

[Shri K. C. Pant].

they were carrying on an agitation against the same government in the field. It is something new in democracy.

**श्री मधु लिमये** आंदोलन करने के काम में आप की पार्टी भी हिस्सा ले सकती थी। सरकार और मंगलन में गिड़ना होना चाहिए लेकिन मंगलन को सरकार का गुलाम नहीं बनना चाहिए।

**SHRI K. C. PANT:** The principle of joint responsibility is well-known to my hon. friend. I am surprised that he should have departed from the principle of joint responsibility in the matter of the Government of UP and I hope that other constituent parties in that government and other parties in the country will also realise what the joint responsibility of his party in this matter is. But I am only sorry that he did not succeed in his efforts to get something for the landless. I am with him in this matter and I wish the Government had been able to provide land by passing an order. But leading an agitation against the government, when one is part of the government is something new to democracy.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** 21 साल में कुछ नहीं हुआ उस के लिए तो वह कुछ भी नहीं कह रहे हैं, 8-9 महीने में नहीं हुआ तो उस के बारे में चर्चा कर रहे हैं।

**SHRI K. C. PANT:** So far as the case of BOAC is concerned, it is not relevant here unless it is suggested that UP, as part of India, is vitally interested in this case. I am sure he does not want to press it here at this stage.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** वह ठीक है लेकिन आप जांच कराइये उस की। देश का कानून टूट रहा है।

**श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त :** जांच करायेंगे।

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the

Consolidated Fund of the State of Uttar Pradesh for the services of the financial year 1967-68 be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

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

**SHRI K. C. PANT:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed"

*The motion was adopted.*

13.3 hrs.

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

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[SHRIMATI LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA in the Chair]

#### ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS) BILL

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH):** Mr. Chairman, I move:—

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

The Bill, which is only an enabling Bill, seeks to continue in the territory of Nagaland State, for a further period, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958. It enables the Governor of Nagaland to declare whole or any part of the State as a 'disturbed' area, if in his opinion the disturbed or dangerous conditions prevailing in the area necessitate the use of armed forces in aid of the civil power. It is only when a declaration is made by the Governor in the official Gazette that the substantive provisions of the Regulation come into force.

The said Regulation was promulgated in 1958 by the President in exercise of powers conferred by article 240 of the Constitution read with sub-para 2 of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule thereof. It conferred certain special powers on commissioned, warrant and non-commissioned officers of the armed forces not below the rank of Havildar to enable them to aid effectively the civil power in those areas of Kohima and Mokokchung districts of the then Naga Hills Tuensang Area, which were declared as disturbed areas by the Governor of Assam by notification in the Official Gazette.

The Regulation was initially in force for a period of one year. Since disturbed conditions in the areas of Kohima and Mokokchung districts continued to prevail the Regulation was extended from year to year till 1963 by appropriate Regulation promulgated by the President. After the formation of the State of Nagaland on the 1st December, 1963, the 1958 Regulation was continued by Parliamentary legislation, and for this purpose the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Continuance Acts of 1964 and 1965 were passed. The Regulation was further extended to Tuensang District of Nagaland and continued for another period of one year in 1966. Now it covers the entire State of Nagaland and the present extension is due to expire on the 4th April, 1968. It is necessary to extend the Regulation for a further period of one year beyond 5th April, 1968, in view of the continued existence of a threat to peace and security in this strategic border region.

The object of the Bill is to extend the Regulation to the entire State of Nagaland for a further period of one year.

In the end, I would like to assure the House that it is not our intention to vest members of the armed forces with special powers for a period longer than is necessary. That is why we are extending the Regulation for a further period of one year only.

With these words, I move.

**SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM** (Chitradurga): Mr. Chairman, I support the Bill as its continuation is necessary in circumstances that now prevail not only in Nagaland but also throughout Assam.

This Regulation was promulgated in the year 1958 and it has been in operation for the last 10 years though its life is extended year by year. We would like to know during these 10 years what is the work done by the armed forces and how far they have been able to convert this disturbed area into a peaceful area. We would also like to know how far these armed forces have succeeded in restoring peaceful conditions and in bringing about a change in the heart of the people who live in Nagaland. We would further like to know why this measure is extended year by year each time. Do the Government think that before the close of this year, they will be able to restore normal conditions in Nagaland? If they are sure about it and if they think that there is no need for its continuation from the year 1969, then it is all right. But if the disturbed conditions continue for a longer time, I would suggest that they continue this measure not merely for one year but for two or three years at least so that we may give sufficient time to the armed forces to tackle this difficult problem.

Assam is strategically and vitally situated. It is surrounded, on all sides, by foreign and hostile countries. It is connected with the mainland only by a strip of land which, if disturbed or disconnected, then the entire State is isolated from the rest of the country. Again, in Assam itself, we find many changes. Since 1958, things are not improving or rather, I must say are deteriorating. Assam itself is bordered on the eastern side by an area of nearly 50,000 k.m. consisting of people who are not well-disposed to the Government of Assam. This has led to the rebellion by Nagaland and, I think, ever since we attained Independence, they have been asking for independence. They have adopted, anti-national activities. Even though a

[Shri J. Mohamed Imam].

separate State was recognised, we are not free from that trouble. On the other hand, the trouble has been increasing and the people there are not as loyal or as national as they ought to be. Further, their example was followed by the neighbouring districts in Assam and Mizos also claimed independence. There is a good deal of trouble. All these border hill districts under the organisation called the Assam Political Leaders Conference have been asking for a separate hill State and this has created a lot of controversy not only between the mainland, that is, Assam proper, Assam valley, but also the hill districts. This is still unresolved.

Apart from this, we find many anti-national activities. On the one hand, the State of Assam is in a vulnerable position because, on one side, we find a lot of infiltration and, on the other hand, we find a lot of anti-national activities or liaison between China and these hill districts. It is an admitted fact that many people from Nagaland and the neighbouring areas cross freely to China, receive training in the work of sabotage or receive training in guerrilla warfare and they also receive their arms and ammunitions. Thus, it looks as if the people there, specially the Underground Nagas, are being trained to wage war against India or to help them in an emergency. We can fight against the external aggression and we can win. We can fight against the external forces. But we cannot fight against our own men. It will be very difficult. It is not because we are weak but it is because of our restraint. The Government has been trying its best to win them over. I think, the Prime Minister has had a series of negotiations with them but it still looks that any decision is not forthcoming in the near future. Then, I read in papers that a big contingent of Indian officials, of the Central Government, have recently gone to Nagaland. I do not know with what objective. I think, this contingent of officials will bring them round to their senses and will make them loyal citizens. But still the fact is that there is a large element

who are not well-disposed to the country. We cannot afford any further delay. I think, on the part of the Government, a decisive action is needed and it is quite necessary.

Again, take Assam itself. I must say that there is a cry from one section of Assam there that Assam is for Assamese. This is not a healthy sign. Further, there is a conflict between the people living in Assam valley and the hill people. They want a border State, a separate State, for themselves whereas the people living in Assam are resisting it. This also is not resolved. A Committee was appointed under Shri Asoka Mehta. They made some recommendations but those recommendations are not yet implemented. The people living in the hill areas are stubborn, firm and obstinate that they must have their own State. Any indecision and hesitation is always ruinous to the cause of the country. It will always ruin us. I am afraid, the Government of India is always very hesitant and very indecisive. In all such matters, they must take a positive step, definite step, to resolve them and to quell anti-national, subversive, actions.

It is unfortunate that India is confronted with too many problems. As I have pointed out before, very serious and grave problems which threaten the national integrity of the country, which threaten our future existence, have risen. We have the problems with China; we have the problems with Pakistan; we have the problems of Nagaland, with Assam and all that. We have got various problems. But it is unfortunate that not a single problem has been resolved. On the other hand, it has cost the country, the tax-payer, to a considerable extent because we are in conflict with China and Pakistan, because we are in conflict with these areas, India has to spend more than one-third of its monetary resources on defence alone. How long should this continue? How long should there be this strain on the exchequer of this country? These are the things. Either the Government are incapable of resolving this problem or they have no solutions to resolve this problem. They must tackle all these issues boldly. All

these things can be resolved only by either of these two means, either through strength or through negotiations.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुबनी) : सभापति महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। नियम 69 में कहा गया है।

"A Bill involving expenditure shall be accompanied by a financial memorandum which shall invite Particular attention to the clauses involving expenditure and shall also give an estimate of the recurring and non-recurring expenditure involved in case the Bill is passed into law."

इस बिल में कहा गया है :

"for the words, figures and letters 'the 5th day of April, 1968', the words, figures and letters 'the 5th day of April, 1969' shall be substituted."

चूँकि देश में कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं, इसलिए इस सम्बन्ध में जो खर्च हो रहा है, एक साल के बाद उस में वृद्धि होगी। इसलिए यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि इस बिल के साथ एक फिनांशल मेमोरेण्डम होना चाहिए। चूँकि इस बिल के साथ फिनांशल मेमोरेण्डम नहीं है, इसलिए इस बिल पर विचार को रोक दिया जाये और सरकार की तरफ से फिनांशल मेमोरेण्डम लाया जाये।

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : There is no expenditure involved and that is why, no financial memorandum is necessary.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : चूँकि देश में प्राइसिज स्टेबल नहीं हैं और वे बढ़ रही हैं; इसलिए चाहे थोड़ी ही हो, खर्च में वृद्धि होगी ही और वह कानसालिडेटिड फंड से आयेगी। इसलिए इस बिल के साथ फिनांशल मेमोरेण्डम होना लाजिमी है।

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM : I was just saying that the Government must take effective steps, speedy steps, to resolve all these problems which have been straining the resources of this country. The policy of appeasement is

no good. So far, I am afraid, the Government has tried its best to appease these Nagas, Mizos and other people. If they are reasonable, they must abide by whatever decision is given by the Government, but, on the other hand, if the Government is soft and if they treat these rebels and others on an equal footing with the other Governments then this happens. In this case, I would suggest that the rebels are rebels, they go against the country, and, therefore, they must be treated as rebels and not as equal partners in administration.

Again, to appease them, the Government has been pouring crores and crores of rupees. I understand that every year more than Rs. 30 to 35 thousand crores are spent on these hills, for a population of about 8 to 10 lakhs of people, whereas the amount that they contribute to the exchequer by way of taxes is very little.

So, the Government must, I say, first of all hold negotiations and if the negotiations fail, they must have a firm hold on them.

Secondly, there is this vexed question of forming a separate State. I think the Nagas and the Mizos want a federation; they want a separate State for themselves whereas the Assam people do not want any separation, they want the entire area to be together. I was told that the Assam Government itself is to be blamed because they have consistently and persistently neglected the development of these hill areas, and it is in this which has alienated them. Therefore, let them use all the means to win them over; otherwise, they must take effective steps, strong steps, in the interest of this country and to see that the integrity of this country is maintained.

With these words, I support this Bill, and I hope that the Government will not be soft but will be strong enough to resolve all these problems.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) सभापति महोदय, सदन के सामने जो बिल है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। यह सोचने की बात है कि आज नागालैण्ड मिजो हिल डिस्ट्रिक्ट और उसके आस-पास

[श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त]

के क्षेत्र में हमारी स्थिति क्या है। आज नागा विद्रोही, जिनको अन्डरग्राउन्ड नागाज कहा जाता है, और मिजो विद्रोही खुले-आम यह मांग कर रहे हैं कि वे इस देश में नहीं रहना चाहते हैं और यह कि उन का देश भारत से अलग है। इतना ही नहीं, वे हथियार लेने के लिए चीन जाते हैं। चीन उनको ट्रेनिंग और हथियार देता है। आप ने समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि पाकिस्तान में चाइना के एम्बेसेडर की मदद से वे पीकिंग में जाकर खुले-आम मीटिंग कर रहे हैं कि किस तरह से इस देश के उस हिस्से को हथियाया जाये।

उन लोगों के अपने मिनिस्टर हैं, वे लोगों से टैक्स वसूल करते हैं और उनकी अपनी अदालतें हैं। उन्होंने अपनी एक पैरालेल गवर्नमेंट बना रखी है। नाम से वे अन्डर ग्राउन्ड हैं, लेकिन वे सब काम ग्राउन्ड के ऊपर, खुले-आम कर रहे हैं। वे सरकार की मशीनरी का भी इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। इतना ही नहीं, उन्होंने हमारी मिक्चरिटी फोर्सिज पर भी हमला किया हुआ है, लेकिन फिर भी सरकार तीन, साढ़े तीन साल से उन के साथ बातचीत कर रही है। जब हम कहते हैं कि उन लोगों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की जाये, तो हमें कहा जात है, "देखिये, आहिम्ना आहिस्ता वे ठीक हो रहे हैं।"

मैं मंत्री महोदय से एक मीधा सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो कोई देश के साथ गद्दारी करे और खुले-आम कहे कि वे इस देश का हिस्सा नहीं रहना चाहते हैं, उनके साथ इस सरकार का क्या बर्ताव रहेगा। क्या सत्तारूढ़ दल ठीक ढंग से सरकार चलाना चाहता है या नहीं? क्या विद्रोही लोगों को यह मालूम है कि इस देश में कोई सरकार चल्ती है? वे लोग खुले-आम विद्रोह की बातें करते हैं, खुले-आम विदेशों से हथियार लाकर हमारी फोर्सिज पर हमला करते हैं, चीन और पाकिस्तान के साथ सांठ-गांठ करते हैं, पैरालेल सरकार और अदालतें बनाए हुए हैं। ये सब बातें सरकार के नोटिस में हैं, लेकिन

फिर भी सरकार कहती है कि हम ने उन में राष्ट्रीय विचार उत्पन्न करने और उनको राष्ट्रीय बनाने के लिए स्कूल खोल रखा है। चार साल से यह सरकार उन में राष्ट्रीयता की भावना पैदा कर रही है, लेकिन यह बीमारी दिन-प्रति-दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। दुनिया के किसी भी देश में ऐसा नहीं हुआ है, जो कि हमारे देश में हो रहा है।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो देश के साथ ट्रीजन करता है, गद्दारी करता है, उसके साथ इस के सिवाय और कोई मलूक नहीं हो सकता है कि उसके मीन के घाट उतार दिया जाये। आखिर हमारी मिलिटरी और पुलिस किस काम के लिए है? आज हमारे देश में ला के लिए जो रेस्पेक्ट नहीं है, उम का मुख्य कारण यह है कि जो कोई देश द्रोह और गद्दारी की बात करता है, सरकार उसके तो टालेरेट करती है, लेकिन छोटी छोटी बातों को लेकर वह लोगों को गिरफ्तार करती है, उन पर गोलियां चलाती है। सरकार का यह रवैया बिल्कुल गलत है। सरकार को हमेशा के लिए यह फर्मला करना होगा कि क्या वह ढंग से शासन चलाना चाहती है या नहीं। जो व्यक्ति गद्दारी करता है, उस को सब्त से सब्त सजा देनी चाहिए, उसके लिए दिल में कोई रहम नहीं होना चाहिए। आसाम के बारे में कुछ लोगों का मत है कि रीआर्गेनाइजेशन ऐसा हो, कुछ लोगों का मत है कि दूसरे तरीके से हो, उसके बारे में ममझा जा सकेगा लेकिन जो यह कहे कि हम तो देश में रहना ही नहीं चाहते, मैं नहीं ममझता उस के साथ कोई बातचीत हो सकती है। अब मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि एक टुकड़ा जो है नागा रिवेल्स का वह हमारे साथ मिल गया है। अब एक टुकड़ा का अगर हिस्सा लगाया जाय तो कांग्रेस के टुकड़े मिल मिल कर कितनी पार्टियां बन गईं? कोई आप के साथ मिलता है तो इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि वह राजी हो गए हैं। अगर चार साल बाद कोई उन से अलग हो गए, किसी मतभेद की वजह से तो उन में कोई राष्ट्रीयता आ

गई यह निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता। चीज यह है कि आया जो देशद्रोहिता करे उसके लिए आप का कानून क्या कहता है? आप खर्चा मांगते हैं, ताकत मांगते हैं, यह सरकार ताकत लेने की बड़ी शौकीन है। नये नये कानून बनाने की बड़ी शौकीन है। लेकिन कानून होने के बाद भी, ताकत होने के बाद भी जहां उम का इस्तेमाल होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो रहा है और इस कारण से देश में कानून के लिए जो रेस्पेक्ट होनी चाहिए, कदर होनी चाहिए, वह नहीं है।

दूसरी चीज में यह कह कर समाप्त करता हूं कि वहां पर कुछ फारेन क्रिश्चियन मिशनरियां हैं। मैं क्रिश्चियन लोगों के खिलाफ नहीं हूं। लेकिन वह जो विदेशी पादरी वहां पर रहते हैं उन की गतिविधियां वहां पर बढ़ी हैं। करोड़ों रुपया बाहर से आता है और वह गरीब लोगों को लालच दे कर के उनको भी ईसाई बनाते हैं। ईसाई बनाने में हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। अगर कोई आदमी ईसाई बनता है अपनी इच्छा से, अपनी इच्छा से वह और धर्म ग्रहण करे, इस में हमें कोई एतराज नहीं। विधान में इसकी इजाजत है। लेकिन लालच दे करके, उनकी गरीबी का फायदा उठा कर के उनको ईसाई बनाया जाता है इतना ही नहीं उन की एक देश के लिए निष्ठा है उम को भी बदला जाता है। वहां चार-पांच साल पहले अगर आप देखेंगे तो यहां इतनी कोई समस्या नहीं थी लेकिन जब से विदेशी पादरियों की गतिविधियां यहां पर बढ़ी हैं तब से यह लोग एक देशद्रोहिता की तरफ चलने लगे हैं। तो मेरी सरकार से मांग है कि जो भी विदेशी पादरी यहां पर हैं उन को यहां से निकाला जाय और वह जो उन की निष्ठा है उसको इंडियनाइज करिए। कोई भी विदेशी पादरी इस सेंसिटिव एरिया में नहीं रहना चाहिए।

तीसरी चीज में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आसाम का जो रीआर्गेनाइजेशन है उस के बारे में यह जो आप का सोचने का तरीका है कि

एक नागालैण्ड बना दिया, एक मिजो लैण्ड बना दिया, एक हिल एरिया बना दिया, एक पांडिचेरी का इलाका बना दिया, यह अलग अलग इलाके बनाने की जो बात है, इसको बन्द करिए। देश एक है; अलग अलग इलाके बनाने से यह ठीक है उन को और तरह की ऐक्टिविटीज करने में सफलता मिलती है। लेकिन जितने ही बड़े बड़े राज्य होंगे उतना ही अच्छा रहेगा। इसलिए यह जो चीज लटक रही है सरकार को इस के लिए समय निर्धारित कर देना चाहिए कि महीने, दो महीने के अन्दर इम का फैमला कर देंगे कि आसाम का क्या बनना है। मेरी निजी राय है कि आसाम के टुकड़े नहीं होने चाहिए। एक राज्य के अन्दर दूसरा राज्य नहीं पैदा करना चाहिए। जो अशोक मेहता जी ने रेकमेन्डेशन दिए हैं मैं उम के पक्ष में नहीं हूं। यह एक रास्ता खुल जायगा देश के टुकड़े करने का हमें आज इस चीज की जरूरत है कि ज्यादा ताकत एक जगह पर हो। उम के टुकड़े टुकड़े करने की जरूरत नहीं है। आज हिल एरिया में आप ने एक स्टेट में एक सब-स्टेट बनाई। कल को तीसरी स्टेट की मांग पैदा होगी। इस तरह की जो टैंडेंसी है उसको कम करना चाहिए और आप को यह तय कर देना चाहिए अगर आप मच्चे माने में ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन करना चाहते हैं, नहीं तो यह सरकार क्या है? कोई भी समस्या आती है तो कोई डेसीशन नहीं ले पाती है। इन्डिपेंडेंस एण्ड ऐडजस्टमेन्ट-दिस इज ए गवर्नमेन्ट आफ ऐडजस्टमेन्ट्स एण्ड कम्प्रोमाइज। कोई इस की स्पष्ट नीति नहीं है, कोई डाइरेक्शन नहीं है, कोई गोल नहीं है।

इसलिए मैं अन्त में एक सेंटेंस कह कर समाप्त करता हूं कि आप एक निश्चित नीति रखिए, एक निश्चित योजना रखिए और उम नीति के अनुसार जो देश के साथ ट्रांज करता है चाहे वह कोई भी क्यों न हो, कितना भी बड़ा आदमी क्यों न हो, उसके साथ आपकी कोई सहानुभूति नहीं होनी चाहिए और जो देश के लिए नायब हैं उनके साथ

[श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त]

सहानुभूति के साथ विचार कर के आसाम के बारे में अन्तिम निर्णय कोई तिथि निश्चित कर के करना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN (Chamba): Madam Chairman, I support the Bill and I submit that though the Bill gives extensive powers, it has many shortcomings.

The problem of Nagaland is a very intricate problem and it is a border area where we cannot take any chances because once this area becomes weak, we are giving a base to foreign countries from where they can operate against the rest of the country. This problem has been lasting for many years and it is time that we finally decide to take stringent measures.

Recently, it has been admitted that certain Nagas have gone to China to receive guerrilla training. Madam Chairman, once this area becomes an area where guerrilla operations start—in fact, in the present situation also the guerrillas are operating there—but if on an extensive scale guerrillas start operating in that area with the aid of China and Pakistan, then it may become very difficult to control the situation.

This area has been an area of trouble. There has been a lot of civil interference also. The civil authorities also gave a different opinion which at times was contrary to the opinion of the military commanders. I submit that we should completely hand over this area to the military authorities so that they can handle it from a military point of view where they can even take measures which are necessary when a country is at war. Normally, whenever we have to take action, we sometimes soft-pedal it or we take measures which are much less stringent than are necessary to meet a particular situation. Madam Chairman, it is time that we take strong measures. For example, we can declare martial law there and hand over the area to the Army so that till the problem is solved, the civil authorities do not interfere.

It is true that the measure, I am suggesting is an extreme measure. But then, when the disease is incurable, you have to cut a certain portion also. We have taken enough time to cure the disease, but the time has come when there has to be an operation and we have to carry out this operation so that the disease does not go to the rest of the body and we all suffer because of our lapse and our taking it too lightly.

There is an effort to divide border States. We have an instance where the border State of Punjab has been divided. Now we are also facing a similar situation and we are trying to divide the border State of Assam. It is necessary for the defence of a country that the border States are strong and not divided into small parts and I submit that the division of this Assam State into Mizoland or Nagaland or Hill Region would further weaken our security rather than strengthen the security. We have given enough concessions in the form of Nagaland, in the form of listening to their problems for a long time, but it is time that we stop discussing this affair with them because, while one wing comes and negotiates with us, the other wing attacks our forces there. Therefore, I submit that these negotiations should be finally stopped. Of course, a small gap can be given, but we should not give them time to strengthen their hostile activity. Possibly, they are biding their time and want to give a feeling as if they are finally going to come to terms. They may use this very time to strengthen their activities which may ultimately harm our country. Therefore, I submit that the Government should finally take strong measures so that more power is given to the army. With these few words, I support this Bill.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : सभापति महोदय, सुरेन्द्र पाल जी जो बिल सदन के सामने लाये हैं, उस के सिलसिले में मैं कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। नागालैन्ड या पूर्वोत्तर भारत की आज की जो स्थिति है, वह कुछ हद तक बड़ी असाधारण स्थिति है तथा यह असाधारण क्यों हुई और इस का समाधान कैसे हो सकता है, इस के बारे में हम लोगों को गम्भीरता से

सोचना चाहिये। सवाल यह है कि नागालैण्ड का जो स्वतंत्र राज्य बना, इस का क्या इतिहास है, क्यों बना? आज पूर्वोत्तर भारत में जो विघटन की शक्तियाँ सक्रिय हो गई हैं उनको खत्म करने के लिये आज तक भारत सरकार की कोई नीति नहीं रही है—जिस के कारण ये सब चीजें हो रही हैं। मैं इस के सिलसिले में केवल एक ही घटना आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ—कुछ साल पहले एक दफा कोहिमा में पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू और थाकिन-नू एक आम सभा में भाषण दे रहे थे। आप जानते हैं हमारे नागा लोग बड़े आत्म सम्मान वाले और हिम्मत वाले लोग हैं, वे बड़े मजबूत दिमाग के लोग हैं, उनके अन्दर आत्म-सम्मान का ज्ञान बहुत ज्यादा है। तो जिस समय थाकिन-नू और पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू दोनों भाषण कर रहे थे, नागाओं की तरफ से एक मेमोरेन्डम देने के लिये कहा गया। उस सभा में हजारों की संख्या में नागा लोग उन को सुनने के लिये आये थे। लेकिन उस समय पंडित जी के सेक्रेटरी ने कह दिया कि पंडित जी के पास समय नहीं है, हम आपका मेमोरेन्डम नहीं ले सकते हैं—आप ताज्जुब करेंगे कि सारे के सारे नागा-मर्द और औरतें, जो सभा में आये थे, जब पंडित नेहरू बोल रहे थे, सभा को छोड़कर चले गये, क्योंकि उन्होंने अपने आपको अपमानित अनुभव किया, भारत के प्रधान मंत्री के इस प्रकार के बर्ताव को उन्होंने अपमान अनुभव किया। मैंने आपकी खिदमत में यह किस्सा इस लिये सुनाया कि शुरु में ही नागाओं की जो मांग थी, उसको पूरा करने के वजाय, जैसे कोई समझौता जाता है, उस के मन में जैसे मनमानी करने की बात होती है, उसी तरह का बर्ताव उन्होंने किया और इस तरह से उन को उभार दिया गया कि बुम क्रांतिकारी रास्ता अपनाओ।

आप जानते हैं कि शुरु से ही पं० नेहरू की और भारत सरकार की नीति सैनिक कार्यवाही करने की रही है पलटन के जरिये उस वक्त उन के गांवों को जला दिया गया, उनकी औरतों के साथ बलात्कार किये गये—इस

प्रकार की शिकायतें भी पलटन के खिलाफ आई थीं। इन सब कामों के बाद वहाँ फीजो के नेतृत्व में आंदोलन हुआ, लड़ाई हुई तथा यह सारी की सारी विघटन की प्रक्रिया भारत सरकार की नीति के कारण हुई। अभी भी असम के पुनर्गठन के बारे में क्या हो रहा है—आप जानते हैं? चालिहा साहब यहाँ आये थे, उनके साथ बातें हुई—लेकिन अभी तक सदन में कोई बयान सरकार की ओर से असम के पुनर्गठन के बारे में नहीं दिया गया है। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस असाधारण स्थिति की पूरी जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार की है।

पूर्वोत्तर भारत में, सभापति जी, आप जानती हैं कि चीन, पाकिस्तान, रूस, अमरीका और पादरी लोग—ये पांच शक्तियाँ मिल कर सांठ गांठ कर के उस क्षेत्र में विघटन की प्रक्रिया को फैला रहे हैं। अभी मधु लिमये जी के एक सवाल का जवाब देते हुए चह्वाण साहब ने बताया था कि चार पादरी हैं—एक कैनाडियन पादरी, एक अमरीकी पादरी, एक अंग्रेज पादरी—इन सब को निकाल दिया गया है, लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि पादरी लोग अभी भी वहाँ पर मौजूद हैं और ये पादरी लोग आदिवासियों के अन्दर, नागाओं के अन्दर भारत विरोधी प्रचार करके नागाओं को उभार रहे हैं। इस तरह की चीजें अभी भी वहाँ पर चल रही हैं।

आज भी अखबारों में खबर आई है कि नागालैण्ड के मुख्य मंत्री ने भारत सरकार से शिकायत की है कि असम और नागालैण्ड के अलग अलग गवर्नर होने चाहिये, असम के गवर्नर को हमारे ऊपर क्यों थोपा गया है, हम मांग करते हैं कि नागालैण्ड के लिये हमें अलग गवर्नर दिया जाये—उसका अर्थ यह है कि वे अभी भी सन्तुष्ट नहीं हैं। सभापति जी, अमल में सवाल यह पैदा हो गया है कि मैदानी इलाके के लोगों में और पहाड़ी इलाके के लोगों में जो सम्भाव होना चाहिये, जो भाईचारा हीना चाहिए, वह इस सरकार की

[श्री रवि राय]

नीति के कारण नहीं हो पाया है। इसी सम्बन्ध में वहाँ के एक ऐंथ्रोपोलोजिस्ट-डा० वेरियर आलविन का कहना था कि भारत सरकार की यह नीति रही है कि मैदानी इलाके के लोगों को पहाड़ी इलाके के लोगों के साथ कोई मेलजोल नहीं करना चाहिये, कोई मुलाकात नहीं करनी चाहिये, जिस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि पूर्वोत्तर इलाके के कुछ भागों में ऐसी भावना पैदा हुई कि चाहे शिव की फोटो लगाई जाये, लेकिन महात्मा गांधी की फोटो नहीं लगनी चाहिये, क्योंकि वे मैदानी इलाके के लोगों के नेता थे। डा० आलविन भी पादरी थे और उन का यह कहना था कि मैदानी इलाके के लोगों को पहाड़ी इलाके के लोगों से अलग रखने का जो सिद्धांत है, वह बहुत खतरनाक सिद्धांत है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री जो बतलायें कि इस असाधारण स्थिति को वहाँ बनाये रखने का कब तक इरादा है? सभापति महोदया, भारत सरकार, असम सरकार, नागालैन्ड सरकार और सब की यह कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि मैदानी इलाके के लोग और पहाड़ी इलाके के लोगों में समता हो, उन के अन्दर भाई चारे की भावना जाग्रत हो तथा इस पूर्वोत्तर इलाके में जो पांच शक्तियाँ मैंने अभी गिनाई हैं—अमरीका, चीन, रूस, पाकिस्तान—ये चार विदेशी शक्तियाँ और पादरी लोग, जो मिल कर सांठगांठ करके सारे पूर्वोत्तर भारत से भारत की एकता को खत्म करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उनसे मंत्री महोदय और भारत सरकार सावधान हो जाये ताकि उस इलाके में देश की राष्ट्रीय एकता की जो नींव है, वह मजबूत बन जाये।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.):  
Madam Chairman, in my opinion there is some sort of tragedy about the Naga problem that has been created by the bungling of our leaders who had the privilege to rule over the country just after freedom. I think you will remember that the Naga problem was not a problem at the time of the INA movement. I hope many of the hon. Members in this House will remember that

in the Nagaland the epic battle of freedom or the saga of INA struggle was fought. The Naga people always behaved as if they were people of the entire India and I would like to remind the House that thousands of Naga people cooperated with the INA. They associated themselves with the INA. They sacrificed their lives. They waged a heroic battle with the INA against the British Imperialism. I also want to remind the House that even after freedom in innumerable houses photos of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose could be found. I want to remind this House that Mr. Phizo, who became a rebel leader and a secessionist, who is now regarded as anti-Indian, has, not once but many times, openly, and in the press statements that he made, said that he believed in the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and he regarded Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as his leader. I wish to remind you that it was due to the parochial view of some top Indian leaders at that time, I mean the Congress leaders at that time, that they did not care to share the sentiments of the Naga people. The Naga people round about Kohima were friendly with the INA movement and they fought many heroic battles of Indian freedom with them. But this Government even after so many years has not erected a single memorial in memory of the INA men and those of the Naga people who in association with the INA people fought against the British imperialism. Though they, the Nagas, along with INA had sacrificed their lives in the cause of Indian freedom not even a single plaque has been put there in Kohima. Not even martyrs' tombs had been erected at Kohima. It is our fault and it is of our creation that we have ruptured the sentiments of the Naga people and, we have thrown them out, I should say, from the comity of the Indian people, as the situation is there today. Everybody knows it and this House knows it quite well that some missionaries, because they disliked the policy of Pandit Nehru, tried to create some problems among the Nagas with the expectation that such a situation will create a certain pressure upon Panditji. But unfortunately perhaps those missionaries are also a little bit baffled now because they find that

their own creatures are now looking not to London or to Washington or to the church in Rome but to the new church in Peking. Therefore, the Naga problem has not only become complex but somewhat explosive under changed circumstances.

There are many other factors also which have now been introduced into this Naga problem. One of these factors is the factor of the expansionist design of the Pekingites in our country, the second is the long hand of communist China and the third aspect, that has been mixed with the problem of the Nagas, is the design of Pakistan. The problem has now become more complex than it was a few years back.

Therefore, we have to tackle this problem with much care, courage and also tact. We have to approach the whole problem not on the basis of the might of our Armed Forces but politically, economically and culturally and also as much as it is necessary on a firm basis of using the right of our Armed Forces. Politically, I should say that our Government should sympathetically consider the resolution that has been passed by the Nagaland legislature demanding a separate Governor for Nagaland. Secondly, I would say that our Government should try to invite a Naga delegation and also send a delegation from this House to Nagaland just to have a fresh look into the problems there and to allow the Nagas to express their problems to us. If they send merely a few secretaries or officers from the Home Ministry or the External Affairs Ministry or the Defence Ministry, they may look at the problem only from the bureaucratic angle, but it would not be possible for them to look at the problem bureaucratically and find out a solution from a popular and national standpoint. Sir, . . . I am sorry, Madam . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member can address the Chair as 'Sir'. The Chair is above sex.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Government should also see that the students from Nagaland are sent by batches in cultural missions several times annually, to go round the whole of India so that

they may have an idea of the cultural contact with the rest of the people. I would also request that Government should examine whether certain special preferences could be given to the students of Nagaland so that they may have engineering, medical, technological and other education on the basis of governmental patronage in other universities in India. The other measures of cultural contact between the people of Nagaland and the rest of India should also be restored. I have also to stress further that the problems of Nagaland, in so far as they can be solved economically, should be tackled economically, with fresh thought over these economic problems.

In conclusion, I wish to caution our Government that the communist forces, the Maoist forces in our country and the Chinese forces across our borders trying to take full advantage of the Naga situation, and they hope to utilise Nagaland as a crater for an insurrectionary eruption for realisation of their Yanan Plan in the eastern sector of India. Therefore, the problem has become more serious, potentially more dangerous and the Government should pay greater attention and show greater vigilance on this problem of Nagaland.

SHRI M. MEGHACHANDRA (Inner Manipur) : I rise to support this Bill. First of all, I would like to point out the necessity for the continuance of this particular Act for one more year. The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation Act was passed in 1958 and now in 1968 this particular Act is again sought to be continued. What is the reason for this ?

I would like to point out that the problems which were there in Nagaland and that portion of the eastern region are still there. Today in Nagaland there is the Nagaland Government, but against that there is another underground Government. It is found also that in many areas the writ of the Nagaland Government does not have sway, but on the other hand there is the sway of the writ of the underground government.

Further, after finding that the Naga people because of their armed revolt

[Shri M. Meghachandra].

have been able to achieve Statehood first and since they have been able to expect more also, the other people in the nearby regions or even in Manipur where there are other tribes, are now taking the cue and they are arming themselves. The House is aware that we are getting reports in the newspapers about armed raids, attacks and so on. We hear of the Mizo rebellion or revolt. Even the Kukis think that by going the way of the Nagas they will be able to have something.

15 hrs.

This is the real problem. Because of the persistence of this problem, the necessity for the continuation of this provision is conceded. But then I want to take this opportunity to say that mere extension of this Bill for more years will not do. We have to look into the real problems of the small groups of people there. We have to see what they want. We have to see whether we are giving due attention to them. As it is, only when the problems actually come up in an ugly way, only when they rise in revolt and use arms, we come to know of them and after that we try to find some solution. This kind of approach to this problem will not do.

Moreover, if the Government of India try to solve the Naga problem and leave other problems unattended to, that also will not do. We have seen it. What is necessary is to look at the whole problem. I do not support the view of a particular member who said that India is one country and therefore let there be no talk of giving rights extending to the formation of a separate State within the Union. That view should not be countenanced. There can be no question of big or small in this. A small group of people, if they have certain characteristics which partake of the character of a big group of people, their case should not be ignored. But I find that scant attention is being given to the small groups of people there. As a result, their case is ignored.

The best example in this connection is the formation of Nagaland itself. I personally support the grant of statehood to Nagaland. But in order to

bring the other peoples back from their extremist trends, we have to give them their due share. Here also the Government do not give proper attention to this aspect of the matter.

Take the case of Manipur. Next to it is the territory of Nagaland enjoying a higher political status. But because Manipur was in the past a native State with a distinct culture and so on, it is not given that higher status. What is the result? The people of Manipur feel that the Naga people have got statehood because they resorted to arms, but they are denied that status because they are not having recourse to the same method. This is the implication of Government's policy. From this, the House will see how defective is the approach of Government to problems in that part of the country.

Secondly, I want to point out one thing which is very important. The problem cannot be solved merely in terms of construing it as an internal problem. It goes beyond that. Some other foreign powers are taking active interest; not only that, they are giving material help. When these foreign powers who appear to be friendly to us give them material help and want to form a base inside India and in that way help this movement, what have we to do? The Government of India have not given proper attention to this aspect of the problem.

In Manipur also, there are some American missionaries. What do they do? In an area where there are some Mizo and Kooki hostiles, in a particular subdivision, they have established a college, with a building three or four storeys high, air-conditioned, something done for the time in Manipur. Establishing a college is a good thing. But the way they go about it creates the impression that they make the people there anti-Indian. Through religion, they influence them.

AN HON. MEMBER : How (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. MEGHACHANDRA : They make them use English and write in Roman script. In this and in other ways they develop in them an anti-Indian feeling. These things are there.

Therefore, my submission is that along with this extension. We have to do so me thing more, some campaigning. Now there is no campaigning at all, no political explanation of the polity of India. There is no campaign among the Naga people or the Manipur people that the approach in regard to a separate independent State will not do, that arguing for independence will only mean arguing for dependence. There is no such campaign launched among those people. As a result, you find all these separatist tendencies are there and this Bill is being extended from year to year.

There is another thing. Some sections want to see that the military forces stationed there should be allowed to use military force. I do not support that view because that will only further complicate matters and prevent us from achieving what we want.

Therefore on this note, that there should be more political campaigning and grant of more rights to those people of these areas, I support the extension of the Act as contemplated in this Bill.

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : मैडम, यह नागालैण्ड और जो यह मिजोरलैण्ड है यह मशरिकी हिन्दुस्तान में स्थित है। नागालैण्ड हमारे जिस्म पर एक नासूर का काम करता है। यह एक फोड़ा सा हो गया है जो कि पिछले 20 साल से रिसता रहता है। इस ने तमाम देश की जिन्दगी, तमाम देश की सालमियत और तमाम देश की इज्जत को खतरे में डाल दिया है। इस ने हमारे देश की इज्जत घटा दी है। 20 साल से इन डेढ़, दो लाख आदमियों का इलाज नहीं बनता और जिस इलाके ने 20 सालों में देश की नाक में दम कर रक्खा हो उस मुल्क की इज्जत तो घटेगी ही.....

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह सरकार बिलकुल नालायक है।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : माननीय सदस्य मेरी बात मुनें वाकी वह उन से ज्यादा नालायक नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : हम तो लायक हैं।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : अजी आप तो आखिरी हुरूफ तक नालायक हैं।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य चेरार को एंड्रस करें।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : मैडम, मैं निहायत अदब के साथ यह अर्ज करना चाहता था कि नागालैण्ड एक इंटरनेशनल साजिश और कांस्पिरेसी का अड्डा बन गया है। वह साजिश अमरीका करता है, वह साजिश अंग्रेज करता है, वह साजिश पाकिस्तान करता है, वह साजिश चीन करता है या वहीं के कुछ लोकल आदमी भी उस साजिश में शामिल हैं। यह एक बड़ा गम्भीर मामला है। एक इतनी बड़ी फौज जिसमें 20-25 डिबिजन हों और जो हमारे बेहतरीन और आलातरीन वॉपर्स हैं उनसे वह लैस हो वह इस समस्या को हल न कर पाये और मुझे इस बात से अफसोस होता है और ताज्जुब भी होता है कि 20 साल से लगातार उस मर्ज का हम इलाज नहीं कर पाये हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो पावर्स इस बिल में मांगी गई है वह बहुत जरूरी हैं, बहुत नागुजीर हैं, और उनको देने की जरूरत है। लेकिन जो यह बार बार पावर्स लेते हैं, तो उस से कोई हमारे देश की इज्जत नहीं बढ़ती। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम पावर्स दें तो सही माने में दें फौज को। सिर्फ कानून के तौर पर पावर न दें, बल्कि मिलिटरी को मॅण्डेट दिया जाये कि छः महीने, साल में इस इलाके में अमन हो, और इतना अमन हो कि सारे देश में अमन हो। यह बात मैं इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह इलाका पाकिस्तान से मिलता है, चीन से मिलता है, और यह हमारे देश का इतना कमजोर हिस्सा है कि छलनी बन गया है। वहाँ पर अमन होना चाहिये। वहाँ पर अमन ही न हो जाये बल्कि वहाँ हमारा डिफेन्स मजबूत हो मैं अंग्रेजों की तारीफ करने वाला नहीं हूँ, लेकिन एक बात में मैं उनकी तारीफ करता हूँ कि जितने सरहदी झगड़े अंग्रेजों के वक्त में होते थे, उनको रोकते थे चाहे मुकाबले में

## [श्री रणधीर सिंह]

कोई देश हो या किसी मुल्क की भी फौज हो। अंग्रेज की यह पालिसी बड़ी मास्टरली पालिसी थी, नहीं तो हमारी सरहद का मसला कभी उन के जमाने में हल न होता। आप को याद होगा कि उस वक्त सरहद पर बहुत कम झगड़े होते थे, जिस की वजह से दुश्मन की हिम्मत नहीं होती थी कि वह हमारी तरफ आंख उठा कर देख सके। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट पावर्स ले और जितनी चाहे ले ले, लेकिन जो पावर्स मिलें उन का इस्तेमाल ऐसा करे कि दुश्मन को, या जो ऐसे एलिमेंट हैं, जो कि देश के दुश्मन हैं, ऐन्टी सोशल हैं, ऐन्टी नेशनल हैं, उन एलिमेंट्स को खत्म करे। वर्ना देश बदनाम होता है और देश की फौज बदनाम होती है। मैं खास तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि पावर्स दी जाये, मैं बड़ा हिमायती हूँ इस बात का, लेकिन इस के सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ सुझाव भी देना चाहता हूँ।

मैं खास तौर पर यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो सरहदी इलाका है, उस में फौज इतनी जिम्मेदार नहीं है वहाँ पर हो रही चीजों के लिये जितने वहाँ के रहने वाले आदमी, जो कि दुश्मनाने अनासिर से मिल कर इस तरह की शरारतें वहाँ करते हैं। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर एक बहादुर तबका बसाया जाये। आप कहेंगे कि वह बहादुर तबका कौन सा है? जो हमारे फौज के रिटायर्ड आदमी हैं, चाहे वह राजस्थान के हों, चाहे और इलाकों के हों, चाहे पंजाब के हों, जो फौजी सर्विसमें हैं, उन को वहाँ बसाया जाये ताकि वह फौज के बाद दूसरी लाइन आफ डिफेन्स बनें। सब कुछ फौज करे, घर घर के पास जाये, दरख्त के पास जाये, खेत खेत पर जाये, यह मुमकिन नहीं है। जब तक वहाँ के रहने वाले वहाँ की आवादी के लोग इस किस्म का कॉन्फिडेंस अपने ऊपर नहीं लायेंगे, वह देश के भक्त नहीं होंगे तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता। आप कितनी भी फौज बढ़ा दें, कितनी ही पावर्स उस को आप दें, उससे कुछ नहीं हो सकता।

इस के लिये मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ।

पहले यहाँ पर एक पालिसी चला करती थी। अंग्रेज वहाँ पर पालिसी आफ मास्टरली एन-एक्टिविटी चलाता था। वह यहाँ पर कोई उसूलों की हुकूमत करने नहीं आया था। वह कोशिश करता था कि वहाँ के रहने वाले जो लोग हैं उन्हीं में एक ऐसा एलिमेंट पैदा हो जो देश के हक में हो, जिस में देशभक्ति हो। फिर दूसरा एलिमेंट हॉ माशॉल स्पिरिट का जो वहाँ उनको बेकार रखे। वह फौजी एलिमेंट वहाँ पर बसाया जाये। उसके बाद फौज की वहाँ पूरी ताकत हों। पूरा ऐक्शन हों। एनामस ऐक्शन की ताकत उस को दी जाये ताकि वह दुश्मन के अनासिर को रोक सके।

इसलिये पावर्स मिनिस्ट्र साहब लें, लेकिन पावर्स का पूरा ऐप्लिकेशन करें। यह पावर्स ले लें, और जल्द ही तो उन को और एक्स-टेंड कर लें, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश के विकार के साथ, देश की इज्जत के साथ, खिलवाड़ न हो सके। हिन्दुस्तान में ताकत है। ऐसी इमेज वहाँ नहीं मालूम होती। वहाँ पर इस किस्म का बागी एलिमेंट चलता है जो केआओटिक कंडिशन पैदा करना चाहता है। इस देश की इमेज कमजोर होती है और दूसरे देशों की ताकत इससे बढ़ती है। अगर हुकूमत वहाँ इस तरह से काम करे तो किसी देश को हिम्मत नहीं हो सकती कि हमारी तरफ आंख उठा कर देख सके।

इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं इस बिल की पूरी हिमायत करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Ranjit Singh; two or three minutes. Your party has taken its time.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : The representative from the Communist Marxist group has not been called.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH (Khalilabad) : This problem is ten years old. Year after year the same old arguments are repeated, the same questions are asked and the same answers are given. Are they going to do something radically new to solve this old problem? By the methods they are using, they are not going to solve the Naga problem for

several years. Why not extend the Bill for 4 or 5 years ?

There have been such problems in other countries. Our neighbour Burma faced the Karen rebellion against the Burmese Government and they solved the problem within a period of six months. Why have we not been able to solve this problem ? We know that it is because of foreign interference. The foreign fear is there. They do not take strong action against certain persons; they take lenient action. They patronise certain groups and alienate certain groups because of pressure from other countries. If you get rid of the fear complex, you can solve the Naga problem very quickly. Imagine the paradox. There is the Naga Army. Would the Government permit me to form an army and roam about Delhi shooting people ? You are negotiating with them. Their commander-in-chief comes to Delhi to meet the Chinese people over here. We are thankful to our vigilant press who gave us the story. Government was trying to stifle the news of the kidnapping of jawans in the Chinese Embassy. The Press exposed the fact that the NAGA C-in-C was in Delhi to meet the Chinese leaders. Government tolerates such things. Take the law into your hands, instead of permitting it to be taken over by the terrorists. Government has made it a principle to tolerate the overthrow of lawfully constituted Government by armed insurgency and rebellion. We tolerated it in China, in Tibet also. I think you have made it a principle to tolerate it here. Pakistan was created through threats. This problem is perpetuated because of the threat of armed up heavel and you are not taking strong action against people who had time and again said that they want to secede from India. The Prime Minister agreed to negotiate with the Nagas on the basis that they must give a firm undertaking that they wanted to settle it within the Union of India. When the talks broke up last time, the Nagas who came to Delhi made a statement that they wanted an independent, sovereign republic of Nagaland; they did not want to remain in India. Why are you negotiating with them any further; with those people who have made such a state-

ment ? Foreign interference has become so acute. There are, we know, 20,000 Nagas trained and armed by China and Pakistan. It is crude politics. There are some people in our country sympathising with China and some others, with Pakistan. They do not only tolerate this; they blame the Government for this; they do not blame Pakistan or China; they blame our Government as though this Government was instigating them to go to China and Pakistan and get arms. These things encourage them further to commit these acts of treason by getting arms from foreign powers and rebel against India. If this is not treason, what is treason ?

We should learn some lessons from history. Insurgency of this type is subtle and insidious. You do not know when a mass rebellion will come up. When it comes, you will be powerless to do anything about it. It is happening in Nagaland. Now there is a fellow preparing it in Kashmir. There is a section of people in Kerala demanding a separate Moplistan. When these things are happening, in the interest of the country, you should take strong action. You are wasting your forces there. You are demoralising them. You are having a lot of people killed there.

A lot of our armed forces people have died in Nagaland. Through an order of 1966, Government brought forward an enhanced pension rate for people killed in war-like actions. They extended it to the armed forces and security forces killed in Nagaland. But they have given it only from 20th October, 1962. What about the security forces killed before that date ? If the intention was to give this pension only to those who took part in the action against the Chinese attack, it should have been specifically mentioned. But once you extend it to the people killed by the Nagas in Nagaland, you should give it from the date when the armed forces went into Nagaland against the Nagas.

We have known since a long time that Pakistan has been helping the Nagas. Now we know that China also is helping them. We came to know in January that nearly 500 Nagas were plan-

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 ning to cross over to China through the Trop sub-division for training and for getting arms. Our security forces were asked to keep a vigil so that they could not go. But in February we learnt that they had gone there and in March we learnt that they had come back into India. This is the type of vigil which you are having there. You have kept just one brigade committed to that whole area, where you should have one corps consisting of nine brigades. . . . This is the problem from the army angle too. You must consider this. Last time, the Minister in charge, Mr. Chagla, was kind enough to give certain assurances here regarding grouping of Naga villages, just as we have grouped villages in Mizo Hills and succeeded in stopping insurgence there. He gave that assurance here on the floor of the House. What has happened to it ?

Chinese interference is a great warning, because I would quote from Mao what the intention can be in such circumstances. We have all read about his dictum that every communist must understand that political power is born out of the barrel of the gun. Here he says :

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."

"...in this sense, we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."

He is teaching the Nagas to use the guns to break away from India. We should be careful about such ideologies seeping into Nagaland. (*Interruptions*). These people who defend every action of Mao should know that Mao preaches nationalism, though these people understand that Indians should become Chinese nationals.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON** (Ernakulam): Madam, on behalf of my party, I stand here to give conditional support to this Bill. According to the Bill, the problem in Nagaland can be solved within one year. I do not expect that the Government is going to do any-

thing in this matter. So long as the Congress is in power here, such Bills have to come before Parliament and we have to pass them, because if you study the Naga problem from the very beginning, during the last two decades, the Congress Government had bungled from the very beginning. In 1948 they made a very small demand of a separate State. But our Congress bosses in Delhi did not recognize it and they were not prepared to meet that primary demand. If that demand had been met then, such a situation would not have arisen now. Always wisdom comes to the Congress Government too late.

Now they have given a separate State to them, but the problem still exists. Merely bayonets and guns will not solve the problem.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** That is what Mao has said !

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON :** Mao is a great man; don't quote him. The devil cannot quote the Bible. If the idea behind the Bill is that by using bayonets, the Naga demand can be suppressed, I have to oppose it, because patriotism is not the monopoly of certain sections. Even Nagas have fought for Indian independence. But we Indians have the character of finding fault with everybody else. Here is somebody finding fault with foreign missionaries. Do you know what foreign missionaries have done there and how much education they have given there ? We, the so-called Indians, have not done anything for them, whereas the foreign missionaries have done a lot. Of course, that should not be the reason for demanding separation from India, I agree. But we have not done any justice to them. We must look at the problem self-critically. Without studying their demands, by simply calling the entire people traitors, you are not going to solve the problem by military means.

Take the question of language. When other languages want equal status with Hindi, the Hindi-speaker people say that they are the only patriots. You should understand that India is a bundle of nationalities and we must have unity only through diversity. We cannot have

one nation like this. Only under the British imperialists, India was one. Neither under Asoka nor under the Moghul emperors was India one. (*Interruptions*). I am not very much bothered about my friend's quotations from Mao Tse-tung. If you study them with a religious eye, it would not have much meaning. But if you study them with a proletarian outlook, then it would have much meaning. I have not much time to deal with this problem because I am being called at the fag end of the debate. All the same, I want to explain here the stand of our party. The only way to solve this problem is to give the widest powers of autonomy to the tribal people. There are certain extremists among them who want an independent State. If you want to isolate such extremists, this is the only way. Try to help the Hill Leaders' Conference. Then you can solve the problem. If you are not going to do it today, you will be forced to do it tomorrow.

You were not prepared to give linguistic States earlier. But when Potti Sri-ramulu sacrificed his life you agreed to the formation of a linguistic State. In the same way, the Congress will not solve any problem until it is too late. It tries to shut its eyes to every problem. But you cannot solve any problem like that; it will remain. If only in 1948 you had given Nagaland this problem would not have arisen at all at this stage. You are not going to solve the problem by accusing China, America, Britain or Pakistan. It is your fault that you have not looked at the problem with a self-critical eye and tried to solve it.

By sending the military or police you are not going to solve the problem. What is the demand of the people? They want self-determination. For that, the widest power of autonomy must be given to them. Whether it is today or tomorrow, only a federal State is going to solve the problem. In every area such problems are going to arise. Shutting your eyes to their demands will not do. If somebody says these things on your face, calling them names is not going to help you to find a solution for these things.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH :** What is meant by self-determination?

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON :** If I have got the time, I will explain it here. Otherwise, we can discuss it outside.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** What the hon. Member wants to know is whether it is the right of secession.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON :** The right of secession and the right of self-determination are different.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH :** By self-determination you mean separation?

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON :** No.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH :** We will not allow self-determination.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON :** If the chair gives me time, I can elaborate it.

**SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) :** What he means is municipal power.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON :** At present, the Nagaland people have not got autonomous powers to rule their own State. They must be given more powers. It is only by having a broader outlook and giving them wider powers that you can solve this problem. It must be decided by conciliation. Then alone can the extremist sections of the Nagas be isolated and the problem solved. It is only if the Government is prepared to take up that stand that it can think of solving this problem. Otherwise, it is not only among the Nagas and Mizos, but tomorrow it will arise in other tribal belts also.

Finally, if by passing this Bill the Government is going to take up arms against the poor tribal people in the border areas, I do not want to support this measure. But if, on the other hand, the object of this Bill is to bring about peace in Nagaland, I support this Bill wholeheartedly.

**SHRI KARTIK ORAON (Lohardaga) :** This is a question of safety and integrity of the nation and, so far as

[Shri Kartik Oraon]

the safety and integrity of the nation are concerned, I personally feel that there should be no concessions to the offenders. If we make one law for Nagaland and supposing there is another Nagaland somewhere in another part of India, then we have to make another similar law. The law should be uniform and its obedience should be enforced. Such results of human conduct which are forbidden by law should be made punishable. Otherwise, there will be no way out.

Why are we worried about Nagaland? Because, the Naga people do not want anything short of a sovereign State outside India. That is our worry. Because we supported the demand for Nagaland and we started negotiations with them, it had a chain reaction and it spread to Mizo land. In the Mizo land they have got a government which is called Mizoram Government. Some hon. Member has rightly pointed out that the Mizoram Government is like a parallel government. I want to know whether under the Criminal Procedure Code or the recently passed Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967; we are going to stop the uttering or publication of seditious words and creating disaffection among the people of the country. If any action of the people is in the nature of an attempt to revolt against the established law of the country, that must be stopped.

I had occasion to know recently that the Mizos have a parallel government. It is not just one of those things that is working overground; it is underground. Their offices are located at different places in the thick forests where nobody can go. Because there is no road, nobody can go there. These places are called by names like UK, Australia, Sydney, London and so on. The Mizoram government have Lal Dzinga as the President. When Lal Dzinga goes to London, the Government of India is worried. How did he go to UK? How could he have the guts? He is in the U.K. of Mizoram government which is functioning somewhere in Mizo hills! They have a peculiar set up and way of working. By convention, their meetings are held

at night. The intimation about the meeting is sent by code that it will be held at such and such place and only those people can understand it.

The point is, if these people really wanted something which people in any democratic country can want, can look forward to, the Government of India would have willingly given them those concessions. But we definitely know that their ultimate object is something different. Their leaders are all graduates of the age group of 35 to 40. They have come to Calcutta or Gauhati and got their education, which they consider as foreign universities. They can never think of remaining in India. That is the trouble. This is a sensitive border area. Suppose this chain reaction spreads to Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills, which are on the northern side of East Pakistan. As we all know, these people are having contacts with China on that side by crossing NEFA. On this side, they are going over to East Pakistan. If they are really thinking of acting against the interests of India, I think it is time that we took certain measures against them.

If any person, or group of persons, try to conspire with another person or country in order to accelerate the land or air operation of that country or with a view to retard the land and air operation of our country, such a dangerous activity must be stopped. If you do not stop their activities and thereby solve the Mizo problem, and if you are going to negotiate with them, you will never be able to solve the problem. Unless you act firmly, no matter how long you will take, you are not going to solve this problem.

15.40 Hrs.

#### MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report the following messages received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha:—

- (i) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the Appropriation (Railways) Bill, 1968, which was pass-