

[Shri Jaganath Rao]

referred only to "safety" in coalmines. Now I am introducing a clause to include "development of mines" on scientific lines. The mines have to be developed on scientific lines to preserve the reserves and also exploit them on scientific lines. At present the private sector is doing it. This Bill does not mean that I am going to stop with it. As I have stated repeatedly in this House, I am contemplating bringing forward a legislation which empowers the government to acquire these mines.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

Moved That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Coal Mines (Conservation and Safety) Act, 1952."

The motion was adopted

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: I introduce the Bill.

14-38 hrs.

NORTH-EASTERN COUNCIL BILL

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): I beg to move*:

"That the Bill to provide for the setting up of a Council for the North-Eastern areas of India to be called the North-Eastern Council and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration."

At this stage naturally I will be explaining the reasons why we thought of having this new set-up. As we know, there are zonal councils in the country in which we have grouped States the after the reorganisation in 1956. When the proposal for reorganisation of Assam was considered, it was decided to have the autonomous State of Meghalaya. It was also thought that there should be a forum where a coordinated integrated view of the entire eastern area national can be taken. As far as the aspect of the problem is concerned, There are two aspects which need coordinated attention--one is the security aspect and the other is the development aspect. Even though the area could be divided into political units in a different way,

there are some economic problems or aspects which need to be tackled in a uniform and integrated manner. These were the two compelling reasons to make us think of some other organisation. It can very well be argued that instead of having this new set up one could have thought of one more responsibility to the Eastern Zonal Council. The Eastern Council consists of this area plus West Bengal and Bihar. I have an experience of attending the meetings of the Council as Chairman. Naturally, all the problems are taken into consideration but the special aspects of the problems of this particular region and particularly the security aspect are driven to the background because there are the administrative and other urgent problems which take precedence. So, it was thought that it would be better for members of political units of this area to sit together and consider this problem from angles all. Then they will be able to give more careful attention. Therefore, it was decided to have this Council.

Essentially, this Council is an advisory body. We do not propose to make it another decision-making body because that will further complicate the issue. Our idea is to enable the leaders of these political units to come together, to sit together, understand their common problems and if there are any projects which are of common interests to all the States concerned, to think about them and argue with the Central Government in a more cogent way regarding resources, etc. It would be even more helpful if there is similar understanding among the different political units regarding the basic question of security of this part of the country. Therefore, we have decided to include the Chief Ministers of both Assam and Meghalaya, the Chief Minister of Tripura and Manipur. As far as Nagaland is concerned we have not yet made it a member but we are having an enabling provision so that they may join it later on.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati): Why has Nagaland refused to join this Council?

*Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: It is a body on which we want to have members who are voluntarily joining it. At the present moment Nagaland are not willing but I do not think it is a permanent denial on their part. When the Council starts functioning they may also feel that it is much better to join this Council because joining the Council is not going to be a liability to the members.

At the present moment we have not made provision for the Adviser to the Governor on NEFA but I have tabled an amendment whereby the Adviser could be a member of the Council. The Governor of Assam will be the Chairman. The character of the decisions that will be taken will be advisory.

There can be two views about the mode of taking decisions. One hon. Member has tabled an amendment to the effect that it can be by consensus. We have provided for a majority decision. Consensus is a good idea in an informal discussion but when we are providing a statutory body for advice, if we merely say let us evolve something by consensus then nothing will evolve. Consensus is a thing which gives a sort of vetoing power to even one member.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati): Are you thinking of spending so much money on a body which is only advisory in character?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I lay emphasis on that aspect. This is not a legislative body. This is not in that sense a policy-making decision-making body. Essentially it is an advisory body and it is for that purpose that we want them to sit together. Though it will be in a formal way yet our idea is to evolve cooperative attitude. When we were reorganising Assam we did not want to give a feeling to the country that for political reason alone we wanted to fragment the area. The idea was that while considering the problem of Eastern India we cannot afford to forget the overall problem of security in that part of the country.

This is, the basic idea of the whole matter. Therefore, this twin idea was put in the statement about issued while announcing the re-organisation of Assam. The re-organisation of Assam was one aspect; simultaneously, we said that we wanted to give a

shape to this new set up. So, as far as the Government is concerned we had accepted this idea along with the idea of having the autonomous State of Meghalaya.

There is one small point which I will mention because on that point also I have moved an amendment. As we have said, the decisions or advice of the Council can be by majority and in the list of subject-matters that are going to be discussed in this Council there is one very sensitive and ticklish question, namely, the boundary dispute. If we keep this boundary dispute question to be decided or advised by majority, the very purpose of this set-up will possibly be defeated. Border questions in the very nature of things are very sensitive problems which excite everybody and everybody believes in the rightness of his cause. We were a little more optimistic to begin with in including this as one of the subject-matters but later on we thought that it was much better and wiser not to put this for the consideration of the Council. Therefore I have given notice of an amendment for deleting that part of the Bill.

I think, I have explained the objective behind the Council and my hope and confidence is that for the purpose for which I have thought of evolving this set-up, this will ultimately be accepted by the House.

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat): The inclusion of NEFA in the Council is not found in the Bill.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: There is an amendment for it. NEFA is included in it though I merely mentioned the Adviser in NEFA. Both the things are there.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House is aware that we have allotted two hours for this Bill. I request hon. Members kindly to confine to the time given to them. Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for the setting up of a Council for the north-eastern areas of India to be called the North-Eastern Council and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration."

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA (Bhandara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am happy that we have an opportunity this afternoon to discuss this important measure. In the statement of objects and reasons it is clearly stated that this Bill is meant to achieve an integrated and well coordinated approach towards development as also security of the region. The Home Minister in inviting our attention to the Bill that he is sponsoring has also emphasized both the development and the security aspects.

This part of our country, this region of India, is highly exposed and we are well aware of the inimical forces that surround it. Strategically exposed part of our country. I am, therefore, surprised that in the Bill itself there is no provision whatsoever about security. May I invite your attention to clause 6 of the Bill. As far as this Council is concerned, who will be there from the Government of India to advise and assist the Council? There will be one person nominated by the Planning Commission. I have some knowledge of the Planning Commission and I know that it knows nothing about the security of the country. Then there will be one person nominated by the Ministry of the Central Government dealing with Finance. Of course, today the Ministry of Finance is all-powerful; it is a mighty ministry but that is because of the mighty Minister who presides over this Ministry. I would like to know who is going to be in charge of security there. Either the Home Ministry should undertake the responsibility or the Defence Ministry should be there. I believe, both should be there—I am not saying that all these people should attend all the meetings—depending upon what problems you want to consider.

Development and security problems are also very closely interlinked because the whole question of developing the communications in that area comes in. You know this area far better than I know. How are you going to develop communications and the whole infra-structure in that area so that in case we are faced with aggression we are able to counter the aggression effectively. Even the development there has to be viewed not in the normal terms in which we view it in the rest of the country but it has to be

viewed in the context of security and a close inter-relationship has to be developed between development and security.

I am glad that it is proposed to set up a planning cell there. The planning cell must have an outlook and approach which is different from the outlook and approach of the planning Commission. So long as I was there in the Planning Commission at least we in the Planning Commission were not called upon to take very much into account the security aspect of development. But here the security aspect of development is of paramount importance.

I would go a step further and suggest to the Home Minister that the Finance Ministry should authorise the Planning Commission to have some additional amount at its disposal. There is no point in having a planning cell there and expecting that the Government of Assam, Meghalaya or Manipur will agree to pool some of the resources that have been made available or committed to them by the Planning Commission. There certain things are needed for strategic reasons. Therefore, Rs. 50 crores or Rs. 100 crores must be available to the Planning Commission to be deployed only when schemes are jointly agreed to.

Then, you have to make it attractive. I have no doubt that Nagaland will also come in but I am unable to understand why Nagaland has refused to join and why we have agreed to Nagaland's to join. It is refusal an advisory body. Is it open to a State Government to say that it will not join the Zonal Council? If it is open to Nagaland to say that it will not join this advisory body, surely it is open to any State Government to say that it will not join the Zonal Council. It is setting a very bad precedent. I would beg to the House to delete that provision here and substitute in its place, "the Nagaland Government". I had given notice of an amendment but I was told that the amendment that I sent was five minutes late. I apologise to the House and to the Minister for that. But I would beg of the Minister to come forward himself and say that it would not be an enabling provision but it would be there. For some specific reason if a particular State Government wants to abstain in a particular meeting, you cannot quarrel

with that but I cannot just understand this. Then some State Government may say tomorrow that it will not join in a Planning Commission meeting. Where does it take us? Does the Minister consider the implications of what he is doing?

Then, there is no provision in this about how you are going to expose the leaders of public opinion and administration there to the security problems. You know, the whole fabric of the north-eastern region is such that there are a number of personalities struggling for self-expression. Today we have got six administrative units there and I do not know whether ultimately we will have only six or more. I am more in favour of providing legitimate opportunities to the various personalities in our country to express themselves so that nobody feels submerged or suffocated, but side by side it is necessary that these personalities are brought together, not only woven together into a web of developmental relationship but, what is more important, they are exposed to common problems of security.

Again, I am surprised that NEFA will be represented only by the Governor and the Adviser. I want some representative from NEFA. If there is no representative, let the hon. Member in our House from NEFA be there. I want a leader of public opinion to be exposed to the security problems of those areas because these problems have to be communicated to the people of that area. They have to be drawn into the common vortex. Therefore I think that the scheme has not been properly drawn up.

The Minister will permit me to say that two years back when this matter was being discussed I had a certain amount of interest in it and I had discussed this matter with him also. I would say that the kind of understanding that I had of the problem I do not find reflected here. I am not bothered whether my understanding is reflected or not but the purposes that we have in mind are not fulfilled. The kind of thing that he is suggesting is going to be another zonal council but with all respect to the Minister I may say that the zonal councils have not been anything more than a joke.

I would like to welcome very much his amendment No. 6. I quite agree with him. I myself was going to suggest that his Council should not be called upon to handle boundary disputes and linguistic problems and all that. Let us confine only to development and security, particularly to those aspects of development which are closely related to security. Let us try to bring together these six administrative units into some kind of a meaningful whole because this whole has to be defended some time; with very little or tenuous connection with the rest of the country that part of the country may have to be defended against multiple attacks from different frontiers. At such a time it is necessary that there is a focal point where people who are administratively divided are not emotionally but rationally and in terms of economic and security considerations are closely brought together.

Therefore, this is not just an advisory body. It is a kind of an umbrella under which these various personalities have to be brought together. While those personalities should express themselves, it is also necessary that they become part of a larger personality as the occasion arises.

While I welcome the idea of this Bill I find that this Bill is woefully inadequate and I hope the Minister will take the various suggestions I have made, into account and see that the Bill is suitably amended.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor): The Home Minister has proposed certain changes by this Bill and we welcome them. We also feel that this is a reversal of the process of fragmentation in the Eastern Region. If properly taken, it would lead to a real attempt to solve all the problems that this area faces. The Council and the co-ordination Committee are two different bodies. The Council will look to the problems of development and the Co-ordination Committee is expected to look to the problems of security and these two problems are interlinked, sometimes very much to our disadvantage because development appears to be on the plane of security while the very vital problems on which development should depend, the problems of the people, are given a second place, whether it is in the railway development or whether it is in the development of communications and other matters. O

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

paper we find that development has taken place but when it comes to actual development, we felt not much. We find that due to various reasons strategic roads are built which are necessary but which may not be concerned with the development of the country, so much so these two Committees also would need to come closer together so that the problems are faced.

It looks a bit curious to me coming from the State of Assam that this Council would compose of one State, one autonomous State, two Union Territories and one other State which has not joined but which should have joined and NEFA whose status is not clear—I can hardly call it a Union territory because it does not have any democratic institution. One of the main problems of this area naturally is development. I think the House should not misunderstand me as making an attempt at trying to focus attention on a problem in which I am interested. A person in death bed sometimes does speak the truth when he understands that a particular trend, if it is not corrected in time, is likely to create maximum devastation in that area. The security problem in that area may be the beginning of disintegration of the country unless foreseen and provided for in time. When I, as an inhabitant of that area, look at the problems of that area, I feel sometimes that either due to lack of proper approach or due to lack of proper understanding the problems of that area have not been dealt with in a proper manner. Time is very much against us and any attempt to give that area a sort of economic and political stability will be the first step to preserve that area as a part and parcel of the big national effort. The main problem of this Council is the problem of communications for which we did not do anything. In fact, in spite of being a land-locked area Assam had a very good communications system, may not be as good as the communications system in the coastal areas. We did have the Brahmaputra route and also we had a railway line to Calcutta which we could reach in 24 hours. No development is possible so long as the problem of communication with the rest of India is not solved. The problem of the eastern region including Manipur, Tripura and Cachar

which is in Assam is one of communications. This area is a very vital and strategic area. We are glad that a beginning has been made and I have no doubt that the Council will be a useful instrument for laying down schemes for the welfare of this region. We do not say that Nagaland should be compelled to join, but we must consider the consequences of any State in the country refusing to join even a regional cooperation body. After all, Nagaland should be able to accept the position that without cooperation of all the States concerned in the North Eastern region no development is possible.

15 hrs.

There are certain defects in the Act. The Governor has been made the Chairman of the Committee. We, in the eastern region, are very much concerned about the undemocratic trends in the administration. We feel that vested interests in administrative proliferation may grow, endangering any solution of the problem in the area. Sitting here from 1967 I have seen the efforts to bureaucratise the administration in this area which has led to lot of difficulties. What is needed in this region is that more democracy should be introduced. The Governor has been given certain powers and I do not know how far it is constitutional. I do not know whether the Constitution provides for such a Council. It is not a Zonal Council. It has got much more powers. Decisions are to be made by majority, which means that Assam with a population of 13 million and Meghalaya with a population of one million and others with less than one million will have equal votes. All the other units combined will not have even 1/3 of the population of Assam. We only care for the substance and we do not care for the unessentials. We are prepared to have a good trial and we look forward for the necessary cooperation in this area, because, the alternative is unresolvable conflicts in the area; and any machinery devised to settle them at the highest level is welcome, so that the people will have confidence in the future development of the area. Thank you.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI (Nagaur): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I appreciate the laudable objectives proposed in the Bill to instal the North Eastern Council in a

difficult and sensitive area. I would like to bring before you certain facts in this connection. This area should have been an area pulsating and throbbing with economic activities, with extremely happy farmers and with proud heads on strong shoulders. They have, instead, been exposed to uncertain and inimical borders on various sides, accentuated by reason of economic backwardness. This area has such difficult terrain which even our trained armed forces found it difficult to negotiate. There are rigorous climatic conditions in this region including the world's heaviest monsoon. There is the mighty Brahmaputra which has yet not been tamed for human utility and usefulness. Apart from the other problems that this whole area has been subjected to, we find that even the Naxalites are finding shelter.

Apart from the specific functions that this Council has been asked to look into regarding the common development of this area such as communications etc., I hope that the Council will also, as my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta has said, be asked to look to the twin needs of this whole area, namely the optimum economic development on the one hand and the defence and security on the other. From this point of view, you can segregate the functions of this council into various categories. One is in regard to communications. You can also charge the council to look into the irrigation, power and flood control measures. The potential of this area in this sphere is of an immense magnitude, and it will lead to increase in food production and also the economic and agricultural development of this area.

But the outstanding problems that have been highlighted by the previous speakers are as follows. The main thing is in regard to the overall defence potential of this area. This aspect has got to be attended to. But I do not see any expert of an officer who is attached to this council, who will advise the Central Government or the Home Ministry in regard to the defence aspects, especially in view of the fact that this is an area which has been subjected to internal strifes and sabotages and other such activities, either due to the ill-guided and ill-advised tribals who have been making a nuisance of themselves or the Pakistani saboteur agents who have been reaming

about in the Assam areas. These are, therefore, very vital problems, which this particular council will certainly have to look into with a great deal of precision and a great deal of expertise.

To my mind, one of the greatest problem that this area suffers from is the continued estrangement from the rest of the country. There is another unfortunate instance of this type in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Whole sections of these two regions suffer because of this estrangement of these regions with the rest of the country, because of the extreme gap of a lack of communications and because of the fact that the people in these regions have not been brought into the mainstream of national life, either economically or socially.

So far as this area is concerned, there is a 40-mile corridor which joins this with the rest of the country. So, short-term as well as long-term measures have to be taken up in order that the lives and times of these people could be harmonised with the rest of the country, so that these vulnerable and dissatisfied areas could be brought on a par with the rest of the country.

Apart from this, the question of tourism also is important. I understand that even today there are such a lot of restrictions on the rest of the Indians going into Nagaland and establishing trade and professions. These kinds of artificial barriers created by the local authorities with perhaps the help of the Central Government; will have to be removed so that we can have free flow of traffic between this area and the rest of India.

Recently, we had the report of the NCEAR which had gone into the economic potential of Assam, NEFA and other areas, and this report makes this point very clear; it is also very clear from a variety of other reports. For instance, there is the mines and mineral wealth of Assam; then, there is the irrigation and power potential; there is also the tremendous forestry wealth; all those have not been developed at all, and this has, therefore, led to the maintenance of the poverty in Assam and other tribal and hilly areas. So, on this score alone, a lot of work will devolve on this council and we shall have to see that with the guidance of the Central Government, this area no longer suffers from these lacunae.

[Shri N. K. Somani]

I also would like to repeat the question which had been asked earlier, namely why Nagaland has chosen to stay away from the full membership of this council. It may be that they have particular problems of their own; it may be that they may have reservations and hesitations. Apart from providing an enabling clause, the Home Minister will have to find the basic issues that are still agitating the minds of the Nagaland people, whether it is because the area is still being looked after by the External Affairs Ministry or whether they have certain constraints imposed upon themselves. These are the issues that the State have to examine so that Nagaland could become a full member of this council.

The question of Manipur is being neglected by the Home Ministry. I hope that with the formation of this particular council, the persistent demand, the logical demand and the just demand of the people of Manipur will be met as soon as possible either through this council or otherwise.

Therefore, in the context of what I have said in respect of Nagaland's membership and participation, I would like strongly to plead with the hon. Home Minister to accept Shri Devgun's amendments listed as 22 and 27 which will solve this problem a great deal.

A part from these political volcanoes that I have listed, as regards Nagaland, Manipur and the others, the Council will have to concentrate on optimum utilisation of power. Power will have to be located in Meghalaya, and these optimum economic considerations will have to be taken into account and when it comes to the Government of India level, it is hoped they will not be pigeon-holed and that sympathetic and adequate action will be taken upon that.

As I said, the power centres will have to be located in Meghalaya because it is the most natural recipient and generator of that power. Similarly, as far as irrigation potential is concerned, since all the water goes from the hills to the plains, we will have to design such an irrigation complex as will benefit both the hills as well as the plains either through flood taming and flood control by a suitable design system

and through lessening of the damage the mighty Brahmaputra inflicts every year on a colossal scale to the economy of Assam and the rest of the region.

This, therefore, leads us to the hope that through the co-ordinated and fruitful functioning of this Council and through the support of the Government of India we would see that this north-east zone of India which has so far been mechanically and emotionally cut off from the rest of India comes into its own and takes its rightful place through the deliberations of this Council.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah): On 2nd April 1970, our Prime Minister inaugurated Meghalaya and while doing so, she spoke in these terms as reported in *the Statesman* of the 3rd April;

"Mrs. Gandhi said that the north-eastern region had strategic and security importance and, therefore, it was very necessary that there were special efforts to develop it".

This Bill echoes that feeling which the Prime Minister expressed on that historic occasion.

The north-east region of the country is very important and vital not only for security but for development along with it. I do not agree with Shri Barua who said that sometimes due to security reason development schemes have suffered and real progress was not brought to the region. In that part of the country, security and development should go together. The conspiratorial-tie-up between Pakistan and China brought about with inimical intent against India has made this region a cockpit of international intrigues and not only infiltrators from Pakistan but trained saboteurs from China acting as spies and fifth columnists are active and working in large numbers to the detriment of our national interest.

I emphasise the security aspect because the security of this region means the safety of India. We cannot endanger our national safety. If we lose our freedom, progress does not mean anything to the country. Here I will read out what the Revenue Minister of Assam said in the State Assembly on April 7:

"The Minister said intelligence reports indicated that some top ranking Naxalite leaders from West Bengal had infiltrated into Assam and carried on secret organisational work for a 'liberation war.' Among the causes advocated in their posters and leaflets was independence of Assam and the entire north-eastern region for which an armed struggle was recommended.

"They succeeded in building bases particularly in the rural areas of Goalpara and North Kamrup and the Mizo Hills, Tripura and Sibsagar Nagaland borders. Secret meetings were held and stress was laid on forming Kisan guerrillas."

"Some youths were being trained in guerilla war tactics also."

There was also another news item in the *Statesman* of 8th April as follows:

"Chinese plans to encourage the insurgent tribal elements in North East Frontier to set up an independent North-eastern Federation under Peking suzerainty seem to have received a serious setback following the effective action of the security forces in preventing further influx of Nagas and other rebel elements into China."

I agree that our security forces are there with a vigilant eye, but the danger is there, and even on the 9th April our Home Minister informed the House that the Naxalites had not merely shifted but extended their activities to the North-eastern region. He further told the House that small quantities of Chinese arms and ammunitions went into the hands of the extremists, and he also warned the House of the possibility of their strengthening their hold there, though the Central Government was vigilant and would give all assistance to the State Governments.

I come from a State which is part of the eastern region. If the whole of the eastern region is in an explosive state and if the sensitive borders of India are not well protected populated by contented citizens with mutual trust and goodwill, West Bengal also will be in danger. You know the conditions there at present. It is almost the stronghold of the Naxalites who are spreading to other parts of the eastern

region. So, the security of the North-eastern region has to be well guarded and that can only be brought about if we quickly take up the development work in such a way as to bring about peaceful conditions in the entire region, so that the hill tribes and the plains people may have mutual trust and goodwill, determined to build up the North-eastern region with patriotic motives. Only then can we save the entire eastern region from the danger that is ahead.

We know the designs of China. Even now China and Pakistan, with their greedy eyes on the eastern region, are conspiring to create a real foot-hold in the region so that the safety of India may be in danger. So, it is essential that this Bill should have brought forward, and it is a good Bill. I am glad that NEFA has been included in this, but a democratic Government should be set up there to fulfil the aspirations of the people there, consistent with our national security. As my hon. friend Shri Mehta pointed out, Nagaland also should have been included in the Council. The Naga people are rather in a state of confusion. So, it is better that we include in the Council all these small States. The fragmentation of this area is fraught with danger, as was pointed out by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but this fragmentation can be effectively negated by this kind of Council, so that they can work not only for their own progress, development and prosperity, but also to safeguard the national interests of India as a whole, and being in the border, their responsibility, we should realise, is bigger than that of any other State in India.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : The North-Eastern Council as is envisaged here is a duplication of effort. It is a costly experiment and adventure because the Indian people will have to bleed through their nose for the upkeep of this Council which is redundant. It shows that you do not have faith in the democratic apparatus functioning in these areas, in the people in those areas because this is going to be a bureaucratic institution and bureaucracy and democracy do not go hand in hand. We are taken aback when we see the composition of this Council; this is a mini zonal council; there is already a zonal council. The zonal council discusses

[Shri Hem Barua]

the problem of the economic development of these areas. There are legislative assemblies and councils of ministers also which formulate economic development programmes. By appointing a council like this over their head, though in an advisory capacity, you by pass the decisions of these assemblies and the council of ministers. There is a funny thing about the composition of the Council. What about the Governor of Assam, Nagaland and Meghalaya presiding over this council? Does not the Council elect a representative among themselves? I find that the Chief Ministers of Assam and Meghalaya are members and they are equated to the same level, as though Meghalaya is a separate entity. Meghalaya is not a separate entity; it is part of Assam because expenses on Meghalaya are borne by the Assam Government; that shows that Meghalaya is part of the broad framework of Assam. When the two Chief Ministers of Assam and Meghalaya are represented in this Council, that shows that you do not have any faith in the Assam Government. It is also a fact that the eastern region is being neglected economically and there is also the problem of security there. This is a mini zonal council. In the Zonal council you can discuss about the measures you propose to take for the eastern region. Here there is no provision for any discussion on the security problems that are faced by this part of the country. If it is meant for development programmes alone, why does not NEFA find a place here? Why does not West Bengal find a place here? The Zonal council is wider in ambit; this is narrower in ambit. This council is meant to co-ordinate the developmental plans of the areas. It is for the State Governments to formulate development plans for these areas. Now they superimpose a Council on their head. It is true that developmental plans have been neglected in those areas and that provides a good ground for Naxalites to breed. Naxalites are not merely law and order problem; they are a socio-economic problem, created by lack of foresight on the part of this Government. Assam is part of this Council and they have neglected Assam for a long time and the youth of Assam is getting restive because the unemployment problem is getting more

and more intensive. By the end of the Fourth Plan, according to Mr. Tripathi the Finance Minister of Assam, there will be 14 lakhs of unemployed persons in Assam. The per capita income in Assam is the lowest in India, in spite of the Five Year Plans.

The Five Year Plans were there and prior to the five year Plans, it has been pointed out in the alternative plan prepared by Mr. Namboodiripad, the part of the income in Assam was much higher than today. Now, Assam has got the lowest income. I can go on multiplying instances.

Now, Sir, what about Tripura? Tripura is part of this area. What about Tripura? Tripura is situated on the Indo-Pakistan border and every day, more than 200 refugees during the last four months are coming over to Tripura and you have not taken any measures to help them.

What about Manipur? The same thing about Manipur. There is a demand for a fullfledged statehood for Manipur, and the demand has been by-passed. There is a conscience vote; these are days when there are conscience votes. A Minister of the Government of Manipur voted against his own party; he has formed a united front of which he is the leader, but then, you would not allow him to form the government although he has the majority because he is a Muslim. Secularism is not merely a slogan. The idea of secularism must be lived up to. What is this? That demand for statehood is by-passed.

Then Nagaland is not a member of this council. Why? Possibly because Nagaland sees the futility of this council or because Nagaland is under the Ministry of External Affairs and it does not want to come under the purview of the Home Ministry. What about these matters? So, the Zonal Council would serve the purpose better. Therefore, this is a council for the upkeep of which the people will have to bleed through their noses. It is redundant and undemocratic in the sense that it is a bureaucratic institution that is going to sap the vitality of the people living in those areas.

SHRI LILADHAR KOTOKI (Nowgong):
Sir, I rise to support this Bill. You may recall that while I spoke on the Assam

State Reorganisation Bill creating the Meghalaya State, I referred to this very Bill which was introduced in December, and I welcomed this Bill.

I must, however, submit for the consideration of the hon. Home Minister and explain to this House as to whether the scheme that he has formulated through this Bill will serve the purpose which he has in mind. So far as the object is concerned, and as far as I am concerned, I have pleaded in this House and stand by that firm conviction, that the entire north-eastern region comprising North Bengal, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura and Assam including Meghalaya must have a common forum so that the development programmes which are matters of vital defence importance can be co-ordinated and integrated. I am glad, therefore, that when we were opposing the separation of these regions by creating separate units—call it a State, or a sub-State or whatever it is—we felt that there was absolute need for a forum so that the entire region could sit together, think together and work together for its development and also the defence of the whole region.

I need not repeat the points. Only the other day, while speaking on the Finance Bill, I had occasion to refer to the defence imperatives and the peculiarity of this region, as defence depends on development. Therefore, such a scheme is essential and I thank the hon. Home Minister for bringing this measure.

As I mentioned in December last, I still hope that the Nagaland Government will re-examine their opposition towards this Bill and give it a fair trial. I do not know what exactly their objections are to this scheme. But I do hope that they will find it possible to participate in this new experiment.

As regards my doubts about its effectiveness in implementing these objectives, in clause 4(1) it is said that it will be an advisory body. Then, clause 6 contemplates that there will be two representatives of the Government of India, one from the Planning Commission and another from the Finance Ministry. But nowhere it is said what will be the role of the centre in implementing this integrated and co-ordinated

plan, because under clause 4(2), every thing is left to the various States and units to implement the decisions made by the Council in their advisory capacity. Although it has not been explicitly stated, from what the Centre have undertaken under clause 8 to meet the entire expenditure of the secretariat of this council, I think it will not be wrong for me to presume that this integrated plan for the development and security of this region will be financed by the Centre.

The main grievance of the units of this region has been that after partition, this region has not received as much attention for its development as it deserved. Therefore, I would request the Home Minister and the Government as a whole to consider the various demands we have put forth before the centre. The grievance of not only Assam but the entire region is that these demands have not received as such consideration as they should. We do realise that there is paucity of funds, but we do expect of the centre that they will always consider this region from the point of view of the special situation of this region. I need not go into all that. It is obvious to anyone who looks at the map, leave alone those who have gone there. It will be clear how precariously situated we are. Therefore, I am very pained to find that when we talk of development schemes like railways, etc. this imperativeness of taking into consideration its strategic importance seems to be overlooked. I hope from now onwards at least the centre will be fully conscious of the imperativeness while considering the various demands that we, the representatives of the people of that region, may have to bring before the Government from time to time.

श्री हरबयाल देबगुण (पूर्व दिल्ली) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बिल का उद्देश्य तो अच्छा है और हमारी पार्टी के सिद्धांत के अनुकूल है। पूर्वी क्षेत्र के विश्वास और सुरक्षा के लिए कुछ प्रावधान होना चाहिए परन्तु यह विधेयक इन दोनों उद्देश्यों को पूरा करने में असमर्थ है। हमें खुशी है कि मेघालय बनने पर या नागालैण्ड बनने पर हमने जो संशय इस सदन में प्रस्तुत किये थे या देश के सामने रखे थे और जिन के बारे में बहुत

(श्री हरबयाल बेब गुण)

श्रांतियों पैदा की गई थीं उन को भारत सरकार ने अनुभव किया है। हम ने असम राज्य की तोड़फोड़ का इस आधार पर विरोध किया था कि सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से यह बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र है, सेंसेटिव ऐरिया है और इस पर बाहर से चारों ओर से छतरा है, चीन और पाकिस्तान से छतरा है इसलिए इस क्षेत्र की सुरक्षा के लिए इस को संगठित रखना चाहिए। इस का विकास संगठित रूप से करना चाहिए। इस की बाह्य सुरक्षा संगठित रूप से होनी चाहिए। इसकी आंतरिक सुरक्षा भी संगठित रूप से होनी चाहिए। यही हमारा उद्देश्य रहा। इस राज्य की तोड़-फोड़ का विरोध करने में आज इस विधेयक के उद्देश्यों में क्या स्वीकार किया गया है? हमारी पार्टी के बारे में और कुछ भी ग्रम पैदा किये गये हों लेकिन हमारी मंशा हमेशा यही रही कि इस क्षेत्र की सुरक्षा हो और उस का विकास हो परन्तु जहाँ तक इस विधेयक का सम्बन्ध है वह इस उद्देश्य को पूरा नहीं करता। मुझ से पूर्व कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने भी उस ओर इंगित किया है। पहले तो इसलिए पूरा नहीं होता कि नागालैण्ड को इस से बाहर रखा गया है। नागालैण्ड आज भी एक ऐसा क्षेत्र है जिसके लिए सुरक्षा की अधिक आवश्यकता है।

अभी आप ने कुछ दिन पहले पढ़ा होगा कि नागालैण्ड के अन्डरग्राउन्ड लीडर मिस्टर इसहाक सुबू यहाँ से चले गये। वह सीमा पार करके बाहर चले गये। बहुत दिन बाहर रहे शायद चीन में रहे और फिर यहाँ वापिस भी आ गये। न तो उनको जाते हुए रोका जा सका और न वापिस आते हुए ही उन को पकड़ा जा सका। इस से जाहिर होता है कि हमारी सीमा कितनी असुरक्षित है। नागालैण्ड में अभी पिछले महीने 14-15 अप्रैल को भारतीय सेना के 14-15 लोगों को मार दिया गया। अन्डरग्राउन्ड नागा विद्रोहियों ने हमला किया और उन की

हत्या कर दी जिनमें एक मेजर भी मारा गया। सेना के 14-15 लोग मारे गये हैं इससे स्पष्ट है कि वहाँ की स्थिति अभी सामान्य नहीं है यद्यपि वहाँ के नेता स्थिति को सामान्य लाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं विशेष रूप से वहाँ के वर्तमान मुख्य-मंत्री में उन की प्रशंसा किये बिना नहीं रह सकता। पहले दोनों मुख्य मंत्रियों के मुकाबले में इन का रोल, इन का काम अधिक सराहनीय है। इन के सीमा कबिले के सब लोग बाहर आ गये हैं। उन में से कोई भी अन्डरग्राउन्ड नहीं रहा है। इस दृष्टि से उन्होंने बहुत महत्वपूर्ण काम वहाँ पर किया है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद यह कहने में मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं कि हमारा केन्द्रीय सरकार का इतना रुपया खर्च होने और सारी कोशिशों के बावजूद भी अभी वहाँ स्थिति सामान्य नहीं है। इसलिए जहाँ स्थिति सामान्य न हो, जहाँ हथियार बाहर से आते हैं, जहाँ अभी लोग अन्डरग्राउन्ड हैं, जहाँ फीजों पर हमला करके फौजियों की हत्या होती है, जहाँ सीमा से लोग निकल जाते हैं और फिर वापिस आ जाते हैं, सुरक्षा के लिए ऐसे क्षेत्र को इस कौंसिल में लेना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। इसलिए इस बिल का कोई भी उद्देश्य पूरा नहीं होगा जब तक कि नागालैण्ड को इस के अन्दर नहीं लाया जाता है। सब से पहली मांग मेरी यह है कि नागालैण्ड को इस के अन्दर लाना चाहिए।

11 सितम्बर को मेघालय बनाते समय होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो घोषणा की थी उस में स्पष्ट रूप से नागालैण्ड को इस कौंसिल में सम्मिलित करने के लिये उन्होंने कहा था। मैं उन के उस वक्तव्य में से वह अंश सदन में पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ। चव्हाण साहब जरा ध्यान देकर सुनें। उनके गृह मंत्रालय की यह घोषणा है :

“With this end in view, and after careful consideration, the Government has decided to set up the proposed North Eastern Council (N.E.C.) consisting of the Governor of Assam and

Nagaland as Chairman, the Chief Ministers of Assam, Nagaland and the Autonomous State, one Minister from each of these States, the Chief Commissioners and Chief Ministers of the Union Territories of the region."

उपर्युक्त घोषणा उन्होंने 11 सितम्बर को की थी। लेकिन जो घोषणा उन्होंने उस समय की थी आज इस विधेयक में उस की परछाई नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो घोषणा उन्होंने की थी उसे इस विधेयक में वह पूरा करें।

नागालैण्ड में जहाँ उन सुरक्षा के लिए दूसरे प्रबन्ध करने की आवश्यकता है वहाँ यह भी जरूरी है कि वहाँ का विकास एक तरह से किया जाय। नागालैण्ड और न दूसरे हिस्सों में यह विकास समान रूप में नहीं हो रहा है। नागालैण्ड में बँसे बहुत रुपया खर्च हो रहा है। 40 करोड़ रुपया प्रतिवर्ष खर्च हो रहा है और उसके अतिरिक्त और भी रुपया अन्य मदों से भी खर्च हो रहा है परन्तु वहाँ हम ने जाकर देखा है कि उस का वितरण सामान्य लोगों तक नहीं पहुँचा है। यह रुपया कुछ ऊँचे वर्गों में सीमित रह गया है। सामान्य नागा लोगों तक यह नहीं पहुँचता है। इसलिए यह जो विकास का काम है उस में वहाँ के सब लोगों को, सारी जनता को फायदा पहुँचे यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। इसी तरह से अगर इस सारे क्षेत्र को सुरक्षित करना है तो मणिपुर को पूरे राज्य का दर्जा देना होगा। कल इस के लिये मनिपुर में बड़ी भारी रैली हुई। चूँकि यह वहाँ की सारी जनता की माँग है इस लिये भारत सरकार को इस को स्वीकार करना चाहिये, इस का विरोध नहीं करना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक सरकार यह तमाम बातें पूरी नहीं करती है तब तक विधेयक का उद्देश्य पूरा नहीं हो सकता।

इस लिये मैं गृह मंत्री जी से अपील करूँगा कि मैं ने इस विधेयक के सम्बन्ध में जो संशोधन दिये हैं उन को मान लें। एक संशो-
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धन तो यह है कि इस कौमिल में नागालैण्ड को भी शामिल किया जाये। राज्यों को यह अह्तर देना कि वह इस में शामिल हों या न हों, यह बड़ी खतरनाक बात है। इसलिये यह अधिकार किसी भी राज्य को देना गलत है। नागालैण्ड को इस में शामिल किया जाना चाहिये और आप्णन का जो बलाज है उस को निकाल दिया जाना चाहिये।

सुरक्षा के लिये श्री अणोक मेहता ने जो सुझाव रखे हैं वह ठीक हैं कि इस में के मेम्बरों में डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के, एक्स्टर्नल अफेअर्स मिनिस्ट्री और होम मिनिस्ट्री के प्रतिनिधि भी होने चाहिये।

तीसरी बात यह है कि नागालैण्ड को एक्स्टर्नल अफेअर्स मिनिस्ट्री से निकला कर होम मिनिस्ट्री के चार्ज में दे देना चाहिये। ऐसा किया जाय तो मुझ को कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। यह उन की माँग है कि उन का अलग गवर्नर होना चाहिये। गवर्नर होम मिनिस्ट्री का प्रतिनिधि होता है। उन की यह माँग भी स्वीकार कर ली जाय तो कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं है। नागालैण्ड को एक्स्टर्नल अफेअर्स मिनिस्ट्री से निकाल कर होम मिनिस्ट्री के अन्तर्गत रखना चाहिये। अगर यह सब कर दिया जाय तभी इस विधेयक का उद्देश्य पूरा हो सकता है, अन्यथा नहीं।

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I welcome this Bill. It is for the first time that the Government of India has realised that there should be an integrated approach for the economic development of the area connected with the defence of the country. This is welcome sign. I may tell for your information that the Eastern area became a live front only in the World War II. Before that all invasions on India came from the West. Therefore, once this frontier was opened in World War II now the position is such that it will continue to be so for years to come. Hence, it is all the more important that adequate attention should be given to it.

Some fear has been expressed in the debate that naxalites will create trouble there. I can assure you whether it is

[Shri R. Barua]

naxalite or anybody else the people of Assam—both in the hills and plains—have behaved differently from others. Even today the naxalites are not in a position to create that foothold as they are in a position to do in West Bengal. This shows they are a different personality born out of the ethnic origin, social position and the tradition that the people of Assam as a whole maintain. Therefore, when the time has not run out it is upto the Central Government to see that things do not go out of hand. I would, therefore, suggest that this Council be made more meaningful. It is stated in the statement of objects and reasons,

“...position which calls for an integrated and well-co-ordinated approach towards development as also security of the region.”

As rightly pointed out by Mr. Ashoka Mehta there is no representation either of the Ministry of Home Affairs or of Defence. That is a strange lacuna. Even today there are areas where you cannot reach quickly; you cannot despatch food quickly; you cannot despatch the merchandise. That being the position who will inform you about the things happening in those areas. Now, for instance, when the Chinese War came then alone the Government of India realised that the Railway line should go up to Markangchelek and it was constructed with great speed. That was not done so long because the Government could not realise that it was necessary. Today people in Assam believe that the Chinese attack was a blessing in disguise because it was then that for the first time the Government of India could realise the strategic importance of Assam. I am just giving it as an instance. Therefore, it will be very much necessary that the Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry are associated with it so that they can give the requisite information.

Then, Shri Somani has pointed out that there is enough water potential in Meghalaya.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): You are quoting only the rightists.

SHRI R. BARUA: I am quoting you also. I have said that the Naxalite behaviour in Assam is much different from

that in West Bengal. It is because of the peculiar personality that we have grown in Assam. There should be no mistake about it.

In NEFA, for instance, there is much potential of water resources and forest reserves and, therefore, it is all the more necessary that NEFA should be represented in a meaningful way in this Council. So far as NEFA, Meghalaya and Nagaland are concerned, we are already connected with the water course of that area but the greatest lacuna here is that there is no provision for providing funds for the development of that area or any recommendation which may be meaningfully accepted by the Planning Commission. Therefore, if things are left at what they are today, I am afraid, it will be another zonal council. If that happens, no purpose would be served.

Lastly, I would draw the attention of the Home Minister to clause 5(3). I think, there is some mistake in the language and it should be corrected. The sub-clause now reads:-

“All questions at a meeting of the Council shall be decided by a majority of votes of the members present and in the case of an equality of votes the Chairman, or, in his absence, any other person presiding shall have a second or casting vote”.

I do not understand the meaning of it. Who will have a second or casting vote? It needs some dressing up or putting in proper language.

With these words, I support the Bill.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : Sir, we are not at all surprised with this Bill because Delhi is more inclined always to the design of creating a colonial type of administration; they are quite specialists in that. In the name of security, as usual, as we see them performing every-where, they want to establish a raj of police, army and intelligence. We are seeing that today in West Bengal and in the Union territories which I am not even inclined to call full colonies but they are subcolonies. It will be concentration of policemen sent from Delhi Army officers with specialised knowledge

of giving beat-ups and a network of intelligence men. Half of the civil servants have prior intelligence friends.

We have seen things happening in Mizo Hills. The Mizo have been betrayed by the Central Government, by Shri Chavan's Ministry and the Government as a whole. We had been there the other day. I can tell you, the ruthlessness that this Government is showing there will any day make our heads hang in shame. Nothing has been given to them by way of economic relief or development programme. But there is always the danda and the 303 bullet ready to be showered on them. I know of cases where there is curfew month after month, day after day. They cannot call a doctor if they wanted to call one to deliver a child or for an emergency operation. They are not allowed to go out and are not allowed to carry torches even. That is the type of democracy Shri Chavan had been selling to the people of this country. And Shri Chavan has basic socialistic claims than Shrimati Gandhi has.

Why is the development job being kept in a remote control method, to be controlled from Delhi, in the hands of bureaucrats who have no real interest of the people of the Country? Why is it that the developmental programme and work cannot be given to the people's elected representatives there? You do not trust them. You consider that they might take a line which may not benefit the people of a colony or a sub-colony. Is that why you want to plant bureaucrats in executing the so-called development programme which is nothing but a bluff to the people?

Union territories everywhere have a bureaucratic rule, the police raj. And what a funny thing you find. The Commissioner is the burra sahib and the Chief Minister is a *gumasta*. Why is it that you cannot improve upon this which has been sold to you by the old British masters of yours? Why is it that you cannot think independently and in terms of giving some responsibility to the people's representatives? Even today if a Central Service Officer twists the Chief Minister by the ear—I do not wish it to happen—he cannot do anything to him; he has to refer the matter

to the South Block and the South Block bureaucrats will say, "Has he twisted and to what extent?" The Chief Minister and the Cabinet in the States have no power to touch these descendants of the British bureaucrats, namely, the present Central Services.

These bureaucrats maintain a parallel link with the Home Ministry. They are the people who steer and man the machinery. The others only watch from a distance. If I may suggest and if Shri Chavan would take it honestly, development should be people based and employment oriented. You are thinking in terms of security but I may tell you that unless you achieve economic and material self-sufficiency, you can never have a standing base of security. You cannot keep people hungry and think of giving them security. May be, it is your security that you require because you are getting isolated from the people as days are passing by. So, you require more security. It is not security of the people that you are talking about.

Why do you not give them more economic powers? In the last 22 years you have made the State Governments absolutely bankrupt municipal offices. Why is it that you do not give them economic powers? Why do you want to hold and control everything from here?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What has all this to do with the North-Eastern

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: It is very relevant. I will explain it to you in a minute.

I wish that you are guided by some sense of democracy and fairplay. Do not make this eastern region, which is so rich in natural resources, a plunder-ground for natural resources and the working class. Do not allow infiltration and consolidation of the foreign monopolists and their agents.

**SHRI MAYAVAN (Chidambaram) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I would like to say a few words on this Bill which proposes to set up North-Eastern Council. Though this Bill has been brought forward before this House belatedly, it is a welcome measure.

**The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri Mayavan]

In 1962, China committed aggression on our country. Had this Bill been moved immediately after the Chinese aggression in 1962, we could have commended and complimented this Government for being alive to the security needs of the country. But this Bill has been placed before this House after the lapse of eight long years.

When we begin to think of the security of the country, we find that on one side China is poised for invasion; and on the other side, Pakistan like a hawk is anxiously waiting for the spread of confusion and chaos in our country to pounce upon us; yet on another side, Burma is nibbling at our territory. After eight years, the Government are taking steps to secure the strategic area of North-Eastern region. I charge this Government for having neglected this area for so long a period and for their failure in taking effective steps for the security of this region.

If you look at the standard of living of the people inhabiting this region, I have to state with a sense of anguish, it is woefully low and the people are economically very backward. They neither have two square meals a day nor enough clothing to cover themselves fully; nor do they have roofs over their heads. I take this opportunity to stress that this North-eastern Council should have as their primary objective the economic upliftment of these people.

In 1962, China committed aggression over NEFA and ravaged the entire area. Immediately thereafter, the Members of Parliament visited this region. Even now China claims that NEFA is one of the fingers of her hand which rightly belongs to her. We have unwittingly allowed such things to develop. On account of the fact that the people in this area are economically backward, highly illiterate, gullible and innocent, the foreigners are able to exploit them for advancing their territorial claims. Recently, Burma has encroached upon Indian territory and laid the boundary pillars inside our territory. If we had taken pains to enact such a legislative measure eight years ago, we could have averted such unfortunate developments. In this region, there is infiltration of enemies from Pakistan and China. I may repeat that this area is encircled by countries like China, Pakistan and Burma

having inimical designs towards India. If we do not have proper security arrangements in this strategic region, certainly our country will become a victim of aggression. Because of high hills, we cannot easily know from which direction hostile elements might come. Unless we occupy vantage points on hill tops, it will be impossible for us to recognise whether the elements entering our territory are hostile or otherwise. This Council should not only work for the economic advancement of the people but also for creating a sense of nationalism among them.

The whole of this region is populated with 1.75 crores of people. The population of Manipur is 9.94 lakhs; Tripura 13.81 lakhs; Assam 1.46 crores; Nagaland 4.10 lakhs. When you look at the capital outlay of Fourth Five Year Plan for the entire region *vis-a-vis* the total population of this region, you will find that it is too inadequate an amount. An amount of Rs. 28 crores has been allocated for Manipur; Rs. 16.29 crores for NEFA; Rs. 31.91 crores for Tripura; Rs. 220 crores for Assam. It will be very difficult for implementing any of the Major developmental schemes drawn up by this Council with this meagre allocation. Unless there is an appreciable growth in the economy of this region, the defence efforts can never be placed on sound footing.

To have an idea of the economic backwardness of this area, let us take the hospital beds available in this region. For every thousand persons, there are only 0.45 beds in Assam; 2.25 beds in Nagaland and 2.80 beds in NEFA. Even in the matter of this basic necessity, there has been no worthwhile improvement at all. From the statistics available for the last 22 years, we can conclude that we have completely isolated this area from the national mainstream. The importance which this strategic area deserves has never been given to it by the Government of India so far.

At least from now onwards this Council should pay adequate attention to the imperative and basic needs of this area and formulate package plans for the development of the region as a whole. This Council should also endeavour to instil in these people a feeling that they are part

and parcel of the Indian nation. With the hope that this Council will ensure proper development of this strategic region, I conclude my speech.

16 Hrs.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : I rise to support the Bill moved by the hon. Home Minister. Sir, it has always been a far cry from the eastern part of our country that Assam and other parts have been economically neglected by the Central Government. I hope this Bill will meet their needs and aspirations. There has also been the criticism levelled against the Government that when the Naxalite forces are on the increase, our Government is sitting idle, adopting an indifferent attitude and not paying any attention at all. Therefore, I think this Bill shows the awareness of both these aspects one of economic development and the other, the aspect of security and public order.

I need not mention how the eastern part right up to North Bihar is affected by the Naxalite movement. The question that was agitating my mind and at time I ask the same question to the Home Minister is : what positive policy the Central Government is adopting to curb the restlessness and Naxalite activities in the eastern side ? Dangerous as it is that part is exposed to the common enemies, we were under the impression—I am speaking for myself—that the Union Government is not rising to the occasion and not trying to solve the problem as it exists and threatens the security of the country. But I hope that this measure will help in preserving law and order and maintaining and preserving the security of the country and at the same time will pay more attention to the economic development of this part.

Having realised the importance of the measure and having wholeheartedly supported it, my question arises : whether the body as we contemplate will be powerful enough, will be strong enough to meet the needs of the security and public order. I quite appreciate and understand the implication of Cl. 6 in associating the person nominated by the Planning Commission and the person nominated by the Ministry of Central Government dealing with finance. Will only the membership of the person from the Planning Commission or the Finance

Ministry help making the advisory body or even the co-ordination committee strong enough to meet the needs ? I would, certainly, therefore, urge that both the Defence Ministry and the Home Ministry must associate with the Council, with the advisory part of it and the Co-ordination Committee too. Unless we do it I doubt very much whether this Council will be able to meet the needs of the times, to meet the need of security and public order.

If at all there is to be revolution in this country, the revolution is coming in this country from the eastern part, as in respect of South and North Korea, the revolution started from the north. Similarly in respect of Vietnam the revolution started from the north.

SHRI HARDAYAL DEVGUN : Revolution or subversion ?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Use any word you like; I have no quarrel with you so far as the word is concerned. In our country the subversion has already started from the east. The Home Ministry has brought out a report that because of poverty and because of lack of economic development of the country the Naxalites are afoot in those areas. I do not think that by associating the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry with the Council will be effective. I want it to be effective so that the security aspect and other problems of the eastern parts could be solved amicably.

Therefore, I wish to say that persons from the Defence Ministry and the Home Ministry must be associated with the Council, with the advisory body and with the coordination body. Thank you.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) : Just now our hon. friend, Mr. Bhandare has explained his apprehension that revolution or reaction is coming from the east. Let me say about what happens in Maharashtra. The Shiv Sena, the RSS and the Jan Sangh are today killing Muslims. Is it progressive ? Why have you not condemned it ?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Do I say it is progressive ? It is bad enough; I condemn it.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : Much has been said here by hon. Member, Shri Asoka Mehta, and other Members also. They were all along thinking of the Naxalite from the east. How it comes within the scope of the Bill, I do not know. But yet they are discussing it here.

On one thing I am not able to reconcile my position with this Bill. I have not understood certain points. One is, Nagaland has not been brought, while Manipur has been brought in. We don't know, if a mid-term election comes and then the next Government comes, and after that, if they oppose this, what will be the position. After the first meeting, suppose the Government of Assam or Meghalaya, decide not to participate in further meetings, what will happen? What is the legal position about that? While moving the Bill the Home Minister said something, but he did not clearly say about all these points.

I want, Sir, that there should be integration in the country. But, integration with Planning is also necessary. I do not think that suddenly wisdom has dawned upon the Government of India to develop this eastern region, and that is why they have brought in this Bill. I do not think so.

For the last 23 years, NEFA has been under the Governor of Assam, assisted by one advisor. Four lakhs of people are there, but they are ruled by one adviser. That adviser has been there for the last ten or twelve years continuously. Just one adviser has been there for so long. Nobody knows what he is doing there. Generally, a government servant does not work in the same place for more than three years, but this particular adviser has been there for more than ten years. I do not know what interests he is serving there.

The NEFA area should have been developed politically as a single Union Territory just like Manipur or Tripura. But up till now, no effort has been made by the Government of India in this regard except putting in some officers there to develop that area. Not even the panchayat system is working there. I do not understand how by this Bill Government are going to develop that area politically and economically. Instead

of doing this, what the Government of India is doing is only this; they are putting some refugees, ex-soldiers or some other men there. The result is that they come into conflict with the local people. It does not come out in the press openly, but in many places, the heads of the refugees and officers are just chopped off. That is what is going on there because the local people are not able to consider them as their own kith and kin. An outlook of commonness and a common association have not been developed.

Their *lingua franca* is Assamese, broken Assamese, but we find that Hindi has been imposed on them. On AIR, the NEFA broadcasts come in broken Assamese, but we find that the *lingua franca* of this area has been made Hindi. This is an imposition on that area. Therefore, I have got apprehensions over this Bill.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah) : The hon. Member must be very clear on one point. I would like to know whether Hindi has been imposed or they are imposing Assamese on them so that they may get more jobs.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : The Nagaland State has come into existence under the 1960 agreement. But law and order can be handled only by the Governor and not by the Nagaland State Government. Many years have passed, and we have got a good representative government there. But if they do not get proper powers, how can the people repose confidence in that government? So, the time has come when the Government of India should vest powers in regard to law and order also in the State Government of Nagaland.

Again, we find that the same Governor there for Nagaland, for NEFA, for Assam and for Meghalaya, as if he is a Mughal raja. I would submit that you should do away with the same Governor but instead you should have separate Governors for each State.

I do not understand one other thing which has been incorporated in this Bill. Under this Bill, an advisory body has been constituted. At page 3 of the Bill it has been provided that all questions at a meeting shall be decided by majority vote or by casting vote or by second vote. I do not

understand how this is compatible. If you want to achieve some results in that region consisting of Tripura, Manipur, NEFA, Assam and Meghalaya, then there should be cooperation, and there should be common approach to problems. But if it is said that things will be decided by majority vote only, then it will generate disunion and again you will be facing the same music as before.

Accordingly, I would say that this clause does not comply with the object he has mentioned in the Bill. I have tabled an amendment that all questions should be decided by consensus so that we can co-ordinate, develop and march forward unitedly.

In conclusion, I would give a warning to Shri Chavan. He should know how Tripura is working today. Shri Choudhary is not here. Tripura is a land of Tripuris, but they have been ousted from Tripura. Politically who is coming in power in Tripura? Some refugees. This should be borne in mind. The same mistake should not be committed in NEFA. I visualise I have reports also—that in Tripura the Bengalis and Tripuris are going to come into a big clash in the near future. He must know this and take proper steps betimes.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन के समक्ष जो विधेयक है मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ और तहदिल से स्वागत भी करता हूँ। यं तो इस तरह की योजना बहुत पहले ही आनी चाहिए थी, क्योंकि हमारी सीमा के जो इलाके हैं, उन की तरफ हमें पहले ध्यान देना चाहिए था—सिक्कोरिटी के अ्याल से और वहाँ पर जो पहले गैर की हुकूमत थी, उस ने उन के विकास के लिए कुछ नहीं किया था, इस दृष्टि से हम लोगों को अपना ध्यान उन लोगों की तरफ पहले देना चाहिए था। परन्तु हम लोगों ने उन की उपेक्षा की और उस की कीमत हमें चुकानी पड़ी जब चाइना का हमला हमारे देश पर हुआ और यहाँ सदन में श्री स्वर्गीय पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू को यह कहना पड़ा कि मैं भी आसाम के लिए चिन्तित हूँ क्योंकि उस

इलाके के साथ हमारा जो सम्बन्ध है वह बहुत ही छोटा-सा है, 40 मील का जो फासला है, उतना ही है, उस की तरफ हम को ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए था।

आज यहाँ एक सवाल किया जा रहा है। जनता और सिक्कोरिटी का—मैं समझता हूँ कि हम इन दोनों चीजों को अलग नहीं कर सकते हैं। जनता अगर हमारे साथ नहीं है तो हम अपने देश की सिक्कोरिटी को कायम नहीं रख सकते हैं। सिक्कोरिटी के लिए बहुत जरूरी है कि वहाँ के बसनेवाले जो लोग हैं, वे हमारे साथ रहें और उन में आत्मीयता की भावना रहे। इस सदन में मैंने मेघालय का समर्थन किया था, उस वक्त इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने अपने विचार यहाँ पर रखे थे; मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा वह कदम भी स्वागत के योग्य था और उस का जो फल है, वह भी हम अवश्य देखते जाएंगे।

अभी-अभी मेरे एक मित्र ने कहा कि नेफा के लोगों पर हिन्दी जबरदस्ती लादी जा रही है—

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Is it true that Hindi has been imposed on them?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : They do not want Assamese; they want Hindi.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : मैं वही बतला रहा हूँ। मैं एक समय गोहाटी गया था। वहाँ नेफा के कई लोग, जो गोहाटी यूनी-वर्सिटी की बी० ए० क्लास में पढ़ते थे, अरे पास आए। 10-12 लड़के थे। जब मैंने उन से पूछा तो उन्होंने उल्टी ही बात हम को बतलाई। वह हिन्दी सीखना चाहते थे, मगर हिन्दी उन को नहीं सिखाई जा रही थी। मैंने कहा—तुम हिन्दी क्यों सीखना चाहते हो; उन्होंने बतलाया—हम को आसामी सीखने के लिए कहा जाता है, लेकिन आसामी सीखने के बाद आसाम गवर्नमेन्ट में जॉब नहीं मिलती है, क्योंकि हम नेफावाले हैं। अगर हिन्दी सीखेंगे तो बहुत मुमकिन है कि

[श्री एम० एम० जोशी]

हम को जीब मिन जाए, क्योंकि हिन्दी के लिए जाब्ज ज्यादा है। मैं नहीं कहता हूँ कि यह बात सही होगी, लेकिन इस तरह की छोटी-छोटी बातों को लेकर हम को झगड़ा नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए।

इसलिए मैं कहूँगा कि यह जो बिल आया है बहुत अच्छा है। एक वक्त प्लानिंग कमीशन की तरफ से प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने एक बैठक बुलाई थी, मैं भी उसमें शरीक हुआ था। तब मैंने एक सुझाव रखा था कि सीमा के ख्याल से, सिक्योरिटी के ख्याल से यह क्षेत्र जो महत्व रखता है उस दृष्टि से सेन्टर को अपने ऊपर कुछ रेस्पॉन्सिबिली लेनी चाहिए और प्लानिंग कमीशन को उस क्षेत्र के लिए कुछ धनराशि अलग से रखनी चाहिए।

जो वहाँ पर खर्चा हो उसका सारा बोझ स्टेट पर ही डालेंगे तो वह ठीक नहीं रहेगा। आखिर यह डिमोन्स्ट्रेसी है और सीमा के विभाग पर हमारी उपेक्षा हो गई और उसका कारण भी यही है कि जिनके पास ज्यादा वोट्स हैं, जिनका ज्यादा प्रभुत्व है वे ही सब कुछ ले जाते हैं और उधर के लोगों को कुछ नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि अशोक जी ने कहा है, एक्सपेंडीचर के लिए जो चार-पांच लाख रुपए की योजना है उसमें करीब साढ़े तीन लाख तो रेकरिंग रहेगा और बाकी दूसरी चीजों पर खर्चा होगा तो वह काफी नहीं है। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के लिए सेन्टर ने कुछ खर्च कर दिया वह काफी नहीं है बल्कि प्लानिंग कमीशन में एक सेल बने और उसके लिए एक धनराशि भी मुकर्रर की जाए। और उसी धनराशि में से रुपया पैसा मिलना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि तब नागालैंड भी उसमें आने के लिए तैयार हो जाएगा। वरना अभी उसमें प्रलोभन भी क्या है, किस लिए वे आएँ; मुझे लगता है कि नागालैंड वाले जो हैं उनके लिए और भी कई सवाल हैं। मणिपुर के लिए फुल स्टेटहुड की बात है, मणिपुर वाले कुछ इलाके पर अपना अधिकार

जताते हुए कहते हैं वह हमारे साथ में होने चाहिए। ये सारे झगड़े हैं और वे एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्ट्री में हैं इसलिए वे आने को तैयार नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन मामलों पर जल्द से जल्द फैसला होना चाहिए तभी वहाँ की स्थिति सुधर सकती है। इसमें नागालैंड का रहना बहुत आवश्यक है और उसके लिए जो भी कर सकें वह करना चाहिए और उनको इसमें ले आना चाहिए।

जहाँ तक मेक्योरिटी की बात है, डिफेंस की तरफ से कोई प्रतिनिधि उसमें बैठ जाएँ जो कि यह व हेंगे कि डिफेंस के लिए यह जरूरी है। और अब वे कहेंगे कि डिफेंस के लिए यह जरूरी है तो उसके लिए पैसा डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री से भी लेना चाहिए। वरना डिफेंस की तो एक एम्पायर रहती है। उनका एक कालेज भी है जैसे कि पूना में आर्म्ड फोर्सिंग का कालेज है। हमारे कालेज से अगर एम० बी० बी० एम० निकलते हैं तो क्या उनको नहीं ले सकते हैं; तो मेरा कहना यह है कि इस तरह से अगर पैसे की जरूरत हो तो वह पैसा उनसे भी लो। यह बहुत महत्व की बात है।

एक बात और है। क्वाज 5 में कहा गया है :

"The Council shall meet at such time as the Chairman of the Council may appoint in this behalf."

आपने चेयरमैन को अधिकार दिया है मीटिंग बुलाने के लिए लेकिन उसमें यह लाजमी नहीं किया है कि साल में एक बार या दो बार मीटिंग जरूर होनी चाहिए। ऐसी हालत में अगर चेयरमैन ने सोचा तो मीटिंग बुला ली वरना फिर वह डेड हो जाएगी। जरूरत पड़ने पर वे शायद बुलाएंगे या फिर नहीं बुलाएंगे। इसमें ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है कि साल में एक मीटिंग लाजमी होगी।

अन्त में मैं इस बिल का स्वागत करते हुए इसका समर्थन करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि हमारी तरफ से अमेन्डमेन्ट के रूप में या सुझाव के रूप में जो बातें बताई गई हैं उनको

गृह मन्त्री कबूल करेंगे, क्योंकि इसमें कोई पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है, ताकि उस इलाके की सिक्वोरिटी के लिहाज से और लोगों की बहबूदी के लिहाज से अच्छी तरह से काम हो सके।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : I am grateful to the hon. Members who participated in this debate, who have mostly welcomed the Bill, and at the same time expressed some of their doubts.

The first speech was by my hon. friend Shri Ashoka Mehta. He has in a sense supported the Bill, but he has expressed certain doubts. I think it is my duty to explain to him and the hon. House the thinking of the Government behind this.

I must say that Shri Asoka Mehta was associated with all the discussions that were held on this particular matter. The problem of the reorganisation of Eastern India was discussed for months and years, and he had actively participated in that. The twin problems of security and development were all the time in mind. I can only assure him that the thinking that shaped our policy at that time is behind the present proposal also. He raised one point that though the statement in the Bill referred to development and security, in the Bill itself there is no provision regarding security I should like to refer to clause 7 which talks of constituting a co-ordination committee. The purpose for which it is constituted is given in sub-clause (3) :

"It shall be the duty of the Co-ordination Committee to review from time to time the measures taken by the States represented on the Council for the maintenance of security and public order therein. . ."

The co-ordination committee will be a smaller committee and it is the most important committee and it will be entrusted with the task of looking into the problems of security. So, the problem has not been taken out of its purview.

He also criticised that there is nobody representing security aspects on the Council. That is true; there is no representative of the Defence Ministry or some other security

organisation. That has been purposely done. We have gone into this matter; it will be difficult to appoint any expert a full member of the Committee to participate and take decisions there. But clause 8(1) says :

"The Council shall have a secretariat staff consisting of as Secretary, a Planning Adviser and such other officers and employees as the Central Government may by order determine."

The Central Government will decide on such matters when the need to have expert advice on defence and security matters arises.

SHRI ASHOKA MEHTA: The Financial Memorandum does not indicate that.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I may mention that it has not been decided at the present moment and so it is not there in that memorandum. The Governor is free to invite any important representative of the Defence Services or anybody to give advice; that will be expert advice. It is not proposed that the representative should take part in all the deliberations and be responsible for whatever is done. The main point is to see that the State Governments realise the importance of the security problems and undertake to execute and implement the decisions taken in time.

SHRI RANGA : They have to be reminded constantly.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Once a plan is discussed and decided, then responsibility devolves upon the concerned authorities; the staff will naturally look into it and the Chairman is expected to pursue those matters with different States.

SHRI RANGA : Would it be possible for you to attach a military adviser to the Governor, especially in that area ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Personally I do not think it is necessary. He can certainly invite him to the co-ordination committee to take his advice; for instance the GOC in that area can come and attend the co-ordination committee meeting and give his assessment of the problems; it is not right to make him a full member of the Council.

SHRI RANGA : You have not provided for that. If it is not too late, you can provide for it even now.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not think it is necessary to make a special, statutory provision for that as long as it is possible under the present arrangement that we are making.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Add one sub-clause (c).

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : We can add many such things as we may like, but it is not a good legislation which has a lot of superfluous provisions. (*Interruption*) It is essentially an advisory body and if the advisory body wants to have more advice from experts, it is always free to ask for it.

The other important suggestion that was made by Shri Asoka Mehta and supported by many Members was that to make this Council more important and effective, it should have some financial resources attached to it. I think this is a good suggestion. But I cannot say what amount should be there. Naturally the Council can take care of it.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI : The Planning Commission should decide.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That sort of organic relationship between the Council and the Planning Commission and also with the Finance Ministry is ever aged here. Therefore, it is specifically provided that representatives of both the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry will sit on the Council itself; that is a bridge to achieve what the hon. Members have in their mind.

Some Members have asked, why is it that we have not made it compelled the Nagaland Government to join it.

The entire concept is not compulsion. The entire concept is of creating conditions, so that everybody would be included to cooperate. We did argue this matter with the Nagaland Government. As you know Nagaland Government, placed as they are politically, are rather sensitive to certain matters. Possibly they feel that it is condescending for them to become a member of the present Council, because they feel that there is no State other than Assam in the Council.

That is a sort of psychological feeling.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : मनीपुर को स्टेटहुड का स्टेटस दे दीजिए ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is a different matter. It will have a series of chain reactions. So, we are arguing with them. I am sure once they see that there is no compromising of one's political status in being a member of the Council, they will see the force of the argument and ultimately agree to become a member of the Council.

Then, certain Members have pointed out certain difficulties in drafting of the Bill. point wa made by Mr Barua. He asked what One is the meaning of the term "second vote" and "casting vote." It is not a superfluous wording. I can explain the difficulty. A casting vote and the second vote are not the same things. When the Chairman is allowed vote a casting vote isnot given, then there is always provision for a second vote. In case the Chairman is not allowed to vote in the first instance, then he is allowed a second vote. (*Interruption*) That is the purpose. It depends on what provision we make under the rules. So, it is not by mistake or confusion that these words are kept there. They are kept purposely and on the same lines as we have in the Zonal Councils Act.

Some Members made a complaint about this business of having one person as the Governor of Assam, Meghalaya and NEFA.

AN HON. MEMBER : And Nagaland.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Yes and Nagaland. There is also a demand from Nagaland. But I think it is necessary at least for sometime, for some years to come, that if there is one common person who can go into these important problems, it will be better. For example, there is NEFA and there is Meghalaya. Meghalaya is an autonomous State. But this august House has taken care to see that it is at the same time part of Assam also for some purposes. They have got a common legislature. So, it is very essential that both these units have the same Governor. In regard to NEFA, the man who is a charge of the general overall picture of Assam and

Meghalaya shall also have some sort of organic connection with the affairs of NEFA.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : नेफा का एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव यूनिट कहाँ है ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : At the present moment, the headquarters is in Shillong. There is a proposal to shift it. Then Shri Bedabrata Barua said there is no democratic set-up functioning there. Gradually it is being brought into existence. Formerly there was a panchayati administration for every district. Very recently they inaugurated the State Panchayat Council. It is a democratic body. It started functioning only a few months ago. The Governor inaugurated it. That body decided that the headquarters of NEFA should now be in NEFA. That process has been started. Some site selection board was asked to go round and see the place which they would prefer.

SHRI R. BARUA : Are you providing for a man of a representative character from NEFA on this council ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not deny that possibility. If this democratic body which has been started comes into existence in all its aspects, that can be considered. The democratisation process will continue further. It is very difficult for me to indicate about it immediately, but as NEFA is a part of republican India. I do not think there is any other possibility but to have some sort of democratic set-up functioning in NEFA in course of time.

Some hon. members mentioned about the possibilities of employment. I entirely agree that the security of any part of the country, particularly border areas, cannot be separated from the problem of economic development. They are two faces of the same problem, particularly in border areas. Unless the people feel that they have all their stakes where they stay, they would not defend or die for that area. Therefore, economic development is part of the security aspect. When we say economic development, what is its meaning if it is not going to provide employment potential ? Economic development means providing facilities for employment also. You can-

not go on adding every word in the dictionary to the Act. Will making specific provision for that alone guarantee its success ?

Some hon. members referred to consensus and majority Prof. Ranga also raised it. Consensus means unanimity, some unanimous understanding. When there is a possibility of a consensus, nobody should try for majority and minority. But when consensus becomes impossible, when some sort of indication of a decision is necessary, what will you do ? Once you provide for consensus as the only statutory possibility, the whole thing will become purposeless and meaningless. In the case of an advisory body, if it is not able to indicate its decision; how does it function ? Zonal Councils are also advisory bodies. From my experience as Chairman of many Zonal Councils for the last three years, I can say that even though there is provision for voting and other things, we have not gone by that. In an advisory body, naturally it is the effort of the persons present to evolve a consensus. But in case there is no possibility of consensus, the entire proceedings of such a meeting can be made fruitless and frustrated by one man saying 'no' to everything. We have got our own experience in some informal meetings. Somebody can legitimately say that he does not agree. Then consensus becomes impossible.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : What is impossible is unanimity. Consensus is possible. If only one man disagrees you have broad consensus or almost consensus.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : In my conversation I can possibly agree with you but when you are putting it in a statute "consensus" is not "almost consensus"; consensus must be definitely and precisely a consensus. Therefore, it is very difficult for me to accept it.

These are matters of detail. But I am very glad indeed that the main point that emerged out of the discussion was that what we are providing for is a necessary forum. I am prepared to concede that it may be possible that this has certain defects; I cannot say that at the present moment it is flawless. But it is the only attitude with which this body will work

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

that will make it successful. Much depends on how we work it out. Therefore, let us all wish it well. Once we approve of it, it is only experience and co-operation that this body will have from the different members which will prove whether it succeeds or not. I think our intention is to create a new forum where all the political units of this area will join together in a co-operative effort ultimately to make that area prosperous economically and strong from the security point of view.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to provide for the setting up of a Council for the north-eastern areas of India to be called the North-Eastern Council and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We will now take up the clause-by-clause consideration. There are no amendments to clause 2. So, I will put it to the vote. The question is :

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill"

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 3.—(Establishment and Composition of the North-Eastern Council).

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I beg to move :

Page 2, line 9, omit "and" (3)

Page 2, line 10,—

for "Tripura"; substitute "Tripura; and" (4)

Page 2,—

after line 10, insert—;

"(f) the person for the time being holding the office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas;" (5)

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : I beg to move :

Page 2, line 17,—

for "one person" substitute—

"two persons" (19).

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : I beg to move :

Page 2—omit line 3. (21)

Page 2,—

after line 19, insert—

"(2) The Chairman of the Council shall be elected from time to time by the Council itself." (28)

SHRI HARDAYAL DEVGUN : I beg to move :

Page 2, line 4,—

for "Assam and Meghalaya" substitute—

"Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland" (22)

Page 2, line 5 and 6,—

for "State of Assam and from Meghalaya"

Substitute "States of Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland" (24)

Page 2,—

omit lines 11 to 14 (27)

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, क्लोज 3 पर मैंने संशोधन दिया है। जहाँ पर क्लोज 3 कहता है कि:

"Provided further that if there is no Council of Ministers in any State referred to in this sub-section, the President may, if he deems it necessary so to do, nominate not more than one person to represent the State on the Council for so long as there is no Council of Ministers in such State."

यानी जहाँ पर कौंसिल आफ मिनिस्टर्स नहीं है वहाँ प्रेजिडेंट नाट मोर वन वन मैन नामिनेट कर सकता है। इस में पहली बात तो यह है कि हो सकता है कि वह एक आदमी भी नामिनेट न करे, दूसरी बात यह है कि, जैसी हिन्दी में कहावत है कि अकेला वृहस्पति भी झूठा होता है, कोई बाइज आदमी वह न हो। फिर एक आदमी आल परफैक्ट नहीं हो सकता। अगर एक एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर प्रेजिडेंट नामिनेट करेंगे तो उस एक आदमी का विचार और उस का फैसला परफैक्ट होगा, यह मैं नहीं समझ सकता हूँ। इसलिए कम से कम वहाँ पर दो आदमी होने चाहिए। जिस स्टेट में कौंसिल आफ मिनिस्टर्स नहीं है, यानी जहाँ तक लैजिस्लेचर नहीं है, जहाँ पापुलर गवर्नमेंट नहीं है, वहाँ एक आदमी नहीं दो आदमी होंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छी बात होगी,

नहीं तो जिस व्यूरोक्रेसी के बारे में श्री हेम बरुआ ने कहा कि वह खुल खेलेगी, वह ठीक से काम नहीं करेगी, उसी का राज्य हो जाएगा। इसलिए मेरा संशोधन है कि प्रेजिडेंट कम से कम एक नहीं बल्कि दो आदमी नामिनेट करें। अगर दो आदमी रहेंगे तो वह कौंसिल पर स्टेट को ज्यादा अच्छा रिप्रेजेंट कर सकेंगे। वह सारी तफसील भी देख सकेंगे और बैलेन्ड व्यू भी अपनी दे सकेंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक पर्सन नहीं बल्कि दो पर्सन्स होने चाहिए।

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : The Governor is a part of bureaucracy. In this Council I do not want the Governor to be the Chairman. Instead, in my consequential amendment you will find— an elected head of the Government should be the Chairman of this Council and I maintain this. I hope if the Government believes in democracy the Minister will accept it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I personally do not agree with any of the amendments. Where one person can do the job why should there be two persons ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, I put amendments Nos. 3, 4 & 5 in the name of Shri Y. B. Chavan to the vote of the House.

The question is :

Page 2, line 9.—

omit "and" (3)

Page 2, line 10.—

for "Tripura" substitute "Tripura; and" (4)

Page 2,—

after line 10, insert—

"(f) the person for the time being holding the office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas :"

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, I put amendment No. 19 in the name of Shri Shiva Chandra Jha to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 19 was put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now I put amendments Nos. 21 and 28 in the name of Shri Dhireswar Kalita to the vote of the House.

Amendments 21 & 28 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, I put amendments Nos. 22, 24 & 27 in the name of Shri Hardayal Devgun to the vote of the House.

Amendments 22, 24 & 27 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That Clause 3, as amended stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 4.—(Functions of the Council.)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I beg to move :
Page 2, lines 40 and 41,—

omit "border disputes, linguistic minorities or" (6)

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : I beg to move :

Page 2, line 32,—

add at the end—

"and employment" (20)

मेरी जो एमेंडमेंट नम्बर 20 है वह शब्द एम्पलाएमेंट जोड़ने के बारे में है। यदि यह इकोनोमिक्स डिवेलपमेंट में आ जाता है तो आपने जो कोई मिनिस्ट्रीज बना रखी हैं, इंडस्ट्रियल डिवेलपमेंट की, कम्पनी एफेयर्स की, लेबर, एम्पलाएमेंट एंड रिहैबिलिटेशन की, इनको आपने क्यों बना रखा है। यदि एम्प्लायमेंट इकोनोमिक डिवेलपमेंट में आ जाता है तो क्यों आपने इसको अलग से रखा हुआ है।

जब पहली योजना बनी थी उस में एम्पलाएमेंट के बारे में एक चैप्टर अलग से जोड़ा गया था। अशोक मेहता साहब से इसको जुड़वाया था। इसकी वजह यह है कि यह एक अहम विषय है। उन्होंने कहा कि इसका

[Shri Shiva Chandra Jha]

एक खास चैप्टर होना चाहिए। पंडित नेहरू ने उसके कहने पर इस चैप्टर को जोड़ा और अहम समझ कर जोड़ा। सोशल सिक्योरिटी की बात एम्प्लायमेंट के बिना हाउस आफ लार्ड्स की तरह है। जब आप राइट टू वर्क की बात करते हैं तो एम्प्लायमेंट शब्द रखने से आप भागते क्यों हैं। जो सोशल स्ट्रक्चर आप बिल्ड करना चाहते हैं उसमें आप में हिम्मत नहीं है कि आप इस मसले को हल कर सकें। अगर इस शब्द को आप जोड़ दें तो शायद आप पकड़ में आ जाएं। लोग आपको कहेंगे कि एम्प्लायमेंट दो। तब आपको इसका रास्ता निकालना पड़ेगा। इसलिए आप इस मसले को नजर अन्दाज करना चाहते हैं। यदि आप चाहते हैं, कि इंटेंग्रेशन हो, उसकी भावना पैदा हो और कोऑर्डिनेटिड रूप में वह इलाका काम करे तो एम्प्लायमेंट शब्द आप जोड़ दें। हम जानते हैं कि आपने जो एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स-चेंज खोल रखे हैं, वहां क्या होता है, कितनों को नौकरियां मिलती हैं और कितना देश में अनएम्प्लायमेंट है। वह बात अलग है। लेकिन नामकरण भी बहुत जरूरी है। आपका भी नामकरण चार दिन के बाद या छः महीने के बाद, जब आपका जन्म हुआ था, किया गया था और बलबन्त राव यशबन्त राव चव्हाण आपका नाम रखा गया था। फार्मली नामकरण की आवश्यकता होती है। फार्मली आप एम्प्लायमेंट शब्द इस में जोड़ दें, यही मेरा संशोधन है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I understand his anxiety about it. I think, every effort has some objective before it. When we say that we are concerned about economic development. What we are aiming at is not merely the development of areas but it is a development of human beings. We want to create a sort of responsible feeling in the minds of the people about the security of the country. This can be done only if there is a feeling of contentment and stability in the human mind. So, employment is a presumption and it is not necessary to specifically add that. By merely giving a name, one does not

become what one is not. In order to recognise, it we give a name. इस लिए अब नामकरण की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं दिखाई देती है।

I personally feel this amendment is not necessary. I am opposing it, not because I am opposed to his thoughts and ideas but I am opposing it because it is not necessary.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, I put Government amendment No. 6 to clause 4 to vote.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मन्त्री महोदय द्वारा रखे गए संशोधन संख्या 6 का विरोध करना चाहता हूँ। यह कौंसिल जिन विषयों के बारे में विचार करेगी और अपनी सिफ़ारिशें देगी, मन्त्री महोदय उन विषयों में से बार्डर डिसपयूट्स और लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज को क्यों हटाना चाहते हैं? क्या वह समझते हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार उन समस्याओं को हल कर लेगी? क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार ने महाराष्ट्र और मैसूर का सीमा विवाद हल कर लिया है? उसने इस के लिए महाजन कमीशन बनाया, लेकिन उस की रिपोर्ट को खटाई में डाल दिया। क्या उसने पंजाब और हरियाणा के क्षेत्रीय और सीमा विवाद को हल कर दिया है, उस ने तो चण्डीगढ़ और फ़ाजिल्का को इन दोनों राज्यों के बीच में एक बोन आफ कानटेन्शन बना दिया है, उन की स्थिति एलसरा-लौरेन की सी बना दी है। केन्द्र बार्डर डिसपूट्स और लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज के मसलों को कौंसिल के विचार-क्षेत्र से हटा कर अपने अन्तर्गत रखे, यह एक गलत बात है। सरकार इन विषयों को उस कौंसिल के पास ही रहने दे और अगर वह इस प्रकार के मसलों को हल न कर सके, तो वह उन्हें केन्द्रीय सरकार को रेफर करेगी और उस के बाद केन्द्रीय सरकार कोई कमेटी या कमीशन बना कर उन मसलों को हल करने का प्रयत्न कर सकती है। लेकिन पहली कोशिश यही होनी चाहिए कि कौंसिल के मेम्बर ही

आपस में इन मसलों को हल करने का प्रयत्न करें।

इस लिए मन्त्री इन विषयों को इस क्लज से हटाएँ नहीं और अपने एमेंडमेंट को वापिस ले लें।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, while moving the Bill, I gave explanation as to why we thought it necessary to withdraw this particular part. We were rather optimistic in the beginning that by putting these powers in the Council's objectives, possibly, it might help us to solve the problem. But, as we know, the border disputes are very sensitive disputes and it creates bad blood between the two parties to it. By making this sort of a Council responsible for discussing and solving these problems, the main purpose of this Council will be completely defeated. That is, really speaking, the fear and that fear has compelled me to come forward with an amendment to withdraw some part which I had myself added. I did not mind coming forward with this amendment realising that it may lead to results which we never had in mind.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

Page 2, lines 40 and 41,—

omit "border disputes, linguistic minorities or" (6)

The Lok Sabha divided :

AYES

Division No. 35]

[16. 58 hors.

Aga, Shri Ahmed
Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram
Ahmed, Shri F. A.
Atam Das, Shri
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha
Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar
Banerjee, Shri S. M.
Barua, Shri Bedabrata

Baswant, Shri
Bhagat, Shri B. R.
Bhakt Darshan, Shri
Bhandare, Shri R. D.
Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri
Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
Chandrika Prasad, Shri
Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar
Chatuvedi, Shri R. L.
Chavan, Shri Y. B.
Choudhary, Shri Valmiki
Choudhary, Shri J. K.
Deo, Shri K. P. Singh
Devgun, Shri Hardyal
Dinesh Singh, Shri
Dixit, Shri G.C.
Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
Ganesh, Shri K. R.
Gautam, Shri C. D.
Gavit, Shri Tukaram
Ghosh, Shri P. K.
Ghosh, Shri Parimal
Gowder, Shri Nanja
Goyal, Shri Shri Chand
Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal
Iqbal Singh, Shri
Jadhav, Shri V. N.
Jamir, Shri S. C.
Jamna Lal, Shri
Kalita, Shri Dhireswar
Kamala Kumari, Kumari
Kamble, Shri
Kandappan, Shri S.
Karan Singh, Dr.
Kasture, Shri A. S.
Kesri, Shri Sitaram
Khadilkar, Shri R. K.
Khanna, Shri P. K.
Kinder Lal, Shri
Kotoki, Shri Liladhar
Kureel, Shri B. N.
Lalit Sen, Shri
Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
Lutfal Haque, Shri
Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini
Master, Shri Bhola Nath
Menon, Shri Govinda
Mishra, Shri G. S.
Mody, Shri Piloo
Mohamed Imam, Shri J.
Mohammad Ismail, Shri
Muthusami, Shri C.
Nahata, Shri Amrit
Palchaudhuri, Shrimati Ila

Pant, Shri K. C.
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Patil Shri S. D.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shaffi
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Ramabadran, Shri T. D.
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Ranga, Shri
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi
 Rao, Shri Thirumala
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Sadhu Ram, Shri
 Saigal, Shri A. S.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Santosham Dr. M.
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayana
 Shah, Shri T. P.
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Shahstri, Shri Ramavatar
 Shahstri, Shri Sheopujan
 Sher Singh, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan
 Siddayya, Shri
 Snatak, Shri Nar Deo
 Somani, Shri N. K.
 Sonar, Dr. A.G.
 Sunder Lal, Shri
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tula Ram, Shri
 Tyagi, Shri Om Prakash
 Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra
 Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra
 Yadav, Shri Jageshwar

NOES

Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra
 Mangalathumadam, Shri
 Molahu Prasad, Shri
 Patel, Shri J. H.
 Satya Narain Singh, Shri

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result*
 of the division is Ayes—107; Noes—5.

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

Page 2, line 32,—

add at the end—

“and employment” (20)

The Lok Sabha divided :

Division No. 36]

[17.07 hrs.]

AYES

Banerjee, Shri S. M.
 Bhagaban Das, Shri
 Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra
 Kalita, Shri Dhireswar
 Mangalathumadam, Shri
 Mody, Shri Piloo
 Mrityunjay Prasad, Shri
 Patel, Shri J. H.
 Ramji Ram, Shri
 Satya Narain Singh, Shri
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar
 Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari

NOES

Aga, Shri Ahmed
 Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram
 Ahmed, Shri F. A.
 Atam Das, Shri
 Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar
 Barua, Shri Bedabarta
 Baswant, Shri
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri
 Bhandare, Shri R. D.
 Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
 Chandrika Prasad, Shri
 Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar
 Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.
 Choudhary, Shri Valmiki
 Choudhury, Shri J. K.
 Deo, Shri K. P. Singh
 Devgun, Shri Hardayal
 Dinesh Singh, Shri
 Dixit, Shri G. C.
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.
 Gautam, Shri C. D.

*Shri Bhagaban Das also recorded his vote for AYES.

Gavit, Shri Tukaram
 Ghosh, Shri P. K.
 Ghosh, Shri Parimal
 Gowder, Shri Nanja
 Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal
 Iqbal Singh, Shri
 Jadhav, Shri V. N.
 Jamir, Shri S. C.
 Jamna Lal, Shri
 Kamble, Shri
 Kalita, Shri Dhireswar
 Kamala Kumari, Kumari
 Kandappan, Shri S.
 Karan Singh, Dr.
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram
 Khadilkar, Shri R. K.
 Khanna, Shri P. K.
 Kinder Lal, Shri
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar
 Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Lalit Sen, Shri
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
 Lutfal Haque, Shri
 Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
 Mahashi, Dr. Sarojini
 Menon, Shri Govinda
 Mishra, Shri G. S.
 Mohammad Ismail, Shri
 Molabu Prasad, Shri
 Nahata, Shri Amrit
 Palchaudhuri, Shrimati Ila
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Patil Shri S. D.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shaffi
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Ramabadran, Shri T. D.
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Ranga, Shri
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi
 Rao, Shri Thirumala
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
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Sadhu Ram, Shri
 Saigal, Shri A. S.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Santosham, Dr. M.
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayana
 Shah, Shri T. P.
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Shankaranand, Shri B.
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
 Sher Singh, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan
 Siddayya, Shri
 Santak, Shri Nar Deo
 Sonar, Dr. A. G.
 Sunder Lal, Shri
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tula Ram, Shri
 Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra
 Yadav, Shri Jageshwar

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result* of the division is : Ayes—12; Noes—93.

The motion was Negatived.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 4, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 5.—(Meetings of the Council.)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Is Mr. Kalita moving the amendment?

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : Yes, I am moving.

I beg to move :

Page 3,—

for lines 4 to 7, substitute—

"(3) All questions at a meeting of the Council shall be decided by consensus of the members present." (29)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am now putting the amendment of Mr. Kalita to the vote of the House.

*Saryshri Raj Deo Singh and Raji Ram also recorded their votes for NOES.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

Amendment No. 29 Was Put And Negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is:

"That Clause 5 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted

Clause 5 was added to the Bill.

Clause 6 was added to the Bill.

Clause 7.—(Coordination Committee)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There are amendments Nos. 7, 8 and 9 in the name of Shri Chavan.

Amendments made :

Page 3, line 22,—

for "Maghalaya; and" substitute
"Meghalaya;" (7)

Page 3 Line 24,—

for "Tirpura;" substitute "Tripura; and" (8)

Page 3,—

after line 24, insert—

"(c) the person for the time being holding the office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas." (9)

(SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN)

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : I beg to move :

Page 3, line 21,—

omit "the Governor of Assam and" (30)

Page 3, —

for line 28, substitute—

"(2) The Chairman of the Committee shall be elected by the Committee itself." (31)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am now putting Shri Kalita's amendments Nos. 30 and 31 to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 30 & 31 Were Put And Negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clause 7 as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 7, as amended was added to the Bill.

Clause 8 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1.—(Short title and Commencement.)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We go to Clause 1. There is an amendment.

Amendment made :

Page 1, line 3,

for "1969" substitute "1970" (2)

(SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was Adopted.

Clause 1, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Enacting Formula

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : For the Enacting Formula, there is an amendment, Amendment No. 1 by Shri Chavan.

Amendment made :

Page 1, line 1,—

for "Twentieth" substitute—
"Twenty-first" (1)

(SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Enacting Formula, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was Adopted.

The Enacting Formula as amended, was added to the Bill.

The Title was added to the Bill.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Sir, I beg to move :

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

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Motion moved :

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

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : I have only a few points to make. I hope that whoever would come to be appointed as Governor hereafter would be somebody who would be non-political, first of all, and who would secondly be familiar with the defence problems and defence needs of that particular area. I hope that he would also be given proper advice in regard to the question of the use of his second vote as well as casting vote, and that he would be expected to try his best to help the council to reach decisions by near-unanimity and that only on very rare occasions would he find it necessary and possible to use his second vote or casting vote, so that on most of the occasions he would be able to achieve a consensus.

Coming to the language problem, if in addition to Hindi, by any chance, the local language can be developed in the NEFA area whatever it may be, an effort should be made in that regard.

Some observations were being made in regard to the facilities that were being given to ex-military personnel to settle in NEFA. I am glad that an effort is being made and I hope that this would further be developed.

In order to induce the Nagaland people to take part in this council, one of the ways that may be tried would be to induce the other areas to choose their representatives from the Ministerial level, so that the council would have a sufficient status and the Nagaland Minister or the concerned Minister also might find it possible to take part in it.

I also hope that once in a year at least the Home Minister would find it possible to go there and attend the meetings of this council, because that would also pave the way for active participation in this council by Nagaland and the Nagaland Government.

I wish this council all success.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुबनी) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, यह विधेयक मोटे तौर पर ठीक ही है। इस तरह का एक्सपेरिमेंट हो तो उस पर उतना एतराज नहीं होता है। उसमें सफलता मिले तो हम उसका स्वागत करेंगे लेकिन मुझे शक

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मालूम होता है कि उस इलाके को जो बुनियादी बातें हैं, जो बुनियादी मसले हैं उनसे भागने की कोशिश सरकार इस विधेयक के जरिए कर रही है। सरकार उस इलाके का ध्यान उन बातों में हटाना चाहती है। जैसे कि आप मनीपुर को ले लें। इस नार्थ ईस्टर्न काउंसिल में मणिपुर भी जाता है। मणिपुर की बुनियादी मांगरटेडहुड की है। उसके मुताबिक सरकार क्या कर रही है, मणिपुर को कब स्टेट बनाया जाएगा, इस बारे में कोई भी बात इसमें साफ नहीं आ रही है। जनता का ध्यान उस तरफ न जाए, वह दूसरी बातों में ही घूमती रहे, इस तरह की बात मुझे इसमें नजर आती है। कोई तुलना की बात नहीं है लेकिन अंग्रेजी जमाने की बात मुझे याद आती है कि हमारी बुनियादी बातें कुछ और होती थीं लेकिन ब्रिटिश सरकार हमें देती थी 1919 ऐक्ट और 1935 कांफ्रेट। दूसरी छोटी मांगों को वह पूरा कर देती थी ताकि बुनियादी मांगों की तरफ ध्यान न जा करके दूसरी बातों में ध्यान फंसा रहे। तो मैं कुछ उमी तरह की बात यहां भी देख रहा हूँ। जो उनकी बुनियादी मांगें हैं उनकी तरफ से सरकार उनका ध्यान हटाना चाहती है और मेकन्ड्री बातों की तरफ उनका ध्यान ले जाना चाहती है।

आप नेफा को वीजिंग। श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने जो कालोनियलिज्म का शब्द इस्तेमाल किया वह बिल्कुल गलत हो, ऐसी बात नहीं है। सोशियो एकोनामिक सैटअप जो हिन्दुस्तान का है और उसकी जो फॉसिज हैं, और जिस तरह से वह यहां की एकोनामी को डील करती है उसमें इस तरह की बात आती है। अमरीका में इन्टरनल कालोनियलिज्म की बात आई थी। ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स इन्वैस्टिगसी डेवलपमेंट थी उन्होंने वेस्टर्न स्टेट्स को इन्टर्नल कालोनियलिज्म का रूप देने की कोशिश की थी। तो उसी तरह की बात यहां पर भी आती है। (ध्यानवान) ...। उसी तरह से नेफा अंग्रेजी शब्द है फिर आप उसका नाम क्यों नहीं बदलते

[**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा**]

हैं। डा० लोहिया ने जैसे उर्वशियम का नाम दिया था, उसी तरह का नाम आप ला सकते हैं।

इसी तरह से नागालैंड के लिए बात कही गई कि वह शामिल क्यों नहीं हुआ तो उसके लिए कोई कंविंसिंग जवाब नहीं आ रहा है कि नागालैंड क्यों नहीं आना चाहता है; क्या खास वजह है वह नहीं बतलाई गई। आप एडवाइजरी बाडी के रूप में बनाना चाहते हैं जिसमें अफसर और गवर्नर होंगे लेकिन क्या यह अच्छा नहीं होता कि उस इलाके के जितने एम० पी० हैं उनको इसमें रखा जाए।

उन्हीं की बीडी होती। इस काउन्सिल में एम० पी० भी होते तो आल इंडिया कांग्रेस में उन मसलों पर विचार किया जाता और यह परिषद् मीनिंगफुल होती बिनम्यथ इस के कि जो अभी आपने अफसर उस में भर दिए हैं।

बीथी बात एम्प्लायमेंट की है, जिस पर डिबीजन भी हुआ, लेकिन सरकार एम्प्लायमेंट से भागती है। एम्प्लायमेंट की खास एक शर्त होनी चाहिए।

बोर्डर डिमप्यूट को सरकार अपने हाथ में लेना चाहती है। यह इन का दम्भ गलत है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन्टर स्टेट बोर्डर डिमप्यूट कितने इन्होंने हल किए। पहली कोशिश यह होनी चाहिए कि आपस में ही सम्बन्धित पार्टीज फंसला करे, और जब ऐसा सम्भव न हो तब आप इन्टरवीन करें। लेकिन इस तरह से आप अपने हाथ में हर मामले को ले लेते हैं इससे मालूम होता है कि जो आप कहते हैं कि जनता का हिस्सा अपनी समस्याओं को सुलझाने में होना चाहिए, वह कन्ट्राडिक्टरी बात हो जाती है। एक तरफ आप कहते हैं कि जनता पार्टिसिपेट करे और दूसरी तरफ जनता कुछ मसलों का फंसला करना चाहती है तो वह ताकत आप उस को नहीं देना चाहते। कहते हैं बहुत सेंसिटिव हिस्सा है। क्या स्टील

प्लान्ट वाला मामला सेंसिटिव नहीं है; क्या उस के लिए आन्दोलन नहीं चला; और भी दूसरे प्रोजेक्ट्स के लिए क्या विवाद नहीं चलता है; आप खुद हर मामले को सेंसिटिव बना देते हैं। अगर वातावरण अच्छा रहे तो सेंसिटिवनेस नहीं होगी।

हम इलाके के विकास के लिए वृत्तियादी बात सोशियो-इकानामिक स्ट्रक्चर में परिवर्तन लाने की है। वहाँ के, सोशियो-इकानामिक मेट अप में आप बराबरी की भावना लाए और लोगों में एम्प्लायमेंट लाए। तब पूरा इन्ट्रेशन होगा और इस विधेयक का मतसद भी पूरा होगा।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बिल हमारे सामने है, इस की जो भी खामियां हों, लेकिन यह ठीक है, पास होना चाहिए। पर मैं इस के सम्बन्ध में दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। उस इलाके के पिछड़े-पन को जब तक नहीं हटाया जाएगा तब तक इस तरह की काउन्सिल बनाने से वहाँ की समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं होगा। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि आज हमारे देश के अन्दर भूमि समस्या पहले नम्बर की समस्या बन कर के खड़ी है और उसी सवाल को ले कर हमारे देश में आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं, तरह तरह के लोग आन्दोलन चला रहे हैं और साथ ही उसी सवाल को ले कर के, जिनको हम नक्सलपंथी कहते हैं, वह भी आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं। उन के तरीके में फर्क हो सकता है जिस से हमारा मतभेद हो सकता है, और है। लेकिन उन्होंने जमीन की समस्या को पकड़ा है और इसी-लिए पकड़ा है कि हमारे देश में यह समस्या सबसे अहम समस्या है और आप देखते होंगे कि तमाम देश के मुस्तलिफ हिस्सों में यह आन्दोलन बढ़ता जा रहा है, और आने वाले दिनों में यह बढ़ा ही व्यापक होने वाला है जिस में हमारा दल सब से आगे बढ़ कर के हिस्सा लेने वाला है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप सिर्फ परिषद् बना करके छोड़ देंगे और उन इलाकों के किसानों की जमीन की जो भूख

है उस का हल नहीं निवालेंगे तो आप किसी भी समस्या का समाधान नहीं निवाल सकेंगे, देश की सुरक्षा हमारी मजबूत नहीं हो सकेगी और हमारी कमजोरी से जो हमारे दुश्मन फायदा उठाना चाहेंगे वे उठाएंगे। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह होगा कि इस परिषद् को सबसे पहले जमीन के बटवारे के सिलसिले में और खाम तौर से जो सरकारी जमीन पड़ती पड़ी हुई है और बड़े बड़े मालिकों के पास जो जमीन जरूरत से ज्यादा पड़ी है, उस को वांटने की जरूरत है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि यह ठीक है कि हिन्दी हमारे देश की भाषा है और हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी को धीरे धीरे तमाम लोग स्वीकार करें लेकिन ब्लात नहीं, जबरन नहीं बल्कि उन को समझा-बुझा कर। अभी तक हिन्दी के नेताओं ने हमारे देश में जो रवैया अपनाया है, उस की वजह से हिन्दी के आगे बढ़ने में कुछ रुकावटें हुई हैं और उस का क्षति हुई है। तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि उस इलाके में हिन्दी के बारे में जो भी बात कही जाए, सावधानी से कही जाए और जनता को विश्वास में ले कर कही जाए ताकि उन की भाषाएं भी आगे बढ़ें और हिन्दी भी आगे बढ़े और वे यह न समझें कि हिन्दी के नाम पर उन की भाषा को दबाया जाता है। अगर ऐसी उन की भावना बनेगी तो हिन्दी आगे बढ़ेगी और उन की भाषाएं भी आगे बढ़ेंगी। तो मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि कौंसिल बनाते समय, इन बातों पर कार्य करने के लिए आप को तैयार रहना चाहिए ताकि सचमुच मैं सरकार इस कौंसिल का इस्तेमाल जो वहां पर सामाजिक और आर्थिक परिस्थितियां हैं, उन में परिवर्तन लाने की दिशा में कर सके।

श्री श्रीचन्द्र गोयल (चण्डीगढ़) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने गृह मन्त्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने एक सही दिशा में यह कदम उठाया है कि इन पूर्वी राज्यों के लिए इन्होंने एक परिषद् निर्माण की है और मुझे पूरा भरोसा और विश्वास है कि परिषद्

के माध्यम से जहां तक सुरक्षा सम्बंधी प्रश्न है और जहां तक आर्थिक विकास की समस्याएं हैं, उन को हल करने में निश्चित रूप से सहायता मिलेगी क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि इकट्ठे बैठ कर अनेकों बार अनेकों प्रश्न हल हो जाते हैं जो अलग-अलग बैठ कर अगर उन को करना चाहें तो हल नहीं हो पाते हैं। इस के साथ साथ जो नेफा को इन्होंने शामिल किया है और जो दोनों प्रदेशों के आपस के सीमा विवाद हैं उन को इससे अलग रखने का इन्होंने अपने संशोधन दिए हैं, वह भी मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत उचित संशोधन हैं।

इस के साथ साथ मैं यह भी उन से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि यह उचित था कि वे इस में नागा प्रदेश को भी सम्मिलित करते क्योंकि नागा प्रदेश को इसमें सम्मिलित होने से उस की कोई हानि नहीं होगी बल्कि उस को किसी न किसी प्रकार लाभ होगा और मैं समझता हूँ कि वे शीघ्र ही इस दिशा में कदम उठाएंगे और उन को इस बात के लिए मनाकर तैयार करेंगे कि वे भी इस परिषद् के अन्दर सम्मिलित हो जाएं।

इस के साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आज बड़े जोर से आप के अध्ययन में यह बात आई होगी, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि आज वहां पर, मनीपुर के अन्दर काफी बड़ा सम्मेलन हुआ है जिसमें मनीपुर को पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा दिया जाए, इस दिशा में उन्होंने अपनी आवाज बुलन्द की है। अभी पिछले दिनों में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो अपने पार्लियामेंटरी रिम्पोज़िबल यहां पर किया था, उस में इन सब प्रदेशों के प्रतिनिधि यहां पर आए थे, नागालैन्ड के भी आए थे, त्रिपुरा के भी आए थे और मिचालय के भी आए थे। इन सब प्रदेशों के प्रतिनिधि यहां पर आए थे और उन की एक बड़ी तीव्र मांग यह है, उन की एक बड़ी ज़ब्रदस्त मांग यह है कि उन को पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा दिया जाना चाहिए। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बजाए इसके कि फिर किसी प्रकार के आन्दोलन के द्वारा वे इस को प्राप्त करें, हमारे गृह मन्त्री जी इन के

[श्री श्रीचन्द्र गोयल]

इस पूर्ण राज्य की मांग पर विचार करें, चाहे वह मनीपुर का प्रश्न हो या वह त्रिपुरा का प्रश्न हो उन की मांग पर विचार करके अगर हम उनको पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा दे दें तो जो आन्दोलन का रास्ता है, उममे उन को हम हटा सकेंगे।

अन्तिम बात कह कर मैं समाप्त कर दूंगा। जैसा आप ने देखा कि इन प्रदेशों के प्रतिनिधि जो इन्डियन पार्लियामेन्टरी सिम्पोजियम में आए थे, वे बड़े योग्य सदस्य थे और वे राष्ट्रीयता की भावना में परिपूर्ण थे। इस इन्डियन पार्लियामेन्टरी सिम्पोजियम को करके आपने वहाँ के प्रतिनिधियों को बाकी लोगों में मिलने के लिए एक अवसर प्रदान किया। तो मैं गृह मन्त्री जी से इस बात की भी प्रार्थना करूंगा कि उन लोगों को बाकी राष्ट्र के लोगों से मिलने का अवसर देने के लिए इस बात की समय समय पर व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए ताकि उन के अन्दर राष्ट्रीयता की जो भावना है वह बाकी प्रदेशों के समान इसी प्रकार कायम रहे और बढ़ती रहे।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have nothing to answer.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

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

The Motion was adopted.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

FIFTIETH REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : I present the Fiftieth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

17.21 hrs.

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION (AMENDMENT) BILL; AND MOTION RE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES (DR. V.K.R.V. RAO) : I move :

"That the Bill to amend the University Grants Commission Act, 1956, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

With your permission, I also move :

"That the Annual Reports of the University Grants Commission for the years 1965-66, 1966-67 and 1967-68, laid on the Table of the House on the 29th, March, 1967, 3rd May, 1968 and the 14th March, 1969 respectively, be taken into consideration."

SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR (Sambalpur) : Why is the latest report of the UGC for 1968-69 not here?

DR. V. K. R. V. RAO : It has been circulated; it has not been laid on the Table; in a couple of days it will be laid on the Table. It has now been obtained.

17.22 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the Chair*]

First, I should like to speak about the Bill. The UGC had been functioning from 1956 and since then the scale of its activities had been increasing. The number of universities had also increased enormously and it also had taken under its purview a large number of colleges for review and assistance. The UGC therefore needed to be strengthened and a parliamentary committee was appointed under chairmanship of the late Shri Sapru which recommended that it should have a larger composition and have 15 members against the nine members at present. The committee also recommended that there should be five full time members as against one full time member at present. Another recommendation was that the vice chancellors or heads of institutions which were in receipt of grants from the UGC should not be members of the Commission; not that they had anything against them but with a view to ensure complete objectivity and impartiality on the part of the Commission. It was felt that the Commission should not confine itself to giving maintenance grants for Central universities. At the moment it gives maintenance and development grants for Central universities. For all