

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Armed clashes between the Assam and Nagaland Police in the first week of June, 1985 at Merapani on the Assam and Nagaland border, resulting in a number of casualties

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra):
 Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the armed clashes between the Assam and Nagaland Police in the first week of June, 1985 at Merapani on the Assam and Nagaland border, resulting in a number of casualties and the action taken by Government in the matter.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA):
 Sir, Unfortunately, between 4th and 6th June, 1985 armed clashes took place in the Merapani area along Assam-Nagaland border between the Assam Police and the Nagaland Police.

As the Hon'ble Members are aware, there has been long-standing territorial dispute between Assam and Nagaland in connection with the boundary between the two States as defined in the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. Govt. of India had taken steps to assist the two State Governments to reach an amicable settlement of these disputes. In August 1971 an Adviser was appointed in the Home Ministry and through his good offices, four interim agreements were signed by these two State Governments in March 1972. The Adviser carried out detailed study of the various aspects of the problem and made certain recommendations to the State Governments. Unfortunately, no agreement could be reached between the two State Governments to resolve the dispute on a permanent basis. The Adviser demitted office in 1976. Thereafter, from time to time steps were taken by the Central Gov-

ernment to advise the two State Governments to enforce the interim agreements of 1972 in letter and spirit and to continue efforts to resolve the dispute through discussions.

Early this year in the month of February, there was a serious incident in which six labourers working for Forest Department of Assam were killed. Certain amount of tension had built up in the area in which the incident had taken place. On 28th March, 1985 Home Minister held a meeting with the Chief Ministers of Assam and Nagaland at Shillong and stressed the need to resolve the border dispute amicably and to ensure that clashes on the border do not recur. Both the Chief Ministers had assured Home Minister that they would sort out the issues and ensure that clashes do not recur. Unfortunately, despite their assurance, certain degree of tension was built up in the Merapani sector and there was a brief exchange of fire between the patrols of the two State Governments Police Force on 28th May, 1985. Immediately on receipt of the information about the incident, Home Minister sent a wireless message to the two Chief Ministers which was repeated to the respective Governors expressing his grave concern at the incident and requesting them to take steps at once to prevent recurrence of such incident. The two sides were asked to end the situation of confrontation which seemed to be prevailing. It was decided to hold a meeting of the Commissioners and Inspector Generals of Police of the two States at Dimapur on 3rd and 4th June, 1985. A representative of the Home Ministry was asked to join the deliberations and he did so on 4th June. Unfortunately, it seems that as the meeting was in progress heavy firing broke out between a number of posts of Assam Police and Nagaland Police confronting each other in the Merapani area. Despite efforts of the Home Ministry's representative, ceasefire could not be effected on the ground. Immediately

[Shrimati Ram Dulari Sinha]

on receipt of the information, Home Minister urged the two Chief Ministers to immediately effect ceasefire if possible, visit the border personally and take all steps to end confrontation forthwith.

Following a meeting between the Senior Police and Civil officers of the two States on 6th afternoon effective ceasefire was enforced from the evening of that date. Next day i.e. on 7th June, the two Chief Ministers met in the presence of the Governor of Nagaland. They agreed to maintain and fully enforce the ceasefire. They also agreed to the induction of neutral force and to restore *status quo ante* by the Police forces of both the States going back to the positions before the current series of incidents. Both the Chief Ministers also agreed to continue to hold talks for a long-term solution to the problem of disputed area and to ensure that a perfect understanding and amity is maintained between the two States. They also gave certain directions to their respective officials in regard to the posts that had been established in violation of the 1972 agreement.

As agreed between the two Chief Ministers, the Central Government arranged to move Assam Rifles into the affected area on 8th June. This force was subsequently replaced by BSF as proposed by the two Chief Ministers. Two senior officers of the Ministry were immediately despatched to make on the spot assessment of affected area on 8th June. This measures for the maintenance of law and order and also to furnish a preliminary report into the incident. I visited Merapani on 10th June, 1985 and held discussions with the two Chief Ministers. The two Chief Ministers also held a meeting on the same date at Merapani and reviewed the steps taken by the two Administrations pursuant to their agreement at Imphal. Home Minister also held discussions with the two Chief Ministers.

Meetings with the Chief Secretaries and Director Generals of Police of the two States were held by the Union Home Secretary on 17th and 19th June and a number of steps were decided upon in these meetings to defuse the situation as also to arrange for speedy rehabilitation of those affected by the disturbances.

These meetings were followed by subsequent meetings between the Commissioners and Deputy Inspector Generals of Police of both the State Governments on 30th June in the presence of a representative of the Ministry of Home Affairs. On 10th July, Union Home Secretary reviewed the implementation of the various agreements in a meeting of the two Chief Secretaries and senior Police officers held at Gauhati.

As a result of the various steps taken the situation at Merapani is fast returning to normal. Most of the people who had left the area because of the disturbances, have gone back to their respective places. For purposes of grant of relief and rehabilitation, the Central Government have given an advance of Rs. 50 lakhs to the State Government of Assam pending assessment by a Central Team of the quantum of the Central assistance required. A detailed proposal was recently received from the State Government and a Central Team has been sent to Assam.

In these clashes 28 policemen from Assam and 6 from Nagaland were killed. A number of police personnel were injured. 13 civilians also lost their lives. About 32,000 people were displaced. In the view of the Central Government, these clashes between the Police Forces of the two States are most unfortunate and distressing. We are very much concerned that such armed clashes should have taken place at all. We are determined to see that there is no repetition of such unfortunate incidents. The Government have decided

to appoint a Commission of Inquiry under the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952 to fully go into the facts pertaining to these clashes and to probe into the conduct of the officials of the two States and also to fix the responsibility.

We are also keen that these long-standing border dispute should be resolved through discussions and consultation. To that end we are currently holding consultations with the Chief Ministers of the two States with a view to working out a modality towards finding a permanent solution to the dispute.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is very unfortunate that the Government is talking in terms of a cease-fire as if there has been a fighting between two independent States. I am really pained to note from the language used in the statement of the Home Minister that their attitude towards the problem is not to solve it. This is not the only question which we are facing. As my friend, **Shri Chaturanan Mishra**, pointed out, this is a fight between two Congress(I) Governments. What has happened in Punjab? I can quote three instances. The Punjab Chief Minister belonged to the Congress (I) Party; the Haryana Chief Minister belongs to the Congress (I) Party; the Rajasthan Chief Minister belongs to the Congress (I) Party; and the Himachal Pradesh Chief Minister belongs to the Congress (I) Party. Yet they could not solve the problem of water; they could not solve the problem of the territory; and they could not solve the question of Chandigarh. The only attitude that the Government has taken is the attitude of an independent neutral observer as if they have nothing to do with this and they say that the State Governments must agree and come to a settlement. Sir, I am coming from Maharashtra and we are facing the same problem for the last twenty years. The Belgaum question has not been solved because the Prime Minister has said that the Karnataka and Maharashtra Governments must

decide amongst themselves. How can they decide? The problem is that the Marathi-speaking areas must go to Maharashtra and some other areas must go to the other State. The same thing is happening in the North-eastern Region and it is worse there because it is a sensitive area. But, first of all, I want to point out the total failure of the Government there who has failed to exercise his powers under the Constitution. It is not as if the Governor is a mere titular head. When we framed this Constitution and when these States were integrated, we made special provisions. In this connection, I would like to refer to article 371A of the Constitution which contains a special provision with regard to the State of Nagaland. I do not want to quote the entire thing. But I would only quote article 371A(1)(b). It says:

“(b) the Governor of Nagaland shall have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland for so long as in his opinion internal disturbances occurring in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area immediately before the formation of that State continue therein or in any part thereof and in the discharge of his functions in relation thereto the Governor shall, after consulting the Council of Ministers, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken”.

This is the provision. He can take action in his individual judgment. What was he doing? Why has the Governor not taken any action to step these clashes between the Nagaland police and the Assam police under special provisions under article 371A of the Constitution? Under article 3 of the Constitution, by a simple majority, Parliament can by law change the boundaries of any State, increase the area of any State, diminish the area of any State, alter the name of any State and form a new State by separating or uniting the area of another State. The power given is a general power and it is an omnipotent power given to Parliament. By a simple majority you

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]
can do it. But no action is taken and it is simply left to the Chief Ministers of the States concerned. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the House to article 263 of the Constitution which contains a special provision and this has been cited by many State Governments also. I quote Article 263:

"If at any time it appears to the President that the public interests would be served by the establishment of a Council charged with the duty of—

- (a) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between States;
- (b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the States or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest; or
- (c) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better co-ordination of policy and action with respect to that subject,

it shall be lawful for the President by order to establish a Council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure."

So, I would urge that the power given under article 263 of the Constitution should be exercised and the provisions of this article should be implemented. Now the Central Government has become impotent. They cannot solve ordinary questions of border disputes between Maharashtra and Karnataka, Nagaland and Assam or Punjab and Haryana. And, therefore, I suggest that action should be taken under Article 263 to solve these questions. It is a question of policy. Therefore, my first two questions are: One, will the Government appoint a Boundary Commission and take action under article 263

to solve the dispute between Assam and Nagaland, specially when it is a sensitive area? Secondly, it is not clear from the statement why no action has been taken by the Governor when he was entrusted with a special responsibility under article 371A. Sir, it is unfortunate that the Government is treating this problem merely as an internal matter between the two States. Sir, this is an area where we are concerned with security of the States. Anything happening there will result in destabilisation in the North-eastern area. When talks are going on, the armed police were asked to fight. They cannot fight unless they have been instructed to fight by the I. G. Police or some other officers. The statement given by the Minister says that 22,000 people are affected. But the papers have reported that 70,000 people have been affected and poor people have been displaced. The papers have also stated that large-scale looting took place and police personnel have also been killed. It is not clear from the statement what relief has been given or if any compensation has been paid to their dependents. Sir, the disputes between these States is not new. It started with the formation of Nagaland State in 1963. Thereafter the Nagaland Government did not accept the Notification of 1925. The Home Secretary was asked to look after it. The Sundaram Committee Report was published in 1976. Nagaland Government declined to accept the report immediately. What steps has the Government taken since 1976 up till now to persuade the Nagaland Government to accept the Sundaram Committee report or to make some modification? Nothing has been done. They kept mum.

Now, I am reading from 'Current' dated 20th July, 1985.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please ask questions.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: I am asking questions. I am now quoting from an

interview with the Nagaland Chief Minister, published in the 'CURRENT' dated 20th July, 1985:

"The border problems between the two States have been there ever since the inception of Nagaland in 1963. They remain unresolved to this day. On the face of this, all the problems emanate from this: whether the Assamese staying in Nagaland alongside the Assam-Nagaland border are eligible to stay there or not. As long as this problem is not solved earnestly and wholeheartedly, clashes would be there, as have been there in the past."

This is the Chief Minister of Nagaland's statement. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Chief Minister of Nagaland has made such statement. I may say that by merely appointing an Inquiry Commission is not going to solve the problem. I would like to know whether on this question of territorial dispute between the two States the Government is going to appoint a Commission or a Committee whose recommendations the Government will accept and take action under Article 3 of the Constitution to solve this dispute permanently.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): I would request the hon. Members to be brief because there are a number of members who have given their names. Shri Ashwani Kumar.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार (बिहार): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, नागालैंड और आसाम के बीच जो पुलिस के आपस में झगड़े हुए हैं, दोनों राज्यों की पुलिस आपस में झगड़ी है, यह झगड़ा नागरिकों का नहीं था, बल्कि दोनों पुलिस के बीच में व्यवस्थित वार और युद्ध हुआ है। इसके अन्दर जो अभी स्टेटमेंट होम मिनिस्टर ने दिया है उसमें जो स्थिति का वर्णन करके बताया गया है, उससे लगता है कि उसको काफी कम करने का प्रयास किया गया

है। यह बात सही है कि आसाम पुलिस के 28 आदमी मारे गए, नागा पुलिस के 6, सिविलियन्ज, 10 मारे गए। मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि एक मिसिंग का फेक्टर होता है, अब बार में खबर छपी है

"Two Assam Police Battalion Companies feared missing in Merapani."

13 जन को है, जितने लोग इस क्लेश के बाद छोड़कर भाग गए जो शव मिले उतना तो आपने कहा मर गए, जो भाग गए, जो आज तक ट्रेस नहीं है, जो हथियार लेकर भाग गए, ऐसे कितने लोग हैं, आसाम की जाकारी के अनुसार ऐसे लोगों की संख्या सैकड़ों में है और जो नुकसान हुआ है, यह कोई छोटा-मोटा दंगा नहीं है, जो नुकसान हुआ है, मेरे पास जो आंकड़े हैं उसके हिसाब से 1284 मकान जलाए गए हैं, 450 मकान बिल्कुल ध्वस्त हो गए हैं। 2 हाई स्कूल, 4 मिडल स्कूल, बहुत से प्राइमरी स्कूल, 4 मस्जिदें, 20 मंदिर, दुकानें, थाना, बैंक, पूरा मेरापानी जो गांव है वह तहस-नहस कर दिया गया है और कितने जानवर मरे होंगे इसकी कल्पना आप नहीं कर सकते। माननीय गृह राज्य मंत्री 10 तारीख को वहां गई थीं। 10 तारीख को जब इन्होंने बार्डर क्रॉस किया तो स्वयं इन्होंने नाक बंद करके बार्डर क्रॉस किया था। मैं भी उसी स्थान पर 13 तारीख को गया था। बार्डर के अन्दर से जो पुलिस के अफसर आजा रह थे जीपों के अन्दर वे नाक पर पट्टियां बांधे हुए थे, क्योंकि स्टीकिंग हो रही थी, जो सारा क्षेत्रफल है जो कि लगभग 20 किलोमीटर लंबा और डेढ़ किलोमीटर चौड़ा है, उसमें सैकड़ों हजारों जानवर मरे हुए पड़े थे और उस दिन 13 तारीख को भी मेरे सामने कुछ लोगों को अनुमति दी जा रही थी कि अपने मरे हुए चाचा-ताऊ को निकाल कर ले आइये। 4-5 तारीख से घटना शुरू हुई है। 7 तारीख को मुख्य मंत्रियों के समझौते के बाद घटना समाप्त नहीं हुई और 8 तारीख की रात को जब आसाम राइफल सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के कहने पर एरिया में जाकर उसने कब्जा कर

[श्री आश्वनी कुमार]

लिया। ऐसा हुआ है। दृश्य इस प्रकार का दिखता है कि जैसा कि मेरे मित्र ने कहा कि जैसे दो स्वतंत्र देश लड़ रहे हैं। हमारा केन्द्र जब यू० एन० ओ० का पीस मिशन लेकर जब वहां गया था तब मार-पीट बन्द हुई। यह एक बहुत बड़ी गंभीर समस्या है। जैसा कि इन्होंने बताया है, बहुत दिनों से यह चली आ रही है और हमारे जो नागालैंड के लोग हैं वे तो कहते हैं कि 1925 से इसकी सीमा बनाई हुई है, लेकिन वे स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं उनका कहना है कि दो सौ साल पहले ओइम राजाओं के समय जो सीमा थी वही सीमा हम स्वीकार करेंगे और नागालैंड के साथ जो संबंध है इसकी क्या समस्या है, इस पर आप जरा विचार करें। इतना ही नहीं, 25 अप्रैल को जोरहाट में 5 विद्यार्थी अरेस्ट किए गए थे सरकार को नागा स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन के विद्यार्थियों से जो कागजात मिलें उनमें

A Copenhagen-based Danish Organisation called the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs

इनका पत्र है कि हम आपके फ्री नागालैंड को स्पॉट कर रहे हैं। इस प्रकार के एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पडयन्त का नागालैंड के साथ कोपन हेगन डेनिस से जुड़ा हुआ पत्र मिला है और उन स्टूडेंट्स को छुड़वाने के लिए नागालैंड के मुख्य मंत्री ने आसाम के मुख्य मंत्री पर दबाव डालकर छुड़वाया है। नागालैंड के मुख्य मंत्री ने उन्हें छुड़वाया है। तो क्या सारे नागालैंड और आसाम के बार्डर के अन्दर कोई अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पडयन्त काम कर रहा है या नहीं? यह एक सोचने का विषय है जिस प्रकार की भाषा अभी धावे सहव ने भी कहा जमीर साहब ने भी, मेरे पास रिपोर्ट है कि 25 जून को उन्होंने असेंबली के अन्दर कहा,

"We have taught them a lesson and shall do it again if they behave like this in future."

यह एक मुख्य मंत्री का वक्तव्य है। भारत के अंदर एक मुख्य मंत्री कांग्रेस के एक मुख्य मंत्री का दूसरे कांग्रेस के

मुख्य मंत्री के लिए वक्तव्य है। केन्द्र में एक ही पार्टी की सरकार है। इस प्रकार की भाषा यह सरकार बोलती है। इसके बारे में क्या केन्द्र सरकार देश की अखंडता की जो चर्चा करती है, भाईचारे की जो चर्चा करती है, उसका कहा तक प्रश्न रह जाता है सैकधा साहब कहते हैं कि जो केन्द्र कहेगा, मैं मानूंगा लेकिन नागालैंड कहता है कि मुझे यही मानना है, दूसरा कुछ नहीं मानना। इस एटीट्यूड के बारे में आप क्या कहते हैं। क्या इस के अन्दर केन्द्र को भी कोई मिलीभगत है क्योंकि एक बहुत बड़ी चर्चा है, आसाम के अन्दर आज जो समस्या चल रहा है उसमें ऐसा लगता है कि केन्द्र सरकार सैकधा साहब की छुट्टी करना चाहती है। तो क्या इसका फायदा उठाकर केन्द्र सरकार उनकी छुट्टी करने का पडयन्त तो नहीं कर रही है? यह एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है। इस पर आप विचार करके देखें।

एक प्रश्न मैं पूछना चाहूंगा गृह मंत्री जी से कि इस सारी लड़ाई के अन्दर तीन इंच मॉटर यूज हुई, तीन इंच की केनन यूज हुई है, जो पुलिस के पास नहीं रहती है। तो नागालैंड की पुलिस के पास यह तीन इंच की मॉटर कहाँ से आई? इसके सिर्फ तीन ही स्रोत हो सकते हैं, या तो आर्मी से आयी, या बी०एस०एफ० से आयी या फिर किसी विदेशी स्रोत से आयी हैं। मैं गृह मंत्री से यह जो तीन इंच की मॉटर उपयोग हुई है, जिसे हर जगह स्वीकार किया गया है, पूछना चाहूंगा कि यह कहाँ से प्राप्त हुई है? क्या केन्द्र ने इसकी जानकारी प्राप्त की है। अगर आर्मी या बी०एस०एफ० से गई है, तो भी बड़ी गंभीर बात है और अगर विदेश से आई है, तो भी बड़ी गंभीर बात है। इसके लिए मैं जानना चाहूंगा और यही मेरा पहला प्रश्न है।

दूसरा प्रश्न यह है, कि जिस प्रकार की स्टेटमेण्ट्स आसाम और विशेषकर नागालैंड के चीफ मिनिस्टर कर रहे हैं, क्या वह देश की अखंडता और सार्व-

भौमिकता के अनुकूल है? क्या यह केन्द्र सरकार की प्रभुसत्ता को चुनौती नहीं है? इस चुनौती का प्रस्थानित करने के लिये जो पूर्वोत्तर एक सेंसिटिव प्रदेश है, इसको ठीक करने के लिए और हालांकि पूर्वांचल में जाएंगे तो चर्चा मिलेगी कि दिल्ली को विदेश माना जाता है और उनका कहना है कि दिल्ली का राज यहाँ नहीं चलता है। अगर इसी प्रकार की घटनाएँ होती रहतीं, तो पूर्वांचल को देश के साथ जोड़े रखने में बहुत बड़ी कठिनाई उपस्थित हो जाएगी। क्या केन्द्र सरकार कठोर कदम उठाकर, भले ही अपना चीफ मिनिस्टर हो, परन्तु देश की अखंडता के लिए, उनको ठीक करने के लिए कोई कड़े कदम उठाकर उनको एक लाइन में लाएगी?

अंत में मैं एक तीसरा प्रश्न पूछना चाहूँगा, जैसा कि अभी कंस्टिट्यूशन का हवाला देकर सारा बताया गया, भारत सरकार के संविधान के अनुसार राज्य बनते हैं और संविधान के अनुसार बोर्डर्स के अंदर हेर-फेर की जा सकती है और जो पुलिस है, राज्य के साथ पुलिस का संबंध जुड़ा होता है। राज्य की जो पुलिस सरकार है, वह आपस में लड़ने के लिए अधिकारी है क्या? जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ, एक पुलिस को दूसरी पुलिस से लड़ने का अधिकार नहीं है। अगर लड़ती है, तो यह संविधान का उल्लंघन है। इस प्रकार का संविधान का जो उल्लंघन हो रहा है और जो केन्द्र की देखरेख में हो रहा है। जैसे केन्द्र में आर्मी भेजी क्या वह पहले नहीं भेज सकती थी? इस प्रकार का जो संविधान का उल्लंघन हो रहा है, जो पूर्वांचल में हो रहा है और पूर्वांचल की स्थिति कितनी गंभीर है, आप स्वयं जानते हैं, लालबंगा और मिजोरम की चर्चा केन्द्र के अन्दर कर रहे हैं, इस सारी चर्चा को देखते हुए क्या केन्द्र की कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि जो पुलिस आपस में लड़ गई, यह क्या दोनों स्टेट्स ने संविधान का उल्लंघन नहीं किया? अगर उल्लंघन किया है, तो इन दोनों स्टेट्स को उचित रास्ते पर लाकर वहाँ पर जो आज संघर्ष उत्पन्न हो गया है, जिससे इतना नुकसान हुआ है और एक तरह से विस्फोटक

स्थिति बनी हुई है, जिसमें शक्तियाँ काम कर सकती हैं, उसको सही करने के लिए केन्द्र सरकार क्या करेगी? कौनसी कदम उठा रही है? यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

5.00 P.M.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA

(Rajasthan): Sir, what happened in the first week of June at Merapani is a matter which will cause distress to all right-thinking people of this country. It was very unfortunate that the two States tried to settle the score through the use of police force. Tensions had been brewing there for over a month, which means that both the sides were echng for a fight. This, therefore, means that the clash was premeditated and well-organised. This is further established from the fact that both the sides were heavily armed and it is also a fact, as reported by the papers, that mortars were freely used. Many policemen died on both the sides but that was not all. After the fight between the policemen was over, I understand that about one thousand village guards from the Naga side joined the battle. They invaded the Assam side and seven thousand shops and houses were burnt and over forty thousand people were uprooted. Then, Sir, after that I further understand that the Government of Nagaland brought out a White Paper. This, in my opinion, was an irresponsible act and very serious allegations were made in this White Paper against the Government of Assam and it was implied that revenge should be taken. It was also being said that Nagaland was being harassed and so scores should be settled. Then, Sir, after that, in order to keep both the police forces separate the Government had to deploy the Border Security Force. It was unfortunate, Sir, but I realise that it was unavoidable. It is not a happy reflection at all. This was as if the UN was keeping its peace-forces to divide the two countries, two nations.

Sir, my only submission is what exactly is going to be the role of the Centre. I have always believed in a

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla]

strong Centre and I would very forcefully advocate that the Centre should very strongly intervene in such matters. This dispute has been going on between Nagaland and Assam for many years. It is not a new dispute. It has been going on since 1962, when Nagaland became a separate State. And, Sir, the present truce which has been brought about by the Government of India is only a very temporary truce. It appears to me. It is a kind of uneasy truce.

So far as the action to be taken is concerned, I would very strongly advocate that the guilty officers whether they belong to Nagaland or Assam, they should be punished after a due inquiry and an inquiry commission has already been appointed. The guilty officers must be definitely punished. But that it not all. Apart from that the question is that the border has been a matter of dispute between the two States. What exactly is the Government of India going to do about it? The Sundaram Commission was appointed in 1974. As yet, I believe, even the report of the Sundaram Commission has not been made public. Whatever it be, Sir, the Government of India must use persuasion and that should be strong enough so that peace is restored in that area, a kind of permanent peace and, if necessary, let them appoint some sort of a minority commission again and once for all settle the dispute between the two States. Thank you.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Madam Deputy Shairman, the statement of the hon. Home Minister does not give the true picture which has been created by the Assam-Nagaland border clash. Madam, we are discussing this most important calling attention at the fag-end of this day. This is how we deal with the problems of the North-Eastern region. We casually deal with the

problems of the North-Eastern region. We do not care what happens in that part of the country and it is due to this attitude that the present situation has arisen in the Assam-Nagaland border. While Nagaland as a State was created, it should be remembered that Naga National council, which was launching a movement for sovereign Nagaland, did not ask for a State. A State was created only to appease the Naga people with the hope that the people will be satisfied by the creation of a State because the Centre, at that time, thought that perhaps due to the obstinacy of the Assamese people, the Naga people are going astray and that is why they wanted to cut out Naga hill district from Assam.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): That is a fact; it is the Assamese people who antagonised the Naga people.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: You should be ashamed for saying this, being an Assamese, and there was Congress rule in Assam at that time.

Anyway, Madam, not only Nagaland was created, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya were bifurcated from the State of Assam. The feelings of the people of Assam were very much hurt. Even at that time we told the Central Government that simply by creating a State for Naga people, the problem will not be solved and the problem would remain. I want to ask the hon. Minister whether the underground activities in Nagaland have decreased since the formation of the State of Nagaland.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: Yes.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: It has been said that there is a border dispute. The border of Nagaland has been demarcated by the Nagaland Act itself in 1962, and before that, the Nagaland hill district boundary was demarcated by a notification of 1925. How can there be a border dispute today?

The other day, on 22nd March 1982, while replying to a calling attention in this House itself, the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs said that there was no border dispute between Assam and Nagaland and the dispute arose because Nagaland Government put claims on certain areas of Assam. Not only the Nagaland Government claimed over the forest reserves of Assam territory they claimed the entire North Cachar hill district part of Cachar district and Nowgong district. They want all these areas to be incorporated in Nagaland State. Madam, Dimapur was given to Nagaland although it is known to all that Dimapur was the capital of the Kachari kingdom and my friend, Mr. Basumatari will perhaps, agree with me that at that time, the Kachari kingdom extended to that area and Dimapur was the capital. But Dimapur was given to Nagaland only with the hope that the people of Nagaland would be satisfied. But they did not remain satisfied. Even today, the ruins of Dimapur will prove that it was under the Kachari kings, the plain tribal kings. Madam, the very words Desang, Dayang are tribal names; these are not Naga names. The entire area was under the domain and control of Kachari kings, and after the Kachari kings, it was Ahom State. It has been said that Ahom kings had certain agreement with the Naga people. I would like to say that Ahom kingdom extended farther upto the present Naga hill district, and they did not even allow the Naga people to come freely to the plains. They demarcated, they fixed certain roads for them to come to the plains. Even today, if you go there, you will find that there is what is called Naga bat, meaning, road. Only through such road, Naga people could come to Assam, to the plain areas. Therefore, there is no historical background, there is no historical proof that these areas belonged to Nagaland. (*Time bell rings*)

Madam, I should be given some more time. Even this border clash did not start all of a sudden. Such clashes

have been there since the formation of the Nagaland State. In 1972 itself, there was a clash between the Police forces of the two States in Sibsagar District, in the Tuli area. At that time, Mr. Sundaram was appointed as the Adviser to the Home Ministry and some interim agreement was arrived at. Mr. Sundaram went there. He toured the area extensively. He went through all the records, all possible records and he came to a conclusion. He submitted a report, but this report has not been published till today. It has been said that the Nagaland Government has not agreed to this and that is why, the Sundaram Committee's report has not been published. Madam, after that, after 1972, in 1979, on 5th January, armed Naga people attacked Assamese villages in the Chunga Jan area. Fifty-five villagers were killed. Most of them were plains tribals. They were Assamese people.

It has been said by the Nagaland Government that foreigners have settled there. The definition of 'foreigner' is different in Nagaland, Madam. All non-Nagas are considered 'foreigners' in that State. But we do not consider them as foreigners. Yes, in the border areas, there are some Muslims. But we do not consider all Muslims as foreigners. But the Nagaland Government says that foreigners have settled there. Even Mr. Jamir has said so. But this is not a fact. If you visit the area, you will know it. I have gone there several times. Even after the recent clash, I toured the area. They are all Assamese people, mostly other backward people and tribal people. These people have been affected. About 50,000 people have become homeless. They have taken shelter elsewhere; they have become refugees in their own State. Madam, 96 villages involving 7,601 families have been affected. Twelve schools, sixteen temples, three mosques, one PWD rest house, one forest rest house, one magistrate's quarters, one veterinary sub-centre, two Gram Panchayat offices, one police station, five border outposts;

[Shri Biswa Goswami]

all these were burnt down. All these are well within Assam's territory. All these were burnt down. On 3rd June the Government deputed one officer, a Joint Secretary in the Home Ministry, to attend a meeting of the Commissioners of the two border districts. He could not reach there on the 3rd. He reached on the 4th. While the meeting was in progress, firing started.

I would like to know from the Home Minister; is it a fact that three-inch mortars were used by the Nagaland Police? Is it a fact that rocket launchers were used? Is it a fact that the Nagaland Police attacked the Assam Police outposts, assisted by armed Nagas and underground Nagas? The other day, Mr. Jamir, the Nagaland Chief Minister, has said that there is no difference between the underground Nagas and the Nagaland Government in so far as the border dispute is concerned. If it is so, I want to know. I would like to know from the Home Minister whether it is a fact that all underground Nagas who had surrendered have been settled in the border areas? Is it not a fact that one battalion of Border Security Force was raised to rehabilitate the underground Nagas who surrendered? I want to know whether that Border Security Force took part in the attack. If that is so, how could that battalion take part in the attack without the knowledge of the Home Ministry? That is what I want to know.

Madam, both these State, Assam and Nagaland, are ruled by the Congress. Both the States have Congress (I) Chief Ministers. Why should not both the State Governments be dismissed forthwith for creating such an ugly situation? I demand that the President's rule should be imposed in Assam and Nagaland and both these Ministries should be dismissed so that the so-called border dispute can be settled finally, once for all, under the President's rule. If the Central Gov-

ernment says that the two State Governments should sort out the differences, nothing will come out. Even after the Imphal agreement clashes are going on. Houses were burnt after this Imphal agreement. So, how can say that both the Chief Ministers, by coming together, will be able to solve this problem? I want to know from the hon. Home Minister whether firm and concrete steps are going to be taken to solve this so-called border problem of Assam and Nagaland. It was your creating. Nagaland was created by you and, therefore, you should solve the border problem which has cropped up today. I want to know whether the Sundaram Committee's report will be made public and implemented or not.

Madam, I am coming from that area. I am vitally affected and there are so many things to be said on this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In a Calling Attention one generally asks questions.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: I know, I am concluding. I am saying all this because many things are not known in Delhi.

So, Madam, this encroachment of Assam territory is going on. I would like to refer to one letter of the then Prime Minister. The letter is dated 25th January, 1979. Madam, you should allow me to mention about this letter. The Prime Minister wrote to the Nagaland Chief Minister stating:

"Any attempt on the part of people living on the Nagaland side of the boundary to take law into their own hands has to be curbed firmly. It would also follow that the State within whose constitutional boundary such areas fall have a constitutional and moral obligation to exercise their lawful jurisdiction through their law and order machinery. So long as any area

This was written by the Prime Minister of India in 1979. Will the present Home Minister reiterate this stand? Is he prepared to inform the Nagaland Government reiterating this stand? (*Time Bell rings*). I am concluding now. Already it has been mentioned that five Naga youths were arrested in Jorhat and incriminatory documents were seized from their possession. And the Chief Minister of Nagaland demanded their release. How can it be possible? you want to suppress secessionism and a Congress(I) Chief Minister demands release of persons from whose possession these documents showing foreign connections are seized. He demanded their release and accordingly they were released.

taken to solve the so-called border problem with Nagaland. The so-called border problem of Nagaland and Assam must be resolved immediately and the Central Government should take the initiative in this regard. If you leave it to the two Chief Ministers, nothing will come out. They will agree and they will fight. Nothing will come out.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: I would like to ask my questions.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: Only one or two questions I want to ask. I would like to ask whether the Central Government going to dismiss the two Governments and impose President's rule and whether the border question is going to be finally resolved at the instance of the Central Government; whether the Government will implement the Sundaram Committee Report. Whether any... it has already been mentioned in the statements; so I do not ask this. When the findings of the enquiry will be out, you should not hesitate to punish all persons, all officers who are found guilty of creating this unheard of police clashes between the two States. Whether it is a fact... I have already asked that question; therefore I shall not ask it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now
I am calling the next speaker.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI: I am concluding in one minute, Madam. Only one

[Shri Biswa Goswami]

question. Whether the hon. Home Minister knows that there was a coupland plan during the British regime which envisaged creation of a Christian sovereign country in the hill areas of the North-Eastern region. Whether the Home Minister is aware that that move has now again been revived.

With these words, I urge upon the Home Minister to come forward, dismiss the two State Governments and resolve the issue.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Madam, simply asking some clarifications or questions will do nothing on this issue. If we are not to discuss such a serious matter on the floor of this House, then what else we are discussing here, I would like to know. The Government itself claims it as war between two sovereign independent countries, I think so. Yes, not only they speak of cease-fire but a neutral force. On the third page of the statement of the hon. Minister, it is stated that they also agreed to induction of a neutral force. Is it a United Nations Force or a Non Aligned force? It is very unfortunate. It is very unfortunate. But I will not term it as a war between two independent sovereign countries. I term it as a civil war. It is so dangerous..... (Interruptions)... Through this dangerous incident, you are inducting another phenomenon of divisive forces into our already sick body politic. To settle the border disputes, armed forces of two States are clashing with each other and so many casualties are there. The two States are ruled by the Congress (I) Party, the two Chief Ministers are Congress (I) Chief Ministers, and the Centre is watching here as a neutral country and appeals to them to cease fire. Appeal to Iran or Iraq! I would like to know from the Minister whether these two States are units of this Indian Union and what steps have been taken by you and your party against these culprits, these Chief Ministers. What action has been taken by your Government against the police Chiefs of these two States?

If I am correct, not only the State Police but also the BSF is involved in this

incident. If I am correct, in Nagaland the BSF, is also under the control of the State Government. The BSF, stationed on the border, is also involved in this. So it has become a furious fight between the two forces.

The Prime Minister and the ruling party before the elections and after the elections, were accusing the Opposition parties saying that they have been inciting divisive forces and encouraging divisive regional and communal forces. What are you doing?... (Interruptions)... You are negotiating with Laldenga. At the same time, you are allowing the TUJS and TNV in Tripura and elsewhere to be under the training of Laldenga. This is what you are doing. But you are accusing the Opposition....

(Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Two State Governments ruled by your own party are fighting. You should be ashamed.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. MOHANAN: You should be kept quite.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Two State Governments led by your own party are fighting ... (Interruptions)... You should be ashamed.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: I am forced to say: Are you not ashamed?

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): You have to remember that the Assamese people... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Are you not ashamed, my brother? Are you prepared to answer?

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: You are trying to create political.... (Interruptions)

SHRI K. MOHANAN: This Government and the ruling party are always accusing the Left Front Government in West Bengal...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister will make a statement now. You can continue later.