

16.00 hrs.

MOTION RE: SITUATION ARISING
OUT OF RECENT EXPLOSIONS
AT LUMDING AND DIPHU
RAILWAY STATIONS

The Minister of Railways (Shri S. K. Patil): Under rule 185 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha, I move the following motion, notice of which I had given:

"That the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu stations on the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property be taken into consideration".

I can quite understand the anxiety of the House and people outside this House when day after day incidents of this nature occur and many people die. In these two incidents, about hundred people have died and possibly 100-200 have been injured, and there is no knowing that there would not be a recurrence of these incidents. Therefore, it has assumed a proportion which is very alarming indeed and hence the House is entitled to know as to what is being done; also we shall have the benefit of their advice as to what is to be done in circumstances of this nature.

I shall at the very outset say that these incidents are not a part of regular railway operations, because never before in the 113 years that the railways have been running in this country have we been faced with a situation of this description. It has nothing to do with the operation of the railways. It is purely a matter endangering the security of this land, the work of people who are interested in doing something so that they can spread fear and many other things. That is why we find these things happening again and again.

Now I shall deal with some of the

measures that we intend to take and are just now taking; but I am not satisfied with that, because they are not measures by which you can really give a proper type of retaliation which will put these things to a stop. I am worried because these things are taken as if these are occasional incidents; even if they were occurring once in six months or a year, that is bad. I do not say that they should occur like that. But even then there seems to be a plan that periodically these things should happen. These two incidents have happened within 72 hours of each other.

Now, something must be known about what is known as the North East Frontier Railway, popularly called NF railway.

This House knows very well that this particular zone of railways was made very recently. It was in 1958. It is the latest zone apart from the new zone that we are now making at Secunderabad. The total track kilometrage of this zone is 4,571 k.m. Part of it is a double track, therefore if you want the lengthwise figure, it covers 3,207 k.m. I am giving these particulars because when suggestions are made that the luggage, the trunks and other things should be examined, the Members should have an idea as to what they are talking about and what they are suggesting.

There are 444 stations, but I shall give you an exact idea as to how many of them are in the so-called danger zone where we have got to guard. All the 444 stations do not come within the danger zone. The danger zone we have worked out very carefully. There are 34 stations in the Lumding-Simulguri section—that is the one which is the most dangerous—on the border of Nagaland, a section of 231 k.m.; and 14 stations in the Lumding-Damchera section which is 155 k.m. That means there are 48 stations which are vulnerable. They have to be protected. Protection has got to be given. Whatever you might do, you have got to do in these 48 stations.

The terrain, as the House knows very well, is thick jungle, marshy and hilly. There has been a demand that the jungle should be cleared, but you cannot go on clearing the whole jungle. You can clear a part of it which is on the Nagaland side. A decision has been taken that 500 yards, about 1,500 feet, on the Nagaland border should be cleared, but the rain here is so heavy that even if you clear the jungle, within six months the jungle can grow again. Therefore, it has got to be a continuous process, but that continuous process is also being undertaken.

Then I come to the number of trains that run here. There are three Up and three Down on the Lumding-Simulguri section, which is more vulnerable on the north or east side; two Up and two Down on the Lumding-Damchera section; therefore, ten trains are running continuously.

If we get the full load of passengers it may be somewhere about 5,500 passengers every day. Even if we do not get 100 per cent, we do get anything between three to four thousand passengers going up and down.

When we found the difficulty, and when we knew that this was not the regular business of the railways, because we are not equipped and under the Railway Act we are not supposed to carry on these activities, this had to be handed over to the army, and the army assumed control in January, 1957. Therefore, during the last nine years, the situation is under the overall charge of the army.

I shall now indicate the measures that we have undertaken, and what further measures we propose to take. All passenger, express and mail trains on these sections are piloted by searchlight specials and are provided with armed escorts. I should make it clear at the very outset that these things are done in order that the track should be protected, in order to stop sniping etc. This has nothing to do with bombs and these are useless where the planting of a bomb is there. There-

fore, these measures, although they are very elaborate and cost us quite a lot, surely do not assume the planting or the depositing of bombs the type of bombs that were kept there on the 20th and 23rd.

Detachments of armed police battalions are posted at all the strategic points in both these sections, and they provide protection to the railway stations, track and bridges. Adjacent jungle areas are also being patrolled by the army and armed police contingents, detachments of which are posted at various strategic points along the Nagaland border with Assam.

Engineering staff of the Northeast Frontier Railway—this is a special thing that the railway has been doing at a very terrific cost, because it does not produce anything except the satisfaction that our bridges are guarded—have been posted at the various bridges and tunnels to keep a watch and pass on information to the nearest railway station in case of sabotage to prevent accidents to trains. There are 37 tunnels and 34 bridges which are guarded in this manner.

Services of Village Defence parties are also being utilised for the protection of track, bridges etc. Day and night all these tunnels and bridges are being guarded.

All the passenger, express and mail trains are escorted by armed escorts of the Railway Protection Force working under the operational control of the Sector Commander of the Army. All goods trains in these sections are also provided with armed escorts of the Railway Protection Force Armed Wing of the Northeast Frontier Railway.

We have put two battalions of the railways with all the fighting equipment under the control of the Army. The general control is with the Army. In front of the train and at the back of the train, there are, not whole battalions, but about ten armed Rakshaks of R. P. F. are placed there. I am told that the Army also was putting

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Diphu (M.)

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in a few of their people in the middle section but that has been removed after the Mizo trouble because some Army personnel must have been deployed elsewhere.

The railway track runs almost parallel to the north and northwest boundary of the Nagaland with Assam. Approximate distance between the Railway track and Nagaland in these areas varies from 2 Kms to 15 Kms. That means it is very near and if anybody wants to do anything, he can. Manipur Road station and Rangapahar Crossing are actually in Nagaland.

The railway passes through thick jungles and marshy lands in the various places in the two sections, particularly between Lumding-Manipur Road and Manipur Road and Salupahar, which form the most vulnerable area in the Lumding-Simulguri section. The monsoon is very heavy in this area and as already indicated by me jungle clearance is a continuous process as due to the heavy monsoons, the growth of jungles is fast.

The incidents of 16th February, that is, 2 months back 20th April and the recent one of 23rd April are all of similar nature in that powerful explosives fitted with time fuses appear to have been kept in railway compartments by miscreants and these exploded causing death and injuries to many persons. This has posed a new problem and it is not possible to distinguish between *bona fide* passengers and passenger carrying these explosives in trunks and boxes unless extensive searching of passengers and their luggage is carried out. What is being done at present is, because this is a very recent occurrence, just 72 hours back as I said, as soon as it was noticed, we tried the experiment of examining the luggage, trunks, etc. although as I said it is a process in which it is almost impossible to detect anything because there are so many passengers and so many stations and to sneak in a box or trunk is the easiest possible thing; it is not difficult.

We have started because something has got to be done. One of the precautions, which has been taken on these sections to reduce the risk to which passengers are exposed, is that the running of passenger trains between Lumding and Mariani is prohibited between 22.00 hrs. in the night and 04.00 hrs. in the morning. Similarly, on Lumding-Damohara section running of passenger trains is not permitted between 19.00 hrs. in the night and 05.00 hrs. in the morning.

Steps are being taken to clear jungles to a distance of 1500 fts. on the Nagaland side, and 300 on the Assam side and also to construct a road parallel to the Rly. track in the vulnerable sections. This work is in progress. These are some of the details that I have given. But the difficulty is this, that whatever we may do, these are precautions that might stop sniping and perhaps there will be no sniping. People have been put into operation to protect the track, tunnels and bridges; that is the normal routine work of the railway protection force. Their work is not to go in for fighting as in a war or to fire; they could not go even outside the track because they are limited by the Act and therefore, they do not go in order to pursue somebody. These are the difficulties inherent in the situation. What exactly has to be done, it is not for me to say because it is a matter which is really for the whole country, not only the government but even the opposition's co-operation must be made available for this business. As far as I could see, the only practical way against this type of thing is to permit effective retaliation wherever it might be. We are not going to deal with these miscreants by the kid-glove method. Because this is a new thing that has come upon us. We have got to see what can be done. It is very surprising. While we are having talks and negotiations, etc., we do expect that at least a reasonable thing—I do not think any thing unreasonable to be done—should be done. That, they are not

prepared to say—that what they want is within the orbit of our Constitution, etc. It is a different matter. They may say it tomorrow. Our persuasion might hold. But it stands to reason that while these talks are going on, it is expected that these things should not be done.

Sometimes, an argument is made, "Oh, they are not Nagas. These are other Nagas who are doing it." I do not know how many types of Nagas are there in this land. Either the Nagas with whom we are carrying on talks and negotiations, deliver the goods—they should deliver the goods—or they do not. If there are other Nagas, apart from these Nagas, that means that these Nagas are not representatives of the Nagas with whom we are talking. I do not know what exactly is happening. I am merely saying so, because we do not expect such things to happen.

Now, these are not the only two accidents that have occurred; there is a constant fear that a repetition of these things may occur. I do not know how such bombs can be planted there. They are not normal bombs. They do not seem to have been manufactured within this country, or in Pakistan. They seem to be some bombs which have been imported; how many they have, I do not know. If one single bomb can cause this much loss, not only in this particular case, but even when the track has gone, part of the track has gone, and even the building has been affected, apart from the compartment, and sometimes, the pieces have been carried away to 150 or 200 feet—then, it is something, some kind of a big explosive; it had an explosive character. It constitutes a grave danger indeed.

It is for this House to find out. I am not saying this merely to get out of it. It is a common responsibility which has got to be faced. About the defensive action, the action of examining the trunks and everything in the first place, it will take perhaps 10 to

12 hours. There are five to six trains—one train on one side and five on another side—and the passengers are held up for hours and hours together. That would become necessary because it takes such a long time to examine every piece of the luggage.

This can be done by anybody—keeping such a bomb inside. I am told that one man who has been arrested has made some kind of statement, showing that he was paid something in order to plan something. He did not know that it was a bomb. It was not seen by him. Just for money, he did it there.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): That man was blind; he was a beggar.

Shri S. K. Patil: So he could not see what he was carrying.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): How does he know that he was blind?

Shri S. K. Patil: Because he was a man with sight, he could spot the blind man! My point is, so far as the railways are concerned, I do not know; I am at a dead-end as to what to do. Is it anything wrong about our operation? Is there anything wrong in the engineering skill? Is there anything wrong in the RPF, or that has not been put into operation. I can claim that all measures that have been put into operation during the last one year and more have borne fruit, because all these snipings and other features have not occurred. They have taken to something else. I do not know of any ready-made remedy by which these things could be stopped.

Further, I do not find any man—those who talk in the name of peace—having come out with any statement that these are reprehensible activities and they must not be indulged in. I do not know why; I do not understand what it is and what we are doing. I am not merely critical, because this is something that really boils the blood; one does not understand this kind of activity which can kill hundreds of

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people together, by planting a bomb, and it kills innocent people who have nothing do with all this; they are people who are not fighting the hostile Nagas. This is something to strike terror in them, just to show that some are capable of doing these things. This should not be allowed to happen. If this is going to be the precursor of things to come, then surely it is time that we took a very serious note of it and did something.

I have nothing to add on this occasion. I can assure the House that so far as the railway and the RPF are concerned, we shall do everything in our power to protect the life of the passengers, because that life is sacred to us; they travel in our trains and they are entitled to the protection which the railways can give them.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu Stations of the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April, 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property be taken into consideration."

I have received some substitute motions also. Mr. Banerjee is not there.

श्री रामनवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :
मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि :—

"हाल ही में पूर्वोत्तर सीमा रेलवे के लुमडिंग और डीफू रेलवे स्टेशनों पर क्रमशः 20 अप्रैल, और 23 अप्रैल, 1966 को हुए विस्फोटों में, जिन के फलस्वरूप बहुत से व्यक्ति मरे और घायल हुए एवं सम्पत्ति को भारी क्षति पहुंची, उत्पन्न स्थिति पर विचार करने के पश्चात् इस सभा की राय है कि सरकार रेल यात्रियों की जान व माल की रक्षा करने में पूर्णतया असफल रही है।" (2)

Shri Madhu Limaye (Monghyr): I beg to move:

"That for the original motion . .

श्री मधु लिमये (कलकत्ता उत्तर पश्चिम): हिन्दी में।

श्री मधु लिमये : यह प्रस्ताव अंग्रेजी में दिया है, इसलिये मजबूर हो कर अंग्रेजी में देना पड़ा वरना आपको तकलीफ़ होती।

I beg to move:

"That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu Stations of the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April, 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property is of the opinion that the Government have completely failed to deal effectively with the Naga rebellion fanned continually by the foreign missionaries, planters and Pakistan and have oscillated alternately between ferocity and appeasement much to the nation's detriment and therefore recommends a through revision of the Government policy in this regard." (3)

Mr. Speaker: These two substitution motions and the original motion are before the House. We have to fix a time-limit because there would be a large number of speakers who would like to speak. So, I would recommend 10 minutes for each member.

Some hon. Members: It is not enough.

Mr. Speaker: I have no objection if 15 minutes is put as the limit provided the number is less. I will request hon. members to confine themselves to the time-limit.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Sir, I am sure I am voicing the feelings of all sections of this House in expressing our sorrow and horror at this tragedy that has taken place. I also hope every one would agree with me in sending our condolences to the bereaved families.

As the hon. Minister said, this is a terrible tragedy that has overtaken this country not only in the annals of the railways, but also in the annals of our democracy, that on two occasions more than 100 innocent people, who had not raised a finger against anyone in the world, should have become the victims of such acts of sabotage perpetrated by people who must have gone completely mad and who must have forgotten their sense of responsibility towards the humanity and the country. It is proper for my friend, the Railway Minister to have taken the House into his confidence. But it would have been more proper for the Ministers who are directly connected with and who are directly responsible for maintaining the security in that unfortunate part of our country to take the House into their confidence and tell us what they propose to do and why they have failed so shabbily. This is not the first or second time, but I think the ninth time this sabotage had come to be perpetrated. We cannot blame the army, because the army has already been placed in position there and has been given the responsibility of protecting the passengers to the extent possible. Yet, not enough has been done. Whom else can we hold responsible except the government? My hon. friend Shri Patil was wondering why nobody has expressed his horror at these terrible tragedies. Everyone has felt it

Some hon. Members: No, no; he was referring to the Nagas.

Shri Ranga: In regard to the Nagas too, till now the opposition as well as the Government have been one in allowing the continuation of these peace talks with the Naga rebels. Therefore, it is not proper for us, of the Opposition, to try and find fault with the Government so far as that goes. But, yet the Naga rebels have not played fair with India, with themselves, with Assam and the tribal people themselves in the whole of this country. While carrying on their parleys with our Prime Minister, with the Government, some of their people had made themselves responsible for these horrible deeds. As my hon. friend, Shri Patil, has said, we cannot go on making any distinction between one set of Nagas and another set and then exonerate one set and find fault with the other.

There are only two sets of Nagas we know of those who have been loyal to mother India all this time, who have manned the Government there in that self-governing State and speaking for us, and those who have chosen the path of revolt and rebellion and therefore have formed themselves into Rebel Nagas. These are the only two sections. The patriotic Nagas who have been with us till now cannot be blamed. The rebel Nagas are there. Are they to be blamed or not? It is yet too early for us to come to a judgment. But one thing is clear, that while they were carrying on these peace negotiations, while the Peace Mission was still in being, while their chosen and trusted friend Rev. Michael Scott, was being given one month more time to keep counsel with those people, these horrible things have come to be perpetrated. Therefore, I consider them to own their responsibility, not for these horrible acts but for their failure to hold their followers in sufficient discipline and control and prevent them from allowing such things happening.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Who is to prevent whom?

Shri Ranga: Whoever takes upon himself the right to revolt against the lawfully established Government must be prepared, as Mahatma Gandhi had taken the responsibility also during those disturbances, whenever such disturbances have taken place. They must hold themselves responsible for the activities of such people. We do not want them here and now to lay down their lives in penance, but we want them to give the assurance to the people of this country as well as the Government that they will leave no stone unturned, that they will bend all their energies in order to strengthen the Government of India as well as the Government of the Nagaland and see that such things are not allowed and such things do not come to happen in our country and in that area.

Having said that, let us also express our admiration for the railway staff and also for the passengers, for the general public, for their continuing to have so much faith in the ability of this Government to maintain law and order in this country, that even after tragedy after tragedy they are prepared to travel by our railways there. And so far as the railway staff are concerned, my hon. friend has not told us whether they are being given some kind of privileges and training and also the equipments necessary for self-defence as was being given in those days of war, and also during the recent defensive struggle against Pakistan when some kind of protective armoury, assistance, training in discipline and other things were being given to them. In addition to that, their salaries, allowances and all those things have also got to be improved. I do not know whether it has been done.

Then, how are we going to deal with this? Suppose we have dealt with certain Naga problem very satisfactorily, and the Mizo problem very satisfactorily for the time being, which is not the case, which is not likely to be the case for some time to come, most unfortunately for us, how are we going to deal with the whole of this

area? Are we going to leave it as a special responsibility of the Assam Government alone? I am not in favour of it. Let the poor Assam Government, heroic as it is, let it be made responsible only for the Brahmaputra valley and nothing more. So far as the tribal people and tribal areas are concerned, in the same way as the British administration was prepared to have so many States to junction in Saurashtra, let us deal with the local autonomous areas, responsible to the Union Government, and let us place squarely the responsibility on the Union Government itself for maintaining a series of cantonments, for the stationing of our armies and see that sufficient armed forces are kept on the whole of the periphery and the border areas between ourselves and Burma, China on the other side and Pakistan on this side, so that all the frontiers are covered. Let us consider this problem in a comprehensive manner and see that the whole of that area is properly defended. Let us make up our mind as to what we do. I should say that we should station our armies on this side and that side where we face the other frontiers. In between, let these people live. Let them have their own self-governing institutions. By all means, let them have all the paraphernalia of a Governor, Ministry and Legislature as Manipur and Tripura are having. But so far as the maintenance of law and order is concerned and the national security is concerned, it has got to be treated not merely as Assam's responsibility or Assam's need or the small tribal areas' needs, but they should be considered as the responsibility as well as the need of the whole of India. The whole of India has to make its presence felt on every square inch of our border. Then alone would it be possible for us to assure the safety for our railway passengers and safety for our people in that area. If we do not, if we are not going to look at it that way, then it is going to be very dangerous not only for that small area but for the whole of India.

The hon. Minister has made an appeal to the members of the Opposition. I do not know what other members of the opposition feel about it, but I feel one thing. We cannot very well tackle this problem as a merely security problem, but also as a law and order problem, also as a social development of the people of the tribal area. They have got to be treated as our honoured, respected and beloved citizens, because they have been neglected for a very long time. Therefore, let us put weightage on social welfare expenditure that we are going to incur and help them in every possible manner so that they will continue to feel proud of Indian citizenship.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is all over the country and in all sections of the House a sense of distress and sorrow that such incidents, as the Minister has explained to us in some detail, could happen in our country at the present time. And I am sure nobody in this House, to whichever side he might belong, would like to make a party issue of this calamity which has taken place. At the same time, however, I must say that since it is a man-made calamity, by whom we do not know, since it is calamity which has taken place because of failure somewhere or other, we have to foist responsibility and, from that point of view, it is the Government of this country which must come forward to assume responsibility for whatever has happened and also responsibility and the obligation by pursuing policies which would prevent this kind of calamity recurring in the future.

The Minister of Railways was correct in saying that it is not a matter merely of the failure of the railways. On the contrary, my hon. friend, Professor Ranga, has pointed out that the railway workers have shown their mettle and surely they deserve some special recognition for the meritorious way in which they are per-

forming their duties in the most difficult conditions.

But in a deeper sense, as Shri Ranga also emphasized, there has been failure on the part of Government. What has taken place is the symptom of a disease in our body politic which has got to be rooted out, not with hot iron, as some words which fell from the lips of the Minister I seem to suspect suggested, but by a process of treatment which would be understanding, human and sympathetic.

Whatever happened, the calamities and incidents have happened in a sensitive and difficult area. It is an area contiguous to territories where the Nagas are insurgent for such a long time, where the Mizo uprising took place and is still simmering below the surface and where there is general disaffection among the Hill people. The other day our colleague and friend, Dr. Swell, held a press conference after his return from the Mizo Hills when he pointed out how among different sections our fellow citizens in the Hill areas of the north eastern parts of India there is a deep sense of grievance that things are not being done in the way they should be done. Therefore the prevailing discontent in that region is a matter of which Government has got to take note and Government has got to formulate policies which would really and truly meet the urgency of the situation.

These problems mount from day to day and there is no lack in our tormented world of foreign interests in particular fishing in the troubled waters. Wherever India is in trouble they try to take advantage. When some of us Members of Parliament were in Nagaland some 15 months ago, we were told about the United States mark weapons which were supplied perhaps by our neighbour country to the Naga hostiles. This morning we were told about French made rockets having been used by the miscreants in this area. We know also how through the instrumentality

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of such worthy gentlemen, divines like the Reverend Michael Scott, the British—the rulers of Britain, I should rather say—take an interest in Naga separatism. Only recently I got from the External Affairs Ministry some documents, a selection of comments made on Indian affairs by the foreign press. The *London Times* published with great prominence a letter from Phizo in which things were said which any one innocent of real conditions in India would find extremely distressing and his blood would boil against India when he got to read the kind of things which Phizo said through the instrumentality of the *Times*.

We know the game of these people. They want to keep India on tenterhooks and in trouble. They want from Kashmir to Nagaland a chain of regions which they wish they could detach from India and use as their own playthings in international tactics. That kind of thing would be a godsend to neo-colonialism.

There is also our other neighbour, China, which possibly is interested in weaning away these Tribal populations on our frontier and we have to pursue policies which would really and truly keep these fellow citizens of ours in that so long neglected Tribal area as devoted citizens of this country, equal in every sense of the term with the rest of us.

I understand that anger with the Naga hostiles, as they are called and against whom there might be a presumption of suspicion—it is not unnatural in the circumstances—is inevitable to a certain extent, but that is no reason why the Railway Minister, who is a member of a Cabinet with joint responsibility, who I hope shares decisions made at Cabinet level, took up the kind of attitude which draws applause in this House. I know, it is easy to draw applause in this House by making a certain kind of statement. It might also draw

applause in the country outside this House, but I do not quite like it and I would like some clarification in regard to this matter from either the Minister himself or from his superior, his appointer, the Prime Minister. He said, "No kid-glove methods with miscreants". He equated the miscreants with those people with whom the Government of India are having some confabulations with a view to a settlement.

Some hon. Members: No, no.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: If it comes to be proved that the miscreants were Naga hostiles, surely, you have to tackle the matter, you have to deal with them as the law requires, as the case requires. But let us not make a presumption of suspicion against certain people, a kind of proof, so that on the basis of that proof we proceed in order to stress our case.

Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxar): Sympathy for whom? Wrong-doers? (*Interruption*)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order; not in this manner. That can be corrected afterwards.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I have noticed in this House over and over again publication on our part which seems to me somewhat of a determination to punish 'X' and 'Y' and 'Z', whether it is the Mizos or the Nagas or the Khasia or the Hill people of Assam, to subjugate Pakistan, to do something about Tibet, to take back Aksai Chin and a lot of other things. They might be wonderful expectations, they might be very legitimate desires, but to talk in that kind of term, when we have not got the wherewithal, is so pathetic that it is better we stop making that kind of statements. Therefore, I say, let the Government take up an attitude which would produce results, which would be in conformity with the demands of humanity and decency and our own Indian ways of statesmanship in regard to this area. Do we adopt the method of pacification

by force or do we adopt the other method, ways of friendship, ways of economic improvement, ways of maximisation of autonomy. We do not make up our mind. I do not see why the Government, for instance, does not meet the representatives of the Hill people in the North East Frontier of India, a demand which was voiced by Dr. Swell in his press conference. The Government should meet the representatives of all the Hill people and even those who are recalcitrant and intransigent at this particular moment.

The Government should do something about the Pataskar Report which was handed over to them. We do not know the contents of that Report. But we hear sometimes about some of the aspects of it. Perhaps, some practical implementation of the recommendations of the Pataskar Report would produce results. Maximisation of autonomy for whichever the area might be, Nagaland or Mizo Land or whatever it may be, is a matter to which thought has to be given. If necessary, we might even amend our Constitution in order to be able to absorb these people happily inside the Indian community. That is the idea which I press. That is why I say, let not our country appear before the world in a help'less guise, let not the Prime Minister appear before the world outside and sometimes inside the country like a damsel in distress who is having a lot of trouble but does not know what to do about it. It is very important that Government comes forward with policies which would be determinedly pursued in regard to the north-east frontier of our country where so many of our tribal populations live, people who have lived in the shade, not in the sun, so to speak, for so long, who want their place in the sun. In regard to them, let us not follow a punitive policy. Let us not talk the language of vindictiveness even though we share the horror and distress of the deepest sort in regard to the kind of incident which has taken place. That

kind of incident should not be allowed to recur but we can make sure of that only by pursuing policies of humanity and statesmanship which do not appear to be forthcoming from the Government side. That is our grouse. That is why we want to posit responsibility on the Government of the day and not merely allow the Government to get away by saying that it is a railway matter, but that the railway people have no responsibility in the matter, they could not have possibly prevented it and so on. That is not the way of tackling the present problem. Statesmanship is called for.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Sir, I may be allowed to move my Substitute Motion.

Mr. Speaker: All right.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I move:

"That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Luming and Diphu Stations of the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April, 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property, is of the opinion that there is a complete failure on the part of the Government to protect the lives of the passengers and Railway property." (1)

Mr. Speaker: This substitute motion is also before the House.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह (वाराणसी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री हीरेन्द्र मुखर्जी का मैं ध्यान आकर्षित कराना चाहता हूँ, कुछ इतिहास के पन्ने जरा आप उलटिए, बर्मा में केरेन लोगों ने विद्रोह किया। सन् 1948 में बर्मा ने आजादी प्राप्त की। जैसे कि नागा नाग राज विद्रोह कर रहे हैं, इसी प्रकार केरेन लोगों ने विद्रोह आरम्भ किया। बर्मा की सरकार ने

[श्री रघुनाथ मिह]

इसी प्रकार शांति की वार्ता को। थाकिन नू 14 वर्ष तक शांति की वार्ता करते रहे। लेकिन केरेन लोग शांति नहीं हुए। रंगून से लेकर मांडले तक जाने वाली रेलवे लाइन, जो कि बर्मा और हिन्दुस्तान के अलग होने के पहले मीटर गेज की सबसे तेज चलने वाली लाइन थी, 14 वर्ष तक वह रेलवे लाइन प्रायः बन्द रही। केरेन लोगों ने चलने नहीं दिया। उसका फल क्या हुआ? डेमोक्रेसी बर्मा में छतम हो गई और बर्मा में तानाशाही कायम हुई और सैनिक शासन कायम हुआ और सैनिक शासन कायम होने के बाद आज दो वर्ष से केरेन लोगों के विद्रोह का नाम मुनाई नहीं पड़ रहा है। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग मारे गए हैं, उनका क्या अपराध है? आप संस्कृत के विद्वान हैं। दंडनीति में और प्रतिहिंसा में आप कोई अन्तर मानते हैं या नहीं? आपने कहा कि पाटिल साहब को प्रतिहिंसावादी नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन चाणक्य ने कहा है कि राज नीति का नाम है दण्डनीति और जिस देश में दण्ड का अभाव रहता है उस देश में अराजकता फैलती है और चूँकि नागालैंड में दंडनीति का अभाव था इसलिए वहां पर अराजकता फैली है।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है। हमारी सरकार उन शांति के महादूतों की तरफ जरा आंख उठाकर देखे। न तो माइकेल स्काट साहब, न तो चालिहा साहब और न नागालैंड के चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब, किसी ने जो दोनों रेल की दुर्घटनाएं हुई हैं किसी ने उनके ऊपर कोई अफसोस जाहिर नहीं किया है, एक शब्द नहीं कहा है। मैं हिन्दुस्तान की जनता से कहना चाहता हूँ, सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिनको हम शांति का दूत मानते हैं, उनके सामने ऐसे-ऐसे आदमी मरते हैं जो सोये हुए थे, जिनका कोई अपराध नहीं था, गरीब आदमी जो ट्रेन में चले जा रहे थे, आज वह उड़ाये जाते हैं, मारे जाते हैं लेकिन इन

शांति के दूतों के कान पर जूँ तक नहीं रेंगती। अभी तक वह महानिद्रा में, कुम्भकर्ण की निद्रा में सो रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि समय आ गया है और समा रहते हुए आपको चेतना चाहिए कि अब इन शांति के दूतों को नमस्कार किया जाये, उनको प्रणाम किया जाय कि आपके माथ 18 वर्ष तक हिन्दुस्तान ने शांति शांति शांति की बात की, आपने नागालैंड की डिमांड की, इस पार्लियामेंट ने नागालैंड की डिमांड को भी माना, आपने कहा कि नागालैंड को कोसिल मानी जाये, वह भी माना, आपने कहा कि यह नहीं, अब एक शांति मिशन होना चाहिए, सरकार ने उसको भी माना सरकार दबती गई, दबती गई। अब सरकार के दबने का अन्तिम चरण आ गया है। अगर इससे ज्यादा अब सरकार दबना चाहती है तो सरकार को याद रखना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान में डेमोक्रेसी है और कहीं ऐसा न हो कि बर्मा के अध्याय की पुनरावृत्ति हिन्दुस्तान में भी हो क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता कोई भी हिन्दुस्तान का एक नागरिक कहीं मारा जाता है तो हिन्दुस्तान की 45 करोड़ जनता उसके वास्ते जिम्मेदार है, हम पार्लियामेंट के लोग उसके वास्ते जिम्मेदार हैं। अगर एक भी आदमी कभी किसी रेलवे ट्रेन में आतताइयों के द्वारा मारा जाता है तो यह पार्लियामेंट जिम्मेदार है। सारे देश की जनता जिम्मेदार है। एक एक नागरिक आपसे पूछ सकता है कि हमने चुनकर आपको पार्लियामेंट में भेजा है, आप हमारी सुरक्षा का क्या प्रबन्ध करते हैं? इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि समय आ गया है कि सरकार अपनी नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन करे। यह केवल रेलवे का सवाल नहीं है हीरेन्द्र मुखर्जी साहब, यह किस दिन से आततायीपन आरम्भ हुआ? जिस दिन सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह ने इस पार्लियामेंट में, अब से कुछ दिन पहले इस बात की घोषणा की कि एक महीने तक का समय माइकेल स्काट को दिया गया है करीब उसके सात दिन

के बाद से यह घटना प्रारम्भ हुई है और नागालैंड यह दिखाना चाहता है, माइकेल स्काट दिखाना चाहते हैं कि वे अवश्यम्भावी हैं। अगर हम नहीं रहेंगे तो इस प्रकार की घटनाएं होंगी और क्योंकि सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह माहब ने इस बात का उद्घोष किया कि एक महीने के अन्दर उनको जाना है तो वह साबित करना चाहते हैं कि नहीं, हम रहेंगे, हम शांति के दूत बने रहेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि जितने भी विदेशी चाहे मिशनरी के रूप में हों, चाहे हास्पिटल के डाक्टर के रूप में हों, चाहे किसी भी रूप में हों, जिनके ऊपर हमारा मन्देह है उनको आज नमस्कार करना चाहिए और उनको वहां से हटाना चाहिए.....

एक माननीय सदस्य : नमस्कार क्यों करें ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : नमस्कार से मतलब मुझ बाई से है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन हो और बड़ी कड़ाई के साथ, सख्ती के साथ वहां पर काम किया जाये। अगर सख्ती के साथ काम आप नहीं लेंगे तो आज तो एक जगह चिनगारी जली है, यह चिनगारी फैलने लगेगी। मीजो हिल्स में फैलेगी, लुशाए हिल्स में फैलेगी और असम में फैलेगी। फैलते फैलते ऐसा न हो कि आज जो यह चिनगारी है का एक महा ज्वाला के रूप में हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा पर भभक उठे। इस चिनगारी के ज्वाला बन कर भभकने से पहले इस के ऊपर पानी डालिये। अगर आप इस के ऊपर पानी डाल कर इन ज्वाला को शांत नहीं करेंगे तो यह ज्वाला हम को भी खा सकती है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शीघ्र से शीघ्र इस चिनगारी को समाप्त किया जाये और बुझा दिया जाये।

नागा लोगों के पास आखिरीकार हथियार आये कहां से? एक स्टेटमेंट में कहा है कि फ्रांस के थै और फ्रांस के पास से हथियार आये। फिर कहा जाता है कि विदेशों से हथियार

आये। पाकिस्तान में इन की ट्रेनिंग होती है। पाकिस्तान में यह चले आते हैं बर्मा में जब चाहें तब चले जाते हैं जैसे मालूम पड़ता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के भ्रम नहीं हैं, हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा नहीं है। नागा लोगों से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप भारतीय नागरिक हैं, आप हमारे भाई हैं। अगर आप के ऊपर कोई अत्याचार होता है तो उस के वास्ते हम को बड़ा दुःख होता है। लेकिन आप भी भारतीय नागरिक बनने का उत्तरदायित्व स्वीकार कीजिये। यदि आप भारतीय नागरिक हैं तो आप हम से अपेक्षा कर सकते हैं कि हम आप के साथ हैं। लेकिन एक तरफ आप भारतीय नागरिक नहीं होना चाहते एक तरफ आप कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान हमारा देश नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान के साथ हम विद्रोह करेंगे इस सरकार को उलटेंगे तो मैं चाणक्य के शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि दण्ड नीति का आश्रय लेना श्रेयस्कर होगा। अतएव न सरकार से यह निवेदन अन्त में करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने उन को बड़ी लम्बी डोर दी है। इंडिपेंडेंस डे मना लीजिए। आप हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक हैं, इंडिपेंडेंस डे 26 जनवरी का नहीं, 15 अगस्त का नहीं अपना इंडिपेंडेंस मना लीजिये, अपना झंडा आप टांग लीजिये मेरा कहना है कि इस प्रकार की निबल नीति से काम नहीं चलेगा। इस कमजोर नीति का हमको परित्याग करना होगा नहीं तो आप समझ लीजिये कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता आज बहुत जागरूक है और वह इस तरह की कमजोर और दब्लूपन की नीति को कभी चलने नहीं देगी।

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : अध्यक्ष महोदय,...

श्री प्रिय गुप्त (कटिहार) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं लेबर क्लाम को रिप्रेजेंट करता हूँ और मैंने सुबह चांस देने के लिए आप से प्रार्थना भी की थी.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कौन-कौन साहब बोलेंगे? इसका पहले फैसला कर लेना चाहिए था।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He had made a request to you in the morning that he may be given at least some time. You have restricted the time to 10 minutes. Shri Hem Barua is speaking on behalf of our party. You may give him five minutes.

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले यह जो दुखद घटनायें हुई हैं और उन में जो लोग मरे उन के प्रति और संतप्त परिवार के प्रति ममवेदना प्रकट करते हुए मैं सरकार को इस बात के ऊपर बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधियों के कार्य-स्थगन प्रस्ताव के नामजूर होने के बाद भी सरकार अपनी तरफ से यह प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने लाई। उन दुखदपूर्ण घटनाओं पर बहस करने के लिए सरकार यह प्रस्ताव इस सदन में लाई है। इस का मतलब यह है कि आज जो देश के अन्दर खासतौर से उस हिस्से में जो हो रहा है उस से सरकार के ऊपर किस हद तक असर है यह इस बात को साबित करता है। मैं इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सवाल को सरकार कोई पार्टी का सवाल या केवल सरकार का सवाल न समझ कर सारे सदन के लोगों के विचार को लेकर उस सवाल का हल निकालना चाहती है और यह सरकार की तरफ से जो मोशन आया है प्रस्ताव आया है उससे साबित हो जाता है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस मौके पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक इन घटनाओं का संबंध है यह बहुत मार्क की बात है कि जब जब हमारे देश के अन्दर नागा विद्रोहियों के नेताओं से या पीस मिशन के जो लोग हैं उन की वार्ता जब यहाँ हमारे देश में चलती है उस के बाद, उसके कुछ दिन बाद या उस के पहले या इस समय इस तरीके की घटनाएं हुआ करती हैं इस से दो बातें साबित होनी हैं। एक तो यह कि जो नागा विद्रोही हैं जो पीस मिशन बना है उनके नेता ऐसा काम करते हैं कि उन में वह विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। उन के विचार कुछ दूसरे हैं या वह शांति के

रास्ते में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं और वह अशांति के रास्ते से अपनी समस्या का समाधान करना चाहते हैं या दूसरी बात यह है कि इस तरीके की एक साजिश है कि उनके कुछ लोग उधर बातचीत करते रहें और कुछ लोग इस तरीके की विध्वंसक नीति को अपना कर के सरकार के ऊपर दबाव डालें कि जो कुछ वह चाहते हैं वह उस को प्राप्त कर सकें।

इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह बात ठीक है तो ऐसी हालत में जो वहाँ पर रेलवे के चलाने की सुरक्षा की बात है, रेलवे की सम्पत्ति की सुरक्षा की बात है या देश के उस हिस्से की सुरक्षा की जो बात है उस के संबंध में आज तक जो कुछ भी व्यवस्थायें हुई हैं यह साफ इस से मालूम होता है कि आज एक नये तरीके की इस तरीके की घटनाएं अब हो रही हैं जैसे गाड़ी के अंदर बम्ब रखकर, गाड़ी के अंदर विस्फोट करना या लाइन को उखाड़ देना और इस तरीके से आगे जो पुल इत्यादि हैं वह तोड़ये तो इस तरह की जो घटनाएं हो रही हैं उन के संबंध में हमें बहुत गहराई से सोचना चाहिए और हमें रेलगाड़ियों, रेल सम्पत्ति आदि की सुरक्षा के लिए माकूल व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। हम उस एरिया के अन्दर फौज की भी मदद ले सकते हैं। हमने रेलवे प्रॉटक्शन फॉर्स भी लगाई है। जैसा कि रेलवे के मंत्री जी ने कहा कि हमने रेलवे के कर्मचारियों को भी लाइन और पुल वगैरह की देखभाल के लिए लगाया है हालांकि उस के बावजूद भी जो यह घटनाएं हो रही हैं तो उससे एक बात साबित हो जाती है कि आज जो भी व्यवस्था है उससे कुछ और अधिक व्यवस्था करनी होगी।

रेलवे मंत्री महोदय ने यह बतलाया कि अगर हम इन 34 या 40 स्टेशनो के ऊपर लोगों की तलाशी लेंगे जहाँ कि मैकडों और हजागों लोग जाते हैं तो वह सम्भव नहीं हो सकता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह सम्भव नहीं है अगर इस में

दिवक्त है तो कुछ और तरीका सोचा जाए। मैं समझता हूँ कि जबकि ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हुई है तो बाबर न ही तो फिलहाल इस तरह का कुछ न कुछ तरीका अपनाना चाहिए जिससे कि यह विस्फोट की भीड़ों लेकर कोई भी व्यक्ति रेल के डिब्बे में या स्टेशन के ऐरिया में दाखिल न हो सके। इस के संबंध में विचार करके कुछ रूकावट पैदा करनी चाहिए।

आखिर में अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ। एक बात तो यह कि इस संबंध में बात करते हुए प्रोफेसर हीरेन मुकर्जी ने हमदर्दी की बात की।

जो लोग या जिनके द्वारा यह घटनाएं होती हैं मैं ने यही समझा कि जो लोग इस घटना में शामिल हैं या जो उस के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं उसके प्रति जैसे रेलवे मंत्री ने कहा या जैसा श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ने कहा कि हमें सख्त कदम उठाने चाहिए। जो लोग इस तरह की हरकतों में शामिल हैं चाहे वह कोई हों, नागा विद्रोही हों या कोई भी हों वह हमारे देश के दुश्मन हैं उन के प्रति कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही हमें करनी चाहिए इस बात में कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि जहां उन को यह कहना चाहिए था वहां वह इस तरह के लोगों के प्रति हमदर्दी की बातें करते हैं। जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ श्री मुकर्जी जैसा नेता राजनीति में जिम नीति को काम में लाते हैं और मैं उसका खूब अच्छे तरीके से समझ सकता हूँ कि जहां भी कोई गड़बड़ करता है अगर कोई गड़बड़ी पैदा होती है तो उनकी हमदर्दी जो लोग उगमे परेशान होते हैं या जो उनके बचाव के लिए जाते हैं उनके प्रति नहीं होती है बल्कि जो गड़बड़ी करते हैं और उनके प्रति जब सख्त कार्यवाही होती है तो उन परराजक और परराज्यी तत्वों के प्रति उनकी हमदर्दी होती है। इस बात को अच्छे तरीके से समझ लेना चाहिए और मैं आशा कर देना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो विध्वंसक नीति देश में

चलाई जाती है, चाहे चलाने वाला कोई भी हो उस से किसी का फायदा नहीं हो सकता है और प्रोफेसर मुकर्जी का भी फायदा नहीं हो सकता है।

इसके साथ साथ अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने सरकार के फ्लोर की बात की। उन्होंने ये कहा कि रेलवे मंत्रालय या रेलवे के लोगों ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया। एक तरफ तो उन्होंने रेलवे की बड़ी तारीफ की। यह भी एक नीति है क्या रेलवेज भारत सरकार का हिस्सा नहीं है। रेलवे में जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं वह सरकार का हिस्सा हैं। उन्होंने ज्वाइंट रिसर्पौसबिल्टी की बात की। रेलवे भारत सरकार का एक भ्रग है। हो सकता है कि रेलवे ने कुछ अच्छा काम किया है, दूसर मुहकमे में कुछ कमी हुई है। जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में कोई कमी नहीं हुई है। एक नई तरीके की घटना हुई है जिसका कि मुकाबला हमको करना है। उन्होंने रेलवे की तारीफ की जोकि सरकार का दूसरा महकमा है। ज्वाइंट रिसर्पौसबिल्टी की बात करते हुए सरकार की उन्होंने निन्दा की और प्रालोचना की और उन्होंने ख़ास तौर से प्रधान मंत्री की प्रालोचना की और कहा कि वह कमजोर नीति अपनाती है। श्री मुकर्जी को मैं कहूंगा कि जहां तक मेरी सरकार का मवाल है और कांग्रेस पार्टी का मवाल है मैं यह माफ शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरीके के जो मवाल हमारे सामने आते हैं या आवेंगे उस मोके पर प्रोफेसर मुकर्जी या कोई भी हों इस देश के अन्दर इस बात को अच्छी तरीके से समझने लें कि चाहे वह भवे ही अपने मन में उन्हें कमजोर नेता समझें लेकिन जहां भी इस प्रकार का मोका आवेगा और आवश्यकता महसूस होगी हम सख्त नीति बनेंगे और जो भी इस तरह की परराजकता और तोड़फोड़ व विध्वंसक कार्यवाही करने वाला होगा उस के प्रति कठिन से कठिन कार्यवाही करना अपना कर्तव्य समझेंगे।

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

17 hrs.

आखिर में मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज मध्य आ गया है कि इस बात पर विचार किया जाये कि नागा विद्रोहियों के नेताओं के साथ कितने दिन तक इस तरह से हमारा वार्तालाप चलता रहेगा और देश में इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ होती रहेंगी। इस पर विचार कर के हमें कोई ठोस कदम उठाना होगा, ताकि हम वहाँ की जनता और अपनी सम्पत्ति की सुरक्षा कर सकें और वहाँ पर भी लोग उसी तरह आजादी के साथ और शान्तिपूर्वक, बिना डर और भय के रह सकें, जिस तरह भारत के किसी दूसरे हिस्से में रह सकते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप को समय देने के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Mr. Speaker, I did not like, with great respect, the undertones of my hon. friend Mr. Raghunath Singh's speech. I think it is a good thing that I am speaking because of that; there should be not the remotest suggestion that what is said in this House is inspired by any sense of communal chauvinism.

Shri Raghunath Singh: I have never suggested anything communal.

Shri Frank Anthony: Please understand me. There should not be the remotest suggestion. I think I can claim that whenever there was violence or terrorism whether by the communists or by the Hindu communalists, I have condemned it. And today I am condemning this terrorism and this violence because I am assuming that it is by the Nagas, a large number of whom happen to be Christians. The development is most unfortunate and I say this to the government: the position is not easy; it is going to be a little agonising. But in the final analysis any government

in the face of this kind of cold blooded calculated murder of defenceless men, women and children owes a duty to itself and to the country not to abdicate its authority in this matter. I do not know what my friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee was thinking of, I am not one of those who would indulge in recrimination. Some people have said that the government had dragged its feet and that the Naga problem was the making of the government because if Nagaland had been conceded earlier than it was there would have been no Naga problem. I think there is no point in traversing this kind of recriminatory ground. I would say this with great respect to my Naga friends. I know the Nagas, some of them. I have a great regard for them. They are a very fine people; upstanding, simple and courageous. They are simple; they are naive and therefore as easily misled as they are led. I remember when I was having a meeting with late Jawaharlal Nehru and we were talking about this Naga problem with some others. I do not know why he used the word, unfortunately; I rather resented that. He said fortunately or unfortunately, the only administrative officers that the Nagas trust are the Anglo-Indians, he said and unfortunately we have not enough Anglo-Indian administrative officers. But I would say today that Nagaland is a fact. The Nagas have complete autonomy; they are the arbiters of their own destiny and they can work it out politically, economically and culturally and they have this tremendous advantage that with autonomy, as it is a non-viable state, they can in working out their salvation politically, economically and culturally depend upon the resources of this great country. Because we were dealing with our own people, I refrained from talking on the Naga problem. I said: let us show patience, patience to the utmost extent. I join issue with Mr. Mukerjee when he talked about the need of humanity and statesmanship. I think the Government has shown

the maximum of humanity and statesmanship in this matter, and should continue to do so. Even when it was dealing with underground Nagas, some of us had misgivings but we would not express them. But let us show the utmost patience to these people because they are our own people. I had some misgivings. I will tell you what my misgivings were. I felt, for instance, that the attitude of the Government in its negotiations towards the Shilu Ao government was a little ham-handed, that whether they intended it or not, Shilu Ao was put on the side-lines. And I have good reasons to believe that because of the way in which Mr. Shilu Ao and his government have been treated, there has been a progressive undermining of the strength of the Shilu Ao government and the loyal Nagas.

Another misgiving that I had was this. That there should never have been this obvious blunder of associating a foreigner in the first place. What is the good of abusing this gentleman? We are taking too much notice of him. Anyhow, you bring him in, in a matter between Indians *inter se*, and bring in a foreigner. The whole thing was such an obvious blunder. I always suspect clerics who stray into politics. I believe that clerics who stray into politics are more publicity-hungry and perhaps a little more opportunist than even the professional politician. Let us cut our losses and let him go. I have met many of the Nagas. I have talked to them, and I am able to communicate with them, because fortunately like them, milk is not my staple drink. (*Interruption*). Let me say this, I have it on reasonably good authority, that for these simple people this foreign gentleman, has constituted himself into some kind of would be historian for the Nagas. I hope it is not true, but he is alleged to be digging up so-called history to affirm the Nagas in their intransigence and to make them believe that they were always independent of the British. That is there. As I said, we should not pay undue attention to

his; probably he will be a thorn in our flesh. It was a mistake. The sooner we cut our losses and not prolong the mistake, the better.

Another misgiving I had was this. During these peace negotiations, the underground Nagas were definitely strengthening their resources in men and money. And then, with great respect to the Government, I must say that a major blunder they made—I do not know under whose persuasion—was to extend the cease-fire to Manipur. There was no Naga trouble in Manipur. By extending it, it has been an open invitation to underground Nagas to terrorise the good Nagas there, to extort money from them. Now, the obvious Naga strategy is this: it is to come through Manipur, join hands with the Mizos and have easy access to Pakistan.

In passing I would say this. So far as these Mizos are concerned—I do not want to give any offence to my Assamese friends—but with great respect, I say this: I know how the minorities feel. The minorities feel, for some reason or the other, that the Assamese have made themselves unacceptable to all the minorities—the Bengalis, the Nagas and the Mizos. I say this with great respect: whatever parochial susceptibilities of the Assamese may be, do not let events overtake the Government, as they did overtake the Government in Nagaland.

I have reason to believe that the Pataskar Commission recommended that the Mizo area should be a Centrally administered area. Militarily the Assam Government cannot do anything. Economically, they will not be able to do anything. But let me say this: in the final analysis, the minority groups have faith in the Central Government, which by and large, they have not in most State administrations.

Finally, I would say this, sincerely. After all, the Nagas are our own people. They have today their destiny in

[Shri Frank Anthony]

their own hands. But, God forbid— if this kind of thing does not cease— I do not know what Mr. Mukerjee was thinking of—how is the Government going to face up to this kind of terrorism, this kind of violence? It will have to be dealt with. But when will they deal with it? God forbid— if we have to take a decision, I feel that the Naga underground must be told that "we are prepared to meet you half-way, we are prepared to meet you nine-tenths of the way, provided it is within the framework of the Indian Union. Let us know categorically whether you are prepared to discuss matters with us, within the framework of the Indian Union." If they say no, the Government will have to take a decision, and as I say, it will be an agonising decision; it will have to be a firm, stern decision. I say this with a heavy heart. This time the government will not be able to tie the hand of the army behind its back. I am in close touch with the military. I know they have resented the fact that they were not allowed a free hand. It was a pseudo-military operation. This time—God forbid—if the Naga undergrounds, because of their intransigence and because they are misled do something, the army will have to be given a completely free hand in this matter. There is going to be suffering and bloodshed. But Government will have to do it and I feel that this may be the only way ultimately in which we will have to solve this problem.

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना) : अध्यक्ष जी, उत्तर पूर्वी सोमाघों पर चार दिन में जो घटनाएँ हुईं, जिनमें लगभग 100 व्यक्ति मारे गये और बड़े व्यक्ति जो टिकट खरीद कर एक निर्दिष्ट स्थान पर पहुँचने की कल्पना के साथ रेल में बैठे, उन्हें इस बात की कल्पना नहीं थी कि किसी घटना का शिकार भी उन्हें होना पड़ेगा कि उनकी जीवन-नीला ही समाप्त हो जायगी। 100 व्यक्ति मारे और इन 100 व्यक्तियों की पृष्ठ-भूमि में

एक बहुत बड़े षडयन्त्र, विद्रोह की कहानी इस से उत्पन्न होती है। मैं आपका ध्यान अभी उम दिन प्रधान मंत्री के उस बयान की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ, जब उन्होंने कहा था कि नेताओं की शान्ति वार्ता के सन्दर्भ में कोई ऐसी बात न की जाये, जो वार्ता को घूमिल कर दे और आशाओं को कुण्ठित कर दे। कदाचित् उनकी कल्पना यह थी कि जब हम नाजुक दौर से गुजर रहे हैं, कोई बात सदन में ऐसी न की जाये, जिससे गत्यारोध पैदा हो। इस वार्ता और शान्ति की कल्पना में उसकी बेटी पर 100 प्राणों की आहुतियाँ हम दे चके हैं इन चार दिनों में।

इस विद्रोह के पीछे नागा विद्रोहियों की क्या भावना है, वे हमारे देश के साथ क्यों नहीं रहना चाहते, इस के पीछे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कौन कौन देश हैं, कौन कौन व्यक्ति हैं, इसकी पूरी खोज हमको करनी पड़ेगी, पूर्वी सीमाओं पर ऐसा षडयन्त्र क्यों है? यदि हम कभी इस तत्व को न समझे तो जैसा भाई रघुनाथसिंह ने कहा, यह चिन्गारी, यह षडयन्त्र विद्रोह के रूप में ज्वाला बन सकती है। यदि इस में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय देशों का हाथ है, विदेशी माइकल स्कॉट जैसे लोगों का हाथ है तो जमा रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने कहा, उन से नम कार करना चाहिये। मैं नमस्कार करने की बात से महमत नहीं हूँ, उन्हें माफ कह देना चाहिये कि इस भारत घर्ती को खाली कर के हमेशा हमेशा के लिये चले जाइये। फोर्ड वार्ता उन से नहीं करनी चाहिये।

यह एक छोटा सा प्रदेश है, सुन्दर प्रदेश है और जैसा हमारे एण्गनी साहब ने कहा, नागा लोग अच्छे लोग हैं। मैं उनकी इस बात से सहमत हूँ। पाँच लाख की आबादी में हजार, दो हजार, चार हजार विद्रोही नागा हो सकते हैं, लेकिन बाकी विद्रोही हो सकते हैं—विष्वाम करने का कोई कारण नहीं है। उनकी संस्कृति, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक अवस्थाओं पर हम गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार

करने को आज भी तैयार हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि वे हमारी साबंभौम सत्ता के अन्तर्गत, भारतीय संविधान के अन्तर्गत सम्मान के साथ रहें। वे हमारे भाई हैं, हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी पूर्वी सीमाओं के प्रहरी की तरह उनका स्थान हो। यदि बाहर से आक्रमण हो तो हमारे साथ रह कर उनका मुकाबला करें और इस प्रकार हमारे सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक जीवन के वे प्रहरी रहें। हम उनका आदर करना चाहते हैं और जैसा हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री महोदया ने कहा कि हम उनसे वार्ता करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इन सब भावनाओं के पीछे यदि विद्रोही तोड़-तोड़, विध्वंस और इस प्रकार सरे-आम विद्रोह का प्रदर्शन करते हैं, तो यह एक चैलेंज है, चुनौती है, यह एक ललकार है प्रजातन्त्र के विरुद्ध। दुनिया के लोग देखते हैं कि जिस शान्ति और व्यवस्था और प्रजातन्त्र की प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत हम अपने संविधान की जड़ों को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं, सब को अधिकार देना चाहते हैं कि मतभेद प्रकट करें तो शान्ति से प्रकट करें और यही कारण है कि इसी के सन्दर्भ में जब नागा नेताओं ने यह कहा कि हम असम से पृथक् हो जाना चाहते हैं, भारत माता के साथ उनके स्वतन्त्र अधिकार हों, तो उसको स्वीकार किया। स्वर्गीय प्रधान मन्त्री श्री नेहरू ने कहा कि यदि संविधान के अन्तर्गत नागालैण्ड असम से पृथक् हो कर रह सकता है, शान्ति से रह सकता है, पूर्वी सीमा के प्रहरी का काम कर सकता है, तो उनकी इस इच्छा को पूरा किया जाय। उनका विश्वास यह था कि प्रजातन्त्र में यदि कहीं से ऐसी ध्वनि आती है जहां संविधान का कोई विरोध नहीं है, प्रतिक्रिया नहीं है और देश की सीमाओं के अन्दर रहना चाहते हैं, उसको स्वीकार किया जाय, जैसे अभी हमने पंजाबी सूबा और हरियाणा सूबा को स्वीकार किया। हम जन-मानस का आदर करना चाहते हैं, उनकी भावनाओं का आदर करना चाहते और यदि संविधान के अन्तर्गत वे शान्ति और महिष्णुता के साथ रहना चाहते हैं तो हम वार्ता के लिये

तैयार हैं, लेकिन जिस प्रकार से आज की घटनायें हुई हैं, दुनिया के लोग क्या कहेंगे, भारत में इसकी क्या प्रतिक्रिया होगी। एक प्रतिक्रिया तो यह होगी कि सरकार इतनी दुर्बल हो गई है कि विद्रोहियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकती, दो-तीन हजार विद्रोहियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकती। दूसरा विचार यह हो सकता है, जैसा इस सदन में कई बार कहा गया है कि यह नागालैण्ड का प्रश्न विदेश मन्त्रालय का है या किस मिनिस्ट्री का है। आज एक निर्णय तो कम से कम कर लीजिये कि जहां तक शान्ति और सुरक्षा का प्रश्न है, ला एण्ड घाईर का प्रश्न है, इसका सम्बन्ध होम मिनिस्ट्री से है, जहां तक रेलवे और आर्थिक प्रश्नों का सम्बन्ध है, मिनिस्ट्री कन्स्टर्से से उसका सम्बन्ध है। अभी स्थिति यह है कि जितनी भी नागा समस्यायें हैं उनका सम्बन्ध विदेश मन्त्रालय से है, उसका विकेन्द्रीकरण कर देना चाहिये और जिस तरह से डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री आज उत्तरदायी है देश के डिफेन्स के मामलों में, उसी तरह से तमाम मिनिस्ट्रियों के अन्तर्गत इस प्रश्न को लाया जाय तथा ला एण्ड घाईर के प्रश्न का सम्बन्ध होम मिनिस्ट्री से है, अतः इसे उसके अन्तर्गत लाया जाय।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं माइकल स्काट के सम्बन्ध में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूं। माइकल स्काट ने एक ऐमा प्रयत्न किया कि कुछ समझौता हो जाय और जब समझौते की वार्ता यहां बार बार हुई तो उन्होंने नेतृत्व किया, लेकिन जब यूनाइटेड नेशन्स के प्रधान सचिव से उन्होंने इस प्रश्न को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न बनाने का अनुरोध किया और बर्मा के प्रधान को विरोध पत्र लिखा, इससे उनकी डम प्रतिक्रिया के दर्शन हुए कि ये तो इस षडयन्त्र में बहुत बड़े भागीदार हैं। जिन नागाओं की तरफ से वह आकर शान्ति वार्ता करना चाहते थे और शान्ति मिशन के एक सदस्य के नाते जब वे उन विद्रोही नागाओं की पार्टी बन गये हैं, तथा वे विद्रोही नागा आज स्वतन्त्र

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

राष्ट्र की मांग करते हैं, इससे ज्यादा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय षड्यन्त्र और कोई नहीं हो सकता। आपने एक महीने के लिये उनको क्यों अग्रिधिकार दिया कि वे यहां रहें, एक महीने में आठ रोज के अन्दर तो यह हुआ, अभी 22 रोज और बाकी हैं, इस प्रवास में न जाने और क्या करेंगे। विद्रोहियों को और ज्यादा भड़का सकते हैं, और न जाने क्या कह सकते हैं। इस लिये आप आज निर्णय कीजिये—चाहे स्वर्ण सिंह कहें, चाहे प्रधान मन्त्री जी कहें, आज हमारे सदन का यह निर्णय है कि माइकल स्काट को कह दें कि आप यहां से जाइये। अगर उनके पास पैसा न हो तो टिकट कटा दीजिये, एयर इण्डिया से कहिये कि उनको ले जाये। कोई भी विदेशी, जैसा हमारे एग्जनी साहब ने कहा, किसी भी विदेशी को हमारे यहां किसी वर्ग विशेष के बीच में बैठ कर हमारी सार्वभौम सत्ता के विरुद्ध षड्यन्त्र का अग्रिधिकार नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये।

जहां तक शान्ति मिशन का सम्बन्ध है—जय प्रकाश बाबू ने अपना हाथ खींच लिया। उनको बार बार निमन्त्रण दिया जा रहा है लेकिन वे इस तत्व को ममझ गये हैं कि उनको इस काम में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये। आज यह निर्णय कीजिये कि शान्ति मिशन हम भंग करते हैं, शान्ति मिशन की ओर से वार्ता का माध्यम स्वीकार नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, लेकिन एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मन्त्री को यदि विश्वास हो और वे आशवासन दें, अपने कर्म से, वचन से और भावना से अगर वह पश्चाताप करें कि इस विद्रोह में हमारा हाथ था, तब उनसे वार्ता कीजिये। यदि इस प्रकार का प्रायश्चित्त न करे, इस प्रकार से आकर अपनी गलती को न माने, इसको कनफेस न करे, यह न कहे कि इसके पीछे विद्रोहियों का हाथ है तो आप वार्ता के दरवाजे बन्द कर दीजिये और सख्ती से काम जिलीये, मजबूती से काम लीजिये।

हमारे रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने कहा है कि राजनीति और दण्ड नीति में विभेद है। चाणक्य ने भी यही कहा था। प्रजातन्त्र के कुछ उमूल भी हैं, कुछ बुनियादें भी हैं और हम भी बहुत सीमा तक आगे जाना चाहते हैं और हमें जाना भी चाहिये जहां तक शान्ति का सम्बन्ध है, प्रजातन्त्रीय प्रणाली का सम्बन्ध है, उनमें भाई चारे के सम्बन्ध रखने का सम्बन्ध है, बातचीत का सम्बन्ध है लेकिन जब एक खुला विद्रोह होता हो, जब लोगों की जानें ली जाती हों, जब मासूम लोग, इन्फैंट लोग मारे जा रहे हों और जब एक प्रकार से प्रजातन्त्र को ललकारा जा रहा हो, उम समय हमें सचेत हो जाना चाहिये और सचेत होने के साथ साथ बड़ी कठोरता के साथ दण्ड नीति से काम लेकर उसको दबा देना चाहिये।

नागाओं से हमें बड़ा प्यार है। नागाओं से जहां तक शान्ति वार्ता का सम्बन्ध है, जहां तक शान्ति की बात का सम्बन्ध है, संविधान के उद्देश्यों का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, भाई भाई की तरह रहने की प्रक्रिया का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, हम बहुत दूर तक जा सकते हैं। वे हमारे भाई हैं। हम उनकी सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, तमाम जो महत्वाकांक्षायें हैं, उनको पूरा करने का आशवासन भी दे सकते हैं। अगर वे कहे कि उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं है, उनकी सांस्कृतिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं, उनकी सामाजिक अवस्थायें ठीक नहीं हैं तो हम कहेंगे कि सरकार अधिक से अधिक सुविधायें उन्हें प्रदान करने का प्रबन्ध करे। हम भूखे भी रह लेंगे लेकिन उनको भूखा रहने नहीं देंगे। यह प्रजातन्त्र की देन हो सकती है। लेकिन अगर भारतीय प्रभुसत्ता को वे चुनौती देते हैं विदेशी षड्यन्त्रकारियों के प्रभाव में आकर या भड़काव में पड़ कर और स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र की मांग पर अड़े रहते हैं तो हमें स्पष्ट शब्दों में कह देना चाहिये कि अब वार्ता के दरवाजे सदैव के लिए बन्द कर दिये गये हैं।

आजकल रेलवे प्रापर्टी ऐसी प्रापर्टी मान ली गई है, ऐसी सम्पत्ति मान ली गई है कि जिस को देखो, अपना भुरसा प्रकट करने के लिए वह इम को तोड़ रहा है। गुस्सा प्रकट करने के लिये वह कहता है कि तोड़ो इसको, तोड़ो रेलवे लाइन को। चाहे बंगाल का बन्द हो, चाहे विद्रोहियों का प्रदर्शन हो जहां कहीं भी भारत में किसी भी तबके को देखो, किसी भी दल को देखो, चाहे वह छोटा हो या बड़ा हो, वह जब बन्द का नारा देता है तो देखा यही जाता है कि रेलवे प्रापर्टी को, रेलवे सम्पत्ति को तोड़ा जाता है। वहीं सिगनल तोड़े जाते हैं, कहीं दूसरी सम्पत्ति को नुकसान पहुंचाया जाता है। इस तोड़ फोड़ की कार्रवाई में न जाने क्या दुर्भाग्य है इस रेलवे की सम्पत्ति का कि जिस को देखो वही कहता है तोड़ो इसको। कोई इस बात तक का ध्यान नहीं रखता है कि इस में सोते जागते यात्री यात्रा कर रहे हैं, छोटे छोटे बच्चे यात्रा कर रहे हैं, हमारी मातायें और बहनें यात्रा कर रही हैं और वे भी इसका शिकार होती हैं। यह एक विवेक की बात है। पता नहीं इस विवेक की बात को क्यों नहीं स्वीकार किया जाता है। रेलवे सम्पत्ति ने आखिर उनका क्या बिगाड़ा होता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस प्रकार का विद्रोह होता है तो उसके दमन के लिए, उसके शमन के लिए बड़ी सख्ती से आप को कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। वरना यह प्रजातन्त्र जो हमारा है, इसका नींव ही डगमगा जाएगी। इसको आप डगमगाने न दें। सार्वभौम सत्ता के लिए हमने बड़ी कुर्बानियां दी हैं। इन सौ आदमियों ने जो कुर्बानी दी इसको हम भूल नहीं सकते हैं। इनके प्रति हम अपनी श्रद्धांजलि भेंट करते हैं और प्रार्थना करते हैं कि आप विद्रोहियों को पराजित करें।

श्री रामसेवक षादब (बाराबकी) :
पाटिल साहब के भाषण को मैं बड़े गौर से सुन रहा था। उन्होंने एक बात सौ फीसदी सही कही कि यह रेल मन्त्रालय का काम नहीं है, उसका मामला नहीं है। जब वह बोल रहे

थे तो प्रधान मन्त्री की तरफ वह ताक रहे थे और वह यह बतलाना चाहते थे कि भारत सरकार का इमके पीछे हाथ है। अपनी दुल-मुल नीति के कारण इम तरह की घट नये वह खुद करवा रही है। यह मामला जब वह कहते हैं कि रेल मन्त्रालय का नहीं है, तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह मामला विदेश मन्त्रालय का है या कहा जा सकता है कि गृह मन्त्रालय का है और या फिर यह यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह समूचा मामला भारत सरकार का है और नागा नीति के सम्बन्धित है, उसके साथ साथ यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि नागा नीति जब तक ठीक नहीं की जाती है तब तक मैं समझता हूँ कि इम समस्या का समाधान भी ठीक से नहीं हो सकेगा।

नीति में कहीं दोष है। अगर दोष न होता तो फिजो जो एक बार अजाद हिन्द फौज में था वह आज विद्रोही न बन गया होता। इसी तरह ने नागा नीति जो है वह कोई नीति रही ही नहीं। यह नीति तृप्टीकरण की और दमन की नीति रही है। कभी दमन और कभी तृप्टि की। अग्नि की दिशा में बराबर सरकार चलती रही है। मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। 1950 और 1951 में स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू और बर्मा के प्रधान मंत्री की कोहिमा में एक मिली-जुली सभा हुई। उसमें नागा विद्रोही आए और वे चाहते थे कि एक आवेदन पत्र प्रधान मंत्री को दें लेकिन अधिकारियों ने अपने तीखे रुख और घमंड के कारण उनको वह आवेदनपत्र प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं देने दिया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि वह आवेदनपत्र प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं दिया जा सका। फल इसका यह हुआ कि जब तक बर्मा के प्रधान मंत्री बोलते रहे तब तक तो वे मुनते रहे लेकिन जैसे ही भारत के प्रधान मंत्री बोलने के लिए खड़े हुए वे उठ कर चले गये और वहीं से सरकार ने दमन की नीति अपनाती शुरू कर दी। इस दमन की नीति की एक मिसाल मैं देना चाहता हूँ। इसी सदन के दो माननीय सदस्य श्री रिशंग किशिंग

[श्री रामसेवक यादव]

जो आज कल कांग्रेस में हैं और माननीय डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया उस समय मनीपुर जेल में थे। वहाँ पर जब नागा विद्रोहियों से बातचीत हुई तो उन्होंने बताया कि किस तरह से वहाँ पर अधिकारियों की ओर से महिलाओं के साथ बलात्कार हो रहा है। इसका कारण यह था कि रूख में परिवर्तन आया था। एक तो यह दिशा थी। उसके बाद दूसरी दिशा बदलती है। उसमें क्या होता है? मार्च, 1966 में जब नागा विद्रोही जीप में हथियार और विस्फोटक पदार्थ लेकर जाते हैं तो बजाय इसके कि उनको रोका जाए, असम के मुख्य मंत्री उनको आजादी से डे जाने देते हैं, उनके खिलाफ कोई मामला दर्ज नहीं किया जाता है। एक तरफ दमन और दूसरी तरफ तुष्टि। व्यावहारिक और उचित नीति जो नागाओं के प्रति बरती जानी चाहिये उसको आज सरकार नहीं बरत रही है और उसका परिणाम हमारे सामने आ रहा है।

इसी तरह से जब विदेश मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री विद्रोही नागाओं से बात करते हैं तो ऐसा लगता है कि ये लोग स्वप्न की दुनिया में टहल रहे हैं, स्वप्न की दुनिया में रह रहे हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि नागा लोग कहते कुछ हैं और ये सुनते कुछ और ही हैं। माइकल स्काट कहते हैं कि मैंने माफी नहीं मांगी और प्रधान मंत्री सुनती हैं कि माफी मांग ली है। कहा जाता है कि शान्ति कायम हो रही है, शान्ति की तरफ हम बढ़ रहे हैं लेकिन घटनायें यह साबित करती हैं कि कोई शान्ति नहीं होती है। एक तरह से अव्यावहारिक जगत में, स्वप्नों की दुनिया में यह सरकार बराबर चलती जा रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस चीज पर साँच विचार करे।

इस घटना को आप लें। पिछले चार दिन के अन्दर दो बड़ी घटनायें घटी हैं, भयंकर घटनायें घटी हैं। श्री पाटिल साहब ने

कहा है कि ये जो विस्फोटक पदार्थ थे, वे विदेशी थे यहाँ के नहीं थे। बड़ी गम्भीरता से, बड़ी तेजी से इसी सदन में 21 तारीख को माननीय गम सुभग सिंह जी ने कहा था कि ये विस्फोटक पदार्थ कहीं बाहर से आये होंगे। मैं आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ जो उन्होंने कहा था। उन्होंने साफ साफ कहा :

“ये जो इतने ताकतवर विस्फोटक पदार्थ आते हैं ये कहीं न कहीं से तो आते ही होंगे, बाहर से आते ही होंगे और इसमें ऐसे लोगों का जाल है जिसको साधारण जाल नहीं कहा जा सकता है, कोई बड़ा जाल मालूम होता है।”

अब आप देखें कि इसके ठीक उल्टा गृह मंत्री श्री नन्दा जी ने कहा था। उन्होंने कहा था :

“These explosives can be made here also”.

उन्होंने कहा कि ये यह भी बन सकते हैं। क्या दो प्रकार के मंत्रीमंडल यहाँ हैं? एक मंत्री कहता है कि बाहर के बने हुए हैं और दूसरा कहता है कि नहीं, यहाँ बन सकते हैं एवं स्थिति को गम्भीर बतलाते हैं। सही मानों में स्थिति गम्भीर है लेकिन दूसरे मंत्री उस स्थिति को उस रूप में देखने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, उस रूप में उस पर गौर करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

श्री नन्दा ने 21 अप्रैल को दो तरह के बयान दिये और परस्पर विरोधी बयान दिये। एक तो उन्होंने कहा कि 1963 में इस तरह की दो घटनायें घटीं और 1964 में उनकी संख्या बढ़ गई। फिर कहते हैं कि 1966 में जो शान्ति की बातचीत चली उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि इस तरह की घटनाओं में कमी आई है। लेकिन यह

कमी भाई प्रतीत नहीं होती है। या तो उनका यह कथन सही है कि इनमें कमी बाका हुई है या यह बात सही है कि जब नागाओं से बातचीत करते हैं तो उसमें तारतम्य नहीं होता है, कोई रिश्ता नहीं होता है और वे भूल जाया करते हैं कि स्थिति 1963 से से बराबर बिगड़ी जा रही है, बराबर इस प्रकार की घटनायें बढ़ती जा रही हैं और सरकार लोगों की जान माल की रक्षा करने में असफल हुई है। शान्ति वार्ता जब चलती है उस से यह साफ जाहिर होता है कि यह सरकार दो दो दिमागों से काम ले रही है, एक दिमाग तो यह कहता है कि आज जो शान्ति वार्ता चल रही है वह शान्ति वार्ता ठीक नहीं है और दूसरा यह समझता है कि नहीं, यह शान्ति वार्ता ठीक है, और इस पूरी समस्या पर अच्छी तरह सोच विचार करना आवश्यक है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार अपनी नीतियों में बदलाव करे और नागा समस्या के बारे में नुप्टीकरण और दमन की जो नीति चल रही है, उससे काम चलने वाला नहीं है और जो घटनायें घटी हैं, उससे सरकार की साफ साफ असफलता प्रकट हो जाती है।

आज भारत सरकार कहती है कि भारत रक्षा कानून का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है वह सीमावर्ती प्रदेशों से हटने वाला नहीं। दूसरे भारत रक्षा कानून के तहत सरकार की सीधी जिम्मेदारी हो जाया करती है खास तौर से नागालैण्ड के बारे में जहाँ एक प्रकार से केन्द्र की भी जिम्मेदारी आती है। गृह मंत्री नन्दा जी कहते हैं कि ये सारी घटनायें जो घट रही हैं जहाँ तक नागालैण्ड का सम्बन्ध है, उनके प्रति भारत सरकार की विशेष जिम्मेदारी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत सरकार अपनी नीति में और अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करने में पूर्णतया असफल रही है

Shri Basumatari (Goalpara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this question is a very grave one. I have been listening to the speeches of different hon. Members. What I have been able to follow from their speeches is that they have not been able to understand the proper aspects of this problem.

Somebody said that it was done only by the Nagas and somebody said that it was done by the Mizo tribals. But it is not only confined to the Mizo and the Naga tribals. It is clear from the statement of the Railway Minister that there is the hand of foreigners in this. How to solve the problem is the question before us. If you want to solve the problem by the disintegration of the whole State of Assam, I do not think there will be end in it. That is not the solution.

Some Members referred to the recommendations of the Pataskar Report. There, he has recommended about the whole of the tribal area. On the top of it, he had written a letter to the Prime Minister and also to the Home Minister suggesting for creating a Centrally-administered area for the Mizo Hills. By this, we are not going to solve the problem. It will only get out of control and will do more harm than good. If this is the way of administration, I do not know how we will solve the problem.

Many of my friends, specially hon. Mr. Anthony and Prof. Ranga said that minority has no faith in the Assam Government. It is a dangerous statement. I have heard some of the hon. Members saying the other day that the NEFA people have also no faith in us and somebody said that the Naga people have no faith in us. This way of expressing an opinion by the hon. Members, including responsible Members like Prof. Ranga and Mr. Anthony who are important

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Members, is very unfortunate, to create a discontent and hatred towards Assam which will later on lead to a discontent and hatred towards India also.

Now, coming to the Hill people, the hon. Member, Mr. Swell... (*Interruption*). I do not know why you call him as Dr. Swell—he is not a Doctor . . .

Mr. Speaker: In future, I will address Mr. Basumatari also as Doctor.

Shri Basumatari: Anyhow, he is my good friend and he raised that matter.

Now, I have gone through the gist of the Pataskar Report—I have not gone through the whole Report as it is not yet available—and there it is clearly stated about the situations. If you go District by District, this is the position. About the North Cachar District, it is entirely Congress and the people there are against the movement of a separate Hill State. Similarly, about the Mikir District, it is entirely Congress. They do not believe in the movement of a separate Hill State. Coming to the Garo District, there also you will find that only 20 per cent are under the missionary influence who are only supporting the movement of a separate Hill State. Others are not supporting it. (*Interruption*). Please, don't interrupt me. I do not like to refer to religion because I have faith in every religion. There also, out of four Members in the Assembly, one is a Congress, one is an Independent and only two Members support the movement.

Sir, we have to consider all the aspects of the problem. We have the tribals in the hills as also in the

plains in the State of Assam. If you do not strengthen the hands of the Assam Government, I do not think the Centre can do anything. This question should be looked into. The other day I was very sorry to hear a remark made here that the Peace Mission had been brought to the level of talking to the Prime Minister. I would say that it is good, and it is a success of our Chief Minister Shri Chaliha. But I cannot support the role played by Mr. Scott. It is reported that some important representations from Manipur and the Chief Minister of Nagaland were not properly received in Delhi. We do not understand why the cease-fire has been extended to Manipur, where there has been no trouble at all. I happened to meet some of the friends from Manipur, and they have given me to understand that they have not been given a chance to speak to our Prime Minister in a heart to heart manner, but only those people who came with the idea of seceding from India were given such a chance. My point is that you do not give a chance to those who embrace you, but you are giving a chance to those people who come with dagger and sword. These are the facts to be considered. We should consider where the defect lies. I would request our leaders to consider and discuss this point not only with the members of the cabinet but also with the people from this area; after all, they are also the important persons who represent this area. But our Government are not doing this.

The other day, I had said somewhere that from the very beginning, Government had been misled by the officer there. By 'officer' I mean the ICS officers who were against our Independent movement. I know one such officer. He was a D.C. there, It was Mr Calver Hoe; He was a Anglo-Jew. I know him very well I know how he had misled the Government. He was the D.C. of my

district, Kamrup, and after some time he was transferred to the Naga Hills. He was the man who misled the Government of India, and he was the man who misled Government with the help of some hostile Nagas there.

At the time when Mr. Phizo wanted to speak to Prime Minister Nehru personally and he said that he believed in non-violence, and he said also that he was a good disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, but that man was not allowed to see great leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. A similar thing happened for a second time also when the leader of the AICC was there. The people had collected there; I was also there at that time. All the Nagas had collected; they took us about sixteen miles away into the interior, and they gave us good food and all that. They wanted to see Mr. Dhebar and talk to him, but the surprising thing was that the people whom we had collected were not allowed to see him. That was what happened.

Mr. Dhebar went from the Congress organisation, on the request of Mr. Phizo. When Mr. Phizo was told that he could not see the Prime Minister, he said that he would like to see at least the head of the Congress organisation. So, it was on his request that we had requested the president of the Congress to see him. So, a large number of people had collected there, whom we now term as Naga hostiles. But ultimately what happened was that they were not allowed to see him, and the people had to disperse. In fact, I was about to be killed on the charge that I was just a liar; they said to me, "you told us that we could meet the head of the Congress organisation, but we are not allowed to meet him. What is all this?". Only the officer with his petty clerks who had been taught like parrots to say what DC wanted them to say had come to see the President of the Congress, Mr. Dhebar. This is the way in which things have deteriorated. These are the mistakes done by the Centre, and not by the State.

There was also a time when there was propoganda here against the State Government and it is the propoganda against the State Government which is at the root of all the troubles that we are facing now. I do not believe that there was any strong movement of hill tribes before. The idea of hill tribes was a forgotten thing. The hill tribes movement was a forgotten thing. But after Nagaland has been allowed to spring up, these people also are girding up their loins and asking for this. This is a mischievous thing. This is the most amazing thing. Government do not understand where the mistake lies.

I am sorry to say also that the papers are also not helping India; they are not national at all. What do we see in the papers? If a non-hostile Naga says something, makes a statement, they give little or no publicity to it. But if a hostile Naga says something, columns are filled with it. This is the way the press is discharging its duty. This is the way they are promoting national feeling. This is the whole mistake.

I therefore appeal to our Prime Minister to look into the gravity of the situation. She should not believe in dealing only with Nagas who have weapons in their hands who threaten violence, ignoring those who are peaceful, who are national, who believe in national unity and integration. This policy must change. Then only we can solve this problem.

Shri Hem Barua: The tragedy enacted at Lunding and Diphu stations positively by the Naga hostiles is something that is very sad. At the same time, it is something that more than meets the eye.

Explosives were there. Human bodies were separated into bits and pieces. Some of the limbs were thrown to some 200—500 feet away. It was a ghastly sight. A dead body was blown off onto the roof of the

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railway station. There were charred bodies lying by the side of the rail track. These are the things that are happening under the auspices of the revolutionary Nagas.

Now I have a complaint to make against the railway authorities at Lumding also. What happened when there was no light and everything was dark due to this explosion? The entire railway platform was covered by the smoke of the explosion for full one hour. Even the district officer of the particular station—Lumding is the district headquarters of that particular district—took one hour to appear on the scene. Even when he appeared, he did not make any arrangement for lighting the place.

What happened? No ambulance was provided to carry the people who were groaning under acute pain in the platform to the hospital. As a matter of fact, the district hospital had ambulance cars. These should have been provided to carry these injured people groaning under acute pain on the platform. I must congratulate those young men from the Lumding bazar who came to the spot and carried the injured people to the hospital; some of them carried them on their backs; some of the injured were carried in stretchers. In the process of carrying them, I know as many as 7 persons died.

As a matter of fact, as soon as an accident of this sort takes place at a particular station, the railway authorities should blow the siren, put it on the air. But the siren at Lumding did not go in the air. It was silent all the time.

Secondly, what happened? The district medical officer or the assistant medical officer did not attend to the injured. In the veranda, the injured people were dumped. Two junior doctors attended to more than 150 injured who were dumped in the

veranda. The district medical officer and assistant medical officer did not appear on the scene. These are very tragic things. Therefore, I point out these things.

Then what happened? During the night, no search was made for dead bodies, the victims of this tragedy. It was only in the next morning that a search was made for the dead bodies of these persons. Some people who were hit might have been alive during the night, but because they were neglected, they possibly died. I would say it is a callous disregard to human life on the part of Government.

What happened that day on the floor of the House? The Minister of State told us—it was on the 21st—that he was rushing down to Gauhati and Lumding and all that. But what actually happened? He went to Bihar, toured some places and then reached Gauhati only yesterday, after the second explosion at Diphu station had taken place.

I would say that these tragic incidents are not isolated events. They are part of a grand strategy on the part of the Naga hostiles to disrupt and paralyse the arteries of communications in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam. There are people who have expressed doubts that the Naga hostiles might not be there. I have conclusive proof to establish that the Naga hostiles have masterminded these incidents.

I made a pointed reference to the incident of 7th March when a jeep bearing the nameplate of the Nagaland Government—it was Jeep No. 12—was intercepted at Jorhat. In the jeep there was the self-styled Minister for Food and Agriculture of the so-called Naga Federal Government, the Home Minister of the so-called Federal Government was there, the Home Secretary of the so-called Federal Government was there, and a brigadier was there, and certain docu-

ments and papers were seized from these people. I still maintain these people, the so-called Ministers of the Naga Federal Government, were released by the police at Jorhat at the intervention of Mr. Chaliha, on whom, unfortunately, Gandhism has descended too heavily.

These papers give a very clear picture of the grand strategy, the entire strategy, how they want to disrupt and paralyse the arteries of communications in the valley.

There is a report also—these papers are with the police, I know—an eye witness account, the account of a man who was himself involved, who was in charge of carrying out that programme at Furkating on the 17th February. Here he gives a vivid account of how that programme was carried out, and how people were killed. I know our Railway Minister has said that 53 persons or 56 persons were killed on that occasion, but if you read the report that was captured, intercepted, by our police at Jorhat from these Naga leaders, the so-called Ministers, these papers will conclusively prove one thing, that they were not only implicated or involved in it, but also another thing, that according to the report not less than 250 people were killed at Furkating on 17th February. I have great doubts about your number also. Excuse me for saying like that.

When this was computed for Lumding, for instance—originally it was 55—did you take into account the limbs that were blown off and were hanging on the cables, the wires, did you take into account the heads that were blown off, did you take into account the intestines that were blown off, and try to establish the number? You did not do that. Only those human bodies that were whole, with the loss of a limb possibly, were counted, and the rest was not counted.

I would say that our intelligence has also failed. Even after the discovery of the grand strategy of the Naga hostiles to create a sort of tragic

situation in the Assam valley, our intelligence department men could not connect the two incidents that took place at Lumding and at Diphu.

There are doubts in the minds of some people that possibly there is no foreign power encouraging these Naga hostiles. As I disclosed this morning, during the visit of these Chinese leaders to Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, Liu Shao Chi and Marshal Chen Yi, two strong delegations, one of the Naga hostiles and another of the Mizo hostiles, saw Marshal Chen Yi and Mr. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, about which, unfortunately, our Government do not have any information till now. That shows that they are also involved and encouraging these people.

Another thing I want to say. There are some people who think that these Mizo hostiles and Naga hostiles are against the State of Assam, but do not forget one significant thing. The Mizo and Naga hostiles want to go out of India as a whole. Their grouse is against the whole of India, not the particular State of Assam. Do not forget that.

Then, the problem that is posed by the Mizo hostiles and the Naga hostiles is different from the problem posed by the other hill tribes about who Mr. Pataskar has made recommendations.

He has made certain recommendations because they are nationalists and they want to function within the Indian Union whereas these people are basing their argument on the old theory, the Peking theory as I would say, Mao Tse Tung has propounded a theory; he says that a state should be composed of people of the same ethnic quality, ethnic affinity. It is on this Peking theory that these Mizo rebels and the Naga rebels are working. If we forget this, we forget this only at our peril. I have certain things to say about these fruitless parleys that are being conducted by the so-called, self-styled federal gov-

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ernment at Delhi. These are fruitless parleys in a sense. It was on 20th December 1964 that the Nagaland peace mission came out with certain proposals. Till now the Naga hostiles have not accepted these proposals and have not communicated their reaction to these proposals. What happens? They have not communicated their reaction to the proposals. On the other hand they are stabilising themselves as a rebel government and this rebel government, the so-called Naga federal government was established on 22nd March 1956. During this period of so-called peace, the Naga hostiles have extended their administration to the Ukhrul sub-division of Manipur. I tell you one thing: the Indian civil administration does not exist in Ukhrul sub-division of Manipur. That is the nature of things that we are having. The Naga leaders say: we are ready to talk. I do not understand when some people say that this might be the militant section of the Naga hostiles who are responsible for these incidents at the railway stations. May I ask you: have the Naga hostile leaders, self-styled ministers, any of them, said that this is the handiwork of militant section of their people? They have not said like that; they have not disowned their responsibility in that way. It is only our people, our government spokesmen who say that it must be the militant wing. If it is the militant wing, I say: why should you have discussions and talks and negotiations with these leaders of the Naga federal government who cannot deliver the goods because they could not control these militant people; they do not come out with a statement condemning these outrageous incidents. I am finishing in a minute. It is high time for our government to tell the Naga underground leaders: you must condemn or acknowledge responsibility for these incidents perpetrated at Lumding, Diphu and Furkating where hundreds of innocent Indians, men, women and children are massacred. If you do not say like that, we are not going

to talk with them even for an inch of time; we are going to ask our armed forces to take the necessary steps because this sort of thing cannot be allowed to be perpetrated. It is in the interest of national integrity I am saying this. The unity of the Indian Union should be preserved and anybody, whoever he might be, who questions the integrity of the Indian Union and who goes against the interest of the Indian nation should be very sternly dealt with.

Shri P. C. Borooah: Sir, I associate myself with the sentiments of sorrow expressed by the hon. Members who have preceded me and I also pray for the early recovery of the injured ones. I also sympathise with our Railway Minister who has unfortunately been dragged into this debate although it is not his fault or the fault of his Ministry or the fault of the railways. He has been dragged in for the action of others. I do not know what he will have to say in his reply; he may place the matter before the House and say: this is how my responsibility has been attracted.

Now, let us go into a bit of history. It is about a decade since these Naga hostiles started their underground activities, with the arms and ammunition left behind by the Americans after the second world war. That was a time when we were friendly with the Chinese. We were playing the game of Hindi-Chini Bhai-bhai. The streets of the two capitals, Delhi and Peking, saw the jubilations. Then, our other neighbour, Pakistan, which was born out of the two-nation theory, out of hatred to the majority community of this country, was engrossed with its own problems, and it could not give time for others. That was a time when it could have been more easy to deal with the hostile Nagas trouble, but we missed the bus. Since then, the Chinese and the Pakistanis were also getting aggressive towards us and we are now almost at war with them. This is the posi-

tion, and we have definite reports that the hostiles are getting arms and ammunition from these two countries. The Naga hostiles have become stronger today, and that is why they are getting more and more adamant in their demand for going out of India. They are definitely becoming more and more aggressive, ending for the moment, with incidents taking place at Lumding, Diphu and Furkat-ing railway stations involving innumerable loss of innocent lives and maiming many others.

After this, the Mizos are following suit. The Mizo rebels are following the technique of the Naga rebels and a section of Mizo hostiles are also going to Pakis an and having training there and so on and so forth. The leaders of the Hill people are also gradually raising their heads. Not only this. Even the plains people, if these things are allowed to continue, will not stay silently, because they have a strong resentment against the Government, that they have been very badly neglected by the Centre. Taking all these things into consideration, it can very well be said that the situation in that part of our country is highly explosive.

My hon. friend Shri Frank Anthony said something about the Assamese. I am very sorry to say that this is not the occasion to refer to such things. The Assamese and the Bengalis fought; yes; they fought as brothers and they are living as brothers today. There the matter ends. Why should we draw this distinction again and again here only to pollute the atmosphere?

So far as the Mizos are concerned, there is absolutely nothing for them to be entangled with the Assamese as such. They are far away from the Assamese. About the Nagas, I can say that the Constitution framed by the Nagas themselves proves the amity between the Assamese and the Nagas. They have adopted three languages: one is the Naga language, the other is

Assamese and then English. Where is then the trouble with the Assamese? Why should anyone get up in this House and say such things on this occasion? I appeal to hon. Members not to bring in any such matters here.

Coming to the subject, the question is what should we do now. I request the Government to give top priority to the question of Assam and Nagaland problems; solution of them brooks no delay and on the manner in which they are solved depends the future of the area, because the Chinese and the Pakistanis will not remain silent, and they will try to take advantage of the wide-spread discontentment among the people of that area.

So far as my own suggestions are concerned, I may say that the Naga leaders should be told that they themselves should come out and take steps to see that such things do not happen. Secondly, they must give up their idea that they are going out of this country, out of the framework of the Indian Union. These are the two things that the Naga leaders should be told. Suppose they do not listen. Then they should be treated as anti-nationals and agents of enemy countries and they should be dealt with accordingly. If it is found that military action is the only alternative, we should take that step in time. We won the battle against Pakistan because military action was taken in time. Similarly, if we are to take any action here also, we must not delay it, because delay will make India to fight the Chinese and Pakistanis on the soil of Nagaland—not alone the Naga hostiles—and it will then be converted into a second Vietnam. I hope that state of things will not come and government will be able to deal with the situation very well, if it could discard a lot of imaginary fears and appeasement.

18-00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Swell.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब उसको नहीं लिया जा सकता है, आपकी आघ घण्टे की डिस्कशन को अब नहीं लिया जा सकता है । कल परसों जब आप कहें रख लेते हैं ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बहुत मेहरबानी है आपकी । मैं खाली यह कह दूँ कि यह पहली दफा है कि लोक-सभा एक शास्त्र और खास तौर पर इतिहास शास्त्र पर बहस करेगी, इसलिए

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं इन्कार नहीं करता हूँ ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : और सदस्य भी जान लेते कि क्या चीज यह है . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि किसी और दिन रख लेते हैं ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : कल आप इसे ऐसे वक्त पर ले लें

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वक्त तो पहले नहीं हो सकता है । वक्त तो बही होगा ।

श्री कपूर सिंह (लुधियाना) : विषय बता दिया जाए ताकि हम सदस्य भी तैयारी करके आयें ।

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : यह जो चर्चा चल रही है यह आघ घंटे में खत्म होने वाली बड़ी है । इसको कल जारी आप रख सकते

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कल नहीं रह सकती है ।

Shri Swell (Assam—Autonomous Districts): Sir, I share entirely with the Railway Minister and the members from every section of this House the sense of outrage, grief and indignation at the two explosions that

occurred in Assam recently. As a hillman and a tribal, I say this that I condemn any of those people who might have been responsible for these outrages. But I think the situation has more meaning than a sense of outrage at all that has happened and I would request the government and this House to approach this question with a sense of dignity and responsibility.

The Railway Minister has started off by saying that the outrage might have been perpetrated by the Naga hostiles and that seemed to be the theme of every speaker who has taken part in this discussion. But can we really say at this stage before the investigations are completed that it was the Naga hostiles who are responsible for this? I would draw your attention to the statement of the Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. Chaliha, yesterday to certain pressmen. He said, I quote—

"He cautioned the people against anti-national elements who had, of late, become active."

Sir, they say that human memory is short, and I am afraid the memory of this House is not very long. I would invite the Members of this House to come with me to that area where these outrages have taken place. They would see for themselves that that is a little Pakistan in Assam, and when I went to that area I had always that feeling that that was a bit of Pakistan in Assam. I would remind this House that in 1962 when the Chinese committed aggression on this country it was reported, and this Government has not repudiated that, that it was round about that area that the flag of Pakistan was hoisted.

An hon. Member: No, no; it was near Tezpur.

Shri Swell: My friends from Assam who have been responsible for this influx of Pakistani emigrants into the plains of Assam are now the cham-

pions to shield, to give protection to these people. What I want to submit is this, that it might as well have been that by "anti-national elements", Mr. Chaliha, who is believed to know these things a little better than any of us because he is the man on the spot, might have meant certain Pakistani nationals who are busy in that area. He said: "anti-national elements that had of late become active". The Naga question was there for the last 15 years. The Nagas have been active from that time. It is not the question of being active of late.

Therefore, I would request you, the Prime Minister and the members of this Government, to behave and to approach the question in a more responsible manner and not to lose their heads. I would request them that they should not make any categorical statement. They should not give any impression in this country that would make the situation even worse than what it is, by pinpointing at a particular community or class of people that they are responsible for it, unless and until they are sure that it is these people who have done it, because if they are not sure they will unnecessarily give more offence to the Nagas.

If the Nagas are responsible for this, punish them by all means; I am with you. But if the Nagas are not responsible for this, you are unnecessarily prejudicing certain processes which have been set in motion and you are ignoring the danger from the other side. You are not serving the interest of the nation in that way.

The Railway Minister spoke with emotion. I appreciate that and I understand that. But I wish that he had also spoken with a little circumspection and a little more responsibility. He speaks of retaliation. I agree that is the language that an enemy will understand. But what retaliation and against whom? You might say it is the Nagas. You might say that the leaders of the underground Nagas have not expressed a word of sympathy or regret for all

that is happening. You might as well say that Shilu Ao's Government which is a limb of your Government, has also not expressed a word of regret and sympathy that I know of. Therefore, when you speak of the Nagas as responsible for this, you paint the whole community with that same brush. If you speak in terms of retaliation, it would mean only one thing, a war of retaliation against the Naga people as a whole. I ask this Government this question. Are you, on the flimsy evidence that you have got at the moment, prepared to go all-out against all the Nagas, even the loyal Nagas, those who are making sincere efforts to come to an understanding, to come to a settlement with you? You have done that in the case of the Mizo hills.

Shri Anthony, when he spoke, mentioned about the Government not giving the military a free hand in dealing with the Nagas. May I tell him that, as far as the Mizo hills are concerned, Government have given the military a free hand in that area? I have come back from the Mizo Hills. I have brought facts and figures which, to me, are inconceivable from here. I have drawn the attention of the Prime Minister, Home Minister and certain responsible members of this Government to them and I told them, for God's sake, in the interests of this country, in the interests of the sovereignty and national integrity of this country, do something about them. Until today I have not seen any sign of response for any settlement. On the other hand, there are irresponsible talks in the highest quarters of this Government, irresponsible talks among people who are supposed to be in the highest counsels of the Prime Minister.

Well, I was in the Mizo hills when some people came and told me that somebody from the Government of India had brought the news that India was not interested in the Mizos there, India was interested in that area, the geographical area, for the defence of

[Shri Swell]

the country and that it was immaterial whether the Mizos were exterminated or they went out of the country . . . (Interruptions). I immediately repudiated it and debunked those kinds of talks and told them that no responsible Government would ever indulge in this kind of language. I did not believe in it myself when my friends told me . . . (Interruptions). They need not get excited. I said that I did not believe it. I only mentioned certain things which I have heard. And if you do not want to hear what is happening in the country, you have no right to be here.

In today's Patriot there is a news item which only would go to make the situation in that explosive part of the country even worse. I will read out what is written in Patriot. This is from the UNI and supposed to have been written from Hansi in Punjab. This paper reports about certain statements made by a responsible Minister of this Government. I will not name him, but if you want to get the name, I can give the name. I quote: "He said that no efforts should be spared to restore peace in the violence-ridden hilly areas. Firstly, he suggested, there should be more administrative units, that is, more sub-divisions in Assam to tighten up law and order. Secondly, ex-servicemen should be encouraged to settle in the areas. They can take to the plough in times of peace and to the rifle in times of trouble." I suggest that if there is one thing that troubles the tribal people, whether the Nagas or the Mizos, it is the question of autonomy and safeguarding the lands and customs. Today, right in the wake of all that has happened if a responsible Minister of the Government goes about saying that we shall go and settle ex-servicemen of this country in that part of the country, it will go only to infuriate those people and nothing else . . . (Interruptions).

I am prepared to sit down with the Prime Minister and the Government

to find a solution to this problem. But I would say this. Before we come to that stage, I would request the Government to speak with a little sense of responsibility.

Mr. Speaker: The Prime Minister.

Shri Priya Gupta: You promised to give me two minutes.

Mr. Speaker: The Prime Minister is intervening. After that I will see if I can.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) :
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बिल्कुल टाइम नहीं दीजियेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझे आपका खयाल है, मुझे सुन लेने दीजिए ।

Shri Priya Gupta: Is the Prime Minister going away after this intervention? This is an important affair and she should remain here.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi): Sir, I wish to express the deepest sympathy for the families of the innocent people who have lost their lives in these explosions. I can well understand the concern, the anxiety and the indignation which has been expressed by hon. Members. I can also understand the slightly different feelings expressed by the hon. Member, Shri Swell. I want to assure him straightway that we do have the deepest concern also for the people of the Hill areas. It was because of this concern that we want to establish peace in these areas. Much has to be done in these areas and it is only through peace that we can go ahead with works of development and so on. I shall always be ready to discuss this and other matters with him or anybody else who has suggestions to make.

The point which I really wanted to make has already been made by Shri Swell which is that the matter is still under investigation. I have been in telephonic conversation with

both the Governments of Assam and of Nagaland. We are sending a very senior official from the Home Ministry to help in these investigations and to try to come to a conclusion quickly.

I have also been trying to contact some of the so-called underground Nagas through the Government of Nagaland to express our great distress over these acts of violence so that our views might be conveyed to them, but I was told that it would take at least two or three days even to contact them.

Some mention was made here of the Rev. Michael Scott. We have already expressed our views on this. I have nothing new to say except that at this moment he is lying ill in a hospital in Shill'ong ... (*In erruption*). I do not know what illness he has. This is the information given to me.

What I really wanted to assure the House was that Government would take the sternest measures against those who were found responsible for these acts of violence and incidents as soon as something is reliably established. Also, if it is proved that those with whom we are having talks are concerned or are responsible, obviously the whole approach will have to be reviewed. But I would beg of the House not to jump to conclusions in a hurry.

I should once more like to assure the House that the Government views these outrages with the greatest concern and will take every step to ensure the security and life of our people and the integrity of the country.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Onkar Lal Berwa. Now hon. Members would be very brief, only five minutes each. लोहिया साहब का आफ एन आवर डिस्कशन कल के लिए रख दिया है ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बहुत मेहरबानी है ।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं उन मरे हुए लोगों के लिए खेद और दुख प्रकट करता हूँ और उनके परिवारों के प्रति समवेदना की भावनायें प्रकट करता हूँ ।

पहली बात मझे यह कहनी है कि हमारी सरकार ने यः ताशकन्द समझौता जो किया है उसने गोरों का रूप धारण कर लिया है क्योंकि ताशकन्द समझौता होने के बाद में हमारी सरकार ने इस एरिया की तरफ जाकर देखा तक नहीं और ऐसी दो ही घटनाएं नहीं हुई हैं, ताशकन्द घोषणा के बाद में ऐसी सात घटनायें हो चुकी हैं । कई एक्सप्लोजन्स हुए, डिपो में प्राग लगाई गई, कितनी गाड़ियों में दुर्घटना हुई । यः सात घाट दुर्घटनायें ताशकन्द समझौते के बाद में हुई हैं । लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने एक बड़्डे नेटिने को कड़ लिया कि नागालैंड ने सब कुछ किया । क्या सरकार को यह पता नहीं है कि आठ-दस लाख पाकिस्तानी प्रवैध रूप से वां रह रहे हैं क्या उनके द्वारा यह घटनाएं नहीं हो सकती ? क्या हमारी सरकार को यः पता नहीं है कि वहाँ वाम-पंथियों का जाज बिछा हुआ है ? क्या हमारी सरकार इस बात का भूल गई है ? हमारी सरकार ने तो उन भेड़ियों को छोड़ कर एक बड़्डा भेड़िया पकड़ लिया है । जो भी करता है नागालैंड के बारे में कहता है, स्काट के बारे में कःता है । ठीक है, उसने भी किया होगा, लेकिन इसमें पाकिस्तान का गुण बहुत ज्यादा है । अभी कुछ दिन पहले एक ज़ार नागा विद्रोही ट्रेनिंग लेकर पाकिस्तान से आए हैं । उनको जो गुणधार मिले हैं, वे सब पाकिस्तान और फ्रांस से मिले हैं । क्या सरकार इस बात को धिक्कृत नहीं मानती है ? सरकार इस बात को भूल बैठो है कि जमान भेड़िया तो प्राग कितना है और उतने बूडे भेड़िये की दुम को पकड़ जिन है । प्राग बड़्डे इन घटनाओं के लिए नागा विद्रोहियों को दोषो ठहरा रही है । यः ठीक है कि नागा विद्रोही इस तरह

[श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा]

के सब काम कर सकते हैं, लेकिन हमारी सरकार अपनी दबू नीति के कारण पाकिस्तान और चीन के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही करने को तैयार नहीं है। क्या वजह है कि वह इन दोनों दुश्मनों को छोड़ बैठी है ?

आसाम में जो पाकिस्तानी अवैध रूप से रह रहे हैं, क्या सरकार ने उनको निकाल दिया है ? इसमें वह असमर्थ रही है। सब से पहले सरकार को उन पाकिस्तानियों को देश से बाहर निकालना चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त सरकार इन घटनाओं के बावजूद वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों को गिरा करने जा रही है। क्या ये लोग इस प्रकार के काम नहीं कर सकते हैं ? मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आसाम और देश के पूर्वी भाग में इस प्रकार की जो घटनाएँ हो रही हैं, वे पाकिस्तान, चीन और नागाओं आदि, इन तीन भेड़ियों के कारण हो रही हैं। सरकार अपनी दबू नीति के कारण समझौते पर समझौते करती रही है, लेकिन देशद्रोही लोगों तथा जासूसों का ज़ोर बढ़ता जा रहा है। चीन, पाकिस्तान, नागा विद्रोही और वामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट ये सब काम करवा रहे हैं, लेकिन सरकार के हाथ में जो कोई आया, उसको उसने पकड़ लिया और सारा दोष उसके सिर पर मढ़ दिया।

प्रोफ़ेसर स्वैल ने इस दुर्घटना की जांच के बारे में कहा है। वह ठीक बात है। सरकार को चाहिए कि वह इसकी जांच करे और इसका पूरा पता लगाए। लेकिन मेरे दिल की भावना यह है कि यह जाल नागा विद्रोहियों का बिछाया हुआ नहीं है, बल्कि यह जाल पाकिस्तानियों और वामपंथियों का हो सकता है। इस समय आसाम में आठ दस लाख के लगभग पाकिस्तानी अवैध रूप से रह रहे हैं। सरकार उनको निकालने में असमर्थ है। वह वामपंथियों के खिलाफ भी हाथ नहीं उठाना चाहती है। ये दक्षिणपंथी और वामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को एक दोतरफ़ा

नीति में रूमा कर उसको धोखा दे रहे हैं। मैं सरकार से कहूँगा कि वह उन लोगों पर कड़ी निगाह रखे।

इन घटनाओं में जिन हथियारों का उपयोग किया गया है और जिन बमों का विस्फोट किया गया है, वे पाकिस्तान द्वारा ही अपने जासूसों को दिये गए हैं। नागा विद्रोहियों के पास भी हथियार हो सकते हैं, लेकिन वे हथियार भी पाकिस्तान द्वारा ही दिये गए होंगे या फ्रांस से लिये गए होंगे। ताशकन्द समझौते के बाद पाकिस्तानियों, वामपंथियों और नागाओं आदि ने इस देश को धोखा देने के लिए एक त्रिमूर्ती कार्यक्रम बनाया है, जिम्मे को चलाया जा रहा है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि उन लोगों पर कड़ी से कड़ी निगाह रखी जानी चाहिए। माइकल स्काट के साथ समझौते की कोई बात नहीं करनी चाहिए और उसे देशवदर करना चाहिए। सरकार को इस सारे मामले की पूरी जांच करनी चाहिए और दोषी लोगों के खिलाफ कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Priya Gupta.

An hon. Member: How long are we sitting?

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Priya Gupta will take a few minutes and then I will call Mr. Madhu Limaye who will also take a few minutes. Then, I will call the Minister. How much time will he take?

Shri S. K. Patil: About 10 minutes.

Shri Priya Gupta: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me a few minutes to speak on this Motion. I have got to submit one very important thing. The Railway Minister, while initiating the discussion, started with the sense of helplessness, frustration and inability to give security to the travelling passengers. Of course, as he is a very good juggler in oratory, he finished by saying

that he must take serious action against them. But he started with the sense of frustration and helplessness.

Sir, we are living in a country where men like Mr. Nanda, who is the Home Minister of this country do not seem to have seen these vulnerable places. The other day, he said that there are some of our check posts all over these vulnerable points within a very short distance. I challenged him and asked him whether he had seen those check posts. He replied, "I have seen them on the map." This is the condition of our country where the Railway Minister and the Home Minister could not find time to visit those important vulnerable points stretching over a few miles on the border of Assam and Nagaland. I do not know where our country is going to.

Mr. Patil gave a series of items to be done, jungles to be cleared and everything to be done. This is a thing which is continuing since 1956. I know jungles grow every year in a place like Assam where there is very heavy rain. But I can tell him that jungles have never been cleared as promised. I am coming from the Assam Railway section where I have passed about 20 years and I have visited those areas. I know what has been done over there.

Then, there is the question of the railwaymen's security. Of course, the security of the travelling passengers is there. The hon. Minister says that it is none of the railways' business, but I say that it is the business of the railways also; when he sells the ticket to the public, he must also guarantee security to the travelling public. He cannot just shirk his responsibility and throw it on somebody else's head.

Regarding the security of the railwaymen, I would point out that since 1956 onwards, when Shri Shahnawaz Khan was the Deputy Minister of Railways, situations had arisen of Naga attacks on the trains, as a result of which the railwaymen had demand-

ed an officer to come and investigate and ensure the safety of the drivers and guards. They requested an officer to accompany each train. But nothing happened, and for five or six or seven days the trains were cancelled. But finally the authority had to go there and investigate the thing on the spot. Then, an assurance was given that they would be given some frontier allowance and also that if a railwayman died, his next generation would be given something like an insurance amount and so on. Those things have been discontinued now. They are thinking very much of the economy only in all these things.

I would also point out that the Railway Minister is the *malik* of about 12 lakhs of people in the greatest public undertaking in the country, but not a single word of sympathy for the poor railwaymen has come to his lips. I am very sorry to find this. I thought that at least some sweet words would come from his lips regarding the risks taken by Railwaymen in keeping trains running against all odds. For this an extra amount of money be given to them by way of border allowance and frontier allowance.

Lastly, I would submit that different points and different suggestions have been made by hon. Members here. Government must, first of all, ascertain whether it is the Naga hostiles who have been doing this or whether it is Pakistan which has been doing it, and only after ascertaining this, the proper course of action should be taken.

Of course, Government may say that it is a political action. If they say that it is a political action and it will be dealt with politically, then I would submit that in the meantime many more such incidents may happen by which feelings may be roused....

Mr. Speaker: He should conclude now.

Shri Priya Gupta: I shall conclude with just one more sentence. The Home Ministry has got a set of informers, and every informer is after one trade union worker there. They say that they send information but Government do not care for the information. Similar is the case with the military informers there. I hope Government will investigate into these complaints.

Mr. Speaker: Now, Shri Madhu Limaye.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): I hope you will permit some of us also to say a few words. On the analogy of Shri Priya Gupta who has been given an opportunity to speak, I hope you will permit me also to say a few words.

Mr. Speaker: I had allowed him because he is from the railways.

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक ही विषय की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ने विद्रोह की चर्चा की, लेकिन मुझे खेद है कि विद्रोह के जो दो प्रकार होते हैं, उन्होंने उनमें कोई रुक नहीं किया। केन्द्रीय सरकार की उपेक्षा तथा नौकरशाही की क्रूरता की प्रतिक्रिया के रूप में सभी आदिवासी इलाकों में, जैसे बस्तर में और गुजरात के आदिवासी इलाके में, विद्रोह फैल रहा है। लेकिन आसाम के विद्रोह में और बस्तर तथा गुजरात के विद्रोह में इसलिये रुक है कि आसाम में जो विदेशी पादरी हैं, चाय के बगीचों के विदेशी मालिक हैं और जहाजों की कम्पनियों के विदेशी मालिक हैं, वे इस विद्रोह को भारतीय एकता और संविधान के खिलाफ़ विद्रोह का रूप देने जा रहे हैं और दे रहे हैं।

यह विद्रोह की प्रवृत्ति इसलिए फैल रही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास तथा हिन्दुस्तान की एकता के बारे में विदेशियों ने एक भरसे से कई जहरीले सिद्धान्त यहां पर प्रचलित कर रहे हैं और खेद की बात है कि हमारे

बच्चों को भी पाठ्यपुस्तकों के द्वारा सरकार ये जहरीले सिद्धान्त दिन-रात पढ़ाया करती है और इस प्रकार हिन्दुस्तान की एकता को खत्म कर रही है। आर्य, अनार्य, मंगोल, द्रविड़ का एक पाखण्ड इन विदेशी इतिहासकारों ने हमारे देश में फैलाया है, जिसको ले कर आज चीन आदि तत्व भी इसका फायदा उठा रहे हैं और नागाओं और मिजो लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ़ उकसाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। मुझे आशा थी कि प्रधान मंत्री जी सीमावर्ती इलाकों, आदिवासी इलाकों, नागाओं, मिजो आदि के बारे में एक नई नीति का एलान करेंगी, लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि शान्ति होनी चाहिए, शान्ति के बिना विकास नहीं होता है। तो इस तरह की बात करना जबकि एक नीति की आवश्यकता है, मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत गलत है। इसलिए मैं सदन से निवेदन करूंगा आपकी मारफ़त और खास कर रघुनाथ सिंह जी जैसे लोगों से कि मेरा जो स्थानापन्न प्रस्ताव है, उसी के समर्थन में वे बोले हैं, और पाटिल साहब भी बोले हैं ऐसा मानता हूँ तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मेरे स्थानापन्न प्रस्ताव को मंत्री महोदय भी और सदन भी स्वीकार करेगा और एक नई नीति का सूत्रपात नागाओं और मिजो के बारे में किया जायेगा।

Shri S. K. Patil: I will take only a few minutes in reply. Prof. Ranga has made some suggestions and I think they are very good suggestions. He paid a tribute, perhaps the House will also pay a tribute, to the brave railwaymen who, in spite of all these difficulties, are sticking to their jobs. It has been a constant anxiety to us, how in the teeth of this, really any man could go and work in the manner that these railwaymen have been doing. I am very glad that they have received the appreciation which they very richly deserve.

It was asked as to what they get. I was trying to know. I thought they must get something because it is a most difficult duty they are perform-

ing. And I do not know for how long they will have to perform that duty under these conditions. I was told that as soon as they are transferred to the Assam area, they get compensatory allowance, while gazetted officers below I. A. grade transferred to the N. F. Railway from another Railway zone get advance increments. But that is only normal. It is not adequate considering the difficult character of their work. Then they also get some kind of allowance to work in a difficult area. I do not know the quantum of that allowance.

Shri A. P. Sharma: Very negligible.

Shri S. K. Patil: But I have come to the conclusion, looking to the work they are doing, that they deserve something more. I shall do something because they are highly qualified for it. Something must immediately be done for that, to inspire confidence in those workers who have got to work there.

I do not know wherefrom my hon. friend, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee—unfortunately he is not here—got the idea which he expressed in his speech. When I talked of retaliatory action it was against the miscreants. Only one thing was in my mind, prompt and effective retaliatory action against them. From that, weaving a kind of thing of his own, he said that I was advocating something different from the policy that Government are pursuing. I never hinted at any such thing. I know that it is the correct policy that Government are pursuing. Therefore, I have nothing to do with that. But this divine idea that when anybody quietly comes and puts a bomb which explodes and kills hundreds of people, I should do nothing, I should be very kind to him and be very merciful to him, is something I cannot understand. I am not Christ; I am only Railway Minister. When I think of this I have in view what may happen tomorrow and the day after. These two incidents have happened within 72 hours. I spoke of the preven-

tive measures we have to take, searching trunks, luggage and so on. In spite of doing all these things, I cannot see the possibility of putting an end to this, then something very hard has got to be done. I merely said that these miscreants have to be handled in a way which they will understand. That was exactly the reference. From that my hon. friend should not come to the conclusion that I want something which our Government is not already wedded to.

Shri Frank Anthony really made a very useful and helpful speech to explain the position. Surely, I agree with him in most of the things he has said. Dr. Swell talked about the Nagas. I do not know whether it is the Nagas or anything, but the facts, historical and geographical, are there. I do not know if they indicate anything.

All these border areas which are vulnerable, all the 48 stations to which I made a reference, border Nagaland. The distance is from 2 to 15 k.m. I talked about lakhs of rupees, it may even come to crores, we have been spending this during the last seven years. This is the first thing of its kind. It is a culmination of a chain of events that happened. They were interfering with the track, sniping etc., which I may call terrorist activity, but this is not even terrorist activity, this is the most cowardly activity that anybody can indulge in, to get some innocent man to plant this, because there are stories, I do not know how far they are true, that he is not even told that it is a bomb, as otherwise the man would not take it. He just takes the money and puts it there. I can understand a brave man depositing it, not that I agree, but this is not even of that type.

So, during all these seven or eight years, these precautions have been taken, and that is costing the Government lakhs of rupees. In season and out of season, every year we have been.

[Shri Hem Barua]

doing it. There is nobody there except the Nagas. Whether these things are connected with the Nagas I do not know, and I cannot understand how an enquiry can be started. Whom should we call as witnesses? But the presumption is, as I said, that this is a culmination of a chain of events during the last 8 or 9 years, and that it has now taken a different form. They could not interfere with the bridges and culverts because our engineers are guarding them; they could not do anything with the track because there are soldiers in front and behind, and sometimes even the military was assisting us by having their people. Having failed in sniping and other activities, they have now resorted to this. If they were not Nagas from the beginning, they are not Nagas. I am not taking any credit or discredit for having suggested it. Therefore, we should not run away with the idea that we are wanting to discredit the Nagas, and therefore we have brought in their name. If we have not discredited them during the last 7 or 8 years, I have not discredited them by any fresh attempt on my part.

Shri Hem Barua took us to task because there was not enough doctors. I can quite grant that. He asks: what about the limbs and heads that were blown off? If they were differently counted, then possibly the number would be large, I do not know, there is a possibility, but after all, I rely on the figures that come from there.

My colleague is already on the spot, and he is having talks with the Government, and I have seen some kind of communication just now, a joint statement by him and the Assam Government, and it is all about how the trunks should be examined. That is good, I do not say it should not be

done, but this is defensive activity, and we do not come to grips with the problem. We take so many precautions and those precautions will cost us money; it causes so much inconvenience to the passengers, and I do not know if it will stop the planting or depositing of the bombs.

If any inconvenience has been caused at Lumding I am sorry but nobody expected this thing to happen, and therefore sufficient number of doctors were not present and arrangements could not be made. I am really sorry.

Shri Hem Barua: You should have put the siren on the air.

Shri S. K. Patil: That is true. Frankly speaking, I heard for the first time that there was some siren that should be put on the air. Nobody expected such things would happen. These doctors had to be rushed in. We are now alive to these facts. The Assam Government is co-operating with us fully. The army is always with us. Therefore, there is no difference so far as the agencies are concerned. We shall act as one Government to meet this challenge.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Banerjee is not here. Shri Yadav is not here. I put substitute motion No. 1 and No. 2 to the House.

The motions Nos. 1 and 2 were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: I will put Mr. Madhu Limaye's substitute motion No. 3 to the vote of the House.

The motion was put and negatived.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, April 26, 1966/Vaisakha 6, 1888 (Saka).