

[Shri K. Hanumanthaiya]

One or two members, including Mr. Appa Naidu, referred to road over/under bridges being built at appropriate places. This is exactly my plea to State Governments. I made an announcement in my budget speech that we will take up this programme very seriously and I earmarked a certain sum for this purpose. I sent letters in June itself to all State Governments to send me the list of over/under bridges they need. Only one or two States have replied. I wrote a letter last week reminding them that the money is likely to lapse.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : The States are hesitating because 50 per cent of the cost should be met by the States.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : It is not possible to waive it and it will never be possible in future. He does not know the scheme. I will discuss it with him privately. In fact, this money comes out of the railway safety fund. It is not the State Government who have to bear the burden.

They have to do the preliminary work like acquisition of land, gnaking of roads on either side of the bridge or railway track. So, he has not understood the scheme correctly. Once he knows the full scheme I am sure he will support me and not any other proposal.

One hon. Member referred to Sultanpur-Howrah line and water-logging at Howrah Station. I will look into that and do whatever I can.

Lastly, the hon. lady Member said that I do not take her seriously. Hereafter I will take her seriously.

SHRI DINEN, BHATTACHARYYA : He has not said anything about casual labour.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA : The labour will take care of itself.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1971-72 for the purposes of Railways, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clauses 2, and 3, the Schedule, clause 1, the Enacting Formula and Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2 and 3, the Schedule, Clause, 1 the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : I beg to move :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : I am happy that we have been able to find 1½ hours for this Bill. I hope there is no other Bill coming from him.

11. 13 hrs.

MANIPUR (HILL AREAS) DISTRICT COUNCILS BILL—(Contd).

MR. SPEAKER: We will resume the further discussion of the Manipur (Hill-Areas) District Councils Bill. Shri Tombi Singh will continue his speech.

SHRI N. TOMBI SINGH (Inner Manipur) : Mr. Speaker, yesterday I mentioned in my opening remarks that the views expressed by some of my hon. friends, like Shri Basumatari, came as a complete shock and surprise to us. We are totally opposed to the proposal of merger of Manipur Hill Areas, or any part

of it, rather even an inch of it, with Nagaland or any other neighbouring State for the matter of that. I notice that Shri Basumatari is not here; I wish he were here. I would like to inform him that charity begins at home. He himself belongs to the tribal areas of Assam. He himself represents some very big tribes. Let him begin his charity from his own district. I think he expects that I should propose the merger of his districts with Nagaland. It would be very unfortunate and I am not going to do that because I know the full significance of the Naga extremist movement now. They are now practising the modern theory of expansionism in this difficult area. Operating from Pakistan and China borders these extremists are creating difficulties in the matter of law and order and they are trying to extend their influence to Assam and other parts of the neighbouring areas. In spite of my due respect to Shri Basumatari, it is very unfortunate that he is perhaps slumbering in his own profound ignorance of what is going on in his neighbouring area. To quote the English saying, he was next to the Church but farthest from God. He was very much profoundly ignorant of things around in his neighbouring areas.

I would like to say with all the emphasis at my command that Manipur will oppose any proposal to integrate even an inch of it with any neighbouring area, specially the neighbouring Nagaland State, with all our affection and regard for the Nagaland State and we wish the State all prosperity. In the last few years we have been seeing very uncalled for slogans calling for the merger of these areas. Perhaps, these friends are just aggressing on the territorial, emotional and cultural integrity of the people of Manipur, whether they are in the hills or they are in the valley. They have failed to understand the problem that is represented in this very difficult border unit.

The entire background of the Bill that has come up before us for discussion and also the series that would be following this Bill, the North-eastern Reorganisation Bill and various other measures that will come up, has indicated very clearly, beyond any speck of doubt, that the Government of India under the very able leadership of the

Prime Minister have realised the situation there and there should be no going back upon it. It is a waste of time to entertain further departure from the pattern that has been evolved after so much of serious thought applied to it.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to certain remarks made by my hon. friend from Tripura. I am in agreement with many things which he said but I was extremely surprised when he mentioned that India was not a nation at any time in history. The national boundaries might have been different from the present ones at different times, but then I would like to make this observation. I am not myself a historian but I belong to an area where different people, different cultures, different languages and dialects prospered together and even then we claimed to be one ethnic group. Whatever might have been the administrative pattern before the British or the Muslim period, one thing was very clear that our cultural and national boundary was not protected under one administration, under one king but there was a very spontaneous cultural and emotional boundary affiliating all the units. They might have been under different kings and under different names of States but there was such a spontaneous affiliation. In the course of thousands of years our sub-continent been enjoying this oneness of culture and emotional integrity and oneness of spiritual growth that has continued till today. We are proud to belong to such a country which has evolved through serious crises and stresses and at this critical period of our history we should not even for one moment have even a doubt whether we were a nation, whether we have been one or many. We have been one in spite of many differences, languages and administrative boundaries. We have been one culturally and in spiritual development.

Regarding the clauses and the details of the Bill that we are discussing today I do not have much to say. May be, for administrative reasons and other exigencies certain provisions have been made.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to the erstwhile Union Territories Act in which certain provisions were made and tried for a few years in Tripura

[Shri N. Tombi Singh]

and in Manipur specially. In spite of the provisions made—similar provisions have been maintained, almost copied in this Bill I do not consider this will be any handicap in the efficient administration. But only one warning has to be sounded. I hope, the hon Minister will note that in the case of linking up of the District Councils with the State Government, a proper care has to be made that good officers who belong to Government cadre of a State go to the District Councils to guide the administration of the State and District Councils with efficiency and also to bring about much needed harmony in those areas. There is no limit to the love for autonomy, to the love for liberty. Once it is given, it is ever-growing. Therefore, we can analyse this view by slightly referring to the actual geographical position and the justification of these six hill districts in the area in spite of the smallness of the area. If we divide 8000 sq. miles by 6, each district will get on an average about 1300 sq. miles. The density of population on an average will be about 45 in 1 sq. mile. Naturally, there will be scanty population and small villages will be far in between and each district will have, on an average, about 60,000 population, may be more or less. So, each district, particularly, from the point of view of population and also from the point of view of regional development and economic resources, may be regarded as small.

But then considering the thousands of years that have been wasted under so many administrations, in respect of communications, in respect of education, in respect of so many other development measures, the representatives of the people should receive their adequate amount of rights and they should be able to exercise these rights through their representatives at least in the sphere of their development.

I do not propose that these measures of safeguards, these measures of autonomy, whatever we call them, should continue in Manipur or in any part of the country for years to come. There should be a limit and now, we hope, that at one stage, the country will be prosperous and the whole population will be, more or less, at one

stage of development so that no section, no area, will need any special protection. So long as we have not reached that stage, these areas require a departure for protection in the matter of political rights and development rights, some departure from the normal yardsticks.

In this connection, we would like to support it and we would invite the whole House to support the measures that have been introduced here. It was in this area, in some of the areas at least, that China and Pakistan tried to infuse the anti-national feeling and they could even train our youths and, during Gen. Ayub's time, through the eastern wing, they could even get away a large number of youths. Even from the valley they took away. Now, in the present context, Ayub Khan and the military junta of Pakistan must be laughing at themselves that they tried that. But now we remember, as we introduced this measure, that it was in these areas where the pace of development has been slow, communication has been very poor, facilities were poor in those areas. Thus, the hostile neighbours could take advantage and could take the whole of our young men and women and get them trained in anti-national hostile activities. If we decentralise and increase the pace of administration in these areas which could be done in abundance through these measures, we can look forward that there will be even very quick improvement in the law and order situation in the hill areas.

Another word of warning that I wanted to sound which I could not make yesterday is this, about the services. When the Territorial Council was experimented in Tripura and Manipur, we could not give officers, efficient people because it was declared by the then administration in Tripura as well as in Manipur that henceforward whoever is going to the Territorial Councils would be considered as on foreign service. They will not enjoy any protection and they go on their risk. So, they could not get any good officers. Now, these District Councils, as we do not aim at furthering separation between Council and Council and between the valley and the hills and between other parts of the country and the hill areas, should be allowed to come nearer and nearer to one another and the works are done in a quicker pace.

Then we must be very clear about this that the State Government as well as the Home Ministry which is the nerve centre and which is the guiding authority should make clear rules and issue instructions that officers must be encouraged and the best of officers must be encouraged with all the facilities given to go to these undeveloped areas so that development as also improvement of these areas must be made at the quickest possible pace.

I do not have much more to say than the only point that I would like to make before I conclude and that is that Manipur, standing in the Far-East and on the eastern frontier of the country, should be strengthened and no attempt should be made to separate the valley from the hills. No attempt should be made to dismember Manipur by taking away a chunk of the area either from the hills or from the valley and get it integrated in any neighbouring State because Manipur has continued for the last thousands and thousands of years as one unit, hill and valley and the people, and I do not know how far I have been successful in making this point yesterday. The people are more or less of the same stock. The difference is only on the basis of religion and also on the basis of the facilities of communication. Otherwise, we do not have basically two different types of people. The people there, either in the hills or in the valley, belong to the same stock, Mongoloid stock, anthropologically and by customs. About customs, a very important clause has been provided in this Bill.

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI N. TOMBI SINGH : I am concluding.

These District Councils are empowered to protect their customs and their rites which are traditionally theirs.

Each tribe, however small it may be, has its own dialect. There are as many as about 200 dialects in the hill areas of Manipur. Each tribe has great respect for its dialect, its customs and hand-

loom and handicrafts and type of cloth. Each tribe uses its own peculiar handloom cloth at the time of rituals. From this you can see how much sentimental they are in protecting their customs and manners. They have been isolated from the rest of the world including the nearest neighbour for thousands of years and so they have the deepest sentiments for their customs and manners. So, my fear is that unless protection is given to them, the majority of those who outnumber them will be wiping out their culture and their everything. So, protection has to be given to their way of life and their customs and manners.

Moreover, the handloom and handicrafts that we see in Manipur are not of accidental growth. They have grown there in the course of thousands of years. One secret why Manipur handloom cloth of the valley as well as of the hills stands the test of mill cloth is this. Especially the womenfolk of Manipur either in the hills or in the plains are very conservative about the dress and they use the handloom cloth in any feast or function. In fact, practically there is no weaver class in Manipur. All Manipuris, beginning from the small man up to the king are weavers. The whole family is a weaver. The tradition has continued and that is why the Manipuri handlooms can even today compare well with mill cloth. The tribal traditions in the hill areas as well as the tribal areas and the tribal customs are associated with handicrafts and handlooms because of this reason. So, we have to see that these things are protected.....

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : There is Manipuri dance also.

SHRI N. TOMBI SINGH : I thought that I should not waste my time by referring to that, because it is already familiar to all. Each tribe has got its own dance which is more or less developed. Each tribe has got its own tribal dances and classical dances.

In spite of the fact that Manipur has only a small population and it is small in size, yet from the economic point of view, this area has to be recognised as an essential and integrated part of the country. We recall today with satisfaction and with

[Shri N. Tombi Singh]

gratitude the fact that many years back, Panditji had recognised this, and he had written very sympathetically about it that in spite of its smallness, Manipur should not be merged with any other State in its neighbourhood and that the individuality of Manipur should be protected.

It is in this context that I support this Bill, and I am eagerly looking forward to the passing of the other measure that has been introduced today, namely the North-Eastern Areas Reorganisation Bill. If these Bills come into effect, the eastern zone will be developing fast and will be participating in the progress of the nation. This will also serve as a lesson to our hostile neighbours who did not care for the plight of their own people in the nooks and corners but tried to create hostilities in those undeveloped areas.

I am thankful to the hon. Prime Minister and the Home Minister for having brought forward this measure.

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member's speech is so educative and informative, but we do not have enough time for it now.

SHRI P. K. DEO : He was a Minister also before.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : I rise to support the Bill. I think this is the first time that an attempt is made, and seriously made, to give something to the tribals of Manipur who have a glorious tradition and culture. I am sure the district councils elected on the basis of adult franchise will serve their purpose to great extent.

It has been stated in the statement of objects and reasons that it is considered desirable that the people in the hill areas should be more closely associated with the development of these areas. With my little knowledge of Manipur, I have visited the place only when, when I could see that beautiful place—I got an idea, which has been corroborated by other friends coming from that area, that the tribals are being exploited by outsiders, big businessmen. The Manipuris have developed their art and

beautiful handicraft. We know the Manipuri dresses ; their handicrafts are famous in the country. But what do they get in return ? Big businessmen from Calcutta and Assam go there and collect the whole things by giving them a paltry sum even though the Manipuris have spent days and nights in getting those beautiful pieces woven. Thus they are exploited by outsiders to the maximum. I hope that when the district councils are constituted, this will stop ; even otherwise, Government should see that this exploitation is put a stop to.

Even in Expo 70 and in other exhibitions, the handloom products of Manipur which were exhibited have been highly appreciated. I know even in foreign countries some ladies who have a fancy for Manipuri dresses go in for these. They were captivated by the Manipuri dance, which is one of the oldest dances of this country.

So I would like to know from the hon. Minister what positive steps have been taken to develop that particular area. Manipur must be developed. After the formation of the district councils, certain taxes will be levied a tax on professions and other taxes. But will that really give some relief or help in the development of that area? Unless the Government of India help for some time to come the State of Manipur even after it is granted statehood, Manipur cannot be developed. It has potentialities for development. There are many places of sight-seeing importance. Things can be developed there. It is high time the Government thought seriously about the development of Manipur and Tripura economically in the larger interest of the integrity of the country.

I listened very carefully to the speech of Shri Tombi Singh who comes from that area. He mentioned many points. They should be considered in all seriousness. But I have a feeling that once statehood is granted, they will be asked to run their State with meagre resources. Unless resources are developed and industries are established, the State will be dependent on the Central Government and they may suffer because of that dependence.

So let the Minister clarify what positive steps have been taken to develop Manipur. After the establishment of Bangla Desh, there will be some relief for the people of Tripura because it is closely linked with Bangla Desh. But the same facilities will not be available to the people of Manipur. There is the question of distance. The distance is so much and they will not be benefited merely because Bangla Desh has been established.

But it is not so with regard to Manipur to that extent. I would, therefore, while supporting the formation of district councils under this Bill, like the hon. Minister to tell us what are the positive steps which have been taken by the Government to stop the exploitation of the tribals there and to take the goods that they manufacture at a reasonable price more for export purposes and also for internal consumption.

The small scale industries should be developed in that area. I am sure the Government will do it ungrudgingly because, as was very ably pointed out by my hon. friend, the Chinese influence is there to some extent and even the influence of Pakistan who tell them that those areas should be seized from India. But these tribal people of Manipur as in other States like Tripura and Meghalaya, stuck to their guns, and as for the way in which they patiently waited for the grant of Statehood on them, unlike some neighbours who wanted to secede from the country sometime ago, I must congratulate them, especially at the time of this emergency, when we are being attacked by our hostile enemies, the military dictatorship of Pakistan and also when there is a fear of our being attacked by another treacherous enemy, the neighbouring Chinese, we should see that all these people in the areas of Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya are fully satisfied. There should be no dissatisfaction there; no discontent there. For that matter, even if some States were to suffer, these border States should never suffer, and they should be developed to their fullest capacity so that they are able to defend our borders as and when necessary.

SHRI PAOKAI HAOKIP (Outer Manipur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bill which is being discussed at the moment is one of the two Bills introduced in this august House

for the territory of Manipur. I congratulate the Prime Minister and the Minister of State, Shri Pantji, for the pains they have taken and the sympathy they have shown in this matter.

So far as the Bill granting autonomy to the hill areas of Manipur is concerned, it is one of continuation of the series of measures that have been taken by the Center for the protection of the tribal people in that region. This Bill also, I am proud to say, is concerned with the section of Indian tribal population living in that part of Manipur. This Bill, for the first time, is introduced for the continued growth and progress of the people of that region.

In the Bill itself, it is mentioned that it is to provide an opportunity to the tribal people to come into contact more adequately with the developmental activities. So far as the development of that area is concerned, I wish to say that the situation obtaining today in regard to the development is not a very happy one. It was more unhappy before the creation of the five districts.

There were so many reasons for this backwardness, such as the activities of some persons from Nagaland in the course of their movement. Those activities stood in the way of normal development. At the same time because of the limited power granted to the Government of Manipur under the Union Territories Act of 1963, there was some difficulty in the way of improvements in that area. All these things contributed to the backwardness of Manipur. One should be happy to know that since the division of Manipur into a number of districts, there had been some progress. When there were no districts, administration in the hill areas especially was very slow. No proper offices were there and communication was bad. All those facilities were absent. Since the creation of the districts communications had improved along with the other things. Today there is some progress in the hill areas.

I consider this Bill to be one of the important measures, a sort of a security measure to protect the interests, customs and culture of the tribal people. To be frank the tribal people had to experience some difficulties. I referred to the activi-

[Shri Paokai Haokip]

ties of some anti-social elements. I do not want to say hostile elements—which have been standing in the way of progress. But the Government did not lag behind in taking very prompt measures to curb those activities and the Government is very successful today.

So far as the division of Manipur into more districts is concerned, I should like to point out—incidentally, this is not my personal desire, it is the will of the people living in those areas—that in order to quicken the progress of this region, there should be more districts. Now we are having five; out of those five, four are from the hill areas and one is from the valley. If the areas are divided into more districts, I am sure that the administration will be more efficient and consequently the progress will be more swift. I would, therefore, like to request the hon. Minister to see that this is done.

So far as the integrity of Manipur is concerned, my hon. friend has just now pointed out that not an inch of our land will be given to any other State. This is our stand, and we stick to this for all time to come.

I would also like to point out here that some hon. friends yesterday were referring to the problems and difficulties of the hill areas, and one friend opposite said that the tribals were being exploited by the plains people. There may be a sort of attitude towards the hill people by the plains people, but that does not mean that the tribal people are being exploited. I do not find any important instance to say that the tribals are being exploited. On the contrary, the people have been trying to live together harmoniously and peacefully. If we utilise this Bill properly, I think the progress of Manipur will be improved very much, and the people as a whole will be able to come into the mainstream of the country in regard to development and other aspects.

There are various provisions in this Bill, and it is said that they could have been improved. There is always scope for improvement. That is why I say that the

provisions are for the time being adequate. We will give a trial to them and see how they work. If we find that there is need for change, I am sure the Government will consider the matter and change the provisions for the better.

As a person coming from the hill areas and as a Member of this party, I support this measure.

SHRI P. K. DEO : Sir, for the last 16 years, I have been associated with the constitutional development of this pretty land of Manipur. In 1957, when my distinguished colleague, Mr Laisram Achaw Singh made a demand for Statehood from the opposition benches, I happened to be present. I have watched with interest the emergence of Manipur from a Class C State to a Union Territory and now to Statehood. The Bill has been introduced and it will be passed. This Bill provides some safeguards for the interests of tribals and I support it. At the same time, I would like to point out some lacunae.

11.56 hrs

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

In the hill areas of Manipur, mostly Nagas live. Nagas live in Nagaland and in Burma also. There has been some demand for the integration of some areas of Manipur in Nagaland, so that all the Naga people may get a homeland of their own, a bigger State, and they can rule themselves according to their own aspirations. I do not find any unreasonableness in that demand. Meghalaya has been ceded. Mizoram is going to be formed. Similarly, if there is a demand for some of the predominantly Naga areas to be integrated with Nagaland, there is nothing unreasonable in it. I cannot understand the argument of some hon. members regarding the entity of Manipur. It is after all a feudal legacy. The Manipur we have today was a former State, and it was kept intact. That does not mean that the local people, whose aspirations may be to be associated with their own kith and kin in the adjoining area should be overlooked.

SHRI N. TOMBI SINGH: The local

people do not want it. We won the elections on this issue.

SHRI P. K. DEO : I do not want any interruption. The minister is there to reply.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT): They are the representatives of those people and on this matter, they do possess knowledge which you and I may not possess.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The scheduled tribes are not under discussion.

SHRI P. K. DEO The District Councils are specifically meant to safeguard the interests of the tribal people, according to the Statement of Objects and Reasons. So far as the scheduled tribe is concerned, it has been vaguely stated and not properly defined. When Mr Dasaratha Deb spoke about scheduled tribes, he being a scheduled tribe himself, I personally feel that he is quite competent to safeguard his own interests.

12.00 hrs.

In the Lok Sabha the Maharaja of Tripura came as a Scheduled Tribe member from Tripura. He is quite capable of safeguarding his own interest. So, this practice of availing of the benefits reserved for the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution by people who are capable of looking after themselves should be rejected

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This Bill is about the District Councils in Manipur. But he is suggesting that the prerogatives of the Scheduled Tribes should be done away with and he is bringing in the Maharaja of Tripura. I really wonder how they are all connected. I am surprised that a senior Member like him should bring in such points.

SHRI P. K. DEO : They all come under the District Councils.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I wonder how the Maharaja of Tripura comes under the District Councils. Please be relevant.

SHRI P. K. DEO : So far as the Scheduled Tribes are concerned, I want a categorical answer from the Minister. He will remember that we had a discussion some time back.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Minister will not reply to the point about Scheduled Tribes because that is not under discussion.

SHRI P. K. DEO : This is primarily meant for them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Bill is only about the District Councils for Manipur.

SHRI P. K. DEO : Every other Member has spoken about the Scheduled Tribes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please be relevant.

SHRI P. K. DEO : So far as the District Council is concerned, more autonomy should be given to that.

Here I want to submit that the age-old custom of jhumi cultivation is denied to the people on the plea of soil erosion, afforestation or denudation of forest wealth. This is affecting the economy of the people. Though there is dearth of land in the valley, on the hill slopes cultivation can be allowed. So, the people of that area have to be given the assurance that their age-old practice will be allowed.

Coming to nomination, I am against nomination as such. When the people of that area are given the power to select their own representatives and to look after their own affairs they should be given full power and there should be no provision for nomination even for the district councils because that may be used for partisan ends.

Finally, it is the responsibility of the Centre to preserve the culture, the social customs and the colourful life of these tribal people. So, Government should take necessary steps in that regard.

SHRI A. KEVICHUSA (Nagaland) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am happy that

[Shri A. Kevichusa]

in the eastern region, apart from Assam, Manipur should have been the first to gain Statehood. While congratulating the Manipuris for achieving Statehood I want to say a few words. The hon. Member from Manipur repeatedly said that the Naga inhabited areas of Manipur should not be taken out of Manipur. The move to bring together the contiguous Naga-inhabited areas into one unit is not a new one. The agitation has been going on for over two decades. In connection with this agitation three Mao Nagas of Manipur were shot dead by Manipur Rifles in 1949 and many were put into prison.

I listened with interest to Shri Tombi Singh when he said that the Nagas and the Manipuris belonged to the same ethnic group. This realisation in itself is a good sign. But the realisation has come only after the agitation started to tag the Naga inhabited areas with Nagaland.

Anyone going to Nagaland and Manipur will be struck by the cultural differences that divide the two peoples. With the passage of time I do hope that the differences will become less sharp. But until then it would be folly to keep a people to be partners in a State against their wish.

Take the case of Assam. The State of Assam, when formed, comprised of the plains districts and the hill districts. In 1957 Nagaland came out of Assam after much blood had been spilled. In 1960 a Naga delegation came to Delhi and on the basis of a 16-point agreement, Statehood was promised to Nagaland. One point in the 16-point agreement of 1960 was that the contiguous Naga inhabited areas should be integrated into Nagaland. The Naga people feel that that part of the agreement remains unfulfilled.

In 1966 the people of Mizoram rose in armed revolt. This hastened the conception of the State of Meghalaya and now Mizoram will come out of Assam. Is it necessary to repeat the process tried in Assam which ended in failure? Is it not time to learn from past experience?

The Naga people have nothing against

the people of Assam. The relationship between the Nagas and their Ahom kings had been cordial. Good neighbourliness prevailed. The relationship between the people of Assam and Nagaland became somewhat strained only when they were unequally yoked.

Manipur is a fabulously rich valley. It is a surplus area. The Naga inhabited areas form the deficit areas. Manipur stands to lose nothing by being shorn of the poor and rugged hill areas. The relationship between the hill people and the valley people, if allowed a free natural growth, will be cordial. Let Government learn from past experience. Wise and timely decision would have saved many a precious life in Nagaland and Mizoram.

श्री फूलचन्द बर्मा (उज्जैन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मणिपुर सुरम्य पर्वत श्रेणियों के मध्य प्रकृति की गोद में बसा हुआ है और एक मीमांशती प्रांत है। इस राज्य से बाहर के अन्य देशों की भीमार्यें मिलनी हैं और आज जब हमारा देश संकट की घड़ी से गुजर रहा है और युद्ध के दौर से गुजर रहा है तब यह हमारा परम पुनीत कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि पूर्वांचल में जितने भी पहाड़ी राज्य हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में हम विशेष रूप से हर पहलू पर विचार करें ताकि वहाँ के लोगों के अन्दर किसी प्रकार की असुखता की भावना या तनाव की भावना न उत्पन्न होने पाये।

इस विषयक के उद्देश्यों में कहा गया है कि मणिपुर के अन्दर जन-जातियों के लोग निवाम करते हैं। वहाँ पर उन लोगों को राज्य के काम काज में अधिक रूप से सक्रिय करने के लिए राज्य की तरफकी के कामों में उनको सम्बद्ध करने के लिए इन जिला परिषदों का निर्माण किया जा रहा है। जहाँ तक जिला परिषदों के निर्माण का सवाल है, मैं इसका हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन कुछ तथ्यों की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

पेज 3 पर उपधारा 30 में यह कहा गया है कि सोलह सबसे इलेक्ट्रेड होंगे। इसमें धारो

कल कर यह भी कहा गया है कि चार व्यक्ति नासिमेंटिड होंगे। नामजब जो किए जाएंगे इसके बारे में मैं विशेष रूप से कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मणिपुर राज्य एक पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है। वहाँ पर जन जातिघों के लोग रहते हैं। उन पर अगर आप चार लोगों को नामजब करके रख देते हैं तो इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि उन चार लोगों की वहाँ मौजोपोली होगी और वे दलीय हित साध सकते हैं या निजी हित साध सकते हैं। अगर ऐसा हुआ तो जिस उद्देश्य को सामने रख कर आप इस बिल को लाए हैं, उसके ऊपर एक प्रकार से कुठाराघात होगा।

इसी प्रकार से पेज 8 पर अध्यक्ष के हटाने जाने की विधि बताई गई है। धारा 23 की उपधारा 2 में कहा गया है कि यदि किसी निर्वाचित अध्यक्ष को हटाने के लिए कोई संकल्प या प्रस्ताव लाना हो या अविश्वास प्रस्ताव लाना हो तो उसके लिए एक तिहाई लोगों के हस्ताक्षर होने चाहिये और इन हस्ताक्षरों सहित उसकी सूचना देनी होगी। अब यह प्रस्ताव पारित तब होगा जब दो तिहाई लोग उसके पक्ष में मत देंगे। इसमें साथ ही एक बात और कही गई है। उसको मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। धारा 23 की उप धारा 2 में कहा गया है कि यदि ऐसा संकल्प परिषद की कुल सदस्य संख्या के दो तिहाई से कम, किन्तु आधे से अन्धून द्वारा पारित किया जाय तो प्रशासक लिखित आदेश द्वारा उन कारणों से जो लेखबद्ध किए जाएंगे, अध्यक्ष को उसके पद से ऐसी तारीख से, जो आदेश में विनिश्चित की जाए, हटा सकेगा। एक जगह यह कहा जा रहा है कि दो तिहाई मतों से अविश्वास प्रस्ताव को पारित किया जाए और दूसरी ओर जहाँ इस विषयक में यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि प्रशासक को अधिकार होगा कि आधे से कुछ अधिक मत आएँ तब भी वह उनको हटा सकता है। मैं नहीं समझ सका हूँ कि इसके पीछे मंत्री महोदय की क्या भावना है। क्या यह खुले रूप में प्रजातंत्र की अबाधलना नहीं है? आप जन जातिघों को अधिक से अधिक सुविधाएँ देना चाहते हैं।

उनको अधिक से अधिक अधिकार देना चाहते हैं। जब ऐसी बात है तो इस तरह के अधिकार आप प्रशासक को क्यों दे रहे हैं। इन अधिकारों का दुरुयोग भी हो सकता है।

साथ ही साथ आगे यह कहा गया है कि एक वर्ष तक अध्यक्ष के खिलाफ अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव नहीं लाया जा सकेगा। समझ में नहीं आता है कि सरकार की इसके पीछे भावना क्या है? प्रजातंत्रिय प्रणाली आप वहाँ पर लागू करना चाहते हैं, आप यह चाहते हैं कि मणिपुर राज्य के लोग विकास कार्यों में सहयोग करें, वहाँ के लोगों को राज्य की तरक्की और उन्नति के कामों में सम्बद्ध करना चाहते हैं तो क्या कारण है कि अध्यक्ष के खिलाफ एक साल तक अगर कोई अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाना चाहे तो वह नहीं ला सकेगा, उसको ऐसा करने से वंचित किया जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि आप इस कलाज को हटा दें तो ज्यादा उपयुक्त होगा। जो अध्यक्ष पद पर विराजमान होगा यदि उसके प्रति लोगों में अविश्वास की भावना है, उसके कार्य कलाप को वे पसन्द नहीं करते हैं, उसके बारे में लोगों को सन्देह हो गया है तो इसकी इजाजत होनी चाहिये कि लोग उसके खिलाफ एक साल में भी अगर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाना चाहें तो ला सकें।

धारा 25 में कहा गया है कि जो विधान सभा का तथा जिला परिषद दोनों का सदस्य होगा, उसको जिला परिषद की सदस्यता से त्याग पत्र देना होगा। इस बात को इस में क्यों रखा गया है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ लो। पिछड़े हुए हैं। वहाँ पर आप इन परिषदों का निर्माण कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि विधान सभा के सदस्यों को परिषद की सदस्यता से मुक्त करना न्याय संगत नहीं है। राज्य के निर्माण के लिए हम जन जाति के लोगों को प्रजातंत्रिक प्रणाली के साथ सम्बद्ध करना चाहते हैं तो यह जो बंधन उन पर लगाया गया है, इसको हटाया जाना चाहिये।

वहाँ के लोग कई सालों से पूरा राज्य का

[श्री फूलचन्द बर्मा]

दर्जा दिये जाने की मांग कर रहे हैं और उनका प्रतिनिधि मंडल, प्रधान मंत्री, गृह मंत्री, गृह मंत्रालय के अधिकारियों से मिला था। उसके बाद मंत्री महोदय ने कार्लिंग अटेंशन नोटिस का जवाब देते हुए कहा था.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What do you want to say? That Manipur should be granted State-hood? Why take so much time? What you want is being done.

श्री फूलचन्द बर्मा : उमी पर मैं आ रहा हूँ। कार्लिंग स्टेशन नोटिस का जवाब देते हुए मंत्री महोदय ने यह कहा था :

"As the House is aware, we have a number of Union Territories. In considering the grant of Statehood to any of them, factors like area, population, terrain, level of economic development, financial resources and security considerations, if any, have to be carefully gone into before any conclusions can be reached. The question whether Manipur could be made into a State has been engaging our attention. It will take some time for Government to come to a definite conclusion."

मणिपुर एक पर्वतीय राज्य है और वहाँ पर लोग पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा दिये जाने की मांग कर रहे हैं। चीन और पाकिस्तान के लोग वहाँ नागरिकों को भडका रहे हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What do you want to say? I don't really understand. You want to say that Statehood should be given to Manipur?

श्री फूलचन्द बर्मा : यदि वहाँ लोगों के अन्दर अलगत्व की भावना उत्पन्न... ..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am saying that the Bill has been introduced for that purpose. You need not take so much time of the House for that purpose.

श्री फूलचन्द बर्मा : जहाँ तक जिला परिषदों का सवाल है, इनका तो मैं स्वागत कर

रहा हूँ। साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पूर्वाञ्चल का जो यह प्रदेश है वहाँ के लोग काफी समय से पूरे राज्य के दर्जे की मांग कर रहे हैं और उनकी इस मांग को स्वीकार कर लिया जाना चाहिये। आज जो स्थिति निर्मित हो गई है, उसको देखते हुए वहाँ के लोगों को राज्य का पूरा दर्जा दिया जाना चाहिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि निम्न बातों की ओर मैंने उनका ध्यान आकर्षित किया है, उनकी ओर वह विशेष ध्यान दे।

श्री भागीरथ भंडार (भाबुशा) : मैं आपका अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहूँगा। पूर्व वक्ताओं ने मणिपुर क्षेत्र में जिला परिषदों के निर्माण के बारे में हिमाची की भाषा और संस्कृति, वहाँ की समस्याओं के बारे में काफी प्रकाश डाला है। जहाँ तक इन परिषदों के निर्माण का सम्बन्ध है, मैं स्वागत करता हूँ कि सरकार ने इस प्रकार की परिषदों का निर्माण करने का निर्णय किया है और इस हेतु इस बिल को यहाँ लाई है। प्रजातंत्र में पंचायतें, जिला परिषदें उनकी बुनियाद होती हैं, बुनियादी इकाइयाँ होती हैं, प्रजातंत्र के पाये होती हैं।

मंत्री जी ने अपने प्रारम्भिक भाषण में उल्लेख किया है कि परिषदें वहाँ की आदिम जातियों की संस्कृति, भाषा, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक तौर पर उनका विकास हो, इन सब बातों को सोचेंगी और योजनायें बनाएँगी। मेरा निवेदन है कि देश के कई राज्यों में आज भी पंचायतें काम कर रही हैं। कहीं उनको जिला पंचायतों का नाम दिया गया है कहीं जनपद पंचायतें बनी हुई हैं और कहीं और प्रकार से पंचायतें काम कर रही हैं। इस से मिलती जुलती परिषदें वहाँ बनाई जा रही हैं। देश में अन्य प्रदेशों में जो पंचायतें काम कर रही हैं देखा गया है कि जिस प्रकार से उन को चलाना चाहिये नहीं चल रही हैं

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please refer to the Bill, not to Panchayats. You are pointing out defects of the Panchayats.

श्री चागीरथ शंकर : मैं मिसाल के तौर पर कह रहा था। मैं इस विषय को छोड़ देता हूँ।

देश में जो स्थानीय संस्थाएँ बनी हुई हैं और जिन को स्वायत्तता प्रदान की गई है उन पर केन्द्र और राज्य शासनों की ठीक से देख रेख न होने के कारण, वे संस्थाएँ ठीक से नती कार्य कर पा रही हैं। अब मनीपुर में जो जिला परिषदें बन रही हैं उनके बारे में भी मुझे शंका है कि केन्द्रीय शासन की इन परिषदों पर ठीक से देखरेख हो सकेगी या नहीं। यह कहा गया है कि आदिम जातियों को संरक्षण प्रदान करने के लिए, उनका विकास करके के लिए, उनकी संस्कृति, भाषा, रहन सहन आदि का देखभाल करने के लिए और इनके संरक्षण के लिए इन काउंसिलों का, इन परिषदों का निर्माण किया जा रहा है और इनके निर्माण से विभाग के रास्ते खुल जाएंगे। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश में जितनी इस तरह की संस्थाएँ काम करती हैं, उनकी हालत बहुत खराब है। इन संस्थाओं की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है और न धन दिया जाता है। मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से कहूँगा कि इन संस्थाओं में जो बुनियादी ढाँचा है, वह उन को दूर करे।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT) : I am grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in this debate, and if I may, I would like particularly to thank the two hon. Members from Manipur in this House for their contributions which reflected not only their intimate knowledge of the situation in Manipur, of the problems of Manipur, of the history of Manipur and of the aspirations of the people of Manipur, but also if I may say so, the lively concern for the part that Manipur plays in the larger context of India. I am grateful to them for having balanced these two factors in their speeches, which are both vital and inter-related.

It is my privilege to come before this House with the first of a series of measures which will restructure the north-eastern part of India. Manipur will become a State, and so also Tripura and also Meghalaya. That is the intention, and along with that, Mizoram will become a Union territory, and NEFA which has been named Arunachal Pradesh will become Union territory. These are changes which have great significance not only for the north-eastern region but for the whole country.

In effecting these changes, we have been conscious of the need to respond in the fullest measure to the hopes and aspirations of the people inhabiting this region, because the north-eastern part of India is fascinating, colourful and is inhabited by various communities which have their own distinctive ways of life.

While responding to the aspirations of the people for greater powers, for Statehood or for Union territory status, we have also sought at the same time to see that the minimum coordination necessary for an integrated development of the whole region and for an integrated approach to the security problems of the region should not be lost sight of. All these provisions will be included in other Bills which are to come before this House.

Another factor which we have kept in mind is the peculiarity of the problems faced by individual units, because of the variety of the ethnic and cultural and geographical composition of the north-eastern part of the country.

One cannot just take a broad view and leave it at that. One has to go into the problems of each individual unit. The process of consultation has been a long one. We have consulted all the people of this region, their representatives. I have myself visited that area. The Prime Minister has met a number of delegations, both in the region and in Delhi. We have made every attempt to see that the final picture that emerges has the sanction of the support of the people of that region. While there are always certain matters in which there may be differences of opinion amongst

[Shri K.C. Pant]

groups in the region, we have made an effort to see that the final solution meets the criterion I submitted to the House earlier, satisfaction of the aspirations of the people in conformity with the largest good of the country.

In Manipur, the problem can be summed up in terms used by Shri Tombi Singh and Shri Hackip. They represent, if I may say so, in this House the valley and tribal people of Manipur. They have been elected by the people of the valley and the tribal people respectively and it has given me great satisfaction that both of them have unreservedly supported this measure. Both of them have reflected in their speeches the desire to bring the valley people and the hill people together. I think this House can give no better start to this new unit that we are going to create, the new State of Manipur, than to underline and emphasise the need to promote harmony amongst the various people inhabiting that region.

It is a fact of history and geography and the need of the times that as in the whole of India we promote unity in the midst of diversity so in the north-east region we must promote unity in the midst of diversity. In each of these units, while we provide for safeguarding of the natural interests of the culture and the way of life of the tribal people and others who need protection, at the same time, we promote harmony and the attitude of living together and working together for the people inhabiting that region. That is why I derive great satisfaction from the speeches of these hon. friends.

My hon. friend, Shri Dasaratha Deb, asked me why we were not providing for similar district councils for Tripura. I have gone into that matter. It is a fact that in Tripura also there is a large tribal population, I think 31.53 per cent. The only trouble is that it is scattered. He is shaking his head. *(Interruptions)* I have got the details of each district. I find that except in one district, the sub-division of Amarpur, where out of a total population of 56,365, the Scheduled Tribe population is 70 per cent, in all the others,

it is below 50 per cent; in Sonamura it is only 10.58 per cent; in Sadar, it is 20 per cent; in Udaipur, it is 23 per cent, and so on: in some a little less and in some a little more.

SHRI DASARATHA DEB (Tripura East): If the refugees continue to settle there, and if you do not protect the tribals now by scheduling that area, then, in future, the percentage will come down to three, or two, and then nil.

SHRI K. C. PANT: If the reference is to the present influx of refugees, then, he has the assurance of the Prime Minister and the Government that these refugees will go back to Bangla Desh. I think seeing the way in which the situation is developing in Bangla Desh, he should have some assurance that conditions are being created when the refugees will go back.

SHRI DASARATHA DEB: I am not against the refugees. In fact, we have accepted many refugees in the earlier period also. I only wanted to say that certain areas should be scheduled where the tribal people can live and where these types of councils may be granted.

SHRI K. C. PANT: What he said yesterday was about the district councils for Tripura, and I went into that question. As I said, I am only pointing out the difficulty. But I do agree that there are tribal people there, and the fifth schedule will apply. It will apply to these tribal people, and when the government of the new State is formed, Government can take measures and will take measures, I hope, with the support of Shri Dasaratha Deb and no doubt with his help. For instance, I may mention that there could be a tribal advisory council to advise on all matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of Scheduled Tribes. That is part of the fifth schedule, and under the fifth schedule this can be done. But because of the dispersed tribal population, it may be difficult to repeat what has been done in Manipur. That is all I am saying. In Manipur, the tribal population is 90 per cent in the hill areas. Here, even if one were to make a district council for this one sub-division which consists of a tribal population of 70 per cent, it will only cater to a very

small part of the total tribal population and will not really serve the purpose which Shri Deb has in mind. I am not unmindful of what he said. I do agree that this problem needs consideration. We have paid attention to it, but I cannot provide the same remedy for Tripura as for Manipur.

There has been some reference to nomination. I think the best thing is to take it up when we come to clause-by-clause consideration.

Shri Basumatari has spoken with great feeling. He is one of the senior tribal Members, if I may say so, in the House, and he has seen in the last so many years the steps taken to protect the interests of the tribal people, and he is also conscious, as I am, that still much more needs to be done. Both these sentiments were reflected in his speech.

Only one point I would like to take up, and that is, he said that nominations are being made to introduce elements which would safeguard the interests of the plains. That is not the intention. I would like to assure him that the only idea behind the nominations is that these Scheduled Tribes who are numerically weak or who are small in number and who form pockets in larger Scheduled Tribe populations, may not get elected to the district council, and therefore, these numerically weak tribal groups also may have a chance to get representation in the district councils. This is the idea behind the nominations.

Shri Tombi Singh has made a speech which covers all the important aspects of this Bill. I do not want to comment on it in detail because it deserves to be considered in its entirety by the whole House and every Member. There is really nothing I can add to it or improve upon it. He referred to the unity in variety which has characterised this country. He has referred to its cultural unity and also to the fact that in spite of so many differences we as a country have been one and that oneness has extended to areas like Manipur. He has pleaded that we should not raise doubts about the basic unity of the country. I think the

House will appreciate that sentiment and agree with him entirely.

He has also referred to the number of districts, as did some other Member; I think Mr. Haokip referred to it. We are providing for six districts. This may appear large but the intention behind it is to give a district or provide for a district for each big tribal group so that all of them can have a sense of identity with that district. This again is an effort to respond to the aspirations of the tribal people there, to the different groups as far as possible. But there has to be a balance between the size and the population of a district and the satisfaction of the aspirations. You cannot have, for instance, in a small area with a small population 10 or 20 districts. This is an attempt to balance these two factors and I think Mr. Haokip will support it.

Shri Tombi Singh referred to the attempts of China and Pakistan to foment trouble in this region. The House is aware of whatever China and Pakistan may have been attempting to do there. But I think the House is also confident of the basic identity of the people, identification of the people of that region with the rest of the country. There is that basic sense of identification. In spite of occasional differences among themselves, between them and us—these are not confined to the north-eastern region, in whole country we have differences between the Centre and the States or between one State and another—this should not lead or lead anyone into a wrong kind of thinking that there is lack of identification of the people in that region with the rest of the country. I had been there and I have met their representatives. We have in you, Sir, one of the finest representatives of that region, if I may say so and the patriotic sentiments of the people there; their desire not only to develop themselves but to contribute to the development of the country is something which strengthens one's faith in the future of this country and therefore I am quite confident that Pakistan or any other hostile country which seeks to foment trouble in that region is destined to disappointment. That is all I can say.

[Shri K.C. Pant]

So far as Shri Banerjee's a performance is concerned, it was a fine impromptu performance. I was waiting for him to shed some light on the details of the Bill.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I supported it.

SHRI K. C. PANT : That is why I am thanking you ; I was coming to that. I thank you very much for the support you gave to the Bill.

Shri Haokip referred to some of the reasons that have held up the progress of the tribal areas, in particular to the fact that the Union Territories Act, 1963, did not give enough power to the State, to the tribal people, to the the Hill Areas Committee etc., for effecting sufficient progress. This problem has been dealt with, and the Northeastern Region Reorganisation Bill which I have introduced will bring the State of Manipur into being, if the House approves of it, and this takes care of the point raised by him, which was also referred to by Shri Verma.

There is only one point which I would like very briefly to refer to. Shri P K. Deo referred to *Jhuming*. I do not quite understand that because that has been provided for in the Bill already. So, I do not really know why he referred to that.

In the end, I would like to refer briefly to the speech of Shri Kevichusa who talked of Naga integration. I would only plead with him and other friends who talk of the integration of the Naga area, that this is a moment of joy and fulfilment for the people of Manipur, so let us not do or say anything in this House which detracts from the sense of satisfaction, from the sense of joy and happiness which they are bound to feel when the new State comes into being. And it is in this spirit that I would like to plead with him and others, who have brought in this idea of taking away a part of Manipur and attaching it to Nagaland, at this juncture, when Manipur has become a State, to understand and realise the feelings of the

people of Manipur and not to raise this issue at all which will only create difficulties.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of District Councils in the Hill Areas in the Union territory of Manipur, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It was announced here that at 12.45 some statements were to be made by Ministers. I have received the following intimation from the Deputy Chief Whip of the ruling party that due to certain unavoidable reasons, Shri Fakruddin Ali Ahmed, Minister of Agriculture, would not be making the statement on sugar today as earlier intimated. He would make the statement only on Monday the 13th December, 1971.

Shri Sethi.

12.42 hrs.

STATEMENT *Re*: AVAILABILITY OF KEROSENE OIL

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI P. C. SETHI) : With the substantial improvement in the availability position of kerosene oil, State Governments were intimated in May 1970 that Statewise allocations have been given up and the oil companies have instructed to meet the requirements of this product in full, in accordance with the actual materialisation of demand which is subject to sharp seasonal fluctuations. It has been possible to maintain this position all along except for local shortages, arising from factors beyond our control such as breaches of rail tracks owing to floods etc.

Even though the heavy influx of refugees from Bangla Desh generated a heavy demand for kerosene oil as also for many other commodities, we were not only able to satisfactorily meet this demand but also to progressively build up the inventories. The Hon'ble Members will appre-