

[17 MAY, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

Internal Security Situation with Special Reference to the North-Eastern States

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairperson, the seven sister-States of the North-East, according to the published figures of the Ministry of Home Affairs, account for 8.06 per cent of the total land area of this country and 3.7 per cent of the total population.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) in the Chair]

All these seven sister-States have one particular characteristic in common, and that is, almost all of them, with the exception of Arunachal Pradesh, at present, and Meghalaya, have either on going or past record of separatist movements. We are here, today, in the House, to discuss and debate as to what best is to be done with this threat to our security. Sir, not only, do all these States have a record of separatist movements; in addition, some of these States have inter-State differences as well. For example, in Arunachal Pradesh, there is a movement against the Chakma Refugees settled there after 1971. There is a movement in the State that they should be relocated who are from outside the State. Madam, Assam and Nagaland, the two adjacent States, are in conflict with each other over what is known as the 'disturbed area belt', which is claimed both by Nagaland as well as Assam and, indeed, the police forces of both these States have, on some occasion, exchanged fire. Sometimes, the situation on the Assam-Nagaland border is reminiscent of the situation along some disturbed international border between the two countries. Sir, Tripura and Mizoram have an area of difference, in that, there are a large number of Reang Refugees from Mizoram who have been intimidated into leaving Mizoram and who are now living in refugee camps in Tripura.

The efforts and mediation by the Centre to persuade the Mizoram Government to accept these refugees as a part of their State, have so far appeared not to have borne any fruits. There are a large number of underground organizations which are operating in these States. Hon. members would be familiar with their names. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note that in Assam, there is the United Liberation Front of Assam; there

are two Bodo factions - the Bodo Liberation Tigers and the National Democratic Front of Bodoland. There is also the NSCN - Khapng faction -which is operating in part of Assam. It is also said that the M: slim Unifa 1 Front which is in its nascent formation is also coming up in that State.

In- the State of Manipur, we have the NSCN-IM. which is predominantly a Tangkul organization. We have the Peoples Liberation Army, which is primarily a Meitei organization. We have the KuH Liberation Army, which has been dormant for quite a long time. We have a nascent Islamic organization amongst the Pangsas, who are the Manipuri Muslims. For a short while, amazingly enough, there was some news that even the LTTE had an interest in Manipur. This was because of the fact that there is a very large Tamil population in the border town of Murray. There was some dispute between this population and the local Naga population over, what appeared to be, drug control rights. Meghalaya -where peace prevails, though there are not in peace - has become a safe haven for almost all insurgent activities in the North East, where the members of the underground organizations have their families; have their bank accounts, their children go to schools - all this is known - and where they can have rest and recuperation before returning to the States where they operate. So far as Nagaland is concerned, there are various underground factions of the Nagaland movement - the NSCN (Mivali Group) the NSCN (Khaplang Group) and two other factions, peace is dormant there because peace talks are going on there, in Tripura, there is the National Liberation Front of Tripura, there is the Ali Tripura Tribal Force. Opposed to this, is an ongoing violent conflict between the tribal and the non-tribals, that is, the Bengali population that appears to be having some kind of another nascent organization, called the Bengali Liberation Tigers. All this has added to the overall atmosphere of unrest in the North-East. But the point which is of major concern to us, as a nation, is the fact that Pakistan recognizes this. Pakistan recognizes, and it has, as a part of its strategy, devoted a lot of time, a lot of attention, a lot of efforts, to open a second front of the main front of Kashmir, in the North-East. It has selected the NSCN-IM, the most powerful of all the insurgent movements in the North-East. It has sponsored them as the mother organisation, which, in turn, supports all other insurgency movement in this region.

Sir, Pakistan has chosen it as a deliberate strategy, because it does not want India to benefit from any possible peace- bonus of a peace-talk

between India and China. Sir, it is Pakistan's concern that should these talks be successful, should India-China border tensions wind-down, then perhaps components of the Indian Army which are now deployed on the Indo-China border may be moved westwards to confront the anti-national designs of Pakistan along the western border. To this effect, as a conscious decision, Pakistan decided to support and enhance the level and intensity of insurgency in the North-East. At present, an even more dangerous manifestation is becoming apparent. It is not to Pakistan's liking that the on-going peace-talks between India and the organisations in Nagaland should lead to any peace in this area because this would then defeat the strategy which Pakistan has adopted of maintaining the North-East as a second-front, as a subsidiary-front for Kashmir. To this effect, it can be prudently surmised that while the main area of activity of the NSCN-IM, which is the State of Nagaland, is now uneventful under the terms of the peace-talks, the NSCN-IM is being encouraged, is being supported and is being directed to continue this proxy-war by other means. And this is slowly becoming apparent in the other portions of the North-East where we are finding new militant underground outfits springing up in areas which were hitherto free of violence. Sir, in this, I include the Karbi-Anglong and north Cachar areas of southern Assam. I include, most particularly, the violence which is taking an increasing intensity in Tripura. These are parts of the overall grand design of Pakistan to ensure that a second-front always remains open in the North-East to take some of the pressure away from the western-front in Kashmir.

Sir, what then are the reasons for this continued violence? Is it lack of employment, is it lack of economic development, because these two main factors, which are quoted as the basic reasons for the unrest in the North-East, are in greater or lesser measure present in almost all the regions of the country. It is present in Bihar; it is present in my home State, it is present everywhere in India. But why is it that these same factors, which are common to all the regions of India, lead to a separatist tendency in this particular part of the region? My own view, with which the House may or may not agree, is what I have been calling, for quite some time, as the Aryavarta mentality. The Aryavarta, as we think, is perhaps the centre of Indian civilisation which, traditionally in Indian culture and Indian mythology, has centred around the Indo-Gangetic plains. Anything outside it was on the periphery of our cultural consciousness! Even these feelings,

perhaps, come out in the Mahabharata itself.

We find that before the battle of Kurukshetra when all the members of the Pandav family were called to assist the family in the final battle, the one person who was not called was Ghatotkach. He was not called because he was the son of a tribal princess. It is part of our own mythology. I think, you may not agree with me, but, subconsciously, this is the root-cause of the alienation of the entire North-East from the rest of, what I call, "the mainland India." Amongst many others, the North-East is also exhorted to join the mainstream, and, quite rightly, they question, "Which is the mainstream? Is it the Ganga-Jamuna, or is it the Brahmaputra?" Therefore, I think, the first ameliorative measure, the first corrective measure, we can take is to try and educate our own people, that is, the people of the mainland India, to get over the sub-conscious feeling of being the socio-cultural center of the Indian civilization.

It is sometimes frightening. Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, when you travel in the North-East, when you go beyond Siliguri, whichever State you visit, the feeling of separation, the feeling of alienation that you come across is sometimes disconcertingly reminiscent to me of the feeling I saw in East Pakistan in 1971. This is a danger signal that is confronting the nation for a long time. We have not paid heed to it. I urge all parties, all Members, to pay heed to this alienation that has been there almost ever since the dawn of the Independence.

For this, the Government of India will have to accord a higher priority to its concerns for the North-East. I agree that we have many problems. Every State has problems. Kashmir is a problem. There are problems in Bihar. There are problems in Andhra Pradesh. There are problems of various types. But I do think that the North-East is psychologically separated from us, and the separation is almost like the physical separation as in the case of the Andaman or the Lakshadweep Islands. This is an area where the Government of India has to devote more attention. It has to devote a higher priority to this region to douse the smouldering fire that is there, about which people keep writing.

Unfortunately, even the media do not report the happenings in the North-East and the feelings in the North-East as much as they should, with the result that the people in the rest of India do not seem to be conscious of the situation as is prevailing in these States. The very term "Seven Sisters"

is a misnomer because these Seven Sisters are all extremely beautiful, but they are different States. They have different problems. Even the tendency of the Government of India to cover them under the blanket term of "North-East" is not really correct. Each State must be individually addressed because their problems are also individual.

The next measure the Government must take is to secure the international borders of the North-East. Enough has been said on this on many occasions. The border on the North-East, the Indo-Bangladesh border, has always got a lower priority than that of the western border. An example is that when the Forces are called on any occasion, they are barely given time to acclimatize themselves. To say somehow carry out their task, and they are transferred back to the West where the threat is assumed to be immediate and greater.

The police forces of the North-East have to be made more effective. We hear a lot. I am sure, the Government is also doing its best to modernise these forces. Modernise them, in terms of equipment, in terms of weapons, in terms of facilities. But I am afraid, not only for the North-East, but for the rest of India, the main point of modernising the police forces is being missed. It is not merely a question of equipment or vehicles or weapons or communication equipment. It is the police leadership which has got to be motivated, which has got to be upgraded, which has got to be strengthened because, apart from normal policing duty, community policing, detection of crime, police forces in the North-East, as indeed elsewhere, are increasingly assuming a Combatised role, and for this, at least, training has to be much more improved.'

One aspect to which the Government must give priority is of increasing the communications in this region. I did make this point earlier, on the occasion of the discussion on the Railway Budget, that whereas we are spreading the railway network, really speaking, all over the country, the strategic requirements of communication is maximum in those areas where we require them to be integrated with the rest of the country, wherein, I had specifically mentioned about the North-East. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, unless the communications, the road communication, the rail communication, the air communication, between the North-East and the rest of the country are strengthened, on a separate basis, on a high priority basis, this feeling of alienation of distance will persist. I give you an

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example. When you go to Calcutta, you will not see it. Whenever any flight is to be cancelled, the first announcement made there is 'the flight to Agartala is cancelled'; 'the flight to Dibrugarh is cancelled', 'the flight to Imphal is cancelled'. This shows the attitude of the Government. This must go. Along with the spread of communications, there is a need to spread inter-communication also. Inter-communication between these States, right down to the extreme areas, wherever they are must be improved.

Sir, with your permission - though you have rung the bell — may I give a small narrative? When I was in service, I had gone to a European country where the Ambassador happened to be a Mizo. This was a East European country which is quite far away from India. When we were socialising, I asked that Ambassador, "It must be quite difficult for you to go on leave to India." He said, "General, travelling from Bratislava to Delhi is no problem. My real journey is from Delhi to Lung Luit", which is in Mizoram, to which he belongs. So, this is the aspect which has got to be improved. All these areas have got to be made more accessible.

The legislation for detection of illegal migrants has got to be improved. There is a great debate, a lot of controversy or; the IMDT Act in Assam. There are points for this and points against. As a matter of fact, this is an apprehension expressed, perhaps, rightly, by the minorities in the North-East that like the TADA, like the MISA, like the PD Act, the IMDT Act may be misused. The IMDT Act is required. But there must be adequate provisions. This morning, we were considering how to prevent the misuse of the TADA and other things. But it is required, or, something like this is required.

Economic improvement must take place. Economic improvement will not take place, as long as the present disturbed conditions persist. This is a vicious circle, a catch 22 situation. As long as there is an unrest, the industry will not go. As long as the industry does not go there, there will be no improvement. The unrest will continue. I did mention this, in passing, that whereas today's Government was trying to dismantle the public sector, we should go back to our own history of 47 years of our independence when we utilised the concept of the public sector to bring development to the interior areas of India.

I do suggest, I do recommend, I do urge upon the Government, that on a sectoral scale, please do utilize the public sector for its original aim, which was to bring development and prosperity and later on, perhaps, 10 years, 15 years, 20 years hence, you can privatize them if you want. But please do utilize them so that the initial industry comes up in these areas.

As for education, a large number of students from the North-East are studying in various Metros in India. Good. This is how it should be. But, unfortunately, ininteraction is a two-way traffic. There are not many students from the rest of India studying in the North-East for two reasons; one, of course, that there are perceived to be not enough educational institutions, not enough institutions of the requisite excellence in those areas which will attract a person from Delhi to go and study in Kohima. So, one of the things is, we have to develop institutions like the UT, like the IIM and like the NEHU, which, I believe, is an excellent institution, though I have not seen it. And, offer scholarships at attractive terms for young people from the rest of India to go and study there. This integration will be successful only when there is a two-way traffic. At present, there is only a one-way traffic.

In conclusion, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, these are points which are not new. They have been made time and again at various times, at various places, by various people, in various fora. All the Governments, without exception, have made impressive plans, have made impressive pledges, but, somehow, along the way, perhaps; because of the distance, these plans have got lost. It has been my experience, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when speaking to leading politicians who were Chief Ministers of their respective States -this was some years ago—they used to say, "We may be Chief Ministers of our States. When we come to the Capital of India, Delhi, whether we come to our political party or to the Government, we seem to come for nothing because people have not heard about us, have not seen us, and do not know about us." I think this is part of the mind-set of the 'Aryavarta' I was talking about. I think there is a very major task in front of us. I feel that we must devote extra attention, extra resources, to overcome what is potentially a volcano sitting on our North-Eastern borders. Thank you.

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH (Assam): I thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. General Roy Chowdhury has covered a lot of territory

with regard to the present state of affairs in a very vital part of our country, that the North-Eastern region is. I think it is a truism that in many parts of the north-eastern region, insurgency has become a norm. There are exceptions. Arunachal Pradesh remains peaceful. But, in all the rest of the north-eastern States, there are disturbing signs. Assam is the gate-way of North-Eastern India. We know the turbulence that has characterized this State for several years as a result of the activities of the ULFA. In the last week, we saw in the beautiful city of Dibrugarh, a clash between the TJLFAs and the SULFAs. That sort of activity is no longer confined only to one city. If you go to Assam, you find the business community everywhere complaining about the extortions. I think the norm seems to be that the Government's writ runs during the day; by night, the militants seem to rule.

Now, in that sort of environment, development becomes a casualty, jobs become scarce, and that leads to frustration, that leads to alienation and that sort of environment provides every conducive ground for adding to the rank of the insurgents or the militants. There is no easy solution to this problem. I believe, if you look at the North-Eastern India, whatever else has happened as a consequence of partition, the partition of India dealt a very severe blow to the economies of all the North-Eastern States of India. It destroyed the traditional transportation and communication links which these States had with the rest of India, and as a result of that, the cost of living in all the North-Eastern States has increased very substantially. Many of us living in this part of our country, have no conception of the cost of equipment, the cost of construction, the cost of road bunding in the North-Eastern States, as a result of the circuitous route that we have often to take for the transportation of goods as well as services from the rest of India to the North-Eastern States. So, we have to take a holistic look at the problems of the North-Eastern region. In Assam itself, today, we have not only the ULFA problem but also other problems. We have a situation where some parts of Bhutan, parts of Bangladesh are being used as sanctuary by the ULFA cadre. But we also have other areas like the Bodo-dominated areas. I believe there are seven districts which have also seen a high degree of violence and although the 1993 Bodo Accord promised that insurgency will be a thing of the past, but that promise has not materialised. In March 2000, one of the militant groups which is active in the Bodo-dominated areas - the Bodo Liberation Tigers - entered into an agreement with the Government for cessation of hostilities. But we know

that in all these areas, there are various factions as these are not integrated, homogenous societies. So, as a result of this faction-ridden society, we have several other groups, who use every opportunity to raise the level of violence in the hope that they too will invite the attention of the Indian State. While a cessation of hostilities agreement has been reached with the Bodo Liberation Tigers, there is another major secessionist organisation, the National Democratic Front of Bodoland, which still is outside its ambit. I am told that whereas the Bodoland Liberation Tigers want the creation of an autonomous State of Bodoland within the Indian Union, the demand of the secessionist National Democratic Front of Bodoland is to create a State outside the Union of India. In this context, I would like to bring to the attention of the Government a recent event there. The Assam Government have dissolved the Interim Bodoland Autonomous Council which came into existence as a result of the-1993 Agreement. The dissolution of this Autonomous Council is to be followed by elections to the Council. My fears are that as the elections come near, there will be a lot more violence in this area, like the type of violence we saw recently in Tripura when the election to the Autonomous Council took place. The Assam Government, while dissolving the Council, have set up an Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of one of the Cabinet Ministers. I am told that all legislators from the Bodo areas were required to be members of the Advisory Council

But the fact is that all but one legislator have refused to serve on that Advisory Council. So, the trouble is brewing, and if care is not taken, you will see a lot of more intensified violence as the elections come near to the Bodoland Autonomous Council membership.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Assam is not the only State which is ridden with the spurt of insurgency. We have other States. In Nagaland, right from independence, we have seen insurgent movements being active, and it is not once, but many times, that accords have been reached in Nagaland, but peace has not returned to the State. I look at the history of Nagaland. I think it was as early as June, 1947, when late. Sir Akbar Hydari was appointed the first Governor of the State of Assam, that the Government of India entered into a nine-point agreement called the Akbar Hydari Agreement with the Nagaland National Council. This did not bring peace. In July 1960, a sixteen-point agreement was reached with the* Naga People Convention. That also did not bring peace, and then we have

the famous Shillong Accord which was signed on the 5th of January, 1976. Despite all these efforts and accords, we have not been able to bring peace to Nagaland because I believe, basically, we are dealing with societies which are faction-ridden, and this has a moral for bringing peace to the region, the Government of India entered into a cease-fire agreement with one of the groups of the Nagaland Socialist Congress, Isacc Muivah group in 1997. The other faction of NSC the Khaplang group has also unilaterally declared a cease-fire recently. These things are welcome. But I do not believe that dealing piecemeal with each group is going to bring peace either to Nagaland or to other States where insurgency and militancy have assumed such alarming proportions. Unless you bring all these factions on a single table, bring them together and enter into a comprehensive dialogue, the competitive politics of the type that prevails in the rest of India would ensure that militancy would remain a probk as has been the case, thus far, in the past. Though I welcome the efforts being made to bring peace in Nagaland through negotiations with various warring factions, I do believe that the time has come to involve all major groups, bring them together, so that we can find a lasting political solution to the problems that have arisen.

In the same way, in States like Tripura. What is happening in Tripura is a long history. Tripura, before independence, was a tribal majority State. History has changed its character. We cannot, I think, change that state of affairs; but there are problems. There are problems of land alienation. To deal with some of these problems, an autonomous council was created to protect the tribal rights, but this has not brought peace because, right or wrong, the tribal population in Tripura has felt alienated that their rights have not been protected, that in a land where they were once in majority, they are no longer owners of their house, but that they are second class citizens. I am not saying that these feelings, these sentiments are right or wrong, but these sentiments do exist. It is in order to redress these feelings, to redress these grievances that in 1982 an autonomous council was created to control these tribal areas.. But the way the affairs of this Tribal Council have been managed, has not brought satisfaction. We saw that only recently there were elections to the Autonomous Council, and this was a period when there was mass violence.

Large number of killings took place; and, in fact, you have, today, a situation in this Autonomous Council where an insurgents-backed group has taken power. I welcome the process whereby the secessionists and

militants of yesterday are willing to throw away their arms and join the mainstream. However, I do believe that the situation in Tripura needs to be carefully watched because the group that is now in power in the Autonomous District Council, came to power as a result of a great deal of violence and coercion. And this does not augur well for peace in the troubled State of Tripura. In the same way, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have problems in several other States. In Manipur, there is a feeling among the Meteis that they constitute a large segment of the population, but they did not have that much share in the process of governance.

Then, we have, in the hill districts, the traditional conflicts; conflicts between the Kukis and *the* Nagas which date back to the time of India's independence. These problems have grown. They have not, been resolved

Until recently, Mizoram was a peaceful State. But there also, there are signs of trouble. For example, we know that in recent weeks, attempts have been made to abduct some employees of Mizoram by Reang tribals and members of the Bru national fronts. If these problems are not taken care of in time, there is a danger that even Mizoram, which, by and large, has remained peaceful, may also go the way of other States. In all these areas, the Nagaland Socialist Congress, that is, the NSCN, the (IM) Group as well as the Khaplang Group seems to be operating with impunity. Whether it is in Manipur, or, in Mizoram, both these factions are operating there. So, nominally, we have a ceasefire in Nagaland, but outside Nagaland, these groups continue to operate with a degree of intensity which fans militancy in this North-Eastern region as a whole. Then, we have, of course, the role of the ISI fishing in troubled waters. They are taking advantage of the problems and grievances of the minority groups, the fear that in the process of detecting illegal migrants, the minorities interests may be hurt, This fear is also giving rise to a sense of insecurity among the minorities in Assam, which has to be dealt with in a proper manner so that the ISI and other similar elements don't gain a greater foothold in this sensitive region of the North-East. Sir, as I was saying, when we look at the whole scene, the scene is indeed disturbing; that militancy and insurgency have indeed become alarming in many parts of North-East. How do we deal with this problem? I do believe that the Indian State must be strong enough to deal with these problems. There cannot be any compromise with those who take to arms to get their grievances

redressed. I do believe that in all these States of the North-Eastern region, the police administration is very often inadequate to cope with the challenge posed by the insurgents. The arms that are often available to the insurgents are in many ways far superior to the arms that are available to the police establishment. In the same way, the intelligence gathering activities of the police forces are far from being satisfactory. There is, therefore, need to think of an integrated and unified attempt at dealing with the problems of modernising the police as well as the intelligence administration in the entire North-Eastern region.

At the same time, we should use our good relations with countries like Bangladesh to persuade them to see that it should not become a sanctuary for the militants or the insurgents from the North-East. Similarly, our relations with Bhutan are very good. We should use our influence with the Government of Bhutan to see that Bhutanese territory is not used as a sanctuary by ULFA insurgents and other militant activists in Assam. At the same time, we have to strengthen the policing of our borders. For several years we have been talking in terms of fencing the borders. The fencing of the borders in the North-East presents peculiarly difficult problems and I don't believe that we can fence these borders. We have to employ a much larger number of police personnel to police the borders and I do believe greater involvement of the police forces and recruitment of more young people from the North-East in policing the international borders, will not only provide more employment opportunities for the young people but also a more effective means of checking illegal infiltration into the North-Eastern States from the neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Burma and other countries.

Finally, Madam, while the law and order problems must be dealt with as they should be, we must not lose sight of the development dimension of the problem. There is a feeling of large-scale alienation in the North-East. It is not always the case that the North-Eastern Region has been starved of resources. I do believe the Indian Government has been generous in looking after the needs of development. But at the grass-roots level the development administration in all the States is chronically deficient in terms of its absorptive capacity. Both in terms of quality of civil servants and the quality of political management, the North-Eastern Region of our country is, probably, the most backward region. I think we have an obligation. It should be our national mission that some of our best civil

servants are made available to serve in this vital region of our country. When I looked at the history of the evolution of the North-East Frontier Agency, some of the pioneers, who went to serve in those difficult regions, were a source of inspiration to many young officers who came after them. The things have changed a great deal since then. I think posting in the North-East is often considered as a punishment posting. Many officers, who go there, do not stay for more than two years. In fact, I am told that there is a provision that if an officer goes from Delhi, he can retain his official house in Delhi and, as a result, he travels between Delhi and the State capital much frequently. The result, is he cannot devote his full time to look after the task which is his primary responsibility. I do believe that in the case of 'sensitive posts like Inspector General of Police, Finance Secretary, Chief Secretary and Planning Secretary, we should give to the North-Eastern States some of our best men and women to improve their absorptive capacity for development in that region. We should give them more money and we must give them more money, whether it is for communications or for other priority sector. I do agree with Gen. Shankar Roy Chowdhury that we cannot leave the development of the North-Eastern Region to the market forces. The market forces serve those who are part of the market system. In respect of those who are far away and are on the edge of subsistence, the market system cannot answer their problems. We need the active involvement of the public sector in the development of the North-Eastern Region, whether it is transport or communication or industrial development

Madam, We must not neglect the great potential that exists, particularly, in a State like Assam, for improving the agricultural production. I have made some calculations that if in Assam, which is by and large, a monocultural, a single-crop State, we could introduce double cropping there, we could raise the national income of Assam by as much as Rs. 7,000 crores per annum. It is most unfortunate that a State like Assam, which could be self-sufficient, if not a net exporter of things like rice, fruits, poultry, has to import all these things from the rest of the country. Therefore, development of agriculture is as much important as the development of infrastructure or development of industry in the North-Eastern States. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I conclude by saying that the problem of militancy, the problem of insurgency in the North-Eastern region, serious though they are, have to be dealt with in a holistic manner,

paying equal attention to improving the quality of law and order administration as well as the quality of development administration. Thank you, Sir.

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब भी नार्थ-ईस्ट के बारे में बात होती है तो हम लोग अपनी चर्चा में यह कहने लगते हैं कि उत्तर पूर्व के इस क्षेत्र को राष्ट्र की मुख्य धारा में लाने की जरूरत है। महोदय, जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ कि उत्तर पूर्व का यह क्षेत्र राष्ट्र की मुख्य धारा में बहुत समय से जुड़ा हुआ है और जुड़ा रहेगा। हां, यह जरूर है कि देश आजाद होने के बाद केन्द्र सरकार ने उस इलाके में बहुत कम ध्यान दिया तब लोगों के मन में एक भावना जगी कि हमें विपरीत दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। जैसे आम होता है An idle brain is devil's workshop. वहां किसी प्रकार की इंटरस्ट्री नहीं है, कोई डेवलपमेंट नहीं है। लोग बारिश और प्रकृति के मौसम पर ही खेती करने को मजबूर हैं। जब केन्द्र सरकार से लोग वहां शासन करने गए तो वे हमारी आर्मी के लोग थे। आर्मी के रूप में ही उन्होंने भारतवर्ष को देखा। महोदय, भीम की पत्नी हिडम्बा का जो महल है वह दीमापुर में है। Archaeological Survey of India ने संभालकर रखा है और वहां पर शतरंज के पासे भी आदमकद साइज के हैं। लोगों ने कहा कि उस परिवार के द्वन्द्व में जब फैसला करने की बात हुई तो घटोत्कच को नहीं बुलाया गया। महोदय, यह सत्य है कि पाण्डवों के पिता पाण्डु का देहांत गोहाटी के पास ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी के किनारे हुआ, जहां पर पांडव नगर बसा हुआ है। यह भी सत्य है कि अर्जुन मणिपुर में पधारे और यह भी सत्य है कि वशिष्ठ मुनि का अंतिम पड़ाव गोहाटी था। हम इसको भी नहीं भूल सकते कि जब भगवान शिव ने सती को लेकर ताण्डव नृत्य किया, उनके अंग क्षत-विक्षत होकर बिखरे तो उनमें से एक अंग गोवाहटी में पांडव नगर के पास ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी के किनारे गिरा। जिसे कामाख्या मंदिर के नाम से जानते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय वहां की मान्यता है कि भगवान शिव ट्राइबलों के भगवान हैं। महोदय ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी — सारी दुनिया की नदियों के नाम किसी स्त्रीलिंग से जुड़े हुए हैं परंतु यही एक ऐसी नदी है जिसका नाम पुल्लिंग से जुड़ा है। मल्लप्रभा नदी, जो कर्नाटक में बहती है उसके किनारे गंधर्वों की रतिलीला को देखकर मां रेनुका का मन भटका था। पिता के आदेश पर मातृहंता का रूप बना — भगवान परशुराम का। जब उन्हें उस कुल्हाड़ी के रक्तंजित कलंक को धोने की जरूरत पड़ी तो वे अरुणाचल प्रदेश में ब्रह्मकुण्ड गए। वहां ऐसी कहावत है, वहां के लोग पूछते हैं कि हे ब्रह्मपुत्र, तुम्हारा पानी लाल क्यों है? तो जवाब आता है कि जब तक इस धरती पर मातृहंता पुत्र पैदा होते रहेंगे उनका कलंक धोने के लिए ब्रह्मपुत्र उत्सर्ग रहेगी और तब तक इस पानी का रंग लाल होता रहेगा, ऐसी मान्यता है, कहावत है। महोदय, उसे हम मेन स्ट्रीम में लाने की बात करते हैं। हमसे जरूर कुछ गलतियां हुई हैं, नहीं तो लचीत

बरफुखंड जैसे सिपहसालार, जिन्होंने अकेले अपनी ताकत से अहोमीरां में मुगलिया सल्तनत को पूरे उत्तर-पूर्व में घुसने नहीं दिया। मुगलिया सल्तनत के वहां झंडे नहीं फहराने दिए और उन्हें रोक कर रखा। आज इतिहास के पन्नों में, एन.सी.ई.आर.टी.की किताबों में उनका नाम कहीं उल्लिखित नहीं है। महोदय, सोलहवीं शताब्दी में वैष्णव धर्म के प्रचारक लोकप्रिय गोपीनाथ बरदोलोई के बारे में हम नहीं पढ़ा सकते। उन्होंने आसाम और मणिपुर को आंदोलन से जोड़ा। मणिराम दीवान ने 1826 में ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ इकोनोमिक ब्लॉक किया। गोमधर कंवर जिन्हें ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद ने 1829 में गिरफ्तार किया — हम आज इतिहास में पढ़ते हैं कि मुख्य धारा का इतिहास है कि मंगल पांडे सबसे पहले शहीद हुए थे पर आज रिसर्च स्कॉलर कह रहे हैं कि इनमें भी पहले गोमधर कंवर हुए आसाम में।

श्रीमद शंकर देवा को हम भारत के दूसरे कोनों में नहीं बता पा रहे हैं जिन्होंने भक्ति आंदोलन के साथ जोड़कर, नृत्य करते हुए, गाते हुए नामधर बनाए। किस तरह लोगों को भगवान के साथ जोड़कर रखा, किस तरह एक नये समाज की सृष्टि की। अभी कुछ दिन पहले टेलीविजन पर एक सवाल पूछा जा रहा था। सवाल था — **Who was the Captain of the first football team which participated in Olympic, 1948 held in London?** ¹ जवाब देने वाले विद्वान जो थे उन्होंने कहा "पास" क्योंकि उन्हें मालूम नहीं था।

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL (Haryana): I can tell you.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA : I know you have played a very important role in the North East . महोदय, यह थे नागालैण्ड में मोकोकचोंग के डॉक्टर तालीमारान आओ, जो 1948 में नंगे पैर ओलंपिक में खेलने लंदन में गए थे और जिन्हें बेयर फुट डॉक्टर कहा गया था। और तो और महोदय, क्या आपको पता है कि मोहम्मडन स्पोर्टिंग क्लब, जो कलकत्ता का है इसके भी कैप्टन थे और इसके साथ-साथ वहां के बहुत लोग अभी पिछले दिनों जैड ओबेद, जो रिटायर हुए एज ए चीफ सेक्रेटरी ऑफ नागालैण्ड, वे भी मोहम्मडन स्पोर्टिंग के सेंटर फोरवर्ड खेलते थे। बहुत सारे फुटबाल के प्लेयर नागालैण्ड ने दिए। पर आज वहां फुटबाल कहां है? वह प्रोत्साहन क्यों नहीं है? पहला तिरंगा झंडा लेकर नागालैण्ड में सरदार हरवंश सिंह गए थे जिन्हें सिटी फादर के रूप में जाना गया। वह वहां पर सिटी फादर कहलाए और आज भी दीमापुर के टाउन हाल में उनकी तस्वीर लगी हुई है। पर इसको कहां नजर लग गई? उत्तर पूर्व क्षेत्र को नजर उस वक्त लग गई जिस वक्त मंगोलाइट रीजन बनाने का एक सपना मंगोलाइट लोगों ने देखा। उन लोगों ने बर्मा में मीटिंग की और बर्मा में मीटिंग करके फैसला लिया कि चिंदविंद वैली से लेकर पूरे के पूरे चटगांव हिली इलाके को हमें मंगोलाइट रीजन बनाना है। महोदय, तरह तरह के षडयंत्र उस वक्त

शुरू हुए और इस बारे में मेरे से पूर्व विद्वान वक्ताओं ने विभिन्न संगठनों का नाम लेकर जो कहा है मैं इसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता। पर अरुणाचल प्रदेश क्यों बच गया? इसके पीछे कारण है। उसका तीन चौथाई हिस्सा बर्फ से ढका रहता है। उसका एक बहुत बड़ा इलाका है जहां लोग रहते नहीं हैं। नागालैंड, मिजोरम, मणिपुर और अब वर्तमान में असम एक भयंकर आग पर बैठा हुआ है। यहां हर चीज उपलब्ध है। यहां पर खनिज पदार्थ उपलब्ध है। यहां पर तेल उपलब्ध है, गैस उपलब्ध है, कोयला उपलब्ध है, पर इस प्राकृतिक सम्पदा को कोई ले न जा सके उसके लिए यह लड़ाई लड़ी जा रही है। आज आयल इंडिया के आफिसरों पर क्यों अटैक होता है? वे यहां से आयल न निकाल सकें। क्यों उन पर अटैक होता है कि वे यहां से गैस न निकाल सकें। क्यों अटैक होता है कि वे यहां से कोयला न निकाल सकें दूसरे खनिज पदार्थ न निकाल सकें। जहां जहां कोयला होगा, जहां जहां गैस होगी उसके करीब कहीं आपको डायमंड भी मिलेगा क्योंकि जब कोयला 100 परसेंट कार्बन बन जाता है तो वह डायमंड कहलाता है। यह सारा इलाका इससे सम्पन्न है पर लोगों के दिमाग में बार बार यह बात बिठायी जा रही है कि आप लोग उनके नहीं और ये आपके नहीं हैं। इसका कारण क्या है? मैंने यहां पर जिन चीजों को गिनाया उसके पीछे यह कारण था कि मैं बताना चाहता था कि हम लोगों ने उनकी अवहेलना की है और यह उस अवहेलना का कारण है जो वे आज इस आग के ऊपर बैठे हुए हैं। कोशिश बहुत हुई। नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी यहां सिल्वर में बनाई गई और ऐजवल में उसका कैम्पस बना। यहां पर यह जो सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी बनाई गई यह लोगों को जोड़ने के लिए बनाई गई। लेकिन इसके बावजूद नार्थ ईस्ट से विद्यार्थी पढ़ने के लिए दिल्ली आते हैं या बंगलौर जाते हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि अभी भी हमने इन यूनिवर्सिटियों में जाब ओरियेन्टेड एजुकेशन सिस्टम या यहां की आवश्यकता के हिसाब से एजुकेशन सिस्टम शुरू नहीं किया है। अभी भी वही पारंपरिक ढंग से इतिहास, ज्योग्राफी पढ़ा रहे हैं, फिलासफी और सोशल साइंसेज पढ़ा रहे हैं, पोलिटिकल साइंस पढ़ा रहे हैं। यहां पर कारखाने नहीं लग रहे हैं। पहले यहां पर उद्योग लगाने से घुसपैठ हो सकती है। युद्ध के वक्त हानिकारक हो सकता है। पर मैं पहले भी सदन में कह चुका हूँ कि अब तो लोगों के पास तीन-तीन हजार मील तक मार करने वाली मिसाइलें हैं जो पाकिस्तान से या चीन से या समुद्री बेड़े से भी छोड़ी जा सकती हैं। वह सोच कर हमें अपनी कमजोरी को छिपाने की कोशिश नहीं करनी चाहिये बल्कि सरकार को उद्योग लगाने चाहिये। उद्योग लगाते वक्त सब से पहले यहां के लोगों को यह समझाना चाहिये, उनमें सेंस आफ बिलोगिंगनेस हो, उन्हें यह महसूस हो कि ये उद्योग हमारे लिए हैं, हमारे लिए लग रहे हैं। आज दो जगह हैं, एक मनीपुर और बर्मा के बार्डर पर मोरे है और दूसरी त्रिपुरा और बंगलादेश के बार्डर पर सोनामुरा

है। मैं समझता हूँ ऐसा आदमी जिसको नार्थ ईस्ट के बारे में पता नहीं हो, उसके पास अगर आर्डर आ जाए कि 50 ट्रक हार्लिक्स मोरे भेज दो तो वह घबरा जाएगा। सोचेगा पता नहीं वहाँ कितनी पापुलेशन होगी कि 50 ट्रक हार्लिक्स की मांग आ रही है। परन्तु वहाँ जा कर देखा जाए तो वहाँ कोई पापुलेशन नहीं है। वह ट्रक के ट्रक बार्डर के पार चले जाते हैं। अगर वहाँ से 50000 साइकिल का आर्डर आ जाए तो हमारा लुधियाना में बैठा हुआ व्यापारी घबरा जाएगा, सोचेगा पता नहीं सड़नली रातों—रात की पापुलेशन इतनी हो गई कि इतने साइकिल के आर्डर आ गए। पर चले जाते हैं, हम उसको रोक नहीं सके हैं। मोरे और सोनामुरा के बारे में सदन में मैं अपने 12 वर्ष के कार्यकाल में कई बार प्रश्न उठा चुका हूँ पर आज भी वही कंडीशन है और आज भी उसी तरह से स्मगलिंग हो रही है। उधर से सामान आता है और इधर से सामान जाता है। करंसी का एक्सचेंज नहीं होता है। एक प्रकार का बार्टर सिस्टम चल रहा है। यह एक गोल्डन गेट बना हुआ है। जैसे अभी हमारे जनरल साहब बता रहे थे कि वहाँ तमिल पापुलेशन पहुंच गई है और एल.टी.टी.ई. का कनेक्शन हो गया है। उसका मूल कारण यह है कि ड्रग का व्यापार वहाँ से हो रहा है। उसमें उनकी हिस्सेदारी है। नारकोटिक और टेररिज्म का एक नेक्सस है। ड्रग, नारकोटिक, एम्यूनीशन और टेरिस्ट, यह एक नेक्सस बन चुका है और यह सर्वविदित है। उसको कंट्रोल करने के लिए, नेक्सस को तोड़ने के लिए कदम उठाने की जरूरत है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल्चरली आज तक हम जोड़ नहीं सके हैं। नागालैंड और मेघालय को आज भी हम पेरिस आफ ईस्ट कहते हैं। जो फैशन पेरिस में चलता है, 15 दिन बाद मुखाकचोंग में वही कपड़े हमें नज़र आते हैं। यह एट्रेक्शन टूर्वर्ड्स वेस्टर्न कल्चर है, इसको रोकने की जरूरत है। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि इन ट्राइबल्स का अपना कल्चर नहीं है। इनका अपना कल्चर बहुत रिच है। आप किसी गांव में चले जाइये गांव-बूढ़ा के बगैर पूछे कोई काम नहीं होता। गांव-बूढ़ा की पंचायत का अलग भवन हर गांव में है। मैं समझता हूँ जिस पंचायती राज की कल्पना हम करते हैं उस पंचायती राज का इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर, सेट-अप वहाँ बना हुआ है। सिर्फ उसको लागू करने की जरूरत है। सब से पहले फेक करंसी का जो रोग है, यह नार्थ ईस्ट से आई.एस.आई. द्वारा शुरू किया गया। उसने सब से पहले इंडियन बैंक्स को यूज किया, इंडियन ट्रेज़री तक पहुंचा दिया। पहली बार जब डिटेक्ट हुआ था आज तक अनचेकड है। पांच सौ रुपये के नोट, सौ रुपये के नोट और पचास रुपये के नये नोटों की भरमार आई.एस.आई. ने कर दी। यह आई.एस.आई. का चक्रांत है, यह सब नोट वहीं से आ रहे हैं। इस पर चेक करने की जरूरत है और कठोर हाथ लगाने की जरूरत है। पर कठोर हाथ का विश्लेषण मैं ऐसा नहीं करता कि उठा कर बंद कर दिया जाए, उठा कर गोली मार दी जाए। वहाँ के लोगों को ऐसा महसूस हो कि ये जो काम हो रहे हैं, ये हमारे

बेनिफिट के लिए हो रहे हैं, इसमें हमारा स्वार्थ है, इसमें हमारे बच्चों का भविष्य है, इसमें आने वाली पुश्तों का भविष्य है। तभी हम एक स्वर्णिम उत्तर-पूर्व बना सकेंगे, उत्तर-पूर्व भारत का निर्माण कर सकेंगे। उस उत्तर-पूर्व भारत का निर्माण करने के लिए सिर्फ आर्मी नहीं, आसाम राइफल्स नहीं, वहां पर सुधार लाने के लिए हमें कल्चरल एक्सचेंजेज करने चाहिये और उन्हें बताना चाहिये उनके कल्चर को हमें रिकोगनाइज़ करना चाहिये, उनको कनर्विस करना चाहिये। उसके लिए कोई न कोई कदम उठाने की जरूरत है। महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से गृह मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूंगा कि उत्तरपूर्व क्षेत्र को पिछले 50 वर्षों में जिस तरह से नेगलेक्ट किया गया है और आज वह जिस कगार पर आ गया है उसको रोकने के लिए इस रास्ते को अपनाने की जरूरत है। प्रीचिंग, परसुएशन, प्रेक्टिसिंग सब कुछ करने की जरूरत है तभी हम उनको मुख्य धारा में ला सकेंगे अन्यथा वे इतिहास का पन्ना बनने जा रहे हैं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI KHAGEN DAS (Tripura): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I take part in the discussion, I would, refer to what the respected Opposition leader has mentioned about the recently-held election to the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous State Council I would like to draw the attention of the Central Government to this. According to me, it is for the first time in independent India that an election battle was fought against an outlawed extremist organisation which possessed sophisticated arms and which was aided and abetted by the ISI and other foreign agencies. This will give a wrong signal to the whole of India, if no positive action is taken by the Central Government

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is with great pain and agony that I am participating in this discussion on the security situation in the North-Eastern Region. I am convinced that the people sitting in Delhi are totally unaware of the hardship and the agony of the people living in the North-Eastern Region. This Region has suffered, as many hon. Members have referred, due to continuous deprivation and neglect. Even after 62 years of independence, this Region still remains the most backward. Such a long neglect and the consequent lack of development has created a sense of discontent and resentment amongst the people of the Region, which is reflected in the growth of extremist activity. In the absence of development and employment opportunities, a section of the youth has got misled and taken to arms and these elements are getting active support from the countries and organisations inimical to the unity and the integrity of the

country. People sitting in Delhi are, perhaps, not aware of, or, are deliberately ignoring the sensitiveness of this Region, in terms of national security. The manner in which the partition of India was done in 1947; the worst sufferer has been the North-Eastern Region. Almost 98% of the boundary of the Region is international boundary and, that too, is entirely land-locked. While I do not dispute the importance of Jammu and Kashmir, in terms of national security, I feel that Delhi gets jolted only by incidents in Jammu and Kashmir and not by whatever happens in the North-Eastern Region. The extremists of the North-Eastern Region are raising slogans of an independent State, an independent North-Eastern State. This is a serious threat to the unity and the integrity of the country.

I would like to give some example which would reflect the kind of neglect that the region is facing. In terms of communication, the partition of the country has made the life miserable for the people of the region. For example, Agartala, the capital of Tripura, is only about 400 kms. away from Calcutta if we go through the plains of Bangladesh. But, today, if someone has to travel to it through our territory, a distance of 1,800 kms. is involved and, that too, through a very difficult terrain. To make matters worse, roads have not been developed in the region. Railway connection is hardly available and air connection is substantially reduced. It is shocking to know that while at the time of Independence, 26 towns in the North Eastern region were connected by rail. Today, this number has dropped to only nine.

In terms of road connection, there are single-lane National Highways, connecting the capital city, and if something goes wrong, like landslide or damage to the bridges, the entire State is cut off, even from the supply of essential commodities like food, petroleum, etc. To some extent, the Deve Gowda Government had started taking some positive steps. The Shukla Commission was appointed to examine the infrastructure deficiencies. While the Commission had done a commendable job in identifying critical infrastructure deficiencies, the report is only gathering dust at the Centre. Similarly, recommendations made by the Boparai Committee, to promote employment amongst educated unemployed, has also not been implemented.

Against this background, the security of the region has become most vulnerable. It is easy for the forces inimical to the national interest to

foment insurgency activities and destabilise the entire region. It is not a law and order problem, but, truly a problem which is not only that of the States of the North-Eastern region, but, it should also be seen as a national problem having international dimensions. Unless the Central Government rises to the occasion, with all its resources and might, the region is bound to suffer and, in the process, jeopardising the national security interests.

Since I represent the State of Tripura, I would like to mention certain specific constraints on the situation. Tripura has a long and extremely porous international border of 856 kms. with Bangladesh, which makes the movement of extremists across the border very easy. The two main militant groups, namely, the NLFT and ATTF, both outlawed, are being aided by the ISI and other foreign agencies, with camps located in Bangladesh. The Chief Minister of the State and a delegation of Members of Parliament met the hon. Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Defence Minister, time and again, to apprise them of the situation, even giving specific information in respect of militant camps located in Bangladesh, in close proximity to the border. Can the State Government do anything about this, if the movement of the extremists across the border is not stopped, or, the camps located in foreign countries are not closed down? It is beyond the authority of the State. It is for the Central Government to provide adequate Border Security Force personnel to effectively man the border and to undertake border fencing and also to take up things with the Government of Bangladesh.

Moreover, the Central forces, provided to the States to contain insurgency are deficient both in quality and quantity. Sir, Tripura poses a unique situation. Although large parts of the State have already been declared and brought under the Disturbed Areas Act, not even a single company of the Indian Army has been deployed there. After the area is declared as a 'disturbed area', it is the responsibility of the Army to look after the situation there. However, in Tripura, some Central forces have been provided, but they too failed in containing the activities of the militants. May I ask the Central Government as to what the existing State Governments of the North-Eastern States can do in this respect? Does the Central Government think "list the people of the North-Eastern States are begging from the Centre? Do they feel that only the remaining eighteen States are with India? I warn the Central Government. Do not play with fire. The Centre and the entire country know that the ISI and other foreign

agencies are directly helping these extremist groups to destabilise the Region and the country as a whole. To make matters worse, due to the gaps existing at the border and also within the States, the extremist organisations of the North-Eastern Region have been using Tripura as a corridor for movements of arms and equipment. The overall situation has become explosive. You cannot waste time anymore. Unless a co-ordinated effort for security and development is put in immediately, the fear, matters will go out of hand. I strongly appeal to all people, parties and organisations, which stand by the unity and integrity of the country's democracy and federalism, to come together to find a solution to this problem. The media too has an important role to play. The mindless mass killings and kidnappings by the outlawed extremists in the North-Eastern Region do not find a proper place in the media coverage.

The other important issues pertaining to the North-Eastern States are, economy; deprivation, persistent neglect, and the agony of the people. There is an urgent need for economic development, maintenance of peace and communal harmony. It is the responsibility of the Central Government in extending help to the North-Eastern States to come down hard on the insurgent groups and the immediate need for deployment of adequate forces for effective counter insurgency operations, etc., also do not find any place in the media coverage. I appeal to the media, both print and electronic, to support the genuine causes and demands of the people of the North-Eastern Region. Finally, I appeal to the Central Government to rise to the occasion. Mere lip service will not serve any purpose. Something positive must be done at the earliest. If the Central Government chose to remain indifferent to the present situation in the North-Eastern Region, the result is sure to be disastrous for the whole country. Thank you.

SHRI C. APOK JAMTR (Nagaland): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity. While discussing about the insurgency problem of the North-Eastern Region, we have to take cognisance of the historical, geographical, socio-economic and political imperatives governing this Region. For the major part of the North-East Region has been isolated from the rest of the country. This marginalisation led to an insecure attitude among the people and a separatist psyche developed over the centuries. Even, today, after fifty years of independence, we have not been able to emotionally integrate the people of

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this Region with the mainstream of national life in the manner in which we have dreamt of.

The tribal people, in particular, are uneasy and are apprehensive of losing their identity. With this background, I would like to stress more on the State of Nagaland because I believe that insurgency in the North-Eastern region was well begun in this State. I would just like to give a brief historical sum up of our political movement.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI) in the Chair]

Sir, the Naga Political Movement, under the banner of Naga National Council, has been considered as the mother of all other insurgency movements in the neighbouring States of this region. The problem of Nagaland has its origin in a political demand. The Naga National Council, under the leadership of AZ. Phizo, spearheaded this movement for a separate homeland for the Nagas. Hence, the problem of Nagaland is a political one. Especially in the State of Nagaland, we have recently seen that combination of two major factions - the NSCN-IM and the NSCN-K. These are the factions which were formed after the Shillong Accord of 1975. In fact, they are the break away group of Naga National Council. Both the groups are engaged in factional killings, and it is very unfortunate because, due to this factional killing, due to the fight between these major insurgent groups, the public, at large, is the one who suffers the most.

Sir, about two-and-a-half years back, a ceasefire agreement was reached between the Government of India and the NSCN-IM. The people were very happy because they did not support the insurgent groups. All they want is, peace and normal life to prevail in the State. They are happy that the Government has taken an initiative in this regard. But the question arises, why has it taken more than two-and-a-half years? Even after a lapse of two-and-a-half years, not concrete development has taken place in this direction. During this period of two-and-a-half years, even the ground rules, which had been agreed upon under the ceasefire agreement between the insurgent groups and the armed forces of the Government of India, have not been abided by. In fact, these have been violated over and over again by the insurgent groups. So, under these circumstances, I would once again reiterate that the public, at large, is the one which suffers the most through

extortion, intimidation, kidnappings, and torture. There is a feeling of insecurity in the minds of the people of Nagaland. Since there has been no progress for the last two-and-a-half years, the people feel that there has been no headway in this whole process of peace restoration. I feel that something is missing there, and, perhaps, that is the reason why we have not been able to progress with the peace process in the manner in which we wanted to.

Sir, it is a fact that no dialogue can ignore the reality of the existing situation. As I have earlier mentioned, these insurgent groups have resorted to terrorism and they have terrorised the people of Nagaland at large. This problem has to be tackled on a war-footing. We also feel that different factions which are prevailing in our State identify themselves with different divergent tribal groups. I think the Central Government has to keep in mind this particular fact. Sir, the Government of India should not compromise on the sovereignty and the integrity of this great nation. The main demand of the insurgents has been sovereignty and a greater Nagaland. I am sure the Government of India will not allow any sort of dialogue or negotiation to be conducted outside the purview of the Constitution of India. In view of these facts, I feel that the Government of India should spell out very clearly that are not going to negotiate outside the purview of the Constitution of India. Sir, the complication arises because NSCN-IM has its leader who hails from Manipur; and, then, we have the Khaplang faction, which hails from Myanmar. Their centre of activity is Nagaland. The question of the people's right and the question of people's sufferings come to the fore. I think the Government of India should also show sensitivity as far as the people of Nagaland are concerned. In all these negotiations and dialogues, I do not think the people of Nagaland and their interests can be ignored. In the past, we have seen that the State Government of Nagaland has never been consulted when it came to negotiations and dialogue with the insurgency groups. However, I am glad that in recent times, there has been communication with the State Government. But I think there should be more interaction with the State Government. We feel that State Government should be involved in the negotiations because it is a constitutionally elected body. This holds the mandate of the people of Nagaland. I think, without the involvement of the State, the interests of the people of Nagaland cannot be protected. I feel the Government of India should take this aspect into consideration. Another positive aspect which

we have seen recently is the unilateral ceasefire agreement of the NSCN-K. But this cease-fire has not been formulated as yet. I hope, the Central Government will take action on it. Sir, there have been negotiations going on for the last two-and-a-half years. Sir, only one person is negotiating on behalf of the Government of India. But, I feel that a group of persons should be involved in these negotiations. These people should be having good background and know, ledge of the situation that is prevailing in the North-East. They should also have knowledge of the complexities of the tribal societies in our area.

I think, as far as the peace-talk is concerned, their involvement is very much necessary. I think that the people of Nagaland, especially the insurgents, feel that this problem is basically political and that taking a political approach would benefit the State as well as the country. So, in this regard, we hope that the Government of India would take cognizance of all this and involve the people who command respect not only amongst insurgents but also amongst the Naga public. Maturity counts a lot in the tribal society. We feel that the Government of India should pay attention to involving in the whole peace process people of a high stature, who have a great knowledge of these areas.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): Please try to be brief because there are two more other speakers from your party.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR: I am just winding up, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI) : Not much time is left.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR: Sir, another aspect is that the negotiations have been going on in a third country. I feel that, since this is an internal problem, this should be discussed and negotiated within the country itself.

A year back, both the insurgency leaders had come to Dimapur, and they had consultations with the people of Nagaland. From the consultation, we found that there had not been much of a success and that the impression created in these consultations was not very encouraging for them. I think, this is one area, which the Government should take full advantage of, because the people at large are really, really fed up with all the atrocities that are prevailing in the State, and they want peace for a change. They are also revolting against insurgents in various areas. Recently, there

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were incidents in the Wokha district where the public revolted against insurgents and beat them up. Well, this is the state of desperation in the public mind. I feel that the Government of India should take advantage of this. It should also give enough backing and confidence and provide all possible help to the State as well as the public at large.

Sir, when we are discussing all these things, there are some questions that come to the fore:

One, should the negotiations not include other insurgent groups such as the NSCN(K) to bring an overall peace and security to the Naga people in particular and the region as a whole?

Two, is the continuation of the extortion and threat to the security of the people not a negation of the purpose of the ceasefire?

Three, is the failure to resolve and reach an understanding, despite the lapse of almost three years, not a reflection of the failure of the Government's attempt till date?

Four, should the Government use the present detention of Muivah to its advantage or not?

I think, these are the areas, which the Government should ponder over. I hope that the Central Government will take into confidence the State Government also in its future deliberations on this on-going peace process and will involve the State Government from time to time in the future developments which are to take place in the State as well as in the region.

Thank you.

SKRI NABAM REBIA (Arunachal Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the internal security situation, with special reference to the North-Eastern States. In fact, the speeches of General Shankar Roy Chowdhury, Dr. Manmohan Singh and Shri Ahluwaliaji have enriched the discussion; and immensely helped us to know much about the North-East. Even if I am from that belt, I am yet to know many things. Sir, I don't want to repeat the points which the previous speakers have made. The problem of insurgency in the region has been mainly because of the isolation syndrome. There is a feeling of isolation from the mainstream. That was because of the insensitive attitude of successive Governments at the Centre. Until independence, the

insurgency problem was confined only to Nagaland. Now, it has engulfed the whole region. Some of the speakers have said that Arunachal Pradesh is an exception. But I am sorry to say that Arunachal Pradesh, once said to be an island of peace, is not an exception to this. In the later part of my speech, I will just try to highlight why Arunachal Pradesh is no more a State of peace today.

Some speakers have also highlighted about the activities of the ISI in the region. As I understand the main aim of the ISI in the region has been to create a separate Bengal Muslim country there. I do not know to what extent this fact is corroborated or appreciated by the Home Ministry. For that matter, they are training youths of a particular section of the community. They are trying to divide the communities mentally; and trying to create a rift between the communities in the region. This has been the design of Pakistan. That is how the North-East has become their main target. I would like to advise; I would like to suggest to the Government . The other day when I was participating in a discussion in the Consultative Committee attached to the Ministry of External Affairs, I said this thing — that our campaign to isolate Pakistan must continue. When the ISI activities are now confined to, concentrated in the whole of the North-East, I would like to know why the people of this region do not know about the activities of this organisation. That is why I want to request on the floor of this House that a let a committee or a commission or a parliamentary standing committee be constituted to go into the activities of the ISI in the North-East Region. This should not be kept under the carpet. It should be made known to the public in general that, the ISI is indulging in these activities. This should be openly made known to every individual of the region. Let the people know it. How long will you keep it under the carpet? Even we are not able to know what activities the ISI is indulging in. Why should it be concealed? Probably, when the Minister concerned, or the Home Minister, replies to the debate, I would like to know his comments on this. During the time of Mr. Indrajit Gupta, it was said that there were 10 million illegal migrants in this country, of which only Assam had four million illegal migrants. When Assam is affected, the rest of the North-Eastern States are affected, including Sikkim. We are not seven States. We have eight States now in the North-East. This statement was made on May 6, 1997, by no less a person than the Home Minister of this country. This fact has been admitted. Recently, the Governor of Assam, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) S.K.

Sinha, has also warned that if the influx could not be checked, the indigenous Assamese people would be reduced to a minority. Why are these activities of the DLFS *memu* -When one's identity is in S crisis, when one thinks one is on the verge of losing one's identity, definitely, one has to do something to protect and preserve one's identity. Probably, this was one of the reasons for the birth of the ULFA

Now, after this suggestion, I come to my State. As I said, Arunachal is not an exception to these activities. Arunachal, once an island of peace, has not been spared. The NSCN's (Khaplang Group) activities, especially in Tirap and (Thanglong districts, have been intensified, from the year 1997 in the district of Tirap, and 1999 in the district of Chahnglong. They have four motives. Extortion is there. Murder is there. Apart from that, there is the motive of amalgamation of Tirap and Changlong districts of Arunachal Pradesh in a Greater Nagaland. I have said it in my maiden speech in this august House that we are opposed to this concept of Greater Nagaland. I think not only Arunachal Pradesh, but all other States also are opposed to this concept. The motive of collection of tax, extortion, etc. is there. The third motive is conversion of people into Baptist Christians. The fourth one is, recruitment of youth in Tirap and Changlong into the organization. Prohafjy, Sir, you may not be surprised when I say that Arunachal is not an exception. There had been almost 11 underground organizations in Arunachal Pradesh, of which three organizations are still active. They may not be too active. But their existence is still there. I do not think it has not yet come to the notice of the Government. I think the Government has this information.

When I refer to the identity issue, we also apprehend that probably, one day or the other, we may become another Tripura, or maybe, Arunachal is now being made a dumping ground for refugees. Officially, there are more than 65,000 Chakmas who have settled there. The Government of India says that we should grant them citizenship. We welcome the proposal of the Government of India. We are not opposed to the grant of citizenship to these people. We simply say, grant them citizenship, class 1 citizenship or class 2 citizenship or any type of citizenship. But you cannot give them this citizenship on our soil. In that context, I would like to say that if the Government of India fails to protect our interest when the demographic shape of the State is being threatened, when we are on the verge of losing our own identity, we have to do

something. There are so many tribes. Some tribes have a population of 3000. I belong to the largest tribe. We have more than three lakh population. If these 80,000 people are granted citizenship rights to become Indians, will it not show that we do not have enough people in India and we are inviting people from outside? What would happen to us? It would affect everything. It would affect us politically, economically and in all respects. I have been a student leader. When we have taken out processions in the streets demanding that these people should be taken back from our State, the National Human Rights Commission has termed us the violators of the human rights.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Nabam Rebia, try to make your points briefly as the time is running out.

SHRI NABAM REBIA: Sir, I seldom speak in the House. Since this subject concerns my State and my region, I have to speak. The Human Rights Commission has termed us the violators of the human rights by ignoring the sentiments and the interests of the original people. The Commission has come to the rescue of those refugees by telling us that their human rights are being violated and their interest should be protected, they should be given the citizenship rights and so on. I wish Shrimati Maneka Gandhi had been here. The Chakmas have eaten up everything. Not an insect has been left. From an insect to elephant, everything has been eaten up, the snake, the elephant, the snail and so on. Apart from this, they have destroyed our forest resources. We have always tried to bring this fact to the notice of the Government of India but the Government of India does not pay any heed to our request. The Government of India says: "Protect environment, don't destroy forests." But the refugees are indulging in all these things. They are free to do whatever they feel like. But when the people belonging to that region do something, the Government says that they are doing something wrong. What about the Bengal Act of 1873? It has been stated in the Regulation that no one should be allowed to acquire any interest in land. You may be a citizen of India. But no one should be allowed to acquire interest in land beyond a permissible area. We are still being governed by that Act. The Government of India wants that this Act should be ignored. This is a very, very serious thing, and for that matter, there is a strong sense of resentment among the youth of Arunachal Pradesh, We urge upon the Government to find a solution to this problem. You grant them the citizenship status. But take them away from our State.

You take them anywhere you want. I know that many political parties have been pleading that these people should be granted citizenship. I have got the documents and I can substantiate my case. And I tell you, Sir, that if this issue cannot be properly contained, if this cannot be addressed—the sensitive border State having international borders with China, Myanmar and Bhutan—if you want to render us to this position of paupers, one day or the other, the Government may have to repent it. (*Time bell*)

Now, Sir, as regards other things, I am not going in detail. You are pressing me to conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I am requesting you to conclude after you have made your points.

SHRI NABAM REBIA: Now, Sir, I would like to suggest some remedies for solving the problem of containing insurgency in the North-Eastern region. I would like to say that this isolation syndrome—I did say in the first words—should be totally removed. For that whatever is necessary, the Government should try to do.

Now, finance is the biggest obstacle, the biggest handicap, for the region. Our position is such that beggars are no choosers. We are virtually beggars today. The entire North-Eastern region is a beggar. You should always have these concessions while allocating funds and all that. The other day, I did say, when you give a package, when you announce a package, you please do not attach conditions to it; you give it with an open heart so that the real benefit goes to the people of the North-Eastern region and it should not become such that you simply announce a package and practically it becomes impossible to implement. Such packages normally form part of the annual outlay of the State.

Number three, Sir, the States are financially handicapped. Modernisation of police is very, very important; the police of many States, and especially of my State, have requested for grant of funds for raising another battalion, and I request the Home Minister to look into this request of my State. We have to harness all the natural resources. We have tremendous potentials. Especially, my State has a tremendous potential in hydel power. If this can be properly tapped, if this can be harnessed, I think, Arunachal Pradesh would, one day, become one of the richest States in the country. It may take 25 years, it may take 30 years or it may take 20

years. There are pending proposals for many hydel power projects. The Government should give immediate clearance to them. In tourism, forests and all other sectors, employment generation should be there so that youths are not left unemployed. It is too early for these States, the infant States, to solve the unemployment problem. Planning should be suggested from time to time and people sitting in Delhi, from the South Block and the North Block, should not formulate any policy for the region without consulting the leaders and the Governments there. As one of the speakers has said earlier-I think it was Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Leader of the Opposition, who has said it- many of the bureaucrats who go there do not go there with their bag and baggage; they say that they always have the provision that they have a house in Delhi and they say, "We have come for two days and we can go back tomorrow!" They are not accountable to the elected leaders, they are not accountable to the people! This is the system that is going on there. They say, "We have come only for two days. We can go tomorrow! Nothing doing. What can your Government do?" This is the thing. If there is no intention to serve the people, let them not go there. Let us serve ourselves. While sending such people to serve the region, you please see to it that right persons go there, right persons are deputed there to serve the people. I won't say much. I hope, whatever I have said, the Government of India will kindly look into that. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the situation in the North-East is bad. But how bad it is? It is so bad that during the last 50 years, we have lost 25,000 men in the North-East. The situation is so bad that it is comparable to Kashmir. In reply to one of my questions, the Home Ministry has given the figures. During the last 3 years, we lost 3,400 people in Kashmir; and in the North-East, we lost 3000 people. During last year, we lost 1177 people in Kashmir and 800 people in the North-Eastern States. I believe, the situation there is worse than Kashmir, for the simple reason that in the North-East, we have a ceasefire with a very very dominant and violent group, that is, the NSCN(IM). Despite that, the figures of the last 3 years are quite comparable with last year's figures. The figures are given.

The situation in Tripura is bad, with 614 deaths last year. But, I believe, the most serious situation is in Arunachal Pradesh. The reason is that Arunachal Pradesh has a very long border with China, and if Tirap and

Changlong are disturbed, it poses a security problem along the Indo-China border. The situation in other States of the North-Eastern region is no better. In Tripura, for that matter, RSS workers have been abducted and nobody knows where they are.

Sir, insurgency and rebellion are an unfortunate part of a nation's history. But serious nations don't take 50 years; serious nations don't lose 25,000 men before thinking of cures. Therefore, we should have acted earlier, and we must act now and see that this problem is undone. Now, how did this problem arise? It all started in 1947, when the country became free. The rest of the country integrated with the Union. For thousand of years, we had a long history and tradition of togetherness; secondly we had a common religion. Thirdly, we were together in the freedom struggle. Unfortunately, this was not so in the North-East, and the reason was that the British agenda in the North-East was different. The British applied Inner line permit and segregated people from the North-East so that they do not join the freedom struggle. It was for this reason that the integration of the North-East did not take place the way the rest of the country integrated with the Union. And in this situation, we misunderstood some of the ground realities. We did not realise that we had hostile neighbours. So, we thought that this entire situation was purely a law and order situation and we applied bureaucratic solutions. We expected them to join, just because we thought that we were very strong, we were .very powerful, and that North-East was a part of British India; so, they must join the Union.

In Nagaland, the insurgency started in 1947. In Manipur, during the 50's the insurgency was at a very low key. And she problem in Assam started only after 1979 when the infiltrators issue came up. So, that's where we made the mistake. What was essentially a political problem was misunderstood, or was understood to be a law and order problem and bureaucratic solutions were applied. We didn't go that extra mile; we didn't make any extra effort, to see that the North-East joins the Union. We did not understand their hopes and aspirations. We thought one solution was to give excess funds. Today, the population of the North-East is 3 crores. The population of Assam is 2 crores and a little more. The annual allocation to the North-Eastern States is something like Rs. 1,3000 crores I think it will be worth calculating as to what, is the per capita allocation to this region. An amount of Rs. 1,3000 crores is given every year, but the development, unfortunately, has not reached the ground. Unfortunately,

there is little financial discipline. In the North-East we have the Autonomous District councils created under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The money is allocated by the Central Government. I had put a question—it is Unstarred Question No.3886—and it relates to the financial discipline observed by the Autonomous District Council;. It is a mere illustration as to what is the state of affairs in the North-East. I am referring to the reply. Firstly, I go to the North Cachar Hills Autonomous District Council. The Comptroller and Auditor General audited the accounts and what he found was that there was a discrepancy of Rs. 11 65 crores between the cash book balance and the treasury records. Out of a total allocation of about Rs.40 crores, the discrepancy is to the tune of- Rs. 11.65 crores. Now, I go to the Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council. The money allocated was a little over Rs. 140 crores. The audit objection was that the Audit Reports for the period from 1970 to 1977 were submitted in October, 1983. It took 13 years for the Audit Reports to be submitted and they have not been placed before the Council even in the year 2000. I go to the Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council. The money allocated is Rs.87 lakhs. What was the audit objection? There was a discrepancy of Rs 75 lakhs. Out of an amount of Rs.87 lakhs, there is a discrepancy to the tune of Rs.75 lakhs in the cash balance as per the cash book and the treasury PLA is not reconciled. This is the state of affair as regards the Federal funds that have been allocated. After all, money is expensive. Now, I go to the Chakma Autonomous District Council in Mizoram. The money given is Rs.6 crores a year. The audit objection was that the closing balance was understated by Rs.57.27 lakhs. Out of that, the unaccounted unspent balance tying with the subordinate officers is Rs.24.72 lakhs. This is the state of affairs, as regards the funds given to the North-East. If these funds had gone to the actual development on the ground, I believe the security scenario in the North-East would have been different.

Much has been said about the ignorance about the North-East. I remember when I was Governor I used to visit Delhi. I am very sorry to share with this House that some of the Ministers used to ask me~I was the Governor of Mizoram~"how was Mr. Gegong Apang?", little realising that Mr. Gegong Apang was the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh. Sometimes, I was told that I was staying at a beautiful place called -Shillong. Shillong is the capital of Meghalaya and I was the Governor of Mizoram.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Things have changed since then.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL: I wish they had changed. But it is worth noting. I will find it very commendable if people in authority, people who are entrusted with the responsibility of deciding matters for the North-East, know the names of those seven States, alongwith their Capitals and can name the Chief Ministers of those States. I will be happy if things change for the better, if things change to that extent. But at that time it was not so. Mr. Ahluwalia referred to the sports potential of the North East. He referred to a gentleman called Dr. Aao, the tribe to which Mr. Jamir belongs. Dr. Aao was the Captain of the Indian team at the London Olympics held in 1948. I remember, when I was Governor, a very young boy came to me as he did not have enough money to participate in a boxing competition. I had to organise funds for him. And you will be surprised to know that he won bronze medal at the world boxing competition. Little did we do to identify and recognise talent. My State, Mizoram, does not have a regular football ground but my boys are champions, school champions, national champions in football. How many of us know as to where did the Polo start? Who gave a boost to Polo? We find princes playing it. It was Manipur. The NCERT books are silent on the North-East. Since the Vice-Chairman said things had changed since then, it will be worth examining as to how many Ministers have visited the North-East during the last three, four or five years. I find them paying only helicopter visit. They visit the helipad and they believe that they have visited the States. I think, things must change. We must try to understand the North-East from the ground, instead of knowing it only from the calendars. We see a bamboo dance calendar and we believe that we understand North-East. Sometimes, We find people visiting North East, landing there on a Sunday. I think you cannot render a greater disservice to the North East if you land there on a Sunday. We have to appreciate their local sentiments. The Christian societies do not like to receive guests on a Sunday. In handling the entire situation, we made a few mistakes, a few errors, a few blunders. One decision that we took in 1971 was, we created some Union Territories, we created some States. What did we do? Instead of ensuring development on the ground, we started the toppling game. I am not referring to one political party or the other; we all did it. With the result, the North-Eastern States became pawns in the hands of the Centre. The leaders were imposed from

the top. Whichever part came to power at the Centre, chose a State Government of its choice. What happens in such a situation? The natural leadership does not grow. If the natural leadership does not grow, don't you think you are strengthening the underground movements, you are strengthening the rebel groups? If you do not have natural leadership from the local area, how can you think of dealing with insurgency there? We missed a big opportunity when we defeated Pakistan in 1971. We took the whole thing for granted. We thought that insurgency in the North East was over forever, as if Pakistan was the only source of the problem. But the whole scenario changed in the next two years, i.e. in 1973 itself. I think the whole thing collapsed. Whatever we thought had changed was, in fact, there, and it turned out to be a lull before the storm. When we defeated Pakistan, in fact, that was the time when we should have negotiated with the underground groups. The Home Minister is here. I believe, we should never delay handling insurgency matters. Unfortunately, the nature of insurgency is such that it always starts on a very innocent note, it starts as a cultural or an educational organization. But it is soon taken over by the hardliners. I am very pained to share it with the House that if an insurgency movement starts once, it consumes the whole generation. When I mention Arunachal, I believe that the situation is ripe. Don't allow Tirap and Changlong to go out of hand; otherwise, we will have a major problem because Arunachal is on the border of China. Today, when we are discussing this problem, we should do a little introspection as well. We have great admiration for everything in the North East. We admire everything that exists in Delhi. But there is a reason to do some introspection as well. We signed a few Accords in the last few years. When you sign an accord, it becomes a matter of credibility as to how you keep your word and that helps you in further negotiations with other underground groups. Now, we signed an accord in Jammu and Kashmir. What did we do? We dismissed the Abdullah Government. Then came Assam. We signed an accord in Assam. What did we do? We dismissed the Mahanta Government. Then we signed an accord in Punjab. What followed? We dismissed the Barnala Government. We signed an Accord in Mizoram. We dismissed the Laldenga Government. Can we do some introspection? Is negotiation not a matter of credibility? How do you face an underground group? What do you tell them? Who is going to believe your words? I give all the credit to Shri Rajiv Gandhi for having brought

about such an accord. I have great respect and admiration for him. He understood the North East. But, somehow, he was misled. Why was Laldenga's Government dismissed within two-and-a-half years of assuming office? Why was the January 1989 election rigged? Why did we have to promise a Christian State? He held a brief for secularism. He said, "I cannot declare Mizoram a Christian State because I have taken oath under the Constitution and I stand for secularism." What did you promise in return? You issued a manifesto which promised a Christian State. When we talk to other groups, please keep in mind that we have to honour every word of ours. Mr. Home Minister, the situation in the North East as regards negotiations was never so good as it is today. I say this for the simple reason that the villain of the piece is the NSCN. The NSCN is imparting training to ULFA. The NSCN is behind every underground group in the North East. Today, you have a ceasefire agreement with the NSCN (IM). I believe, we have made a major mistake in accepting the word 'ceasefire'. It should have been 'cessation of hostilities'. Ceasefire agreement is always done with a sovereign Government. How can you have a ceasefire agreement? The agreement should have been on cessation of hostilities. Now you have ceasefire with the NSCN. So far as other groups are concerned, you have two options before you. You can open a dialogue with them. If you believe that a dialogue is not possible, then this is the time to deal with them. This is the time for a concerted action. Before you negotiate with them, please do not leave one thing in doubt. Let us not keep one thing in doubt that separation from this country is unthinkable.

I would like to assure Mr. Jamir, that at no stage, did the Government of India think that it was not open for a dialogue, or, that it was open for negotiations. And you have excellent relations with your neighbours. We have no problem with Bangladesh. We have no problem with Burma. I don't want Karen rebels in my country and they should not have NSCN in their country. Why can't we come to an understanding? Why can't these three countries, namely, India, Bangladesh and Burma, conduct a joint operation against the insurgent groups? After all insurgents are nobody's friends. They are a commonwealth by themselves. And if you want North-East to be safe, you have to make sure that the Burmese borders are also safe; you have to make sure that the Bangladesh border does not become a safe haven; you have to make sure that Shanti Bahini also does not operate...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please be brief.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL: I will just come Sir, the underground groups should appreciate, why should they be fussy about the word 'sovereignly'? Look at the Soviet model It had number of States; they were all sovereign. And I don't have to describe what powers they had. You compare it with the States in the United States. Which of the two is better? The North-Eastern States, as a separate entity, as demanded by the rebels, are unthinkable, are unviable, and it is high time these underground groups realise that sovereignty is just ruled out. During the insurgency movement, Laldenga had written a book. The title of the book is "Mizoram marches towards freedom", and it starts with the words "In the happy home of India, there lives an unhappy man. His name is Mizo." I had the manuscript; the book is in the Nehru Museum Library, Today, \who is running the affairs of Mizoram? His deputy, Zoram Thanga the vice-president of the underground government. And who is the Home Minister in Mizoram, Tawnlva with a wonderful accord, a successful accord. Now whenever I meet the CM. I tell him, "In the happy home of India, there is a very happy man. His name is Zoramthanga." And, I believe, this example can be followed.

Now, there are three suggestions which I would make right now. One is that, this is the time to act. You cannot delay, you cannot dither. And instead of giving financial packages, - it all started with Shri Deve Gowda; he gave Rs.6,100 crores, and Shri I.K. Gujral gave Rs.7,000 crores; so financial packages will not help - you better give them projects. As Manmohan Singhji and General Roy Chowdhuryji pointed out, it is the responsibility of the public sector to give them projects, to implement projects instead of giving finances. I refer to another very important aspect, that is relating to the Chakmas, this is in relation to what my dear friend from Arunachal Pradesh said. Now, no community in this country has suffered as much as Chakmas have. If you go through the background of the Chakmas, who are die Chakmas? The Chakmas belong to Bihar. They are the Buddhists from Bihar, And during die Muslim invasion, they were pushed to Calcutta and then to Chittagong. The British wanted'to use Chittagong as the port for trading, and they did not want the Chakmas

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around. And they pushed them to the Chittagong Hill Tracts And the Chakmas are the one tribe that helped India.

They are one community which is excellent as soldiers and they have great a tradition of sea-faring, and during our fight with the Mizo National Front, it was the Chakmas who stood by the country. My request to the Hon. Home Minister will be that we should recruit friendly tribes like the Chakmas and the Lakhers, to which my friend Shri Hiphei, belongs, because they sided with the country and they must be rewarded. Look at the penury and look at *he condition in which they are living. When we discuss the Arunachal situation, the Cha mas have been allotted land and all, I believe, it is the responsibility of the en. re country. May not be that of Arunachal Pradesh atone, but they are the people who stood by us. This is the time to act, this is the time to take the initiative, because lives are precious; we must act because this is the time.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH (Manipur): Hon. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the problem of Noith-Eastern States, from where I come. At the outset, I want to remind the Members that we are discussing about the problem of the North-Eastern region which comprises seven States, whose population is more than 3,15^00,000, according to the Census of 1991 and whose area is 2,56,840 square kms. This region i~> covered by the international border. We have a 1126 km long international border with China, 489 kms with BSiutan, 1343 kms with Myanmar and 1087 kms with Bangladesh. Why I am referring to the length of international border is because the situation created in these regions is mainly due to the relationship between India and the neighbouring countries. Now, these regions abound in natural resources, but there is a disadvantage, as there is no proper and adequate infrastructure. Though there have been substantial mflows of Plan and Non-Plan allocation from the Centre, the benefit has not reached the people. The Government of India is now trying to develop the economic condition of this region by restructuring the North-Eastern Council. but [do not think this restructuring of the North-Eastern Council will bring any solution. So, I again reiterate my demands that I have been raising at different times, before different Prime Ministers, in this House. The Region is full of burning problems, specially, the insurgency problem.

I am very happy to hear the speech of the hon. Member, Shri Swaraj Kaushal, who is aware of the situation in this Region, since he has been the head of a State there. So, I again reiterate my demand for the creation of a separate Ministry to look after the affairs of the North-Eastern Region. The United Front Government was considering the creation of a separate Ministry, but it did not fulfil its promise. Now, when the NDA Government, led by the BJP, is in power, we hope that there will be a separate Ministry to look after the affairs of the North-East because the problems of the North-East are not similar to those that prevail in Jammu and Kashmir. One may compare the situation in the North-East with the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. But Jammu and Kashmir is only one State. There, the problem is mainly from one neighbouring country, Pakistan. But as far as the North-Eastern Region is concerned, the problem is quite different. In order to tackle the problems being faced in the North-Eastern Region, we have to create a separate Ministry to look after the affairs of the States in that Region, regularly and timely. If we do not do that, the situation may go beyond our control. The United Front Government, led by Shri Deve Gowda, announced an economic package because it had been done earlier in the case of Jammu and Kashmir. The same had been endorsed by his successor also. The present Government has also done the same thing. We appreciate that. I hope it will help in bringing some solution to the problems in this Region, since the people of this Region feel that they have been neglected so far by the Government of India, even after fifty years of independence.

I now raise another issue which is regarding the problems of citizens who are living on the Indo-Myanmar border. Since these people have no other means of livelihood, they are taking the help from different anti-social elements like smugglers, insurgents and so on. I have already pointed out that the Government of India should take up border area development programme in order to protect the citizens who are living on the Indo-Myanmar border, Indo-Bangladesh border and the Indo-Bhutan border. The Government should give them some assistance for their livelihood and maintenance of their families.

I raised another issue regarding waiver of bans, on the lines of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir on 3.12.1998. This has been implemented in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir in respect of those who have been affected by militancy.

Here, in the North-Eastern region, the farmers have no way of improving their production, except to do it in the normal way. Formerly, they received loans like crop loan, etc. but, because of the insurgency problem, that also is stopped now. Most of the cooperative banks who are financing the farmers have no means now to finance the farmers. So, the farmers have no way of purchasing inputs for producing more. The situation regarding production in this region is deteriorating day by day because of lack of finance to purchase agricultural inputs. In this respect, I myself raised this issue in the House that loan waiving schemes for the farmers of the insurgency-prone areas of North East States should be given.

Since I belong to the area, I know the problems. Because of the pressure from the Chair, I do not want to take more time. But, before concluding my speech, I would raise issue of Manipur as I belong to the State and one of the States of this region.

Manipur is a State where 9/10th of the area is hill and only 1/10th of the area is valley. Meiteis are the major community in the valley, and Kukis and Nagas are the dominant tribe in the Hill. The main insurgency problem is in the valley. As far as the hilly area is concerned, the NSCN, founded in Nagaland, has the ascendancy. But, in the valley, there are different insurgent groups the PLA was founded in the year 1978; PREPAK in 1977; ULFA in 1964, KCP in 1980. These emerged mainly due to then-disc ontentment, created by the Government of India, because the State was neglected for long, after Manipur merged into the Indian Union. Even now, most of these insurgent groups observe October 15th of every year as a kind of a black day, a dark day, and observe *bandh* throughout the State. They think that the Government of India has neglected the merger agreement which entered into between the Maharaja of Manipur and the Government of India.

It is the Merger Agreement of Manipur. The present younger generation, which is mostly qualified, has been demanding the implementation of clause 3 of article 8 of the Merger Agreement. It says, "The Government of India also undertake to make suitable provision for implementation of Manipuri in various branches of public service and in everywhere encourage Manipuris to join them." No Government has taken up this matter during these fifty years. This is the main demand of the younger generation. By taking advantage of this, the insurgent groups are

trying to involve the younger generation in their movements. I myself raised this matter in this House on a number of times, appealing that the Government of India should consider this matter and take necessary measures. The insurgents are always taking advantage of this and trying to convince the younger generation, which is mostly unemployed. I again reiterate my demand that the Government of India should consider this article of the Merger Agreement, especially with regard to providing employment. Sir, literacy in Manipur is more than 60 per cent.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please wind up. There are 30 Special Mentions and three more Members are yet to speak on this subject, and all are from the North-Eastern Region.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH: In addition to that, I again remind the Home Minister of all those issues which are now agitating the State. He should take proper measures immediately and implement the assurances given, in time so that this Region can be helpful in controlling and de-activating the insurgency movement. Thank you.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are discussing a very serious problem. It is with regard to the insurgency problem in the North-Eastern Region. Most of the seven sister-States are facing this problem. What are the causes for the insurgency? That should be found out first. Only when we find out the real causes, we can eradicate the evil. So, I would try to make certain general observations on this point. Insurgency in Assam began in the eighties. It began in Nagaland much earlier, during the last part of the independence movement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Due to shortage of time, you can compress a bit.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN: I will try to do that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Leave the history and come to the existing situation and give whatever suggestions you want to give to the Government. There are thirty Special Mentions.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN: Yes, I know. But I should also be given some time to put forth my points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): You take five minutes.

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SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN : It is very difficult to express my views in five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I know how precise you are.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN: I will try to be precise. Sir, insurgency in Tripura is the fall out of the sad division of our country at the time of independence. Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh have little effect of militancy. But insurgent elements have penetrated into Changlong district of Arunachal Pradesh. The territories of Meghalaya are also used by some militants nowadays.

The problem of insurgency has been solved in Mizoram. The State has come back to normalcy and the democratic institutions are functioning there in a peaceful and normal manner.

But we must keep in mind that all militants are not insurgents. Though both of them mainly centre around two questions - protection of identity, and anger against the Central Government for showing negligence to the economic and cultural development of the region. These are the two main reasons which are responsible for the beginning of the insurgency problem.

Now the question arises, how could the insurgency and militancy penetrate and make ground among the people? The answer is that, it is due to the awakening of the masses the pathetic situation and backwardness of region in the economic and cultural fields in the last fifty years of independence. When the sentiment of being neglected gripped the mind of the masses, a section of them, particularly a section of the youth, grew impatient and became frustrated. They have taken to arms and have converted themselves into militants and insurgents. Moreover, unemployment has grown very fast in the country, as a whole. But it is faster in the North-Eastern region due to lack of industrial growth, negligence of land reforms, weakness of infrastructural development, non-use of water resources scientifically, etc. We have water problem in Gujarat and other places, but there is abundant water resources in this region. Have we utilized all these resources properly, scientifically? That has not been done. All the North-Eastern States suffer in the field of industrialisation, though the area is rich in certain raw materials and

minerals. Only Assam has a few industries - some in the public sector, and some in the private sector. But now the growth of industry has come to a grinding halt in the State. No new proposal for industrialisation has been made for the near future. The development in the sectors of infrastructure, communications, power generation, and in many other sectors also, has become stagnant. Vast water resources of the region are still untapped. In fact, no proper plan is there. If there is any, there is lack of political will to implement it. What has been achieved till now is the result of the mass movements of the region. Nobody can cite any example that such and such project has come out of Government's sweet will. Government's sweet will is not there. People of this region have to exert pressure for implementation of every plan and every project. So, most of the people have resentment, in one way or the other. Under such circumstances, militancy and insurgency have grown like anything.

Nowadays, it is a fact that the ISI has penetrated into this region also, and has become a threat. How did they get a foothold on our soil? The reasons for it have just now been mentioned by me. The ISI is ISI; it has no religion, no caste, no creed. It might do anything. It may recruit anybody to destabilise the region. Previously, the CIA did this job. Now, the ISI may do it. But the nature of both is similar - fishing in troubled waters. Sir, though most of the people have resentment against the Central Government, yet I am sure they are, by and large, democratic. They do not support militancy; not to speak of insurgency.

Sir, in the interest of advancement and development of the region, it is very, very necessary to bring back peace. But how should it be brought about? It is very, very important for the advancement and development of the region. It is highly essential to have a dialogue with the insurgents and militants. The other day, in this House, I had appealed to the hon. Home Minister to endeavour for an unconditional dialogue with the insurgent groups, like the ULFA. But he put a condition that it can be done within the parameters of Constitution. I am not against discussion on this point, but they should be brought to the negotiating table.

We should negotiate with them. These people are our own people. So, if a condition is there, one has to cross a long distance to have the negotiation. Then, one way would be left open to the Government, and that is, to crush the insurgency with an iron hand and with repressive

methods. If we are going to do this, perhaps, peace will not come to this region soon. For that reason, the surrendered ULFA has been brought into the scenario. In such a drama, some fake ULFA have also been brought into the scenario. They are used to fight the ULFA alongwith military, paramilitary and police forces. This should not be done. Sir, we cannot appreciate such a policy. This policy was used by Britishers during the Independence movement. The British used countrymen against countrymen. We should not do such type of things I urge upon the Home Minister to give up this policy. Our security forces are enough to deal with the situation. There is no necessity for armed surrendered ULFA to deal with the situation. It creates unnecessary complication. I request the Home Minister to kindly look into the matter. But the most important thing is to have a dialogue with the insurgents unconditionally. If a dialogue is began, the situation in the region would improve. There is already a ceasefire with the NSCN (IM) and the NSCN(Khaplang), and that makes the prospects for peace bright in Nagaland. The Government is ready to talk with these insurgent groups, without stressing much on the point, 'parameters of the Constitution.' So, I believe, there is no necessity to give much stress on "parameters of the Constitution" to have a dialogue with the ULFA I urge upon the Home Minister to re-think on it, in the interest of bringing peace to a major State of North-Eastern region, i.e., Assam, where about 60% of the total population of this region lives. My last point...

Sir, I took a little more time; Please allow me - centres round the ethnic question of the region. Most of the ethnic groups in this region, nowadays, are conscious about their identity with regard to their culture, language, moods, habits and economic behaviour. The process of growth of nationality is also on. But in this process, so many contradictions have also arisen. So, to handle the situation, to bring peace, the Government must have a firsthand understanding of these contradictions and of the desire of the different ethnic groups to protect their identity, language, culture, etc. At the same time, the Government has to protect and develop their economic aspirations. Sir, both, the protection of identity and fulfilment of economic aspirations and development, must go together. But there are some failures on the part of the Government ' The Central Government has been promising many things since long, including MPs package, non-lapsable funds, etc. But the point is that the Government has

to translate these things into reality. But, unfortunately, that is not being done. The failure is very much serious.

So, to conclude, I suggest, to prevent insurgency, all these things are very much necessary, including persuasion to make them come to the negotiating table, without any preconditions. Sir, I urge upon the hon. Home Minister to consider these points and do something, in the interest of peace and development of the region. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) . Thank you very much, Shrimati Borgohain. Smt. Basanti Sarma.

SHRIMATI BASANTI SARMA (Assam): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak on this sensitive subject, as I too am a victim of the insurgency.

At the very beginning, let me pay my homage to those who have fallen prey to the senseless killings, whether they have occurred in Assam or other States of the North-East or Kashmir or Punjab. May their souls rest in peace. Also, my heart goes out to those who have suffered and are still suffering the agony and pain of these merciless killings. I don't think that one can fathom the trauma, we the victims are going through, even though years have elapsed.

Sir, I will only concentrate on the State of Assam, which is' my home State. Assam is the nerve center of the North-Eastern region of India. It is strategically located because of its closeness to Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and China. It is connected to India by a narrow stretch of territory, less than 100-km. wide, and, as such, it becomes easier for the terrorists to snap off links with the rest of Jndia with a bomb-blast. Being the arena of the cross-border terrorism, Assam has,'for long, been known as a "State of Terror."

The terrorist links of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) and the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) with- the ISI (Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence) has been established time and again in the past, and, presently, it is on the increase. It now has assumed a serious dimension.

Here, I want to mention that way back in 1990 or 1991, I believe, Gen. Shankar Roy Chowdhury, who was then the Chief of Army Staff, had

forewarned the growing presence of subtle operation of the ISI in some parts of the North-East, but not much heed was paid to that I fail to understand why no action was taken or no serious thought was given to it There is a saying, "Strike the rod when it is hot," but, often, one tend* to overlook it. if we had acted on time, the internal situation would not have deteriorated to this extent. The situation now is such that it needs to be handled on the utmost priority basis and with a strong hand.

Here, I want to add that I am glad that the hon. Home Minister has realized and admitted during his recent visit to the State that one needs to talk tough with our neighbours who are harbouring the militant groups. I stand to be corrected. I am only quoting from newspapers. The problem of insurgency would be solved to some extent, if a strong action is taken on this front. Talks should be carried with our neighbours on the use of the adjoining areas by insurgents for carrying out anti-India activities.

Secondly, I feel that the persistent neglect, the inadequate appreciation of the problem and the political bungling by the successive Governments at die Centre too accounts for the continuing sense of alienation among the people of the North-East For the majority of the people Jiving there, Delhi appears to be a distant place. I am sorry to state here that for erecting this psychological barrier, we have to blame the changing Governments at the Centre and bureaucrats. Their Delhi-centric approach to men, matters and issues, has only complicated the problem. Each problem needs to be handled with care, for the problems vary from region to region and from State to State. Our Leader, Dr. Manmohan Singh, has already spoken on this. So, I win not go into its details. The Centre has never initiated in a determined manner any comprehensive step to end this feeling. This rift should be removed.

It is very necessary that the development process needs to be speeded up. The different Governments at the Centre have announced various packages. But it has been alleged that most of the money has been siphoned off into wrong channels, including funding for insurgent groups. Funds must be utilized properly. Works should be carried out on a war footing. A good and strict monitoring κ needed to get the desired result

There is widespread unemployment and under-empk>yment The infrastructure is tenibh/ poor. A viabfc infrastructure for telecommunication,

air, road and rail networks and water supply will also help to strengthen the economic and social bonds with the rest of the country.

I also want to state here that it has been noticed in Assam, there being a porous border and the terrain being difficult with forest cover, whenever there is a hot pursuit by the security forces, the insurgents or militants tend to escape to the neighbouring countries.

These pursuits which are carried out at the cost of valuable lives and at the cost of funding, turn out to be futile. This aspect should be looked into. The border should be sealed and vigilance should be strengthened. The security personnel should be well-armed with sophisticated weapons to fight the insurgents; and training should be imparted for their survival in these treacherous terrains. The Intelligence Branch too needs a revamping.

To prevent infiltration, it is high time the Centre speeds up the fencing work along the border. It has been stated that disguised ISI agents are being allowed to trickle in, undeterred. This needs to be looked into and measures should be taken to stop it.

Sir, Assam has suffered long. Some immediate measures need to be taken to bring back peace to the State. I urge upon the Home Ministry to look into it with urgency in order to curb the growing instability being created by the ISI agents and other insurgent groups. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Last, but not the least, Dr. Arun Kumar Sarma because it was he who had persuaded the Chairman and other leaders of the political parties to have a Short Duration Discussion on the situation prevailing in the North-Eastern States. I found from the list, his name was; not there. Anyway, Dr. Arun Kumar Sarma.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak on the Short Duration Discussion on the internal security situation, with special reference to the North-Eastern States. I also thank the leaders of all political parties and the Honourable Chairman and the Honourable Home Minister for accommodating this discussion on the last day. Probably, the Short Duration Discussion on jute was more important than the problem of insurgency in the North-East. Anyway, ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): But Assam also has the problem of jute. That is why it was given preference.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA Now, most of the Members who are here are waiting to make their Special Mentions. There are hardly a few Members here to listen to this discussion. As a Member of a regional party, I must put forth our viewpoint about the problem prevailing in the region. Most of the speakers have outlined the root cause of the insurgency problem in the North-East, the partition of India and the continued illegal migration from across the border. From the time of partition, we have had two different approaches. One for West Pakistan; and another for East Pakistan. The approach was more softened when Bangladesh was created. We were rest assured that our problem was solved. We had allowed illegal migration unabated; and the situation became very alarming.

I want to quote from the Annual Report, 1999-2000, of the Home Ministry. I congratulate the Home Ministry for giving a brief outline of the genesis of the insurgency problem in the North-East, in its Annual Report, 1999-2000. I want to quote from para 5.2 of the Annual Report :

"The North-Eastern States have been suffering from militancy for quite some time now. Militancy in Nagaland has been there right from Independence. In Manipur, while there was some very low level of militancy in the 50s, it was only in the late 60s that militancy assumed a more serious character. Assam was free from militancy till 1979 and it was only with the agitation on "foreigners" issue and subsequent formation of ULFA that problem assumed serious dimensions. The Bodo problem arose as a result of neglect and discrimination. In Tripura also, it was the large-scale influx of Bengali population into the State in the 60s that led to the rise of militancy as the indigenous ethnic population was reduced to a minority by the influx. Besides, there are other simmering unrests in various parts of the NE which need to be handled with sensitivity and urgency."

I appreciate that the Home Ministry could identify some of the areas of the genesis of the problem. But there is another issue, the question of the fear of identity, losing identity, by the ethnic groups. It is so because at the time of the adoption of our Constitution, there was some kind of commitment to the various sub-nationalities that they would be given equal protection to preserve their culture, to preserve their language and equal opportunity for employment and development, which was subsequently denied. I want to quote one statement of Dr. Ambedkar made on 21st

February, 1948. "Although this Constitution may be federal in structure, the Committee has used the term 'Union' because of certain advantage);" These are, (1) the Indian Federation is not the result of an agreement by units; (2) the component units have no freedom to secede from it. The suspicion that some of the States might secede was there and the word 'Federation' was replaced by the word 'Union'. And from *that* time, too much of centralization started. That has resulted in further action, further discrimination, disproportionate development and more infusion of the feeling of isolation into the mind of the North-Eastern youth.

Sir, I want to say that in 1962, the Chinese invaded our country. Unfortunately, the Indian Army could not save part of the North-East from the Chinese and it had deserted it. A message had gone from the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, "My heart goes to the people of Assam. We could not save you." That is very much inherent in the youth of the North-Eastern region that while the country is showing all the mastership to exploit the resources for the development of other regions, while we were in distress, we were deserted. From that time, the bureaucracy took another stand-point at any moment, this area may go into the hands of the Chinese. The feeling of negativity, negative mind-set, started in the bureaucracy. Since then, there is no investment there, despite that area having 33 per cent of water resources and in spite of having hydro power capacity of 50,000 mega watts, till today, it is power deficient. No road communication, no railways.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Dr. Sarma?, could you not come to the present, what you want to be done?

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: To give a healing touch, we should know what is inherent in the feeling of the youth there. Sir, subsequently, the North-Eastern region was burdened with the national commitments. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact was there to take back some of the population which was being displaced from East Pakistan. All those populations were dumped in Assam and some other parts of the North-Eastern region. As a result, there was destabilization in the demographic pattern here. And, today, in Assam, in more than 40 constituencies, illegal migrants—maybe, some of them are granted citizenship status for voting rights—constitute the majority. That means, in one-third of the total area, political supremacy has gone to the people who migrated.

This is their genuine fear. As a result of this fear, there were agitations in Assam, and, ultimately, the Assam Accord was signed. It was a democratic movement. But due respect was not given to their peaceful movement. When the Assam Accord was not duly honoured by the Central Government, the militant groups, the hardliners, got an advantage to mobilise the people. They said: " Look, there is no use of believing the Central Government. They are not going to develop our area. They are not going to allot the necessary funds and our identity is at stake, The Government of India would not save us." Even the Illegal Migrants Determination by Tribunal Act is applicable only to the State of Assam. Why? It is because of the fact that this Act was enacted to protect the illegal migrants who had migrated to Assam because they were the voters of a particular ruling party at that time; and, in order to save their interest, this Act was enacted. In the entire country, the question of foreigners is dealt with under the Foreigners Act. But in Assam, the question of foreigners is dealt with under the IMDT Act. This is a clear discrimination. Till today, even after so much of assurances even by the present Government, the Act has not been repealed. I hope the hon. Minister will be kind enough to enlighten us about the status of this Act. Sir, much has to be done for the implementation of the Assam Accord. In this context, I must cite the example of the Bodo Accord. Some of the villages were earmarked to be included in the Bodoland area, subsequent to the Accord, and the clause was: "Whenever the Bodos are 50 per cent, those areas will go to the Bodoland area." But, Sir, there were a few villages where the Bodos had the majority, and there was a tendency to alienate of the non-Bodos so that the Bodos can come in majority in those particular villages and can be annexed to the Bodoland area. That clause was there in the Bodoland Accord. That is why the problem has not yet been solved. It is not proper on the part of the Government of India to have a very ambiguous Accord. Even the Assam Accord was not very clear about the repeal of the IMDT Act. That is why, even though our Government was formed, they could not do anything because of the IMDT Act. The IMDT Act debars anybody from detecting the illegal migrants. Now, the situation is very alarming. I hope the entire country will take a serious note of the problem because the ISI is taking advantage of the situation and is increasing its concentration in that area. This situation has arisen because the Government was concentrating its efforts in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, particularly

during the Kargil war, and also on other occasions. So, the ISI thought it advantageous to be there in that part of the country in order to destabilise India through the corridor of the North-East. They find it very easy to operate from there. Many militant groups are operating from Bangladesh, Bhutan and they are taking shelter in Myanmar. I don't find any reason, when we have good relations with Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Myanmar, why could not India deal with these three countries firmly, who are harbouring terrorists, who are giving shelter to terrorists and who are giving arms training to them? The High Commission of Pakistan in Bangladesh is actively associated with the training of militants. Sir, I want to quote the statement of the Chief Minister of Assam which has been made by him on 6.4.2000 in the Assam Assembly.

"During the recent past, the Assam police has gathered sufficient evidence to prove that Pakistan's intelligence agency, ISI, has been actively involved in fomenting violence and terrorism in the State..."

"These activities are mainly in the following areas—promoting indiscriminate violence in the State by providing active support to the local militant outfits, creating new militant outfits along ethnic and communal lines by instigating ethnic and religious groups."

Sir, it is a very recent phenomenon that in Assam a few fundamental organisations have been formed very recently. These are, as stated by the Chief Minister, Muslim United Liberation Front of Assam (MULA), Muslim Liberation Tigers of Assam (MLTA), Islamic Liberation Army of Assam (ILAA), United Muslim Liberation Front of Assam (UMLFA), United Reformation Protest of Assam (URPA), People's United Liberation Front (PULF), Muslim Foreigners Force (MVF), Adam Sena, Islamic Swak Sangh, Harkatul Mujahedeem, Harkatul Jihad. Sir, these are the fundamental organisations which have resorted to militancy in recent times at the instance of ISI. This is a very serious matter because Assam was always peaceful, Assam was always maintaining a very secular status even at the time of agitation. We did not go in for any non-secular ideas. There is also a potential danger because we do not discriminate on the basis of religion. There are more than one crore of Hindus living in Bangladesh. If there is any disturbance, they can come and settle in Assam. Already, Assam is overburdened. By various international commitments, Assam had taken its huge share at the cost of the identity of Assamese people or

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language and culture. Now, the same situation will happen if we go in for a different line.

The people, at large, are peaceful, and I also add that the people, at large, are not in support of the secessionist tendencies because the people of Assam know that if they secede from India, where will they go? They have to tie up with any of the other forces for their protection. But what is the option?

Ahluwaliaji has narrated that the linkage of Assam and other parts of the North-East existed long before Ramayana started, and there is no question of disbelieving the people of the North-East that the people will support secessionists. The point is how we deal with the situation of deprivation. There are many other agonies on account of the deprivation of the people, especially on employment side. In all the national, Government recruitment, there was discrimination. Even the tribals were not given their due share, and there is no possibility of private investment or industrialisation. There was an effort by the Union Government to establish regional offices of the various Ministries, various Departments, and also of the public sector undertakings. Sir, many of the offices were established, officials were posted, but very recently, most of the officials who were meant for the North-Eastern region have started shifting from the North-East and they are now operating either from Calcutta or from New Delhi. Now, a reverse tendency has started, and if this is allowed to continue, the North-East cannot be taken for granted that it will have a similar situation like it has before. If we do not control the influx, if we do not adequately deal with the insurgency problem, the situation may go worse than Kashmir because it comprises seven States; it has boundaries with three or four neighbouring countries. There are a lot of issues which are related to underdevelopment and appropriate projection of the culture of various ethnic groups of the North-Eastern region. There was discrimination even in sending people outside. People are sent abroad in different cultural groups. When a team of cultural group from the North-East is sent abroad, a scientist is sent abroad or an artist is sent abroad, but no person from the North-Eastern region is included. And no person from Assam is included. There is discrimination at all levels. There should be a practical solution to this problem and North-East should be given its due share in every sphere.

7.00 P.M.

Regarding Assam, one more point had arisen in the minds of the youth. Shri Gopinath Bordoloi was the key person who tried to combine Assam and the North-East with India because while grouping, Assam was clubbed with East Pakistan. It was Gopinath Bordoloi who, along with the other tribal leaders, thought that Assam and other parts of the North-East should be with India. A separate constitutional provision was made for the North-Eastern States. Shri Gopinath Bordoloi was not honoured at an appropriate time. Of course, I congratulated the present Government for honouring him posthumously. A portrait of Shri Gopinath Bordoloi was unveiled in the Central Hall and, subsequently, it was removed. This is the present state of affairs. This is how our people, who were in the forefront of our national struggle, are being treated. These kinds of various expressions are there. If I go on narrating them, I may go on continuing. But I want to say that considering the peculiar problem of the North-East, having ethnic diversity, geographical isolation and 98 per cent of its boundary being with the neighbouring countries for the last 50 years, a total package is required to be brought by the Central Government, to give it a proper healing touch. Because of this belief that the North-Eastern States may secede from India, the foreign tourists were not allowed to go to the North-East and the traditional trade groups, which were trading with Bangladesh, Myanmar, China, Bhutan, were all stopped. What will these people do? They were stopped from transacting business with the other side of the border. There was hardly any effort from the Central Government to have industrialisation, or, have economic development, and tourists were not allowed to go there. The people of the North-East were not exposed to the outside world; there was little exposure. Therefore, incompetency started. We have created seven States. There is a huge non-plan expenditure which has resulted in a huge loss of revenue. There is also less appreciation of the contribution of the North-Eastern region to the national economy.

THE WE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Sarma, please conclude now.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Yes Sir, I am concluding. What is the problem of Assam? As I represent Assam, I want to tell that Brahmaputra is the major river flowing through Assam and Jorhat. After

independence, that is, after the 1950 earthquake, the greater Brahmaputra came up. All the tributaries of the Brahmaputra become flood-prone.

Every year, money, in the form of loan, is coming from the Centre for flood relief. Some repair work is being done. Whenever our fields get damaged, or, our schools, hospitals and property get damaged, we are given some money for relief works. Some embankments are constructed, but the next day, they get washed away. Even roads get washed away. So, the entire money given to Assam is wasted. The Planning Commission could not visualise the problems of the State of Assam and also the problems of the other parts of the North-Eastern region.

There are many Centrally-sponsored Schemes which are not at all possible to be implemented in the North-East. What will be the use of the Housing Scheme, or the Million Wells Scheme in a flood-prone area? It is useless. They should have made a concerted effort to control the flood and develop the economy. Now, the entire people are suffering because of the flood and the economy is at stake. People have a feeling that Assam produces 50 per cent of the exportable tea and 50 per cent of domestic oil production. The coal industry was there during the British time. It was started in the year 1880. But Assam was not given its due share for its growth and economic development because the Planning Commission—it was not a statutory body and the Planning Commission was brought into existence by a Resolution in the Cabinet—diverted the money to the stronger States who could lobby and influence the Government at that time. From a State like Mizoram we have only one MP. From Nagaland we have only one MP. From Manipur we have two MPs. From Assam we have two MPs. How can they lobby to get the due share?

Now, some statistics are given that a huge amount is going to the North-East. But the real fact is that it is not so. Probably, as a compensation for the neglect in the last 50 years, some additional amount has been allocated and that too is not being properly utilised. I appreciate the fact that whatever money is going to the North-East is not being properly utilised. There are three factors. Number one is that it goes for the relief work. Secondly, it goes for controlling insurgency and maintaining law and order. Thirdly, it has been extorted by the militants and this money goes to Bangladesh or Bhutan for the purchase of arms. There is an international caucus which is working there. There was a disturbed situation in Cambodia and Vietnam.

They had some arms. The international community has also surplus arms to be sold. They find North-East as a fertile ground for selling arms. They have also started selling drugs through the porous border of the North-Eastern Region. There should be a concerted effort to have control over this particular situation because this is not only linked to the internal problem of the North-Eastern Region of our country but also to an international strategy to destabilise some areas.

There is one more dimension to this problem. Our External Affairs Minister is here. Last year, I attended a conference in K'un-ming city of China. It was organised by the Centre for Police Registrars. There were four countries, Myanmar, Bangladesh, India and China. We had some consensus there that all these four countries must have a trade consortium and the trade routes should be opened. The south-western parts of China have a similar problem of minority, inaccessibility and underdevelopment because they are hilly areas. China wants to have access to the markets of Bangladesh and India. So, they are interested to have negotiations and to have certain kind of freeze on certain disputes so that they have easy access to the markets. If the trade route is not duly opened, the illegal trade, which is already going on, will continue. They will try to dump their material on us. The trade routes should be opened! and the North-Eastern Region should be allowed to develop a regional forum of trade and commerce, because it is not economically viable for any industry to set up a plant and produce something, and sell it in Bombay. There are distance constraints and we have to give transport subsidy. How long can we give it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI). Mr. Sarma, now you have to wind up.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: There should be a rational approach.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : There are 31 Special Mentions. I was wrong. It is not 30.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA Then, I will put only a few suggestions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): No; no. I think, you have taken about twenty-five minutes.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA I will put ordy a few suggestions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): You have taken twenty-five minutes.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA Sir, I will request the Ministry of Home Affairs to find out a strategy as to how the negative points that are there in the bureaucracy towards the North-East can be removed. That is very important. Because ordy for some political reasons, all the Commissions were formed, all die task forces were formed, all the packages were given, but at the implementation stage, because of the negative tendency of the bureaucracy, everything was negatived. Secondly, all the Centrally -sponsored Schemes should be transferred to die States. It should be made applicable to the entire country. Then, for the North-Eastern States, there should be a separate planning process. Because, Uie normal planning process could not do much good during *the* last fifty years. I support Swaraj Kaushalji that only giving money for any plan or non-plan development process is not going to help. What is realty needed in die North -East is, it requires some technology, project preparation, etc. It is deficient in that area, because of die improper exposure during die last fifty years. It is disappointing to note diat not a single Member had been appointed to either the Planning Commission or die Finance Commission from the State of Assam or from the North-East. This is despite the fact that we have a good number of efficient people to deal with the problems of the North-East, who can really represent the issues of the North East. I hope this will be considered by the hon. Home Minister.

Thirdly, diere should be a special employment exchange for the North-Eastern States, so that die unemployed youdis can get dieir names registered in diose employment exchanges. It should be made mandatory for all the Central Government establishments and *also...(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Your suggestions are self-speaking. There is no need to explain them. You go ahead Don't dilate on them. That is my request.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : Because they are so explicit, self-speaking and so convincing, *...(Interruptions)*

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA There should be a norm that...
(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Already you have taken thirty-five minutes. We have a number of other things to do. There is a concluding function also.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: We gave this 'notice for...
(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): That is why, when I did not find your name here, I particularly reminded the Secretary-General... (Interruptions) So, phase... (Interruptions)

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Sir, all the Members from the North East had requested to take up this discussion in the last.. j (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I know, that is why (Interruptions)

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Atleast, we should be given some scope to speak out our mind.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : I think, I have given you more than some.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Then, Sir, there should be a satellite township... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI).Because there was one Calling Attention Motion. Certain rules were decided.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: There should be three satellite townships to accommodate the officers of the Central Government, who have now shifted from the North East. This is essential because officers, seeing the housing problem and other inadequacies which are there, like to be shifted from the North East. So, there should be three satellite townships which can accommodate all the officers of the Central Government as also of the PSUs, to deliver good governance in that area. Otherwise, all the officers will leave those areas and there will be nobody to administer in an appropriate manner. The North-East should also be recognised as a separate administrative zone. When it is tied up with the Eastern Zone, many of the issues concerning remote corners of the North-East could not be brought up.. If it is treated as a separate zone ,

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then many things, which till now were dealt with by the Centre, would be dealt with by that particular zonal office. I think the connectivity of the North-East by rail and road should be ensured. I also want the hon. Home Minister to note a point that when our roadways network was finalised, the East -West Corridor went up to Silchar. There are many areas beyond Silchar in the North East. The National Corridor is up to Silchar. So, other areas can be included in the National Corridor. We have been claiming this since long. If this road is extended up to the extreme border of India, then onry due justice w ill be done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please conclude.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA I would request the Government to institutionalize the various commitments which were made by the hon. Prime Minister from time to time. The Assam Accord and trie Bodo Accord should be implemented in true spirit. The Indian Constitution should be amended to make it a federal Constitution. By keeping Communication, Defence and External Affairs with the Centre and by giving all other powers to the States, many problems not onry of the States of the North Eastern Region but also of the whole country can be solved. For emerging as a stronger nation, we must have a truly federal Constitution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : Please sit down. There is a message from the Lok Sabha.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: There should be a dialogue for solving these problems. There should be some political soultion to these problems. They shuould desisit from making false promises to the North East.. That is veiy important. I hope the whole country, the hon. Home Minister and his Cabinet colleagues will take a pragmatic view of the situation. It will not be made a political issue. Cutting across party lines, we should work for integrating the North Eastern Region with the mainland. Thank you.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Major Port TVusts (Amendment) Bill, 2000

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:-