

[Shri M. Yunus Saleem]

reducing the limitation period in certain cases and in order to provide facilities for such litigants who were affected by the reduction of this limitation, one clause was introduced in section 30 of the Act providing a limitation of five years for the institution of such suits where the cause of action accrued before the commencement of the Act of 1963. That period of five years was to expire on 31st December, 1968.

12.34 hrs.

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

In the month of January 1968 letters were addressed to all the States inviting their attention that the limitation period envisaged in clause (a) of section 30 of the Limitation Act of 1963 was due to expire on 31st December, 1968 and suitable steps should be taken to institute suits where the cause of action had arisen before the enforcement of the Act of 1963 and where the limitation period was reduced. Unfortunately, no such suggestion was received from any State before the third week of December. In the third week of December we received letters from UP requesting for a further extension. Since both the Houses were not in session, an Ordinance was issued and this Bill had been introduced for the enhancement of the period by two years.

With these words, I move.

12.35 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

“That the Bill further to amend the Limitation Act, 1963, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration.”

*The motion was adopted*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There are no amendments. I will put all the clauses together to the vote of the House.

The question is :

“Clauses 2, 3 and 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted*

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

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : I move :

“That the Bill be passed”

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

“That the Bill be passed”

*The motion was adopted*

12.36 hrs.

ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS)  
CONTINUANCE BILL

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We now go to next item;

Shri Surendra Pal Singh.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kenrdrapara) : Where is he ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Balrampur) : Where is the Minister ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : You adjourn the House.

*(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM) : Sir, on behalf of Shri Surendra Pal Singh, I move :

“That the Bill to continue the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, for a further period, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration.” *(Interruptions).*

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसमें सिर्फ बिल को इन्द्रोच्च्यस करने का सवाल ही नहीं है, डिस्कशन भी होना है ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The proper procedure is to be followed. I know the first item collapsed. That is one of the reasons. Even then, you should have at least got some authority and you should have informed the Chair before-hand that you are moving on behalf of Shri Surendra Pal Singh.

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : I respectfully submit that for introducing a Bill, the formal authority is not necessary. As the Deputy Law Minister I am entitled to move the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Excuse me. You will have to write to the Chair. I do not accept that explanation. You should have written to the Chair. That is the proper way.

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : But the Chair is entitled to give me permission. I seek the permission of the House to move the Bill. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : You adjourn the House.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : बिल को सिर्फ पेश करने का सवाल नहीं है बल्कि बिल पर चर्चा भी होनी है । कन्सीड्रेशन के लिए ये नहीं कर सकते हैं ।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : I want to make a submission. I am all in sympathy for the hon. Minister. He is the Deputy Law Minister. He said that he can move the Bill. He can move the Bill pertaining to his Ministry. This is a Bill in the name of Shri Surendra Pal Singh. In all fairness, Shri Surendra Pal Singh should have been here. If he is not available, for some reason, he may seek

your permission to move the Bill in the name of Shri Surendra Pal Singh.

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : There is a difference between bringing a Bill to introduce and to move a Bill for consideration. I am moving for consideration. I am entitled to have the Chair's permission.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have been the member of the House for so long. You must follow the proper procedure.

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : Just now, I moved earlier Bill on behalf of Shri Govinda Menon for consideration. No Member took any objection.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You should have first at least requested the Chair, though in time no communication has passed between the Minister concerned and the Chair, for permission to move. That should have been your first plea.

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : I am sorry for the omission.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Even now you can do. I know the Members are quite generous and they will accept it.

SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM : I request that I may be permitted to move the bill for consideration.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : This is a bad precedent. I would request you to go to the next item.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मुझे प्राप्ति है । मंत्री जी सदन में नहीं हैं । प्राप उनको बचाना चाहते हैं । यह कौन सा तरीका है ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have pointed out the procedure to him.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : You take the next item or adjourn the House. That item cannot be taken up as there is no intimation to you.

**SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE** (Kolaba) : There is another aspect also. The hon. Minister, while making a request for the permission to move the Bill for consideration has not even indicated the reasons why the Minister concerned is not able to present himself in the House. It is a great disregard to the House. He should not be allowed to move the consideration motion. It is not a question of whether he is the Law Minister or not.

श्री छटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह नहीं चलेगा ।

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : यह गैर कानूनी मंत्री है ।

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** : Adjourn the House. They should not treat the House like this .

**SHRI M. YUNUS SALEEM** : I submit.  
(*Interruptions*)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER** : You must show proper courtesy to the House and plead with the Opposition. If they were unreasonable, I would have listened to you. Now I can take up only the next item. That is the only way for me.....

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** : For the next item also, no Minister is present. The House should be adjourned.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER** : I adjourn the House to meet again at 2.00 P. M.

12.41 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at Four Minutes Past Fourteen of Clock.*

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

## ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS) CONTINUANCE BILL

(*Contd.*)

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH)** : Sir, I would like to make a submission. I apologise very profusely for what happened before lunch hour. With due respect to the Chair and to the House, I may say, it was a miscalculation on my part, for which I express my profound sorrow, once again. I am very sorry.

May I have your permission to move the motion ?

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER** : Yes.

**SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH** : Sir, I beg to move :

“That the Bill to continue the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, for a further period, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration.”

The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, is an enabling Regulation and empowers the Governor to declare the whole or any part of Nagaland as a disturbed area if, in his opinion, disturbed or dangerous conditions prevailing in the area necessitate the use of Armed Forces in aid of civil power. It is only when such a declaration is made by the Governor in the official gazette that the substantive provisions of the Regulation come into force. The regulation confers special powers on Service Officers not below the rank of Havildar, to enable them to aid effectively the civil power in the disturbed areas of Nagaland.

The Regulation was initially in force for a period of one year. It was extended from time to time having regard to the prevailing circumstances. After the formation of the State of Nagaland on the 1st December, 1963, the Regulation was continued by Parliamentary legislation. It will cease to have effect on the 5th April, 1969. The Bill seeks to continue the Regulation in the territory of Nagaland for a further period of three years upto the 4th April, 1972.

On this occasion the extension is sought for three years and not for the usual one year, for administrative convenience. The unusual situation obtaining in Nagaland especially the collusion of the Underground with China and Pakistan, can bring about circumstances which might require the exercise of the powers conferred by the Regulation on the Armed Forces, on a relatively long term basis, to deal with the unlawful activities of the remnants of the Undergr-ound.

A heartening feature of the situation in Nagaland has been the peaceful and democratic manner in which recent elections were held and the success of the ruling Naga Nationalist Organisation at the polls. This party supports the Agreement reached with the Naga leaders in 1960 which brought the State of Nagaland into being and rejects the demands and the methods of the Undergr-ound. In voting for this party, the people have rejected the violent creed of the Undergr-ound and have reiterated their faith in the lawfully constituted Government of Nagaland. The Government of India will do every thing in their power to lend weight to the Govern-ment of Nagaland in the latter's efforts to restore peaceful conditions in Nagaland. The policy is already beginning to show results as is evident from the recent succe-sses of the security forces against the Und-erground gangs that had managed to gain entry into Nagaland.

Sir, move.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Motion moved.

"That the Bill to continue the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, for a further period, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration".

SHRI M. MEGHACHANDRA (Inner Manipur) : Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to say a few words on this Bill. As a matter of fact, it seems that the Bill is very simple. It wants to extend for three years, that is, upto the 5th April 1972, the application of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958.

This particular power given to the Armed Forces, to certain officers, Commissioned or non-Commissioned, has been extended year after year and today this Bill, as passed by the Rajya Sabha, seeks to extend it for three years.

In discussing this Bill, it is relevant to refer to the situation prevailing in Nagaland and its neighbourhood. It is heartening to see that the situation is improving and has been improving for the last one or two years and there has been a general election in Nagaland. There has been a lot of difference between the last general election and the present one. In the last election, there was the question of boycott by the underground forces, and the election was very haphazard. But during the present election we have seen not only the ruling party there but also the united front being manned by some supporters of the under-ground. This shows that in Nagaland the elements or forces which love peace are exerting, and this is a good sign and this must be brought forward.

I do not want to go in to details, but I see that there has been some split in the ranks of the underground forces. The federal government is being confronted by another revolutionary government and so on. May I submit that all these things have come about not because the Armed Forces had been given some special powers to aid the civil authorities but because there has been a political approach to the problem? Nagaland has been granted Statehood and there have been some economic measures in the interests of the Naga people. As a result, there has been change in the situation in favour of peace. This must be borne in mind.

So, while discussing this Bill, I would like to deal with some other problem which is very much connected with the Naga problem. For instance, there is the claim of the people of Manipur for Statehood. In Manipur also, there have been uprisings and there have been armed rebels moving from one part to another. All these problems are these and many areas have

[Shri M. Meghachandra]

been declared as disturbed areas. In the light of this situation in Manipur also there has been the CRP and there have been the Armed Forces tackling the problem. But I would submit that merely posting military or the police there to tackle the problem will not do. The result is that there has been no solution to the problem and it continues to remain unresolved. I suggest that the Government of India should take some initiative. I am glad the Home Minister is here. I would submit that Government should come forward to do something regarding the claim of the people of Manipur for Statehood. There must be some administrative changes also. Autonomy should be granted to the different tribes living in Manipur. It is only in this way that this problem can be tackled.

At the same time, I would like to suggest that there should be restraint and care exercised by the Armed Forces while tackling the problem. At the same time, they must be vigilant and tactful. If that is done in the present favourable situation, it will be good. There may be need for extending the grant of these special powers to the Armed Forces for some more time, but if coupled with this, there is a political approach as well, I think the situation will further improve.

Therefore, I would once again urge that Government should do something to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Manipur. If there has been all this trouble in Manipur it is because there has been no political approach. Manipur still remains a Union territory. There are Nagas, there are Kukis and there are also Mizo elements inside Manipur. If those elements are not given some autonomy, if there is no administrative change, I do not think that the problem can be solved in Manipur. If we go by our experience in Nagaland, we find that the grant of Statehood to Nagaland and the granting of more political rights to Nagaland, and the grant of funds to Nagaland has solved the problem and today the situation is better and it is advancing towards peace.

So, I would appeal to Government that the claim of the people of Manipur for

Statehood should be considered. With these words, I give my qualified support to the extension of these special powers to the Armed Forces for a further period.

**SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor):**  
It appears that the Naga problem as we tried to define it for the last so many years has imperceptibly changed from a law and order problem to a genuinely political problem which has to be approached at the political level. And very correctly, special powers have been given to the Armed Forces to tackle the situation. At the time these powers were conferred on the Armed Forces, voices were raised that more powers should be given to the Armed Forces and there were suggestions to put down the Naga rebellion with a firmer hand. At the same time, there were also voices suggesting that the problem must be handled and solved at the political level and no effort whatsoever to use the powers in a drastic way should be tolerated.

Now, we have come to this position where we now realise that here is a problem that needed a solution at a political level, but also a problem that needed equally handling as a law and order problem. Having taken these two things together, in 1969, we may come to the conclusion, which has been generally accepted in the country, that in the Naga problem a water-shed has been reached. The Nagas themselves have come to realise the benefits of peaceful conditions and the benefits of peaceful economic development. They have also come to realise the need for economic transformation. Earlier, the forces in Nagaland like all elements of tribal societies used to harken to the past to the exclusion of what happened in the present; they used to have those formal attitudes which were not in conformity with the society that they came across; there was an attitude of complete rejection of the society around them, of the facts of science and technology around them which led them to say "We lived for a thousand years in complete isolation; we had some relations with the Assam Government, but that was on the basis of equality; we do not now want the Government of India to come in and to assert that we are their subordinates". I would submit that we have

taken a long time in bringing about this change, and it is to the credit and success of the Government of India and of this Parliament and the attitude that this Parliament has taken to convince them that participation in the broader citizenship of India is not subordination but a participation in equality. These things have slowly come to tell upon the Naga people. During the last few months, events have happened in Nagaland where a vast majority of the Naga people have participated in the electoral process, and this time with great gusto and great energy people have joined in the fray in the same way as people elsewhere have done, standing as candidates for election, canvassing furiously and so on, so that Nagaland has acquired a political personality of its own, which is part of the Indian personality, but at the same time a distinct personality of its own.

Now this fact should be of great encouraging significance to us because it is not only a question of the Naga problem with us. I think every country has the problem of border people, what sociologists call the 'strange significance of the fringe people'. We do not believe in the Chinese way, in repression, as they have done in Tibet; we do not believe in the way of extermination. Even the Soviet Union has faced this problem in Kazakhstan and other places. Most big states have this problem of the fringe people. They have faced this problem in their own way. I congratulate Government on having faced it in the Indian way, by a process of doing justice to them, by a process of fair-play to them, by helping them in economic advancement and by giving them political powers.

Now, this much is good for us. In spite of all this has happened so long, so far as my people, the people in the Valley, people who belong to my constituency, are concerned, they have a very legitimate grievance that while the Naga problem was sought to be solved at the political, level, the people in the outskirts of Nagaland have had to pay for it with their blood. Explosions took place in railways and other places. They contend that attempts at a political solution should not be at the cost

of the security, life and liberty of the people who are near Nagaland. This problem, however, is a political problem and it has had to be solved at the political level.

At the same time, this urge for power of the tribal group, while important, does not explain the entire dynamics of a tribal society. For example, when the Nagas wanted political power, there are others also in the Assam area, in the north-east area, in NEFA, in the proposed autonomous State and in Manipur who have a problem of their own. While at a particular point in history, this Government decided to solve the Naga problem by giving them a State, because the problem was only at the political level and not at the economic level, the problem left a trail behind it and had its own repercussions in other areas. When we discuss the Constitution (Twenty-second Amendment) Bill, we will have occasion to refer to this problem, the problem of unfulfilled political aspirations which can be satisfied only when the whole of India is cut up into smaller and smaller pieces.

14.24 hrs.

[SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR *in the Chair*]

That is why while Nagaland's political aspirations have been satisfied, although leaving the political hangover of this event, even then, on balance, I believe that what has been done was possibly good for the country. But this cannot prevent us, ostrichlike, from neglecting the socio-political situation in the north-east region, including Assam, namely, the emergence of a transport bottleneck after the partition of India. The Nagas may blame the Government of India, though they do not blame the people of Assam, really because somehow historically they have a very affectionate relationship with the Valley. There are stories and memories of common intercourse between the Valley and the Hills.

The communication system in Assam was completely disrupted and this disruption of the communications system has never been made up. So far as the railway system is concerned, it takes even now three days

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

by aril to come to Calcutta. If it is Nagaland or NEFA it may take even one day more. Here is an economic situation of great importance to this area that with a system of economy, with a system of transport, this is essentially incapable of achieving any real thing in terms of economic development and having these postulates, it cannot produce anything either in terms of transport of raw materials or for getting raw materials to these industries. With the present difficulty in transport this region is bound to be a lesson in under-development, lack of development and it is an essay in lack of development. The entire north-east area remaining undeveloped becomes a dangerous thing for all of us. You know how the refinery agitation has been going on. Now the second refinery is a public demand. But when a refinery is wanted, a common feeling is aroused in all persons belonging to the North-east area. The sentiment is that even when we have the raw materials, industries are not developed in Assam. It is because of all these things that all these tendencies to divide Assam part by part appear and unless we attack these forces, these retarding forces in transport and in economy, we are not going to solve the problem of disintegration. Nagaland problem we may solve, but we will have problems in the other hill areas of Assam; because on the basis of homeopathic treatment on symptoms alone we will not be able to solve it. The problem has been caused by much graver economic causes to which not enough attention has been paid or no attention has been paid. I can go on giving instances after instances where the North-East area has not been economically developed and all opportunities or scope for economic development are lost at present because of lack of transport, because of certain difficulties like loans and other things. A jute mill—that was the only proposal from Assam—applied for a loan and it was turned down. For 10 years the Industrial Finance Corporation could not give two loans to Assam. Unless we try to solve the problems of the North-East area on the foundation of economics and we consider the economic problems of the north-east area as a whole, we are going to create much graver problems. That is why

I think while the Naga problem is getting much greater attention and much money has been invested—it is not the investment of money alone that counts—what is important is that we encourage location of industries in that area. Otherwise the entire regional forces in India will come up and we will have to face them, we cannot give them a go-by. We have to come to terms with them. This was the problem in the United States also. There also different States wanted to have maximum powers when they founded the United States. In the beginning they allowed the forces to have maximum autonomy and then forces of Industrial Revolution were depended upon to bring about a centralising impetus to the economy.

Possibly if we strengthen the forces of industrial revolution in our country, we shall be able to bring together the disparate forces and bring about genuine unity. Today when we think in terms of unity, we get mixed up with certain bureaucratic controls. That will not be the proper form of unity. The problem of regionalism has a certain amount of natural urge. We must face it and we must not allow the country to disintegrate. At the same time, disintegration can be avoided only when the regional forces are countered by the forces of development and industrial progress. Unfortunately, Assam and the frontier areas in India, peripheral areas, had been denied the right of development and they had never been given proper attention. We have had a system called the capitalist system by which an industry can be located only where the capitalist and the bankers want to locate it. If that be so, the case of the backward areas is hopeless in spite of all the sympathies expressed. Even in Nagaland, have they achieved progress in terms of horticultural or fruit development, etc. in spite of all the money spent there? If bureaucratic control or the free play of big business were to be the sole instrument of unity, the sort of unity that we want to achieve would never be achieved. We have to find out whether giving Statehood to Nagaland or even other areas would solve the problem. In addition to having an inspector of schools they could have directors

of public instruction, secretaries of education.

What ultimately happens in the name of Statehood is only very excessive expenditure on the administrative framework. If this is the process through which we want to give local autonomy to all sectors of our population, India would be drowned under the weight of bureaucracy. That is not what we want. When autonomy is given, we should see that the expenditure on administration does not increase. Unless we go deeper into these matters, it will not be possible for us to solve the problem of autonomy for every section or every district of our country. It should be a viable unit and all the revenue earned should not be spent on the bureaucracy alone or on the ministry and the bureaucracy.

When we come to the Nagaland Special Powers Bill I am happy to say that the special powers had been used judiciously and carefully. The Nagaland population had benefited and a lot of consideration had been shown to the local people. Nagaland is also functioning under the civilian administration and it is a pleasant surprise that it has achieved a sizable degree of success. Therefore, I support this Bill.

श्री रंजीत सिंह (खलीलावाद) : सभापति महोदय, साल-साल कर के कई सालों से यह विधेयक बढ़ता चला जा रहा है और अब सरकार ने यह निर्णय लिया है कि तीन वर्ष के लिये इस को और बढ़ाया जाय। पहले जब हम लोग कहा करते थे कि जब आपको नागा समस्या को हल करने में इतना समय लग रहा है तो आप इस विधेयक को तीन साल के लिये क्यों नहीं बढ़ाते ? तब यह कहा जाता था कि इस समस्या का हल हम को दीख रहा है, लेकिन जैसे गीता में कहा गया है कि कामी को मोक्ष की प्राप्ति सदैव नित्य दीखने वाले सपने के समान है, उसी प्रकार नित्य हम को वह सपना दीखता रहा और अब करीब 12 वर्ष हो रहे हैं, इस समस्या का अभी तक अन्त नहीं आया है और अब जब तीन वर्ष के लिये इस को बढ़ाया जा रहा है, तब ऐसा लगता है कि समस्या का अन्त आनेवाला है, क्योंकि नागालैंड में पिछले दिनों

कुछ ऐसी घटनायें घटी हैं, जो सदन के सम्मुख अभी कुछ दिन हुए या चुकी हैं।

उन घटनाओं के विषय में कुछ जानकारी आपके समक्ष इस लिये रखना चाहता हूँ—कुछ ऐसी बातें उस समय फँसाई गईं कि जिन से ऐसा जान पड़ता था कि हमारी सुरक्षा सेनाओं ने कोई सफलता प्राप्त नहीं की है, बल्कि घोसा देकर नागाओं के उन नेताओं का पकड़ लिया गया है जो चीन के समर्थक थे और चीन से शिक्षा लेकर आये थे। आपको और इस सदन को मालूम है, समापति महोदय, वहाँ पर नागाओं की कई शाखायें हैं—जिन में से मुख्य एक चीन समर्थक है, जो चीन से हथियार लेते हैं, पाकिस्तान से भी हथियार लेते थे और जिनके तथाकथित जैनरल अंगामी नेता थे। जैनरल अंगामी के साथ जो बर्तव्य इस सरकार ने किया था—उदारता का बर्तव्य—वह जमता के साथ एक अक्षम्भ अपराध था, क्योंकि ऐसे व्यक्ति को पकड़ कर छोड़ा गया था, जो कि यह हृदय प्रतज्ञा कर चुका था कि भारतवर्ष से नागालैंड को अलग करना ही उस का ध्येय है और उस के लिये वह निरन्तर चेष्टा करता रहेगा। जब उस को छोड़ा गया तो पहला काम उस शख्स ने यह किया कि वह पाकिस्तान गया, वहाँ से हथियार लाया, वहाँ से हथियार लेकर अपने दल को सुघटित कर के वह फिर नागालैंड आया। उस के पश्चात् अपने चार-चार आदर्शियों को उस ने चीन भेजा ताकि माओ के तकनीक से गुरिल्ला युद्ध का प्रशिक्षण लेकर वे फिर वापस आयें। इन के कई दल पहले आ चुके थे और इन का नेता अपने 200 आदर्शियों के साथ आ रहा था। उस समय वहाँ के कमाण्डर नागा डिबीजन के जी० प्रो० सी०—मेजर जैनरल नवीन चन्द्र रोली थे, जिन्होंने बालींग में चीनियों को हराया था। यह बात मैं इस लिये कह रहा हूँ कि इन्होंने अपनी फौजों के साथ 7 दिन तक चीनियों को बंद रोक रखा था,

[श्री रंजीत सिंह]

चारों तरफ उन की बाह वाही हुई थी और उस क्षेत्र में बालांग ही एक ऐसी जगह थी जहां पर हमारी सेनाओं ने डट कर चीनियों का मुकाबला किया था, चीनियों को बता दिया था कि जहां पर भारतीय सेनाओं के पांव भड़ जाते हैं, वह भ्रं गद चरण होता है, उस को उखाड़ना मुश्किल होता है। वहां हमारी सेनाओं का नेतृत्व मेजर जेनरल नवीन चन्द्र रोली, जो उस समय ब्रिगेडियर थे, कर रहे थे। जब ये 1945 में वर्मा फ्रंट पर थे, तब इन का सम्बन्ध कुछ ऐसे नागाओं से हुआ था, जिन्होंने बाद में आ कर इन की सहायता की और इन को सूचना दी कि भ्रं गामी अपने 200 साथियों के साथ इस क्षेत्र में घुसनेवाला है। कई दिनों तक हमारी सुरक्षा सेनायें उन की गतिविधियों को देखती रहीं। एक प्रश्न यहां पर यह खड़ा किया गया था कि यदि इन को हमारी सुरक्षा सेनाओं ने पकड़ा था तो इन के 200 आदमी कहां गये। यह भ्रं निश्चित रूप से पता है कि उस सम-भोते के अनुसार जो नागाओं की सूचना देने-वालों के साथ हुआ था, उस में यह निर्णय हुआ था कि हम केवल इन नेताओं को पकड़ें और बाकी के जो इन के साथी हैं, उन को हम कुगाता सुल्हाई के ग्रुप को दे दें और वे भ्रं कुगातो सुल्हाई के चार्ज में हैं। उस समय यह आरोप लगाया गया था, बल्कि एक गुन्हा पंदा करने की कोशिश की गई थी कि सुरक्षा सेनाओं ने इन को स्वयं नहीं पकड़ा, बल्कि वे स्वयं ही आत्म-समर्पण के लिये आ रहे थे और उन को पकड़ कर अपना डोल पीट दिया।

भ्रं इस घटना के बाद उन चीन समर्थक नागाओं की रीढ़ टूट गई है और मैं यह सम-भक्ता हूँ कि हम को ऐसा कदम उठाना चाहिये कि हम इस सफलता को शीघ्रातिशीघ्र ऐसे कार्यों में परिणत कर सकें, ऐसी सफलता में परिणत कर सकें जो स्थायी हो और नागाओं की समस्या को समाप्त किया जा सके। इस के लिये यही

आवश्यक नहीं है कि आप इस विधेयक द्वारा दी गई शक्ति को तीन वर्ष के लिये बढ़ायें, बल्कि और ज्यादा शक्ति अपनी सुरक्षा सेनाओं को दें।

भ्रं भी कांग्रेस के एक माननीय मित्र ने एक बात बताई-उन को नागालैंड और असम के बारे में विशेष जानकारी है-कि सुरक्षा सेनाओं ने अपनी शक्ति का दुरुपयोग नहीं किया। यही नहीं बल्कि उन की वाहवाही हो रही है, तारीफ हो रही है। इन शक्तियों के होते हुए भी उन्होंने कितनी दृढ़ता से, कितनी कुशलता से, जनता से सम्पर्क बनाये रखा, नागा समस्या को हल करने की चेष्टा की। भ्रं जब आपको वहां पर एक स्वयं सिद्ध नेता मिल गया है, जिसने नागाओं की रीढ़ को तोड़ दिया है, तो आपको चाहिये कि उन सेनाओं को और अधिक शक्ति देकर आप पुष्ट करें, जिससे कि यह समस्या साल भर के अन्दर अन्दर समाप्त हो जाय।

नागाओं में एक दल यह भी है जो कि पाकिस्तान के विरुद्ध है और चीन के भी विरुद्ध है। वह दल कम से कम यह नहीं चाहता कि पाकिस्तान और चीन के हस्तक्षेप से वह वहां पर विद्रोह को कायम रखें। इस दल के अन्दर हम बहुत से देशभक्त पा जायेंगे जो कि नागालैंड को देश से अलग नहीं करना चाहते हैं। ऐसे भी लोगों को हम पा जायेंगे जो कि दृढ़ता के साथ भ्रं इन विघटनकारी शक्तियों का मुकाबला करना चाहते हैं। ऐसे दलों को हम अपने साथ मिलायें और यह सब काम करने के लिए सुरक्षा सेनाओं को जो वहां पर नेतृत्व इस समय मिल गया है और लोगों की जो आस्था सुरक्षा सेनाओं में बन गई है, उसको आगे बढ़ायें, सुरक्षा सेनाओं को और भी अधिक हम सरकारी सहयोग दें, और भी अधिक शक्तियां दें।

इसके साथ अनेक समस्यायें यहां पर लोगों ने उठाई हैं, नागालैंड के विषय में, वहां की

शिक्षा, वहाँ की आर्थिक उन्नति वगैरह, तो इन बातों की तरफ भी सरकार को अधिक से अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए, इसमें कोई दो रायें हो नहीं सकती हैं। लेकिन हमारा यह भी कहना है कि नागालैंड की जो अपनी समस्या है वह केवल नागालैंड के लिए ही नहीं है, उसी प्रकार की समस्या हमारे सारे पूर्वी क्षेत्र की सीमा पर पैदा हो रही है। आज सारे पूर्वी क्षेत्र के विकास की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। सीमा पर जितने भी हमारे क्षेत्र हैं, यदि हम वहाँ की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं रखेंगे, वहाँ के आदिमियों को गरीब रखेंगे तो उसका नतीजा यह हो सकता है कि वहाँ के लोग शत्रुओं के हाथ आसानी से बिक जायें। वहाँ पर शत्रु का प्रापेगैंडा चल रहा है, वहाँ के लोग उनके शिकार हो सकते हैं, इस पर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। हालाँकि इस विधेयक का सम्बन्ध इन बातों से नहीं है फिर भी मैं सरकार का ध्यान इन बातों की ओर दिलाना बहुत आवश्यक समझता हूँ। क्योंकि यह सरकार कोई ध्येय लेकर नहीं चलती है। जब कोई परेशानी होती है तो उसके प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप कोई विधेयक निकालती है या कोई सेना भेजती है लेकिन वह कोई स्थायित्व की नीति नहीं है। मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वह अपनी सारी सीमाओं के लिए एक स्थाई नीति बनाये। इसके लिए यदि आवश्यक हो तो एक आयोग की भी स्थापना की जाये, सारी सीमाओं के विकास के लिए और उस आयोग की सिफारिशों पर ध्यान देते हुए जहाँ तक हो सके, जितना भी पैसा लगे, उनको कार्यान्वित करने की चेष्टा करे। जब इस आयोग की स्थापना की जाये तो इस बात को मद्देनजर रखा जाये कि इस आयोग का मुख्य काम होगा, सीमा को सुदृढ़ करना, उसकी सुरक्षा को दृढ़ करना क्योंकि हमारी सीमा पर यदि नागालैंड जैसे विद्रोह होते रहेंगे तो हमारी सीमायें कभी भी सुदृढ़ नहीं रह सकती हैं, कभी भी सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकती हैं। हमारा नाम नागाओं को अपनाना भी है, सीमा को भी सुदृढ़ करना है और विद्रोह को दबाना

भी है। इसलिए हमको साम, दाम दंड, भेद इन चारों नीतियों से काम करना होगा। इसके बिना कोई सरकार चल नहीं सकती है। इस सरकार का आज तक भेद कराने का काम या तो कहीं असेम्बलीज में रहा है या पार्लमेन्ट में रहा है। ईश्वर की कृपा से पार्लमेन्ट में यह चीजें अभी नहीं शुरू हो पाई हैं। तो मैं चाहूँगा कि आप इन नीतियों का प्रयोग उन सीमाओं पर करें जहाँ पर कि विघटनकारी शक्तियाँ बढ़ रही हैं। उनको दबाने के लिए साम दाम दंड भेद, सभी नीतियों का आप प्रयोग करें। नागालैंड में जैसी स्थिति आपको मिली है उससे ऐसा लगता है कि एक नया मोड़, राजनीति में और विद्रोह में आ गया है क्योंकि जो सफलता हमारी सीमा सेनाओं को मिली है वह अभूतपूर्व सफलता है। वह सफलता है। वह सफलता बिना ज्यादा खून-खराबे के मिली है। यह भी सही है कि यह सफलता हमें वहाँ के नागाओं के सहयोग के कारण मिली है। यह सफलता, वहाँ के जो सेनानी हैं, जनरल मानेकशाह, जिनके ओवर-आल कमान्ड में वहाँ की स्थिति है, और जनरल नवीन्द्र रोली, जोकि नागालैंड में आप्रारेशनस के इनचार्ज हैं, उनके सफल नेतृत्व के कारण मिली है। उनके हाथ आप मजबूत करिए।

अन्य में यह फिर निवेदन करूँगा कि आप इस प्रकार का एक आयोग बनाइये। यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है। यह आयोग डिफेंस ओरिएन्टेड होना चाहिए क्योंकि किसी भी सरकार का सबसे पहला काम सीमा की सुरक्षा करना होता है और बाकी जितनी चीजें होती हैं जैसे शिक्षा, आर्थिक उन्नति, औद्योगिक उन्नति वे सारी चीजें उस मुख्य बात को ध्यान में रखकर होती हैं कि हमारे देश की सुरक्षा सुदृढ़ रहे और कोई सबल शत्रु हमारी तरफ आँख भी न उठा सके। आज चीन जैसा सबल शत्रु हमारी सीमा पर बँठा है जिस पर कभी कोई भरोसा नहीं किया जा सकता है जो कि कभी कभी अपने सबसे अच्छे मित्रों से भी भड़प कर लेता है और

[श्री रंजीत सिंह]

जिसकी आकांक्षाओं और महत्वाकांक्षाओं का कोई अन्त नहीं है। जब ऐसा सबल शत्रु वहाँ पर बैठा है तब इस प्रकार के आयोग को बनाना और उसकी सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित करना सरकार का पहला कर्तव्य होना चाहिए। मेरा आपके द्वारा सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि जितनी जल्दी वह इस बात को मान लेगी, उतनी ही जल्दी सीमा की सुरक्षा का कार्य सुदृढ़ हो सकेगा।

धन्यवाद।

श्री चन्द्र जीत यादव (आजमगढ़) :

माननीय सभापतिजी, सबसे पहले तो मैं सरकार को इस बात पर बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि नागालैंड की समस्या जो वस्तुतः पिछले कई वर्षों से हमारी राष्ट्रीय समस्या बन गई थी और जिसको लेकर सारे देश में चिन्ता व्यक्त की जा रही थी, उस समस्या को बड़ी शांति के साथ और बड़े विवेक के साथ वहाँ की जनता के सहयोग से हमारी सरकार हल करने में धीरे धीरे कामयाब हो रही है। नागालैंड की जो समस्या है उस प्रकार की बहुत सी समस्यायें हमको अंग्रेजी काल से, जबकि यहाँ पर अंग्रेजों का शासन था, उस समय से विरासत के रूप में मिली हुई हैं। बहुत सी कमजोरियाँ, बहुत सी प्रवृत्तियाँ जो कि देश को कमजोर करने वाली थी या जो देश में अलगाव की प्रवृत्ति को पैदा करने वाली थी, उनमें नागालैंड की समस्या भी थी। जब हमारा देश आजाद नहीं था और यहाँ पर अंग्रेजी हुकूमत थी तो उसका ध्यान इस बात पर नहीं था कि देश के अन्दर एक राष्ट्रीय भावना पैदा हो, देश के तमाम भागों का समुचित विकास हो बल्कि उसका सिर्फ एक ही मकसद था कि जितना भी अधिक से अधिक लाभ वे इस देश से उठा सकते हैं वह उठायें। उस जमाने में हमारे देश के बहुत से ऐसे अंग थे जिनकी समस्यायें आज पैदा हो रही हैं, जो कि पिछड़े हुए हैं, जिनका विकास नहीं हुआ है। आजादी के बाद विकास के इस

युग में उनके अन्दर स्वाभाविक रूप से यह भूल पैदा हुई कि उनका भी समुचित विकास हो, उनके बच्चों को सही शिक्षा प्राप्त हो, उनका आर्थिक जीवन बेहतर हो, उनकी सांस्कृतिक उन्नति हो और उनकी भाषा का समुचित विकास हो। यह भूल स्वाभाविक रूप से उनके अन्दर पैदा हुई और उसी को लेकर कभी कभी ऐसी प्रवृत्तियाँ पैदा होती हैं जो कि आन्दोलन के रूप में एक गलत दिशा पकड़ लेती हैं। नागालैंड की जो बुनियादी समस्या है वह यह है कि हमारे देश का यह अंग पिछड़ा हुआ अंग था, पहाड़ी इलाका था और जिसका कि हमारे देश के मुख्य भाग से ज्यादा सम्बन्ध नहीं था और उसकी उपेक्षा हुई थी। उस उपेक्षा के जमाने में कुछ ऐसी शक्तियाँ वहाँ पर गई जिन्होंने वहाँ पर शिक्षा का कार्यक्रम शुरू किया और उनके अन्दर इस तरह की भावना पैदा की कि उनका भारत से अलग अस्तित्व रहे। और उनके अन्दर इस तरह की भावना पैदा हुई कि सम्भवतः भारत सरकार ने उनकी उपेक्षा की है और उन्होंने अपने आपको इस विशाल और महान भारत का अंग नहीं समझा और इसी लिए उन्होंने इस बात का नारा भी लगाया कि वे एक स्वतन्त्र देश के रूप में रहना चाहते हैं, भारत से उनका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। तो इस प्रकार की कुछ शक्तियाँ ने जनता के असंतोष का लाभ उठाकर उनको गलत दिशा देने की कोशिश की और वह शक्तियाँ वहाँ पर कामियाब हो रही हैं। आजादी के बाद हम ने इस बात का खयाल रखा कि हमारे देश के वे पिछड़े हुए अंग जो कि उपेक्षित थे उनके लिए इस बात की कोशिश करें कि वे भी इस देश के विकास का एक अंग बनें और जो उनकी समस्यायें हैं उन पर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दें ताकि उनके अन्दर इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्ति न पैदा हो कि उनके साथ भेद-भाव की नीति बरती जा रही है या उनके साथ कोई अलगाव की नीति बरती जा रही है या वे देश के विकास और संस्कृति के महत्वपूर्ण

अंग नहीं हैं। इस बात पर हमने ध्यान दिया। लेकिन चूंकि हमारे साधन कम थे और हमारी समस्याएँ बहुत थी इसलिए हम उतना ध्यान नहीं दे पाये और इसीलिए कभी-कभी वह भावनाएँ बलवती हुईं। नागालैंड की जो हमारी समस्या है या हमारी सीमा के जो दूसरे सवाल हैं उन पर हमारी सरकार ने शुरू से ही ध्यान दिया क्योंकि नागालैंड को लेकर अक्सर सरकार की आलोचना इस सदन में भी और बाहर भी होती रही कि सरकार इस समस्या को हल नहीं कर पा रही है, वहाँ पर सुरक्षा की पूरी और समुचित व्यवस्था नहीं कर पा रही है और सम्बन्धित लोगों को सरकार फौज भेजकर कुचलना नहीं चाहती है, सरकार कमजोरी दिखा रही है। लेकिन सरकार ने शुरू से इस बात की घोषणा की थी कि इस समस्या का हल फौज और सेना नहीं है। फौज और सेना की शक्ति लगाकर नागालैंड को कुचल देने से इस समस्या का हल नहीं निकल सकता है। उसने दो दृष्टिकोण इस सम्बन्ध में शुरू से अपनाये थे।

पहला दृष्टिकोण यह था कि यह बात सही है कि मूल रूप से यह हमारा सीमाप्रान्त है। हमारी सीमा की समस्याएँ हैं। उस में सीमा की हमारी सुरक्षा हो, शान्ति और अमन उस क्षेत्र के अन्दर बना रहे। हमारी राष्ट्रीय सीमा को हमारी राष्ट्रीय आजादी को किसी भी शक्ति से खतरा न होने पाये यह हमारा पहला कर्तव्य है। इसलिए सरकार ने विशेष रूप से इस बात का ध्यान दिया।

आज जिस विधेयक की अवधि को हम बढ़ा रहे हैं सरकार ने विशेष अधिकार प्राप्त करके इस सदन से वहाँ ऐसी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था की फौज रख कर विशेष पुलिस रख कर ताकि वहाँ की जो स्थितियाँ पैदा हुई थीं, जो समस्याएँ पैदा हो गयी थीं, हम वहाँ की जनता में और देश की जनता में इस बात की भावना पैदा कर सकें कि हम इस मामले में कमबोर नहीं हैं। हम

किसी भी बाहरी देश की शक्तियों को जो कि उस हिस्से में वे दखल देना चाहती हैं या वहाँ के ऐसे गुमराज लोग जो बाहरी देशों की मदद से हमारे देश की आजादी को खतरे में डालना चाहते हैं या हमें हमारे देश से उसे अलग एक राज्य बनाना चाहते हैं हम उन को इस बात का मौका नहीं देंगे कि उस क्षेत्र में ऐसे लोग जो शान्ति और व्यवस्थापूर्वक रहना चाहते हैं उन की रोजमर्रा की जिंदगी में किसी तरह की खलल पड़ने पाये या हमारी सीमा के ऊपर कोई खतरा पैदा होने पाये। इसलिए सरकार ने वहाँ के लिए विशेष रूप से इस बात की व्यवस्था की थी कि इतनी हमारी फौज या इतनी हमारी पुलिस वहाँ मोर्दा रहेगी और वह शक्तियाँ जो कि वहाँ डिस्प्लेशन करना चाहती हैं वह काम-याब न होने पायें। भारत सरकार ने इस के लिए शुरू से व्यवस्था वहाँ पर की हुई थी।

एक दूसरा भी दृष्टिकोण सरकार का था और वह यह कि नागालैंड की समस्या वहाँ की जनता की मदद से उन के सहयोग से जो उन की मांगें हैं, जो उन की शिकायतें हैं उन को रफा किया जाय। उस इलाके की जनता के अन्दर यह भावना पैदा की जाय कि वह भी इस विशाल भारत का एक अंग है और हमारी हमदर्दी और हमारी सहानुभूति उन के प्रति है। सदियों से जो उन का शोषण हुआ है और जो एक अलग-गाव हुआ है जिसके कि देश के और भी कई हिस्से शिकार रहे हैं वह जो उन की भावना थी उस को हम दूर करना चाहते हैं। भारत सरकार ने लगातार कहा कि हम चाहते हैं कि यहाँ देश के अन्य भागों की तरह से वहाँ की जनता के सहयोग से जनता का संगठन कायम हो, वहाँ पंचायती राज्य कायम हो। वहाँ की विधान सभा कायम हो और वहाँ जनता की चुनी हुई सरकार कायम हो। देश के दूसरे अंगों में जैसा कि लोगों को अपनी भावना, इच्छा व अपने दृष्टिकोण के अनुसार अपनी

[श्री चन्द्र जीत यादव]

सरकार चुन कर अपने ऊपर हुकूमत करने का अधिकार प्राप्त है वंसा अधिकार यहां के लोगों को भी प्राप्त हो। सरकार ने धीरे-धीरे इस बात का पूरा अधिकार वहां की जनता को दिया है और आज मुझे इस बात को कहते हुए खुशी होती है और यह सरकार उस के लिए बधाई की पात्र है कि यह दृष्टिकोण सरकार का सफल हुआ और आज उस का एक आम फल या नतीजा हमें देखने को मिल रहा है कि नागालैंड की समस्या का एक समाधान हम को दिखता नजर आता है। मैं भारत सरकार को इसलिए भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि इस समस्या को राष्ट्रीय समस्या के रूप में हल करने के लिए सरकार ने इसे किसी पार्टी का प्रश्न नहीं बनाया। माननीय रंगा साहब बैठे हुए हैं। एक बार उन्होंने इस सदन में इस आज को उठाया कि इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए सरकार को विरोधी दल के नेताओं को विश्वास में लेना चाहिए और उन की राय से उसे इन समस्याओं का हल निकालना चाहिए। मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि उन की इस बात को सरकार ने स्वीकार किया। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यही किया और हर स्तर पर सरकार ने विरोधी दल के नेताओं को इस बात के विश्वास में रक्खा कि यह समस्या हमारी एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है। यह पार्टी से ऊपर की एक समस्या है और हम सब मिल कर बैठें और इस का आपसी सहयोग के आधार पर एक हल निकालें। मैं विरोधी दल के नेताओं को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस बात में सरकार का पूरा सहयोग दिया। हम ने इस बात को सगम्भा कि यह हमारी समस्या एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है जिसका हल मिल कर निकलना चाहिए। यह हर्ष का विषय है कि उस में सरकार को विरोधी दल वालों का और अन्य लोगों का भी सहयोग मिलता रहा है।

सरकार इस अवसर पर इस बिल को तीन

साल की अवधि के लिए बढ़ा रही है लेकिन सरकार का कोई इरादा नहीं है कि अगर हमारी समस्या एक साल के अन्दर हल हो जाती है तो इन स्पेशल पावर्स को हम तीन साल तक इस्तेमाल करें। हम अवश्य चाहते हैं कि यह भावना देश के अन्दर पैदा हो और लोगों को इस बात का एहसास हो कि वहां पर एक वांछनीय स्थिति पैदा हो रही है, शान्ति की तरफ हम बढ़ रहे हैं और वहां की जनता के सहयोग से आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। हमारे ऐसे अधिकारी जो काम कर रहे हैं चाहे फौज के हों, चाहे विशेष पुलिस के हों वह वहां पर मजबूती और विश्वास के साथ काम कर सकें। एक स्थायित्व की भावना पैदा हो। उस में काम करने में सुविधा होगी और इस अवधि तक हमें इस दृष्टिकोण से काम करना है।

श्रीमान्, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी फौज और विशेष पुलिस के वह अधिकारी बधाई के पात्र हैं। मैं इस अवसर पर उन्हें बधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने नागालैंड के उस कठिन इलाके के अन्दर जो पहाड़ों से भरा हुआ है, जंगलों से भरा हुआ है जहां आम जीवन की सुविधाएँ प्राप्त नहीं हैं, जहां का कि जलवायु भी उन के अनुकूल नहीं पड़ता है लेकिन एक भावना उन के अन्दर है कि वह उस इलाके में उस सीमा के अन्दर एक राष्ट्रीय बर्तव्य का पालन कर रहे हैं। एक राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्य के लिए वह वहां गये हुए हैं। वहां की जनता के साथ मिल कर सहयोग के साथ वह काम करना चाहते हैं। हमारी फौज और पुलिस के जवान जो वहां तैनात हैं, यह एक खुशी की बात है कि वह वहां की जनता के एक अंग बने हुए हैं। वहां की जनता के सहयोग से काम कर रहे हैं। यह भावना पैदा नहीं हो रही कि कोई बाहर से हमारे ऊपर फौज या पुलिस थोपी गई है जो कि हमारे साथ किसी तरीके का अत्याचार करती है या शक्ति का प्रयोग करती है। इस की भी शिकायत हम

को उस इलाके में नहीं मिली है। इसलिए पुलिस और फौज बघाई की पात्र है जिन्होंने कि जनता के सहयोग से वहां काम किया है।

अभी हाल में जिस तरीके से कुछ विघटनकारी और अराजक तत्व चीन से मदद लेकर, हथियारों वगैरह की मदद लेकर हमारी देश की सुरक्षा के लिये खतरा उत्पन्न कर रहे थे, जो हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता और हमारी राष्ट्रीय आजादी को चुनौती दे रहे थे, ऐसे तत्व वहां पकड़े गये हैं और इसके लिये भी हमारे जवान वहां बघाई के पात्र हैं। यह इस बात का परिचायक है कि वह अपनी सीमा की रक्षा के लिये जागरूक हैं और वह बठिन परिस्थितियों में कितनी बहादुरी से काम कर रहे हैं? श्रीमन्, ऐसी शक्तियां जो वहां पाकिस्तान के साथ साजिश करती हैं जो वहां चीन के साथ साजिश करती हैं देश में किसी भी वर्ग से उन का समर्थन किसी भी तरीके से नहीं होना चाहिए। वह निन्दनीय शक्तियां हैं। यही नहीं कि देश के दूसरे भागों में उनके प्रति यह निन्दा की भावना पैदा हो रही है अपितु सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि स्वयं नागालैंड की जनता, खुद वहां के नेतृत्व का एक प्रभावशाली वर्ग इस बात की निन्दा कर रहा है। हमारे देश के अन्दर समस्याएँ पैदा होंगी, हम उस के लिये आवाज उठायेंगे और हम उस के समाधान के लिये अपने देश के संविधान के प्रजातांत्रिक ढांचे के अन्दर उस का हल निकालेंगे। लेकिन हम इस बात को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते कि किसी दूसरी शक्ति की मदद लेकर अथवा किसी दूसरे देश की मदद लेकर हम अपने लिये एक राष्ट्रीय खतरा पैदा करें।

अभी असम के अन्दर समस्या पैदा हुई। स्वामाजिक रूप से वहां के लोगों की इच्छाएँ हैं, शिकायतें हैं और उन के हल के लिये उपाय ढूँढते हैं लेकिन लोगों से मिल कर, बैठ कर एक ऐसी समस्या जो कि एक गुत्थी से भरी हुई कठिन समस्या थी उसका हल निकाला। इस

तरीके से बहुत से हल निकाले। आज हमारे देश के अन्दर घाँघ्र के अन्दर तेलंगाना के अन्दर एक आन्दोलन होता है, इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्ति जो कि देश को कमजोर करे, देश की आजादी को कमजोर करे, सुरक्षा व्यवस्था को कमजोर करे हम उस का समर्थन नहीं कर सकते लेकिन साथ ही हम ऐसे लोगों की शिकायतों के प्रति अपनी आँखें भी नहीं बंद कर सकते हैं जो कि एक ऐसे इलाके के अन्दर रहते हैं जो कि पिछड़ा हुआ है। वह ज्यादा अधिकार चाहते हैं, ज्यादा काम करने के अवसर चाहते हैं, ज्यादा मदद हम से चाहते हैं और उन की जो शिकायतें हैं उन को एक अपने ढंग से, उन के साथ बैठ कर उसका हल ढूँढने की कोशिश करते हैं। इस प्रकार से नागालैंड के उस नेतृत्व वर्ग के साथ एक ऐसी भावना पैदा करनी चाहिये ताकि उनके सहयोग से मिल बैठ कर समस्याओं का समाधान करा जा सके।

मुझे खुशी है कि सरकार ने बहुत सी ऐसी सुविधाएँ नागालैंड में दी हैं, उनकी आर्थिक मदद की भी व्यवस्था इस ढंग से की जा रही है जैसी कि देश के दूसरे भागों में नहीं की गई है। उन्हें एक खास तौर पर मदद की गई है और की जा रही है ताकि वह अपने घरों पर खड़े हों और अपने ढंग से अपने क्षेत्र का विकास करें। इससे देश के दूसरे भागों पर ज्यादा बोझ पड़ता है तो हम उसे बर्दाश्त करने को तैयार हैं। हमारे देश का वह घाँघ्र जो पिछड़ा हुआ है जो उपेक्षित रहता है जिसके पास आर्थिक साधन के स्रोत पूरे नहीं हैं अगर उन की देश के दूसरे हिस्सों से भी कहीं सहायता लेकर मदद करने की जरूरत पेश आई तो उसे हमें अपना एक राष्ट्रीय काम समझ कर करना चाहिए और हम इस तरह से नागालैंड की मदद कर भी रहे हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ यह जो विधेयक पेश किया गया है और उस की प्रशंसा को जो तीन

[श्री चन्द्र जीत यादव]

साल के लिये बढ़ाने का प्रस्ताव है मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार ने जो नीति नागालैंड के अन्दर अपनाई है और जिसका कि प्रत्यक्ष और अच्युत फल हम देख रहे हैं वह नीति आगे भी अपनाई जायगी।

वह दिन दूर नहीं होगा जब हम नागालैंड की सभी समस्याओं को उस को अपने देश के एक अंग के रूप में मान कर, हल कर सकेंगे, और बाद में वहाँ ऐसी जनतांत्रिक शक्तियाँ उभरेंगी और मजबूत होंगी जो भारत के एक अंग के रूप में अपने क्षेत्र का विकास करने के लिये कटिबद्ध हो जायेंगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will be happy if there is no occasion for the extension of the powers vested in the armed forces there. I am sure, the Government will also be happy if there is no such occasion. But, unfortunately, as things stand today in Nagaland, the Government cannot withdraw the armed forces. So, they have come forward to extend this measure and retain the armed forces there for three more years to come.

The hon. Member who preceded me said that our armed forces are doing a wonderful job. It looks as if they are really succeeding in winning over the Naga people residing in those areas. But while praising the commendable work they have done, particularly; in the recent past, I feel that we need some improvement in their day-to-day contact with the local people there and also in their behaviour and approach, even while they are living in camps. After all, they are army people. They have been used to take an offensive attitude or to take a defensive attitude. But here is a delicate situation where, apart from their operating against the hostile Nagas, they have to try to win over the local population. It is a delicate matter and it should be handled properly.

I want to give only one instance. Recently, I happened to be there. When I was proceeding to Kohima and also while I was returning, I saw a lot of army jeeps in which some senior army officials were travelling and I saw two or three sentinels from the moving car pointing their guns towards the pedestrians on the road. I could not appreciate that kind of travelling at all. I asked some army jawans whom I happened to meet later. "Who is the VIP travelling in the jeep? Why is he so much afraid? Why should he point the gun towards the pedestrians?" They told me, normally, when the senior officers travel, they do like that. I asked, "What is the purpose behind it?" They said, "At any time, some hostile people may attack him." After all, when he is moving at a fast pace, he can have a pistol or a gun with him and all that. But he need not all the time point it towards the pedestrians. That is not a conducive way of winning over the loyal people that are there. I do not think the people would like that kind of an attitude, if you go on suspecting everybody who moves in the streets that anybody may have a pistol in his pocket and shoot at you. That is, definitely, not a good way of doing it. We should ask our army to cater to the aspirations of the local population and to win over the population in that area. This might be a small thing. I do not know, there might be so many other things like that.

Then, I visited many places. I have seen our army men, by and large, do appreciate their work and they do seem to understand their work. But when I contacted some of the local people, some educated men, the Naga people, who have never seen the mainland and I asked them. "How do you like the presence of the army in your State? Are people, by and large, happy? Are the relations good?", the answer I got was, "Now it is better", They did not say, they are happy. They say, it is now better. That means, their feeling is that there needs to be some improvement in addition to the present approach that the army is making towards the local people.

There are certain things which I would

like the Minister to attend to. But, here again, I am a little puzzled because it is the External Affairs Ministry that is dealing with these armed forces. Probably this is the only country where, for diplomatic purposes, the Ministry of External Affairs is armed with forces. So, to the extent possible, I hope that they will try to do better than what they have been doing.

Then again there is another important approach that we have to make towards this problem. In the beginning, the Minister himself has admitted that every year they have been extending this. I do not know whether they have not really appreciated the problem or have underrated the importance of the problem or they were very much optimistic in those days that within that particular year they would be able to solve it. But now they have come for an extension for three years. I am sure they have not suddenly become pessimistic and they think that it is going to stay with us perpetually. I hope that that is not the feeling behind this extension for a total period of three years. The Government should take measures, simultaneously with these combing operations, to create an atmosphere where we make those people who live there feel that they belong to India. That feeling is not there. There is no use shutting our eyes to the realities. I want to be very frank. Some friends make a fetish of this unity and cry about fissiparous tendencies, disunity and all that. I am not able to appreciate their logic at all. When some people feel strongly, there might be some reasons for that. Without understanding the reasons, there is no use just crying them down or dubbing them as unpatriotic if they are the only people in this country who are destined to be patriotic. I feel that kind of approach is not a patriotic approach; it is more jingoism than patriotism. With regard to Nagaland..

**SHRI RANGA (Srikulam) :** Nobody has taken that attitude.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN :** There are many. Even before Prof. Ranga came to the House, somebody has spoken that way.

In Nagaland I have found that the people are gradually trying to understand their position. But that does not mean that they are completely with us. I was there just before elections. I saw the manifesto of even the loyal Government that is there in Nagaland, and also the manifesto of the Opposition parties. Even the loyal Government that was ruling at that time and that is again ruling today after the elections, in their manifesto, have categorically stated that their party believe in negotiating and persuading the Centre to come to an amicable political settlement. By and large, even their feeling is that the political settlement is not yet there in spite of Nagaland having been given the Statehood. Probably, that is the reason why the External Affairs Ministry is still handling this portfolio. These are certain basic factors. There is no use shutting our eyes to these and saying that the position has very much improved and that it is going to be totally amalgamated and integrated with India. That is not going to happen unless we make some more radical and basic approaches which are very vital for Nagaland.

I was told that the road from Jorhat to Kohima is a national highway. I have never seen such a wretched road in my life. I travelled for hours together. I was told that it was about 120 to 140 miles and I took nine to ten hours to cover that road. In fact, I met with an accident while I was returning. Even a panchayat road in my village is better than that national highway. Dimapur is the place from where you start moving to Kohima uphill. From Dimapur to Kohima the road is somewhat better, but from Dimapur to Jorhat this side, connecting Assam, the road is very bad. Everybody told me that it is a national highway. 'National highway' means that it is Centre's responsibility. It is connecting both Assam and Nagaland as well as the mainland along the eastern region. If you are going to neglect the basic things, I do not think they will be very happy with us. After all, the contact for those people with other Indians residing elsewhere in India has got to be through roads. When they lack even this infrastructure, how are we going to open up the rest of India to them? That would

[Shri S. Kandappan]

be a very difficult task. Therefore, Government must do something. The State Government as well as the Ministers and officials are all feeling that the Government of India have just put them as a puppet show and deprived them of every power that a State should have. That feeling is very much there, I do not know how they behave when they meet the Ministers here. But when I met some of them and had a free and frank discussion with them. I found that everybody was feeling the same way. They gave me a graphic instance which I would like to mention here. In Nagaland, the traffic between certain towns has to transit through some part of Assam territory. Even though they neither unload or load anything in the Assam territory, yet, even for transit, they have to pay some taxes to the Assam Government while entering some road in Assam and coming back to Nagaland after transit through that part of Assam. It seems that the Nagaland Government have taken up this issue with the Centre but they feel that the Centre is not coming to their rescue and help. After all, it is a very infant State and they are trying to improve their economy. They seem to be clever in administration. That is my impression. Though people say that they are tribals, I think their administration is better than that in many other States in India with regard to the understanding of problems. I saw some of the secretaries and directors...

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Their regional language is English.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : It may be that is one of the reasons. They very well appreciate the problem and they take very keen interest. Recently they have conducted a techno-economic survey, and from this it appears that they are very well conversant with their potentialities and they are aware of it and very much enthusiastic about it. Here again the problem is with regard to industrialisation. I was able to appreciate it when I was there. The very presence of the Army in the eastern region, in Nagaland and even in Assam, scares away the industrialists. Such scare is bound to be there because they do not want to risk their capital.

As far as Nagaland is concerned, when I discussed this problem with some important people there, they told me that the Government of India could help them by way of small assistance to small people, to small contractors and to people who own a fleet of buses and people who are running big retail shops and so on, that is, the native Nagas; if they could be helped with some small assistance, they could start some industries, small as well as medium industries. Government could consider at least this. These are all small things but it creates a great psychological impact on their minds. Otherwise, they feel that they have been under the control of the Army and they will be at the mercy of the Government of India for all time to come. That is why some of the virulent elements among the Nagas think 'Why not we have recourse to the other regions instead of trying to plead with these fellows at Delhi?'

So, economic development is the most important thing. That should be the positive measure that Government should take in order to win them over. Along with the retention of the Armed forces there, the endeavour of Government should always be to see that as soon as possible they withdraw the Army; they should take the Nagaland Government more and more into confidence; then they can definitely come to a settlement. I am sure things can be settled amicably provided that Government would wake up to the realities and pursue the matter in a more vigorous way than they have been doing in the past.

श्री वीरभद्र सिंह ( महामू ) : समापति महोदय, मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। 1958 में जिन परिस्थितियों के कारण इस बिल को पास करने की प्रायश्यकता महसूस हुई थी वे परिस्थितियाँ आज भी किसी हद तक हमारे सामने हैं। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि पिछले कुछ दिनों में नागालैंड की परिस्थिति में कुछ अन्तर आया है, वहाँ की परिस्थिति में कुछ सुधार हुआ है लेकिन हम नहीं कह सकते हैं कि वहाँ की परि-

स्थिति इस कदम सुधार गई है कि अब इस विधेयक की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इसलिये मैं इस विधेयक का स्वागत करता हूँ।

नागालैंड की समस्या आज भी देश के लिये और सरकार के लिये एक चिन्ता का विषय बनी हुई है। शुरू शुरू में नागा लोगों की, जो कि पहाड़ी लोग हैं, केवल यह मांग थी कि उनका भारतीय संघ के अन्दर एक पृथक राज्य बनाया जाए। परन्तु उस वक्त भारत सरकार ने उनकी इस मांग की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया। उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहाँ पर जो विद्रोही तत्व थे, ऐसे लोग थे जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के साथ नहीं रहना चाहते थे, उनको बल मिला और वहाँ पर एक मूवमेंट शुरू उन्होंने की कि नागालैंड को हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर करके उसका एक अलग राज्य बनाया जाये उसको एक स्वतन्त्र देश बनाया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर समय पर, इस समस्या का समाधान कर दिया जाता तो नागालैंड की जो आज समस्या हमारे सामने है वह न होती। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि हमारे देश की यह नीति रही है कि जब भी कोई समस्या हमारे सामने आकर खड़ी होती है, उस समस्या का कभी भी हम समय पर समाधान नहीं करते हैं और जब वह समस्या उग्र रूप धारण कर लेती है, तब जाकर हम उसका समाधान खोजने की कोशिश करते हैं। यही नीति हमने इस समस्या के बारे में अपनाई।

अगर हम देखें तो हमें यह पता चलेगा कि नागालैंड की जो समस्या है वह सही मानों में आर्थिक समस्या है। नागालैंड के लोग अलग राज्य क्यों चाहते थे? उसका मुख्य कारण यह था कि वह पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है और वे लोग चाहते थे कि उनका अलग राज्य बना कर उनका आर्थिक विकास किया जाये ताकि देश के जो दूसरे समृद्ध भाग में उनका वह मुकाबला कर सके, उनके बराबर वह आ सके। मैं सदन को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह समस्या महज

नागालैंड की ही समस्या नहीं है। जो भी पहाड़ी इलाके हैं, जो भी पहाड़ी राज्य हैं, उनकी भी यही समस्या है। यह बदकिस्मती की बात है कि हमारी सरकार और हमारे देश की जनता आम तौर पर पहाड़ी लोगों को ठीक तरह से समझ नहीं पाते हैं। पहाड़ी लोगों की समस्याएं बिल्कुल भिन्न हैं। वहाँ लोगों के जो होप और एस्पिरेशंस हैं, उनको हमारी सरकार ठीक तरह से समझ नहीं पाती है जिस की वजह से कई कठिनाइयाँ पैदा होी हैं। आप देखें कि आज हिमाचल के लोग पूरा राज्य की मांग कर रहे हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी जिले हैं, वे भी पृथक राज्य की मांग कर रहे हैं। उनकी समस्याओं की ओर सरकार का ध्यान नहीं जाता है और उन समस्याओं का हल अभी तक नहीं ढूँढा गया है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जितने भी पहाड़ी इलाके हैं, और उन की जो भी समस्याएँ हैं उनका समय रहते हल ढूँढा जाना चाहिये। अगर समय रहते ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो वहाँ भी समस्याएँ उग्र रूप धारण कर सकती हैं। इस वक्त तो उन की समस्याओं का हल खोजना आसान है। बाद में कठिन भी हो सकता है।

इस में कुछ शक नहीं है कि पिछले कुछ समय से नागालैंड की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है। इसका श्रेय आम तौर पर हमारी सिन्धोरिटी फोर्सिस को जाता है। उन्होंने वहाँ पर बहुत ही आत्म संयम के साथ काम किया है और बहुत सीमित दायरे के अन्दर रहते हुये काम किया है। वहाँ पर कोई पुल फ्लेज्ड मिलिटरी आप्रेशन शुरू नहीं किया गया। सीमित दायरे के अन्दर काम करते हुये भी हमारी सिन्धोरिटी फोर्सिस को जो कामयाबी हासिल हुई है, उसके लिये मैं उनको मुबारिकबाद देता हूँ और साथ ही साथ नागालैंड की जनता को भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने अब यह महसूस कर लिया है कि

[श्री बीरमद्र सिंह]

नागालैंड की समस्या का समाधान बलपूर्वक नहीं हो सकता बल्कि शान्ति से और संविधान के अन्तर्गत ही हो सकता है। इसका सूचक हाल ही में हुये चुनाव है। बावजूद इस बात के कि वहाँ पर जो नागा विद्रोही तत्व हैं उन्होंने चुनाव का बहिष्कार करने के लिये लोगों को उकसाया था, पूरी कोशिश की थी कि चुनाव नाकामयाब हों लेकिन नागालैंड की जनता ने विद्रोहियों की बात को नहीं माना और बड़ी भारी संख्या में आ कर अपनी सरकार को चुना। यह इस बात का सूचक है कि नागालैंड की स्थिति में एक नया मोड़ आ गया है। हमें चाहिये कि जो नई परिस्थिति वहाँ पैदा हुई है उसका हम पूरा फायदा उठायें। नागालैंड के अन्दर जो देश भक्त तत्व हैं, जो शान्तिमय तरीके से वहाँ की समस्याओं का हल खोजना चाहते हैं, हम उन लोगों के हाथ मजबूत करें और उन लोगों को हम आगे लायें। इस सिलसिले में मुझे यह भी कहना है कि कभी कभी ऐसा महसूस होता है कि भारत सरकार जो वहाँ की चुनौती हुई सरकार है, जो वहाँ पर देश भक्त है, उसको उतनी अहमियत नहीं देती है जितनी कि देनी चाहिये। इस के साथ ही जो दूसरे देशद्रोही तत्व हैं—फीजो या दूसरे लोग उन को ज़रूरत से ज्यादा अहमियत देती है। इस से यह होता है कि जो वहाँ देशभक्त लोग हैं, वे यह महसूस करते हैं कि उन को जितना समर्थन और सहयोग मिलना चाहिये, वह नहीं मिलता है। मैं भारत सरकार से यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि भविष्य में वह इस बात का खास खयाल रखे। वह कोई ऐसा काम न करें, जिससे देशद्रोही तत्वों के हाथ मजबूत हों—चाहे इनडायरेक्टली या डायरेक्टली, जो वहाँ की चुनौती हुई सरकार की मर्जी के खिलाफ हो या उनकी पीठ के पीछे हो। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि वहाँ की सरकार शक्तिशाली बने, मजबूत बने, वहाँ की सरकार के पाँच ज्यादा जम जायें, तो ज़रूरी है कि हम उस की राय के अनुसार चलें।

एक बात इस अवसर पर मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ—यह तो ठीक है कि इस वक्त नागालैंड की स्थिति में कुछ सुधार हुआ है, मगर इसी से हम खुश हो जायें और यह समझें कि हमेशा के लिये समस्या का समाधान हो गया है, तो यह हमारी भूल होगी। इस वक्त भी हजारों नागा विद्रोही चीन से ट्रेनिंग लेकर, हथियार लेकर भारत और वर्मा की सीमा पर जमे हुये हैं और भारत में आने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। अभी कुछ दिन हुये गृह मन्त्री जी ने क्वेश्चन आवर में सदन को बताया था कि इस वक्त कोई दो हजार नागा विद्रोही चीन से ट्रेनिंग और हथियार लेकर हिन्दुस्तान में घुसने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। सब से पहले हमें इस बात को देखना है कि हमारा जो सिक्योरिटी अग्नेन्जमेन्ट है, हमारा जो सेट-अप है, उस में क्या कमजोरी है, क्या लूप-होलज़ हैं जो इतनी बड़ी तादाद में भारत के नागरिक आसानी से चीन या पाकिस्तान ट्रेनिंग के लिये चले जाते हैं और जाते ही नहीं बल्कि वापस भी आ जाते हैं। हथियार लेकर आते हैं, ट्रेनिंग लेकर आते हैं। इस बात को हमें पहले दूर करना है। जब तक हम इन लूप-होलज़ को खत्म नहीं करते, नागालैंड का कोई मुस्तकिल हल हम प्राप्त नहीं कर सकेंगे। यह ठीक है कि हम उन लोगों को कुछ अर्से के लिये रोक दें, एक साल या 6 महीने तक घुसने न दें, लेकिन जब तक उनका आना-जाना पूर्ण रूप से बन्द नहीं किया जाता - तो मैं नहीं समझता कि यह समस्या पूर्ण रूप से हल हो सकती है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देगी और हमारी सुरक्षा को अधिक सुदृढ़ बनायेगी, जिससे यह लोग भविष्य में विदेशों में इतनी आसानी से आ-जा न पायें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Sir, the extension of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Bill has almost become a ritual,

an yearly ritual with this House. Happily, this ritual is almost on a point of a happy consummation in the sense that the problem of Nagaland is almost at the penultimate stage of its solution. Sir, in this connection I want to offer our heart-full thanks for our brave jawans who, with their ardour, with the full cooperation of the people of Nagaland and also the Government of Nagaland, smashed the backbone of the rebels, particularly the underground rebels who were inspired by China and Pakistan. It is clear that China and Pakistan tried to incite a section of the people of Nagaland with their political ideas and also equip them with weapons, but it was not easy for them to get any easy passage into Nagaland. It was due, firstly, to the brave barrier, the valiant barrier that has been created by our jawans as also the people of Nagaland from whom these rebels, particularly, the China-trained and the Pakistan-trained rebels, have alienated themselves with the aspirations of the people of Nagaland. It is known to all how the mopping up action of these China-returned Nagas has been successfully dealt with by our jawans and how being demoralised the recently returned band of Nagas have surrendered to our armed forces.

We will fail in our duty if in this connection we do not offer our gratitude to our socialist neighbour Burma which has helped us in dealing particularly with those Nagas who had their training and political indoctrinisation and assistance from China. Even in today's paper you will find that the Government of Burma has helped to mop up 200 China-returned Nagas.

The election in Nagaland this year is almost an eye-opener to all of us. Perhaps in no State of India the people have shown so much democratic consciousness as was recently exhibited by the people of Nagaland because we all know that 90 per cent of the people of Nagaland participated in the last general election—the highest record ever achieved by any people of any State of India. If the will of the people is the supreme consideration for dealing with any problem of any State of our country, then

it is clear that unless the people of Nagaland had their implicit faith in the Indian Constitution, had their full loyalty for the concept of Indian nationality, perhaps these Naga people would not have participated in such massive numbers as they have done in the last general elections.

The Nagaland problem has been, I should say, dealt with by the Nagaland people themselves by showing the way in which they have participated in the last general election. Now, no people in Nagaland can claim to speak on behalf of the people of that area, except the democratically elected Government of Nagaland. There may be here and there a few groups of rebels getting inspiration from Phizo or China or Pakistan. But those people should be dealt with only as just groups of deviationists, I should say. It is a happy sign that those Naga Undergrounds under the control of Sukhai group have expressed their desire to have an understanding with the Government of India and negotiations with the Government of India in a peaceful way, not with arms. It is time that the Government of India, after the general election in Nagaland, should make a firm commitment and make a firm announcement that now on the political level the basic issue of Nagaland's integration with greater fraternity of Indian community has been resolved and that henceforth the problem of the rebels or deviationists should be treated as the local problem of Nagaland and that should be dealt with by the Nagaland Government alone. If need be, Government of India should cooperate with the people of Nagaland and extend to them all assistance and help to bring the residual problems to a happy end. But the Government of India should also make it very clear that henceforth neither the Phizo group nor any other rebels should have any quarter with the Government at Delhi. If they have to do anything, if they have to negotiate, if they have to have any talks, they will have to do it with the Government of Nagaland.

*On this issue, some of my hon. friends have already given certain hints. It is*

[Shri Samar Guha]

known to many that for sometime the Government of Nagaland have not always been with the dealing of the Central Government with their authority. They were more or less dealt with as subservients to a large extent. But after the recent general election, it is incumbent on the Government of India to see that the Nagaland Government gets greater liberty—I should say, full liberty—in dealing with the internal problems of Nagaland, in co-operation with, and with the assistance of, the Government of India.

So far as the defence force is concerned, naturally it will be a major factor that will have to be dealt with by the Government of India. But that also should be done in consultation and co-operation with the State Government. The Government of Nagaland should not have any feeling whatsoever that their viewpoint is not given due respect and recognition.

When I spoke on the last occasion on this subject, I dealt with the problem of national integration of the people of Nagaland, their cultural integration and also the problem of economic integration. At that time, I reminded the Minister of the fact that although today Nagaland has become almost a problem thanks to the hostiles there as to whether they really belong to India or not, during the time of the freedom movement, the Nagaland people—we have forgotten it—fought with us and Kohima was the epic battleground of the INA under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. At that time, thousands of Nagas participated in the fight with Netaji. They fought under the banner of the Indian tricolour. It is also known that even in village areas, in many houses, thousands and thousands of them, Netaji's photos are found even today. Recently during the silver jubilee celebrations at a maiden in Manipur, which our Home Minister, former Education Minister, Information and Broadcasting Minister and several other Ministers attended, not only the Manipur people but many Naga people attended. Most striking was that many Naga women who attended that function said

that they worked in the espionage network of Netaji at the time of the liberation movement. I pointed out to him that in order to effect integration of the patriotic fervour and emotional feeling of Nagaland with the heritage of our freedom movement, a monument should be erected at Kohima in memory of the INA, particularly of the Naga revolutionaries who laid down their lives for Indian freedom. I also suggested that the Naga people's participation in INA should be brought out in a short history. I also made the point that in school textbooks at least there should be a few pages in which the role played by the Naga people in that freedom movement under Netaji should be included. I suggested in addition that awards should be given, particularly to the Naga women who fought with Netaji in the espionage group.

I also made certain suggestions last year with regard to the cultural integration of the Naga people with the rest of India.

Indian Universities should reserve a few seats for the Naga boys so that they can be brought into the greater, I should say, assembly of Indian people and the Indian Youth so that they can draw the inspiration of the Indian outlook in its totality. It is also that the cottage industry in Nagaland, particularly the textile industry is a very important industry. They are very artistic. But unfortunately, due to lack of communications and other facilities like marketing facilities, that industry is dying. Here the Government can help them. They can set up some sort of an agency there so that their products can be brought to India and other parts of India.

Before I conclude I want to remind the Minister that in this House, not once, but several times, one very important point was raised as to why Nagaland should be dealt with by the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Is Nagaland a foreign country? The issues of foreign countries are dealt with by the Foreign Ministry. Successively on many occasions it was raised in this House that the Government should transfer the Nagaland issues to the Home Ministry from the

Foreign Ministry. I do not know whether it has caught the attention of the Government that by keeping Nagaland issue in the hands of the Foreign Ministry, you are giving an indirect justification to China and Pakistan to dabble and to interfere in the affairs of Nagaland because China and Pakistan say 'Your Foreign Ministry deals with Nagaland'. So you indirectly just create an impression, at least you justify that Nagaland is a foreign country. If Nagaland is a foreign country, then China and Pakistan can claim certain justification to help the people of Nagaland in the way they wish to. Therefore, it is time, particularly after the General Elections when 90% of the people participated in the elections--they made a history, a record of the democratic consciousness, nationalist consciousness and showed their faith in the Indian Constitution--when, without any further delay the Government should make a firm announcement that henceforth the Nagaland issues, Nagaland problems and the Nagaland State would be dealt with not by the Foreign Affairs Ministry but by the Home Affairs Ministry.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA (Raiganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will echo what Shri Guha said just now that it would have been better if this Bill had been sponsored by the Home Ministry instead of the External Affairs Ministry. It would have been in the fitness of things if this was done.

This Bill originally adopted for application to certain parts of Nagaland has later on been extended to the entire Nagaland in 1966 and now the provisions have been further extended upto 1972. In view of the needs of the situation this should be done. It is good that the Government has come forward with the proposal for extension of the provisions of the Bill by another three years.

When the Partition of India took place, somehow by certain dispensation the entire eastern region was made a ground of experiment of diverse, heterogeneous elements put together in one area. There were the plains, there were the hills, there

were different tribes, each speaking a different language. There was Tripura and Manipur, there were Kukais, there were Mizos there were the Lushai Hills people. All these different elements were put together as if in a cauldron to be brought out in one integrated social composition and one integrated political State. That was a great challenge. I cannot say that till now we have successfully met the challenge of the situation that was thrown before us due to Partition. In any case, so far as Nagaland is concerned, we have been trying to do the best that we can to the brave and patriotic people.

150 hrs.

[ SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *in the Chair* ]

Mr. Guha just now referred to Netaji's association with the Nagas. I do not know whether he mentioned this episode. I was told that it was the Nagas who showed Netaji the way to bypass the British line from Imphal to Kohima. They brought him over a secret passage over the hills to Kohima, bypassing the entire military line from Imphal to Kohima. It was with the help of the Nagas that he could come; otherwise, he would not have been able to come. They were great admirers of Netaji.

I had been there, not on any official visit. After a private visit to Dimapur on some engagement, I pleaded with the magistrate that he should allow me to go to Kohima. At that time cars could go only within convoys twice or thrice in a week. On the day I wanted to go, there was no convoy and the magistrate at first declined to give me permission. I insisted that I should be allowed as otherwise I shall have to return to Delhi and I would have no chance of going to Kohima very soon. After my repeated requests the Magistrate yielded and I took a friend and a car and made a dash to Kohima. On the way I was met by a truck-load of Naga young man coming to Dimapur side. At that time no convoy was expected; so a car was unexpected. When they saw my car, the truck stopped and the Nagas in the

[Shri Bhattecharyya]

truck jumped down and surrounded my car. As soon as I saw them I also opened the door of my car and got out of my car and stood face to face with them. They scrutinised me from top to bottom. I do not know what they felt; they got upon their truck and went away and allowed me to go away. I believe that they appreciated that what was passing in my mind was exactly what was passing in their own minds--the same love to the motherland. That is why, I think, they allowed me to go and they went their way. I was told by a very senior official that the Nagas were completely unsophisticated, simple and truthful people. One of the lawyers told me how truthful they were and gave me an example. When a magistrate convicted a Naga for any offence, he handed over the sentence to the man himself and asked him to report to a particular jail. The man would carry the order and go to the jail and hand over to the jailor and say : I have been convicted of such and such offence; please allow me to stay in the jail. The jailor would then take him in. If the sowing season came, he would tell the jailor : 'now it is the sowing season and unless I sow now, my family will starve the whole year; please allow me to go.' The jailor would allow him to go and ask him to come back on a certain date. Exactly on the date fixed, the man would come back and report himself to the jail.

This is the type of people. He said that these are very simple and truthful people, and properly tackled, the Nagas would become a great asset to the body politic of India. That is my opinion. They are very sharp, very intelligent, very active, and I should say, also very patriotic. There should be no misgivings about that. Some of them told me about the old traditions of India. They said that the Pandavas had come there for a while in their exile, and the area was shown, which is still known as the Palace of Hidimba, the tribal maiden whom Bhima had married. That is still known as the Hidimba Palace. They still refer to the traditions of the Mahabharata. They are not away from our cultural tradition even though so many

things have happened after partition. Of course, there are differences in custom and in food and in matters of habit.

I talked to the Deputy Commissioner there and he also confirmed that they are very simple people. He said on one occasion there were some dances and after seeing the dances he gave some cash prizes to some of the dancers and the prizes were received by the male dancers. When the Deputy Commissioner next day had gone out on his rounds, the girl dancers surrounded him on the way and asked him, "Where is our prize ?" So, he gave them also some prizes. He said they are very friendly to him. So, there should be no misunderstanding about the character and the motives of the Naga people though. I should say, some of them have been misled and gone over to do things which we regret and which they should not have done.

That is an area which, as I have already said, is something like a cauldron where different elements are being cooked up. We have to find out whether they could all be integrated into a whole : there is linguistic division; there is a tribal element and there is a racial division; it is a particularly strategic area leading to Burma and China and to Pakistan, on all sides. Therefore, that particular area requires particular care. It is good that these powers that we are giving to the army are being given to them to be exercised under the control of the civil authority. I only hope that the civil authorities will exercise proper control, and the powers that have been given to the army officials will never be used in excess or will never be misused. Particular care should be taken in this regard and the army must be told so.

Nagaland has taken to parliamentary democracy, and parliamentary democracy has a great sobering effect, and it is a very disciplining factor, and I believe that in that way they would be properly disciplined and sobered, even though there has been some misuse in some way. Recently I find that they have asked for a

separate Governor. That shows that they are fully conscious of the parliamentary right which this Parliament has given them by giving them a separate legislature and a separate State.

I fully support this Bill, but with this word of caution : that the civil authorities should be told that they should exercise proper watch on the army officers so that the powers may not be misused, and the army should be told that the powers that are being given to them should be exercised with proper care, humanity and consideration and judgment.

श्री शिवचन्द्र भ्मा (मधुबनी) : सभापति महोदय, मैं इस विधेयक का विरोध करता हूँ। मैं साफ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस विधेयक का विरोध करता हूँ क्योंकि मैं इस में बहुत बड़ा खतरा देखता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान के जनतन्त्र अथवा जम्हूरियत के लिए। आप पूछेंगे कि यह कैसे। मैं मानता हूँ कि जिस इलाके के लिए यह विधेयक पारित किया जा रहा है उस नागालैंड की, पूर्वी इलाके की हालत बड़ी नाजुक है। वहाँ हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा बर्मा की सीमा से मिलती है, चीन की सीमा से मिलती है और वहीं पर पाकिस्तान की सीमा भी है। अन्दर नागा विद्रोही रहते हैं। उनके रहनुमा फीजो इंग्लैण्ड में रहते हैं और वहाँ से साजिश कर रहे हैं। इन तमाम बातों से मैं वाक़िफ हूँ और समझता हूँ कि वहाँ की हालत नाजुक है। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को चाहिए कि वह वहाँ के लिए एक सख्त कदम उठाये ताकि उन को वहाँ दबाया जाये और अमान अमान की व्यवस्था कायम हो, खुशहाली की शुद्घात हो।

मैं इन सब बातों से वाक़िफ हूँ, लेकिन जो इलाज इस विधेयक में रखा गया है, वह बीमारी को दूर करने के लिए नहीं बल्कि मरीज का गला घोटने के लिए है। और यह गला घोटने की कोशिश की गई है हिन्दुस्तान के जनतन्त्र का गला घोटने के लिए। यह कैसे होजा है ?

आप जानते हैं कि हमारा समाज एक जनतान्त्रिक समाज है, लेकिन इस समाज में पुलिस की जो बनावट है वह डिक्टेटोरियल है, गैर-जनतान्त्रिक है। फौज की बनावट उस से भी ज्यादा डिक्टेटोरियल है। आज जम्हूरी समाज के लिए लाजिमी हो जाता है कि वह पुलिस और फौज को ज्यादा जनतान्त्रिक बनाये। यदि मन्त्री महोदय इस के बारे में जानना चाहते हैं तो वह अलेक्स डी टोकविल को पढ़ें। टोकविल 19वीं सदी में हुआ था और हम 20वीं सदी में रहते हैं। अगर आप टोकविल को नहीं पढ़ना चाहते तो हैरोल्ड लास्की को पढ़ें। उन्होंने जो कुछ लिखा है उन सब बातों का यह निचोड़ है कि एक जनतान्त्रिक समाज का आदर्श हो जाता है कि पुलिस की हालत और फौज की हालत जितनी हो सके उतनी जनतान्त्रिक बनाई जाये, डिमाक्रेटाइज किया जाये। डिक्टेटोरियल बनावट को खत्म करके उनको ज्यादा डिमाक्रेटिक रास्ते पर लाया जाये। लेकिन इस विधेयक में आप उन को ज्यादा ताकत देने जा रहे हैं। नागालैंड में आज जो सिविल अथॉरिटी है उस नागरिक प्रशासन की मदद के लिए आप उसको ज्यादा ताकत, स्पेशल पावर, देने जा रहे हैं ताकि अमान अमान के नाम पर वह उन की मदद करे, प्रशासन चलाने के लिए उन की मदद करे। लेकिन यह एक बड़ा खतरनाक रास्ता है और एक बड़ी खराब आदत हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार अस्त्यार कर रही है।

यदि आप चाहते हैं कि वहाँ जन-सहयोग हो और जो उपद्रवी हैं उन को दबाया जाये और साथ-साथ प्रशासन भी अच्छे रूप में चले तो आप इस बात का खयाल कीजिये कि फौज को ताकत न दे कर जो बालेंटरी प्रागैनाइजेन्स शार्ति सेना आदि के हैं उन को बढ़ावा क्यों न दें, उन की मदद क्यों न करें ताकि वह वहाँ पर एक बाज़ारबरण तैयार करें और सुशासन के लिये एक पब्लिक प्रोपीनियन तैयार करें

[श्री शिवचन्द्र भा]

और आप को वहाँ पर फौजी तैयारी की जरूरत न पड़े। नागा लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के साथ लाने के लिये वे वालेंटरी आर्गनाइजेशन शान्ति सेना आदि के सहयोग का रास्ता बनायेंगे। आप को यह रास्ता अस्वीकार करना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारी सरकार इस से घबराती है क्योंकि सरकार जानती है कि विरोधी दल वाले जो हैं वह वालेंटरी आर्गनाइजेशन है उन के निकट आ जाये और उन के जरिये वे ताकत में आ जायें। अभी तो कुछ ही प्रान्तों में हैं, हो सकता है कि उन के साथ साथ दिल्ली में भी आ जायें। यही सरकार को डर है। इसी लिये सरकार वालेंटरी आर्गनाइजेशन को वहाँ बढ़ावा नहीं देना चाहती। यदि सरकार हकीकत में चाहती है कि वहाँ विद्रोहियों को दबाया जाये और प्रशासन को ठीक किया जाये, खुशहाली के रास्ते पर लाया जाये, तो वह जरा इस बात पर भी साफ तौर पर गौर करें कि जो भी वालेंटरी आर्गनाइजेशन सर्वोदय वाले या शान्ति सेना वाले हैं उन को आगे बढ़ाया जाय। अगर इस तरह का सहयोग देती है तो वह प्रशासन में एक वातावरण बनायेंगे और साथ साथ नागा लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के साथ मिलाने के लिए भी काम करेंगे।

इस इलाके की आखिर समस्या क्या है? मोटे तौर पर उस इलाके की समस्या आर्थिक है। उस इलाके को हिन्दुस्तान के पूंजीपति चूसते हैं। आप को मानना होगा कि जिस तरह से अमरीकी पूंजीपति अमरीका में रेड इंडियन्स को चूसते थे, उसी तरह से क्या नागालैंड आप के लिये कालोनी नहीं है? आप उन को इसी रूप में टूट करते आये हैं जैसे हिन्दुस्तान को अंग्रेज लोग कालोनी के रूप में टूट करते आये हैं। आप को उन की समस्याओं को हल करना होगा, उन के जीवन स्तर को सुधारना होगा, जिस प्रकार आप सारे देश के जीवन स्तर को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। यही उन का बुनियादी

हल है। लेकिन चूँकि इस हल की ओर सरकार सारे देश में नहीं जा रही है सारे देश को एक भेस बना रही है, वातावरण खराब कर रही है, उसी तरह से वह वहाँ की समस्या को भी बिगाड़ रही है।

तीसरा कदम सरकार को यह उठाना चाहिये कि वह नागा लोगों को शेष हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों से ज्यादा से ज्यादा मिलाये और नागालैंड जाने के लिए हमारे रास्ते में जो रुकावटें हैं उन को खत्म करे और दोनों की मिक्सिंग ज्यादा से ज्यादा हो, इस का रास्ता वह अस्वीकार करे। लेकिन सरकार वह भी नहीं कर रही है।

नागालैंड जो नाम है या नेफा है यह अंग्रेजीकरण के नाम हैं। हमारे डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया कहा करते थे कि अंग्रेजी नाम खत्म करो। वह कहा करते थे कि उर्वशीअम जैसे हिन्दुस्तानी नाम लागू करो ताकि वहाँ के लोगों में यह भावना आये कि वह भी हिन्दुस्तान के अंग है और हिन्दुस्तान की संस्कृति और स्वतन्त्रता के अंग हैं और इस भावना के साथ वह हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों से मिलने के लिये कदम बढ़ायें। यदि सरकार इस तरह का रास्ता अस्वीकार करेगी तो हकीकत में वह दो चिड़ियों को एक तीर से मार सकती है। विद्रोहियों को दबा सकती है, सीमा को मजबूत कर सकती है और साथ साथ प्रशासन को भी ठीक कर सकती है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की फौज की ताकत को बढ़ा कर आप ऐसा काम कर रहे हैं कि अहिस्ता-अहिस्ता वह समय आयेगा, वह फिजा आयेगी कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो जनतान्त्रिक ढंग आप बनाना चाहते हैं उस को बहुत बड़ा धक्का लगेगा। आप जरा घास पास के तानाशाहों को देखिये। अय्यूब खाँ हैं, एशिया के दूसरे मुल्क हैं, वहाँ जनतन्त्र का खात्मा हो रहा है और आप फौजी ताकत बढ़ा रहे हैं। क्या सरकार यह नहीं समझती कि जिस सदन में यह लोग बैठे हुए हैं

उस की ईंट को वह उठा रही है, एक-एक ईंट उखाड़ रही हैं।

मैं मानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में आप के पास बहुते से ऐसे कानून हैं जो गैर-जनताग्रिक है जैसे अनलाफुल ऐक्टिविटीज् एक्ट, इमर्जेंसी मेजर्स, जिन से आप जनतन्त्र की हत्या कर रहे हैं। आप जान बूझ कर इस इलाके के मनो-विज्ञान को, जो कि अविकसित है, पिछड़ा हुआ है, बिगाड़ रहे हैं और वे लोग हम को एक दूसरे रूप में समझ रहे हैं। उन को नजदीक लाने के लिये आप एक गलत रास्ता अख्त्यार कर रहे हैं। पहले तो उन लोगों पर जुल्म होंगे। आज क्या फौज वाले यहां पर आम लोगों पर जुल्म नहीं करते? आप जरा इसको देखिये कि यहां पर क्या होता है। गाड़ियों में मिलटरी का डिब्बा लगा रहता है। उन लोगों का मुसाफिरो के साथ आखिर क्या व्यवहार होता है? मैं मानता हूँ कि आजादी के बाद कुछ कमी आई है। आजादी के पहले बात दूसरी थी। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की सशस्त्र सेनायें हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिकों के साथ जब इस तरह का व्यवहार कर सकती हैं तो हम सोच सकते हैं कि नागालैंड में और उसकी सीमा पर उनके साथ उनका कितना खराब व्यवहार होता होगा। इसलिए इस लालच को आप खत्म करो कि फौज की ताकत का छोटे छोटे इलाकों में भी इस्तेमाल हो या बड़े इलाकों में हो। फौज की ताकत को बढ़ाने की कोशिश मत करो।

16 hrs.

आप जरा अपने सन्निधान पर गौर करो। आप देखें कि इसका दर्शन क्या है? इसका दर्शन है कि एक डिफेंस मिनिस्टर होगा जिसके नीचे तीनों चीफ्स आफ स्टाफ होंगे और उन सबके ऊपर प्रिंजीडेन्ट होगा जिसको कमांडर इन चीफ कहा जाएगा। जनतन्त्र का यह आदर्श है कि सिलियन हैड होगा और इनी का मतलब

यह होता है कि हम समाज को जहां तक हो सके, डेमोक्रेटिक लाइज पर लायें और जो भी डिक्लेटोरियल विंग है उनको हम डेमोक्रेटाइज करें। वैसे न करके आप विल्कुल इसके उलट कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि या तब मैं इसकी जो बनावट है वह भी उसी तरह से है जैसे टाटा बिरला इस सरकार को चलाते हैं। हमारे जनतन्त्र में टाटा बिरला का प्रभाव जिस तरह से राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम कर रहा है, उसी का नमूना इस नागालैंड के बारे में जो आप कर रहे हैं, देखा जा सकता है।

इसलिए मैं तहे दिल से और पुर जोर रूप में इस बिल का विरोध करता हूँ। याद रखो कि तुम आज अपनी कन्न खोदने के लिए इस विधेयक को ला रहे हो।

16.02 hrs.

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

SHRI BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar) : Sir, I have been tempted to speak on this Bill after hearing the speech of Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya, wherein he has referred to Nagaland in the context of the Mahabharata. He said that Ghotothkach, the son of Bhima with Hiremba who was the daughter of the then king of Nagaland. May I inform you, Sir, it is said, we are the descendent of Ghotothkach according to Mahabharata.

Nagaland has not been properly understood by many of our friends here. Only those who have visited Nagaland will know what a place it is and what its problems are. If you go there you will be impressed by their special costumes, manners, culture and non-sophistication. They are very simple, well-built, untiring and strong people.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am not surprised to hear this because I have spent five days there

**SHRI BASUMATARI :** Sir, I do not know with what feeling or expectation you went there. I visited this area for the first time when I was a student, and a many occasions later.

The people of this area are like birds. They want to move about as they like in complete freedom. That is why Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru said : let them develop their own genius. This word genius can be used for the people of Nagaland; but not for the tribals of the plains or for the tribals of Mr. Swell. Therefore, Nagaland should be given all the power that they want. This Bill intends to give more power to the personnel than that of constables. Controlling Nagas is a simple problem.

My hon. friend, referred to the democratic way in which they fought the elections. I would not like to repeat all that. Considering all that all the power possible should be given to them so that they can control the situation and give full opportunities to the people of that region. So, I do not know why this Act is being extended time to time.

Another point that I want to deal with is the Ministry to which Nagaland is attached. When NEFA was with the External Affairs Ministry we demanded that this should be under the Home Ministry. We also demanded that in the same way Nagaland should be with the Home Ministry. Rightly, Shri Guha asked why Nagaland was being dealt with in the External Affairs Ministry. We have nothing to say about the Ministry. But Nagaland being under the Foreign Affairs Ministry has a psychological effect. Sometimes it is questioned whether Nagaland is in India or outside India. Therefore I request the hon. Minister to consider whether this should be with the Home Ministry or with the External Affairs Ministry. In my opinion this should not be continued under the External Affairs Ministry but should be dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Just after independence some portion of Assam was tagged on to Nagaland, that is, Dimapur. Dimapur was the capital of the Kachari King. I belong to the Kachari

community. At that time the Kachari community ruled the whole of Assam. Luckily or unluckily we were subjugated by the Ahoms who came from Thailand and we were scattered at various places, The Tripura Maharaja, who is here, and the Maharani of Jaipur, the daughter of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, who is also here, will bear me out that we were one and had been scattered by the Ahoms. That is the history and we should be reconciled.

My aim in saying all this is that the capital of the Kachari King, that is, Dimapur, should be looked upon as a place of historical importance and should be preserved as the Red Fort and other monuments are being preserved. But that is not being done. Therefore I request the young hon. Deputy Minister to see that the capital of the Kachari King is preserved. It is an inspiration to everyone of us. I request him to request the Archaeological Department to see to it.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** I would like more hon. Members to participate in this debate. As Shri Basumatari just now suggested, the next debate also more or less covers the surrounding area. So, I request hon. Members to be a little brief because our time is getting exhausted.

**SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay central) :** We can continue it up to 5 P.M.

**SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA :** We saved two hours on the Limitation (Amendment) Bill.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** I am giving opportunity as far as possible but because the Minister will also take some time and I want to call as many hon. Members as possible, I am requesting hon. Members to be brief. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) :**  
उपाध्यक्ष जी, जिस समय नागालैंड का निर्माण करने वाला विधेयक आया था और उसके लिए संविधान में संशोधन करने वाला विधेयक यहाँ उपस्थित किया गया था तब मैंने तत्कालीन

प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू से कहा था कि नागालैंड के पृथक निर्माण से अगर आप यह अपेक्षा करते हैं कि नागालैंड की समस्याओं का समाधान हो जाएगा, तो मुझे इसमें संदेह है। मेरी अब भी निश्चित राय यह है कि भारत सरकार ने पहली भूल तो यह की थी कि असम को छोटी छोटी इकाइयों में उसने बांटने के लिए नागालैंड का पृथक से निर्माण किया।

दूसरी भूल इसी तरह की सरकार ने यह की कि—

नागालैंड का नाम नागालैंड रहने दिया। जब देश के सभी प्रान्तों का नाम भारतीय भाषाओं में है तब नागालैंड के साथ लैंड शब्द को लगाकर एक और अमरातीयता का उसने परिचय दिया।

तीसरी भूल भारत सरकार ने उस समय की जिस समय नागालैंड को गृह मन्त्रालय के साथ न रख कर विदेश मन्त्रालय के साथ उसने रखा। श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू से पूछा गया था कि आखिर ऐसा क्यों किया जा रहा है? तब उन्होंने बताया था कि नागा लोग कुछ भावुक प्रवृत्ति के होते हैं। उनकी अपनी इच्छा ऐसी है कि मेरे साथ यह विभाग रहे। इसलिए विदेश मन्त्रालय के साथ इस विभाग को रखा जा रहा है। पर यह परम्परा बहुत लम्बी चलने वाली नहीं है। अब तीसरा प्रधान मन्त्री इस देश में चल रहा है। पहली बात तो मैं यह उप विदेश मन्त्री से जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब कौन से कारण इस प्रकार के हैं जो आप अभी भी नागालैंड को विदेश मन्त्रालय के साथ रखे हुए हैं। श्री नेहरू के उस समय के आशवासन के आधार पर क्यों नहीं नागालैंड को गृह मन्त्रालय के साथ रखा जाता है और देश की परम्पराओं में एक स्वस्थ परम्परा का श्रीगणेश किया जाता है।

इस सरकार ने प्रारम्भ से ही एक भूल और भी की है। वह भूल यह है कि उसने राजनीतिक और सैनिक निर्णयों में किसी प्रकार का तालमेल नहीं बनाये रखा।

मेरा अपना विश्वास इस प्रकार का है कि सरकार सेनाओं को जब कोई आदेश दे या कोई कदम उठाने के लिये कहे तो बहुत सोच-विचार कर कहे। लेकिन एक बार जब सेना को अधिकार दे दिया जाय तो फिर राजनीतिज्ञों को बीच में हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहिये। एक बार इसी प्रकार की भूल हम ने उस वक्त की—जब हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र हुआ ही था। 1947 में जब सरदार पटेल ने काश्मीर में अपनी सेनाओं को भेजा तो हमने पाकिस्तान के आग्रह पर अपनी सेनाओं को बीच में ही रोक दिया। आज तक वह हड़डी हमारे गले में अटकती हुई है। दूसरी बार वैसे भूल उस वक्त की जब 1965 में पाकिस्तानी सेना के साथ संघर्ष में हम ने सेना को अधिकार तो दिया पर सेना को अपने निर्णय पर स्वयं नहीं पहुचने दिया। वहां फिर राजनीतिज्ञों को बीच में नहीं आना चाहिये था। बीच में हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहिये था। इस तरह की तीसरी भूल अब हम नागालैंड में कर रहे हैं। नागालैंड में पिछले कुछ समय से शांति स्थापित नहीं हो पा रही है—वहां के एक सैनिक अधिकारी से भारत सरकार ने इसका कुछ समय पहले कारण पूछा था। उस सैनिक अधिकारी ने दो सुझाव भारत सरकार को भेजे। अगर नागालैंड में भारत सरकार शांति स्थापित करना चाहती है तो पहला उपाय यह है कि सरकार अपनी सेना और सैनिक अधिकारियों को हाथ खोल कर काम करने का मौका दे। दूसरा उपाय यह है कि विदेशी मिशनरी जो नागालैंड में आ कर यहां के लोगों के मस्तिष्कों में भ्रष्टाचार प्रवृत्ति उभार रहे हैं, उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाये। अगर 6 महीने के लिये भी इन को हटा दिया जाय और सेना को हाथ

## [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

खोल कर काम करने का अवसर दिया जाय, तो नागालैंड में निश्चित रूप से शान्ति स्थापित हो सकती है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से अब तक इन दोनों मुद्दों के आने के बाद भी भारत सरकार इस प्रकार का उचित निर्णय नहीं ले सकी है। देश के अन्दर यह भावना बढ़ती चली जा रही है कि जब 4-5 लाख मुट्ठी-भर नागा लोगों पर यह सरकार नियन्त्रण नहीं कर पा रही है तो इतने बड़े देश पर यह सरकार किस प्रकार नियन्त्रण रख सकेगी? या बाहर के शत्रुओं का किस प्रकार समाधान कर सकेगी?

इसलिये मेरा कहना यह है कि आप कुछ करें या न करें लेकिन नागालैंड के सम्बन्ध में एक निश्चित नीति अस्तित्व में लाना चाहिए। जो नागा विद्रोही इस प्रकार के हैं कि जो चीन और पाकिस्तान का सहयोग लेकर भारत की अखण्डता को चुनौती दे रहे हैं या भारत की प्रभुसत्ता को चुनौती दे रहे हैं और नागालैंड के निर्माण के बाद भारत सरकार के लिये निरन्तर एक समस्या बने हुए हैं, उन के लिये उदारता की नीति को अनिश्चित काल तक के लिये जारी रखना किसी भी समझदार या दूरदर्शी सरकार के लिये उचित नहीं है।

अभी बंगल में बैठे हुए एक सामाजवादी सदस्य कह रहे थे कि नागालैंड से फौजों को हटा लिया जाय, सेना को हटा दिया जाय, पुलिस को हटा दिया जाय, सर्वोदय कार्यकर्ताओं को वहाँ भेजा जाय, शान्ति सेना वहाँ पर भेजी जाय। इस आत्महत्या करने वाली नीति का मैं समर्थक नहीं हूँ। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, उर्दू में एक छन्द है जिसको कसीदा कहते हैं और हिन्दी में एक छन्द है जिसको दोहा कहते हैं - एक पुराने शायर ने लिखा है :-

कभीदे से न चलती है,  
न बोहे से चलती है,

समझ लीजें कि कारे-सस्तनत,  
सदा लोहे से चलती है।

हुकूमत जब चलती है, दण्ड से चलती है।  
मनु ने भी अपनी स्मृति ग्रन्थ में लिखा है -

दण्डः शास्ति प्रजा सर्वाः।

इस प्रकार का क्षेत्र जो हिन्दुस्तान के लिये एक समस्या बना हुआ है, देश के लिये एक चुनौती बना हुआ है, उसके लिये इस प्रकार के प्रसंगत मुद्दों हमारे मित्र दें, हैरानी है। जो नागालैंड में शान्ति स्थापित करना चाहते हैं और कहते हैं कि वहाँ शान्ति सेना भेजा जाय, सर्वोदय समाज को भेजा जाय, तो फिर कुछ तकली कातने वालों को भी वहाँ भेज दीजिये। वह जाकर चीनी और पाकिस्तानी प्रवृत्तियों का, जो राजद्रोही प्रवृत्तियाँ वहाँ पर फैल रही हैं, अथवा जो हमारे देश की अखण्डता और प्रभुसत्ता को चुनौती दे रही हैं, उनका मुकाबला करें। हम में से इस प्रकार के एक व्यक्ति की ओर से जो देश की अखण्डता और प्रभुसत्ता में विश्वास करने हैं इन की तरफ से इस प्रकार का सुभाव आये तो बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है। एक बात मैं यहाँ अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी दुबल नीति का एक सब से बड़ा दुष्परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि जो देश-भक्त नागा हैं, अब वे भी धीरे-धीरे विद्रोहियों का साथ देते चले जा रहे हैं। जब यह देखते हैं कि सरकार देश-भक्त लोगों को विश्वास में न लेकर विद्रोही नागाओं से डर कर निर्णय लेती है तो जो देश-भक्त भारत के प्रति उपादार हैं, वे भी धीरे-धीरे विद्रोही नागाओं के साथ हो रहे हैं। यह सरकार की दुबल नीति का परिणाम है।

जब आप जानते हैं कि विद्रोही नागा इस प्रकार से भारत को बराबर चुनौती दे रहे हैं, बाहरी हथियार मंगा रहे हैं, बाहर से शान्ति संग्रह कर के आ रहे हैं, भारत के लिये समस्या बनते चले

जा रहे हैं, तो उप-विदेश मंत्री इस विषयक का उत्तर देते हुये इस बात पर जरूर प्रकाश डालें कि आखिर इन विद्रोही नागाओं के साथ बातचीत का दरवाजा कब तक खुला रखना चाहते हैं? कुछ तो उसकी सीमा होनी चाहिये। प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने कई भ्रमि-वेशन में कहा था कि अनिश्चित काल तक हम बातचीत का दरवाजा खुला नहीं रखेंगे। श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने भी कहा था कि हम अनिश्चित समय तक बातचीत नहीं करना चाहेंगे। अगर इन लोगों के रवैये में किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन नहीं होगा तो सरकार इस परम्परा को लम्बा नहीं चलाना चाहेगी। अब वह समय आ गया है। भगवान कृष्ण ने शिशुपाल को कहा था सौ गाली तक क्षमा कर सकता हूँ, लेकिन 101वीं गाली पर मुदर्शन चक्र मेरे हाथ में नहीं रहेगा। उसी प्रकार से इन विद्रोही नागाओं के लिये समय की सीमा बंधनी चाहिये। कोई भ्रमि निश्चित होनी चाहिये। एक निश्चित समय तक यह बात बरदाश्त होगी, उसके बाद न बातचीत का दरवाजा खुला रहेगा और न नागालैंड में किसी भी प्रकार की उदण्डता को बर्दाश्त किया जायगा।

अन्तिम बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ - प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी 27 मार्च को बर्मा की यात्रा पर जा रही हैं।

मैं उप-विदेश मंत्री के माध्यम से प्रधान मंत्री जी को कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितने विद्रोही नागा चीन को जाते हैं, ये सब बर्मा के क्षेत्र से होकर निकलने हैं। प्रधान मंत्री जी जहाँ बर्मा के साथ अन्य मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्धों के प्रश्न पर विचार करें, वहाँ इस बात पर भी निश्चित रूप से विचार करें कि बर्मा सरकार इस विषय में हम को सहयोग दे। कि ये विद्रोही नागा ब्रह्म देश से होकर न गुजर सकें। जिससे हमारी और बर्मा की जो पहले से घनिष्ठ मंत्रा रही है, वह और मुट्ठ हो सके।

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH (Khunti) : Today I would speak in English. I want to speak in Hindi but I cannot compete with my hon. friend. (Interruption)

I am an Adivasi, a prescriptive citizen of this country. All these fellows are newcomers. First of all I would like to know how many of them have been to Nagasthan. It is very important that you must have first-hand knowledge and not talk about foreign missionaries being there. They are not there any more..

श्री प्रकाशदीर शास्त्री : अभी बताया था—  
‘Two missionaries are there’.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : They are Nagas. There are no foreign missionaries in Nagaland.....

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Now there are two foreign missionaries who are teachers in Nagaland; they are not carrying on political activities.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : I stand corrected.

I have been intimately associated with the Nagasthan revolution. It was I who took Mr. Phizo to the first Prime Minister of India and to the first Commander-in-Chief of India. It was after that Mr. Phizo withdrew from the rebellion. Later on, Sir Akbar Hydari, who was the Governor, took the idea of military power of the country, sent the Assam Rifles and so on and so forth. Things went wrong. I do not want to go into the history of that. But let us remember that it was the Nagas who prevented the Japanese from coming into this country. It was the Nagas who co-operated with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and he was able to do something. I am sorry, my friend, Mr. Hem Barua, is not here. All the time everybody talks about fissiparous tendencies. When they talk about their own province, Haryana or Punjab or whatever else it is, it is not fissiparous, but if I demand Jharkhand, it is fissiparous; if we talk about Assam Hills State, it is fissiparous. My dear friend, Mr. Prakash Vir

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

Shastri,—भगर असम के टुकड़े टुकड़े कर दिये, तो पाण्डिचरी को अकेले क्यों रहने दिया जाय, दिल्ली को अकेले क्यों रहने दिया जाय—इस का जवाब दीजिये। आपको भगर हिन्दुस्तान को एक रखना है तो The security of India depends on the north-east frontier. Don't argue about names नागलैंड बोल दिया everything must be in Hindi. Do you know what Nagaland means? You just don't know. Nagaland extends by 300 miles to the east. It is no-man's land. The Chinese want to have it. What the Nagas want is to have the whole of Nagasthan as one. We have prevented that...*(Interruption)*. Your speeches here have prevented that. Some stupid speeches have been made about Assam and Nagaland. We forget that it is the Indian army; it is not the British Army. Whenever any civilian administration has broken down, whether it is due to drought or floods or something else, we call out the Army. They are our people. You don't trust them? Remember, it is a frontier area..

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: I object to his using the word 'stupid'. If you allow that, then others also will be using it ..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not unparliamentary.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: If you allow that word to go on record, then in future others also will be using it and you will be in a corner. I would, therefore, request you to clarify whether he should withdraw or that word should be expunged.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: I regret to say, my hon. friend does not know the English language, the meaning of the word 'stupid'.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI M. R. KRISHNA): Sir, it is not in good taste to say that some stupid speeches have been made.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We always follow certain procedure. He said about some arguments and he used the word stupid in that way. He was saying that.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: He has mentioned 'stupid speeches'.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: As far as possible, please avoid jarring expressions. That is all. Now, continue.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): If he generalises it, it is all right. But if he particularises it, then, it is prohibited.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: If such expressions are allowed, they will be used still more and more.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: He may get the Oxford Dictionary and see what the word stupid means before he say all these things. The point is this, Sir. This is a frontier State. The security of the realm has become very important now. Whatever mistakes we have made in the past, they are there. Knowing the danger we have, we have to take a little more than the civil administration's help. That is the position. To think that the army will be there to prevent democracy functioning, is, again, I regret to use another word non-sense. I do not understand this attitude which people have.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade): Why, today, are you using such strong words?

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: Because, if I use such words, it sinks into your head. Otherwise it does not.

Sir, the armed forces have been one of our best heritage from the British Government. Let us be clear about that. If there is any discipline in India, it is in the Armed forces. But they don't go beyond the authority given to them. They are our colleagues. They are the Indian army. They are our own people. They are not there to destroy democracy. The argument here has been that you are interfering with the democratic process. I wish we had some army people inside this House also. *(Interruption)* I mean, active Generals. Not retired ones.

AN HON. MEMBER : Change the Constitution.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : I can go to the extent of changing the Constitution. I support this Bill. It is a very limited one and anyone opposing it is making a slur on the finest service we have in this country, the Armed Forces.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North-East) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I welcome this opportunity which has been something of windfall. I speak in relation to the problems of Nagaland. And, I am particularly happy, Sir, that our friend Shri Jaipal Singh has made a come-back to the House. I am excluding from any calculation the extraordinary Hindi speech which he made the other day.

I had an opportunity, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, along with my esteemed friend Professor Ranga, and some other colleagues in the other House of Parliament, to have seen something of Nagaland a few years ago. At that point of time also the problems of Nagaland were acute but we could discover, as we went to that area, that if an approach was made to the common people with sympathy and understanding, if the usual attitude of sanctimonious superiority which so many of us have, were discarded, if we preferred to meet the people on equal terms; and tried to enter into their ways of life to a certain extent, if for example we did not very virtuously refuse something which they offered as hospitable hosts then we could touch their hearts to a significant extent and if that spirit of understanding was extended to this sphere of political discussion, then the problem would have been solved long time ago.

I have heard here with rejoicing how Subhas Chandra Bose came over with his Indian National Army and how they all kissed the soil of India when they were here and on that occasion the Nagas had assisted the Azad Hind Fauj and they have done so because they are a freedom-loving people--- which is something which certain elements in this House have got to understand.

Their way of life is something which should appeal to those who swear by the

name of Gandhiji and if there is any idea of having anything like Gandhiji and socialism, they could take over Nagaland where there is a social system ready-made which would satisfy all the criteria of Gandhiji and socialism.

They are a courageous people, they are a truthful people, they are a freedom-loving people and they helped Subhas Chandra Bose because of that. Apart from helping Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in the heat of freedom struggle, there were very powerful elements among the Nagas led by a picturesque personality, Rani Guidallo, who joined the Indian National Movement and were in the stream of it. There is talk of national integration here unnecessarily, but there was actual national integration in the days of struggle for freedom. Now when the problem comes for the consolidation of the freedom, we talk about national integration and we do not succeed in achieving it. That is exactly what is happening in Nagaland. How are we going to treat it? We had occasions to meet many of our armed forces stationed in Nagaland and we could see what difficult and arduous life they had to lead. It is quite likely that on occasions some excesses might have been committed here and there. I could see so many of us could draw applause from Naga audiences when we pointed out that may be on some occasions the Indian Army has not behaved as they ought to, but by and large, as my friend Shri Jaipal Singh said, they are a good lot of people, and we told our audiences that if there was any specific case of the Indian Army not behaving themselves, then we could take steps in bringing them to the notice of the Administration and we got response every time when that approach was put forward. This is the reason why the approach has got to be conducted properly. This is why, quite apart from the security provisions of this Bill, more important stress has to be put upon the human approach which this country makes. That is why it is important often not to stress the idea of our having already won the battle in Nagaland, not to talk too much of the Naga hostiles having been virtually liquidated, and not to be bragging about teaching a lesson to China and Pakistan for their trying to poke their noses into Indian

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

affairs. It is advisable not to indulge in that kind of vain gloriousness. On the contrary, we should lay our hand on our heart and ask ourselves, how is it that in this year of grace 1969, 22 years after freedom, there are elements in our country who do want to get assistance from China and Pakistan. That is because we should shed our idea of being merely a successor power of the British. We should not behave just as if we have stepped into the shoes of the British and we should not say that whoever was under the British should be under our Raj. That is an idea which we have to shed altogether. That is why we have to be more humble and modest in regard to the entire Himalayan region. Questions would arise not in a very distant future in regard to Bhutan, Sikkim and Heaven knows what other area. If we do have a feeling that we should hold on to whatever was under the British rule, then that is something which is going to defeat our purpose.

In regard to Nagaland, they are our own people. If they are our own people, let us treat them with the consideration that they deserve. Let us not feel too superior. Let us not talk of national integration in that area and let us not merely say that this is fissiparous. This fissiparous business is driven too far. We are a mosaic country. India is full of diversities and there is a basic unity in that diversity. The fact of that diversity has to be taken notice of.

If in the case of Nagaland some very special provisions are called for, let us go in for those provisions. Let us not try to pose with bravado that we can take on China, we can take on Pakistan and the Nagas are a footling little tribe whom we can teach the lesson we wish to teach them. That sort of attitude is undeserving of a country like India. This is Mahabharata which has extended its influence all over. That is why the land of Chitrangada was there. That is why Nagaland is part of our country. It is part of our historic memory, and it is our job now to consolidate Nagaland as part of the political entity which is ours.

This is why—as you have yourself been to Nagaland, you know—how important it is to pursue our economic policy of assistance to the Naga people. It is necessary for us also to grant whatever legitimate demands they are making today in regard, for instance, to the demand for a separate Governor for Nagaland. That sort of thing would easily make for a better harmony, a better possibility of understanding.

Therefore, my feeling is that for the time being, some security measures are necessary—there is no getting away from it. For the time being also, I am not going to make a song and dance about this matter being in the hands of the External Affairs Ministry and not in the hands of the Home Ministry. Logically, it should be in the hands of the Home Ministry. But life is not logic and life is a very complicated, complex and country like ours is never very logical. Therefore, if with a few psychological nuances this matter can be tackled more successfully by the External Affairs Ministry without a jolt to the sensibility of the Naga people concerned, I would leave it in the hands of that Ministry.

Therefore, as on a par with such questions as the Kashmir question, the Naga question has to be dealt with imaginatively and not in the manner of a unilateral approach, not in the usual way of a chauvinistic and boastful approach which sometimes finds expression in this House, much to our regret. Something has got to be done about it. Whoever in this House has gone to Nagaland has come back almost having fallen in love with that part of our country, but that should be transmuted in some kind of statesmanlike action. I hope after the Government gets these powers it needs for the time being, it will pursue policies which would really bring about a cementing of the relationship between Nagaland and ourselves so that we can really have that kind of integration that we wish for.

SHRI SWELL (Autonomous Districts) : I am happy to note—I would like the Deputy Minister to pay some attention to what I say because I am directing my remarks to him at the very moment...

AN HON. MEMBER : He is addressing the Chair.

SHRI SWELL : I am addressing him through the Chair.

I am happy to note that my non-friend, Shri Surendra Pal Singh, has been given independent charge of the subject of Nagaland. It is very rare that a Deputy Minister is given an independent charge of that nature. He is in the prime of manhood; he is liberal, hardworking and imaginative, and I believe he must have made a special study of the problems of Nagaland.

It is evident from the speeches that the debate has gone beyond the ambit of the Bill. The ambit of the Bill is to seek permission of the House to extend the special powers of the armed forces in Nagaland for another period of three years. Reasons have got to be adduced as to why Government seek that special permission.

It is obvious that opportunity has been taken naturally by members to air their views about Nagaland and also to elicit certain information about the situation in Nagaland, which, is, I think, legitimate and proper.

Now I do not want to go far and wide beyond the scope of the subject. But I would like the Deputy Minister to enlighten the House as to what is the actual present position in Nagaland. In the past we have always asked for an extension by one year of these special powers and to-day you come forward with the proposal that these powers should be extended for a period of 3 years. We would like to be enlightened about that.

The other day, if you will recall, we had a short discussion about the recent developments in Nagaland. The House at that time did not have the opportunity of getting fuller information about the situation in Nagaland. I would take this opportunity to ask the Deputy Minister as to what is the actual position there.

Some time ago we had been told that the Nagas who had been to China had been trained and armed in China and had been

hovering on the Burmese border had not succeeded in entering Nagaland. Suddenly we are overwhelmed with information from Nagaland that batches of these Nagas had succeeded in entering Nagaland and the whole drama was climaxed with the capture or surrender of the Naga rebel leader, Mr. Mowu Angami. I would like to know from the Deputy Minister as to how this thing had come about. Is it because the Indian forces had purposely allowed these Nagas to enter Nagaland in order to intercept them and capture them or because our defence arrangements on the border are not that good as we have been told in this House time and again. I would also like the Deputy Minister to take this House into confidence and say under what circumstances Mr. Mowu Angami was arrested. Sir, we have received reports that Mr. Mowu Angami and his colleague Loche Angami were on their way to Zungti headquarters of the Kunghai groups of rebels and that intelligence was given to the security forces by this group of rebels Zungti about the movement of Mr Mowu Angami when he was surrounded and taken. I am putting this not to needle the Government but to elicit information. Yesterday or to-day again there is the news from Nagaland that 170 Nagas trained and armed by China who had come to Nagaland along with Mr. Mowu Angami have been taken into the protective custody of the Zungti group of rebels. This is a very strange news.—170 well armed Nagas to be taken like that without a shot being fired and to be taken not into the custody of our security forces but into what is euphemistically called, the protective custody of the Zungti group of rebels.

I should like the House to be told whether this is true and what the actual significance of this expression 'protective custody' is. I put this question because things in Nagaland are not quite as rosy as they appear to be. When my friend Mr. Bhattacharyya spoke sometime ago, he used an expression which I myself did not understand; speaking of the Nagas he says that they are good people, intelligent people and unsophisticated people.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : I said they were...((Interruptions))

SHRI SWELL : This is the kind of mentality which as Mr. Mukerjee had just now pointed out, betrays a kind of veiled superiority complex that we have in our relations with those people and has given rise to trouble.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : I said that the Nagas were a simple people, truthful people and not sophisticated in the sense that we are. I paid them a compliment. I do not know why it should be objected to.

SHRI SWELL : Mr. Bhattacharyya has to go to school again to understand what the true import is when you call a person simple and unsophisticated and say that you pay him a compliment. When one is said to be simple, it means that he is not intelligent and that he can easily be misled. That is my understanding of the word in the English language. I should like to say here now that the Nagas, or for that matter any hill people in the whole of the North eastern India are some of the most intelligent and clever people that you can have anywhere in this country.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : I also stated that; I said that they were sharp and intelligent. Cannot an intelligent person be simple ?

SHRI SWELL : I am not going to enter into any controversy about that now. My point is that when you are dealing with the Nagas, you are dealing with a set of people who are politically for deeper and for more sophisticated than others, people who have dealt with politics not only in the national ambit but also had gone out and had dealings in the international sphere itself. I want to put this question to the Deputy Home Minister. (*An Hon. Member* : External Affairs Minister) This is some kind of a complex with me. Nagaland should properly be under the Home Ministry but it is, for some psychological reasons as my friend Mr. Mukerjee said, being put under the External Affairs Ministry.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : Why not a separate Ministry for Adivasis ?

SHRI SWELL : I am not going into that now. I want to know whether a deal is being struck today either with the knowledge of the Government of India or at their back, between the China trained Nagas and the revolutionary group at Zungti. Until today division among the underground Nagas, especially in the last four or five years, following the cease-fire and the creation of a separate Nagaland has been their greatest weakness. I fully subscribe to the view that the policy pursued by this Government in relation to Nagaland is a correct policy and it has borne fruit. The underground Nagas have been split and there is dissension among them. The people of Nagaland have now developed a stake in peace and development. These are the concrete results that have accrued from the right policy which this Government has followed in relation to Nagaland.

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

SHRI SWELL : Please give me three or four minutes more. I have said that the weakness of the underground Nagas so far was the sharp split, division, dissension, between what is called the Phizoite group and the Zungti revolutionary group. But today, if the Nagas could unite, if they could make up their differences and if along with unity they could be strengthened with the addition or accretion of many more thousands of men, well-armed by China, with arms and ammunition they have brought from China, if they could present a united force, under the new leadership of the Zungti revolutionary group, the question is whether that is not going to pose a bigger problem to the country than it has been so far.

My information is that deal is being struck. I want to know whether the Government knows about it and that the arrest of Mowu Angami was a trap that was laid between the Security Forces and the Zungti revolutionary group. Mowu Angami and his men were decoyed to go to Zungti to have parleys and talks with the rebels there, and because the question of leadership comes in, and one of the potential leaders of one group must be got rid of, Mowu Angami was arrested

on the intelligence, information, given by the Zungti group to the Security Forces.

Sir, there is no doubt about this; that the Nagaland situation has improved today. But my point is whether the Government will be able to hold the situation, to take advantage of the improvement of the situation. There is no doubt that the Nagas who returned from China have found themselves isolated in Nagaland today. They find that the people in Nagaland are no longer interested in trouble, in fighting in Nagaland. They find that the powerful group of rebels under Mr. Kughato Sukhai is not interested in following their line. They find also that the people of Nagaland are against any collusion with China. And, therefore, it is only right and proper to imagine, to expect, that they do something to close up their ranks. I want to know whether the Government is aware of it, and whether it is a fact that Mr. Mowu Angami who is being interrogated now has also given expression to some such things. I would like this House to be enlightened about that.

With these few observations, I extend my support to the Bill.

Thank you.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बोहरा (चित्तौड़गढ़) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, नागालैंड में श्री-श्री चुन व हूए हैं। यह मेरा सौभाग्य था कि चुनाव से पहले संसद के छः सदस्यों के साथ कोहिमा और नागालैंड के क्षेत्र से लगभग दो दिन और दो रात रहने का मौका मुझे मिला।

नागालैंड के बारे में दोनों तरफ से जो तस्वीरें दी जाती हैं वे नागालैंड की समस्याओं का समाधान करने में मदद नहीं करती। यह कहना कि नागालैंड विद्रोहियों का झुंडा है, नागालैंड में विद्रोह की हरकतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं, या नागालैंड में हमेशा भ्रष्टाचार तत्व रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे एकीकरण की समस्याएँ और उलझनी हैं।

मैं स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि नागा लोगों की अपनी एक संस्कृति, उनका अपना एक रहन-सहन है, उनकी अपनी कुछ परम्पराएँ हैं। इस देश में जब भी कोई अपनी संस्कृति, जब भी कोई अपनी परम्पराओं अथवा भाषा या

चाल ढाल की सुरक्षा के लिए आवाज उठाता है, इनकी सुरक्षा चाहता है तो प्रजातान्त्रिक देश होने के नाते एक आवाज उठती है कि जो इस तरह की बातें करते हैं वे देश के टुकड़े करना चाहते हैं। प्रजातन्त्रिय देश होने के नाते जब भी अपनी संस्कृति, अपनी स्वतन्त्रता, अपने विचारों और अपनी परम्पराओं के अनुसार कोई कहता है कि हमें जीने का हक है और जब-जब इसको तोड़ने की कोशिश होती है तो वहाँ विद्रोह होता है। यही तेलंगाना की बात है और यही हिमाचल की बात है। मैं स्पष्ट कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों की संस्कृति उनकी परम्पराओं, उनके रहन-सहन की रक्षा करने की हमारे अन्दर एक प्रवृत्ति होनी चाहिये। अगर वह प्रवृत्ति हम इस देश में कायम नहीं करते हैं तो यह सही बात है जैसे प्रकाश वीर शास्त्रीजी ने कहा है कि देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जायेंगे। लेकिन मैं उन से इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूँ कि डण्डे के जोर से, शक्ति के द्वारा, ताकत के द्वारा हम देश की एकता को कायम रख सकते हैं। मैं नहीं मानता कि हम ताकत के द्वारा, शक्ति के द्वारा देश में प्रजातन्त्र की रक्षा कर सकते हैं,

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री: मंत्री बात को माननीय सदस्य समझे नहीं हैं। मैंने उन विद्रोहियों की बात की है जो दूसरे देशों से मिल कर हमारे सुरक्षा सैनिकों पर घातक हमले कर रहे हैं। देश को नुकसान पहुँचा रहे हैं और बाहर से सहायता ले रहे हैं। ... ..

श्री श्रीकार लाल बोहरा : मैं समझता हूँ, तभी मुझे कहना पड़ रहा है। जब कभी नागालैंड की बात होती है तो हम इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि वहाँ केवल विद्रोही नागा ही नहीं हैं, उपद्रवी नागा ही नहीं हैं, केवल भ्रष्ट और घाउंड नागा ही नहीं रहते हैं। नागालैंड की जन संख्या चार लाख है और उन में अगर घाय उपद्रवी नागाओं की संख्या को देखें तो वह अधिक नहीं होगी। उन से कहीं अधिक संख्या उन नागाओं की है जो शान्तिमय रहना चाहते हैं, जो नागालैंड का विकास चाहते हैं, यातायात

[श्री ओंकार लाल बोहरा]

का वहां विकास चाहते हैं, सिंचाई का और बिजली का और उद्योगों का विकास चाहते हैं, अपनी संस्कृति का विकास चाहते हैं। बार बार जब हम नागालैंड की इस तरह की तस्वीर पेश करते हैं तो सारे देश में एक तूफान पैदा होता है। उनकी वह तस्वीर पेश की जाय जिसमें नागा लोग शान्ति से रहना चाहते हैं, अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा चाहते हैं, अपना औद्योगिक विकास चाहते हैं, यातायात बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, सिंचाई की सुविधायें चाहते हैं, शेष भारत की तरह नागाओं की संस्कृति का विकास हो, यह चाहते हैं।

इन्हीं भावनाओं से प्रेरित हो कर जब मैं नागालैंड में घूम रहा था, कोहिमा और उमके पास पास के इलाकों को देखने गया था तो मैंने महसूस किया था कि देश को इस बात को बताने की जरूरत है कि नागा लोग शेष भारत के साथ जुड़े रहना चाहते हैं और शेष भारत के साथ जीना चाहते हैं। नागा हमारे देश के विरोधी नहीं हैं, हमारे देश के खिलाफ नहीं जा रहे हैं। इसलिये यह जो लक्ष्मण रेखा हमने नागाओं के बारे में शेष भारत के बीच में कायम की हुई है, इसे हमें भ्रज तोड़ना होगा।

नागाओं की जब हम बात करने हैं तो हमें नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि हमने वर्षों से इन पिछड़े हुए भाईयों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया, हमने उदासीनता उनके प्रति बरती है। हमारा जन-तंत्र बीस वर्ष पुराना हो चुका है। यह सही बात है कि सभी प्रदेशों के लोग, चाहे उनकी संख्या चार लाख हो या बीस लाख हो या दस लाख हो, चाहते हैं कि उनका विकास हो, वे तरक्की करें।

यह जो विषयक आया है इसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। समर्थन करते हुये इतना जरूर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चूँकि वह एक बीया प्रदेश है, उसकी सीमायें चीन और बर्मा से जुड़ी हुई हैं, चूँकि उसकी अपनी समस्यायें हैं, हमें इस बात में कोई हिचक नहीं होनी

चाहिये कि जैसे दूसरे सीमावर्ती प्रदेश हैं, राजस्थान है, पश्चिमी बंगाल है, असम है, नपा है, जिस तरह से हम वहां सुरक्षा सेनायें रखते हैं ताकि वे अगर कभी खतरा उपस्थित हो, तो उसका मुकाबला कर सकें, उसी तरह से हमें वहां भी इस तरह की फौज और सुरक्षा सैनिकों को रखने की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन उसके साथ साथ हमारा दिमाग साफ होना चाहिये कि नागालैंड का भ्रज रेवेन्यू केवल एक लाख रुपया है और उसका 23 लाख का बजट है और उसको केन्द्र से 22 लाख रुपये की मदद मिलती है। लेकिन यह काफी नहीं है। हमने चौथी योजना में 33 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान किया है, यह भी ठीक है। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि नागालैंड को असम में जोड़ा जाए, दीनापुर से जोड़ा जाए रेल के द्वारा और सड़कों के द्वारा भी। वहां कागज मिल बन सकती है और उसको बनाया जाए। वहां लकड़ी के कारखाने चल सकते हैं और उनको चलाया जाए। सिंचाई की सुविधायें वहां उपलब्ध की जायें। इसके बिना उस इलाके की प्रगति नहीं हो सकती है। हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक पावर की वहा व्यवस्था की जा सकती है। वहां एक भी उद्योग नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि नागालैंड के लिये हम रचनात्मक दृष्टि से विकास कार्यों के बारे में ज्यादा चर्चा किया करे लोक सभा में ताकि नागा लोग समझे कि शेष हिन्दुस्तान भी उसके हित में अपना हिन पा रहा है और उनको केवल विद्रोहियों के रूप में नहीं देखा जाता है। नागालैंड में जो विद्रोही तत्व हैं वे भ्रज समाप्त प्राय हैं। उनकी शक्ति और उनका प्रभाव वहां क्षीण हो जा रहा है। जो जनतंत्रीय शक्तियां हैं वे वहां बलवती होती जा रही हैं। इसको हमें समझना होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विषयक का समर्थन करता हूँ और निवेदन करता हूँ कि इस विषयक को स्वीकार कर लिया जाए।

SHRI RANGA : Srikakulem Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I find that on this occasion there is more or less complete unanimity between all political parties represented in this House and all political elements also. I agree with what my hon. friend, Shri Mukerjee, has said, as to how we should approach such problems and such people and also such areas. We should not try to approach them in the same way as we approach these bigger areas, larger groupings of population and people who have been used to other ways of life which are much too commercial. We also agree with our hon. friend Shri Bhattacharyya, Shri Samar Guha and others in paying our tribute to the Naga people for having given their support to the INA and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and in that way made it very clear that they are not only freedom loving in their own areas for themselves but they also admired the fighters for freedom who hailed from India and who were then fighting for the whole of India.

It may be that we made some mistake on the military level and on the civilian level also during the first few years of our freedom in taking it for granted that the Naga people also would be welcoming the totality of freedom we have achieved from British imperialism in the same manner as we did. It was done more because of our ignorance of what was happening in their own areas than because of our arrogance or any sophistication on our part. We did not then realise sufficiently that those people for such a long time had been living so completely isolated from the rest of this country and so utterly free by themselves with such a high sense of their own importance and their own national as well as cultural traditions *vis-a-vis* the all-powerful British who were hemming them in, sandwiching them from this side of India and also from that side of Burma that we made some mistakes in approaching them with the result that when no less a man than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was during the first decade of his tenure of office so much more than being a mere Prime Minister, went over there he did not get the proper treatment and those friends did not bother to treat him as the Prime Minister, did not even bother to treat him

as we would have liked to treat him. We got used to treat him as one of our topmost national leaders. That is how misunderstandings have arisen and so many things have happened.

Anyhow, slowly a certain sense of understanding has come to prevail now, thanks to the good work done by the Peace Commission. Our friend Shri Jai Prakash Narain has also made some effective contribution towards the development of a sense of understanding between those people and ourselves.

who are those people? I consider myself to be one of their people in blood, in culture and in my ancestry. We were all the original people, the Dravidians.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : No.

17 hrs.

SHRI RANGA : Shri Jaipal Singh is a full-blooded Adivasi. I agree. But quite a lot of them are more precious in culture and their precious blood has gone into us. Yet we share some of the traits of our ancestors. And from these ancestors these Nagas have come, more or less in direct descent; yet, they have gone farther and farther away. As we were becoming more and more sophisticated, clever, commercial-minded, cheating and all that sort of thing amongst ourselves, they got disgusted with us; they did not wish to be subdued by us; they did not wish to bow before our kings emperors and the rest who were coming from various parts of this country. So, they receded more and more, deeper and deeper into the forests, on the hills and that is how these Nagas have, almost in a kind of fossilized fashion, come to preserve the earliest possible civilisation we must have had, say thousands of years ago.

I was talking to some of their civilian officers, highly placed officers and they were talking to me about their daily dietary habits. Their dietary habits reminded me of our own *Rishis* in Vedic times who used to eat all sorts of things.

SHRSI WELL : Including meat.

SHRI RANGA : There were *Rishis* and *Rishis*. There was *Aswa Medha*. Anyhow, from that time to our time people have started having all sorts of different dietary habits—some would not eat onion; some would not eat pumpkin; some would eat everything else but not neat; some would eat only fish and everything else is taboo; then, for others, on some days of the week they can eat them but not on other days and so on. As we became more and more civilized, more and more important and sophisticated, all this has happened. But those people have lived in the same old way. My hon. Friend, Shri Jaipal Singh wants me to take him as a true Adibasi. He is an Adibasi, but an Oxford Adibasi, a professor Adibasi, an English professor Adibasi, a cricket-playing Adibasi and a fox-trotting Adibasi. Yet he has better claim than me as an Adibasi. So, I have always admired him. I have also admired his Jharkhand movement. He has inculcated in them political thought and modern-mindedness in those areas where he has influence. Whether we agree with his views or not, whether we grant Jharkhand State or not, that is another matter. He has certainly made his contribution to the cause of Adibasis.

In the same way, Shri Phizo has also made his own contribution. It is no use dismissing this man altogether. For the time being, most unfortunately for us, he has allowed himself to be misled by some missionaries and others, British missionaries I suppose, and he chose to accept British citizenship, thinking that it was going to be an asset for his people. But actually it has proved to be a liability.

Similarly, Shri Mowu Angami and other people have made a mistake of choosing Chinese assistance and Chinese leadership. They went over there, they got themselves trained and now they are coming back. We hope the whole lot of them will return and will become good citizens.

In the meanwhile, what is it that we have to do? They have asked for the extension of this Act for three years to give the police force military powers. I would like the government, not now but later on, to take the leaders of opposition parties, in

Parliament as also outside in the country, into confidence and discuss as to what permanent steps they have got to take, at least more or less permanent steps, because a part of our defence forces would have to be kept there anyhow in that area. So, we have to consider under what circumstances, with what powers, with what responsibilities and with what limitations they have to be kept there.

Let us not forget the fact that when the British were here and used to be so powerful, they had to keep their armies on the north-west frontier. At that time it was alive. Our north-east frontier at that time was very quiescent. They had to keep the army there. Unfortunately, they did not develop as good relations with the Pukhtoons as we would have wished; but they had to keep the army.

This frontier has become very much alive because of the two inconvenient, for the time being, undependable and hostile neighbours on both sides. Both of them are willing to do mischief against us. Therefore they will always be tempting somebody or the other and there will always be people who will allow themselves to be tempted. Under those circumstances mere police and the local government would not be able to deal with it. So, we have to keep our defence forces there but to what extent, in what manner, with what powers and with what limitations? I have already said that. Subject to that we have to keep our defence forces there.

When we went there our Deputy-Speaker was also there and he was very much welcomed by the Cabinet. I am glad to find that quite a large number of that Cabinet has again joined this new Cabinet. I agree with all the nice and welcome things that our people have said, 90 per cent of the people had taken part in the voting. They have demonstrated their love for peace and the democratic way of life. All this everyone welcomes. But how are we to deal with this Ministry? Is it enough that we deal with it through the External Affairs Ministry? Would it not be better to deal with it through the Home Ministry? Would it not be a sensible thing to have a separate ministry to deal with the Adivasi areas?

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : Hear, hear.

SHRI RANGA : I do not know; today my hon. friend is minded that way, but tomorrow he might say, "Why have a separate ministry for Adivasis alone? You are making a distinction and are looking down upon our people." But certainly there can be no difference of opinion in regard to one point and that is that we must have a separate ministry to deal with the States.

At one time when the Maharajas were there, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was made the Minister concerned with the States, but those were the rajas 'and maharajas' States. Now today we have the Chief Ministers and the Chief Ministers' States. Therefore I think, we must give some thought to it whether it would not be a good thing to have a separate States' Ministry to deal with these people in regard to political, financial and defence problems.

Having said this, let me come to one or two other points. Should we not have a separate Governor for that area? But, at the same time it was suggested that we should have a Naga. I am not very keen about it. It must be an outsider, but who that outsider should be? Is he to be a politician—a defeated politician or a party politician—or an ex-civil servant? That is another question on which there can be difference of opinion. There can be many views and we will discuss it on some other occasion in regard to the Governor. But certainly he should be a person chosen from outside as it should be in the case of every other State also because a local man is no good just like the goat—you know, Sir, the goat has got those two things hanging by the neck which do not yield any milk. That sort of an appendage we should not have. We do want to have a separate Governor but, at the same time, is that ministry to be on the same footing *vis-a-vis* the States Ministry here which I am suggesting or the Home Ministry as all other ministries? No, Sir. Not only that Ministry but this Himachal Pradesh Ministry also. My hon. friends are angry with me because I was not prepared to say, "All right, full statehood for Himachal Pradesh." My hon. friend from Himachal Pradesh began to speak in such a way that I began to feel as

if he was speaking as a great revolutionary. I am sure, his revolutionary spirit will quieten down the moment statehood is given to Himachal Pradesh. That is not enough.

But we are not particular about all these things. Give as much power as you like to the States but, at the same time, let us learn to treat all these security areas in a different way, and take into confidence these Chief Ministers on a higher footing indeed than even the other Chief Ministers.

Sir, when you were in Manipur, you met the Chief Minister. That Chief Minister began to grow red in his face because of the contemptuous manner in which the Home Ministry has been dealing with him, from the Deputy Secretary right up to the Secretary. He was not allowed to reach upto the Secretary level. If he was, at any time, allowed to reach upto the Secretary level and talk to him, it was a great favour. Now, this sort of an atmosphere at the Centre has got to be given the go-by. The Central Ministers have got to learn to deal with these people in a semidiplomatic manner, in the same courteous, decent and regal manner in which they are dealing with Bhutan King, Sikkim King and so on, while at the same time treating them as belonging to a part of our country, as a part of our own national leadership. It is a psychological approach. I used the term 'semi-diplomatic manner' not in a rough and ready manner but we must deal with them in such a manner that their hearts would be touched, their sentiments would be touched, and they would be made to feel, "Here are these people, 70 million in U. P., 30 million in Andhra Pradesh, 34 million in Tamil Nadu and so on like that, who are prepared to bend their knees before us and, although we are only 4 lakh people or 10 lakh people or 20 lakh people, they treat us all, not only as equals but with such royal graciousness". That is the kind of atmosphere they have got to create and, I hope, my friends will agree and I wish to congratulate the Government for having evoked such a universal sense of agreement with them in regard to this question.

Finally, I want to congratulate my hon. friend, Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav, who spoke from the Congress Benches today on

[Shri Ranga]

the subject. He made a speech of which not only he but so many of us can be proud. Our army is there. My hon. friend, Shri Jaipal Singh, was angry with us thinking that we were not so very keen about the army. What else is there in this country of which we can be proud than the army, than the defence forces? We may not be so very proud of our Prime Minister and Ministers; they may not be proud of us. We are all together proud of our army, of the role they are playing in NEFA, in Nagaland and everywhere else. Therefore, let us all unite in treating them as they should be and say that the whole House is proud of the services that are being rendered by our army under the most trying conditions.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am very grateful to hon. Members who have taken part in this debate. For the past many years, the Government of India has been faced with a very difficult and delicate situation in Nagaland and a discussion, a debate, of this nature is, certainly, very welcome because it helps the Government to know the mood and the mind of the nation in regard to all the issues and the problems, and it also helps those people who are in-charge of Nagaland affairs to check their own bearings, so to speak, so that they do not go off the course.

Sir, the tone and the tenor of this debate has been, to my great surprise, different from the tone and the tenor of the previous debates on the same subject. In the past, whenever this subject was discussed in the House, the hon. Members had only brickbats for the Governments. This time, I am happy to see that there are more bouquets than brickbats, which is a clear indication of the fact that, now there is a better understanding of the Naga problem in the minds of the hon. Members and also better appreciation of the Government's policy in regard thereto.

For a number of years, before the agreement on suspensions of operations came

into being, the Government followed, rightly or wrongly, a tough policy in Nagaland. For a number of years, a lot of killings went on; there were active operations against hostile Nagas; the local people were put to a lot of hardships and there was a lot of destructions of properties and human life, etc. But all that did not bring us any nearer to the solution of the problem.

The truth of the famous maxim, hatred begets hatred and repression leads to more and more vice, was proved beyond any shadow of doubt in Nagaland during that period.

Another lesson which we learnt from that episode was that one can fight and defeat an army, but one cannot militarily subdue the people who are imbued with certain lofty ideals; they may be wrong ideals or good ideals or bad ideals, but in the case of people who are emotionally worked up or who feel very surcharged emotionally in their hearts about a certain matter, it is very difficult to subdue them militarily. This was also a lesson to be learnt--they can only be won over by a sympathetic attitude, by persuasion and by understanding their problem. So, after this episode, a certain change came about in the strategy and policy in regard to Nagaland. This was round about 1964. The so-called policy of iron hand gave way to a policy of conciliation and persuasion but tempered with firmness, and that policy has been pursued in Nagaland for the past few years.

The basic idea of this policy was to isolate the extremists underground Nagas, who just could not come on to the path of peace and wanted to settle the issue by force of arms, to isolate them from the rest of the people of Nagaland who, by and large, were peace-loving, who had got completely sick and tired of fighting there and who wanted to live in peace and amity among themselves.

This objective was sought to be achieved by a number of methods : firstly, by taking timely and firm action against all

lawless activities of the underground. Whenever they broke the terms of the agreement itself or they indulged in unlawful activities, our security forces and our police forces, under the guidance of the State authorities, took firm and timely action, and that created a feeling of confidence among the people. It also created a feeling among the people that our security forces and police forces were able to give adequate protection to those people in Nagaland who were for peace and for peaceful settlement and who did not want to revert to fighting.

Another method adopted was by educating the people, by persuading the people by telling them that it is in their own interest to remain within the Indian Union, how profitable it is for them to stay within the Indian Union and benefit from the resources which this entire country has at its command rather than ask for Independence; this had its effect and people began to see the logic of the argument.

Another method was by strengthening the hands of the State Government. We did everything possible to see that they functioned absolutely independently and if ever they needed help from us in regard to police forces etc., that was given to them. Whatever they asked of us was given to them because we felt that the State Government alone could administer that area effectively. So, it was our policy to strengthen their hands and that was done.

After saying all this, I think, I have a right to expect that the hon. members will realise and will agree that this policy which the Government of India has been pursuing there has paid dividends and it has been quite successful. I cannot say that all our troubles in Nagaland are over or that we are out of the woods. That is not so. But it can be said with a considerable amount of confidence that our policy there has succeeded to a very great extent and we are proceeding on the right lines, it is only a matter of a few more years when, I suppose, all the troubles will be over. Today I would give one example as to how things are in Nagaland. I would like to say that

the hostiles to a very great extent stand isolated from the people of Nagaland. Amongst themselves, in their own rank and file, they are completely in disarray and there is a certain amount of confusion amongst themselves. As regards normal conditions, I can say, normal conditions have been established in Nagaland and everywhere, in all the cities and towns and villages, there is normalcy everywhere and people go about the business every day and do work every day without any let or hindrance, without any fear from any quarter whatsoever. And, the writ of the State Government is quite effective, and it is respected throughout the length and breadth of the State.

The recent elections are yet another example of how things are in Nagaland today. These elections were most orderly and peaceful. It shows us clearly that the conditions in Nagaland have changed completely and the very fact that elections could take place without any incident is a clear vindication of our policy in Nagaland.

Now, Sir, the type of policy which the Government has followed in Nagaland for all these years is a policy which does not give us immediate results. It is a long-term policy which requires a long period of gestation. And, in the past year or so Government were asked in the House as to why it had failed to solve the problem quickly and in a peaceful manner and I may say that we were criticised and we were told that we had no policy at all or that our policy was weak-kneed. Some hon. Members did not understand what the policy was. We had also some difficulties in explaining. We were on the right lines but we had not gained immediate tangible results. However in course of time this policy has begun to show good results. There is now a greater understanding of our policy in Nagaland and I am sure that from now on things will begin to improve.

Sir, during the course of the debate a number of points have been made by the hon. Members. A point which has been made by, practically all the Members who

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh]

took part in the debate, is the need and the desirability of developing this area economically to develop this area as quickly as possible. This is a very important matter. Government also realises that because of historical reasons this part of our country has remained out of the mainstream of the life of our country. They have lived in isolation and they have not enjoyed the fruits of modern civilisation and technological developments. So, Government, in the past few years have laid a great deal of emphasis on development works in Nagaland and we are doing everything possible within our own limitations. Of course our resources are also very limited. We cannot do as much as we would like to do. But, to the extent possible, we are giving sufficient help to Nagaland for their development schemes.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to quote a few figures. In Nagaland out of the total budgetary outlay of Rs. 23.18 crores for 1968-69 the Government of India's contribution as a grant-in-aid and loans has been Rs. 22.15 crores. Now, this grant-in-aid, if worked out on per capita basis, comes to Rs. 700 per person which is about the highest that any other State is getting in this country. In addition to this a sum of nearly Rs. 35 crores has also been allotted for Nagaland's Fourth Plan. I do say that this amount is not really enough to meet all the demands. But, as hon. Members are aware, our resources are also very limited. It is just not possible for us to give as much as they want.

In regard to agriculture, I have not got all the details, but I may say that there are various plans and programmes which are going on in Nagaland. There are a number of schemes undertaken by the State Government for the development of agriculture in that State and a great deal of improvement has already been made particularly, to increase rice production etc. And, I have been told that if the programme goes on at this rate, in the next 4 or 5 years self-sufficiency will be achieved in the requirements of rice in Nagaland.

In the educational field a tremendous expansion has also taken place. Today the

total strength of school-going children is near about 90,000. There are very nearly 927 primary schools in Nagaland, about 146 middle schools and 33 high schools. This, for a population under four lakhs of people, is I think, quite a substantial achievement.

In the medical field also, there are eleven General Hospitals in Nagaland, 18 dispensaries, one leprosy colony, one anti-malaria unit and one BCG unit.

Road-building programme is given a great deal of importance because we do feel that unless and until good roads are built in Nagaland to facilitate industrial development, it will not be able to progress fast enough. With the help of the Central Government, the State Government has been able to build a large number of roads in Nagaland. The total mileage of roads of different types comes to 1,911 miles. They are not all first-class roads; they are of various types. This, in brief, shows that this aspect of the question is not being neglected and everything possible is being done to develop that area and to bring our brethren in Nagaland upto the same level as the rest of the country as early as possible.

The other question on which there has been a great deal of emphasis and to which reference has been made by many members is the hardy perennial why Nagaland is being dealt with by the External Affairs and not by the Home Ministry. This question has been discussed here on a number of occasions. The entire background of the whole aspect is very well known to the hon. Members. But I have to repeat myself here again. This arrangement, rightly or wrongly, was entered into between the Government of India and the Naga leaders in 1960. This was one of the points of the sixteen-point agreement to which the Government of India stands committed. This is a promise which we made and now I would ask the hon. Members how can we go back upon our own promise ..

SHRI RANGA : What is the attitude of the present Government ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I am coming to that. We do feel, as I myself have said on a number of occasions, that the time has probably come when this subject should go to the Home Ministry and we intend to take up the matter with the new State Government. We will give them time to settle down after the general election. But I might say that even though this ministry is officially dealing with certain matters relating to Nagaland, the Nagaland State Government deals with all our ministries in the same way as all other States do. In our Ministry there is a small cell which deals with the political and Parliamentary work and the work relating to grants to Nagaland. Otherwise, for all other subjects they are in direct touch with all the Ministries like any other State. This link is only a tenuous link, but it is there and we propose to talk to the new State Government about that. On this matter we cannot make a change unilaterally without their consent.

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri said that we should give our armed forces a completely free hand in Nagaland to deal with the situation there. In this connection, I would like to say this much that no restrictions are placed on the security forces. It depends on what kind of an operation they are carrying out and what work they are asked to look after at a particular point. Whenever any unlawful activity takes place or violation of the agreement takes place, our security forces are free to go and take action against the unlawful activities of the Underground. It is not correct to say that they sit back and do not do any thing. I do not know what other kind of freedom he would like us to give to the armed forces in addition to what they already have. Then he said that because of our ambiguous and weak-kneed policy and because of our failure to give protection to the loyal Nagas, more and more loyal Nagas are now going to the extremist side. This I am afraid, is absolutely incorrect. In fact, the position is just the opposite. It is our assessment that more and more people are now coming over to the government side those extremists who want to settle affairs by the force of arms are getting less and less in number and are being gradually isolated.

He also wanted to know whether we would carry on talks with the underground Nagas or not. This point has also been met in the past. We have said whereas in principle we will talk with anybody—we do not refuse to talk even with the devil himself if that will solve any problem—we will not be prepared to carry on any talks with the underground Nagas so long as their demand for independence remains. This is absolutely categorical and clear.

There was an approach made by some underground leaders sometime ago to have talks with the Government of India. Our reply was that they should get in touch with the State Government or the Governor and as far as we were concerned, the whole question has been settled long back.

Shri Swell raised some very fundamental questions— First of all, he wanted to know how it is that until a few days ago we were saying that we were taking adequate measures to prevent the entry of China-trained Nagas into India and how they have suddenly come back, many of them in large numbers. It is very difficult for me to answer that. All I can say is that we had taken adequate measures. We did our best to plug all the loopholes, to increase our patrolling and the number of security forces on the border and for months, for a very long time, we were successful in preventing their entry into Nagaland. Hon. members are aware how for months this particular gang and one or two others were hovering on the border and were not able to gain entry. But this much is true that recently Mowu Angami and his followers and one or two other groups were able to slip into Nagaland. But it will not be true to say that they were allowed to come in by our security forces. What strategy our security forces adopt in tracking and capturing them is very difficult for me to say; it is a question which the Defence Ministry alone can answer. All I can say is that there is no let-up on this by us. Here I have to repeat what has been said in the past that because of the difficult terrain and dense forests it is humanly not possible to post a soldier at every yard to prevent their entry. It is very difficult to stop infiltration in small groups of twos and threes, who regroup

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh]

on our side into bigger groups again. But we are aware of these things and are doing our very best to prevent it.

As regards conditions in Nagaland, there again, it is very difficult for me to say because things are still in the melting pot. Certain developments are taking place; so it will not be proper for me to make any kind of guesswork on that. The best thing would be to wait for some time and see how things shape up.

It is true there is a split amongst the underground Nagas. There is a group called the extremist group or pro-Phizo group which is in favour of taking help from China, Pakistan or whatever source they can get help from, starting hostilities and achieving their objective by force of arms. On the other hand, there is the Zungati group led by Shri Kughato Sukhai. He is in favour of a peaceful settlement; he does not want to start hostilities again. We have no reason to believe that he has changed his ideas and wants to strike a deal with the other group. To our knowledge, that is not so. As I said, the situation is very fluid. But we are keeping our eyes open and are vigilant; the situation is being kept constantly in control and where and when necessary, adequate measures will be taken.

Prof. Ranga wanted to know what kind of a set-up we have in view of the future, whether we will keep our armed forces or not in that region. This is again very difficult to answer one way or the other.

SHRI RANGA : Why 'one way or the other?' It is a border area. We have got to keep our forces there.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : It is a very sensitive area on our international border. We have to station our forces on the border for all times to come.

But what functions these troops will perform, it is very difficult to say and I agree with him that whenever our policy in this regard has to be formulated, we will

certainly take the advice of the hon. Members. Prof. Ranga referred to the question of a separate Governor for Nagaland. This has been a demand from the Naga people for a very long time, but for various reasons it has not been possible to concede this request upto now.

SHRI RANGA : You wanted to wait till the elections are over. You have got a new Government. If they insist on having a separate Governor, nothing is going to be lost by conceding this demand.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Their demand in this regard has been noted and as and when conditions there return to normalcy this matter will be tackled. But first of all normalcy will have to come back and when the entire situation in the north-east frontier is settled, then alone we can think of a separate Governor.

SHRI RANGA : That is to big a question for you to dismiss in that manner.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Some hon. Members said that whereas we had asked for one year extension, this time we have asked for three years extension which apparently gives an impression that things are not all right in Nagaland and that we are pessimistic. That is not so. The position there is well within our control and things are really improving. The reason why we have asked for three years extension is firstly for administrative convenience. Secondly, for some time to come we anticipate some troubles from the extremist elements in Nagaland. I think it is better if we retain this power. But this power will be used with a great deal of restraint. As I have already said, before this special power is used, the Governor of Nagaland has to declare that part of the State as disturbed. Then only it comes into force. At the present moment hon. Members will be interested in knowing that no part of Nagaland is declared as a disturbed area, except the three miles wide strip along the lower. It is quite possible that the powers given to the armed forces may not be exercised at all, but we have to arm ourselves with these powers in case there arises some emergency.

Before I end, I would like to make a little correction. During the course of the debate a reference was made to some foreign missionaries in Nagaland. I said at that time that there are only two foreign missionaries. I was not quite correct. I have got the latest information. I am told that there are five foreign missionary teachers. They are not indulging in any kind of political activities. With these words I commend this Bill to the House.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : What about the heritage of Freedom Movement ?

SHRI SWELL : The Minister has not answered my question. It is said that 170 China-returned Nagas who came with Mr. Mowu Angami are under the protective custody of Shri Kokai Sukhai's Zungti group. Have they surrendered their arms or not ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : May, Sir, in all humility, submit that this question is outside the purview of this Ministry ? If the hon. Member puts that question to the Defence Minister, he can get a proper reply.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to continue the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, for a further period, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There are no amendments. I will put all the clauses together. The question is :

"Clauses 1 and 2, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted*

*Clauses 1 and 2 the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That the Bill be passed."

श्री अब्दुल गनी दार (गुडगांव) : जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ इस स्टेज पर।

[شری عبدالغنی ڈار، (گرگاؤ) : جناب ڈپٹی سپیکر صاحب—میں کچھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں اس سٹیج پر۔]

SHRI RANGA : I should like the Home Minister to say a few words on this matter. It is a very important matter and this is the third reading stage. I should like him also to give us some idea of his appreciation of the situation. He has been dealing with certain aspects of it also. The hon. Minister was also saying that Nagaland was free to deal with every one of the Ministries as and when they found it necessary to get any question settled. I think they would be able to understand the significance of my plea without my saying anything more. This is an occasion when a Cabinet Minister must say a few words. I have already expressed the view that a Cabinet Minister himself should have given that reply which my hon. friend so ably gave. Still, he has chosen to give the reply and the Government has allowed him to do so, instead of asking a Cabinet Minister to express the views of the Government.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I do not think there is any time left ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI ABDUL GHANI DAR : On a point of order. I want your ruling. If a Member desires to interfere during the third reading stage, can he do so or not ? Especially, when I made a request that I wanted to, why was I not allowed ?

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : I regret to say that we do not interfere; we intervene.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member has every right to intervene at any stage according to the procedure. But I have already put the question to the vote.

श्री अश्वमेधनी द्वार : मैंने पहले कहा था कि मैं बोलना चाहता हूँ। फिर रंगा साहब बोलने लग गए। मैं खड़ा रहा। सारा हाउस गवाह है इस बात का कि मैं खड़ा हुआ था बोलने के लिए और मैं इस स्टेज पर दखल देना चाहता था। रंगा साहब तो चाहते थे कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब बोलें। लेकिन मैं खुद बोलना चाहता था। मेरा राइट है कि मैं यर्ड रीडिंग स्टेज पर बोलूँ।

شری عبدالغنی ڈار: میں نے پہلے کہا تھا کہ میں بولنا چاہتا ہوں۔ پھر رانگا صاحب بولنے لگ گئے۔ میں کھڑا رہا۔ سارا ہائوس گواہ ہے اس بات کا کہ میں کھڑا ہوا تھا بولنے کے لئے اور میں اس سطح پر دخل دینا چاہتا تھا۔ رانگا صاحب تو چاہتے تھے کہ ہوم منسٹر صاحب بولیں۔ لیکن میں خود بولنا چاہتا تھا۔ میرا رائٹ ہے کہ میں تھوڑا ریڈنگ اسٹیج پر بولوں۔

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have no desire to ignore anybody who wants to intervene at any stage. But limitations of time are there for everybody and he must realise that. We shall take up the next Bill now.

17.44 hrs.

#### CONSTITUTION (TWENTY SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL

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

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as reported by the Joint Committee be taken into consideration."

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack) : On a point of order. It appears that when the Constitution is sought to be amended, the draft of the Bill shows that we want to abrogate the whole Constitution. It is a serious matter which will have to be decided : has this House the power to abrogate the Constitution ? We are the creatures of the Constitution; can we abrogate the Constitution without straightforwardly giving the power to the House, can we throw the Constitution overboard ? I am referring to clauses 2 and 3 of the Bill.

The scheme of this Bill is this. Article 244A is sought to be added, empowering Parliament to make laws regarding the autonomous States in Assam; the names are not given. Here, in the Bill, at page 2, clause 2 (3) says as follows :

"An amendment of any such law as aforesaid in so far as such amendment relates to any of the matters specified in sub-clause (a) or sub-clause (b) of clause (2) shall have no effect unless the amendment is passed in each House of Parliament by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting."

Then, sub-clause (4) says :

"Any such law as is referred to in this article shall not be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of article 368 notwithstanding that it contains any provision which amends or has the effect of amending this Constitution."

The last two lines of this-sub-clause are important. The question is whether Parliament can give to itself the power to amend the Constitution in any other way or to pass a law which is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution saying that it will not be deemed to be an amendment of the Constitution. That amounts to amending article 368 itself, which relates to amendments of the Constitution.