ट दी कि पूरे के पूरे आसाम को ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में मिला दिया जाय। लोगों ने इसका विरोध किया। विरोध करने के बाद जिन्ना साहब ने यह बात कही थी कि घबराओ नहीं, चन्द सालों के अन्दर ही आसाम मुस्लिम-बहुल प्रान्त बन जाएगा और ईस्ट पाकिस्तान को सोने की तश्तरी में रख कर मिल जाएगा। मैं यह बात कोई साम्प्रदायिक भावना से प्रेरित होकर नहीं कह रहा हूं साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं का मैंने सदैव विरोध किया है। लेकिन आसाम में जो स्थिति है, उसकी तरफ शीघ्र ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। आज आसामियों की आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक भावनाओं पर हमला किया जा रहा है। आसामियों

को यह आशंका बढ़ती जा रही है कि धीरे धीरे उनकी संख्या कम होती जा रही है और उनसे रोजगार के साधन छीने जा रहे हैं और उन लोगों को अपने ही प्रान्त में एक गरीब आदमी की तरह से रहना पड़ रहा है। जिस तरह से छोटेनागपुर के आदिवासी आज अपनी जमीन से वंचित हो गए हैं और उनके जाने का साधन उनसे जित प्रचार से छोन लिया गया है वही स्थिति आसाम में भी हो रही है, इस प्रकार की आशंका आसाम के लोगों को हो रही है। उनके अन्दर इस प्रकार की आर्थिक आशंका जबर्दस्त रूप में पैदा होती जा रही है।

उनकी आशंका इस बात पर भी बढ़ती जा रही है कि सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से भी वे पीछे पड़ते जा रहे हैं। आप जानते हैं कि जब किसी प्रान्त के लोग दूसरे प्रान्त में जाते हैं तो अपनी संस्कृति भी वहां ले जाते हैं। बिहार के लोग काफी संख्या में वहां गए हैं और वें अपनी संस्कृति भी वहां ले गए हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के लोग भी वहां गए हैं। उन सब लोगों ने इस बात की कोशिश की है कि वे वहां पर मिलजुल कर रहे। लेकिन बंगाल के लोग आज भी बहुत बड़ी संख्या में आसाम में हैं और सबसे अधिक आन्दोलनों में भाग ले रहे हैं। इसलिए हमें आसाम की समस्या को आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक, दोनों दृष्टियों से देखना है। लोगों के अन्दर जो अलगाव की भावना पैदा हो रही है उसको समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए और वे एक दूसरे के साथ मिल कर रह सकें, इसका प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए। उपसभापति जी, आसाम का इतिहास बहुत पुराना है यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से भी उसका इतिहास बहुत बड़ा रहा है। मैं भारत सरकार से चाहूंगा कि

वह इस बात का आश्वासन दें कि जो नेपाण्डा कुछ सालों से आ करके और ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से जो लोग आ करके चाहें वे हिन्दू हों या मुसलमान, बंटवारे के बाद गैर-कानूनी ढंग से यहां बस गए हैं और वहां की आबादी को बढ़ा रहे हैं। उनके रोजगार को छीन रहे हैं और वहां के वाटर बन गए हैं, इस पर बहुत गम्भीरता के साथ सरकार को अध्ययन करना चाहिए। बोखोरा सरकार के पहले जो सरकार वहां पर थी उस सरकार का सम्बन्ध आन्दोलनकारियों के साथ अच्छा था। आज भारत सरकार इस आन्दोलन को निष्ठापूर्वक, ठीक ढंग से और ईमानदारी के साथ सारी बातों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए दूरगामी परिणामों और भविष्य के विषय में चिन्ता करके अगर कोई रास्ता तय नहीं करेगी तो पूर्वांचल का जो भाग है वह एक दिन हिन्दुस्तान से अलग हो जायेगा। आज अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय शक्तियां चीन, बंगलादेश, अमेरिका और इंग्लैण्ड, अमेरिका और इंग्लैण्ड मिशनरियों के माध्यम से और चीन अपने उन एजेंटों के माध्यम से जो अपने को वामपंथी कहते हैं, जिनकी अपनी यहां साख है, पूर्वांचल के इस हिस्से में आन्दोलन को बढ़ाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं। इससे एक भयानक स्थिति इस देश में पैदा हो सकती है अगर आपने वहां की संस्कृति को बचाने के लिये, वहां की भूमि को वहां के लोगों के हाथ में रहने देने के लिये, वहां के जंगलों पर उनका अधिकार रहने देने के लिये उचित ढंग से विचार नहीं किया तो शायद मैं समझता हूं कि यह आन्दोलन सारे के सारे पूर्वांचल प्रदेश में बृहदरूप से फैल जायेगा और तब वह आपके काबू से बाहर हो जायेगा और वह धीरे धीरे एकस्ट्रीमिस्ट्स के हाथों में चला जायेगा जो कि पूर्वांचल को एक सपरेट

स्टेट बना देना चाहते हैं। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है कि प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने वहां के आन्दोलनकारियों से सम्पर्क स्थापित किया और उनको एक डेपूटेशन उनसे मिलने के लिये आया। वे औरों से भी मिले हैं, आपकी तरफ से बहुत सदस्यों से भी मिले होंगे। मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि वह इस समस्या का समाधान बहुत दृढ़ता के साथ और देश के भविष्य की चिन्ता के साथ जोड़ करके और इस बात के साथ भी ख्याल करके करें कि आसामियों के आर्थिक हालत ठीक हो, उनकी सांस्कृतिक धरोहर जो है जो कि सदियों से बनी हुई है उसकी रक्षा हो, इस पर विचार करते हुए वह कोई कदम उठाये तथा यह जो बाहरी शक्तियां आज इस आन्दोलन में हाथ बंटा रही हैं। रुपये और पैसे से मदद कर रही हैं, इन बाहरी शक्तियों को रोकने के लिये काफी सचेष्ट हो। उपसभापति जी, आपको मालूम होगा कि जब ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में बिहारी मुसलमानों पर अत्याचार हुआ तो ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में बसने वाले बिहारी मुसलमानों ने सोचा कि हम यहां से भागें। आसाम में हमारे यहां के लोग हैं हम वहां बसेंगे और हमारी रक्षा होगी। वह आये। मैं समझता हूं कि उनकी भी कुछ मानवीय समस्याएँ हैं, उस पर भी हमको चिन्तित करना चाहिये कि इस समस्या का किस ढंग से निराकरण किया जाय। लेकिन साथ ही साथ इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिये कि आज अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय एजेंट्स पूर्वांचल को भारत के पूर्वी हिस्से को एक अलग राज्य बनाना चाहते हैं और इस उद्देश्य से वे चाहते हैं कि वहां की जो मेजोरिटी आबादी है, जो वहां के बहुसंख्यक है,

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

उनको अल्पमत में परिणत कर दिया जाये और वहाँ के लोगों की रोजी और रोजगार को छीन करके दूसरे लोगों के हाथों में दे दिया जाये। इसके लिये सरकार को सचेष्ट हो करके कदम उठाने चाहिये। इसलिये मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि वह वहाँ के नागरिकों से अपना सम्बन्ध स्थापित करे और उनकी जो समस्याएँ हैं उन पर सहृदयता के साथ विचार करके उनको तत्काल हल करने की कोशिश करे। मैं पुनः आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलते का समय दिया।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, we are glad in the sense that we are having another opportunity of discussing the situation in Assam. Sir, as I have spoken earlier, I would speak now with the object of not aggravating the situation but defusing it in the first instance, to begin with, and then to explore the possibility of bringing back Assam to normalcy. That is why we should apply our mind. But, Sir, the problem needs a little understanding. I get a little upset. Neither the Home Minister nor the Prime Minister goes there, but probably the situation is sought to be understood through our former colleague in the House, Shri Yashpal Kapur. Sir, the presence of Shri Yashpal Kapur in Assam in order to study the problem and understand it or defuse the problem, if you like, does not evoke any confidence. On the contrary it creates derision among others who are not in the admiring circles of the Prime Ministers establishment. I am not saying anything for or against Shri Yashpal Kapur. This is not the occasion for it. But do you sincerely believe that Mr. Yashpal Kapur's appearance on the scene as an emissary and adviser of the Prime Minister to find a solution to the problem would create any kind of enthusiasm or positive response of the kind that

you need among other parties and organisations? I am afraid that it will never do, and it has not done. Therefore, my first suggestion would be that the Prime Minister and the Home Minister—if you like you can take Mr. Makwana also with you—go there and study the problem themselves. This emissary business must end. This is another name for extra-constitutional authority. Sir, we are told, he went on behalf of the Party. Then the Party President should speak as the President. Then it should be announced in the papers that Mr. Yashpal Kapur has been to Assam as the emissary of the Congress President. She can choose any emissary she likes as the President of the Congress, but the moment he is mentioned as the emissary of the Prime Minister it takes on a different connotation and meaning. That is why I am saying this. Sir, we would not like to be ruled by extra-constitutional authorities of any kind, whether it is of the previous Government or this Government or the Government that we had during the Emergency. We have had enough of it—enough of it.

Now, Sir, coming to this problem, the solution does not lie in defectors' Government in Assam, at the moment, defection is a roaring business. I am told that Members' houses are being 'raided' in a friendly manner, and at midnight, by Cabinet Ministers to persuade defections. Even we are not spared. Perhaps the hon. Minister should know that this is not the way to do things.

Now, Sir, in Assam, defectors' Government will not solve the problem. Neither will the Janata Government. I say this is because the Janata Government's record is one of aggravating the situation in the past. In fact, the Janata Government had been an instrument in creating the agitation. If the Janata Government comes again in Assam. I am afraid—and I am advised by our friends in Assam—it is going to be an instrument of the

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present agitation. Therefore, neither should it be the Janata Government nor a Government which somehow or other manipulate defections. How to find a solution, you discuss, Sir.

The political situation in Assam is two-fold. First it is the law and order problem, which should certainly be tackled. Sir, it is a matter of shame that arson, murder, looting, etc. have taken place on a large scale. It has shamed the nation. The people of Assam are a people of high culture and it has not brought any good name to them. Even those who are in the agitation today will one day feel ashamed themselves and feel sorry for what they had done. They have been misled. This is what I say. But, Sir, it has the other aspect also not the law and order problem alone. I say this law and order problem is important when the murder is taking place, when the arson is taking place, when the looting is taking place, when the rioting is taking place. You have to suppress them. There is no question about it. You cannot allow the murder to be committed. You cannot allow the houses to be burnt. I agree. But, Sir, it has also a bigger, political, social and economic aspect. That also needs attention, and the leadership there of the Government should pay attention to this aspect. But, perhaps, Mr. Yashpal Kapur's perception and comprehension would not be of the quality and order of what we expect from Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi. Sir, that is why I said that I do not consider it to be a party matter. It requires that all of us put our heads together. But Sir, the problem has not come all of a sudden. It had been growing, boiling all the time. During the Congress regime, why was the problem not solved? During the last 20 or 30 years specially after the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, we should have paid attention to the solution of the problem of citizenship of those who had come. Today, one does not know who is a citizen and who is not. Even after the signing of the pact between Mujibur Rahman and Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1971, the problem

was kept hanging fire. No proper steps were taken to identify the citizen, to make certain arrangement which would not create the kind of situation that has come over the question of citizenship.

Sir, now I give the background of this problem. Sir, it is a fact that lakhs of people are involved in the agitation. As I said earlier, they have been misled, I am only sorry for that. But there in the agitation, there are other forces also. We found that from whatever we have collected some information and I talked to people from Assam also. Well, Sir, the secessionist forces are there, the chauvinist forces are there, the communal forces are all there. Now, Sir, take the case of communal forces. When the agitation started, the RSS entered it. RSS is not a strong movement in Assam. They entered the agitation about the time, I think, in November, Mr. Rajender Singh, General Secretary of the RSS toured Assam and he called upon the Hindus to unite and drive the Muslims out. RSS mentioned this angle to the agitation. Go against the Muslims, attack them and drive them out. The slogan is foreigner. Foreigners are those who are Muslims, belonging to the minority community. The RSS gave this slogan that they should be driven out under the overall cover of the slogan of foreigner. Then came the slogan from the RSS quarters that the Hindu is not a foreigner in Hindustan; the Muslims are the foreigners. Have you found out, Mr. Home Minister, whether such slogans were given? I have verified from very responsible political leaders, including the Members of the Assam Assembly that it was so. Sir, these RSS people have been particularly active in North Kamrup, specially in the Mokalmoa area of the district and the Damdama area. In these places and other places, one set of people had been active. Then, Sir, the RSS communalists entered. Then the secessionists came. Now we find that a co-ordination committee

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

has been formed of the secessionist elements from Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Assam and they have formed, what they call a joint liberation front and their slogan, the secessionist slogan, is the United States of Assam. In fact, they write U.S.A. Now, I am not confusing them with the masses which have been carried into this frenzy and agitation. They are operating there. We have information and they too should have information. The Chinese are training them in different centres. I will name the centres. The centres are the Bangladesh-Meghalaya border on the Bangladesh side, the trijunction of Mizoram, Burma and Bangladesh and North Burma, China and Arunachal border. These are the three Centres, where the Chinese are training them. When we expressed our hope in the President's Address and elsewhere of establishing good relations with China, get China first to stop such activities which they are now carrying on.

Now, Sir, I have got one more thing to mention which is no less sinister, namely, the so-called project Brahmaputra. It is a C.I.A. project and there, Sir, the CIA operations are going on in the whole area. The Home Minister may kindly note it. Here is a copy of the circular which I have got. It was issued by the U.S. Embassy people. The circular says about the project: "With the agreement of the State Department, the Special Operation Research Office, SORO—they call it SORO—of the George Washington University has asked the U.S. outfit in India for help in conducting sociological research in the eastern States of India including Sikkim as well as Bhutan. The aim of this research is to throw light on the public opinion in this region to establish whether the present status of these States remains acceptable or whether there are indications of the formation of a new State in the current problem." I ask you, what action have you taken against these people who are operating in the guise of the Brahmaputra Project, under the cover

of this project, which is a known CIA project in Assam? It has been going on for some time. (*Time Bell rings*). Sir, let me finish. Give me a few more minutes. I have read the circular. The circular is marked limited official use, and I quote "Limited Official Use". It also bears the mark "U.S. Government Printing Office 1959-51-99-7A". Now, you see why I mention this. The communal forces of the RSS brand are in operation, the CIA is in operation and secessionist forces inspired and trained by China are in operation. Now, Sir, I have given the background. Unless you have it, you will not understand, the Assam problem will then not be understood.

Sir, here in Meghalaya outsiders are called foreigners. Anybody, any Indian, is called a foreigner as long as he is not an inhabitant, not inhabitant, a tribal of Meghalaya that way. Now, Sir, you have rung the bell. What I want to say is that the problem has to be solved. In this connection, I invite the attention of the hon. Home Minister—I wish to be constructive in my suggestions in this matter—to what the State Executive Committee of the Communist Party in its meeting held on January 19-20 proposed. They have made some suggestions. They have said: (1) The Union Government must determine within the shortest possible time the question of foreign nationals in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Constitution and the Citizenship Act with due coverage for the Nehru-Liaquat Pact 1950 and the Indo-Bangladesh Agreement, 1972. Number two: Preparation of a national register of citizens; Number three: Introduction of identity cards for all Indian adults; Number four: Preparation of a revised voters list deleting names of all foreign nationals and including names of all eligible Indian citizens; Number five: Set up a mechanism consisting of Government officials and popular representatives at GP and ward level; Number six: Detection for the deportation of all foreign nationals through legal process and

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sealing of the border to prevent future infiltration, etc. These are the six suggestions. The Assam unit of our party has drawn pointed attention to the fact that chauvinist forces are utilising this situation for furthering their own objective in Assam. This you must understand. Obviously, it is directed against the progressive left democratic movement, in particular and against the well-being of the people of Assam.

Sir, here, one comes across two things. As you know, under the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, it was decided that those Muslims who had left Assam during the riots of 1950's, when they come back, would be treated as Indian citizens provided they came back by mid 1952. Nothing was done after that. When they came back, the matter was kept pending. They automatically would not become the citizens as per the Agreement. But no measure was passed; no steps were taken. Then the agreement between Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of 1972 provided also that those who had come back to India on or before the 25th March, 1971 from Bangladesh or erstwhile East Pakistan, would not be deported and hence they would be eligible for citizenship. Even that was not properly implemented, not in the sense they were forced out but in the sense that machinery was not set up to give them citizenship. There was no arrangement for their acquiring citizenship. That is how the problem gathered and now we are in the midst of it.

I would not go into the details of it apart from the fact that there are legitimate grievances of economic development. Assam, undoubtedly, is neglected; Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal, Manipur, all are neglected, as we know. Sir, everywhere our party is trying to restore peace. We have received a letter, rather one of our local party leaders, a leading member of the State Committee has received a letter, a threatening letter; his name is Mr. Kando Lanog, Shillong. The letter is written in their

language and the translation is: "This time we will forgive you. You are a traitor. We know you collaborated with Bangalis, we knew it, to enrol them in the electoral rolls. One bullet is the answer; enough for you..." Such is the letter . . .

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam): I want to ask our senior Member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, whether the letter relates to Assam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not saying that.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: You are referring to Assam. Why are you bringing in this matter which does not relate to Assam? Please don't bring in irrelevant matters, to defame the Assam movement.

1 P.M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is very relevant. Don't get agitated because, as I said before, it is a part of the whole scheme of the secessionists. I am not blaming the people of Assam. Far from it. I am sorry for them; they are being misled by some people and I named who they are. They are the RSS elements; they are chauvinists; they are CIA people. This is what I say. I am the last person to blame the people of Assam. People sometimes go wrong if they are carried in this manner. We have seen how people went wrong in the days of communal riots in the old days. Now, Sir, I say that we are in the midst of a big conspiracy. Assam development should not be taken as if some people have suddenly gone wrong. It has been planned, it has been going on, it has been boiling all the time and the responsibility must be borne not only by the Governments of the recent periods, but also by the previous Congress regime. That is why I mentioned the Liaquat Ali Pact of 1950 and Bangladesh-India pact of 1971. You can understand we have a backlog of problems. My friend should understand this. Why should I bring in irrelevant things? This is very very relevant. Whole India is in turmoil. Assam has become epi-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

centre for the moment of this turmoil unfortunately, because we have not solved our problems. This is all I would like to say and I have given the suggestion for the consideration of the hon. Minister.

I would like to make only two more points. Assamese people have some legitimate fears also. They have a fear that they are going to be outnumbered by non-Assamese. That fear is there. It seems they say that the population in Assam has increased by 35 per cent in the recent ten year period as compared to average national increase of 21 per cent or so. So, they feel that they will be outnumbered. Whether the fear is justified or not that is a different question, but that fear is there. And we have totally this fear. This is very very important. I do not say anything more on this subject, but this fear has to be taken note of. This is being exploited by chauvinists, communalists and anti-progressive elements. There is no doubt about it.

There is another point about the voters' list. Yes, Sir, a large number of names have been enrolled which should not have been there. That is their allegation. Equally, it is said that a large number of names which should have been there in the voters' list have been excluded from it. The matter came up before the Election Commission as well. When the Election Commission met the leaders of the parties or discussion, before the election, it was admitted by all that the voters' list was faulty on two grounds. There had been wrong inclusions and also there had been wrong exclusions on a large scale. Therefore, the demand was that the electoral rolls should be revised in order to include all those who are eligible to be voters and to exclude the names of those whom what they call 'foreigners'. Now, Sir, this is to be gone into swiftly and a solution found. A large number of people are in the camps. Some say their number is 40,000 and some say it is more. They

should be rehabilitated properly. In the case of those whose citizenship has not yet been settled, they are something like Stateless people, some provision should be made for them and arrangement should be made for their settlement. This is the factual position. Before I sit down, again I appeal to all concerned that they should sit together, discuss the matter and come to a settlement of the problem. We should work together for finding out a solution of this problem. (Interruptions).

श्री हरि शंकर मामड़ा : (राजस्थान)

लंच के लिये थोड़ा मौका दीजिये ताकी वह और बोल सकें घंटे भर तक ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The moment I mentioned the RSS I knew I was in hot waters, but I am sorry I have had to say it because the RSS had played a big part in communal riots. Many had been killed there and mostly the Muslims had been killed there. I have given the facts about the way they have posed that problem, the way they have utilised this agitation for their communal ends, as a communal carnage. This is what I say. Unless we take this thing into account, my friend should notice that I have given facts and figures. I only say that I am very sorry that such things have happened. We are ashamed. Our hearts go to the victims of the riots, to those who have been killed, to those who have been maimed, whose houses have been burnt, to those who have been driven out of their hearts and homes. Our sympathies also go to the Assamese people who have been made a victim of the conspiracy of the communalists, chauvinists and secessionists and we do hope that better counsel shall prevail and all men of goodwill in Assam, irrespective of political parties, will put their heads together to evolve formulae and solutions which will bring Assam to normalcy, restore law and order so that Assam where many minorities live can live peacefully. And before I sit down, I only want to

tell you that the big business element in Assam is financing this agitation so that the people get divided and there is no problem of having to face agitations from the people on their legitimate demands—whether it be in respect of wages or rising prices or other things. Such is the problem of Assam.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Sir, will you kindly hear a Member from Assam at this stage so that we can give our own version of what we feel? Thereafter other Members can participate in the debate. That will bring the debate to a proper perspective. Will you permit me to have my say?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: We are discussing today a very sensitive subject. The subject is not only sensitive but the area about which we are discussing is extremely sensitive and very important from the strategic point of view. I have said about the importance of the region on many occasions, but for the purpose of record, let me put the record straight here also. We are discussing about Assam. But Meghalaya has also been discussed. And, therefore, we are discussing about the entire North-Eastern region, a region which is surrounded by three international borders—of China, Burma and Bangladesh, with a mere corridor of 54 kilometres, 21 kilometres on the eastern side and 33 kilometres on the western side. We must not forget that Assam and the North-Eastern region have borne the brunt of an invading Chinese army and Pakistan aggressions. In 1962, we were the first victims of Chinese aggression. At that moment, in spite of the fact that it said that secessionist elements are there, Assam stood to a man to defend the territorial integrity of this country. We have borne the brunt of attacks twice from Pakistan and to a man Assam stood again to defend the territorial integrity of this country. We have borne times without

number firings from the bordering nations. Can anybody make any complaint that in those moments of national crisis, people did not stand by our country. If Assamese people did not have the patriotic fervour, if we were guided by secessionist feelings, well, there were moments when probably the people of Assam could capitalise on it. But the people of Assam are as patriotic as those of the rest of the country. We love this country as well as the rest of the country loves India. But our complaint is different. Our complaint is that in spite of the fact that we have borne the direct brunt of three foreign aggressions, in spite of that fact that we are bordered by China whose intention regarding our country is not yet beyond doubt and whose expansionist policy we have discussed times without number. Our complaint is that in spite of the fact that Burma has been the territory in which secessionist forces have been given training, the Central Government or even the Parliament do not bother about this region to the extent it needs attention let me remind the House that when seven infiltrators crossed the border into Jammu and Kashmir, the House was almost rocked but when we discussed foreign infiltration to Assam on earlier occasions, I remember, this House was virtually empty. Therefore, my friend from Meghalaya, Mr. Warjri, complained that it seems in this House, that unless something drastic happens in that area, nobody is at all inclined to bother about it. We are feeling a sense of neglect. Why? Not only because geographically we are isolated. As I told you, we are separated by a corridor of 54 kilometres. Economically this is my complaint to the Central Government, whether it is Indira Gandhi's Government or Charan Singh's Government or Morarji Desai's Government, that we have always received an absolutely stepmotherly treatment from the Central Government. I can give you thousands of instances. I gave you one instance when I spoke last on the calling atten-

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tion on Assam but I do not want to repeat it. In that region where we have the highest potential of power, you have invested only Rs. 248 crores compared to Rs. 3,337 crores in the northern region. The result is that five States and two Union territories of the north-eastern region have a power production of only 830 million units compared to 14,457 million units of just one State, Maharashtra. Communications? This is a very strategic area and the irony is that to a certain extent we are thankful to the Chinese invasion. This is the irony. We are thankful to the Chinese invasion because due to the Chinese invasion we got a bridge over the Brahmaputra. You have nine bridges over the Ganga. This is an area which could be cut off if the corridor is snapped. You never bothered about having a bridge over the Brahmaputra till the Chinese invaded right up to Tezpur and then only you realised the importance of having a bridge. It is not for the people of Assam but for defence purposes that you had put one bridge over the Brahmaputra.

What about rail communications and what about road communications there? In so far as railways are concerned, Assam is not yet linked with a broad gauge line. We do not have a broad gauge line up to Gauhati. Whereas the all-India average is a length of 8 per cent of railway lines, in Assam it is only 3.2 per cent. Roads? In spite of the fact that this is an area which requires connection all through out for emotional integration if not otherwise, what we have today is that out of 100 square kilometres we have 5.7 square kilometres of roads compared to the all-India average of 18. But in this area we have got even this much not because the Central Government was very keen for development but because we have the three more important foreign exchange earners—tea, jute and petroleum—and this communication is done to extract these three resources. We have sup-

plied, year after year, the three most important foreign exchange earners of this country. Whether I agree or not with whatever the students have done for blocking petroleum, at least after the petroleum has been blocked everyone is asking me, "What has happened to Assam?" I have replied sarcastically of course, that I do not know what has happened but this must have happened that at least once, because of these development you are taking interest in Assam. I join issue with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta because he said that the Assamese people have been misled by other forces. I say the Assamese people have not been misled. The Assamese people, after full deliberation have gone for the movement. But this fertile ground is being sought to be used by communal forces like the RSS, by secessionist forces. We do not like it. But remember, if you do not do something, Assam is fertile ground for the divisive forces, secessionist forces and communal forces. It is no use lamenting here. Solve the problem once and for all. Sir, coming to statistics, I will give one set of statistics about the apathy of the Government so that the Home Minister and the officials may note them. The agricultural development assistance from the fourteen nationalised banks and the State Bank of India up till now has been Rs. 142 crores for the northern region, Rs. 532 crores for the southern region. And what is it for the north-eastern region? For the entire north-eastern region comprising Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura and two Union Territories, shall I give the figure? It is only Rs. 8.37 crores. Now how does this figure of Rs. 8.37 crores compare with the figure of Rs. 532 crores? And then if the people of Assam say that the Central Government has not looked after them well, if the people feel sadly neglected and a sense of isolationism grows in Assam, can you blame Assam for it? Why don't you blame the Central Government for the entire apathetic attitude which they have taken? It is

because Assam is burning that both sides of the House today are expressing their concern over Assam. May I ask hon. Members: Did you express any concern at that time also when we raised in this House, long before—almost two years back—the question of infiltration? Did you express any concern when these points were raised times without number in this House? Let us not forget that. We do not want secessionism to grow. We are as patriotic as anybody else. But remember unless you tackle the problem of Assam with all seriousness, this may be the territory which we may lose. We do not want to lose it. The solution lies not in lamenting over what has happened in Assam but in really trying to settle the issue. It must be done by the Central Government and the Home Ministry. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, give me five minutes more.

Now I am coming to the President's proclamation. This has a direct bearing on the migration question. Sir, what is the position today on this question? I will quote from a book titled *SONS OF THE SOIL*, written by Myron Weiner. I hope the figures I am going to quote will amply prove the point because Mr. Bhupesh Gupta expressed his doubt to whether the apprehension of ethnic people of Assam that they are becoming a minority is true or not. I quote:

"The population of Assam (present boundaries) in 1901 was 3.3 million. Had Assam's population increased at the same rate as the rest of India from 1901 to 1971 (130 per cent) her population would now be 7.6 million rather than 15 million, a difference of 7.4 million. Actually, the proportion of migrants and descendants is substantially greater since large-scale migrations into the state commenced in the middle of the nineteenth century. If we accept the 1891 census estimate that one-fourth of the population of the Brahmaputra valley was then of migrant origin, we can estimate that the migrant population (and its descendants) in 1971 was more like

8.5 million, as against an "indigenous" population of 6.5 million."

Now these figures are not compiled by the Assamese but by an international expert. We have 8.5 million of migrant population as against 6.5 million of indigenous people.

AN HON. MEMBER: And what is the growth rate of production?

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Compare the economic growth rate. I have got the figures. If Assam had been an affluent State, the present apprehensions would not have been there. Because we are not an affluent State, we have been neglected, the apprehension is genuinely there. May I also quote in this context a report from the Census Commission headed by Mr. Vaghaiwalla, who later occupied one of the important positions in the Defence Ministry. I quote, "Rightly tapped, this migration is likely to alter permanently the whole future of Assam and to destroy more surely than did the Burmese in 1820 the whole structure of Assamese culture and civilization." I am quoting from a Government of India report from an officer who was later posted here. This is the fear. This is the apprehension. The apprehension is real. Kindly take note of this.

Sir, it has been said that there is no definition of a foreigner. I am surprised at it. How can it be that even after 32 years of independence, we do not have the definition of a foreigner? If we do not have that definition, may I know from the hon. Home Minister how they were deporting people? I know that they used to deport people even before this agitation. Lakhs of people have been deported. If there is no definition of a foreigner, how is that such deportation was possible? How can you deport people if you say in India there is no definition of a foreigner? I told this to the Prime Minister when I met her last. I said: For Heaven's sake, don't say that there is no definition of a foreigner.

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

Because the moment you say that, you invite the people to flock in large numbers on the fear that the Central Government may define foreigner tomorrow and the migration in greater flow take place before the definition is put in a statute book. I can understand a different approach that the constitutional definition may not be sufficient to solve the complex problem of Assam and that it will have a fresh look. I can understand that approach. But when you say that there is no definition, you are bringing in international complications. I know that there are cases of persons going and coming 17 times, 18 times. Well, here the Central Government is saying that there is no definition. They will ask how they can be deported so long as no definition is there. In the absence of definition they are not foreigners, they can legitimately argue. Therefore, let us not put such an absurd proposition.

Sir, it is true that there has been violence. I have made it very clear on all occasions that I spoke on this subject that we are against all kinds of violence and we abhor violence. But let us not make it a mere question of violence, law and order or a linguistic or a communal question, and let us not forget that if actually Bangladesh people from there are to be deported or if their names are to be deleted, they will be linguistically Bengalis and to a great extent, communitywise, Muslims because 70 per cent of the people there are Muslims. If you try to look at the movement as being against the Bengalis or the Muslims, you lose the perspective. It is against foreigners, whether they are Bengalis, Burmese or Nepalese and not against any Indian citizen. Everyone of us have gone through the experience of political agitations. Often violence takes place in political agitations. I condemn violence without reservation. But let us look at the other side of the story also. What happened in Naharkatia. An 8 year old Assamese boy

was killed, and, thereafter, suddenly violence took place. Near Barpeta, a student of class 10, Dilip Huzuri, was killed. Thereafter, violence took place. A number of boys were killed in Duliajan. According to the official estimates they were five and according to unofficial estimates 13 to 100. Rabin Mitra was killed. Unfortunately, the Home Ministry has not placed this fact in correct perspective before the House. I was under the impression that Rabin Mitra was killed brutally. Therefore, the police had to use lathi-charge or firing and the boys died. The facts are otherwise. The police resorted simultaneously to firing, lathi-charge and tear-gas shells at Duliajan with the result that officially five people died and unofficially 13 to 100, but I do not want to go into that. Even let us take the official figure of five. Do you not think that it is very difficult to control the emotions of the people? I do not want to justify violence. I abhor violence. The students are trying their utmost to keep to non-violence, knowing fully well that violence will damage the cause of Assam, will make people lose sympathy for the cause.

Sir, there have been too many cases of rape and molestation. I have here with me a report submitted by the Medical Doctors of the Gauhati Medical College, who went to the site I do not have the time, but I will read just a few words.

"Within a short period of two hours, our nine doctors had to treat as many as 90 cases, all of them except one being victims of army atrocities. 42 of 90 cases treated were females, 12 of whom complained and showed signs of being raped while almost all others were molested."

Sir, today, some friends complained and did rightly so about molestation in the U.P. I am surprised that the national Press does not focus the cause of molestation in Assam. And what type of people have been molested and raped! A girl of 18 years. Her photo

is in the report. A girl of 8 years was injured grievously by the police and the army. Do you think that the father of that girl will have hereinafter any good opinion about the Indian army! Women of 80 to 90 were victims of atrocities. And here is a photo of another lady of 35 years who was raped. I do not know whether you will permit me to place this document on the Table of the House. If so, I will be very happy. If not, I am going to give a copy to Mr. Zail Singh and we reiterate our demand for an enquiry so that he may tell us whether these facts are correct or incorrect. We must know whether these facts are correct or not. The Medical College authorities have asked the journalists to go and verify and give correct report of what happened. (*Time bell rings*) Kindly give me four or five minutes. I will conclude.

I am now coming to the President's rule. I am emotionally involved—emotionally involved in the sense that because our party withdrew support to the Hazarika Government at a moment when the State was in turmoil, it led to a vacuum in the State and there was no Government for some time. I differed with my party and submitted my resignation from my party. I am not going into it because that will be merely academic. But the saddest part of it is that what happened in North Kamrup has happened after the President's rule was imposed. Sir, unfortunately again many papers have reported about the violence and all that, but they have never tried to give a correct report except probably the *Illustrated Weekly of India* and some articles which have come. May I refer, Sir, to one report which has appeared in the *Sun*—again not an Assamese paper—of December 22, 1979? IT says:

"Such is the way in which news is managed in this country that at first the rest of India was given to understand that the Assamese were objecting to the Bengalis and calling them foreigners. Some people

criticised the Assamese for calling fellow Indians foreigners and facetiously accused them of disloyalty.

'Why were people led to believe such gross distortion...'

Sir, I am skipping some lines.

"Assam sadly lacks a powerful media which can attract national attention, and has to rely on West Bengal and correspondents from Calcutta to pass on news to the rest of India.

"Now, the West Bengal press has always been very antagonistic towards Assam, and for obvious reasons certain interested quarters in West Bengal want the Bangladesh is to say. People will notice that all news maligning the present movement in Assam originated from the West Bengal press or Calcutta-based correspondents. Hence the vile propaganda in the press about the Assamese being 'chauvinistic' 'parochial', militant disloyal and so on."

I can understand, Sir, the feelings of Mrs. Purabi Mukerjee when she will read this report, but may I request at least the All-India press to give a correct and proper appraisal of developments in Assam?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: To malign all the press people of West Bengal and to speak of the people of West Bengal as having designs against Assam is totally unfair. (*Interruptions*). And coming from Mr. Dinesh Goswami, whom we all know as a very responsible Member ... (*Interruptions*) I think he should not have quoted...

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Why should I not quoted...

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: ... to malign all the press...

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am not maligning all the press.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: ... and to say that the Bengali people have designs against the Assamese... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am not maligning all the West Bengal press. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: We are the best neighbours... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, I am not yielding. But what I am pointing out—and this is my complaint—is that the West Bengal press has taken a partisan attitude, and it has been proved correct by the report of the *Sun* which is not coming out from Assam. I think the editor, Mr. Viswa Bandhu Gupta, is a Bengali himself. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know what some of the Bengal papers write. (*Interruptions*) But Mr. Dinesh Goswami can rest assured that the record of the left forces in West Bengal has been to exercise the maximum possible restraint and preach omity among the people of the different States. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. Don't intervene like this. You have made your point. That is all.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am not against the Bengalis. I have not said a word against them. In fact, I said when I heard Mrs. Mukerjee, I could understand because the Bengal press sometimes has given a coloured version. I am not accusing the whole Bengal press. I was referring to some sections because my apprehension has been echoed by the *Sun*. And when I quote a newspaper, can I quote only a part and leave out another part?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: Why do you quote a distorted version? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am not saying a word against the Left Front Government. Let me put the record straight. I have not said a word against the Left Front Government. I have not said a word against Mr. Jyoti Basu. I have no complaint

against the Bengal people. I do admire that they have shown definitely an amount of restraint. My complaint is not only against a section of West Bengal press, but also to a certain extent against national press, that they have given a partisan picture. While they are depicting one side of the picture, they are not depicting the other side of the picture, they are not depicting the complete picture. Sir, I do not want to continue for long with my speech. I am happy that the Prime Minister has initiated a dialogue; Mr. Zail Singh also has talked to the students. I hope he will give some information to the House as to what has resulted from the dialogue, how the Government is approaching the problem because from my speech you can appreciate how terribly I am worried, how sensitive I am feeling—I am not only sensitive, but I am terribly worried about the future of this region. I am worried because I am as patritic, as non-communal, as non-linguistic, as any other Indian. And I do want that people of Assam irrespective of linguistic or religious affiliation to live in peace and harmony with the rest of the country. I do not want any Indian citizen to leave Assam. I repeat it, I do not want any Indian citizen to leave Assam. Even the students have also made it clear through their press statements that they are not against any Indian citizen irrespective of caste or community, irrespective of the place from where he comes. The only thing I wanted to say is unfortunately because we do not have a press media our voice, our anguish is not reflected in its proper perspective. (*Time bell rings*). Let me conclude by quoting from one paper which has tried to understand the problem, the Illustrated Weekly of India...

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Oh, it is written by Mr. M. V. Kamath!

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: You may ridicule it. I did not interrupt

any of the Members when they spoke. I never do it. So please don't interrupt me. Whatever you want to say, you say when your turn comes, and we will listen to you, but now please don't interrupt me. I will only quote what this paper has written... (Interruption). If there is something in M. V. Kamath's report to be jeered at, well, you may jeer at it. This is what he has written:

"It would be an evil day if India's problem in Assam is turned into a Hindu-Muslim or an Assam-Bengal issue. What Assam needs is sympathetic understanding, not strident criticism, sympathy and assurances that its voice is heard, not charges of chavinism and communal hatred. The danger is that, if the authorities turn their face away from Assam, extremists there may finally take over the State's policies. Already, national political parties have lost ground in Assam. Surely, that is not what we need at this juncture of our history?"

Surely that is not what my friends there want. Therefore, Sir, I am concluding with the observation of Mr. Kamath. Thank you.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): Sir, I shall be entirely above any political or regional or linguistic considerations. Everybody has said and felt that this is a very sensitive issue. Therefore, the sooner it is solved, the better it would be. If we just have a little consideration to the topography of that region, in earlier days Indians from other areas went to die there, not to live, because that was a landscape of cholera, malarial and all other hazards. I very sincerely share the feelings of our honourable friend, Shri Goswami, that many of the crops like tea, jute and oil that are contributed from there towards the mainland should be reciprocated by some other consumer items from the mainland to serve the local needs. I feel our present Government should see that by barter system we supply other consumer

goods that are scarce there but that are available in the mainland, so that local consumption may be taken care of. Secondly, as regards communication, that part of the vast land is connected with the main part only by a narrow strip. Therefore, the communication system must be augmented, not only by railway lines but by air services also. There we have an organised sector by creating small States to give respect to local sentiments, and still there are many more sentiments to be fulfilled. Naga, Garo and Khasi like Greek City States want to establish their own identity. We should develop unity across diversity and this is very, very applicable to that sector of our landscape.

The Home Minister should examine and see whether just one Governor for the whole region is sufficient. I must demand at the outset that you should provide more Governors, and Lt. Governors for smaller States. Assam should have a separate Governor so that the management of the State craft could be simplified. With just one Governor for so many States and so many Cabinets and so many Chief Ministers, with all Parties and languages, I think the bureaucracy will always have an upper hand, or they will always play an undermining role. We must be very careful in that area because not only bureaucracy has failed there. Even our valiant Army Officers, under General Kaul as GOC Eastern Command failed and only when he was changed we could save whatever we could in the 1962 war, and even now about 14,00 sq. miles are under foreign occupation. That part is not attracting the attention of our dear friends of Assam. But when a few fellow citizens from other parts of India go there, they become an eyesore. In this context, I will recall a historic event. Lord Curzon wanted to divide Bengal. It is a paradox that in free India, at the very dawn of freedom, we got freedom with bloodshed. And now they are crimsoning the Ganga,

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the Padma and the Brahmaputra. Many Indians, either born or brought up in Bengal became great Indians and great men of the world. Many Bengali speaking Indians either born there or brought up elsewhere also became great Indians in India and abroad. That became a very great eyesore for the English nation and to curtail and curb their tendency to be revolutionary and to curtail our freedom struggle, they wanted to divide Bengal as a precaution in order to slow down and retard the progress of freedom struggle. That was a very painful historical event. We adopted it in free India and Bengal was divided at the time of partition. A more mathematical or pragmatic division would have been West and East so that Pakistan could have been only in the western side and not on the eastern side. This continued till the Bangladesh territory became an independent and sovereign country. When East Pakistan was there in its place, it was a sore in our lap and rightly or wrongly many Muslim Indians were treated and looked at as if they were spies of East Pakistan. After Bangladesh became free as a result of the language war of 1962, things became different. In 1969 we saw a language riot in Assam. It was indeed a communal riot in disguise. Anybody who was speaking Assamese started attacking Bengalis and any Bengali speaking person started attacking the Assamese. People at that time forgot to which religion they belonged. In this context I recall a painful photograph that had appeared in some English daily in the Raj Bhavan of Calcutta where the late lamented President of India, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, who was then a Minister in the Assam Cabinet headed by Chief Minister Mr. Chaliha, was going from Delhi to Assam when the communal riot was there. The Bengalis loved their language so much that they did not even remember their religion. That was why East Pakistan fought West Pakis-

tan and we were the saviours. I also recall with interest the manner in which our commanders, Shri J. S. Arora and Shri Manekshaw, gave a unique call to our army to behave as liberators and not as conquerors. And our army did its best on account of which we really solved the problem in this subcontinent. Well, I think the time has come now when we can rectify our past mistake of dividing ourselves. Forgetting our caste, colour, creed, language and other things, we have now to see that the entire subcontinent is projected as one unit of common paternity or common maternity to be shared homogeneously and in a brotherly fashion between the five sovereign States, that is, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan. Well I think the time has come now when we will not only go in for a confederation, but also for reunification, to stand on the surface of the earth again as a very very great nation and to depend on ourselves only thereby forgetting caste, colour, language, religion and all the other things. Therefore, I call upon my dear friends of Assam to have this in mind and see what should be and what has been the definition of a foreigner. Well, in the greater interest of the nation and in the greater interest of that area, I feel that we should fix a time limit and see that facilities are provided and employment opportunities are created within that time limit and we can also cause a remigration of the eligible people to the vast landscape of the mainland, that is, to Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc. and see that Assam is not overcrowded. In this context, I also want to remind the House that a lot of people from Orissa also have gone to Assam and, over the generations possibly they have become more Assamese than the Assamese themselves. They are married there and they live there as the sons of the soil and many of these people are also taking part in the national life also. But the sentiment lies, I feel, between the Bengali-speaking people and the

Assamese-speaking people. That actually dates back to the British period when Calcutta happened to be the capital of the country for many decades. It was the time when there was the Calcutta Presidency, when there was the Bombay Presidency and when there was the Madras Presidency. It is natural that people of Bengal had gone towards Orissa, towards Bihar and towards Assam for service or for education or for cultural purposes and so on. I think the Britishers started engulfing State after State in India by their Doctrine of Lapse. So, earlier, those people who were living in Calcutta, whether they were Bengalis or non-Bengalis, also started acquiring zamindaris there and, as such, some of the people from Calcutta, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, whether they were Bengali-speaking people or non-Bengali-speaking people, gradually became an eyesore for the people in this part of the landscape of the country. Now, Sir, I think the time has come now when the Bengali-speaking Indians should think in retrospect and should restrain themselves and should feel that they are all like brothers and are equal citizens, equally Indians. Similarly, the Assamese-speaking people there also should in no way feel insulted or hurt or injured or neglected. They also have a role to play in the mainstream of national life. I also appeal to them to reconsider their stand because under the shadow of this Assamese-Bengali controversy, well, some religions are also coming in to play their role. In this context I must say with emphasis that Christianity has found a greater hold in that region and I must say that when one of the honourable Members of the previous Lok Sabha brought forward the Freedom of Religion Bill as a Private Member's Bill, it spread almost wild fire in that area, and it looked as if it was a fire from the natural gas wells or the petroleum wells in that region. Anyway, that also has resulted in a different style in the voting pattern of the last election and even complete election could not take place.

Now, I come to the question as to who the foreigners are who get enrolled. The Election Commission is supposed to be a quasi-judicial body and the Chief Election Commissioner is supposed to be of the status and capability of a Supreme Court Judge. It is unfortunate that during the last 32 years of our freedom we have not fulfilled our desire that the Chief Election Commissioner should be either a Judge of the Supreme Court or of that rank. Similarly, the Chief Electoral Officer of the State should be either from the High Court or of that rank and style. But we have failed very, very miserably. And also, in retrospect, I blame my own party that was in power; it could also not do that. I think it is no use calling one-man Commission as the Chief Election Commissioner. He should be called only as the Election Commissioner, because it is a one-man body. Now, I call upon the Home Minister to consider this point, and see how the Election Commission or its emissary has failed to give a correct voters' list in that belt not only but in the whole country. I understand that really more than 50 million people have been debarred from voting. Either their names were not there in the voters' lists or wrongly appeared or were struck off. So I fully share the sentiments of the people of that belt in not accepting this election process. Therefore, the last election has been incomplete. So I call upon the Home Minister to see that the present Election Commission must be properly toned up. The impartiality and efficiency of the present Election Commission are questionable. Therefore, that should be given a very merciless farewell. At the same time, our friends of that belt should also see that Indians who have been there from other parts of India cannot in any way be considered as foreigners. Therefore, this problem of foreigners must be very carefully tackled there and also here. It is now time that we should also give a farewell to such

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unwanted things as Kashmir is only for those who are born in Kashmir and not for other Indians. All Indians must be considered as equals everywhere, in every square inch of India. (*Time bell rings*).

With these few words, Sir, I feel that the Home Ministry should very carefully go over the situation and should very tactfully solve the problem. In this context, there should be no party barriers or political affiliations coming in our way.

With these few words, Sir, I hope the problem of the eastern sector would be solved.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, about the problem relating to Assam this House has been sufficiently exercised up till now. But, unfortunately, as is general the case of Assam and the north-eastern frontier goes by default. In the House when we first started the discussion on the Assam issue we could not complete the discussion because something else cropped up and took precedence. Thereafter also, no sufficient scope was given to the discussion of this subject. Sir, the most important aspect of the problem is that when we drew the attention of the Government, of the Home Minister, and of the Prime Minister to the very startling fact of barbarous atrocities on the village women of Assam, neither the Prime Minister nor the Home Minister had a word of sympathy for them. Sir, I said in the House that it is a greater misfortune for us that even the national newspapers did not carry the news. The Prime Minister has sympathised with the death of an officer of Duliajan Oil India. We also share it. But, Sir, I expected that she had also some words of sympathy for those wretched women who had been raped and molested by the Military force, by taking advantage of the curfew hours, at two o'clock in the night. The military personnel bound all the male members of the village by a rope,

kept them outside and then entered into the houses and raped the women. And that every incident has caused widespread revolt in the minds of people. The Government of India has not taken care to enquire into this matter. I request the Home Minister to see that a proper punishment is given to those people responsible for such crimes and particularly the officer who instigated the jawans to do this hated act. May I also tell the House, Sir, that I visited the entire area, and two sub-divisions were affected by this incident? I found the people very much agitated and they were on the point of revolting because that was the first experience in the whole history of Assam that women have been raped by the military force of our own country. Now, this is a very serious affair which must be taken note of by the Government of India. There is a reference by different Members to violence there. It is true that there had been violence in some places. But, as I said earlier, the most serious violence was committed by the governmental agencies both in Duliajan and North Kamrup. In Duliajan the DSP conspired and fired on the assembly of Satyagrahis, both males and females, who were sitting there, and killed 37 people on the spot. And that created a mass frenzy which led to the death of an officer. The frenzy went against that officer because he fell a victim to the conspiring police officer. I want the hon. Hom Minister to make a thorough enquiry into both these incidents. Otherwise, the credibility of the Government will no longer be there in Assam.

Sir, the Governor, in his report, has said specifically about the conduct of the Members of the Assembly, belonging to various parties, including their legislative leaders. But the Governor has not mentioned the root cause of instability in that State. The root cause of political instability in that State is the large-scale entry of foreign nationals into that territory and into electoral rolls. If you go

back to the recent history of Assam you will know that the Janata Government fell there because the Government ordered the revision of electoral rolls in the Mongoldoi parliamentary constituency. The Election department deleted about 16,000 names of foreigners from the list. And because of that, a particular political party rose against the Government and withdrew its support to the Government. The Chief Election Commissioner has wrote to me in a letter in April, 1979 that there are two disturbing factors in Assam politics. One is the large scale influx of foreigners which will ultimately bring Assam to a position in which by 1991 the majority of the population will be foreigners and Indian citizens would turn into a minority. The second factor he mentioned is the political parties which have enrolled foreigners as voters. May I also inform you that some political organisations have been making a business in this respect. I know of instances where they took money, Rs. 100 per person, from every foreigner to get his name, included in the voters' list. By doing so, they enrolled a large number of foreigners in the voter's lists. These organisations tell the people that once their names are included in the voters' lists, they will be treated as Indian citizens and they will not be deported. On that ground everybody paid from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 to these political workers in order to enroll them as voters.

AN HON. MEMBER: To which places do these foreigners belong?

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: These foreigners belong to Bangladesh as well as the Nepal. These are the two countries from which foreign nationals have entered into Assam.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MA-
THUR (Uttar Pradesh): Sharmaji, name the parties, if you can.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Now, Sir, after the Borbora Government fell, a new Government with

the support of the Congress (U) and the CPI was formed. The Borbora Government had to resign because there developed a conflict on the issue of foreign nationals. On this very issue the CPM also withdrew support from the Janata Government. Then came the next Government led by Mr. Hazarika. He was thought to be a docile man. But after being two months in office when he decided to take some steps against foreign nationals, the Congress (U), the Congress (I) and the CPI withdrew support from that Government and the Government fell. Today, all sorts of activities are going on like purchasing MLAs encouraging defections, etc. I would tell the hon. Home Minister that with the type of political activity that is going on in the State, it will not be possible to establish a stable Government there. I again emphasise that any Governments in Assam which seeks to provide a stable political administration must fulfil in letter and spirit and with determination, the demands of the people of Assam expressed through the mass satyagraha which has been continued for last four months. I want to ask the Home Minister whether he can give me any example in any other State where on such an issue lakh of people have participated to create mass sanction. Yesterday 5000 women were picketing the Deputy Commissioner's office in Gauhati. Women have come out when young men were killed by the police. The women have said, "we cannot just go watching our children being killed, we shall be killed first, let the police and the mitiary kill us." That mass satyagrah be peacefully continued for more than four months.

Now, Sir, this movement has brought about a conflict—a direct conflict—between the political sovereign of that part of India and the legal sovereign. The national parties, the Assembly and the Government has ceased to represent the people. The Government has ceased

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to have control because their will is quite different from the will of the people who constitute political sovereign. Now, Sir, any Government that does not fulfil the aims of this moment, shall not continue even for a month. I beg to request the Home Minister that instead of trying to form an alternative Government, he should try to solve the basic problems raised by this movement and implement the will of the people. Hon. Members have pointed out...

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Do you agree that extremist and chauvinist elements are also working in the area?

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Sir, for the time being I would tell my hon. friend, Shri Kalyan Roy, that the way these extrenous issues are being raised but is a very clever way of maligning the movement in Assam. Let me tell Mr. Roy that there is a great Chinese wall in the big city of Calcutta. No truth about Assam can pass through that wall to the rest of India. There may be some circulars as Mrs. 2 P.M. Mukhopadhyay was pointing out; I have also seen 2-3 circulars but some few people might be doing it. That has got no impact. I can assure Mr. Kalyan Roy that it has got no impact. So far as the movement and its organisers are concerned, they have nothing to do with those circulars. The people, in general, are not interested in them. If you have got a cyclostylying machine, you can also print some such circulars and distribute.

Now the point is that when the Governor in his report gave the causes leading to the breakdown of the constitutional machinery in the State and the necessity of Presidential rule, he has avoided reference to the issue as to what the people want. The people need a truely representative

Government. If the Government does not represent the people and its wishes, they do not need that Government which claims to be representative of the people but actually is not. The Government must represent the people in the true sense of the term. The Governor should have also mentioned in his report that the military and police forces employed by him perpetrated heinous acts in the name of maintenance of peace and order. He has also not indicated the need of withdrawal of those forces from Assam. Sir, would like to tell the Home Minister that in North Kamrup on the 10th or 11th of December, military personnel were posted and on the 12th morning, the entire people rose up with one voice demanding withdrawal of these forces. They openly told the Government that otherwise they would revolt. Within one hour, the Government had to withdraw the Army. But since the time of withdrawal of the army till today, no incident, not even a minor one, has taken place, proving, conclusively that the military had been employed only to harass and to teach a lesson to the people, by some interested officer in the army so that the Assamese people could be taught a lesson. That was the main aim. I admit there were some incidents. . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Incidents?

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Arson cases did happen in the village areas but all the arson cases were in those areas where suspected foreign nationals were there. This is a hard fact which I want the Minister to go and see. This is because violence is not the character of the Assamese people throughout. They have not burnt buses, they have not burnt trams. This movement, is there for four months and nobody can say that in the Gauhati town where lakhs of people have been participating in the movement, if even the hair of anyone has been touched. I regret many of the Members from West Bengal raised the issue of anti-Bengali out-

look. In my 30 years of political life, I have myself never thought in that line. As I said yesterday, I want them to change a bit in their analysis and their approach to the problem. I invite them to go and visit different areas and then give their comment. Do not give comments on the newspaper reports. The other day I saw a report in Jugantar. Some press reporters came to meet the Assam students' delegation at the Calcutta airport. The student told them, "We do not want to say anything before we meet the Prime Minister." The correspondents insisted: "You must give us what you are going to submit through a memorandum." The students said: "Sorry; we cannot disclose anything which we are going to tell the Prime Minister." Therefore correspondents got annoyed. They pointed out: "Here is a Minister; you must show respect". The students said: "We are not concerned with any Minister; anybody can be a Minister." Next day I read a three-column news item which I must say is regrettable. No responsible paper should have published such a report pouring forth only venom against the Assamese students. I am not blaming anybody, but certain things have been going on for a long time and let the hon. Members rethink over this issue because we cannot afford to lose that area, the Brahmaputra Valley area and the whole of the north-eastern area. This valley is the only a region which has been in the national current since 1921 and even much earlier. If you lose that area, if you antagonise them, then you lose the entire north eastern region, the corridor of 38 miles will not save you.

I do not want to say many things here, but the point is, if we do not analyse that basic fact of the geographical inheritance of that area, the whole problem will get much more complicated. Now, Sir, some people have said something about Assamese and their anti-Indian feelings. Let me tell you, Sir, I belong to the

Assamese community. Can you find in the whole country any other community which has playing host to so many lakhs of people from outside for a continuous period of 50 years? When the partition took place 5 lakh refugees were accommodated by Assam gladly. After 1971 another two to three lakh refugees came and they were accepted. From East Bengal lakhs of people have been coming and we have accepted them, but when has the conflict started? On humanitarian grounds, as human beings we have welcomed them but when they come and increase their number and on the basis of their increased number they start putting forward their claims as expansionist rulers, nobody will tolerate it. After being accommodated here if the number of Bengalis becomes greater or the number of Muslims becomes greater and if their claims are based on that, nobody will welcome that. That basic fact should not be forgotten. It is not chauvinism, it is not parochialism, it is an issue of national integration. In 1949 when Gandhiji was in Noakhali he had defined national citizenship. He said, if a Bengali goes to Bihar and he does not become a Bihari and wants to keep his separate identity then he is not an Indian citizen. That basic concept we should not forget. If I go West Bengal and stay there I should live there as a Bengali. Otherwise, if I stay in West Bengal and start making claims on the basis of my own community, nobody will tolerate it and one should not tolerate it. So, this matter should not be confused.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: In West Bengal all are welcome. You can come there. There are thousands of Biharis, Oriyas and others living there.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Mr. Roy, I do not want to debate that issue. First of all, listen to me and then you will have your chance to speak. Now, Sir, everybody calls Assam a miniature India, but calling

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and giving a speech is one thing and what is it in practice is a different matter. Now, Sir, Mrs. Mukherjee admitted that due to pecuniary difficulties a large number of people came to Assam without valid passport documents. So the fact is that lakhs of people without valid documents are there. They cannot be termed as 'citizens of India' and the fight is against those people who are not citizens of India and not against those who are Indians of other States. There are people from Bihar, from U.P., from Orissa, from Punjab, from Delhi. All these people were among the lakhs of satyagrahis in the Assam movement. If you had gone there, you would have seen that all of them have participated in the movement. All Government officers belonging to every language group—Central or State—non-cooperated without any picketing. And, may be, some two persons might quarrel. Somebody might happen to speak Bengali and the other might be speaking Assamese. But that was not an Assamese-Bengali quarrel.

In 1951, Assam was a bigger State than what it is now. It comprised of the present Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh also. At that time the population was 80 lakhs. Today Assam is reduced one-third of that size. But the population has gone up to 170 lakhs in 1976. Now can you imagine the consequences of such a situation? Can any Government solve any problem if this continuous rise of population goes on. And, again, what has happened economically? What is the relative position educationally? There is a large growth of education in the State. If we compare it with Gujarat, which is one of the advance States, in Assam the pre-university scholars are 1.7 per thousand while in Gujarat it is only 1.1. If we take the graduates, they are 2 per thousand in Assam and 2 per thousand in Gujarat. In the case of post-graduates, it is 0.15 in Assam but only 0.12 in Gujarat.

If we come to the total, in Assam the total scholars per thousand are 150, while in Bihar or in Gujarat they are only 109. This shows that the educated population has grown. But they have no scope to enter anywhere for employment.

The other day, before I left for Delhi, there was a huge meeting in Gauhati. One Muslim village lady was speaking in the meeting and in her own unsophisticated way she placed before the whole audience that wherever they went, the doors were shut, she said. "If I want to send my children to school, I do not get a chance. If my son wants to get a job, he does not get it. Every where there is a blocking of the way." This blocking of the way and the increase in the number of educated at the same time have created an economic crisis. In this very House I have pointed out several times that if we go to the village areas, the entire land is occupied. The Government of India did not care for long 33 years and forgot to think Assam was a part of India. I accuse the Government and the Government bureaucracy at Delhi of being anti-national and anti-Assam for long 33 years. It is not the Assamese people who are anti-Indian. If you judge by the Government policies provided and attitude shown during the past 33 years, it will be proved that the Government of India has been parochial and has acted as an anti-national agent in so far as Assam and the whole North-Eastern region are concerned.

Now, Sir, in the villages they do not get any land. Forest areas and cultivable lands are all occupied. If they want to go in for employment in the railways, in the Posts and Telegraphs, in the banks, in all other sectors they do not have any opportunity. When in 1950 the Assam Railway was constituted, all those employees in the railways in the former East Bengal part had to be rehabilitated.

And none of the railways in West Bengal accommodated even one of them. Twenty thousand employees were accommodated in the Assam Railways and, as a result, for fifteen years no vacancy was there because all these 20,000 people had to be regularised. This is the type of help, accommodation and humanity shown to the people coming from the nearest neighbouring areas. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, I would request you to give me another five minutes.

Now, Sir, if you go to the banking organisations, insurance companies, Posts and Telegraphs, 85 per cent of the people there are from West Bengal and East Bengal and if somebody feels about it you cannot blame them. And that will not be parochialism because these hard economic realities ultimately do matter.

Now, Sir, I am just pointing out these things not with the aim of blaming anybody. What I would emphasise is that basically the Government of India has been following a very wrong policy of development in this area. Their policy so long has succeeded in dividing the region and not in integrating and building it. In the Five-Year Plans they say many fine things but when it comes to actual practice results are very meagre. Now Assam produces oil—four million tonnes. It is equal to that of Gujarat but you see the difference between Gujarat and Assam. Gujarat has developed the oil industry and they have created a very good infrastructure for industrialisation with scope for employment. But in Assam, even the refined oil found within the State, people had to agitate and go to jail. It was only after that that the Central Government agreed to give a toy refinery at Gauhati. One hundred years back the British people started a refinery at Digboi and they started the refinery nearest to the source of oil. But what did the Government of independent India do? When the Expert Committee said that the refinery should be started at Duliajan, they did not do it. They shifted it to Barauni just to create a quarrel

between Bihar and Assam. Out of the four million tonnes of oil produced in Assam, only 0.75 million tonnes are refined in Gauhati and another one million tonnes at Bongaigaon. The whole crude oil of Assam is the finest for petro-chemical products but nothing has been done to produce these products in Assam. Assam is traditionally famous for spinning and weaving and the polyester fibre could have helped its economy and provided employment for more than a lakh of people in the State. Yet nothing has been done in that respect. Sir, I do not want to go into further details on this issue.

Tea gardens are the asset of the State of Assam. But what do we find today? The monopolists have come. British monopolists have combined now with Indian monopolists. Formerly the tea garden staff were appointed from the local population. But now all of them have been driven out by the new owners. Whoever is the proprietor that comes there, he now brings his own people there from his own village or town. And do you think it will not create any misgiving and agitation in the minds of the people? This is what we have been subjected to. The whole position is like this.

What I would like to specifically put before the Home Minister is that for all this agitation and all the unhappy things that have happened there, the Central Home Ministry and the Chief Election Commissioner are directly responsible. I should say that for the loss of the lives of as many as 65 young men, the Chief Election Commissioner is also responsible. I had been in correspondence with him for a very long time. On the 7th April last year he wrote to me that if the foreign nationals were not immediately removed from the voters' list, a grave political consequence will follow. This is what he wrote to me. And then he informed me that he had suggested to the Home Ministry to take drastic steps and submitted a proposal to that effect. But on the

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28th November last year in a meeting he told us that although he had suggested it to the Home Ministry, no action had been taken. May I say that if the Home Ministry had taken timely action and if the Chief Election Commissioner had honoured his own words, the movement would not have come about, the people there would not have lost their lives and Assam would have been saved from this trouble, and so also the Government of India. The Election Commission wanted to hold elections forcibly, but only succeeded in killing one young student and could not hold elections in 11 constituencies. I want that the Home Ministry should look into their files and see what proposals were given by the Chief Election Commissioner for tackling this issue. There was a proposal for compiling a national register of citizens. What has happened to that? If that had been done one year earlier, then this whole problem would not have been there. If only the Chief Election Commissioner by playing politics in September, 1979 had not changed his circular to the Election Commissioner of Assam, the agitation would not have come about. In his circular, he said, "Don't exclude any foreigners from the voters' list." This was playing politics. I charge him of that. Now the wider community of the Assamese people have taken a pledge on the 18th November—every girl, every boy and students in lakhs—that they will die to save their land. It is not a question of saving Assam alone. It is a question of saving India. I appeal to the Members that this should not be taken as an issue of Assam but as a national issue. If you lose that part of India, then India will not remain what it is. I said this in August, 1978 in this very House, while tabling a Calling Attention motion, and then Home Minister assured necessary steps. He said that he would hold a conference of the political parties and the Chief Ministers. But no conference was held for a long time. Only on the 28th November they held a conference spending two lakhs of

rupees. They listened to our speeches and left everything as they were. I wrote to the then Prime Minister, sent him three telegrams to visit Gauhati once, even for two hours and discuss the issue with the people and the matter would be resolved. He did not come. Similarly, I have asked the present Prime Minister also to come. It appears that the present Prime Minister was also misguided earlier, for during the election campaign, she made speeches from where I found that she was mis-informed by her own colleagues. Her colleagues have done a lot of things there to aggravate the situation there. I hope Mrs. Indira Gandhi who has some acquaintance with the problems of that area will take urgent measures and not dilly-dally or waste any more time. If she can go to console the raped women in U.P., she has an equal duty to console the wretched women in North Kamrup. So let her go there. And I also request the Home Minister to accompany her. Let them go there, sit with the people and find a concrete solution to the problem of detection of foreigners and for deletion of their names from the voters' list and prepare a national register and take other measures, economic measures, for the development of that area. I hope the Prime Minister and the Home Minister would take immediate action. I particularly once again request them to make an inquiry into the cases of murders and the police atrocities in North Kamrup and Duliajan.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this problem is a very complicated and serious one. It should not be looked at from any narrow political end: it should be looked at from a national point of view, and all the political parties in the country should co-operate in finding a genuine solution to this problem. They should try to allay the genuine fears of the Assamese people because the agitation has drawn into the mass of the people of Assam. It is complicated, Sir, because there are genuine grievances of the Assamese people.

There has been since long a migration, many people from various other nationalities have been coming in and settling there, and there is a genuine apprehension that the Assamese have been reduced from majority to minority—some of our friends say that this has happened—or that they are to be reduced from majority to minority, affecting their culture and economy. In this way it is a very serious question for them especially when we are faced with the problem of growing unemployment and poverty which we have not been able to eradicate in spite of our claims and promises.

The problem is very serious because for the first time in the history of our Independence election in one State could not be held. Sir, what happened is that as various places there have been attacks. Many lives have been lost. Many houses have been burnt, and many innocent people have become victims to this. I would like to know, Sir, if anybody can cite that those innocent lives which have been lost as the reports have come from Dibrugarh, Nowgong or Kamrup, were the lives of foreigners? We would like to know what has happened to that? Why is it so? Why is this fact being ignored? (*Interruptions*)

I do not want interruptions. I only want to state this. Sir, between August and November 18 people lost their lives in the Dibrugarh District and hundreds of houses were burnt down. In November a Muslim village was burnt down in Nowgong and three lives were lost. Between January 4 and 8, 1980, a large number of villages, both of Bengalis and Muslims, were attacked and burnt down and many lives—it is said to be hundreds—were lost and 18,000 people were forced to leave their homes. And in this holocaust some Assamese houses were burnt down. It so happens. When such forces are unleashed, it so happens that whether there is a Bengali or an Assamese or a Muslim or anybody else is not taken care of. We have seen what happens when such forces are unleashed and that danger comes there.

Sir, it is a very serious problem because today there is complete anarchy and lawlessness in Assam. With the bureaucracy joining the whole movement, it is very difficult to control the situation. I do not know what my friends in the Government can do by forming this Government or that Government. By not allowing this Government or that Government this problem cannot be solved. If they are trying to find a solution in that way, they are bound to fail. But if they try to come to some understanding in consultation with various political parties and various trends in the country to find a proper solution based on some principles, then, a solution can be found. This is all being done, Sir, in the name of 'foreigners'. Nobody would say that no restrictions should be put on the foreigners. In fact, it is urgently necessary that in Assam a ban should be put, some restrictions should be put on the border so that foreigners are not allowed to come into the country and settle there. All steps should be taken to see that foreigners are asked to leave. But then this agitation is not confined to the issue of foreigners. In fact, as I have said, if you go through the number of incidents that have taken place and if an enquiry is made into them, you would find that it is not the foreigners who are victims of this agitation, but it is the local population, settled down there since 30 years or 40 years, who have become victims, who have come from Bengal or other regions or the erstwhile East Pakistan and settled there. And, Sir, although there had been the problem of language and other things, nothing happened in 1977. This has not developed all of a sudden. All the migration has not taken place yesterday or in one year's time or in two years' time, after 1978. In the 1977 elections this problem was not there. In the 1978 elections this problem was not there. This problem arose when a by-election to Parliament was to take place and police officers were asked to go into the electoral rolls to find out who are

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

foreigners and who are not foreigners, and—the figure is not 16,000—47,000 names were deleted from the voters' list. How many of them were foreigners, one would like to know. And among those persons if anybody wanted to represent that his name had been falsely deleted, he was harassed and he was not allowed to do so. This problem became acute when the Lok Sabha elections were announced. And a big campaign was also launched in the name of deletion of the names of foreigners from the voters' list. All parties would support the deletion of names of foreigners. But how many names were deleted? Seven lakh names—I am saying this on the basis of the Government's report—were deleted from the electoral rolls in the name of deletion of foreigners' names. And those who had voted in 1971, their names were not found in the list. And most of them were either Muslims or Bengali settlers

Now, Sir, the situation is being utilised by communal forces by the RSS, no doubt, and at the same time, as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta pointed out, by American imperialists working in that region. You know what was happening with regard to the Mizo agitation; you know what was happening with regard to the Naga agitation, and how they are connected with these agitations. He has quoted from that paper "Brahmaputra". I do not want to quote it. But it has been proved that separatism is being encouraged there by the CIA. Those tendencies are emerging there. Chauvinistic elements and pro-imperialist agents are joining together to create such a situation there.

Now, if you go into the problem, what is the problem? This is a problem we have inherited since our independence. It is not confined to the north-east region only. In this region also the problem was there because as a result of the partition of the country unfortunately lakhs and lakhs of people had to migrated from the erstwhile East Pakistan and set-

tled in this country, and lakhs and lakhs of Muslims also had to migrate to that country. I myself knew what happened here, how the Punjabis, Pathans and Sindhis from Western region of Pakistan came here and settled in various States. They are settled and no problem has been created there. I am appreciating the genuine feelings of the Assamese that the number of persons who have come there is so great that there is a danger of the Assamese being reduced to a minority. But this has not happened only in Assam. In Tripura also the same thing has happened. In the border areas all these things happen; so many things are happening there. The Tripuri population has been reduced to a minority while the others who have come there and settled there have become the majority there. That problem is there. Really it is a problem that should be tackled. But here what is the problem? How should we differentiate the problem? If you go into it, there are lakhs of Bengali Muslims settled there by the British in the low-lying area of Assam 30-40 years before partition, 30-40 years before independence. If you go into details, you will see it is these poor people who are being attacked today. It is this second category, apart from the displaced persons, of thousands of Bengalis who are being attacked today. They went there and settled down there and there is one Bengali district. That is the position. There are tea estate labourers who were retrenched and who could not continue their job. They went there and settled down, from Rajasthan, from Central India, from Bihar. These are the people who are today called foreigners. And there are Nepalese also. There is also an influx, a continuous influx, from Bangladesh. So we have to differentiate these people in dealing with the problem, that those who are Indians, those who have settled down there since long, those who come under the Nehru-Liaquat Pact or Mujibur Rahman Indira Gandhi Pact, should be treated separately. And we should go into 1971 electoral rolls. Those who

are settled there and those who exercised vote there at that time and subsequently, we should go into these details. We should not disturb the whole thing, because after partition, after independence, we have inherited certain things by which certain people in those conditions were forced to leave those countries and settle down here. So we should differentiate between them, and those who are continuously coming in from those countries and trying to settle down in India, they should be called foreigners, and not those who 30-40 years before independence were settled there in Assam and have become Assamese although they belong to different nationalities. This differentiation should be made; otherwise we will play into the hands of foreigners. In the northeastern region it is a very dangerous thing. Continuously since our independence imperialists have not been able to tolerate our independence, they are not reconciled to our independence; they are trying to create trouble there between various areas, between different areas of the northeastern region. If we do not take note of the differentiation, we will be playing into their hands and ultimately those who desire to serve the Assamese people, will also find that the situation is out of hand. I know from our own experience during partition, at the time of independence, we had agreed to Pakistan; even at that time we had not visualised that to a large extent large sections of the population would have to be migrated from that country to this country and from this country to that country. The communal forces which were unleashed during these days on both sides of the border had created a situation which went out of control of leaders of both countries and ultimately we had to reconcile ourselves to this situation which we are facing today. Similarly, today those who can address the Assamese, those who can address the Bengalis, and others, will all find later on that those forces of chauvinism, those forces of foreign interests, those who are interfering in our affairs, will create a

situation where no solution could ever be found. The situation will go out of hand and there will be danger to the national unity of our country. That is why I request that this problem should not be looked at from any narrow political angle, nobody should try to solve it from a narrow political angle, it should be tackled taking into consideration that we have to strengthen the unity of India, all the nationalities living in our country should have freedom, freedom for their culture and economic and political advancement; similarly the Assamese should be allowed to enjoy their freedom, all guarantees should be provided to them too. That is why I request that immediate steps should be taken in that direction. Sir, I would not like to take much of your time. The first thing is to seal the border. Why is it that we are not able to do it? No outsider or no foreigner should be allowed. Every effort should be made to seal the border. We should also tell the Assamese people that this type of chauvinism if allowed to grow, would be harmful to them also. We should differentiate between foreigners and find a solution to the problem and this problem should be found on the basis of our citizenship law, on the basis of our Constitution and on the basis of the electoral roll which was there earlier and under which people have been voting for 10 years, 15 years and 20 years. The Government should arrange a meeting of all Parties with the Prime Minister, including those who are there in Assam, outside the Parliament, who take part in the agitations and thereafter a complete solution to this problem should be found out. This problem should be tackled in such a way that nobody is allowed to use the situation for narrow political ends. That is why I say that this problem should not be treated as a one party problem. It should be treated as a national problem and a solution found with the cooperation of all political parties . . .

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: For that this Party should keep out of it.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I could have said so many things in fact, on this subject. If they go deeper into it, it will only recoil on them. I did not touch upon many aspects. What is being done there is to burn the effigies of Comrade Jyoti Basu, who stands for national integration. I did not go into it because I am interested in finding a solution, not only for others, but for Assamese people themselves.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): I completely agree with my friend, Mr. Goswami, that the problem is a complex one. The problem in Assam is not by any means a problem between the Assamese and the Bengalis, as has been pointed out by some friends from Assam and also from the other side. The Bengalis have been involved in this and, if I may say so, have been the victims of the situation over which they have no control. That is where perhaps they do come in; not otherwise.

The other day, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, while intervening in the course of the debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President, began with the sentence that the problem in Assam is essentially an economic one. That aspect has been realised by some of my friends from Assam also. My sorrow is that a problem which is essentially an economic one and which is, therefore, essentially a national problem, which is particularly acute in the entire Eastern region, has been depicted to be a problem of Assam alone. I perfectly agree with my friend, Mr. Goswami, that the entire North Eastern region and the Eastern region have been complaining about this for a very long time. The entire region has been treated in a step-motherly manner since Independence so far as developmental activities are concerned. It is a well known fact that unemployment which is a national bane is the most acute in that part of the country. The doors of employment are closed—maybe a bit of variation of degree is there—

as much to the Assamese youth, to the Assamese students as to the Bengali youths and the Bengali students. Who does not know the extent of the unemployment problem there, both educated and uneducated? Therefore, if there is a problem, it should be and it should have been tackled unitedly and jointly by all those people, by the students by the youth who are haunted by the spectre of unemployment, of being deprived of any livelihood, of being rendered idle and of ultimately being pushed to the path of the anti-social activities. That movement actually would have been a movement in the interest of the nation and in the interest of the exploited and the downtrodden people of that region as also of the entire country. I regret that a movement which is essentially of this dimension has been allowed to be channelised in a manner which is defeating its very purpose. This type of movement is nothing new in India. India was partitioned along with its independence. National independence has come with the vivisection of the country, with the vivisection of Bengal and vivisection of Assam.

AN HON. MEMBER: Of Punjab also.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Yes, Punjab also. But, about Punjab, the speaker who preceded me immediately, was telling and we know what sort of movement ultimately led to the partition of the country. The root cause—it was exploited in diverse ways—was economic and the greater exploitation of the Muslim community and their greater poverty. But that was not channelised in the proper direction. Now, my anxiety is, my regret is, over the way in which genuine grievances in that region of the country are being channelised. My regret is only over that. Now, my friend, Prof. Sharma, who has been in the same movement with me for a very long time, knows about this and it pains me to join issue with him. He has not spelt out the aim of the movement. What precisely is the aim of

the movement has to be spelt out because a solution has to be found, whether it is just a question of deletion of the names of foreigners from the voters' list over which there can be no two opinions, or something else. In the voters' list in our country, there can be no place for any foreigner. Now, foreigners are those who appear to our mind as people with whom we can have no connection whatsoever. Then, why has this issue become so much complicated? A foreigner is easily identifiable and historical reasons are there. (*Time bell rings*). Mr. Deputy Chairman, I crave your indulgence. With regard to foreigners, the historical background has been explained by the honourable Member, Shri Surjeet, the background in which people poured into Assam, West Bengal and Tripura, and the tension resulting therefrom is a part of history. Assam's geographical situation, going over of Sylhet, which was a part of undivided Assam, to Pakistan migration of the population from there, the contiguity of the district of Mymensingh and Rangpur and other areas to Assam, made it convenient for the poorer people to go to Assam. Perhaps it was the only course open to them; they migrate to Assam. But, over and above that, we used to read during our student days that Assam is an ethnic museum. For a long time Assam has been the birth-place, the habitat for the people of different linguistic groups. Now the situation has changed to some extent after the creation of so many States in that region, consequent upon the very legitimate aspirations of the different sections of the people there. But even then the peculiarity of Assam, the composition of its population, can be realised from the statistics read out in the House by my friend, Mr. Goswami, that is, the Assamese are 6.5 millions there and the non-Assamese are 8.5 millions—if I followed him correctly. Now, this is a very unique position, undoubtedly, to be found nowhere else in the country. This peculiarity of Assam has to be recognised.

What is the solution? How to change? Can it be just that 50 million people can be converted into Assamese? Is it possible to find a solution where only one linguistic group will be there and the other linguistic groups may be settled elsewhere? Is such a solution possible? I think nobody suggested a solution like that. Then a way has to be found in which all the linguistic groups can live in perfect amity, co-operate with one another and work jointly in developing the State and in compelling the Union Government to allocate resources for the development of that region. Now the problem of foreigners has assumed such an aspect because of the fact that these foreigners are not perhaps foreigners in the conventional sense of the term; they are indistinguishable from the population, from the people who have been residing in Assam for a very long time. The pressure of population on Assam has been referred to by my friend, Mr. Sharma; from 8 millions it has now come up to 15 or 16 millions or 17 millions.

About West Bengal, the difference is that the Bengali speaking people are involved in West Bengal. West Bengal is a Bengali-speaking State. That is a place where those coming there are Bengalis. Otherwise what is the position? West Bengal has a one-third of the territory of the undivided Bengal, with a population at the time of partition, if I remember correctly, standing at 25 million. Now it is about 50 million. It has come to that. At the time of Independence, when partition took place, when the country was divided, our national leaders assured that the problems of these people would be the national problem. But we know for the people who came over there from across the border to that part, whether West Bengal or Assam or any other adjoining State, the Union Government did not do what was their promise for them. This burden of

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]
the population required a tremendous investment on the part of the Union Government if the economic problems that did arise in consequence should have been solved. That was not done. That was not there. This is a problem which is common to both Assam and Bengal. And it is because of that, the prevention of infiltration of foreign nationals has been rendered all the more difficult. But, Sir, what has been perpetrated in the wake of this movement? I perfectly agree that there should be a direct, first-hand knowledge as to how the movement is being organised. And I do not challenge it. But what has been the outcome? I have seen its backlash, its snowballing affect. I went to Alipurduar, which is an area very near to Assam and where those who have been evicted from Assam are taking shelter in the hope that they will be able to go back one day. A youngman, about 28 years of age told me in tears: "I was born in Assam. I produced the documents. And thereafter, all my documents were snatched away from me and they burnt all my papers and ultimately I was driven out from that place." I heard reports that people were taken from Sibsagar to Golpara in the border and were pushed into Bangladesh. The question of how Dr. Mitra was murdered has already been mentioned here. The case of Dr. Sankar Chakraborty, a lecturer in the Gauhati Medical College, has also been referred to here. A number of deaths took place in Kamrup. All those horrible incidents took place. It is a blot on our national character, on the face of our country.

(Time bell rings)

Now, Sir, this thing has to be considered that for the fulfilment of their legitimate grievances, whether the movement has to be given a proper orientation or not. A feeling of isolation is there in Assam. That feeling of isolation is also there in the people of North Bengal. I was born

in that area. In my time, in my college, Assamese students read. In spite of Farakka, the feeling of isolation is there in North Bengal. The feeling of isolation is quite justified. *(Time bell rings)* Sir, there are other problems, burning problems and serious problems. I feel that all those who are residing not only in Assam but in the entire region should also work for the removal of those problems. If that is not there, its backlash will be there, and we have been seen it already. It will not be in the interest of the nation. And, Sir, advantage of that situation has very conspicuously been taken by the forces, all of them are not unconnected with the movement. This is an aspect which, our friends in Assam, our well-meaning friends with whom we fought together, would do well to take into account. It is not a question between the Assamese and the Bengalese who have so many affinities, including, the affinity of their language. And it is proper that we should fight together and move together and work together to solve the problem. But, at the same time, the Government of India must not dilly-dally with this problem and they must not try to utilise it politically. And the Prime Minister's emissary should not try to utilise it politically by saying that Jyoti Basu's statements were responsible for it or by saying that it is an interference in the affairs of the other States as if West Bengal and Assam are sovereign States. These statements do not help, and this situation should not so be politically utilised as to bring a temporary advantage to the ruling power. It is a serious national problem and it should be dealt with accordingly. Sir, I hope that when it is claimed that a strong Government has come at the Centre, whatever be our opinion regarding that, that strength of purpose will be shown in this case with objectivity. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Satyanarayan Reddy.

श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : मिस्टर डिप्टी चैयरमैन सर, जो मसला आसाम में पैदा हुआ है वह किसी बंगाल या बिहार की कौम के खिलाफ नहीं है बल्कि वहां के लोगों के कुछ मसले हैं। उन मसलों को लेकर यह आन्दोलन आज आसाम में चल रहा है। इन मसलों को जब तक हल करने की सही कोशिश नहीं की जायेगी, उस वक्त तक कोई सही रास्ता नहीं निकल सकेगा। हम चाहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया इस मसले पर जल्द से जल्द तवज्जह देकर इस मसले को तथा वहां के लोगों के जो रुझानात हैं उनकी खातिर रखते हुए इसको हल करे। हाल में जो वाक्यात आसाम में हुए हैं। उन तमाम चीजों को देखकर ऐसा लगता है कि एक तरफ से हुकूमत उनके ऊपर कोई खास तवज्जह नहीं दे रही है और दूसरी तरफ वहां की जनता की रक्षा करने वाले जो लोग हैं वे आम लोगों के ऊपर जुल्म और ज्यादाती इतनी करते हैं कि इन तमाम चीजों को पढ़ने के बाद एक बार ऐसा मालूम होता है कि यह सब एक दरिदे आसाम के अंदर कर रहे हैं, गड़बड़ियों को शुरू कर रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं इस सदन की तवज्जह इस तरफ दिलाना चाहूंगा और जो एक अहम मसाला है कि आज असम की घटनाओं को मद्देनजर रखते हुए इस काम को फौरन हाथ में लिया जाना चाहिये। 'सिनाप्सिस आफ द प्रेजेंट मास मूवमेंट इन आसाम' इसकी जो मेन डिमांड है इसकी तरफ गवर्नमेंट को तवज्जह देनी चाहिये। यह सरकार के हवाले कर दी गयी है और इसके साथ-साथ वहां का जो डेली-गेशन है वह आज प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी से मिलने आया था उन्होंने एक मेमोरेण्डम 'इंडियन सिटीजन वर्सस फारेन नेशनल' भी इस नाम से होम मिनिस्टर, प्राइम मिनिस्टर और लॉ

मिनिस्टर के हवाले कर दिया है। इसके अन्दर जो उनकी डिमांड हैं जो वाक्यात हैं और जो चीजें बतायी गयी हैं इनको गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को बड़े गौर से देखना चाहिये और उनके जो मसाले हैं उनको हल करना चाहिये। उनकी जो मेन डिमांड हैं, वे उन्होंने एक लीफलेट 'सिनाप्सिस आफ द प्रेजेंट मास मूवमेंट इन आसाम' इसमें बतायी है। इसमें इनकी पांच डिमांड हैं :

[The Vice-Chairman, Shri A. G. Kulkarni, in the Chair].

- (1) Postponement of unconstitutional elections in all constituencies in Assam till each and every foreigner's name is deleted from the electoral rolls with reference to the Representation of the People, Act.
- (2) Immediate sealing of the Indo-Bangladesh border by adequate security arrangements in order to prevent fresh influx.
- (3) Detection of foreign nationals in Assam with reference to the Foreigners' Act and the relevant articles of the Constitution.
- (4) Deletion of these foreigners' names from the voters' lists.
- (5) Immediate deportation of these foreign nationals to Bangladesh or Nepal, as the case may be.

[श्री बो० मदनमोहन मालवीय रेड्डो]

इससे साफ है कि उन्होंने जो आंदोलन शुरू किया है वह बंगालियों के खिलाफ नहीं है, बिहारियों के खिलाफ नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों के खिलाफ नहीं है। उन्होंने साफ इसमें कहा है कि बंगलादेश से जो लोग आये, आसाम में बस रहे हैं और नेपाल से जो लोग आकर आसाम में बस रहे हैं वे हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं फारनर्स हैं। जो लोग बंगलादेश के हैं वहां बस रहे हैं, उनके बारे में डिमांड है कि उनका नाम जो वोटर्स लिस्ट में गैर-कानूनी तरीके से दर्ज किया गया है उसे रद्द किया जाये। उनकी यही डिमांड है और इसके साथ-साथ में यह भी कहूंगा कि यह मसला सिर्फ उनको वोटर्स लिस्ट से निकालने का ही नहीं है, बल्कि वहां आसामी लोगों का जो एक्सप्लायटेशन हो रहा है, उसके खिलाफ भी यह आंदोलन है। आप जानते हैं कि जो संपत्ति वहां की है जो पैदावार है और जो चीजें वहां पैदा होती हैं उसकी लूट खसोट होती है, उसका फायदा दूसरे लोगों को मिल रहा है, वहां के जो आसामी लोग हैं, उनको फायदा नहीं मिल रहा है।

यह एक बहुत ही अहम मसला है जो असमियों के सामने है। दूसरा, यह कि जो असमी लोग है, वे बेरोजगारी के मसले में फंसे हुए हैं। वहां के लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिलता। इसके पहले मेरे कई दोस्तों ने बताया कि चाहे इन्शोरेंस कम्पनी हो, बैंक हों या दफ्तर हों किसी में भी 80 प्रतिशत असमियों को नहीं मिलता, बल्कि दूसरे लोगों को मिलता है।

यह आन्दोलन लूट खसोट के खिलाफ है, एनएम्प्लायमेंट के खिलाफ है और इस चीज को हम किस तरीके से हल

कर सकते हैं, इसके बारे में गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को सोचना चाहिये। असम न सिर्फ अब, बल्कि कई सालों से इस देश के हिस्से को हम निगलेकट करते जा रहे हैं। गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने कभी इस तरह तबज्जह नहीं दी, इस इलाके को इम्प्रूवमेंट और तरक्की करने के लिये।

एक चीज हमको याद आती है जब 1962 में चीनियों का हमला हिन्दुस्तान पर हुआ तो पहली नवम्बर, 1962 को जब वहां की फौज और वहां की सविसेज को बढ़ाने के लिये कहा गया तो नेहरू जी उस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री थे, उन्होंने कहा कि माई हार्ट गोड विदादि पीपल आफ असम। यह कह करके उन्होंने उस इलाके को उनके धर्म कर्म पर छोड़ दिया। यह नहीं कहा कि हम असमियों की हिफाजत के लिये हैं, सारा हिन्दुस्तान है, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा असम है। इसके माने यह नहीं कि हम छोड़ के आपको जा रहे हैं। इससे पता चलता है कि हमारी हमदर्दी उनके साथ किस तरीके से है।

यह उनके दिलों में, उनके जहन में फीलिंग पैदा हो गई है कि यह हमारी हिफाजत करने वाले नहीं हैं। ऐसी फीलिंग पैदा नहीं होने देना चाहिये। वे हमारे साथी हैं, हमारे देश का एक हिस्सा है, हमारा अंग है। किसी हिस्से पर कोई हमला होता है या कोई नुकसान होता है या कोई वहां मसला पैदा होता है तो वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान का मसला है, सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों का मसला है। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को इस मसले को हल करने के लिये हमेशा तैयार रहना चाहिये।

इसके साथ-साथ जो वहाँ के डेवेलपमेंट वर्क्स हैं, जैसे रेलवे है, इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, इरिगेशन प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, इनकी तरफ जितनी तवज्जह देनी चाहिये थी उतनी गर्वनमेंट नहीं दे रही है। यह तमाम वजुहात हैं जिनकी वजह से वहाँ के लोगों में एक क्रिस्म का रुझान सा पैदा हो गया है कि यहाँ को सरकार असम की तरक्की, वहाँ के लोगों की भलाई के लिये कोई कदम उठाया जा रहा है। यह कहना कि यह झगड़ा बंगालियों के बीच और असमियों के बीच है, यह तो गलत है। न असम के लोग बंगालियों के खिलाफ हैं और न बंगाल के लोग असमियों के खिलाफ हैं, न बिहार के लोग असमियों के खिलाफ हैं और न असम के लोग बिहारियों के खिलाफ हैं। सब हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाले हैं, कश्मीर से लेकर कन्या कुमारी तक और असम से लेकर कच्छ तक सारे हिन्दुस्तानी हैं और उसके अन्दर रहने वाले लोग हैं। एक दूसरे के खिलाफ कभी आन्दोलन नहीं होगा। यह आन्दोलन यहाँ के हिन्दुस्तानियों, जनता के खिलाफ नहीं है और इसके साथ जो मेरे आनरेबल मेम्बर्स ने कहा है कि यह एक ससेशनलिस्ट मूवमेंट है। यह किसी हिन्दुस्तानी के दिल में नहीं रहेगा, किन्तु उनका जो मसला है, जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है, वह अलग बात है। हमने देखा कि ऐसा ही महा विदर्भ का आन्दोलन चला, तमिल नाडु में द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कड़गम का आन्दोलन चला, तेलंगाना में आन्दोलन चला, आन्ध्र में आन्दोलन चला। यह तमाम कुछ मसायल हैं वहाँ के लोगों के—एक्सप्लायटेशन के खिलाफ यह आन्दोलन चलाया। वहाँ के जो मसायल पैदा हुए, उसको लेकर उन एक्सप्लायटेशन को खत्म करने के लिये और वहाँ के लोगों को जायज मौका मिलने के लिये यह आन्दोलन चलेगा। असल में जो आन्दोलन है इसके माने यह नहीं कि वहाँ के लोग हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होकर अपनी रियासत बना लेना चाहते हैं। यह मसायल जब तक हल नहीं होंगे, वक्तन-क़वक्तन ऐसे आन्दोलन जगह-जगह पर होते रहेंगे। इनको हल करने

के लिये हिन्दुस्तान को ताकतवर, शक्तिशाली और मजबूत बनाने के लिये इन मसायल को हल करना ही होगा। मैं इकबाल का एक शेर पढ़ कर खत्म करूँगा :—

“सारे जहाँ से अच्छा हिन्दोस्तां हमारा,
हम बुलबुल हैं इसके वह गुलिस्तां हमारा,
मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर करना
हिन्दी है हम वतन है हिन्दोस्तां हमारा।”

हम सारे हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, हम हिन्दुस्तान के लोग आपस में लड़ेंगे नहीं, हम भाई-भाई हैं। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान को आम जनता के जो मसायल हैं जब तक जो सरकार गद्दी पर बैठी है वह सरकार उन मसायल को हल करने के लिए कोशिश नहीं करेगी तब तक ये आन्दोलन ऐसे चलते रहेंगे। अगर उन को रोकना है, हिन्दुस्तान को तत्कतवर बनाना है तो इन मसायल को जल्द से जल्द हल करना होगा। असम के लोगों ने जो मेमॉरेंडम सरकार के हवाले किये हैं उन में जो उन के मुताबिक हैं उन को हल कर के, इस मसले को हल कर के सरकार हिन्दुस्तान को एक नया रास्ता दिखायेगी, ऐसी मुझे आशा है।

SHRI AMAR PROSAD CHAKRABORTY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, from the trend of the discussion that has so far taken place I could gather that the Members have tried to give emphasis on two points. One is, the economic deprivation and also the non-development of the area of Assam and the adjoining area or the north eastern region, have given rise to the present serious movement in Assam. The second point that has been tried to be made is that deprivation in the services by the outsiders has also caused some fillup to the growth and development of the movement. These two points were made but none of my friends has given emphasis to the point that it is not only a problem of Assam, it is not only a problem of north eastern States, but it is a problem of Hindustan, of India, as a whole. If Assam movement is allowed to go on or allowed to deve-

[Shri Amar Prosad Chakraborty]

lop in the line as it is going on, then India will go to disintegration. There is no doubt about it. There are many States that are carrying the legacy of the partition of India. The entire thing is the aftermath and after-development of the partition of India and many problems have arisen as a result of that. This has been stated by some of my friends, but be that as it may, what is the actual problem now? We have to see the root cause of this problem. There was this agitation previously also, but this sort of agitation did not grow in the name of foreigners. Only at a time when elections were to take this problem or this issue has developed seriously. Before that no such problem had been created in the name of foreigners. Yes, Sir. There was a movement on the basis of linguism. There were some riots in that area. I had been to that place. I had been to Lumding, Dibrugarh and Gauhati. I was appointed a counsel to defend the case of the riot-affected people. So, the nature of the movement at that time was different. This time it is of an aggravated type, of a serious type, embodying entire India, agitating individual States or provinces to say that the people coming from other States or provinces and living in that State will be outsiders, they will be foreigners. People whose forefathers were from the line of Dharitrashttra can only try to live in Delhi because Indraprastha was the capital. So only those who come from line of Dhari-trashttra, Bhima and Darayodhana are entitled to live in Delhi. It is a peculiar argument. Those who are not, even though they may be Hindustanis or Hindus, they will be going to Orissa, Assam or U.P. They are outsiders. This is a funny argument. We have never heard of it.

Nobody denies that there are foreigners who are residing in Assam. But you decide who is a 'foreigner'. There are laws. Under the law, it can be decided and they can even be thrown out of the border. But here

people who have been residing there generation after generation have been called 'foreigners'. Some misgivings were also raised when this question was raised by Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. He requested Mr. Barbara, "you please see, thousands of people are coming to this State and living in camps at Alipur Duar. You send your officers and see whether they are foreigners, or whether they are being termed as 'foreigners' although they have been living in the province generation after generation". He also wrote to Mr. Hazarika, who had formed the Ministry and become the Chief Minister. Nothing was done. It is peculiar. I will give you an instance. A person who was living there for more than 40 years—even before the partition of the country—came here to Delhi to lead a deputation. When he went back, he was arrested. Why? Because he belonged to this or that party. And he has been accused of committing a murder and the case is now pending against him. If the agitation is against the non-development of the area, if it is against the pecuniary help not being sufficient, let them start a democratic movement. We have been doing it in West Bengal. Nobody objects to that. In fact we shall be a party to that because the entire Eastern region has been neglected from even prior to Nehru's time. If you read the books, you will find that the entire Eastern region—from Orissa to West Bengal and Assam, including Bihar—has been neglected year after year. If they start a movement, we shall join it, but not on these flimsy grounds. This is exactly harming the entire integrity of India.

Somebody was saying that in Calcutta they were outsiders. People from Rajasthan are there. In the jute mills, in the engineering factories, lakhs and lakhs of people from outside are there. Have they ever given any slogan? We accept that people from any State have the right to stay, live and carry on any trade and profession in West Bengal. This is a constitutional pro-

vision. So where is the question of a slogan? In Kamrup, you send some of your representatives. Or let the Government send its representative to see the camps. Thirty thousand to forty thousand people are in the camps. Is it a democratic movement? Or is it a movement against a particular people who have been residing there for generations together? What do they want? Do they want to make it a unilingual State or do they want to make it such that nobody else would be allowed there? It is not outside Hindustan. It is a misguided movement. It is guided and controlled by the foreign agents and also reactionary people.

There is no time. They have kept the Assembly in suspended animation. Even then I would request the Government to politically decide the matter and to take a step. At present there is no Central Government, no State Government. There is no law and order. Whoever they are, whatever they want, with the help of some police they are doing whatever they can—molesting people, looting, committing arson and what not. I do not like to say that. But let a solution be found by the Government. Now the most strong Government has come at the Centre. Let them come forward and find a solution to the problem so that India may not disintegrate. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Mr. Bipinpal Das. As you know, Mr. Deputy Chairman's instructions are to conclude the debate. You can have five minutes.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Thank you, Sir. I would not have taken the chance at all but for the reason that some speeches continue to be made in order to either misrepresent the situation or to express misunderstanding about the situation and that is why, in spite of my ill-health, I have ventured to speak a few words.

Sir, the first point I want to make clear is, secessionism is alien to the

vast masses of Assam. Assam has been and still is, today, the strongest base of Indian nationalism in the north-eastern region. Ever since the Mahabharata times—I will not give you the details—right up to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 there are historical facts and mythological facts which will prove that Assam has been with India culturally—may not be politically up to 1826. Up to 1826 Assam was independent but culturally, from the point of view of civilisation, Assam has been part of India, continues to be part of India and therefore no secessionist movement or idea can take roots there in my State. That much I must make very clear.

In the freedom struggle our contribution is known to all. Everything is known. But the people of Assam received two shocks. One was in 1946 when the Cabinet Mission proposed grouping of Assam with some other States, thereby indirectly trying to break away that region of India from the rest of India. Then the people of Assam rose in revolt. The Congress High Command of those days almost accepted the Cabinet Mission plan of grouping, but under the leadership of Mr. Bardoloi, the then Chief Minister, people of Assam rose in revolt and, fortunately, we had the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi said, "You must fight it out. In fighting it out, if it is necessary, go out of the Congress. I hope Assam consists of men and not manikins." Mahatma Gandhi said that. That was the first shock Assam got. Somehow, with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi we fought it and we remained part of India. The second was in 1962. (*Interruptions*) No, I totally contradict it. (*Interruptions*) Yes, a referendum was there.

In 1962 when the Chinese army was marching down to the plains of Assam, the entire army ran away. I was in Tezpur and an eye-witness. I saw with my own eyes how the army ran away. And in Parliament the Government made a statement, very unfor-

[Shri Bipinpal Das]
 fortunate I must say, with all respect to the then Prime Minister. It was very unfortunate. People thought: Well, in a crisis, in a time of danger, nobody is there to save us. What for are we in India? That was the second shock the people there got. I must mention here that it was Shrimati Indira Gandhi who came down Tezpur on the fateful day and told the people: Well, I am here. You are a part of India. When the Army ran away on the 20th November night, in the early morning of the 21st November, at 6 O'clock, who was there? Not the other leaders, not the members of the Government, but Shrimati Indira Gandhi. And she was not a Minister at that time, not even an office-bearer of the Congress Party. She arrived there at the earliest, even before the Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, arrived, and her presence there again sealed the bonds of Indianism, Indian nationalism among the people there, that they are a part of the country just as the rest of the country. Their feeling of nationalism is very deep-rooted. It cannot be scuttled by passing events. So don't bring in the question of secession. Don't try to misrepresent the facts of the situation.

Sir, about the economic backwardness of Assam, I do not want to go into details because my friend Mr. Dinesh Goswami has said enough about it. I do not want to quote statistics. What I want to make clear to the Home Minister is that for every damn thing that Assam wanted, the people there had to fight, had to go to jail. Why? For a bridge, they went on a satyagraha; for a refinery, they went on another satyagraha; for a railway line, they went on a third satyagraha. Without a satyagraha, without a movement, the people of Assam get nothing. That is the grievance of the people. For everything, every simple thing, we have to go to jail and face lathis—sometimes bullets also. This fact must also be kept in view. This is the background.

Now, what is the present movement? I have not participated in the movement. But what do I see there? What is the pronouncement of the leaders of the movement? It is against the foreign nationals coming from Bangladesh and Nepal. Let me re-emphasise it. It is not a question of Hindus or Muslims or Bengalis or Nepalis. It is against the foreign nationals coming from Bangladesh and Nepal. Let it be very clearly understood. If you do not understand it, you will never find a solution to the problem. Try to understand the problem and then find a solution. If you distort the problem or misrepresent it, the solution will illude you. This is not against any other Indians. The leaders of the movement, the students particularly, have repeated this many times; yesterday also they have said this, that this is not against any community, this is not against any other Indian nationals, this is a movement to save the people of Assam, the indigenous people of Assam, from a large-scale influx of people coming from Bangladesh and Nepal. I am trying to focus the main point, because much has been said to misrepresent or to distort the facts. Let us not run away from the basic issue. It is a national problem. It is not a party question. It is not a problem of Assam alone. It is a problem of the whole country. A solution must be found to it. What I want to emphasise is that the problem is real. If you don't recognise that the problem is real, well, the consequences will be dangerous. The crux of the problem is what I said the other day at the time of the Calling Attention motion, that there is a genuine fear and apprehension in the minds of the indigenous people of Assam that they will be reduced not only to a minority but also that ultimately they will lose their sociocultural identity. This is the fear. Right or wrong, this is the fear. I beg of you, Mr. Home Minister and I beg of the Government, to find a solution to it. Once this fear is removed, other things can be eased

out. I never saw such a movement in my life, though I was a freedom fighter Lakhs of people, half of them women—some of them carrying babies in arms—sitting over night for the satyagraha. Why? That fear has gone very deep, deep to the last village, to the last family. And that fear must be removed. That is the question. Why beat about the bush? We have to find a solution so that this oppression and fear may be removed.

I am very happy that the Prime Minister has taken the initiative. I am sure she will find a solution because the people of Assam have faith in her. The Home Minister Mr. Zail Singh is very well known in Assam because of the good work he did for Assam when he was the Punjab Chief Minister. The People of Assam would not forget it. Therefore, Mr. Zail Singh has a good name in my State. Happily he is the Home Minister, and I hope that some solution would be found.

This is my humble request to everybody, Sir. With that I will end my speech. The Prime Minister has taken the initiative. Some steps have been taken already, and things are moving. These very student leaders refused to attend a meeting called by Mr. Chavan in November, and these very student leaders have responded to the invitation of the Prime Minister. This is the progress. This is a step forward, and I hope, therefore, that nothing will be said or done by anybody to complicate the matters and to create difficulties for the Government in finding a solution.

A number of people have lost their lives in violence. Houses have been burnt. Such things have happened, but the worst thing that has happened is the behaviour of some army Jawans for which I feel ashamed. Some enquiry is necessary about this. Compensation should be paid to those who deserve. Enquiries should be made about firings and atrocities committed as reported.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Thank you, Mr. Bipinpal.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I am just concluding. This is my last word. A solution once for all must be found to this problem. If no solution is found, the consequences may be very very dangerous.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Thank you.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Therefore, I appeal to everybody to co-operate with the Government in finding a solution which will be satisfactory to all concerned and not to create complications any further.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Shri Sankar Ghose, five minutes please.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE (West Bengal): Sir, the problem of Assam is a national problem. I agree with the previous speaker that the patriotic people of Assam will not support a cessationist movement though I know that there have been leaflets and pamphlets regarding cessation.

Sir, there is a fundamental, basic and legitimate demand behind the movement, and there is also gross aberration in the movement. Sir, we have to solve this Assam problem. The Prime Minister has talked with the students. Sir, I hope the appeal of the House and of the entire country would be that this satyagrah would not be resumed. The problem of Assam has been brought to the notice of the Country. The question of the foreigners is there. The question of the electoral rolls is there. Elections in 12 constituencies have not taken place. Now is the time to solve the problem, not to continue the satyagrah and not to continue the picketing in the oil fields so that the refineries could refine oil and so that Assam and the whole of India do not suffer.

The economic problems of Assam are serious and genuine. Mr. Goswami and Prof. Sharma have drawn attention of the House to them. Those problems have to be solved.

So far as this movement being against the foreigners is concerned, it is legitimate and genuine, and the Government will have to find a solution to the problem. So far as the allegation that the movement is not against foreigners but against Indians, that is our aberration of the movement. That has to be stopped by all means. So far as the foreigners are concerned, the border should be sealed. It is a long border, but it should be sealed.

But those who have voted in 1971 and those who are covered by the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact or those who are covered by the Mujibur Rehman—Indira Gandhi Pact, should remain there. In the Assam Assembly in November, 1979 an answer was given on behalf of the Government that Mr. Mahindra Mohan Choudhry had been asked to prove his Indian citizenship. Mr. Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, who had been Chief Minister of Assam, had been asked to prove his Indian citizenship. That was an answer given on the floor of the Assam Assembly. Sir, this is atrocious.

Sir, so far as this House is concerned, the Home Minister had made a statement that in Nalbari and Barpeta sub-divisions of Kamrup division, 41 persons lost their lives, over 3,200 houses in about 40 villages had been set on fire and, as a result, 15,000 people had been rendered homeless. This is unfortunate. This part of the movement we have already disapproved.

Sir, India is one and whole. Sir, in Calcutta or Bombay if a movement is started that those who do not speak Bengali or Marathi or Gujarati are foreigners, then India will be in flames, India will break up. Therefore, so far as the true part of the movement is

concerned, which is also the declared objective of the movement—the students have said it, Mr. Goswami has said it and Prof. Sharma has said it—it is directed against foreigners. But when a reference is made to what happened in Tripura or Sikkim, it is a different question. What has happened in Tripura or Sikkim is that other Indian people have gone there and there has been a different linguistic composition there. That is a different question altogether.

Sir, so far as unemployment in Assam is concerned the Central Government must find a solution to that question. But if the employment question is mixed up with this foreigners issue then it is an aberration of the movement because those who are having employment in Assam are not foreigners. To the extent the movement is against foreigners, it is a genuine movement. But it has got mixed up with other things. The danger comes from that.

Sir, so far as this movement is concerned, it is truly an unprecedented, historic movement. There is no question about that. Vast masses of people have participated in it. But those refugees who are there in Alipur Duar or in Naxalbari are Indian citizens. Some sections have taken advantage of the movement so that against Indian citizens the slogan of "foreigners" has come.

Therefore, we must be very clear in our fundamentals in order to solve this problem. We will not be able to solve this problem if we treat any Indian as a foreigner. If in Calcutta a person from Orissa comes or a person from Uttar Pradesh comes or a person from Bihar comes and I call him a foreigner and start a movement, then the whole of India will be in flames. That is not the purpose of the movement, as Mr. Bipinpal Das has said, as Mr. Goswami has said and as Prof.

Sharma has said. That is not the part of the movement. But certain sections have taken advantage of this movement. . . .

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: In order to isolate them, help the Government to find a quick solution.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE: Therefore, my appeal is that all the sections of the House should make an appeal to the students and the other people to call off the satyagraha now. The Government has initiated talks. The Prime Minister has had talks; the Home Minister has had talks. Should the satyagraha continue; if the oil-fields are picketed, if the refineries do not get oil, does it help Assam? Does it help India? Does it help to solve the problem? Therefore, can't we from this House say that Assam has done its duty, that Assam has brought this problem before the House, that we have talked about the problem of Assam? And now can we not from this House appeal to them to call off the satyagraha and say that the Government will solve the problem?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Mr. Minister.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR (Maharashtra): Sir, what happened to my name? The Deputy Chairman assured me that my name was there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): No advice has been given to me by the Deputy Chairman.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Sir, I would request you to give me five minutes. A non-Assamese and non-Bengali taking part in the discussion is very material. A non-Assamese and non-Bengali taking part in this discussion is vitally important. I would request you to give me time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Accha bhai, three minutes. Go on.

श्री सदाशिव बागाईतकर : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे मित्र श्री बिपिन पाल दास जी ने जो हकीकत बताई उसके साथ एक और इतिहास का तथ्य मैं जोड़ना चाहता हूँ। तेजपुर को याद उन्होंने ताजा की। जिस दिन तेजपुर खाली हो रहा था उस दिन मैं तेजपुर में ही था और मेरे मित्र श्री बिपिन पाल दास उस समय कालेज के प्रिंसिपल थे। आसामियों के मन पर जो चोट हुई उसका उन्होंने जिक्र नहीं किया, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

श्री बिपिन पाल दास : वही तो मैंने कहा।

श्री सदाशिव बागाईतकर : एक मिनट सुन लीजिये। आपने आधा हिस्सा कहा। मैं उसका बाकी आधा हिस्सा कहकर पूरा कर देता हूँ। नेहरू साहब ने जो भाषण उस वक्त किया था उसमें करोड़-करोड़ आसमियों को अलविदा कहा था और पूरे आसाम में उस वक्त यह भावना व्याप्त थी कि हम को छोड़ा गया है। इसकी भारी चोट आसामियों के मन में उस वक्त थी। उसको मैंने भी अनुभव किया। मैं लगातार दो सप्ताह तक आसाम में उस वक्त रहा था। तो अब मैं साफ कहना चाहूंगा कि मैं उन मित्रों से सहमत नहीं हूँ। अभी घोष साहब ने फरमाया कि सत्याग्रह वापिस लिया जाए। मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि 30 साल के अन्दर हमारे जो सरहद के इलाके हैं क्या उसके बारे में सरकार ने कोई नीति तय की है? मैं जैल सिंह साहब को याद दिलाना चाहूंगा जब चाइनीज एग्रेशन का मामला उठा तब यह बात चल पड़ी थी कि जो बार्डर के हमारे इलाके हैं वहाँ पर हिन्दूस्तान के दूसरे इलाकों के लोगों को प्रोत्साहन दे कर बसाया जाए ताकि हमारे बार्डर की हिफाजत में ऐसे लोगों की संख्या वहाँ पर रहे जिनकी राष्ट्रियता और जिनके सहारे से हम देश की हिफाजत कर सकें। वह बात कुछ दिनों तक चली, आपने नहीं बड़ी केवल अखबारों तक सीमित रही। जो मसला आसाम में आज उठ खड़ा हुआ है वह इसलिए उठ खड़ा हुआ

[श्री सदाशिव बागाईकर]

है कि लगातार कोशिश के बावजूद सरकार ने उसके बारे में कोई नीति अख्तियार नहीं की है और जो बिपिन पाल दास जी ने कहा मैं उस के साथ सहमत हूँ कि पूरे आसाम की जनता में डर व्याप्त है कि हमारे ही प्रदेश में कहीं हम एक माइनार्टी बन के न रह जाएँ। उनकी संस्कृति, भाषा, उनका इतिहास यह सब प्रश्न उनके सामने उठ खड़ा हुआ है। जहाँ तक दूसरे तथ्यों का जिक्र वीष साहब ने किया उसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह स्थिति करीब आज सभी बड़े शहरों में हो गई है। वहाँ के पापुलेशन माइनार्टी में है। आप स्वयं जानते हैं कि बम्बई शहर में मराठी बोलने वाला तबका सिर्फ 34-35 प्रतिशत रह गया है। आप बंगलौर में जाएँ तो वहाँ पर तामिल स्पीकिंग लोग ज्यादा हो गए हैं। जहाँ जहाँ नोकरीयों की तलाश में इन मेट्रोपोलिटन सेंट्स में लोग गए हैं हर जगह यह स्थिति पैदा हो रही है और इसीलिए मैं सरकार से यह चाहूँगा कि जो नीति आप लोगों ने अभी तक तय नहीं की है बार्डर इलाकों के बारे में आप उसे तय करें और मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप यह जो आन्दोलन चला है इसमें बंगाली आसामीज झगड़े में मत फँसे। यह बंगाली आसामी झगड़ा नहीं है यह झगड़ा है आसाम के लोग अपनी इडिबिजुयल्टी के प्रोटेक्शन के लिए कोशिश कर रहे हैं। उसमें सरकार को हाथ बढ़ाना चाहिए और जो उसका व्यापक रूप है वह यह है कि जो लोग नेपाल से, बंगलादेश से या अन्य इलाकों से घुसपैठ करके हमारे देश के अन्दर आ रहे हैं और लोकल पापुलेशन का सहारा ले कर पूरी पापुलेशन का कम्पोजीशन आफ्र बैलेंस अगर बिगड़ गया तो इससे राष्ट्र सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकता। इसलिए आपको ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा आभारी हूँ। गृह मंत्री जी से आग्रह करूँगा कि वे इसका एक वक्ती सल्यूशन न ढूँढ़ें बल्कि हमारे बार्डर के इलाकों में जो समस्याएँ खड़ी हो रही हैं उसके लिए पोजिटिव सोशो-इकोनोमिक पालिसी

बनाएँ। इसको सिर्फ ला एंड आर्डर का प्रोब्लेम समझ कर हल करेंगे तो आगे जाकर बहुत खतरे में फँस सकते हैं। यही मेरी अर्ज है।

श्री जैल सिंह : सत्कारयोग वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, इस प्रस्ताव पर सत्कारयोग मेंबर साहेबान ने अपनी बहुत कीमती राय दी है। मेरा काम ज्यादा मेंबरों के बोलने की वजह से बहुत कम हो गया है। जिन बातों का जवाब मुझे देना था कुछ मेंबरों ने अपनी तकरिरों में उनका जवाब खुद ही दे दिया और इतनी बेल्गूबल यह बहस हुई जिसका फायदा मैं समझता हूँ कि मुल्क को भी होगा और सरकार को भी इस बात से सहायता मिलेगी। मैं माननीय सदस्यों की राय को नोट करता रहा, मगर मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसमें समय न लगाएँ और बढ़ाने की कोशिश न करें। मैं उन सभी बातों को जो हाउस के सामने रखी गई हैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि प्रस्ताव के खिलाफ किसी भी मेंबर ने एक भी लफ्ज नहीं कहा कि यह प्रस्ताव नहीं होना चाहिए था बल्कि प्रस्ताव के संबंध में सभी की यह राय थी कि वहाँ स्टेबुल सरकार नहीं बन सकती है इसलिए प्रोजेक्ट रूल जारी रहना चाहिए। श्री भूपेश गुप्त जी ने कुछ बातें कहीं। कुछ तो उन्होंने चिंता प्रकट की, वे हाउस में हैं नहीं, इसलिए मैं उनको समझा दूँगा लेकिन कुछ बातें उन्होंने बहुत कीमती हमको बतायी हैं जिनके प्रति सरकार पहले भी ध्यान रख रही है। वे हैं कि सी० आई० ए० का हाथ ब्रह्मपुत्र प्रोजेक्ट में है और उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि उस रीजन में कुछ गिनती मिनती लोगों के पास कुछ ऐसा सर्कुलर गुना है जो सन् 1958 का है जिससे इस आन्दोलन को बढ़ावा मिल सकता है। कुछ तामीरी सुझाव भी दिये गये। हमारे सामने यह जो समस्या है आसाम की और नीर्थन इस्टर्न रीजन की उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए सरकार इस बात का यत्न कर रही है कि हर ब्याल के लोगों को सैटिसफाई किया जाए और मुझे खुशी है कि चारों तरफ यह

बात कही गयी कि हिन्दुस्तान के बसने वाले जो इंडियन है उनको अधिकार है कि वे किसी भी प्रांत में जाकर रहे, उनको विदेशी नहीं कहा जायेगा। कुछ ऐसा ऐप्लीमेंट भी वहां था जो इस बात को एक्सप्लायट करना चाहता था कि बंगालियों को कहा जाये कि वे बंगलादेश के हैं और नेपाली जो मुद्दतों से वहां बसते हैं, पीढ़ियों से वहां बसते हैं उनको भी विदेशी कहा जाये। मगर इसके साथ साथ हमको भूलना नहीं है कि विदेशी अगर किसी बहाने से किसी ढंग से वहां घुस गये हैं तो उनकी लायल्टी भी डाऊटफुल है और उनको वहां रहने भी नहीं देना चाहिए। इसके लिए सरकार अपनी पूरी जानकारी करके जहां जहां वे लोग होंगे उनको निकालने के लिए एक मजबूत उपाय करेगी और वह उपाय सरकार के पास है। डिटेक्शन के लिए भी और वोटर लिस्ट में सुधार करने के लिए भी तथा उनको वापस उनके मुल्क में भेजने के लिए भी यह उपाय किया जा सकता है। मैं यह महसूस करता हूं कि जैसा एक आनरेबल मेम्बर ने बताया था कि यह आंदोलन जिस मकसद के लिए बनाया गया, जो आंदोलन की बुनियाद बतायी जाती है, उसके मुद्दे को, उस आदर्श को छोड़कर गलत रास्ते पर जा रहा है। मैं यह आशा रखता हूं कि आंदोलनकारी इस बार बात पर गौर करेंगे, सोचेंगे कि उनका उद्देश्य तो कहीं खत्म नहीं हो रहा है और इस आंदोलन का फायदा कोई ऐसी ताकतें तो नहीं उठावेंगी जो हिन्दुस्तान को कमजोर करना चाहती हैं। हमें आसाम के लोगों की, हिन्दुस्तान के बाकी लोगों का सबकी भावनाओं को एक तरह से देखना है। मैं इस बात से इतिफाक करता हूं। मैंने कल भी स्टूडेंट्स ने जा बात हुई उससे पहले भी जहां जरूरत हुई यह कहा कि यह प्राब्लम नेशनल प्राब्लम है और उसको हमें नेशनल सतह पर और किसी छोटी बात के तंगदिली से हल करने का यत्न करना चाहिए। हम फराकदिली से इसका सुझाव निकालना चाहते हैं। शार्ट टर्म भी तथा लांग टर्म भी ताकि वहां के हालात नार्मल हो जायें और नार्मलसी के बाद हम तमाम बातों को सुधार सकें और उनके

सेटीमेंट्स को सैटिस्फाई करने के लिये पूरा पूरा यत्न किया जाए। जहां तक इस बात का सवाल है गोस्वामी दिनेश जी ने मुझे एक छपी हुई रिपोर्ट भी दी है। उस पर मैं जरूर गौर करूंगा और मैं यह भी हाऊस को बताना चाहता हूं कि हमने वहां के गवर्नर से भी बात की, वहां के अफसरों से भी बात की, वहां के कुछ नुमाइंदों से, मेम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट से भी बात की, मगर जो मेम्बर अपनी राय हमको देना चाहें, हम वेल्कम करेंगे, सरकार इसको खुशी से कबूल करेगी, उसकी कोआपरेशन लेने की और महत्वपूर्ण राय को ध्यान में रखने की।

कुछ यह भी बातें कहीं गई कि औरतों के साथ बलात्कार हुआ, मर्दों को मारा-पीटा गया, कुछ लोग कत्ल हुए, मारे गये। यह जो इम्पर्टेंट मामला है, इसकी सरकार के पास भी रिपोर्ट पहुंची है। उस पर हम बहुत ध्यान दे रहे हैं।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि मेम्बर साहेबान ने इस बात को गलत-मलत तरीके से पेश नहीं किया। बल्कि इसको माना कि उस वक्त की सरकार—यह जो आन्दोलन तकारीबन चार महीने से चल रहा है—उस सरकार का कसूर था और उन्होंने मुस्ती दिखलाई या उन्होंने गफलत की, या उनकी शक्ति से बाहर था, कुछ भी हो, लेकिन इस बीमारी को पैदा होने से पहले ही मुलझाया जाना चाहिये था। इससे न तो इतना आन्दोलन होता और न इतने ज्यादा लोगों को तकलीफ उठानी पड़ती। यह बात आश्चर्य की है कि मेम्बर साहेबान को मालूम हो कि सौ रुपये से लेकर पांच सौ रुपये तक रिश्वत देकर विदेशी लोग वोटर बने। मगर यह हो सकता है कि ऐसा हुआ हो। साथ ही हमने इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना है—नेहरू लियाकत समझौते का और मुजीबुर-रहमान और इन्दिरा गांधी के साथ जो फैसला हुआ—उनके मुताबिक जिन सिटिजेंस को हमने इंडियन सिटिजेंस मान लिया है, उनको हम

[ज्ञानो जैल सिंह]

विदेशी करार नहीं दे सकेंगे। हमको इस बात पर पूरी संजीदगी से गौर से देखना है कि हम असल में जो विदेशी लोग हैं और जो कोशिश करते हैं किसी न किसी बहाने से आकर, उनको हम वहां से वोट देने का हक भी उनका छीन लें और उनको वापिस करने के लिये भी हम पूरा यत्न करें। मगर जो अन्तोषजनक बात है, वह यह है कि जो आंकड़े बताए जाते हैं, वे मेल नहीं खाते। हरेक अपने-अपने आंकड़े अपने साथ रखता है। तो इसके लिये सरकार पूरा गौर करेगी ताकि सब की बात को सुन कर, उनको समझकर इस मसले का बेहतरीन हल निकाला जाए।

हमारे ध्यान में सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के शहरी जो हैं, वे सब एक हैं। भारत माता की गोद में किस भी हिस्से में कोई भी रहना चाहे तो उसको रुकावट नहीं होनी चाहिए। साथ ही साथ इस बात का खयाल रखना जरूरी है कि एक्पलायटेशन सीधे-साधे लोगों की अमीर लोग करके उनको बेघरे कर दें या उनकी जायदाद को छीन लें और बेचारे अपनी जायदाद से महलूम होकर अपनी जिन्दगी के भविष्य को अधेरा बना दें, उनके लिए भी हम गौर करेंगे, समझेंगे और इसके लिए जैसा भी यत्न हो सकेगा वह हम करेंगे।

मुझे इससे ज्यादा कुछ न कहते हुए एक बात पर जो आखिर में मेम्बर साहब बोले थे, उन्होंने आन्दोलनकारियों से कहा था कि जितना कुछ आज इस सभा में असम के लिए कहा गया है, सुना गया है, हर खयाल के लोगों का विचार यहां पहुंचा है, तो इसके बाद आन्दोलन बन्द कर देना चाहिए, मैं इस बात के लिए उनका आभारी हूं, उनकी राय का आभारी हूं। भले ही वे आपोजीशन में बैठे हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने एक बहुत कंस्ट्रक्टिव सुझाव दिया है। और वह प्रावाज में समझता हूं कि हाउस के

तमाम मेम्बरों की होगी क्योंकि सभी मेम्बर इस बात पर इतिफाक करते हैं कि वहां नामेल्ली हो और वहां के हालात को ऐसे ढंग से सुलझाये जिसमें न किसी का हिहाज हो, न किसी के साथ कोई ज्यादाती हो। जिन लोगों ने वहां जानबूझकर ज्यादातियां की हैं, वे अफसर हों या प्राइवेट आदमी हों उनके खिलाफ एक्शन लेने में और उनको सजा देने में सरकार किसी किस्म का गुरेज नहीं करेगी क्योंकि यह सरकार का फर्ज बनता है। मैं इस बात का कायल हूं, इस बात का पाबन्द हूं कि जहां किसी बेगुनाह को सजा देना एक पाप है, वहां गुनहगार को साफ करना, उस पर रहम करना पाप है, अन्याय है। अन्याय की बात नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए सरकार की ओर से जो न्याय दिया जाना है, इन्साफ दिया जाना है उसके लिए किसी किस्म का गुरेज नहीं किया जायेगा। तो, वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं सभी माननीय सदस्यों से अपील करता हूं कि इन सुझावों को, इन विचारों को वे मद्देनजर रखें और यह जो प्रस्ताव मैंने प्रेसिडेंट के प्रोब्लेमेशन के लिए रखा है उसको हाउस सर्वसम्मति से पास करेगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 12th December, 1979, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. G. KULKARNI): Now we go to the next item.