

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy]

good and the Government will certainly bear them in mind when they frame the rules and they will take all the suggestions into consideration.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

### SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION RE HAPPENINGS IN GAUHATI ON THE REPUBLIC DAY

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Banka Behary Das, you take 15 minutes and the rest of the Members will take 10 minutes each.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Madam, I raise a discussion on the happenings in Gauhati on the Republic Day, particularly in the context of the Union Home Minister's statement expressing profound distress after a visit to that area. Madam Deputy Chairman, while I seek your permission to raise this discussion on the happenings in Gauhati, I have no hesitation to say that all those incidents that took place in Gauhati have left a deep scar in the mind of the nation. The loss of property and the devastation that was caused there was very great. I would rather go a step further and say that the deeper wound that has been caused to the body-politic of the country because of those happenings has to be seriously considered. I will not go into all the incidents that have taken place in Gauhati either on the Republic Day or on the following days. But I want to emphasise from the very start that it was a deep-laid conspiracy on the part of certain sections there in Assam and they took advantage of the discontent that prevailed in Assam because of various factors. The Lachit Sena entered into a conspiracy to take ad-

vantage of the discontent that was prevailing in Assam. But I am sorry to say that the Assam Government not only failed miserably on that day but previously also. In spite of the red signals given by the Lachit Sena and others, they did not take any steps to see that such a situation does not take place in that State. When I say that it was a preplanned move, I have evidence before me. On that Republic Day when all those young people were on the rampage and were looting the property of the non-Assamese and a few Assamese also, they were using certain equipment and certain chemicals which they also left while they were destroying those properties. We have come to know that the Government also got certain spraying machines which were used by them for spraying petrol to burn those properties. They used these chemicals and equipments to destroy Godrej almirahs and other difficult things. And all this could not have happened without preplanning.

Before I go into all these aspects, I want to highlight a few incidents that took place before that famous Republic Day. Here, Madam, I want to tell you that a few days before the incident, two gentlemen from Naxalbari—one of the two a top leader—went to Gauhati and discussed with Lachit Sena people and with some other gentlemen also. I have got the names of the persons with whom those gentlemen discussed and said they would like to enter into an alliance or a conspiracy with the Lachit Sena. If those names are still not available to him, I can supply him those names with whom these two gentlemen discussed a few days before the Republic Day incidents.

Madam, I want to say that a few days before, on the 13th January, a certain organisation observed the 'Assam Integrity Day'. They took out a procession and in that procession slogans were raised that Assam is for Assamese, Assam is a sovereign territory. Also another slogan

was raised in that very procession saying "From Naxalbari to Titabar". In that procession these slogans were raised and also there are reports that some of those young gentlemen who were accompanying that procession, had to leave that procession in protest against those slogans that were raised on that very day. Again, Madam, I want to draw your attention to the fact that on the 24th of January, a call for hartal was given by the All-Assam Chhatra Sangh, dominated by Congress students. (Interruption) Definitely it was dominated by Congress students. What I want to highlight here is that this hartal was observed not because of anything else. It was observed only to protest against that famous speech of the Prime Minister at Jorhat where she said that the Asoka Mehta Committee Report on the reorganisation of Assam could not be the basis for the reorganisation of the State because the hill leaders were not agreeable to that. I think the Prime Minister had said somewhere that she had not said that. Well, if the Prime Minister had not said that, I would have been very happy. But when the call for hartal was given, two days' preparation was also made, the Prime Minister could have contradicted that statement or the Assam Government could have done that on behalf of the Prime Minister. It could have been contradicted through the press that the Prime Minister of the country had not said that at Jorhat. But no contradiction was made. So the hartal was organised. On that day it was a peaceful hartal but certain violent acts took place on the 24th. The January 26 celebrations were boycotted. Madam, I would not like to go into the details of what happened on the Republic Day, but the National Flag was torn to pieces in the police station and a group of students in a certain conveyance went to the Congress office and pulled down the National Flag. They went to the PSP office and pulled down the National Flag. Then they went to the CPI office of Shri Bhupesh Gupta and they pulled down the National

Flag. Also a cycle factory was looted and burnt on that famous day. Certain young men have been arrested in that connection. One of the gentlemen who belongs officially to the CPI (M) and associated with the Naxalbari group has definitely made a statement before the police that 10 or 12 gentlemen. (Interruption). I do not know whether he has given the names or not. That gentleman has admitted that he belongs to the CPI(M) and is associated with the Naxalbari group. He has also hinted about 10 or 11 names of the persons who were associated with him at the time when that cycle factory was being burnt and looted. The cycle factory owner has also given a statement before the police that when these gentlemen were looting and burning that cycle factory the slogan was "Assam for Assamese" and also "Lachit Sena Zindabad". Then another slogan was also being raised "From Naxalbari to Titabar". Now, Madam, you know where Titabar is situated. It is on the north-eastern side of Assam. That means this movement that is going on will spread from Naxalbari to Titabar and it will not remain confined to Naxalbari alone. These are few of the reasons for which I say—and also because of the discussions that had taken place by those two gentlemen of the Naxalbari group about Lachit Sena—it is absolutely clear that they had a hand in this entire affair. They wanted to take advantage of the discontent and the feelings of the youngmen of Assam. So such a situation has taken place. The Assam Government has a great share in this mischief. I do not go to the other aspects like the Lachit Sena distributing those leaflets everywhere earlier but even on 13th when these slogans were raised and on 24th when all those slogans were raised and also violent action took place, the Chaliha Ministry did not take any action. I want to know from the Minister here, whether, although for the last one month all these leaflets were being printed, they have till now anywhere confiscated a single

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printing press where those have been printed? Can the Minister tell who are those persons who have been arrested till now? Not a single person has been arrested for pasting posters on the walls or for distributing them? I am sorry to say—and the Assam papers have quoted these—that on the very day when Gauhati was burning, at 8.15 in the morning, the Assam Chief Minister who was hoisting the flag in Sibsagar is reported to have said: "We will fight to the finish." perhaps he did not say 'conspiracy' but I still remember the very words he used—"We will fight to the finish" this attempt of the Central Government to impose a federal structure on us". I want to say that this is the condition in which this conflagration took place. The discontent that was there was sufficiently exploited by the Lachit Sena and the Naxalbari group and in this entire affair the Assam Government was mute and did not take any action till now against the Lachit Sena people. It is also reported in a Bengal weekly that when Mr. Chaliha was asked 'Why have you not taken action against the Lachit Sena people?' he is reported to have said: 'Many important persons are involved in it. If I want to take action against them, then I do not know what will happen to the State and what will happen to me.' When one of our gentlemen met Mr. Chaliha and said: 'In the very night, not a single house was searched on 26th even after the curfew' one of the officers said—I think the Deputy Commissioner—I ordered some of the houses to be searched but the police did not accept my order'. This was said by one of the important officers of Gauhati before one of my friends. That is why I say that not only there was discontent in Assam which was taken advantage of by the Lachit Sena and also by the Naxalbari group of communists but in this entire affair, the Government of Assam is a party not only by their negligence but by whip-

ping up certain feelings among the people of Assam. When I say the people of Assam, that includes the Bengalis, Marwaris and others who have made Assam their home. When I say Assamese, I do not mean only those who originally belonged to Assam but all those who are residents of Assam.

In this connection I want to draw the attention of the House to other facts because throughout this period, not only the administrative machinery completely collapsed but I dare say that the Assam Government also showed a lukewarm attitude, for whatever may be the reason, about the entire episode. If they had taken at least some preventive measures on 13th January and brought to book certain criminals who were leading the agitations, I am sure the unhappy episode that took place on 26th January would not have occurred in that State. That is why I say that till now though the Union Home Minister last time passed the Unlawful Activities Act, I want to ask him whether, when the Lachit Sena is an underground movement, it is not an open movement, when they were distributing leaflets for the last 2 months, when they are in league with the Naxalbari communists, when they are raising slogans in the streets of Gauhati and were pasting posters everywhere in Assam, what action was taken against them? Have they found out till now who are the leaders of the Lachit Sena? Have they tried to confiscate the printing presses where the posters and leaflets are printed? I want to know from the Home Minister, when he admitted in the other House that the administration there has completely collapsed, what action has the Government taken against that Ministry. When to-day morning the Coimbatore affairs was discussed, certain Members were rightly much agitated. I do not say that they should not be agitated but when the question of a non-Congress Government comes, they are so much

agitated. May I know from the Home Minister what action he has taken when he himself admitted that the administration there had collapsed. I want to say that there were so many police personnel there because of the Republic Day celebrations. May I know from the Minister whether all those persons were arrested that day—the persons who were the ring leaders? May I ask whether that very night after the curfew was clamped, all the houses were searched where the stolen properties were lying till then? May I ask from him what help has been rendered to those persons who have suffered in that affair?

When a house is burning in Gauhati or when the railway station is burning there, it is not a property that is burning. It is a part of the Swaraj, a part of the nationalism of India that is being burnt there. Naturally we ought to be all perturbed. It is not a question of parties, it is a question of the entire nation and I want to know from the Minister whether for the integrity and unity of this country, which we all want to uphold, they have taken any effective steps when these voices of fissiparous tendencies were raised in Gauhati and may I know the action taken in the matter?

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I hope the whole House will agree with me in condemning the ugly incidents which have happened in Gauhati.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): What about things after that?

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: If I may say so, the incidents are not solitary ones that have taken place. We have to look to the history of Assam if we want to understand the background of these disturbances. As the House is aware, Assam had under its jurisdiction Nagaland, it had Manipur, it had Tripura, it had

NEFA and it had other hill areas also. It was a big composite State but what has been the tendency thereafter? Bit by bit territories have been going out. Tripura was formed into a Union Territory. Manipur was formed into a Union Territory. Nagaland was taken out of the jurisdiction of Assam and the NEFA area had to be taken out of Assam's jurisdiction. The House is also aware that some years back there was the language trouble in Assam.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): May I intervene to say that as a point of fact, Tripura and Manipur were never parts of Assam. They were called States subject to the paramountcy of the British Crown.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: I am thankful to Mr. Sapru for correcting me. What I meant was they were administered by one Governor and it was a single Governor who administered the whole area at that time. Then, as the House is aware, some years back there was trouble over the language between the Bengalis and the Assamese—those were again very ugly incidents and some sort of a solution was found at that time. Thereafter, the House will again remember that there was a set pattern of incidents in Nowgong about two years back. There the pattern was that a certain community was marked and all the attack was on that community. And what do we find in the incidents on the Republic Day? There again a certain community was singled out, and they were the victims of all the hooliganism which happened on that day. Now what is it at the back of these incidents and whether the Government of Assam took necessary steps to meet the situation is the question. Leaflets were coming out not only on the 24th January but before that also that such and such things would happen. Whether any notice was taken by the Assam Government to meet the situation or

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to find out who were the people who were issuing these leaflets giving warning of certain incidents which would happen is the question. An effigy of our respected Prime Minister was burnt and inflammatory speeches were made. May I know this from the Home Ministry of the Government of India? When did they come to know about this incident? What steps did they take to find out from the Assam Government what they had done in this matter?

Now I can quite understand the anxiety of the Assam Government as far as the reorganisation of some hill areas and plain areas is concerned. But that does not mean that the State authority becomes a passive onlooker to the incidents which have been happening.

Now take the incidents of the 26th January. What were the police doing? Did they take any steps to meet the situation? I am afraid the reply is in the negative. The Minister of Revenue of the Assam Government was there. Did he not have enough information of the incidents, or did not the incidents of the early morning show what was the shape of things to come? And if that was the position, what steps were taken to see that the ugly incidents did not take place?

Now this is a tendency that has to be taken serious note of. It is not only in Assam that we find these tendencies. These separatist tendencies are visible elsewhere also. The incidents of Assam on the 26th January involve loss of property worth crores and crores of rupees. Whose property is it? Is it the property of individuals? It is the property of the nation which was destroyed. I want to pose this question. Whatever is the property loss, does it not add to the difficulties of the country? Does it not mean that it is a national loss? Does it not put our progress in the reverse gear?

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

What is all this happening, and what is the Government doing, at the Centre and in the State? What positive steps are we taking to infuse again confidence in that particular community which was affected in the riots at Gauhati? I have heard quite a number of things and it has been distressing me, the way preparations were made for the incidents on the 26th January. From the 24th January onwards there were brisk preparations for it. The houses of Assamese and non-Assamese were marked. The houses were marked where non-Assamese residents were occupying Assamese-owned houses, and everything was marked in a set pattern. What were the Government officials doing there when all this was happening below their nose, just in the knowledge of these officials?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: On a point of information. Was it done on a territorial basis, or on a communal basis? What I want to know is whether it was Assamese versus non-Assamese, or whether it was Assamese Hindus, Assamese Muslims versus others.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Well, I am sure Mr. Sapru himself has some information on this point, but I can tell the House that it was all an attack on non-Assamese living in Assam in Gauhati. And what is that community? It is that community which controls most of the business in that area, in Gauhati, and the affected area in that Gauhati is called the Fancy Bazar, the main shopping centre of Gauhati; most of the business there is in the hands of those people. Some people who call themselves great socialists argue and give justification saying that this has all happened because that particular community has been exploiting the Assamese from times immemorial. Now these people have settled in Assam since a very very

long time; some of them have been there for a hundred years and over, and they have acclimatized themselves to the conditions of that place. Now even if we grant that there was exploitation by these people of the Assamese living there, does it mean that the Assamese were justified in doing what all they did? Is India one, or India is various States? We have to decide once for all that question. India is one, and if India is one, every citizen has a right by choice to remain wherever he wants to live. There should be no ban on anybody to live anywhere. The Assamese have as much the right to live in Delhi or in U.P. as a U.P. walla has the right to live in Assam. Similarly, everyone of the peoples of the various States has the right to stay wherever he likes. That is the crux of the problem and we have to tackle that problem. Conditions have to be created where these State barriers vanish, where these regional considerations vanish. Have we not played with the lives and properties of our citizens for long? Have we not destroyed our national wealth for long? How long is this madness going to last? How long is this madness going to obscure the fair name of this country? Some stop has to be put somewhere, and the sooner this stop is put, the better it will be in the interests of this country and all the states.

4 P.M. This is a problem which requires the attention of all the right-thinking people in this country. We must evolve some sort of a national conscience to meet the situation and conditions have to be created where the people of different communities, the people of different States can live peacefully and smoothly in all parts of this country, irrespective of what they consider themselves to be. And this is a problem in which my appeal would be to all the leaders of all the Opposition Parties also to consider it from

the national point of view. Nobody should add fuel to the fire.

AN HON. MEMBER: Only to Opposition Parties?

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: I have already said about the Government. And about the Nowgong incidents an enquiry was ordered and the report of that Enquiry Commission has been received. I would like the Home Minister to tell us what are the main recommendations of that report. They should also tell us why that report is not being placed on the Table of the House and why it is not made known to everybody. What that Commission had to say about the Nowgong riots. I say this because the pattern of things is the same in both the places and if we knew the recommendations of that Commission and if the Government of India and the Government of Assam had implemented the recommendations of that Commission, I have no doubt that things would not have taken the ugly shape that they took on the 26th January, 1968. A stitch in time saves nine, is an old saying. Even now it is not too late. The problems have to be tackled seriously and in a businesslike manner. It is no time when problems could be allowed to drift. If we do not tackle the problems in time and if the leadership of the country does not rise to the occasion, then I would give a warning today, that our democracy would be in danger. And for that posterity will never, never forgive any of the Members of Parliament or anybody who has anything to say in the policy-making in this country. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to you for calling me early because I have to leave on some other work. Naturally I would like to participate in this debate as anybody would like, coming from West Bengal, and also in order to set the records straight at least, if not for anything else. Here I was somewhat amazed by the speech of my hon. friend Shri Banka

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Behary Das. He imported into his theme narrow partition politics. I do not know why he did it. I have great regard for him and his Party. After hearing his speech I went to meet the Lok Sabha Members from Assam belonging to our Party and I made enquiries as to what was the situation there, apart from what I already know. I may straightway tell you that it is just scaremongering and raising bogeys when people say that Naxalbari group was responsible. There is really no Naxalbari group at all. (Interruption) Please let me finish. It is well known that the so-called Naxalbari group violently differs from us on many matters. We have strong criticisms against the so-called Naxalbari group. But it will be wholly unfair on my part not to protest against this kind of statements when you discuss the grim situation, or the tragic situation or diabolical situation whatever you may call it—that was there in Gauhati on the Republic Day and the day after. It is interesting that while blaming among others the so-called Naxalbari group Mr. Banka Behary Das made a statement in which he said that Mr. Chaliha would not act in this matter because Mr. Chaliha felt that he would not last, nor his Government would last, if he took strong action. In fact, I have got what he said. He is reported to have said that when the request was made that there should be an enquiry into the incidents, he said that if he did any such thing he would be losing his gaddi, that is to say, the Ministry. Well, am I to understand that the Naxalbari group has become suddenly so powerful in Assam?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS:  
The Lachit Sena.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Has the Naxalbari group become so powerful all of a sudden that if Mr. Chaliha held an enquiry into the happenings in Gauhati he would lose his Chief

Ministership and the Ministry would go? Nobody, not even my P.S.P. friends, I think, would ever make the suggestion that the Naxalbari group—it does not exist in that part anyway—has become suddenly so powerful as to threaten Mr. Chaliha with the loss of his power or of his Government? The fact remains that there were influential people, chauvinistic and reactionary elements who wanted to whip up trouble and some of them are well entrenched in very high positions in the ruling class and perhaps also in the Minister. That is the crux of the matter. That is why Mr. Chaliha hesitate to even promise that he would look into or order an enquiry into the Gauhati happenings. Of course, I know Mr. Hem Barua brought in Mao Tse-tung, China, Pakistan and everything. That the surest way of confusing the issue. That is the surest way of allowing the real miscreants and criminals to get away without having to face any enquiry or punishment or retribution. Let us not go into that kind of politics now. We can leave that for other occasions. So the trouble here was, as I have already stated, we have certain chauvinistic elements in those areas who are always on the look-out for creating certain incidents of that kind. And this has its own background also. As far as our party is concerned, well, our Party Office, as you know, was attacked on the Republic Day. The State flag which had been or which was being hoisted was pulled down and when the Communist party members, when the comrades wanted to resist it they were assaulted by the hooligans who went there. Do you think any leftist went there? Do you think that any Communist of the Naxalbari group or CPI (M) went there to assault us in this manner? I think Mr. Banka Behary Das is an intelligent man and he would not venture to make such a preposterous suggestion that the Naxalbari people combined with others in order to attack the Communist Party on that occasion in this manner.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I do not want to interrupt Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but may I for his benefit give two instances: I can say here that two Naxalbari leaders, went to Mr. Kesab Mahanta who was a CPI member formerly and who had lately joined the PSP and they discussed the connection between Naxalbari and the Lachit Sena. Another thing I can say for the benefit and information of my hon. friend Mr. Gupta. One Mr. Kabi Barman who was arrested for looting the cycle factory belongs to the CPI (L).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is for the CPI(M) to say. I do not keep records of the CPI(M) members. It is for them to say. I may tell you even so, the CPI(M) and the CPI are the two parties who went out in the streets and faced the hooligans and faced all their vandalism and violence. Therefore it would be wrong, it would be uncharitable for Mr. Banka Behary Das to make a suggestion of this kind. Well, a particular person has been named, let it be sent to the C.P.(M) headquarters and tomorrow you will know whether there is such a member. I do not think any C. P. (M) member of Assam is present either in this House or in the other House but I believe Mr. Robin Chatterjee who is a member of the C. P.(M) can find out.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: He is not of the Naxalbari group.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Our PSP friends are sometimes a little obsessed by the Communists.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: But you should know . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not you. You always differentiate between the C.P.I. (M) and C. P. I. But we are all Communists. We have serious differences but I do not think in such matters you should bring in this C. P.(M) thing. Anyhow it is for them to say. For our part I have knowledge of it;

I have met our comrades there and I may inform you that despite all our differences on many matters on those two days the C. P. I. and the C. P. (M) came out in the street. My information is that the national flag was not hauled down from the Congress Office; it is a good thing it was not done. My information is it was also not hauled down from the PSP office and if that is so, it is also a good thing. Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have been subjected to attack.

And here I should like to point out another aspect of the matter which is the real aspect. The Assam Intelligence Service completely failed in this matter as always happens with it. During the language riots also the Assam Intelligence Service completely failed at that time. Now, the Central Intelligence Service also which has got a big outfit in Assam, failed this time to act in time or did not show any awareness of what was coming; yet the people were talking about it. So it remains to be explained why the Intelligence Services both of the Centre and of the State failed once again in this manner. You will remember some years ago they were subjected to very strong criticism. It is not enough for Mr. Chagla to pass the buck . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Chagla?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am sorry, Mr. Chavan. It is not enough for Mr. Chavan to pass the buck to the Assam Government. The Assam Government is certainly answerable but what about the Central Government? The Central Government maintains a large number of people there, especially in the Intelligence Service. What were they doing? I should like to know. And there is no explanation forthcoming from them. Not only that; when our office was attacked the matter was brought to the notice of the police; the police station was nearby but nothing was done. The raiders came to our office in a



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private motor car No. ASK 211 and the police was informed about the car and the number and about the entire *modus operandi* of the hooligans who attacked our office but nothing was done against them. Therefore it is not merely a question of dereliction of duty; it was something worse. It does appear that there was some planning behind it and that one of the objects was to attack the Communist Party and other elements who go with the leftist movement in order to disrupt and disorganise the leftist movement. As you know, even in matters of State reorganisation we have our approach and view which certainly is not liked by the extremist elements in Assam. Perhaps they thought that there was an opportunity to wreak vengeance against us and that is why they attacked our party office but the State Government did not do anything. As you know, even when it was announced that on the Republic Day there would be boycotting and demonstration, no preventive action was taken by the Government of Assam. Though the Assam Government knew very well that on the 26th trouble would start they took no precaution whatsoever. Even when the ground where the Republic Day functions were to be held was surrounded by certain people no steps were taken against them. Therefore it seems that the Assam Government or some elements high up in the Government were very much involved in it. When the report about rioting and arson in the Fancy Bazar area was communicated to the police they did not act; on the contrary it has been alleged that attempts by people to resist the rioting were foiled by the intervention of the police. In the Fancy Bazar area the people went out to resist the rioters but the police intervened in favour of the hooligans and stopped the citizens from protecting their property and from defending themselves against attacks by hooligans. This needs to be explained. It is said that 700 per-

sons have been arrested but the majority of them are for violations of the curfew restrictions. But what about the organised hooligans who came in motor vehicles and who used modern methods of sabotage and destruction? As has been said by my hon. friend, Mr. Banka Behary Das, they used a kind of chemical in order to destroy property or open Godrej almirahs and so on. What has happened to them? No raids took place, no effective raids took place to catch them. Here again there is every reasons to suspect that things have been pre-planned and the Government and the local authorities were certainly conniving at what has happened in Assam. (*Time bell-rings*).

Sir, you have rung the bell; I do not wish to say much. But here is a case for a thorough enquiry, a high-powered enquiry into the entire developments there on the 26th and 27th because there is *prima facie* a case that somebody had been guilty not only of dereliction of duty but of something more; there is *prima facie* a case to show that these hooligans who had been well organised had the backing of people in high positions and certainly there is *prima facie* a case that the police behaved in a most strange manner in not acting in time or acting much too late when the hooligans had disappeared. These are matters to be looked into. There is an attempt on the part of some people to bring in Pakistan, China and other things because perhaps they think that it is convenient here to do so but then when it comes to Tamil Nad and other places they do not bring in such things. I say, don't try to understand the Assam situation by paying any heed to this kind of false slogans or alarmist slogans on the part of some people. There is complete evidence that there are certain people, chauvinistic and reactionary, who want to exploit the discontent, the legitimate discontent of the people of Assam, in order to disrupt and divide

them so that they can carry on. They are interested in really creating difficulties for all those who want, for example, a sensible or reasonable solution of the problem of reorganisation of Assam. These are the people who want the Assam's rising movement destroyed or disrupted by this kind of provocations. We should always seek out the agent provateurs. Therefore my case is clearly this. Once again we have seen in a different context, in a different way, a re-enactment of the old drama of reaction let loose in Assam, exploiting the discontent of the people, misdirecting and misguiding momentarily some sections of the youth and carrying on depredations in the manner in which they did. As far as the Communist Party is concerned, I may tell you that we will not only voice our protest against it but I think the Communist Party of Assam should get ready to fight them out. If hooligans come they should be met; if they use violence counter-violence has to be used. I have no doubt about it. I do not mince matters because these hooligans were well organised and they came with arms and so on. If the Government does not protect the life and property of the citizens and people of Assam, what are the people to do? Therefore, I would call upon all the left, democratic and like-minded people in Assam to organise themselves, so that these menacing disruptive activities and hooliganism on the part of the organised section—some well-organised people who had the backing of some people high up—are met adequately. That is what I say.

As far as Mr. Chaliha is concerned, may I make a suggestion? Now, it is a Congress Government. Where is your report? There was a lot of noise about Naxalbari. There was a lot of noise about Kerala. There was a lot of noise about what was happening in Durgapur when it was a non-Congress Ministry. You make a

lot of noise about what is happening in the South. Call Mr. Chaliha here and ask him to explain before Parliament and the nation, through an appropriate report, as to what was the reason for these disturbances. What was the reason for the highly disruptive and explosive disturbance that not only marred the Republic Day celebrations? It was something infinitely worse. Therefore, I think that here is a case for calling upon Mr. Chaliha to explain. I think the Government can also issue certain direction under the relevant provisions of the Constitution to the State Government to take certain action in consultation with all the political parties there, who are sincerely interested in maintaining peace and tranquility in Assam and anyhow interested in avoiding this kind of situation arising there. I should like such steps being taken.

Finally, I think it necessary for Members of Parliament also to visit Assam and make an on-the-spot study of what happened there, and talk to the people there. At the time of the earlier riots or disturbances, as you know, a Committee of the two Houses of Parliament—Mr. Raj Bahadur Gour was a member of the Committee from our Party from this House—went to Assam, made enquiries and submitted a report to Parliament. I think we should also, in this case, take a similar step. I think a small delegation of Members of Parliament should go there, in order that they can study and submit a report to Parliament. The real causes will be found out by that very effort. Only one thing more I wish to say. This is very essential. Again, I would say that hon. Members should take this a little seriously. I have not digressed into the larger aspects of the problem. Here I have only dealt with those two incidents, serious, no doubt, but isolated incidents. But it would be a mistake to think that they had no connection with what had been happening in Assam all these months and years. There-

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fore, I think a proper investigation and enquiry is called for in an appropriate manner. If Mr. Chaliha does not care to order a probe into the happenings on the Republic Day and the day after, I think the Central Government can consult its legal experts and find out what direction to give for holding such an urgent enquiry into what is happening. I do hope that the Assamese people will maintain their calm and quietness. They are excellent people. They have got their grievances, which we shall certainly try to meet by all means, but these disruptive, hooligan elements, which want to play with the feelings of the people, have got to be isolated and brought to a finish.

SHRI P. CHETIA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have heard the speeches of my predecessors, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Mr. Banka Behary Das and from our party, Mr. Bhargava. At the very outset I am sorry to say that Mr. Gupta has implicated the Government of Assam in these disturbances. It is a fact that there were tragic and unfortunate happenings in Gauhati, which we all condemn. We think that the disturbances have humiliated us. All sections of the people in Assam condemn it, including the students. It is a fact that so far as the local administration is concerned, they completely failed on that day. I do not know for what reason. Timely steps could not be taken by the local administration. Of course, it does not redound to the credit of the Assam Government. So far as giving protection to life and property from such hooligans is concerned, it is the primary responsibility of the Government. The entire people of Assam condemn it and they are critical of the action of the local officials in Gauhati.

In this connection I would like to say it for the information of this august House that this matter has been referred to a high power Commission of inquiry under Justice Shri P. K. Sen, who is a Judge of the High Court

of Assam and Nagaland, and the Commission has been asked to go into every detailed aspect of the disturbances, including the part played by the local officials. Those who are found negligent in their duty will be adequately dealt with according to law.

As far as the disturbance is concerned, how did it happen? There was some reference made by Mr. Bhargava that at only one place it took place, viz., Fancy Bazar. That is not the case. The disturbances spread simultaneously at four places, and in a place at a distance of 16 miles from Gauhati. There were three other places apart from Fancy Bazar, which are just on the outskirts of Gauhati city. In all these places, except Fancy Bazar, it seems that the disturbance was more or less organised. I quite agree with the accusations levelled against the Naxalbari group of communists, as has been done by Mr. Banka Behary Das. We have got evidence of it. As he has already said, one important member of the Left Communist Party has been arrested. Shri Kabi Burman has been arrested and he has named eleven other persons who are involved in this. Then, again...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Arrest does not mean anything, because during the Indo-Pak conflict several Muslim members of our Party were arrested. You know that very well.

SHRI P. CHETIA: As far as the Lachit Sena is concerned, it is not like the Shiv Sena. Nobody knows who is its president or secretary. In this connection the Governor also mentioned that "certain individuals and groups in the name of Lachit Sena" have been indulging in publishing posters and leaflets containing threats against the non-Assamese and carrying on anti-national and anti-Indian and secessionist activities which are prejudicial to the integrity of the nation. This was the statement by the Governor in his inaugural address in the Assembly on the 20th February:

"Government has noted these with dismay and concern and is determined to suppress these elements and maintain law and order in the State."

So far as the Lachit Sena is concerned, as far as our information goes, it is an organisation of a handful of pseudo-businessmen, who have just entered into the business field and it has no backing of the people of Assam.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan): Has that been located?

SHRI P. CHETIA: Of course, at the very beginning it was circulating and publishing some objectionable leaflets containing threats, but possibly the Government did not take it seriously. I quite agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that so far as the intelligence departments of the Assam Government and the Central Government are concerned, they completely failed in this regard. If there had been prior information about these disturbances, I do not think there would have been disturbances of the kind that we experienced in Gauhati on the 26th January, viz., the Republic Day. Then the question arises as to what is the origin of the disturbance. On the 23rd January all the students of the State convened a meeting to organise a hartal. On the 24th there was a hartal. It was a peaceful hartal except for certain small incidents. The students of Gauhati alone organised a meeting on the 25th January to boycott the Republic Day. It was a mistake on their part because 26th January, Republic Day, is a national day and they should not have done it, and this boycott had prevented many of the citizens from participating in the National Day. To that extent it is anti-national.

So far as the students are concerned, I quite appreciate their feeling because they organised this hartal only to lodge a protest, to give vent to their feeling of discontent against

the Central Government, and more particularly against the Prime Minister, because the Prime Minister has made a statement that the Mehta Committee cannot provide a solution to the hill problem as the hill leaders did not participate in it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would like the hon. Member to tell us what the Congress was doing. Did they go to the students to persuade them against that course?

(Interruption)

SHRI P. CHETIA: The meeting was held on the 25th of January. On the 26th they launched the boycott. There was no time on the 25th of January for the Congress to approach the students. People could come to know about this boycott only on the 26th morning. Then again they took out a small procession with the result that under the coverage of this boycott and procession the anti-social elements took part in it. They looted property; they indulged in destruction of property. As a matter of fact, in this matter of looting property and destroying property, in respect of setting fire, there was no distinction made between Assamese and non-Assamese, because as many as 29 Assamese had been affected in these disturbances. Comparatively the Marwaris, the businessmen of Rajasthan, happened to be in the majority there, so the affected number among them is higher. But as a matter of fact there was no discrimination between Hindus and Muslims or between Assamese and non-Assamese.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said that there should be a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee. As a matter of fact many Members of Parliament went there soon after the disturbance took place. From the Congress side Shri P. D. Himatsingka went there; from Jan Sangh Shri Balraj Madhok; from Swatantra Party one member went there. So, they visited the place immediately after the disturbances took place. The Jan Sangh Member, Shri Balraj Madhok, has

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said in this connection, I want to quote him:

"The local Assamese people had given food and shelter to the affected people in various localities and it was wrong to give the disturbances an Assamese non-Assamese colour."

He went there immediately after the disturbance took place and visited every place. I also visited the place before I came to Delhi and I found that in some places, not in Fancy Bazar as Mr. Bhargava said but at Bejoynagar, Athgaon, Fatasil and Tiwari Market, at these places the disturbance seems to have been preplanned. Except Bijoyanagar, they are about two or three miles from the Fancy Bazar and lying on the outskirts of Gauhati City. In these places the hooligans had brought the necessary implements to break open iron safes, and they looted the property from those iron safes. At Fatasil one spirit bottle attached to bulbs was found. In connection with the cycle factory disturbance one Kavi Barman, a Left Communist, had been arrested. He mentioned eleven or twelve members of his party who took part in this disturbance. There was an Assamese manager in the cycle factory who was in charge of designing. He was about to be killed and his property worth several thousands was looted and burnt. It is a fact that there were some leftist elements who took part in this disturbance, as stated by Shri Banka Behary Das.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who are the leftist elements?

SHRI P. CHETIA: Not your party. I quite appreciate so far as your party is concerned, but these people belonged to the Marxist Party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Your time is over.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who are the leftist elements?

SHRI P. CHETIA: So far as your party is concerned, they were free from it. It was a fact that the flags hoisted in the offices of the Congress, the P.S.P. and Right Communist Party were pulled down.

So far as the involvement and backing of people in high positions is concerned, that is absolutely incorrect. By no stretch of imagination it can be proved that there were some high persons behind this. It is most unjust and uncharitable on the part of the hon. Member to say such things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Some people were there behind.

SHRI P. CHETIA: As for arrests, do you know what happened? For specific offences more than 500 people were arrested, and looted properties were found in their possession, and of them more than 100 were non-Assamese people hailing from Bihar, Bengal, etc. It is incorrect to say that there is only one section of people involved in it. It is absolutely incorrect. There were Biharis, there were Assamese, Bengalis, Hindus, Muslims, all. More than 500 people were arrested for specific offences. (Interruption). The arrests were made for specific offences. Looted properties were recovered from those persons who were arrested. They were Bengalis, Biharis, there were Hindus, all. There is no distinction. There is no question that it was one type only and others are excluded. All people are arrested in that connection. So far as the action of the Government is concerned, it was the duty of the Government to take note of the happenings beforehand. Possibly Government had thought that there would be no disturbance because the hartal on the 24th was a complete success, it was a peaceful hartal and there was no incident.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is protected areas people entered.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No interruptions please.

SHRI P. CHETIA: So far as putting down the National Flag was concerned it was done by a small group of young men. I do not know whether they were students or ex-students. It is a fact that these elements, these hooligans pulled down the flags from many houses, and they pulled down flags from the offices of the Congress, the P.S.P., etc. We are sorry for it, but it should not be taken for granted that the entire students community is responsible for it. These young men do not know the background of the flag. We are sorry for it. But it should not have been taken for granted that the entire students are responsible. This small section of students, they do not know that the national flag represents the nation and the country, they are ignorant of that. So somebody must have incited them to do it. The Chief Minister stated in the Assembly on the 23rd that there are certain foreign elements there in Gauhati. He said—

"It would not be denied that external forces had also reflections on these incidents."

There is one important factor that I would like to mention so far as the cycle factory is concerned. The incident took place between 1.30 and 3.00 P.M. The people of Gauhati came to know about this incident only on the following day's morning. But it was broadcast by Radio Pakistan in the evening even mentioning about the location of the factory. That shows who were the foreign hands in this matter because how did they come to know about the incidents that took place between 1.30 and 3.00 P.M. on the 26th January in the cycle factory? But Radio Pakistan broadcast it in the evening. The people of Gauhati came to know about it only the next morning. That shows that there is some sort of foreign hand in this matter.

Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

We are really sorry for the disturbances that had taken place at Gauhati; we all feel really sore about them and we are distressed. With these words, I take my seat.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): This morning we saw Parliament's attention being turned to disorders of the students in the South and this evening we have been treated to reports of disorders in the North, so that it seems to me that the balance of disorders has been well set by the happenings which we heard about in this House during the course of the day.

It is a most depressing, distressful and even dis-reputable state of affairs that has been revealed by newspaper and personal reports in regard to the happenings in Assam. Law and order seems to have broken down completely on the eve of the last Republic Day and during the course of the Republic Day. The Central Government has been castigated on the floor of this House for its negligence in regard to this matter. But may I remind the House that the maintenance of law and order, of peace and order, is the primary and principal concern of the State Government? It is the State Government that is first of all responsible, most of all responsible, for the maintenance of law and order. And by all accounts, the State Government has completely failed.

We saw on this occasion, as on many other occasions—for instance on the eve of the New Year's day in New Delhi and in Berhampore towards the end of last year—the behaviour of the police. The main feature of police behaviour nowadays seems to be to look on while things happen; they just look on or turn to the other side when disorderly things are happening under their very nose. This is a very sorry state of affairs. Who is responsible for it? On inquiry we have found both in Berhampore and in other places, that the police looked for instructions

[Shri Ruthnaswamy]  
from the headquarters as to what they should do in any particular circumstance. May I ask whether under the new regime, under the Congress regime, Ministers issue instructions to the police to wait for instructions to emanate from the headquarters? In the old days the head of the police department was completely left to himself to be responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. It was only when the head of the police and the police took to unlawful actions that the headquarters government intervened. Now, it seems that the police are helpless in these matters.

Reference was made to hooligans and goondas taking advantage of these movements amongst the students or among adult citizens. But what is the police doing? Again, in regard to this matter, there are so many sections in the Criminal Procedure Code and in the Police Acts which authorise the police to take preventive action, to proceed against those who are likely to bring about disorder in a city or in any place. They are authorised to detain temporarily people whom they suspect of resorting to unlawful actions. Why is not this being done? Why are the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Acts not being used by the police now-a-days?

And then reference was also made—I think the Home Minister himself referred to it in the debates in the other House—that sections of the Central Police are posted in the States in order to look after the protection of Central Government properties or in order to aid the local police. What is the strength of the Central Armed Reserves in Assam? And what do they do in order to help the local police? What do they do in order to protect the Central Government properties like the airport. From a report received from one of our Members, Mr. Patodia of the other House who went to make an on-the-spot study of the situation, it appears

that the airport had been attacked and an air-hostess has been even injured. In such a period of disturbances, is it not the duty of the Central Government to see that Central Armed Reserve Police is posted at stations belonging to the Central Government? And what is the strength of the police? Is the strength of the police adequate in any State to meet these new challenges to peace and order? These challenges to peace and order in modern times are becoming very serious. These challenges are organised challenges. They are created almost every other day. They use all the modern methods open to disturb peace and order. Is there any census kept of these hooligans and goondas in every city so that preventive action can be taken against them? Prevention is better than cure in this case as in almost all other cases. And preventive action by the police could have prevented many of these acts of disorder which are becoming almost endemic if not epidemic in this country. And what is that all due to? And what about the passivity of the Chaliha Ministry? It is acknowledged that they did not do anything in order either to prevent the occurrence of these disorders or in order to suppress this disorder when it took place. Are they trying to teach the Central Government a lesson for its progressive policy in regard to the grant of autonomy to certain portions of Assam? Are they wanting the Central Government to realise that if they go on with this progressive policy, the Assam Government will not be interested in the maintenance of peace and order in its own territory? Or is it due to the large infiltration of people from Pakistan, which infiltration may disturb the balance between the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims? Has this infiltration led to the tension that exists between the two countries? Not only Muslims, but other people from other parts of the country have settled down. There is a large community of Marwaris who

have settled down there. When I visited Chirapunji station, I found a Marwari settled there, keeping a dukan, a place for money-lending. Are these settlements of "foreigners" in Assam disturbing the minds of the people of Assam? Formerly, a few years ago when the Bengali-Assamese riots took place, the contention of the Assamese people was that the Bengalis were overcrowding Assam, that they were monopolising all the chief offices in the State in industry, in commerce. All these things have to be looked into, and the Central Government must take a very intimate interest in the affairs of States with sensitive areas like Assam.

Sir, Mr. Bhargava revealed that there was an enquiry and a report has been sent. Why should that report not be placed on the Table of the House so that we may know the details of all these disorders, especially the causes of these disorders? Is it because of the Chaliha Ministry's involvement in this matter, or are there any charges against the Chaliha Ministry that they have not been up to the mark in the maintenance of peace and order, especially in the prevention of these disturbances that this report is not being made public? It would be a service to this House and to Parliament and to the public if this report were made public so that we may know the reality, the truth of the situation. All these disturbances are really very disturbing to those who want peace and order to be maintained so that the progress of the country may be sustained because without the elementary conditions of peace and order, no great progress can be predicted for this country.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भण्डारी (राजस्थान) :**

उपमहाधक्ष महोदय, 26 जनवरी को गोहाटी में जो दृश्य उपस्थित हुआ मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के सभी क्षेत्रों में उसकी निन्दा हुई है।

जितना योजनाबद्ध तरीके से एक दो चार घंटों में इतना बड़ा नुकसान वहाँ पर कर दिया गया उसके संबंध में यह शंका करना कि योजनाबद्ध था या नहीं था मैं समझता हूँ कि जो व्यक्ति उस घटना की कल्पना कर सकता है, जिसने उसे आँखों से देखा है वह कभी इस तर्क पर विश्वास नहीं कर सकता है। वह योजनाबद्ध था। हाँ, इतना जरूर है कि आसाम को परिस्थिति पिछले कुछ वर्षों से काफ़ी गुथी हुई और उलझनों से भरी हुई बनती जा रही है। आसाम के ऊपर कई लोगों की आँखें लगी हुई हैं और यही कारण है कि अपने अपने स्वार्थ को सिद्ध करने के लिये आसाम की विभिन्न स्थिति को लेकर विस्फोट पैदा किया जा सकता है और इसके लिये लोग इन्तजार करते रहते हैं।

मैं यह स्वीकार करता हूँ कि आसाम में बेकारी है, आसाम में गरीबी है, लेकिन मैं आपके द्वारा यह ध्यान संसद के सभी सदस्यों को दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आज सारे हिन्दुस्तान में बेकारी है, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में आज गरीबी है और वह इसके चंगुल में फँसा हुआ है। आसाम में बहुत से लोग राजस्थान, हरियाणा, गुजरात और पंजाब के व्यापार के काम पर लगे हुए हैं और वे वहाँ पर वर्षों से व्यापार का काम करते हैं। वहाँ पर उनमें से कुछ लोगों ने चाय के बगीचे भी ले लिये हैं विदेशियों से और उन बगीचों पर काम करने के लिये केवल मालिक ही नहीं बदले, वहाँ पर हजारों लाखों मजदूर बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश के मजदूर चाय-बागानों में चाय चुनने के कामों पर लगे हुए हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वहाँ पर लेबर उपलब्ध नहीं है और आसाम के लोगों में बेकारीकासवाल नहीं है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि आसाम में गरीबी का सवाल है, आसाम के अन्दर उद्योगीकरण का सवाल है और वहाँ पर कारखाने स्थापित करने का सवाल भी कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। इस तरह के ये सब प्रश्न हैं, जिनकी तरफ हम को तबज्जी



सुन्कर सिंह भडारी  
देनी चाहिये क्योंकि आसाम की जो समस्या है वह एक खास किस्म की है और उसकी समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये हमें प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिये। अगर, हम वहाँ के विषय में ध्यान देंगे तो वहाँ का जल्दी से आर्थिक विकास होगा। इसी बात को ध्यान में रखकर हमें उस स्टेट की विशेष सहायता करनी चाहिये, वहाँ पर जल्द से जल्द कारखाने स्थापित किये जाने चाहिये। अगर इस तरह की कार्यवाही की गई तो मैं समझता हूँ कि सारा देश इसमें सरकार का समर्थन करेगा।

लेकिन मैं यह बात नहीं समझ पाया हूँ कि जो मारवाड़ी और राजस्थानी लोग वहाँ पर व्यापार करते हैं उन्हीं के ऊपर सारा गुस्ता इन लोगों ने क्यों निकाला? राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण के अवसर पर यहाँ पर एक माननीय सदस्य ने यह कहा था और इस बात का उल्लेख किया था कि बाहर के लोग वहाँ जाकर व्यापार पर कब्जा किये हुए हैं। मैं उनसे एक सीधा सादा सवाल यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनको फिर इस बात की शिकायत नहीं होती कि अगर यह सारा व्यापार आसाम के निवासी ही करते, अगर व्यापार वहाँ के लोगों के हाथों में होता तो उनका समाधान हो जाता, तब फिर मैं उनकी यह शिकायत कुछ समझ सकता था। लेकिन हमारे देश में कुछ तत्व ऐसे हैं जो किसी जगह पर किसी भी इंडिविजुल के इन्टरप्राइज एफर्ट को स्वीकार ही नहीं करते हैं और ऐसी स्थिति में वे वहाँ पर परिस्थितियों को विषम बनाने का प्रयत्न करते रहते हैं। बेकारी और बाहर के लोगों द्वारा व्यापार करना, यह ब्रह्मपुत्र की घाटी में सब जगह विद्यमान है। अगर केवल बेकारी की वजह से वहाँ पर आन्दोलन उठा है तो आसाम में इस तरह की घटनाएँ पिछले 4, 6 और 12 महीनों से घटित हो रही हैं। इस तरह की घटनाएँ अलग अलग शहरों में और अलग अलग जगहों में घटित हो रही हैं। अगर बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने का सवाल होता तो

इसको पोलिटिकल प्लेटफार्म द्वारा हल किया जाता और यह बात समझ में भी आ सकती थी। लेकिन इस तरह की समस्याओं का समाधान केवल कुछ दुकानों को लूटने से, कुछ मकानों को जलाने से हल नहीं हो सकता है और इस तरह से लोगों को नौकरी मिलने की गुंजायश नहीं होती है। इस तरह का जो आग्युमेंट दिया जाता है वह किसी भी तरह समझ में नहीं आ सकता है। मैं सदन के सदस्यों की जानकारी के लिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि बेकारी के लिये काम करने वाले संगठनों, विकास के लिये काम करने वाले संगठनों, आसाम के विद्यार्थी जिनके सामने बेकारी का सवाल खड़ा है और भी इस तरह के जितने भी संगठन हैं, उन्होंने खुलेआम इस प्रकार के किसी भी काम का समर्थन नहीं किया। वे लोग भी आसाम की बेकारी को दूर करना चाहते हैं, वे लोग भी आसाम के साधारण व्यक्ति की आर्थिक उन्नति हो इसमें रुचि रखते हैं। जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य ने तर्क दिया कि बेकारी के कारणों से घटनाएँ हुई, बाहर के लोग वहाँ पर व्यापार करते हैं इस वजह से ये घटनाएँ हुई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनके इस आग्युमेंट का समर्थन वहाँ पर आसाम में चलने वाला कोई संगठन, जो लोगों की आर्थिक समस्याओं में रुचि रखता है, जो आसाम के लोगों को आर्थिक दृष्टि से समृद्ध करना चाहता है, आसाम की बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान करना चाहता है, वह राजनैतिक स्तर पर इस प्रकार की गतिविधियों की सहायता या समर्थन करने की कोशिश करता। लेकिन ये दोनों सवाल एक दूसरे से जुड़े हुए नहीं हैं। ये सवाल बारी बारी से पैदा किये जा रहे हैं।

यहाँ पर भार्गव साहब ने कुछ उल्लेख करने की कोशिश की। मैं जानता हूँ कि उनको बोलते समय कितनी मजबूरियाँ हैं। सप्रू साहब ने थोड़ा उसको पिनपाइंट करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन वे इस सवाल को टाल गये। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर

पिछले दिनों जो ये घटनाएं घटीं, ये आसाम की हिन्दू जनता पर घटीं। मैं इसमें आसामी और नान-आसामी का भेद नहीं करता क्योंकि वहां पर केवल दूकानें नहीं जल्दी गौहाटी में रिकशा चलाने वालों की सौ शॉपडिज़ों भी जलाई गईं। इसलिये मैं यह नहीं मानता कि जिन दूसरे लोगों ने उनके व्यापार पर कब्जा कर रखा है उनके खिलाफ नाराजगी थी। उन्होंने आसाम के लोगों के विकास के दरवाजे बन्द कर रखे हैं, यह तर्क तो मेरी समझ में आ भी सकता था, लेकिन शॉपडिज़ों में रहने वाले उन रिकशा चलाने वाले लोगों ने किस का कसूर किया था। उन्होंने वहां किस की नौकरी छीनी। आसाम में रिकशा चलाने वालों का कैपिटल इंट्रेस्ट क्या हो सकता था? तो उन रिकशा चलाने वाले लोगों की शॉपडिज़ों को इसका शिकार क्यों बनाया गया।

मैं आपके द्वारा माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान इस प्रश्न की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि आसाम सीमावर्ती क्षेत्र है, पाकिस्तान की उस पर निगाहें हैं। पाकिस्तान आसाम को हड़पना चाहता है और पाकिस्तान कोशिशें कर रहा है आसाम को किसी प्रकार दबोचने की। मुस्लिम बहुल जनसंख्या के आधार पर पाकिस्तान की रचना, पाकिस्तान की निर्मिति हुई थी। जिस मुस्लिम बहुल आबादी के सिद्धान्त पर जोर दे कर वह पाकिस्तान बनवाने में कामियाब हो गया, उसी को ले कर आज वह यह षडयंत्र चला रहा है, साजिशों में लगा हुआ है कि निकटवर्ती क्षेत्रों को अगर वह मुस्लिम बहुल बनवाने में सफल हो जाय तो पाकिस्तान को फिर से एक मौका मिलेगा ऐसे क्षेत्रों पर अपना अधिकार जताने के लिये। यह आज साफ तौर पर मानी हुई बात है। आसाम की सरकार ने भी स्वीकार किया है कि पाकिस्तान बड़े योजनाबद्ध तरीके से अपने यहां के मुस्लिम जनसमाज को आसाम के अन्दर भेज रहा है, वह इनफिल्ट्रेशन करवा रहा है और वह सब प्रकार से सहयोग दे रहा है इन इनफिल्ट्रेट करने वालों को। आज इन-

फिल्ट्रेशन करवाने के पीछे उसकी यह मंशा है कि आसाम को किसी न किसी प्रकार से उसकी पापुलेशन बैलेंस कर के बदलवाई जा सके तो 1940 से जो पाकिस्तान के नेताओं का सिद्धांत रहा है जिसके आधार पर वे 1947 में पाकिस्तान बनवाने में कामियाब हो सके, उस सिद्धांत के अनुसार आगे उनको मौका मिलेगा कुछ ऐसे क्षेत्रों के बारे में दावा करने का कि अब वे मुस्लिम बहुल क्षेत्र बन गये हैं। इसलिये उन क्षेत्रों पर उनका अधिकार होना चाहिये। आज पाकिस्तान जो काश्मीर के बारे में कई बार तर्क देता है उसका भी एक कारण रहा है और उसकी आज गुंजाइश बढ़ती जा रही है इस सरकार और इस देश के द्वारा अनक्वालिफाइड टर्म्स में इस बात की निश्चित रूप से घोषणा न करने के कारण, लेकिन इस सिद्धांत को विल्कुल अटूट सिद्धांत के रूप में स्वीकार करने में जो कभी कभी जवान दबा कर बोलने की बातें पैदा होती हैं उनमें पाकिस्तान का वह मंसूबा, पाकिस्तान की वह प्लानिंग कि अगर हम आसाम को मुस्लिम बहुल प्रांत बना देंगे तो आसाम को पाकिस्तान के क्षेत्र में ले पाना उसके लिये संभव होगा, इसमें वह सफल हो जायेगा और इसके लिये वह कोशिश कर रहा है अपने लोगों को इनफिल्ट्रेट करवा के।

आज पाकिस्तान के साथ ही चीन की सांठगांठ है। आज ब्रह्मपुत्र की घाटी आसाम को दो स्पष्ट भागों में बांटती है। चीन ने नेफा पर आक्रमण किया है। नेफा के सम्बन्ध में उसके क्लेमस अभी तक खत्म नहीं हुए। आज उसकी आंखें गड़ी हुई हैं आसाम के ऊपरी भाग पर, ब्रह्मपुत्र की ऊपरी की घाटी पर, और आसाम के दक्षिणी भाग पर, पाकिस्तान समझता है कि हमारा यह बन्दर-बांट हो जाय। अगर कम्युनिस्ट चीन अपना मंसूबा पूरा कर सका और आलाम बेली के नीचे के हिस्से पर अगर पाकिस्तान अपने षडयंत्र में सफल हो गया तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि वहां क्या होगा। अगर ऐसी परिस्थिति आसाम में पैदा हो गई तो फिर

## [मुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

आसाम को बांटने का, आसाम को हड़पने का एक और तरीका उसको प्राप्त हो सकता है।

यह माणित है कि 26 जनवरी को दंगा करने वाले लोगों ने केवल हुल्लड़-बाजी नहीं की। यह बात यह है और मैं समझता हूँ कि कांग्रेस के नेता भी इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे कि उन्होंने विद्यार्थियों को रिपब्लिक डे सेलिब्रेशन को बायकाट करने के लिए जो उत्साहित किया वह उन्होंने बहुत बड़ी गलती की। आज वे पश्चात्ताप कर रहे हैं और स्वीकार करते हैं कि उन्होंने अच्छा कदम नहीं उठाया। उनको जो प्रोत्साहन दिया गया—सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की रिआर्गेनाइजेशन स्कीम के खिलाफ नाराजगी प्रगट करने के लिये उन्होंने विद्यार्थियों को उपयोग करने की जो कोशिश की, तो यह शस्त्र पकड़ते समय सोचना चाहिये था कि हम उनको संभाल पायेंगे कि नहीं, वे हमारे काबू में रह पायेंगे कि नहीं। मुझे अफसोस है कि कांग्रेस का गठन आज कुछ बातों के लिये किसी का उपयोग करने की कोशिश करता है मगर उसमें वह ताकत नहीं बची है कि वह सारी शक्तियों को संभाल कर के नियंत्रण में चला सके। आज वे कहते हैं कि यह कोई हमने अच्छी बात नहीं की कि हमने रिपब्लिक डे के जशन को बहिष्कार करने की बात की। वे विद्यार्थी जिन को कहा गया कि रिपब्लिक डे सेलिब्रेशन का विरोध करो उनकी आंख केवल उस दिन लगाये जाने वाले राष्ट्रीय झंडों पर थी। उनको सिखाया गया था कि राष्ट्रीय झंडों का अपमान करो, इस केन्द्रीय सरकार ने हमारे साथ अन्याय किया है, उस अन्याय को प्रगट करो, यह सरकार इस प्रकार के प्रदर्शन और इस प्रकार का अपमान किये बिना हमारी आवाज सुनने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। वे चले और उनमें से कुछ कम्युनिस्टों के दफ्तर में भी पहुँच गये, कोई किसी दूसरी पार्टी के दफ्तर में भी पहुँच गये। मैं इतना कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ पर वे गये हैं केवल

राष्ट्रीय झंडे का अपमान करने के लिये।

यह बात वहाँ पर किसी पार्टी को चोट पहुँचाने के लिए नहीं की गई। सब मकानों पर जहाँ-जहाँ तिरंग झंडे लगे हुए थे उनको उतारा गया। यह तो वे लोग सोच जिन्होंने उन्हें प्रेरित किया अपने छोटे से राजनीतिक फायदे को प्राप्त करने के लिए कि हम लोगों को कौन से रास्ते बताएं। राष्ट्रीय झंडे का अपमान करने का तास्ता उन्होंने बताया था नहीं बताया, यह तो उन लोगों के विचार करने की चीज है, लेकिन इस परिस्थिति का फायदा उन लोगों ने उठाया जो हमेशा आसाम में मौके की तलाश में रहते हैं जो बाकायदा संगठित किए गए हैं, ट्रेड किए गए हैं, जिनके पास हथियार हैं, जिनके पास तिजोरियां तोड़ने के सामान हैं। यह साधारण लूट-खसोट करने वाला व्यक्ति नहीं कर सकता। यह आर्गेनाइज्ड प्लान—लोगों को शस्त्र दिए गए, हथौड़े दिए गए, ये परिस्थितियां पैदा करने की कोशिश की गई—शायद पाकिस्तान के उसी प्लान का हिस्सा है कि एक तो वाउट-नम्बर करो इनफिल्ट्रेट करके और अगर किसी प्रकार से हिन्दुओं के दिमाग में स्केयर पैदा किया जा सकता है तो पैदा करो। लोगों ने कहा कि सारी घटना में कोई मरा नहीं। मैं समझता हूँ कि मरा नहीं यह एसपेक्ट भी इसकी गम्भीरता को प्रकट करता है। जो तिजोरियां तोड़ सकता है, जो घरों में आग लगा सकता है, क्या उसको व्यक्ति की हत्या करने में रहम आता था, इसलिये उसने हत्या नहीं की? हर आदमी जानता है कि यह वाउट-नम्बर करने का प्लान मास मेसेकर से भी सम्भव नहीं हो सकता। यह प्लान है एक भगदड़ की भावना पैदा करने का। असमी आसाम छोड़कर कहाँ जायगा, असमी के ऊपर जुल्म दायो लेकिन वह मजबूर है, छोड़कर नहीं जा सकता। तो वीकेस्ट लिंक जो बाहर का आया हुआ व्यक्ति है, जिसके खिलाफ सब एलीमेन्ट्स हैं—इकानामिक ग्राउन्ड्स पर और दूसरे कारणों से—जिसको सब कुचलने के लिए तैयार

हो जाएंगे, ज़िमके लिए आंसू बहाने वाला कोई नहीं मिलेगा उस कमजोर से कमजोर कड़ी को चोट मारो, उसके अन्दर डर पैदा करो, विध्वंस करो और उसके भागने की परिस्थिति पैदा करो । यह प्लान आसाम में चल रहा है ।

प्रोफेसर रत्नस्वामी ने एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव इन-एफिसियेंसी का सवाल उठाया । किसी भी क्षेत्र की हुकूमत वहाँ के नागरिकों की जान की सुरक्षा अगर न दे पाये तो यह गलत चीज है । केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी इससे बीच में पड़कर वहाँ के लोगों को आशवासन देना चाहिये । चव्हाण ने कहा कि उन्होंने पहले ही कहा था कि गोहाटी फोकल प्वाइंट हो सकता है मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब उन्होंने कहा कि गोहाटी फोकल प्वाइंट हो सकता है तो चालिहा की सरकार को उन्होंने यह बताया या नहीं बताया ? क्या उनका यह कहना है कि चालिहा सरकार को बताने के बाद भी चालिहा सरकार ने वह जिम्मेदारी नहीं निभाई । उस दृष्टि से वे बात करें तो दूसरी बात है । आज आसाम में पाकिस्तान की योजना चल रही है, आसाम के ऊपर अपना अधिकार जताने के लिये उसको मुस्लिम बहुल बना कर पाकिस्तान के वलेम्स को अधिक जस्टीफाई करने की योजना । गोहाटी में बहुत दर्दनाक दृश्य हुआ, जोरहाट में हो चुका है, नवगांव में इसके पहले दंगे बड़े पैमाने पर हो चुके हैं । इन सब में एक हो ट्रेंड दीख पड़ता है कि एक ऐसे तबके को जो आसाम में वीकेस्ट है, जो डिफेंसलेस है, जिसके लिये कोई आंसू बहाने वाला नहीं है उसी को शिकार बना

कर पापुलेशन परसेंटेज को बदलने का पाकिस्तान और पाकिस्तान के प्रेरित तरीकों पर सारा षड्यंत्र वहाँ पर चल रहा है । अगर इस दृष्टि से आसाम के अन्दर हम सावधानी बरतने के लिये तैयार नहीं तो आज गोहाटी के लोग शिकार बने हैं, कल कोई और मौका आयेगा ।

लाचित सेना है । नाम है उस महा-पुरुष का जिसने आसाम को मुगलों के आक्रमण से बचाया । आज उसी के नाम पर यह सेना गठित की गई है । उसका कहीं दफ्तर नहीं । केन्द्रीय सरकार अभी कहीं लोकेट कर पाई हो तो मुझे मालूम नहीं । उसकी जानकारी देनी चाहिये, नहीं तो लाचित सेना का उपयोग किया जा रहा है अपने अपने मंसूबों को पूरा करने के लिये । सरकार को केवल इस लाचित सेना की आड़ में इन सारी चीजों को ब्रुश ऐसाइड करने की जरूरत नहीं । पर लाचित सेना के नाम पर दी गई तारीखें वहाँ पर क रॉन्वित होती हैं और इसी आधार पर लोगों ने आगे के लिये जून का महीना तय किया है आसाम में फिर से खूरेजी करने के लिये, लोगों के मनो में डर पैदा करने के लिए आप गोहाटी के लोगों को सुरक्षा दें, लोगों की क्षतिपूर्ति करें, यह तात्कालिक चीज है, लेकिन फिर घटने वाली घटनाओं को आप रोकने का इन्तजाम क्यों नहीं करना चाहते । अगर सही तौर पर आप परिस्थिति को देखें तो यह कोई मुश्किल नहीं है । परिस्थिति को देखने के बाद भी अगर आप आवरण में बात करना चाहते हैं तो मुझे अफसोस है । ऐसी स्थिति में इन घटनाओं को रोकने में आप किस हद तक कामयाब हो पायेंगे इस पर आप स्वयं विचार करें ।

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق (جموں و

کشمیر) : مسٹر وائس چیرمین—  
میں سب سے پہلے انتہائی افسوس  
کے ساتھ ملک میں جو فسادات ہو  
رہے ہیں ان کی مذمت کرنا چاہتا  
ہوں۔ جہاں تک آسام کے فسادات  
کا تعلق ہے ہم ان کی مذمت کرتے ہیں  
اور میں اس ایوان کو یقین دلانا چاہتا  
ہوں کہ ہر ہندوستانی ان فسادات کی  
مذمت کرتا ہے۔ ہر ہندوستانی کا یہ  
ایمان ہے اور ہونا چاہیئے۔ اگر ملک  
کی ترقی ہم پر لازمی ہے تو ملک میں  
امن ہونا چاہیئے۔ ملک میں اگر  
جھگڑے اور فسادات ہوں تو ملک ترقی  
نہیں کر سکتا۔ میں بھارگوا صاحب  
کی اس اپیل کے ساتھ متفق ہوں جو  
انہوں نے اس ملک کی تمام سیاسی  
جماعتوں سے کی ہے۔ ہوم منسٹر چڑان  
صاحب نے بھی بار بار اس ایوان میں  
اس بات کا ذکر کیا ہے کہ یہ کسی  
سیاسی جماعت کا مسئلہ نہیں ہے۔  
ہم کو اس مسئلہ کو ایک قومی نظریہ  
سے دیکھنا ہے اور ملک کے فائدہ کے لئے  
دیکھنا ہے۔ لیکن مسٹر وائس چیرمین  
مجھے انتہائی افسوس ہے اپنے دوست  
بھنداری صاحب کی تقریر پر۔ مجھے  
یقین تھا کہ بھنداری صاحب جب  
تقریر کریں گے ملک کی موجودہ حالت  
اپنی نظر کے سامنے رکھیں گے اور وہ  
کوشش نہیں کریں گے جماعتی نظریہ  
کو پیس کرنے کی۔ اس ایوان کے اندر  
جب ہم بیٹھتے ہیں تو ہماری حیثیت

کسی جماعت کی نہیں ہے بلکہ ملک  
کی مسلم نمائندگی کا ہم کو حق ہے۔  
میں اپنے دوست بھنداری صاحب کو  
یہ یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ پاکستان  
ہو یا چین، امریکہ ہو یا روس یا  
دنیا کا کوئی اور ملک اس ملک کا  
مذہب کچھ بھی کیوں نہ ہو ہم سب  
اس کا مقابلہ کریں گے اگر وہ ہندوستان  
کے کسی بھی حصہ پر حملہ کرے یا  
ہندوستان کا کوئی حصہ چھیننا  
چاہے۔

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश): श्रीमान ।

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : بھنداری

صاحب نے جس طرح سے پاکستان کا  
ذکر کیا ہے اس میں پاکستان کے لبہ  
میں انہوں نے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں  
پر ایک قسم کا شک پیدا کیا ہے۔

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : हरगिज नहीं ।

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : میں

بھنداری صاحب کو یقین دلانا چاہتا  
ہوں اور بھنداری صاحب کو یہ دیکھنا  
چاہیئے کہ جہاں جہاں انفلیٹریشن ہوا ہے  
پاکستان سے۔ مسلمان اس کے سامنے  
آیا ہے۔ اس نے اس کا مقابلہ کیا ہے۔  
اس نے گولیاں کھائی ہیں۔ اس نے  
اپنی جائداد کو تباہ کیا ہے۔ اس نے  
اپنی جانیں دی ہیں۔ سوال پاکستان  
کا نہیں ہے۔ سوال ہے ہندوستان کی  
سالمیت ہندوستان کے تمام حصوں کو  
ایک کرنے کا۔ خود انہوں نے اس بات  
کا اعتراف کیا ہے کہ بے کاری ہے ملک  
میں۔ بے کاری میں تمام لوگ شامل

ہیں۔ بے کار ہندو بھی ہو سکتا ہے اور  
ہندو ہے۔ ہندو کی اکثریت ہے بے کاری  
میں کیوں کہ اس کی آبادی زیادہ ہے  
سکھ ہے بے کار ہے، عیسائی ہے بے کار ہے،  
مسلمان ہے بے کار ہے۔ اگر مسلمان  
بھی اپنی بے کاری کے خلاف مظاہرہ کرتا  
ہے تو اس کے یہ معنی نہیں ہے کہ وہ  
ہندوستان کے انہوں کا دشمن ہے۔ اس  
ملک میں لوگ آج قومی جھڑپے کو  
جلاتے ہیں انہوں کو جلاتے ہیں کیا ان  
میں سب مسلمان ہیں اور اگر یہ  
حرکت ایک مسلمان بھی کرتا ہے تو  
آپ تمام مسلمانوں پر کیوں شک کرتے  
ہیں۔

آئی سوندر سیھ بھڈاری : کیم نے کیا  
ہے؟ میں نے نام نہیں لیا ہے۔ اگر آپ  
اپنے من کا پاپ دھو لے تو آپ جانیں گے۔

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : مدداس  
میں مسلمان بھی ہو سکتا ہے۔

آئی سوندر سیھ بھڈاری : میں نے نام نہیں  
لیا۔

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : بالکل  
نہیں۔ اگر آپ میں اخلاقی جرات  
ہوتی تو آپ صاف کہتے۔ آپ نے کہا  
کہ پاکستان کا اس کے پیچھے ہاتھ  
ہے۔

آئی سوندر سیھ بھڈاری : یہ کہہ رہا  
ہوں۔ اب بھی کہتا ہوں۔

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : میں بھی  
کہتا ہوں لیکن آپ نے جس طریقے سے  
کہا ہے اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ آپ نے

پاس شاید اعداد و شمار نہیں ہیں کہ  
آسام میں جو فسادات ہوئے ہیں اس  
جہاں ہندوؤں کی جائداد لٹی ہے  
وہاں مسلمانوں کی بھی جائداد لوٹی  
گئی۔

آئی سوندر سیھ بھڈاری : بتائیے جہاں  
بیکول نہیں۔

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : مسلمانوں  
کے بھی مکان جلائے گئے۔ وائس  
چیمبرمین صاحب—میں اس مسئلہ کو  
چھوڑنا نہیں چاہتا تھا میں اور طریقے  
سے اپنی تقریر کرنا چاہتا تھا لیکن  
مہرے پاس یہ ہے۔

1. Assam Type house (burnt)  
value Rs. 50,000

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-  
DARI: Types house run by whom?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: It was his own  
house.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-  
DARI: Type house run by whom?  
That is what you do not know.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Then, Nazmul  
Hussain (Assamese) double storeyed  
Assam type building, one burnt, value  
Rs. 70,000. Then, Asfi Khatun  
(Assamese) (widow of Narul Islam),  
one Assam type house, burnt, value  
Rs. 50,000.

مہرے پاس ۵۰ - ۴۰ نام ہیں۔ اور  
اس کے ساتھ جہاں مسلم آبادی زیادہ  
تھی۔ میں نے پچھلی دفعہ بھی کہا  
ہے وہاں مسلمانوں نے اپنے غیر مسلم  
ہمسایوں کو، اپنے دوستوں کو پناہ دی  
ہے۔ ان کی جائداد بچائی ہے۔ مہرے  
پاس ان کے نام بھی ہیں۔

[Shri A. M. Tariq.]

Shri Dayal Sarma of Marwari community, having grocery shop near Gauhati Club is still living with family at Hidayetpur with a Muslim family.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-DARI: I accept it.

تو میں کہتا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان فسادات میں ہر ایک کی جائداد پر حملہ ہوا ہے لیکن جس طریقہ سے بھنداری صاحب نے فرمایا ہے وہ درست نہیں ہے۔ میں بھی جانتا ہوں، ہم یہیں سے کون نہیں جانتا ہے کہ پاکستان ہندوستان کی سرحدوں کے قریب اپنی فوجی طاقت بڑھا رہا ہے لیکن کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے کہ ہم نے بار بار اس کے خلاف چیلنج کیا ہے۔ کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے کہ آپ کے شانہ بہ شانہ ہم نے پاکستان اور چائنا کے حملہ کا مقابلہ کیا ہے۔

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : जरूर किया है ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : ضرور کریں گے۔ آپ کو خوش کرنے کے لئے نہیں کریں گے بلکہ اس لئے کریں گے کہ یہ مہرا وطن ہے۔ ہم نے اس وطن میں اپنے باپ داداؤں کی آخری ہڈیاں دفنائی ہیں۔ اس وطن میں مہرا کلچر ہے یہ صرف آپ کی میراس نہیں ہے۔

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आप पाकिस्तान की वकालत कर रहे हैं या अपनी ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : میں اپنا ذکر کر رہا ہوں۔

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : अपनी करिये न । मैं आपको समझाता हूँ ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : اور پاکستان کی مخالفت کر رہا ہوں۔ مجھے اس دن کا یقین ہے جس دن آپ پاکستان کے ساتھی ہوں گے اور ہم نہیں ہوں گے۔

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : अच्छा ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : کیونکہ دونوں کی تحریک مذہب کی بلیاد پر ہے، نفرت پر ہے۔ جن سنگھ کی بلیاد بھی نفرت پر ہے اور پاکستان کی بلیاد بھی نفرت پر ہے۔ آپ دونوں سیکولر طاقتوں کے خلاف ایک دن مل کر حملہ کریں گے لیکن اس وقت ہم ہندوستان کے سیکولرزم کے ساتھ ہوں گے نام کچھ بھی ہو، وہ مہتر ہو، شکا ہو، وہ عابد علی ہو، ہم سب اکٹھے ہوں گے اور فرقہ پرستی کا مقابلہ کریں گے۔ میں آپ کو یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس طرح کی باتیں کرنے سے ملک کی فضا کو خراب کرنا، ملک کے امن کو خطرہ میں ڈال کر اپنی لہذر شپ قائم کرنا، یہ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ملک کے ساتھ دیانت داری نہیں ہے۔

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इसीलिये तो परिस्थिति बिगड़ती जा रही है ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : بالکل نہیں بگڑے گی۔ بگڑتی اس لئے ہے

کہ اگر آپ اس طرح کی بات کریں -  
اگر آپ پاکستان کے خلاف بات کریں  
ہم آپ کے ساتھ ہیں لیکن جب آپ  
پاکستان کے پردہ میں یہاں کی سب  
سے بڑی اٹلھت پر حملہ کرتے ہیں  
جب آپ ان کو اپنے تیر ستم کا نشانہ  
بلانا چاہتے ہیں تو میں آپ کے خلاف  
آواز بلند کروں گا - میں اکیلا ہی نہیں  
ہوں بلکہ اس ملک کے کروڑوں ہندو آپ  
کی مخالفت کریں گے -

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : पाकिस्तान के  
पद में बैठना छोड़ दीजिए ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : میں اس

ملک میں اکیلا نہیں ہوں - میں آپ  
کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اس ملک میں  
کروڑوں میرے ساتھی ہیں - ان کا  
مذہب کچھ بھی ہو - ہندوستان کی  
اکثریت سیکولر ہے اور اگر آپ کی  
چھوٹی سی اقلیت یہ کہتی ہے  
چھوٹی سی اقلیت پر اگر آپ یہ  
کہتے ہیں کہ آسام میں پاکستان  
نے فسادات کرائے ، چین نے فسادات  
کرائے ، تو میرے قتل عام کس نے  
کرایا ؟

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : अगर आप में  
अबुताकी जुरात है तो सामने आकर कहिये  
कि मिरठ...

شری اے - ایم - طارق : ان دونوں

چیزوں کو اگر آپ جوڑ کر لانا چاہتے  
ہیں تو اس کا بھی جواب میں دینگے  
تیار ہوں -

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : जरूर दीजिए ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : میں آپ

کی ایک بات کے دس جواب دوں گا -  
ایسی بات نہیں ہے کہ آپ کے چلانے سے  
گھبراتا ہوں اس کی وجہ سے اپنے ضمیر  
اور اصول کو قربان نہیں کر سکتا ہوں -  
میں جان دے دوں گا لیکن حقیقت کے  
خلاف کوئی بات . . .

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैं भी उसूल को  
कुर्बान नहीं करता हूँ ।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : آپ بھی

دے دیجئے اور میں بھی دے دوں گا  
لیکن پھر دیکھئے کہ کس کا خون  
کون سا رنگ لیتا ہے میرے خون ،  
سیکولزم کے گلاب نکلیں گے اور آپ کے خون  
سے فرقہ پرستی کی بو آئیگی -

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इन बातों से  
तो यह मालूम पड़ता है कि यह...

شری اے - ایم - طارق : باتوں کی

بات نہیں ہے - ہم اس ملک کو ایک  
رکھنا چاہتے ہیں اور مجھے معلوم ہے -  
میں بھنداری صاحب کا احترام کرتا  
ہوں - بھنداری صاحب نے آج جو تقریر  
کی ہے وہ ان کے دل کی تقریر نہیں ہے  
وہ تقریر محض کسی خاص گروہ کے  
دباؤ سے کی ہے - ورنہ بھنداری صاحب  
ایسی تقریر کرنے والے نہیں ہیں ،  
بھنداری صاحب محبوب ہو کر کسی  
جماعت کے ایگریسو گروپ کے کہتے پر ،  
ایگریسو گروپ کی وجہ سے ان کو وہ  
تقریر کرنی پڑی ورنہ وہ ایسی تقریر



شری اے - اہم - طارق :

کرنے والے نہیں ہیں - آپ ان کے دل پر ہاتھ رکھئے تو وہاں وہی آواز اُنہی کی جو کہ میں کہہ رہا ہوں - ان کی ہنسی کہسبانی ہنسی ہے وہ اس بات کو محسوس کر رہے ہیں کہ انہوں نے بہت غلط تقریر کی ہے -

مسٹر وائس چیرمین ، ہم کو یہ بھی دیکھنا ہے کہ کہیں اس ملک پر صرف چین اور پاکستان کا نام لے کر کوئی تیسری غیر ملکی طاقت تو یہاں نہیں لا رہے ہیں - کیا آسام کے رہنے والے لوگوں نے اس بات کا اعلان نہیں کیا ہے کہ ان فسادات کے پیچھے سی - آئی - اے - کا بھی ہاتھ ہو سکتا ہے - کیا اس بات سے آپ بے خبر ہیں - ہندوستان کی حکومت بے خبر ہے - کیا اس ایوان کے لوگ بے خبر ہیں کہ امریکہ بھی اس قسم کے فسادات چاہتا ہے اور خاص طور پر ایسے علاقوں میں جو کہ سرحدی علاقے ہوں - میں بھارتی صاحب سے انتہائی خلوص و محبت ، رواداری اور بردارہ چارہ میں یہ درخواست کروں گا ، یہ اپیل کروں گا کہ وہ اس ہر چیز کو دیکھیں - مجھے فارسی کا ایک شعر یاد آ رہا ہے - جو میں اپنے دوست بھارتی صاحب کی خدمت میں پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

بہر رنگے کہ خواہی جامہ می پوش  
من انداز قدت رامی شناسم

(اے میرے محبوب تو چاہے کوئی کہو)  
میں نے تجھ کو تیرے قد سے پہچانتا  
ہوں - ) آپ کیسی بات کیجئے میں  
جانتا ہوں کہ آپ کے پیچھے کیا ہے -  
آپ کی تحریک کیا ہے - آئیے بھارتی  
صاحب یہ بھول کر کے کہ آپ کس  
جماعت کے نمائندے ہیں اور میں بھی  
یہ بھول جاؤں کہ میں کس جماعت  
کا نمائندہ ہوں ہندوستانی کی حیثیت  
سے شانہ بہ شانہ چل کر ہندوستان کے  
فسادات کو ختم کریں - اکتھے ہو کر  
چلیں - آپ ، میں اور راج نرائن اور  
تمام لوگ اپنی جان ایسے لئے دیں کہ  
رنگ کے نام پر ، مذہب کے نام پر ،  
زبان کے نام پر ، جغرافیہ کے نام پر کوئی  
فسادات نہیں ہوں گے - ہم سب ایک  
ہوں خدا کے واسطے - ہندوستان کے  
اُنہوں کے واسطے یہ کوشش کیجئے کہ  
ملک ایک رہے - ملک کے رہنے والے  
ایک ہوں اور ملک میں سب کو رہنے  
اور بسنے کا آزادانہ حق ہو - شکریہ -

श्री ए० एम० तारिक (जम्मू और  
काश्मीर) : मिस्टर वाइस चैयरमैन मैं  
सब से पहले इन्तिहाई अफसोस के साथ मूलक  
में जो फसादात हो रहे हैं उनकी मजम्मत  
करना चाहता हूँ । जहाँ तक आसाम के  
फसादात का ताल्लुक है हम उनकी मजम्मत  
करते हैं और म इस एवान को यकीन दिला  
देना चाहता हूँ कि हर हिन्दुस्तानी इन  
फसादात की मजम्मत करता है । हर  
हिन्दुस्तानी का यह ईमान है और होना  
चाहिए । अगर मुल्क की तरक्की हम पर  
लाजिमी है तो मुल्क में अमन होना

चाहिए । मुल्क में अगर झगड़े और फसादात हों तो मुल्क तरक्की नहीं कर सकता । मैं भार्गव साहब की उस अपील के साथ मुत्तफिक हूँ जो उन्होंने इस मुल्क की तमाम सियासी जमातों से की है । होम मिनिस्टर चव्हाण साहब ने भी बार-बार इस एवान में इस बात का जिक्र किया कि यह किसी सियासी जमात का मसला नहीं है, हमको इस मामले को एक कौमी नजरिए से देखना है और मुल्क के फायदे के लिए देखना है । लेकिन मिस्टर वाइम चेयरमैन, मुझे इन्तिहाई अफसोस है अपने दोस्त भंडारी साहब की तकरीर पर । मुझे यकीन था कि भंडारी साहब जब तकरीर करेंगे मुल्क की मौजूदा हालत अपनी नजर के सामने रखेंगे और व कोशिश नहीं करेंगे जमाती निजरिए को पेश करने की । इस एवान के अन्दर जब हम बैठते हैं तो हमारी हैमियत किसी जमात की नहीं है बल्कि मुल्क की मुसल्लिम नुमाइन्दगी का हमको हक है । मैं अपने दोस्त भंडारी साहब की यह यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान हो या चीन अमरीका हो या रूस या दुनिया का कोई और मुल्क, उस मुल्क का मजहब कुछ भी क्यों न हो हम सब उसका मुकाबला करेंगे अगर वह हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी हिस्से पर हमला करे या हिन्दुस्तान का कोई हिस्सा छीनना चाहे ।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :  
श्रीमनी ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : भंडारी साहब ने जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान का जिक्र किया है उसमें पाकिस्तान के लबादे में उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों पर एक किस्म का शक पैदा किया है ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : हरगिज नहीं ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मैं भंडारी साहब को यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ और भंडारी

साहब को यह देखना चाहिये कि जहाँ जहाँ इनफिल्ट्रेशन हुआ है पाकिस्तान से मुसलमान उसके सामने आया है उसने उसका मुकाबला किया है, उसने गोलियाँ खाई हैं, उसने अपनी जायदाद को तबाह किया है, उसने अपनी जानें दी हैं । मवाल यह पाकिस्तान का नहीं है, सवाल है हिन्दुस्तान की सार्वभौमिकता का, हिन्दुस्तान के तमाम हिस्सों को एक करने का । खुद उन्होंने इस बात का एहतयाफ किया है कि बेकारी है मुल्क में । बेकारी में तमाम लोग शामिल हैं, बेकार हिन्दू भी हो सकता है और हिन्दू है, हिन्दू की अक्सरियत है बेकारी में क्योंकि उनकी आबादी ज्यादा है, सिख है बेकार, ईसाई है बेकार, मुसलमान है बेकार । अगर मुसलमान भी अपनी बेकारी के खिलाफ मजहुरा करता है तो उसके यह मानी नहीं है कि वह हिन्दुस्तान की आर्इन का दुश्मन है । इस मुल्क में आज लोग कौमी झंडे को जलाते हैं, आर्इन को जलाते हैं । क्या उनमें सब मुसलमान हैं । और अगर यह हरकत एक मुसलमान भी करता है तो आप तमाम मुसलमानों पर क्यों शक करते हैं ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : किसने किया है । मैंने नाम नहीं लिया । अगर आप अपने मन का पाप धोते हैं तो आप जानिये ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मद्रास में मुसलमान भी हो सकता है ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैंने नाम नहीं लिया ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : बिल्कुल नहीं । अगर आप में अखलाकी जुरीत होती तो आप साफ कहते । आपने कहा कि पाकिस्तान का इस के पीछे हाथ है ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : यह कह रहा हूँ । अब भी कहता हूँ ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : म भी कहता हूं लेकिन आपने जिस तरीके से कहा है उससे मालूम होता है कि आपके पास शायद अदादो-शुमार नहीं है कि आसाम में जो फसादात हुये उस में जहां हिन्दुओं की जायदाद लूटी गई वहां मुसलमानों की भी जायदाद लूटी गई ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : बताइये जरा । बिल्कुल नहीं ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मुसलमानों के भी मकान जलाये गये । वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं इस मसले को छेड़ना नहीं चाहता था, मैं और तरीके से अपनी तकरीर करना चाहता था लेकिन मेरे पास यह है :

1. Assam type house (burnt) value Rs. 50,000

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-  
DARI: Type house run by whom?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: It was his own house.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-  
DARI: Type house run by whom?  
That is what you do not know.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Then, Nazmul Hussain (Assamese) double storeyed Assamese type building, one burnt, value Rs. 70,000. Then, Asfi Khatun (Assamese) widow of Nurul Islam), one Assam type House, burnt, value Rs. 50,000.

मेरे पास 40-50 के करीब नाम हैं । और इस के साथ साथ जहां मुसलिम आबादी ज्यादा थी—मने पिछली दफा भी कहा है — वहां मुसलमानों ने अपने गैर मुसलिम हमसायों को, अपने दोस्तों को, पनाह दी है, उन की जायदाद बचाई हैं । मेरे पास उन के भी नाम हैं ।

Shri Dayal Sarma of Marwari community, having grocery shop near Gauhati Club is still living with family at Hidayetpur with a Muslim family.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-  
DARI: I accept it

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इन फसादात में हर एक की जायदाद पर हमला हुआ है लेकिन जिस तरीके से भंडारी साहब ने फर्माया है वह दुस्त नहीं । मैं भी जानता हूं, हम में से कौन नहीं जानता है कि पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान की सरहदों के करीब अपनी फौजी ताकत बढ़ा रहा है लेकिन क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है कि हमने बार बार इसके खिलाफ चैलेंज किया है, क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है कि आपके शानाब शाना हमने पाकिस्तान और चाइना के हमले का मुकाबिला नहीं किया ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : जरूर किया है ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : जरूर करेंगे, आपको खुश करने के लिये नहीं करेंगे बल्कि इसलिये करेंगे कि यह मेरा वतन है, हमने इस वतन में अपने बाप दादाओं की आखिरी हड्डियां दफनाई हैं, इस वतन में मेरा कल्चर है, यह सिर्फ आपकी मीरास नहीं है ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आप पाकिस्तान की वकालत कर रहे हैं या अपनी ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मैं अपना जिक्र कर रहा हूं ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : अपनी करिये न । मैं आपको समझता हूं ।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : ... और पाकिस्तान की मुखालिफत कर रहा हूं । मुझे उस दिन का यकीन है जिस दिन कि आप पाकिस्तान के साथी होंगे और हम नहीं होंगे ...