

[Shri Mohan Dharia] of scope for research and development. But it is not merely the research that is material. What is really important is how we carry the outcome of that research to the fields. When I say that I would like to strengthen the Board in this connection, I mean that I want, at the end of the research, the extension of that research to the plantation industry, to the fields, and that care shall have to be taken and I am sure that with the new financial strength that is being given to the Board, it should be possible for the Board to take care of that.

Sir, I am grateful to the House for the attention it has given to the Bill and, therefore, I would like the Bill to be taken into consideration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to amend the Cardamom Act, 1965, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA; Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be returned,"

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the Nagaland Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1977.

4 P.M.

THE NAGALAND APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1977

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND REVENUE AND BANKING (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Nagaland for the services of the financial year 1977-78, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The question was proposed.

SHRI SCATO SWU (Nominated): Sir, I rise to extend my support to the Bill. But I want to pinpoint some very important facts for the consideration of the Central Government.

The most important point which is very often missed even by colleagues, friends and the administrators is that the Nagaland State is an infant State. The other thing is that it is backward and, to an extent, neglected. Sir, allow me to refer to some points of clarifications on the statement of a Naga M.P. in the other House. Mrs. Rano Shaiza shouted at the top of her voice in her speech in the Lok Sabha on the 22nd July last that the Nagas needed no special treatment or no special protection. This is all because she is living in a dreamland. She appealed that article 371(a) of the Constitution of India should go. If this is what she means. I dare say that she is heading for a dangerous ground. She also talked of Government's goodwill and understanding which, according to her, would be enough for the Naga people. This expression gives rise to its and butts. If the Government of India says, "Yes, yes, you we have every goodwill and understanding for the Nagas and, therefore, now let us remove article 371(a), is she going to accept that offer of goodwill and understanding? Sir, I can categorically tell you on behalf of the people of Nagaland that they will never, never agree to remove article 371(a) at the

moment, because they know that they need every special treatment and every special protection from the Centre till they can stand on their own legs. By protection I do not mean control and denial of self-growth opportunity or efforts to make the State stand on its own through the local resources of natural wealth, manpower, local talents and the like. But friendly help and protection are different things. And these, given with care and consideration, may mean a lot both for the giver and the taker.

I will now try to spell out the kind of help the Nagas would welcome from the Government of India and which, I think, would help the growth of the State to a good extent. Hundred per cent of Nagaland is hilly. Because of its destructive method, the practice of juming cultivation prevailing in Nagaland should be totally discouraged. We have got foot-hills and river valleys. Horticulture and Sere-culture should be successfully introduced on the foot-hill areas. And an intensive scheme for minor irrigation and major irrigation should be immediately launched, which are almost non-existent at present. The system of transport and communications in Nagaland, despite some recent improvement, is as backward as could be. The local revenue resources are very inadequate to meet the urgent needs to improve transport and communication facilities.

Here the unavoidable hint is that the Central Government should come forward to build all-weather roads to connect Nagaland with the other parts of the country. Some feeder roads too shall have to be built to give the State an infrastructure for industrial growth. This task of standard-road building should be entrusted to the Border Roads Force who had earlier given Nagaland few good roads.

From strategic point of view, a road between Kiphire and Zunheboto, which ultimately connects my State with the State of Assam, will give a good route which will be about 100

miles shorter. This road, when constructed, will give accessibility to a region which is now frequently used by the Naga insurgents.

Nagaland is a State of numerous small villages and the Nagas are a great believer in the village life of simple living. This attitude towards life should not be disturbed. But that does not mean that the villages should not be improved. Only a few of these villages have power connection. That means that even modern small scale industries cannot be started in Nagaland. Can electricity be denied to any part of the country for any reason?

The postal and telephone facilities are almost nil in the State. A very urgent attention should be given to these problems. It is time that we speak out frankly that only sweet words and oral expression of concern would not satisfy anybody. The Nagas want concrete example of action for their good and not mere goodwill and understanding.

Rehabilitation programmes have not been satisfactorily implemented. This should be viewed with serious concern. Apart from service appointments, more fund should be allocated, if the fund earmarked for the purpose is not sufficient. The fund allocated should not be diverted because I understand that the funds earmarked for this purpose have been diverted to some other uses. I oppose this and it should never be allowed to be repeated.

Sir, according to the Indian Express, dated 22nd July, 1977, Mr. Biseto, the "Home Minister" of underground set up, had voiced regret over the decision of the Government to hold elections to the Nagaland State Assembly earlier in November. Should we not welcome their candidates, if any, by giving sufficient time to them? Sir, in all earlier elections, the stand taken by the UDF was that NNO—now the Congress—and the Congress candidates were Indians and the other contestants

[Shri Scato Swu.] were the real representatives of Naga, land. This wrong and evasive attitude—a slogan of dangerous import—must not be allowed to be repeated. The election must be free and fair, and voters should not be fed on wrong and mistaken slogans. It does not matter as to which political party comes to power through a fair election. But my only concern is that the Nagaland people should not be deprived of peace and their aspiration to become economically prosperous through the exploitation of their State's natural wealth should not be denied to them either from within or from without. Sir, the democratic way of change through ballot has brought a sea-change in India today and a new Party has been put on trial. And if Mr. Phizo's supporters are not happy with the Central rule, something could be tried in Nagaland as well. Sir, I do not exactly make out what the opponents of the peace-loving citizens in Nagaland want to say.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. M. Trivedi) in the Chair]

SHRI IRENGBAM TOMPOK SINGH (Manipur): Sir, may I interrupt for a while? There are two more MPs here from Nagaland. It may be of interest if he refers to the meeting of the Prime Minister and Mr. Phizo in London.

SHRI SCATO SWU: I am coming to that.

Sir, it is curious to find the statement of Mrs. Rano Shaiza to the effect that credit for restoration of peace in Nagaland should go to the Peace Council whose combined effort with the UDF policy of reconciliation had resulted in the signing of the Shillong Accord on November 11, 1975, which had earlier been described as a blunder by herself. It was described as a blunder by Mrs. Rano Shaiza. Sir, anything good that is done by the Congress Party of Nagaland is a blunder and anything bad that is done by the UDF Party of Nagaland is a success, nay, a victory. The NNO, now the Congress, also extended its help to

bring about the Shillong Accord. And that the NNO does not retrace its steps and call it a 'blunder' is something which the UDF advocates may not like for their own reasons.

About the Underground Nagas, Sir, one word of caution. I would like the hon. Members to listen to this seriously. (A) The Government of India have played the role very ably in allowing the erstwhile insurgents to visit London twice and meet Mr. Phizo. (B) As many as 226 Naga insurgents were in six peace camps, fed and clad by the Government to enable them to return to peaceful citizens' life. (C) The Government of India have also withheld all jungle operations by security forces, thereby giving the insurgents in the State the freedom to move as they like. (D) The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Morarji Desai, when he was in London recently, allowed Mr. Phizo to meet him. But Sir, all these signs of goodwill are taken as a sign of weakness of the Government of India. We see the results which are unfortunate. The insurgents have stepped up their activities. Batches of underground Nagas are going out to seek help from outside powers.

Sir, it is reported that an ex-MLA, Mr. Noklo, belonging to the UDF party has disappeared and, may be, he has gone over to Burma with some insurgents. I want to know if the UDF party owns him as a member of their party. The whole thing is indeed intriguing.

Sir, recently, in the month of June two Secretaries General of the Janata Party paid a visit to Nagaland where they reached an agreement with the UDF party to the effect that in Nagaland there would be no other party except this party and they would only support this party. Sir, this is something strange, which I cannot understand. They have taken these people into confidence, unaware of their anti-national activities as they are. The UDF party of Nagaland is something

like a sea mermaid. We cannot identify the body of that political party. They are human beings here, but when they go back to Nagaland they are like fish. So, I would appeal to the Janata Party to consider whether they should accept this party fully and allow them to create problems and take double advantages. Sir, I am not speaking all these things in order to find fault with the UDF party but I am saying all these things only in the interests of the nation. (*Time Bell rings*) Sir, I am taking the time of Mr. Tompok Singh as well. He has foregone his time in my favour. I am just finishing.

It was an unusually good gesture on the part of the Prime Minister of India to have made the offer of forget and forgive all the misdeeds of Mr. Phizo, if he accepted the citizenship of India. "With his people supporting him, the Prime Minister had conceded, that Mr. Phizo may well be the Chief Minister of Nagaland. The magnanimity of Mr. Morarji Desai, we hope and trust, would be amply reciprocated by Mr. Phizo and his supporters.

As the Government of India have done all that they could, the initiative for further peace talks, if any is deemed necessary, should come from the side of the insurgents. Let them come out openly and say what they want. There is a doubt expressed in some quarters that the Government of India might be trying to exterminate the insurgents of Nagaland which, to my mind, is altogether wrong. It cannot be the intention of the Government of India to do away with any citizen of Nagaland State only because they had taken to a wrong policy or pursued a mistaken path but there is little doubt that if the insurgents take to violence then these violent activities of these people may result in their extermination and for that to blame the Government of India would not be correct.

Sir, I have taken much of your time but I have to say something now about education. I am happy to say

that education in Nagaland is coming up by leaps and bounds. But now the unemployment problem has appeared in Nagaland also. Industrially, we are almost nil but it is something very sad that no Nagas are appointed in the Central Government Departments, like Posts and Telegraphs Department and Accountant General's office. In these departments, the appointment of Nagas is found to be zero. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government of India to absorb the educated Naga people into these departments as well. Thank you.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHIA (Nagaland); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, President's Rule in Nagaland was proclaimed on 22nd March 1975 and today we have completed 2 years, 4 months and 6 days, to be exact.

Sir, just now, my friend from the opposition Benches expressed his concern about one Mr. Biseto who has expressed his individual opinion that elections should not be held in October and November. Sir, perhaps, Nagaland is the only State having a continuous President's Rule for such a long time. Perhaps, this is the longest so far as the history of Indian democracy is concerned, because we do not know whether elections will be held in October/November, although it was announced by the Governor himself some time ago. So, the people of Nagaland have been deprived of a popular government. This is to be recorded. So far as the concern expressed by my friends is concerned, I may remind him that when we were pressing for elections, (that is, my party and the people, and I myself also sent a telegram to the Prime Minister that elections should be held there along with other States, at that time the Congress leader from Nagaland, Mr. Jasokie, a former Chief Minister in the NNO regime, gave a statement in the local paper as also in the national papers that the Congress Party in Nagaland would boycott elections, and only recently, the

[Shri Khyomo Lotha.] paper Platform which is the mouth, piece of Congress Party in Nagaland.

SHRI SCATO SWU: Nobody said that there is going to be an election.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHAS: I am only reminding the hon. Member, if he does not know about his own party, as to what they are saying.

SHRI SCATO SWU: Where is the proof that you have concern for the people? You are misleading the House.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHAS: Even recently, "The Platform" had stated that elections should not be held. This is the demand of the Congress members in Nagaland that elections should not be held until the third paragraph of the Shillong Agreement is implemented. Therefore, I am only re-mentioning him because he has cited all these examples, about the opinion of some people.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): What is the third paragraph?

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHAS: We shall come to that later on. It is true that "we have been deprived of a popular Government. This is very unfortunate. At that time, when the Assembly had to be dissolved, in 1975, I had argued against it. But most of my friends had supported the dissolution of the Assembly at that time. I would not go into the details.

I would now touch briefly on certain points in regard to the development of the State. I do agree with my friend. I would, on my behalf and on behalf of our people say that our State and our people should get more attention because we have been deprived of the benefits under the first two Five-Year Plans. Nagaland State came into being only at the time of the Third Five-Year Plan. Therefore, for ten years, we have been deprived of the benefits under the various development programmes. In view of this, we should be given more funds. In this connection, I would

like to refute the claim of the Government that they have done a lot of things for the people during the last two years of president's Rule in Nagaland. This is not true because whatever little funds have been provided by the Government to our State, have not been properly utilised. A huge amount was also surrendered. Even the funds which were appropriated were not properly appropriated.

Coming to agriculture, I do agree that something has been done in regard to irrigation, provision of high-yielding varieties of seeds and provision of Government loans. But all these are not enough. As my friend has pointed out, we wish to discourage jhum cultivation. But there is one important point in this. I had stated this before and I say this again today. If we wish to discourage jhum cultivation and encourage permanent cultivation or terrace cultivation, a lot of capital is required to be invested by the cultivator. We have to see how these people could be given financial help. Government, it is true, is going ahead with horticulture development and coffee cultivation. Recently, this has been encouraged. But all these are not enough. The farmers have to sell their products and marketing facilities have to be provided for this purpose. We have to ensure that farmers are able to sell their products. Many cash crops could be grown in Nagaland, not only for our consumption, but also for exports. Take, for example, ginger. We grow a very good quality of ginger in our State. But what is wrong is that we do not have any dehydration processing plants. We do not have any places to store these things. If we are to cultivate these things and grow these things on a commercial basis, it has to be done on a large scale. For this purpose, dehydration processing plants and cold storage plants are required. I would request the Government of India to keep this in mind. These are only for the benefit of the farmers. Only one cold storage plant had come up under the co-operatives programme in Dimapur. But even this is not

functioning properly because of shortage of power. Therefore, I would like the Government of India to look into this. The department should also see that good quality seeds and highyielding varieties of seeds are procured and supplied to the farmers. Recently, I took one bag of these seeds from the department and gave them to two farmers. I now learn that they did not germinate. This is very disappointing. I do not know how they procured these seeds and from where. This should be looked into. Coming to education, they have already given statistics about opening of many schools and colleges, that many are going to schools and that enrolment is increasing. It is also true. But at the same time what I have found is that text-books are not available in sufficient quantity and they are very expensive. That is what I have been told by many parents. Then, hostel provision is not there. Sir, many of our young people are going outside the State, mostly in Maghalaya, and many are coming to Delhi. I do not like to discourage them. In fact, I would like that more and more students come to Delhi or to other parts of the country, because they learn a lot of things. They learn to mix up and also there is greater emotional integration all round. But most of the children go to other States because we do not have hostel provision. The Education Department has never given any thought to this. There are many good schools coming up in our own State because the parents cannot afford to send their children outside. This has to be stopped for the benefit of the parents and also the children. So the question of providing hostels has to be considered by the Education Department.

There are many private schools, mostly run by different groups and sections of people in Nagaland. Many Baptist schools are run by the Missions—by the Christian Missions, Catholics or by the Baptist Churches. Sir, grants-in-aid given to these schools are inadequate. In Kohima or Dimapur Baptist English schools, for inst-

ance, a thousand students are enrolled, and they are giving good results. Even this year, in Nagaland, the best results have been given by one of the Baptist English schools. And here although it is a Mission, the headmistress is not a Christian; it is a Hindu lady. The discrimination shown to these Mission schools as religiously run schools is very unfortunate. The school which is doing very well and which is giving good results and is imparting education to our children, and which is having an enrolment of one thousand, is given only Rs. 3000 as grant-in-aid. There should be no discrimination. Funds should be given as required. Not only the required funds should be provided to them, but there should also be provision for construction of hostels, because many children, specially those children whose parents are transferred from one place to another, are suffering—and mostly because of lack of hostels. Their parents are sometimes transferred in the midst of session. These children have also to be transferred along with their parents. That is how children are suffering. If hostel provision is there, these children whose parents are transferred under the Rules of Civil Service, can remain there to complete their course. This has to be looked into.

Coming to industries, we have three major industries. I must say that the sugar mill is doing better. I hope it will do better this year. But there is one thing, Sir. We are not giving due consideration to the growers of sugarcane. What I know is that the growers are paid very low price for their sugarcane. That is why this Government has to look into it. Then, I would like to mention about the plywood factory. Here, Sir, I have a report highlighting the important measures taken by the State Government as well as the performance of the different departments. This is up to 31st January, 1977. It has been stated in this report that "the plywood factory at Tijit has already started production and it is likely to go into full production very soon". I have here another

[Shri Khyomo Lotha.]

report which is up to 30th June, 1977, wherein it is stated that "this is a joint venture between the state Government and a private industrialist. . .The factory is scheduled to be com. missioned within a couple of months". So the one dated 31st January, 1977 says that it has already started production and after six months, another report says that it is syet to be commissioned. Sir, I raised this question in 1975-76 also. I think the CBI should go into the working of this factory. All the raw materials in that area have been exhausted. This factory is running and this factory is also, I learn, evading taxes on whatever production they are doing. Their head office is in Dibrugarh which is in Assam and they have been evading sales tax. This is happening and we are very much concerned about our State revenues. This evasion is there and I cannot understand the discrepancy in the two Government reports.

So far as small scale industries are concerned, for the development of these industries, people need raw materials. The supply of raw materials should be in time. Most of these industries are suffering from shortage of raw materials and also from power shortage. At present we are wholly and solely dependent upon the Assam Government for power supply. Gov. ernment is very slow in the development of power supply. They are simply crawling. Some investigation is going on in regard to one hydro-electric scheme on river Doyan in the district of Okha. It should be taken up speedily. There are two other places that I know of where also it should be taken up speedily, because we must have our own power for the development of the State.

I would like to mention here that last year I got the information from our State Government that huge amounts were surrendered. While we need funds for the development of our State, I cannot understand the working of certain departments. Here I would like to mention one particular department—that of State Lotteries,

Its working has also to be gone into. Last year, their demand for funds was Rs. 17.96 lakhs, out of which they have surrendered Rs. 5.86 lakhs and they have appropriated Rs. 12.10 lakhs. Now, Sir, management of the State lottery is given to a private agent who prints and sells the lottery tickets and from this agent the Government gets only Rs. 1.11 lakhs per draw. The draw is there six times in a year and so, altogether we are getting just Rs. 6.66 lakhs per year after spending so much money. And for this lottery there is no proper department. The Finance Secretary is its Director and the C.L.O. who is drawing only Rs. 200 per month is its Assistant Director. They have a very small establishment. I do not know how they are appropriating this amount, may be because I am a layman. Therefore, I would request the Government to look into this matter.

Now coming to certain constitutional provisions, I have to say that the Government itself has already given a report. I quote from this brief report :

"There was no insurgency movement during the President's rule in Nagaland. Peace and normalcy were restored in the State after the signing of the Shillong Agreement on the 11th November, 1975."

Sir, it also says :

"The constitutional issues and insurgency were brought to an end by the signing of this Agreement by the representatives of the underground organisation. After this the underground movement ceased to exist as all had agreed to be peaceful citizens of India and to function in accordance with the Con-situation as it stands."

Sir, this report is given by the State Government, that is, the present State Government which is under President's rules.

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Sir, in article 371A(I)(b), of the Constitution, there is a special provision with regard to the Governor of the State on the question of law and order, it says: —

"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..."

Now there is no more insurgency in that State. We all know it and the Government itself has said so in this report. Therefore, I would like this provision in the Constitution to be scrapped. This special provision for the Governor should no longer exist and it should be only with the Government of Nagaland. So, this provision should be scrapped.

There is one small thing which I would like to point out. A Vigilance Department was established in Nagaland and I understand that this Vigilance Department is looking into many of the complaints from the public as well as the Home Department. But unfortunately when a CBI officer was deputed there last year, he fell ill within three days after his arrival in Kohima and had to go back. Then another officer was sent in his place. Unfortunately that officer also fell ill and died within two or three days... (Interruptions) .. I would like the Government to look into this matter also.

Law and order is maintained there and there is peace in Nagaland. There is no insurgency and no violence at present. So far as the Naga political problem is concerned, it is a human problem and it should be viewed accordingly. I hope the Government will do the needful. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I happen to be the only person from

the North-West on the Nagaland Committee of Members of Parliament and I had only one occasion to go to Nagaland as a Member of that Committee and I must say that I found that the Naga people are so simple, warm and friendly that it was difficult for me to believe that they had been in a state of insurgency or rebellion for the last two decades or so till the Accord in 1975. At the same time, Sir, I would like to say that Nagaland is a very sensitive area and all of us must be very careful not to take any narrow partisan advantage while dealing with the situation there. But I must say that I share the sentiments of both my friends Mr. Scato Swu and Mr. Lotha that the elections there should have been held much earlier than now. Not only the elections were not held along with the other Assembly elections but also the Nagaland Consultative Committee was treated with a great deal of disrespect—would say, treated as trite. The Committee has not met for more than 10 months now. When the Committee met for the second time in Nagaland, the then Home Minister, Shri Brahmananda Reddi, promised on the unanimous request of the Committee that, since a meeting of the Committee in Nagaland had had a very favourable impact both on the people there and on the Members who had attended the meeting, after the meeting in Delhi the next meeting would be held in Makokchung or in some other area of Nagaland for the purposes of national integration and also because it was under President's Rule and Parliament is well conversant with the problems of the Naga people. I am very pained to point out that the Home Minister, Shri Charan Singh—I wish he were present here—circulated a notice for the meeting on the 8th July. The moment the notice was received, four Members of Parliament—three from this House—and those three included Mr. Lotha, Mr. Tompok Singh and myself—and the fourth from the Lok Sabha, Mr. Las-kar, wrote to him that, because of the unfortunate Dimapur incident,

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand.] there was a setback to the process of national integration and normalisation of the situation and it would be worthwhile to bring about amity between Nagas and non-Nagas and to look into the problem more deeply and also because of the earlier promise of holding the meeting in Makok-chung, the meeting might be shifted there. To our misfortune, we never received any reply to this letter from Shri Charan Singh. But the 8th July meeting was re-scheduled to be held on the 24th July—a Sunday—when Parliament itself was sitting. Then, Sir, on the 19th of July, three or four Elder Members and Shri Bedabrata Barua from the Lok Sabha, again wrote to Shri Charan Singh. We are surprised and pained to find that the ordinary courtesy of reply to a letter sent by four Members of Parliament has not been extended to us and a notice for a fresh date of the meeting had been circulated. We told them that it was very inconvenient and all that. The hon. Minister did not find it possible to reply even to this letter and then the date from the 24th was shifted to the 23rd itself and it is only on the 25th that a mere acknowledgment in these terms was received: "I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 19th July addressed to the Union Home Minister regarding change of date and venue of the Nagaland Consultative Committee meeting...". This is the only thing that we have heard. Now we are very much pained about it and we want to register our protest, irrespective of our party affiliations. After all, Members of Parliament serving on a Committee which is supposed to look after Nagaland, which is under President's Rule, should have been treated more kindly—I would not use more sharp language.

Then I want to come to the crux of the matter of Nagaland. Here are the Naga people who have inherited a distinct culture, who have distinct faith with their own traditions and who have been living a sort of life before the penetration of capitalism in which there are great disparities—

in which most of the land is held in common. I went to Kohima village— I was fortunate enough to go to that village, which is the biggest village in the whole of Asia—and I found there is not one house which is locked. People do not know what a theft is. You will not find the disparities among the Naga people as you find elsewhere. Now, what is required is that, instead of letting capitalist exploitation unhindered to that land, instead of making them the victim of this capitalist exploitation and paying lip-sympathy to socialism as we pay respect to our Father of the Nation. The Government should seriously consider that and instead superimposing a system which would lead to the conflicts, we should try to see that they retain their cultural traditions and try to help them to come out of backwardness, especially in a manner that they can by-pass capitalism and while retaining all that is good of the past they can go into happy future. In fact, that is what causes most of the conflicts. Here I may point out the Dimapur incident also. One feeling was voiced here. That feeling was of the people who represent the non-Nagas living in Dimapur. In Dimapur, some non-Nagas' shops were looted and some other incidents took place. There is an aspect of the Nagas also. I was there only for three days. We have given certain concessions to the Nagas about the sales-tax and the income-tax, and the **non**-Nagas—even the Punjabis have been doing this—put up a Naga just as a cover, start industry and business and try to escape the income-tax and the sales-tax and get all the facilities that are available to the Nagas. This sort of exploitation by putting a Naga as a front man continues and they exploit them. They are not proprietors, they are hardly treated as servants. I would, therefore, say that a more indepth understanding and an indepth looking into the matter is required and more and more opportunities are required for the Nagas and the non-Nagas meeting there and their being brought here. I would

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even say that I agree with all the points made by Shri Latha and Shri Scato so far as the development of industry and agriculture is concerned. If I have time, I will go into them. I have taken note of them. I am quite dissatisfied with the way the things are and with the way we have taken the Naga people away from *jhum* cultivation to permanent cultivation. The pace is very slow in respect of development of irrigation facilities also. It is a State with a heavy rainfall and 95 per cent of the rain-fall goes waste. We cannot retain it. The Nagaland soil is very good, despite being hilly. In certain respects it is better than Punjab. But the production of rice is much behind the production of rice in Punjab. What I am emphasising is that we should try to help the Naga people. You cannot understand anything by just going into the figures.

I happened to go from Manipur to Kohima. It was one of the most rotten roads that I have experienced in my life, and it is one of the two most important roads. After all the Nagaland is connected with Dimapur on the one side and with Manipur on the other. Shri Panda raised a question and then, I do not know what has happened. We were not in a rainy season, and we took six hours to cover 150 miles. This is the state of affairs.

But, Sir, I want to point out another thing also. We should not be complacent. There has been a set back. We should take notice of it. Some papers have reported that there was a clash on the 14th April, result-ing in the death of two boys at Bokha through Police shooting. Mind the phrase "two boys." After all what was the situation that the boys were to be shot down by the Police. Then there is another thing, the Dimapur incident, and that I have already mentioned.

After that Dimapur incident, I also find that there is a certain resurgence

of, not only actual activity, a tendency towards that activity. People are disappearing into Burma; people are trying to go to Lahasa. All these are on record. I am a Member of the Committee. The meeting was not there, but the agenda was circulated. We find lot of things from the agenda. Some questions were raised by me and Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu. There are some other details also.

Then, Sir, the process of reintegration is so slow that out of 226 nomads only 15 have been rehabilitated so far, and the trouble has over-flowed to Manipur also. Manipur was comparatively at peace. I would request the Hon. Finance Minister to give thought to it himself and bring it to the notice of the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Home Minister that things are not that placid as they were. I am all with the Prime Minister's attempt to bring greater integration. There was a great change, I would say a magical change, after the November accord, but there has definitely been some set-back. What happened with Mr. Phiso has misfired; I do not want to go into it.

We should take note of the fact that things can go worse and that requires special pains with regard to respecting their culture, their beliefs and their traditions and respecting the Naga people themselves, and at the same time, showing the utmost consideration and going out of the way to bring them out of their backwardness most rapidly. And that would require not only these highways but improvement of the internal roads also. Then alone the products of Nagaland can be properly marketed and the people can get a proper price. (Time bell rings). Then, Sir, the question of essential commodities was raised in the Committee also. But there is no improvement in the situation. Proper distribution of essential commodities to the lowest level, reaching out to the farthest point is also very essential. New because of want of time, I would not go into greater details. I would request that elections may be held at the earliest and, if possible, an

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand.] opportunity should be provided—and this is a request by Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu of the other House also and it is in the agenda papers also—for the Consultative Committee of Parliament to go to Nagaland. It will help to assuage the feelings of the Naga people and it will help to improve the situation. I hope these points will be taken note of. Thank you very much. SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wish to share one or two thoughts with the House in regard to this very strategic State of Nagaland. The population of Nagaland is only a little more than five lakhs. And yet" we are spending nine rupees and more per-head on jails. We have lent money to finance the Government there to such an extent that the servicing of the debt which we have advanced comes to Rs. 110 per head per annum. Then for Civil Police and Fire Service, we are obliged to help that Government to spend Rs. 7,30,00,000. It goes on like that.

This is not only a strategic area but a very much troubled area. Our Naga friends have come here. They are highly civilised people. There are plenty of civilised people in Nagaland among these five lakhs of people. Yet there are quite a large number of people, the majority of them, more than 50 per cent of the people, who are not educated in modern terms and who have not had the benefit of the social services organised by various Cristian missions. Those people have not had a chance at all till now to play their effective role in modern terms in these legislatures just because for a very long time they have been neglected by people of all religions, by people of all States in our country. I think it is high time that our parities in the country realised that if a national Government is needed anywhere—it is needed for the whole of India, in all the States—it is needed much more in these strategic, troubled and trouble some areas The Nagas are divided among themselves by tribes. And those tribes

should not be helped or encouraged to split themselves along the kind of political luxury that we are enjoying, of the Anglo-American type of party system. It is high time that our Government as well as the Congress Party, all parties, came to realise that we should help them to have a coalition Government or a national Government, as much in Nagaland as in the other strategic areas. We have had the bitter experience in Kashmir the other day. We should not allow that kind of thing to be repeated in other States and especially in Nagaland. Let us help the Nagaland legislators, the past and the present members, all those who have till now been members of the legislature, to go over to some of the countries in Africa where also a number of tribes happen to live in various countries and they are making various experiments also in having a kind of national government. Let them see what is going on there and when they come back, they may possibly think of a better system of providing themselves with a civil government than the Anglo-American type of parliamentary system that we have helped them to develop till now but with very little success.

Now, I would like to mention one or two things in addition to what all our friends have already said. What I would like to be done there is development of electricity on the Japanese lines, on a very very small 5 P.M. scale. There are waterfalls. At every one of such small waterfall in Japan attempts have been made to generate electricity. Similar efforts can be made here also. Education is being developed. But communications are not being developed as fast as they should be and when they are developed, they are not being maintained properly. Let us also try our best to send, as our friend, Sardar Anand, has suggested, as many of our MPs as possible to Nagaland to study the conditions there get the hang of the situation and come back here and give proper advice to our Government and our people. Thank you.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will be very brief. The two Naga colleagues in this House have given exhaustive expression to the problems of Nagaland the requirements and all that. And therefore, I am not going into all those things. I would only like to draw the attention of the honourable Finance Minister and the honourable Law Minister to the political aspect of the situation there. I may say that I have been associated with Nagaland and the problems of Nagaland right from 1946, when all these friends were little boys and the honourable lady Member of Lok Sabha was a little girl. I know Mr. Phizo very well _____

SHRI IRENGBAM TOMPOK SINGH: You wrote a book also.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: He is my personal, intimate, friend. The whole family is known to me; they are my friends. As a matter of fact, when the problem cropped up, as it developed, in the whole process I was in contact with them. So I do know a little bit about the Naga problem. It is an extremely delicate problem and a very complicated one. This is what I want the Government to understand and realise, because when the movement was started by Mr. Phizo and carried on by the insurgents later on when he moved to London, the movement was for an independent, sovereign Nagaland. It was an extremely dangerous form of political doctrine and on the basis of that a lot of things happened. I need not go into them. But that was the main issue behind the whole movement, the movement for separation. They went to the extent of saying we are not Indians "We were never Indians, historically, culturally, and linguistically" that was the point of view of those who launched this movement, what is known as insurgency. Even today the insurgent forces are not completely dead. And that is why I am referring to it. We must be very careful; some of them are still quite active.

Now, I do not claim any achievement for my party or my Government.

It was a long process before independence, after independence, right from Pandit Nehru's days and until Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership. Efforts were being made—official efforts and also non-official efforts by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and others. So through the efforts of everybody, through the efforts of the Government, non-Government agencies, other leaders, even my former Chief Minister,—the Chief Minister of Assam played a very important role at one time—through the efforts of all these persons and agencies we achieved considerable success in bringing about peace and order in Nagaland to a large extent. And what was more, we succeeded to a large extent in bringing the Naga people into the national mainstream. This was a very important achievement which we could be proud of. As I said, I do not want to take pride on behalf of the former Government. This has happened through the efforts of everybody, many forces, many people, individuals groups, agencies.

But now I would like to draw the attention of the Ministers here to one important matter. What I see is, some people—they may not understand the situation because they do not have the knowledge of the background, or, maybe out of overenthusiasm or zeal to play power-politics perhaps—are trying to flirt with certain forces and tendencies which may lead to very dangerous consequences. This is the only major point about which I want the Government of India to be careful.

During all these years, tremendous development has taken place in Nagaland. I was in Nagaland in 1946 and I was there the other day. I have toured practically the whole of Nagaland and I do not think I have left out any district—including his district and his district. I have seen with my own eyes the tremendous development that has taken place there in communications, education, health services, and so on and so forth. Still I would say, much more is *yet to be*

[Shri Bipinpal Das.] done. Between the British times and today, the social conditions, the economic conditions, education and health services have changed tremendously in the State of Nagaland. But I agree with them that a lot more is yet to be done and Government should pay adequate attention to the various problems of these very backward people. But again, I should say we must be very careful. While we should try on the one hand to do as much as possible even by sanctioning extra grants, if possible, for the development of Nagaland in all spheres, at the same time we must be very, very careful to deal with the political forces and political elements in that area. I do not want to name anybody or any party. I am only drawing the attention of the Government to this fact. I have seen in recent times some political persons—I do not name them or the party to which they belong—hobnobbing and flirting with some dangerous elements without perhaps themselves being aware of what it means or being conscious of what it may lead to. That is what I have to say.

I have welcomed very warmly the statement made by the Prime Minister on the 20th July which appeared in the morning papers of 21st July. It was a very forthright statement making very clear the Government of India's policy so far as Nagaland is concerned. It was very good, coming as it did from the Prime Minister himself. But in this connection, I want to say something. And this is my last, but main point.

When the Prime Minister visited England recently, there was a meeting between Mr. Phizo and the Prime Minister. As I said, Mr. Phizo continues to be one of my very, very good friends—not only personally, but the whole family. When I visited London as a private citizen in 1968, I met Mr. Phizo. He gave me a dinner and we had good talks. But we differ politically and differ violently on vital issues. Nevertheless, we do conti-

nue as friends. After I became a Member of Parliament and then a Minister, I again visited London several times. But on those occasions I never met him as a matter of principle, because very vital political questions were involved, involving even the integrity and sovereignty of this country. I do not know on whose advice and on what basis and for what purpose this meeting was arranged between Mr. Phizo, who still sticks to the demand of a sovereign independent Nagaland, and the Prime Minister of India. I do not know who arranged this meeting. Might be somebody gave him a wrong advice—either the External Affairs Ministry or the Home Ministry or somebody else. Or, it may also be that the Prime Minister on his own had perhaps thought: "why not? If somebody wants to meet me and if I allow him to meet me, what is wrong in it?" One can do that out of generosity or out of good-heartedness. If some one wants to meet him and talk to him, whatever be the matter, he can do that and he perhaps agreed to that on that reasoning and I have no objection to it. But, Sir, what was serious in this meeting was this, which has come out in the Press on the 21st July from the mouth of the prime Minister himself. Sir, I would like to read out only one sentence and it is this:

"Mr. Desai said that Mr. Phizo had brought a hidden taperecorder with him and a garbled version of the conversation was being circulated in Nagaland."

Sir, this is not a very small thing. My question is this; Who made the arrangement for this meeting between Mr. Phizo and our Prime Minister? Was it the Indian High Commission there or was it the Home Ministry? Before making this arrangement, did they not try to understand the implications of this meeting. This is my first question. Then, did they not know that the insurgent forces in Nagaland under the leadership of Mr. Phizo

would utilise this particular meeting for their propaganda in Nagaland and are actually utilising it just now? Were they not aware of this? Sir, this is the reason why Pandit Nehru refused to meet Mr. Phizo after 1953 and this is the reason why Mrs. Indira Gandhi never met him and this is the reason why I never met him after I became a Member of Parliament even though he happens to be my friend. They did not understand the implications of this. Look at this thing: It is coming from the mouth of the Prime Minister himself. Where was the Security? Did the Security and the Intelligence take any care about it? Did they not know that the conversation that the Prime Minister of India was going to have with one who was questioning the integrity of India was going to be taperecorded? Is it the way we should conduct the interviews and engagements and appointments of our Prime Minister not only inside the country, but even outside? I do not know who was responsible for this. As far as I know, the External Affairs Ministry has no Intelligence Department of its own. Mr. Phizo, who carried the taperecorder secretly, tape-recorded the whole thing. Not only that. He has circulated the whole thing in a garbled version throughout Nagaland. How could this happen? I will hold the Home Ministry, the Intelligence and the Security responsible for this. They are accountable to this country and this Parliament. Sir, it is not a matter of joke and it is not a question of any party affair. Mr. Morarji Desai is not simply the leader of the Janata Party. He is the Prime Minister of this country and he is the leader of the nation. He is my Prime Minister also and I do not want my Prime Minister to be put in such a position when he goes and meets a man like Phizo. What kind of a man he is! What is his philosophy? What movement has he been leading? Even then, Sir, our Intelligence and Security people did not take enough care to see that nothing untoward happened in that interview and in that talk. sir,

I have nothing more to say. I am only trying to draw the attention of the House and the Government to this. I am very glad that Mr. Shanti Bhushan is also here. I would have been happier if the Home Minister were here. I draw the attention of the Government to this event which I as a citizen of this country—forget the party positions now—consider to be very very serious. It must be found out as to how this happened and due to whose lapse, the Intelligence or the Security or whoever it is, and whoever has committed this lapse must be taken to task. You must have understood my feelings. I have already said that Mr. Phizo still continues to be a very good friend of mine, but on the issue of nation's sovereignty and integrity no Indian citizen worth the name can make any compromise and no Indian citizen worth the name would like to see his Prime Minister to be treated like this in an interview arranged by our own Government. This is the point. I request Shri Shanti Bhushan and Mr. Patel to draw the attention of the Home Minister to find out whose fault it was, who did it and how did it happen. It is not enough for the Prime Minister to say that he does not bother about it. The Prime Minister himself may not bother about it personally, but we do bother about it, the nation bothers about it. The efficiency of the Government is in question, the efficiency of our intelligence is in question. I, therefore, request him to draw the attention of the Home Minister to find out who are the persons responsible for this mismanagement and take them to task.

Thank you very much.

SHRI H. M. PATEL; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have listened to the various speakers who have spoken on this and I am very grateful to them for the points that they have made. I shall see to it that they are attended to fully.

[Shri H. M. Patel.]

One of the points that was made was with regard to the agricultural jhuming cultivation. I can only say this that every effort is being made through land development and reclamation schemes, demonstration of terrace cultivation and so on, to persuade the people gradually to give up the jhuming cultivation which is very wasteful. But this is something which can only be done gradually and through persuasion. It may be mentioned that the current year's programme envisages increase of the area under permanent cultivation by 2000 hectares.

I think it must be remembered that most of the area in the State is mountainous and there is no scope for any big irrigation projects. The irrigated area has, therefore, to be increased through minor irrigation by provision of diversion channels etc. In the current year it is envisaged to increase the command area under irrigation by about 3300 hectares. Increased provisions have also been made for other schemes like high yielding varieties programme, supply of fertilisers and other inputs, plant protection, development of horticulture, etc., with a view to increasing agricultural production. Production of sugarcane will also, it is hoped, be stepped up by about 25000 metric tonnes.

There was a reference made to the transport problems, roads and so on. As I said before, Nagaland is a hilly region and as such the roads are the only means of communication. AH district headquarters are already connected by State highways and sub-divisional headquarters by other roads. There are, on an average, 26 km. of roads for every 100 sq. km. of area; but the length of all-weather road? (surfaced) is insignificant, i.e. 7.2 km. only. Current year's plan provision for this sector is Rs. 4.90 crores and the programme includes construction of 189 kms. of roads and widening and improvement of 131 kms. of roads.

In addition, an outlay of Rs. 85 lakhs has been provided for improvement

of three roads of inter-State importance. A further provision of Rs. 2.08-crores has also been made under the budget for development of maintenance roads in Nagaland through Border Roads Development Board. So, I think you will agree that this problem is being attended to. A point was raised about the electrification of villages. By the end of 1976-77, 203 villages, that is about 21 per cent, have been electrified. One micro-hydel as Mr. Ranga suggested, of 1.5 megawatt is nearing completion. A diesel unit of 1 megawatt is being set up at Dimapur. Some other projects are also under investigation. We hope they will be in hand fairly soon.

I have also listened to the various other points that other speakers made and in particular the last speaker and I will pass on his observation to those who will really be handling this subject. I merely want to mention, Mr. Anand, who said something about the meeting of the Consultative Committee on Nagaland, that it is unfortunate that his letter was not acknowledged in time. But the Home Minister has now intimated that he hopes to hold the meeting in Nagaland soon after the Parliament Session, may be in early September. I have nothing more to add. Sir, with these words, I would commend the Appropriation Bill for the approval of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Nagaland for the services of the financial year 1977-78, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): Now, we shall take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, I move: "That
the Bill be returned."

The question was put and motion was adopted.

**THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 3) BILL,
1977 ..**

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND
REVENUE AND BANKING (SHRI H. M.
PATEL): Sir, I move:

-That the Bill to provide for the
authorisation of appropriation of moneys
out of the Consolidated Fund of India to
meet the amounts spent on certain services
during the fin. ancial year ended on the
31st day of March, 1975, in excess of the
amounts granted for those services ana for
that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be
taken into consideration."

"The question was proposed.

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA (Bihar): Sir, I
move that the House be adjourned now.

SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar): In view of the
motion for the adjournment of the House, we
may take up this matter on Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M.
TRIVEDI): It will be taken up on the next
available day.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY
(Karnataka): Since the Janata Party wants
adjournment, we agree.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M.
TRIVEDI): Is it the pleasure of the House
that the House be adjourned?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

THE VICE.CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M.
TRIVEDI): The House stands adjourned till
11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at
twenty-five minutes past five of the
clock till eleven of the clock on
Friday, the 29th July, 1977.