

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

Clauses 2 to 4 were added to the Bill.

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

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M. today.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-two minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at eighteen minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju) in the Chair.

THE NAGALAND APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1975

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, 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 1975-76, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

As hon. Members are aware, consequent upon the President's Proclamation dated the 22nd March, 1975 issued under Article 356 of the Constitution the Budget of the State of Nagaland for 1975-76, along

with a Summary of the Demands for Grants for the year, was presented to Parliament on the 24th March, 1975. Pending the passing of the Demands for the whole year, a 'Vote on Account' to meet the requirements of the State Government for the first three months ending June, 1975 was obtained and the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act, 1975 was passed in March, 1975. The Detailed Demands for Grants were since laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha on 6th May, 1975, and copies thereof have also been made available to hon. Member of this House.

The Lok Sabha has granted the balance of the Demands for Grants and has passed the connected Appropriation Bill, which is now before this House. To meet the total estimated expenditure during the year 1975-76, the Bill provides for the payment and appropriation from and out of the Consolidated Fund of Nagaland a total sum of Rs. 67.99 crores, comprising Rs. 66.03 crores voted by the Lok Sabha and Rs. 1.96 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State, and is inclusive of the sum earlier authorised for withdrawal under the Nagaland Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act, 1975.

Sir, in March, 1975, while discussing the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, this House had also a general discussion on the Nagaland's Budget for 1975-76. I do not, therefore, wish to take the time of the House by dwelling upon again on the various items of provisions in the Budget. The House will also appreciate that the passing of the whole year's Budget will not preclude the State Assembly from considering and passing a modified Budget if the popular Government in the State, when it takes over, chooses to present one to the State Assembly.

The question was proposed.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH (Nagaland) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir the Nagaland State came into being on the 1st December, 1963. Inaugurating the

State, the late Dr. Radhakrishnan, the former President of the Indian Union, said—

"Let all past rancours and misunderstandings be forgotten and a new chapter of progress, prosperity and goodwill be written on the page which opens today."

Sir, very unfortunately, at that time, the leaders of the NNO Party failed to grasp the speech of the President of India. They regarded the speech as a mere statement and not as a challenge to the Naga leaders in particular and to the people of Nagaland in general. That was why they failed to bring about progress, prosperity and harmony in the State of Nagaland despite their eleven years' rule in the State. And as a result they fared very badly in the last General Election and lost to the UDF. This NNO Party did not act as they should have, but they continued to create confusion in the minds of the people and to mislead the legislators by false propaganda by publishing a lot of wrong statements in the papers and through their speeches inside and outside the House.

As a consequence the Presidential Rule was proclaimed in the State of Nagaland keeping the State Assembly in suspended animation. I am very sorry to say that their false propaganda creating confusion in the minds of the public and legislators led to defection in Nagaland, unprecedented in the history of parliamentary democracy in India. However, Sir, the people of Nagaland are in support of U.D.F. and accept the approach and policies of the U.D.F. government. Today, I am happy to inform the House and the Government, that once again the U.D.F. commands majority in Nagaland. Therefore, I would urge the Central Government to immediately call upon the U.D.F. leaders to form the Ministry and thereby instal a popular government in the State. Sir, this is very important because prolonging the President's Rule in the State of

Nagaland, keeping the State Assembly in suspended animation or dissolution will be harmful not only to the State of Nagaland but also to the Centre. The U.D.F. today has the majority in Nagaland and must be called upon to form the Ministry.

Coming to the point of grants, Sir, The Central Government must give more money for the developmental activity of the State keeping in view the difficult terrains and its backwardness and the poverty of the people. Sir, here I would emphasise more on communication and agriculture.

Sir, we want integration. I am in favour of integration and solidarity of this country. But you can consolidate a country only through communication. I am sorry, Sir, we have been kept aloof from the national mainstream for so many years. There has been no proper development of roads and communications. Even today to reach Nagaland you have only one railway line which goes to Assam and it is also in a very bad shape. Therefore, more grants should be provided. Money should be given for the construction of roads. Since the U.D.F. came to power, they have approached the Central Government for the construction of two more border roads linking most of the internal parts of Nagaland to the other States of Assam and Arunachal. But the Central Government has not given any clear assurance on this. I am sorry to say. I would once again ask the Government to grant us more funds on this head. Communication roads must be improved. Integration cannot be done without communication.

Coming to agriculture, most of the population of Nagaland live on agriculture. In order to involve them into healthy activities and to assimilate them in the national mainstream we have to provide them facilities, provide them with funds so that they may cultivate their land and produce more. But we are lacking the wherewithal. Therefore, we have to spend more money on this border State, on this strife torn

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State to bring round the people of Nagaland and to improve their condition.

Then, Sir, that I would like to point out is that in order to win the goodwill of the Naga people, immediate steps should be taken to remove all military camps and posts from the Naga villages. For the last many years, Nagas have suffered not only physically but mentally and psychologically also. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you yourself had seen when you went to Nagaland with the PAC. If I am not mistaken, how the villagers came and complained to you that the Army posts had been put right in the middle of the villages. This creates a lot of psychological effect on the minds of the people and also creates a lot of mis-understanding between the civilian population and the security forces. And that is why we hear in the House and outside the House, in the papers, allegations against the Armed Forces. We are not, personally I am not, against the Armed Forces as such. But then because of this staying together, there are bound to be, and there have been, many involvements. A lot of these unfortunate things have happened and the Government simply cannot go on denying them in the House. These are a fact. Therefore, it will be great relief to our people mentally if these Army posts are removed from the villages. They should be posted on the international border areas to guard our international boundary.

Then, Sir, immediate steps should be taken to stop recourse to third-degree methods on the people of Nagaland, whether they are underground or overground. And this inflicting of electric shocks should stop. Sir, it is most unfortunate that these things are happening in Nagaland. There are instances where even the children of officers, when they were arrested on a mere suspicion, have been given this treatment. There are such cases. So, Sir, the Central Government is responsible, and you have been responsible since the creation of Nagaland

State, so far as law and order is concerned. These people are now directly under your guidance and direction. So you are responsible morally and you are responsible in every respect. Therefore, these things must be stopped. Recently our Member in the Lok Sabha raised the question that two people were beaten to death by the security forces when these two were captured by them. I myself sent a telegram to our Home Minister in that regard. These things are happening and these things are not doing any good to our people. We are not winning them, but we are antagonising these people, especially the children of these people who suffer, their families, relatives and friends. It is most painful. Therefore, I would urge upon the Central Government to remove these posts and move them away from the villages. Our custom and our tradition is that even women and girls go alone to the jungle to collect firewood, to fetch water. And this has become so unsafe for them. When they go like that, this rape, molestation, all these things happen because we are letting them stay together. And it is very difficult to prove a rape case. And the villagers have no scope of going to a court of law. That is why many of these cases have been suppressed, kept in their own mind and told only to their families and relatives. These are borne by the people and suppressed in their minds. This is most unhealthy and that is why we are not winning the goodwill of the people of Nagaland. Then, Sir, all the prisoners kept in the custody of the security forces must be immediately handed over to the civil administration. On the 6th of March I had tabled a question asking even for the names of those who were captured as underground China bound. More than 100 were captured. But their names were not provided though I had asked for their names. These names are not given not only to me, but they have not been given even to the State Government in Kohima. Only recently I asked the Chief Secretary whether he has got a list of their names. He said, no. The security forces had not given the list to him. What sort of Gov-

ernment is this? It is most unfortunate. There is a rumour now going on that there are more than 10 girls captured along with this group and they are being misused and molested inside Army camps. This is bound to happen. Therefore, I say these people must be immediately transferred and handed over to the civil authorities.

The Minister said that the Naga people must come and join the mainstream of national life. How can we bring the youth to the mainstream of national life, unless we involve them in the nation building activities and unless we give them scope and opportunities? We cannot simply ask them to join the national mainstream. So, I would urge the Government to provide more opportunities and widen the scope for the Naga youth in the Central services, in the Railways, in the Posts and Telegraphs and many other fields where they have no place now. Then they may come forward and involve themselves in nation building and then join the national mainstream.

Then, in order to establish a stable Government in the border State of Nagaland, the Central Government must have confidence in the leaders of UDI and other public leaders in Nagaland. While speaking on the Sikkim Bill the other day I had pointed out that instead of having talks with the elected members, and the Ministers in Nagaland you go on consulting only their bureaucrats. This is most unfortunate. This shows that you have no confidence in Naga leaders. Unless Central leaders have confidence in them and until you give them more responsibilities, it will be very difficult to solve the Naga problem. UDF is the party which has got the mandate of the Naga people because of their policy of reconciliation which will win the goodwill of the people and which will enable them to forget the past rancour. Only this policy of reconciliation can meet the challenge that has been posed to us by our late President Dr. Radhakrishnan. Therefore, I will ask the Government and appeal to them to have confidence in our Parties and in our leaders.

I would appeal not only to the Central Government and the ruling party, but would even appeal to my colleagues in the opposition to support our policy and extend their co-operation in this. Sir, I once again remind the Government of the fact that the UDF is the only party which will fulfil the aspirations of the people and which will meet the challenge that has been thrown at our Naga people and the Naga leaders by the former President, the late Dr. Radhakrishnan and we are prepared to do it and we are aware of it. Therefore, Sir, the Central Government must give the UDF an opportunity to form a Government, a popular government, there. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam): Sir, I support the Bill and, while doing so, I would like to make certain points.

Sir, Mr. Lotha, while speaking on this Bill, referred to the neglect by the Union Government of the development of his State and he also pleaded for liberal grants for Nagaland. Sir, the grievances put forward by Mr. Lotha are not the grievances of Nagaland alone. The whole of the North-Eastern Region excepting Assam, which is inhabited mostly by the hill tribes is like this and you will find a lot of anti-national elements there and also foreign agents have become quite active in that part of the country taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people. Sir, since independence, no proper attention was paid to this part of the country as a result of which backwardness in this area has become more chronic and the people there broadly feel that no development is possible under the present set-up. This feeling has become mostly responsible for the agitations some of which have taken an anti-national character. The activities of the foreign agents there who are very active there have become intense and their activities are growing day by day because of the growing dissatisfaction among the people. Therefore, Mr. Lotha has a point in that that very little attention was paid to his State in respect of the development of communications, industry and in respect

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of general economic development. He also talked about agricultural development. Sir, I also fully agree with him so far as this point is concerned and I also appeal to the Government to take special steps for the economic development of Nagaland so far as this Bill is concerned and for the economic development of the whole North-Eastern Region in the interest of our national security.

Sir, Mr. Lotha also explained how the President's Rule was imposed there and he demanded that immediate steps should be taken for handing over power to a popular government and he claimed that the UDF is having the majority in the Assembly. Sir, I hold no brief for the NNO and that has also no alliance with us. But, even then, the fact remains that we have seen what the political situation in Nagaland is and we have ascertained the facts. There is no possibility of having any stable Government there in the near future. Sir, even if the UDF comes into power today and tomorrow it cannot remain in power, it will also be of no help to his own party. Clashes among themselves have become very intense now. Everybody will come and say that he holds a brief for the Naga people. They are always fighting amongst themselves. And this fighting also stands in the way of development of that region. They have little time to apply their mind for the development of that region. They are continuing fighting among themselves. So, Sir, my humble submission will be that both the NNO and the UDF should stop this type of fighting among themselves, and they should also see to it, whether the NNO comes into power or the UDF comes into power, that a stable, popular government can be installed there; whoever may be the Chief Minister there, we don't mind, but there must be a stable government. If this game of fighting continues, there will be no stability in Nagaland.

Sir, the President's rule came because they were fighting amongst themselves

and they caused instability to the Government there, and so President's rule at that time was a must. Both the UDF and the NNO people also admitted that Government of India had no other alternative but to impose President's rule there.

While supporting the stand of the Government of India in imposing President's rule there, I have to make a humble submission. If we just look at the past in relation to the present problems of Nagaland, we will see that neither the leadership at the national level nor the political leadership at the zonal level could read the real attitude of the Naga people. As a result of this, the Naga character was misread both at the State level and at the national level. So the whole issue was mishandled from the beginning. Sir, the Naga character is that they don't want to submit to anybody else. A Naga doesn't want to bow his head before anybody else. During the British rule also, they managed the Nagas in a manner that the Naga people thought that they were independent, and that much of independence was given to them and they were never made to feel that they were under the British rule. In a diplomatic way they used to manage the affairs in that part. After independence, in the post-independence period, Meghalaya was safe to some extent because Shillong was the capital of Assam. But in Arunachal Pradesh—previously it was NEFA—and in the Mizoram areas, officers who were posted there thought that they were the rulers there and they posed like rulers and had any sort of enjoyment there according to their sweet will. There was no rule of law in those areas. There was whimsical rule of the officers. This is the first point. Secondly, the political leadership in that part of the country wanted a cultural, economical and political predominance over the tribal people living in those areas as a result of which these Nagas revolted. Mr. Lotha referred to certain things about the behaviour of our armed personnel there. Let us apply our mind to what he has said dispassionately and without

prejudice. I had the opportunity of coming into contact with some people. I do not know where they are now. At that time, they were in contact with the Nagas when Mr. B. P. Chaliha, the ex-Chief Minister of Assam and some other people were trying to establish links with the underground Nagas so that they could be brought in the mainstream of our national life. One Mr. Pannalal Das Gupta of Calcutta, a great revolutionary leader, was taking initiative. He had some contacts with the Naga people when he was underground sometime during the freedom movement and also later on. In the room of Mr. Chaliha, I had the opportunity of meeting some of these people. There, I found one Bengali lady married to a Naga gentleman. Some other people were also there. She narrated that her father-in-law and mother-in-law had told her that the way our security forces were behaving there, was not known to them. They had seen Azad Hind Fauz and the American forces. Their opinion was that a lot of torture was being perpetrated on the Naga people. There might have been some necessity for this. But all that took place was not necessary. It means that there have been certain excesses. What I mean to say is that the Naga people cannot be subjugated. They can be won over by friendship and warmth. But if any attempt is made to win the Naga people by force, that is bound to fail. This is what anybody who knows the Naga character will agree. Nagas cannot be conquered by force. They can be won over by love and affection. While dealing with the problem of the North Eastern region, this warmth is lacking. My humble submission to the Government, through you, is that they should put in this warmth while tackling the problem of the North Eastern region. The other day, a Minister of Mizoram has complained about the excesses in Mizoram also. Sir, you know, our Party is ruling there in Mizoram and a Minister of the Mizoram Government has complained about it. It appeared in the press also. It has been complained that certain excesses were committed by the security forces there. We also have some personal knowledge about it.

Sir, our point is that these hostile activities in North Eastern Region should be stopped and the Government should take all possible steps to put an end to these things. But, Sir, for doing that we should make all out efforts to bring the Naga people and also the Mizo people to the mainstream of the national life. And, unless we bring them to the mainstream of cultural, political and economic life, we cannot bring them to the mainstream of the national life and if we cannot make them feel that they are one with us, the problem in that area will never be over. Sir, I hope the Government will take effective steps in that regard and for attaining that objective only the official measures, security forces and administration activities will not be enough. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, my request to the Government, through you, is that some non-official efforts should also be made. Some non-official agencies should also be encouraged to take up the issue with missionary zeal basis so that we can bring the Naga people and the Mizo people to the mainstream of our national life.

Only one more point, Sir. I only want to point out one more thing or bring to the notice of the Minister one thing. At the moment Nagaland is under the President's rule. On an earlier occasion we had discussed that Mizo rebels had issued a notice to all non-Mizos that they should vacate Mizoram by the 1st of January and they had also warned that if the non-Mizos did not vacate by the 1st of January, dire consequences would follow. We know that necessary security measures were taken but even then we lost three top police officers and some more police officials are being killed even today. What is happening in Nagaland? Sir, in the Dimapur sub-division of Nagaland, the Additional Deputy Commissioner has issued a notice to all non-Nagas—not outsiders but non-Nagas, there are many non-Nagas who are permanent residents of Nagaland, here is a Cachhari tribe who are the original settlers of that area and they reside in that area—asking them to quit by the 10th of May. Today is the 12th but

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they were asked to quit by the 10th May failing which they were threatened with dire consequences and the village heads and sub-divisional officers were instructed that they should either destroy or confiscate all the movable properties of non-Nagas by that period. If these people did not execute these orders, then they were threatened that they too would be arrested. Sir, this is a report which has appeared in the press.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Did you make sure of it?

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY : Sir, this is a press report and how can I make sure of it? It is for Government to find out the truth. I am bringing it to the notice of the Government. They should make sure of it and they should also inform us of what is happening there.

Now, Sir, it has created a lot of agitation in the mind of non-Naga residents in that area and also outside that region because a number of them have got their relations there.

Naturally it will have an effect everywhere. Now, Sir, it has also appeared in the press that one Rajbari Parishad, which is an organisation of Cachari tribals of that area, has sent a telegram to the Government of India asking them to intervene in the matter and save the lives and property of the non-Nagas in that region. Sir, 10th May is over. Now naturally the non-Naga people who are residing in Dimapur have their relations everywhere in the entire north-eastern region. Naturally people will be anxious to know what happens to their relations staying in Nagaland. So, Sir, I expect the Government to say something about it and also ensure the security of life and property of non-Naga residents staying in Dimapur.

With these words, Sir, I support the Bill.

SHRI B. D. BARMAN (Tripura) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it would have been in the fitness of things if this Appropriation Bill were discussed in the Naga Assembly. I do not know if I and this Parliament are intruding upon the rights of the Naga people. The way things happened in Nagaland—of course I am not speaking either for the UDF or the NNO—and the imposition of President's rule, according to my opinion, is anything but democratic. My friend, Mr. Choudhury has said that because NNO and UDF were fighting, President's rule was imposed. A similar explanation was given by the British Government once, when we were asking for independence, that because Hindus and Muslims were fighting with each other, we were not fit for self-rule. The thing is, Nagas have to manage their own affairs, whether it is the UDF or the NNO. It is therefore their concern to decide as to which party will rule. As you know, Sir, there are rivalries in our provinces, there is rivalry among parties. Saying that President's rule has been imposed because UDF and NNO are struggling with each other is not a fact.

Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the *Economic and Political Weekly*, under "The day of the Eagle" something has been published. The manner in which the whole affair has been dealt with there, the ouster of the UDF Government, the coming into power of the NNO, the Speaker adjourning the Assembly *sine die* and ultimately the President's rule, all that is just like in a thriller, like a detective story. I will not go into the details but give only some salient points. At the very outset, the six MLAs who had defected, their whereabouts were not known because they were carried away from one place to another. One MLA who had defected has said that it was just like an eagle swooping on a small bird and carrying it away. So, there are agencies which are instrumental for these defections. Initially their whereabouts were not known but in the long run the Chief Minister, Mr. Vizol found out that they were in the Army camp.

I am completely surprised as to how the 'army cantonment camps' came into the picture. I am reading from the paper :

"Vizol (when he was the Chief Minister) then took up this matter with the Governor L. P. Singh and told him that six of his MLAs were being detained in the army cantonment. Vizol says that the Governor later informed him that he had taken up the matter with the General Officer Commanding of Nagaland "strongly" and had expressed his displeasure over this matter.

Vizol then made a public statement that six of his MLAs had been kidnapped "with the help of the security forces". It was printed in most newspapers. Until today the army has not denied this statement which Vizol had made in his capacity as the Chief Minister of Nagaland."

So, there is something that these 6 MLAs have been detained in army cantonment and how has this 'army cantonment' come into the picture in the matter of defection; it is a matter between a member and a member? This matter about the defection of 6 MLAs was pointed out to the Speaker. The Speaker then went to the house of the NNO leader Jasokie in order to ascertain whether actually they had defected of their own accord or they had been forced to do so. Again I am reading from the paper :

"He did not come out of Jasokie's residence. What did come out was a statement stating that Kreditsu, the two Ministers, M. Murry and Wepreni Kapfo, the Deputy Speaker, Hentok Konyak (from Tuensang area), and four other MLAs had also defected from the UDF—thus, for the first time, destroying the majority of the UDF in the Assembly and making the NNO the majority party."

Then, Mr. Vizol has given his resignation. That is all. After that Mr. Jasokie came to power on March 10, and on March 19, Mr. Jamir took a list of 38 MLAs and gave it to the Governor. The Governor told him to take trial in the Assembly.

That is good what he did but what happened on that particular day, March 20? On March 20, when the Governor had asked for a trial of strength of the two parties on the floor of the Assembly, the Nagaland administration turned the area around the Assembly building into a fortification heavily guarded by security forces. Newspaper and news agency correspondents covering Assembly proceedings regularly were barred from entering the Assembly building that day. So, were all visitors, including leaders of the public.

When the Assembly met with the Speaker a defector from the UDF, in the chair, Jasokie got up and said that ten of his MLAs were being held under duress by the UDF and so the House should not be allowed to take up any matter (that was his attempt at avoiding a trial of strength). The ten MLAs who he said were being held under duress were present in the House on the UDF benches and so they raised their voice in protest against Jasokie's remark. And then the Speaker, Keaitsu, promptly, adjourned the House *sine die*.

That is the things. So, is it but democratic when in the House both the parties have met for a trial of strength you are not allowing the newspaper and news Agency correspondents to be present in the House and the House has been adjourned *sine die*? Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, the 'Speaker' is indeed is an honoured person, anything spoken against him is a disgrace to the Assembly or a parliamentary institution itself, but there is also a code of conduct in which he has to conduct the proceedings and if he acts in a partial manner, it cannot just be brushed aside. So, when both the parties have met to have a trial of strength on the floor of the House, to adjourn the House *sine die* is anything but democratic. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the same episode is staged in Tripura. In Tripura also, the Assembly stood adjourned in the first week of March. After Governor's Address when a Bill was going to be passed, a very important Bill, Land Revenue and Reforms Act . . .

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Tripura is not under President's Rule.

SHRI B. D. BARMAN: Tripura is not under President's rule. The Speaker adjourned the House *sine die* in the case of Tripura also. We want that at least a code of conduct should be there by which the Speaker will properly and impartially conduct the business of the House. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have seen that as soon as this Bill is produced before the House...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr. Barman, let us leave this to the Presiding Officers' Conference. Let us come to the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI B. D. BARMAN: I am coming to that. The Speaker adjourned the House *sine die* and not allowed even the Members to discuss a Bill and pass it by voice vote. The same thing occurred in Tripura also. So, my submission here, Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, is that the way in which all these things have been done, so far as Nagaland is concerned, according to me, is anything but democracy. The only thing that these two factions were fighting with each other and inevitable conclusion was that the President's Rule has been imposed on them, that is not a fact. If the Governor feels strongly that there is defection, he should dissolve the Assembly. It is a legitimate conclusion that if he feels that defection is going at the very roots of institution of democracy, there is no stable government to run the administration, he should dissolve the Assembly. But what is this if he suspends it and makes the defectors do all the nefarious things? It has been written:

"Nagaland politics was allowed to remain in its present murky state by permitting the defectors to continue as MLAs, thus providing opportunity to various dark forces to manipulate them in their own interest."

So the forces are there, the defectors are there, and they are allowed to do things to manipulate in their interest. And what

is then happening? I will read from *Economic and Political Weekly* dated April 26 1975 :—

"Mr. Dozhu Angami of Chedema village, who was appointed by the Nagaland Peace Council a few months ago as their liaison man with the underground to initiate peace talks, was tortured to death by Security Forces.

"He was arrested from his house at 1.00 A.M. on April 4. The Security Forces started beating and kicking him on the spot. Later, his hands were bound with ropes and he was rolled down the rugged steps in the village. He was then taken to the jungle nearby and beaten with clubs and rifle butts and later on taken to the BSF camp below the village. He was taken to the camp school for the night. On the way, people saw him crawling up the 6 inch-high steps to reach the school building. He was held incommunicado and was later on taken to Rangapahar army camp. There he was tortured again and electric shock treatment was applied. On Monday, his death was announced and a post-mortem was conducted at Dimapur Civil Hospital. The post-mortem report is awaited but there were signs of torture and electric shocks all over the body including his ears and private parts. There was blood in his ears and nostrils and bayonet marks on his buttocks. The pupil in the right eye was either taken out or punctured. There was also a big black mark on the right side of the belly."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we want that when a person is arrested, he should be treated according to the provisions of the law. There are penal laws; there is MISA; there is DIR and various other laws and it is as per the provisions of the law, that he should be treated. The inevitable consequence that emerges is that in the bureaucracy, the forces of perennial oppression have been let loose. People are being arrested and tortured to death. And in this case who is the person involved? He is a per-

son of the Peace Council through when negotiations with under ground Nagas were conducted by UDF Government. After this happening, would any one dare to negotiate with the underground Nagas at the risk of life ? That normalcy has gone. The period of normalcy that the UDF Government wanted to bring about, gone. The period of normalcy that the UDF or the NNO in power, there cannot be any peace talks with the Nagas because if it is done by anybody, it would be at the risk of his life. Therefore, Sir, I think, let the Naga people select their own leaders. Let them do what is good for their land. I support this not only for Nagas but for all tribals who are simple people, honest people and hard working but who detest double dealing. We detest double dealing and if any one comes with double dealings, he will not earn our love and he cannot own us nor can we own him and love him. Therefore, let them do what is good for them. Let them govern in their own way and the majority party will obviously do that. Therefore, it is in the fitness of things that the Assembly which was suspended but was still in force, will elect whichever party is in majority and will act according to law.

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सौभाग्य से इस बिल पर विचार करते समय हमारे विन् मंत्री के साथ-साथ हमारे गृह मंत्री भी उपस्थित है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सरकार की बुद्धिमानी और दूरदर्शिता का प्रमाण है कि हमारे दोनों मंत्रालयों के मंत्री इस समय यहाँ पर उपस्थित हैं। इस बिल के संबंध में इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि केवल मात्र नागालैंड ही नहीं उत्तर पूर्वी समूचा क्षेत्र भारतवर्ष के लिए बहुत बड़ा खतरे का चिह्न बना हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि सरकार ने बुद्धिमानी से काम नहीं लिया तो भविष्य में वहाँ की स्थिति वैसी ही बन सकती है जैसी साउथ वियतनाम में हुई या कम्बोदिया में हुई और यह क्षेत्र भी वैसा ही रूप धारण कर सकता है जैसा अभी पिछले दिनों इन दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया के देशों में हुआ है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री वी० बी० राजू) : ऐसा खतरा आपको क्यों लगता है ?

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी : मुझे वहाँ पर खतरा दिखाई देता है, इमीलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ। वैसे तो मैं बहुत नाट्स वाला आदमी हूँ लेकिन मैं उस खतरे की ओर सकेत करता चाहता हूँ जिसकी मुझे आशंका है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि भगवान मेरी आशंका को झूठा साबित करे। शायद आपको जानकारी हो कि आजादी से पहले से ही अमेरिका की नजर इस क्षेत्र पर लगी हुई थी और अमेरिका कोई पड़यंत्र रच कर चायना के खिलाफ वहाँ पर कोई झूठा बनाना चाहता था। श्री बिनी ग्राह्म ने श्री आउजनहावर के समय में एक बहुत बड़ा पड़यंत्र बनाया था और यह सोचा गया था कि उत्तर पूर्वी क्षेत्र में अमेरिका के द्वारा एक इंडिपेंडेंट मिलिटरी बेस बनाया जाय और इस उद्देश्य से उन्होंने वहाँ पर अपने मिशनरीज भी भेजे और बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में अमेरिकन बेपटिस्ट वहाँ पहुँचे। इस लोगो ने नागलैंड, मिजोरम आदि क्षेत्रों में मेवा की आड़ में अराष्ट्रीय कार्य करने शुरू कर दिये। उन्होंने इस बात के लिये भी प्रयाम किया कि इस क्षेत्र में विद्रोह हो। इस प्रकार से अगर आप देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि इस क्षेत्र में पड़यंत्र करने में सी० आई० ए० का बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार इन पड़यंत्रों को समझ नहीं सकी और न ही जान सकी। अब इस खतरे को देखते हुए चायना ने भी इस क्षेत्र में अपने पंजे फैलाने शुरू कर दिये हैं। आप जानते हैं कि माओ एक बहुत बड़ा विस्तारवादी व्यक्ति है। मन् 1963-64 में जब मैं साउथ अफ्रीका में था, यहाँ पर श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी प्रधान मंत्री थे और उस समय तामिलनाडु में हिन्दी के प्रश्न को लेकर कुछ उपद्रव हुये थे तो उस वक्त श्री चाऊ-एन-लाई ने एक स्टेटेमेंट दिया था कि भारतवर्ष में विद्रोह की ज्वाला धधक रही है, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि भारतवर्ष के आस-पास और उसकी सीमाओं पर कोई कम्युनिस्ट देश नहीं है जो इस विद्रोह की ज्वाला को और भी प्रज्वलित करे।

[श्री श्रीमप्रकाश त्यागी]

मैं समझता हूँ कि उसी नीति के अनुसार इस क्षेत्र में प्रवेश करने की चेष्टा कर रहा है और आज वह नागालैण्ड और मिज़ोरम में विद्रोहियों के साथ है और अरुणाचल प्रदेश में उसके एजेंट सक्रिय हैं ताकि वह इन क्षेत्रों में अपनी शक्ति का फैला सके जो कि उसकी योजना का अंग है। वह अपनी इस योजना को यहाँ पर चालू रखना चाहता है और जिस तरह में उसने कम्बोडिया और वियतनाम में अपनी योजना जारी रखी, उसी योजना को वह वर्मा द्वारा इस क्षेत्र के विद्रोहियों को हर तरह की मदद देकर कामयाब करना चाहता है। हमें तो ऐसा लग रहा है कि वह इस प्रयत्न में लगा हुआ है। जिस प्रकार अमेरिका वालों की उस क्षेत्र के लिये पालिसी थी उसी तरह की पालिसी आज चीन की बनी हुई है।

मैं नागालैण्ड में गया था। मैंने वहाँ के बिशपों से बातचीत की थी और दूसरे लोगों से भी बातचीत की। उन्होंने अब अपने विचारों में परिवर्तन कर लिया है। वहाँ के लोगों ने मुझ से कहा त्यागी जी, अब हमारे विचार बदल रहे हैं क्योंकि अब हमारे लोग चीन जाने लग गये हैं। वे लोग अब धर्म में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। इस समय गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को नागालैण्ड के विद्रोहियों के साथ बातचीत करनी चाहिये। हम इस काम में उनकी मदद करेंगे क्योंकि नागा लोगों को हमारे ऊपर अब भी विश्वास है। ऐसी बातें उन्होंने अपनी ओर से मुझ से प्रकट की। उन लोगों ने कहा कि सरकार को अपनी नीति में सोच समझकर परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। परन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि सरकार ने नागालैण्ड और इस क्षेत्र के लोगों के दिल व दिमाग को जिन्हें विदेशी एजेंटों ने खराब कर दिया है, उसे ठीक करने का आश्रय उन्हें से लिया है, फोर्स और शक्ति में आश्रय दिया है और इस ताकत के द्वारा सरकार ने उनके दिल व दिमाग को जीतने की कोशिश की है। मुझे सरकार की इस नीति के प्रति आपत्ति है। यदि सरकार इन पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में अधिक बुद्धिमत्ता और सहानुभूति के साथ कार्य करती तो आज उसे इस तरह की हालत का सामना नहीं करना पड़ता। आसाम की सरकार ने

भी इन पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों की उपेक्षा ही की और जितना धन खर्च किया वह मैदान वाले लोगों के लिये ही खर्च किया। इन लोगों को गरीबी की ही हालत में रखे रखा। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के लोगों को अपने साथ में रखने के लिये सरकार को किसी तरह की भी उपेक्षा नहीं करनी चाहिये थी और उन्हें कामगार नहीं लेना चाहिये था। विद्रोह को उन्हें से दबाया जाय, इसमें दो मत नहीं है, परन्तु उन्हें से तब ही दबाया जाना चाहिये जब कि उसके लिये और कोई दूसरा रास्ता न रह गया हो। असंतोष की भावना को कभी भी उन्हें के बल से न कभी दबाया गया है और न दबाया जा सकता है। इस चीज के लिये तो प्यार चाहिये, इसके लिये हमदर्दी चाहिये, गढ़ावना चाहिये, गेटी, कपड़ा, मकान की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये और सरकार को दोनों चीजों को साथ साथ लेकर अपनी नीति बनानी होगी तब ही वह इस क्षेत्र में कामयाबी हासिल कर सकती है अन्यथा वह कभी भी कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर सकेगी।

यह क्षेत्र भारतवर्ष के लिये एक खतरनाक क्षेत्र और एक विस्फोटक क्षेत्र बन गया है और इस बारे में सरकार को हर तरह के उपाय करने चाहिये। मैं यहाँ पर सरकार को 1939 की याद दिलाता चाहता हूँ जब कि अकबर हैदरी आसाम के गवर्नर थे। उस समय नागालैण्ड के लोगों ने उनसे मुलाकात की थी और केन्द्रीय सरकार से भी एप्रीच किया था कि नागालैण्ड का एक अलग से प्रान्त बना दिया जाय तो वहाँ के लोग संतुष्ट हो जायेंगे। सरकार ने उनकी माँग को स्वीकार नहीं किया और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि वहाँ पर विद्रोह की ज्वाला इस रूप में सामने आई है।

मैं एक बार यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को वहाँ पर इस तरह की नीति अपनानी चाहिये जिससे वहाँ के लोगों का हृदय जीता जा सके। इस समय सरकार ने जो नीति अपना रखी है, वह एक खतरनाक नीति है। गृह मंत्री जी यहाँ पर बैठे हैं और मैं उनसे खाम तौर पर अनुरोध करना चाहूँगा क्योंकि ये राजनीति के विशेषज्ञ हैं। वहाँ पर जो यू० डी० एफ० की सरकार है जिसका आज प्रजातन्त्र पर विश्वास है,

जिन्होंने वहाँ पर अपनी मैजोरिटी सिद्ध कर ली है, मैं समझता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को सहानुभूति के साथ उन्हें मौका देना चाहिये ताकि वे अपनी सरकार को अच्छी तरह चला सकें और उनके मामले में कोई बाधा खड़ी नहीं करनी चाहिये। जब वहाँ की सरकार वहाँ के लोगों की खिदमत अच्छी तरह से कर सकेगी तब ही वहाँ के लोगों के दिलों को भी जीता जा सकता है। इसलिए सरकार को इस ओर प्रयत्न रखना चाहिये। इस सरकार ने यहाँ से उस सरकार को गिराने के लिये अपने राज्यपाल के द्वारा जो षडयंत्र रचा उसका एक सकेत अभी दिया गया। उसका प्रयत्न घृणित ही नहीं था, अदूरदर्शितापूर्ण भी था और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि विद्रोही नागाओं को विद्रोह के लिये और शक्ति मिली। प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास लाने के लिये एक प्रयत्न चालू हुआ था। अब नागालैंड के विद्रोहियों में यह बात आई कि प्रजातंत्र के द्वारा हमें कुछ प्राप्त नहीं होगा, हमारी आशाएं-आकांक्षाएं पूरी नहीं होंगी। यह बातावरण वहाँ बन रहा है। बिजोल सरकार को गिराने के लिये बाकायदा शिलांग में एन एन ओ पार्टी और कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोगों की मीटिंग हुई। उस मीटिंग से कुछ दिन के पश्चात ही यू डी एफ की गवर्नमेंट का पतन हुआ। पतन के समय बिजोल की पार्टी के 6 एम एल एज को कोहिमा में सीक्योरिटी कैम्प के अन्दर रखा गया। बिजोल ने बाकायदा यह बात कही कि सीक्योरिटी फोर्स के लोगों ने 6 आदमियों को गिरफ्तार करके रखा हुआ है। केन्द्र सरकार की ओर से उसका खंडन नहीं हुआ, न ही राज्यपाल की ओर से खंडन हुआ कि यह समाचार गलत है। परिणाम यह हुआ कि उस गवर्नमेंट को गिरा दिया गया। एन एन ओ की गवर्नमेंट बनाई गई। मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि जितने डिफेंडर्स थे उन सबको मिनिस्टर बनाया गया। एक ओर तो आप डिफेंक्शन के खिलाफ कानून लाने की बात करते हैं, दूसरी ओर डिफेंडर्स को मिनिस्टरशिप का तोहफा देने की चेष्टा करते हैं। यह सब आप कहाँ करते हैं? उस स्थान पर जो सबसे विस्फोटक स्थान है, जो सीमा पर है, वहाँ पर आपने यह एक्सपेरिमेंट किया। वह गवर्नमेंट दस दिन चली नहीं। उसके बाद बिजोल ने

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फिर कहा कि 33 एम एल एज मेरे साथ हैं 60 मੈम्बरों की असेम्बली में, मुझे फिर मौका मिलना चाहिए, लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने उनको मौका नहीं दिया। अगर सरकार ईमानदारी से यह अनुभव करती थी कि नागालैंड में गवर्नमेंट नहीं बन सकती तो उसको असेम्बली डिस्सोल्व कर देनी चाहिए थी ताकि नया चुनाव होता और नई सरकार खड़ी हो जाती, लेकिन आपने असेम्बली डिस्सोल्व नहीं की ताकि खरीदारी चलती रहे। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे वहाँ पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से सेवा-केन्द्र चलाने का, रितीक वर्क करने का मौका मिला है। मैं वहाँ स्कूल भी चला रहा हूँ, औषधालय भी चला रहा हूँ। वे बहुत ईमानदार और सच्चे पहाड़ी लोग हैं। वे नहीं जानते कि करप्शन, बेईमानी और धोखा क्या है। इन्होंने बाकायदा उनको रुपया देकर करप्ट बनाया और डिफेंक्शन करवाया। फिर होर्स-ट्रेडिंग कराने के लिए इन्होंने असेम्बली को डिस्सोल्व नहीं किया ताकि फिर मौका लग जाय अपनी गवर्नमेंट बनाने का। केन्द्रीय सरकार एक विरोधी सरकार को सहन नहीं कर सकती, यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है। यह संविधान का अपमान है, देश की एकता का अपमान है। मैं ज्यादा विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता कि किस प्रकार 20 तारीख को असेम्बली में शक्ति-परीक्षण होने को था, किस तरीके से वह ड्रामा किया गया और बिजोल की शक्ति होते हुए भी उसको टाल दिया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह आपने बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण पग उठाया, यह गलत था और उस क्षेत्र के लिए तो ठीक था ही नहीं।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिए आपने शक्ति का सहारा लिया। मैं मानता हूँ कि शक्ति का सहारा लिया जाता है। मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि तमाम संसार में सेना में और पुलिस में सबसे ज्यादा चरित्रवान सैनिक कहीं हैं तो वे भारत में ही हैं, लेकिन फिर भी गलती होना स्वाभाविक है। अगर नागालैंड में बलात्कार और उस प्रकार की घटनाएँ हुई हैं जिनकी ओर इशारा किया गया है तो उन अधिकारियों के खिलाफ सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को बहुत सख्ती के साथ कदम उठाना चाहिए। मैं वहाँ के नीजवानों से

[श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी]

मिला हूँ। वहाँ इस प्रकार की चरित्रहीनता की घटनाएँ नहीं होती। 1951 में मुझे अवर जाति के बीच जाने का मौका मिला। वहाँ के नौजवान लड़के-लड़कियाँ बिल्कुल नंगे तालाब में मछली पकड़ रहे थे। वे चोरी नहीं जानते, वे छिनालपन नहीं जानते, वे चरित्रहीनता और बलात्कार की बात नहीं जानते। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे यहाँ बलात्कार के लिए सजा कत्ल है, उस व्यक्ति को हम मार डालते हैं। उनके यहाँ इस तरह की घटनाएँ हो तो विद्रोह की ज्वाला धधकती है, जो विद्रोही नहीं है वह भी विद्रोही बन जाता है। इस प्रकार गवर्नमेंट की अदूरदर्शिता के कारण वहाँ इस तरह की बात हो सकती है, इस के लिये आप को सावधान रहना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं योर कहना चाहता हूँ। फाइनैंग मिनिस्टर साहब कहेंगे कि मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब की तरफ ही ध्यान देता रहा, उन की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया इसलिये मैं अपने फाइनैस मिनिस्टर महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप जो बजट लाये हैं उस में तो मुझे कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहना है। आप ने कुल मांग 67 करोड़ की की है जिस में कानून व्यवस्था पर 51 लाख, गांव रक्षकों पर 28 लाख 12 हजार, सिविल पुलिस पर 3 करोड़ 51 लाख, आदि का प्राविधान किया है लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 28 वर्ष हो गये, नागालैंड में आप ने आज तक रचनात्मक काम क्या किया है। श्रीमान, अभी तक वहाँ एक भी उद्योग की स्थापना नहीं हुई है। क्या फाइनैस मिनिस्टर साहब बता सकेंगे कि उस पिछड़े क्षेत्र में जहाँ विद्रोह हो रहा है आज तक कोई उद्योग क्यों नहीं स्थापित हो सका। प्राइवेट सेक्टर वाले वहाँ नहीं जाना चाहते इस लिये कि वहाँ उद्योग स्थापित करने में उन को हानि होती है। ऐसे क्षेत्रों में आप ने उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन देना कल परसों ही शुरू किया है। वहाँ आप पब्लिक सेक्टर के उद्योग तो स्थापित कर ही सकते थे। मैं ने एक बार प्रश्न किया था कि जब पब्लिक सेक्टर में बाटा होता जा रहा है तो सरकार को पब्लिक

सेक्टर को अपनाने की ऐसी क्या जरूरत आ पड़ी है, तो प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मेरे प्रश्न के जवाब में कहा था कि हम पब्लिक सेक्टर को केवल लाभ के दृष्टिकोण से ही नहीं अपनाते, उसे हम जनहित के दृष्टिकोण से भी अपनाते हैं। तो उस जनहित के दृष्टिकोण से आप ने नागालैंड में, मिजोराम में पब्लिक सेक्टर में उद्योगों की स्थापना क्यों नहीं की। एक पेपर मिल स्थापित करने की घोषणा आप ने वहाँ के लिये की है। लेकिन अभी भी वह गर्भ में है। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि कहीं उस का गर्भपात न हो जाय। वह बन भी सकेगी या नहीं इसमें मुझे संदेह होता है। मैं वहाँ के हर क्षेत्र को जानता हूँ और उस के आधार पर कह सकता हूँ कि उद्योगों में जो नयी नीति अपनायी गई है वह देश के लिये हितकारी है। उस में अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम मिल सकता है और नागालैंड में और पूर्वी क्षेत्र में लघु उद्योगों को स्थापित किया जा सकता है बड़ी मात्रा में, लेकिन आज तक आप ने उसके लिये कुछ नहीं किया? फारेस्ट के आधार पर वहाँ उद्योगों की स्थापना की जा सकती थी, लेकिन आप ने उसे नहीं किया। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस क्षेत्र की सबसे बड़ी समस्या वहाँ की आर्थिक उन्नति की है और उस के लिये आवश्यक है कि उस क्षेत्र में सड़कों का एक जाल बिछा दिया जाय।

अंत में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। उस क्षेत्र में जो सबसे बड़ी चीज इस समय अनुभव में आयी है वह यह है कि विदेशी एजेंटों द्वारा वहाँ एक वातावरण पैदा किया गया है और वह वहाँ के पूरे क्षेत्र में है कि वे लोग भारत के कभी अंग नहीं रहे। भारतवर्ष हमारा अंग नहीं है। हमारी भाषा, हमारी कल्चर, हमारी नेशनलिटी बिल्कुल अलग है। यह एक सबसे बड़ा काम भारत सरकार का था कि उन क्षेत्रों में वह भारत की मेन राष्ट्रीय धारा को ले जाती। आप उन को सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से शिक्षा और ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोण से भारत की राष्ट्रीय धारा के साथ ले आते। पढ़े लिखे लोग वहाँ के बोलते हैं कि हिंदूभा हमारे यहाँ की थी। मझ-

भारत के युद्ध में हम लोग यहां से कुश्नेत्र के मैदान में लड़ने के लिये गये थे। पांडवों के साथ हिडम्बा की रखतेदारी थी। लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने कभी सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोण से, ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोण से उन के साथ संपर्क स्थापित नहीं किया। मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि वित्त-मंत्री जी उन लोगों के अधिक से अधिक भारत के अन्य लोगों के संपर्क में लाने के लिये रेल मंत्री आदि को कहें और जो गरीब लोग भारत के दूसरे तीर्थ स्थानों में जाना चाहते हैं उन का रेल और दूसरा किराया और उन के भाड़े में इतना कंसेशन दें कि वे गरीब लोग भी आसानी से भारत के दूसरे लोगो और प्रान्तों के साथ अपना संपर्क स्थापित कर सकें और यह क्षेत्र भी राष्ट्र का एक अंग बन कर खड़ा हो जाय। नागालैंड के लोग भी भारतीय अंग बनने में उतना ही गौरव अनुभव करें जितना कि हम भारतवासी करते हैं, यह प्रयत्न सरकार को करना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr., Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I commence my speech, I want to make a request to the House. This hearing gadget is absolutely useless when we sit very close to the speaker. We cannot hear any translation because the carrying voice of the Speaker, especially of my good friend, Mr. Tyagi, his musical voice, overwhelms the translation facility accorded, all because this is a very outmoded machinery that we are given.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Or is it because you are so near to him ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : We must see that some new gadgets are imported.

Regarding this Nagaland Appropriation Bill, there is no other go except to support the Bill because Nagaland is now without a Ministry and the people there would actually suffer if we do not pass this Bill.

It is a ritual and this ritual we are performing periodically. To-day it is Nagaland God only knows what it will be tomorrow or during the next session. It is all because of the game of horse-trading that the ruling party is playing periodically. We are accustomed to this sort of game for a very long time. It is high time that the ruling party stopped this horse-trading business. Otherwise, Sir, this Parliament alone will be in existence and all the State Assemblies will be abolished. So, I request, through you, the ruling party to stop this. I request especially the people who are holding some high posts in the ruling party after recent elections that they should prevail upon the leadership to do so.

Sir, this morning I was amazed to see news item in the *Hindustan Times*. The heading is "Opposition Resists Change Malaviya". Sir, I will read only a few lines because my time is only about three minutes; I want to talk only for three minutes.

"The Union Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, Mr. K. D. Malaviya, told Congress workers to-day that despite the party having a comfortable majority in Parliament, it was finding it difficult to push through legislation for social welfare. Accusing Opposition parties of stalling Government efforts to bring in legislation aimed at removing poverty, Mr. Malaviya said the Opposition must reaffirm its faith in social changes through democratic process.

What is the social reform Bill or measure that the Government brought in that we opposed? What is the Bill that they brought to abolish poverty that the Opposition parties stalled? According to Mr. Malaviya, the ruling party wants to usher in a new era where there will not be any poverty, where there will not be any social evil; but it is the Opposition parties who are stalling that. Sir, this is, to say the least, a preposterous statement. What have the Opposition parties done? I would like to ask Mr. Malaviya through you whether they brought in any legislation to allot five acres of land to the landless poor that we stalled. Did they bring in any legislation to allot each

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.]

homeless man, living on the platform both in winter and summer, a house, that we stalled? Have we stopped any Bill that had been brought by my good friend, Mr. Mukherjee, or by Mr. Brahmananda Reddy to assure every unemployed man of a job? What is it that we have done? In the ruling party manifesto, to which Mr. Malaviya is also a party, they said that they would create five million new jobs annually. What has happened to that? Have we stalled it? Simply because they get a platform and they get publicity, they go about talking all sorts of preposterous things. Again I am asking him :What has happened to "garibi hatao"? Is it because of the Opposition parties that that slogan could not be implemented? If you look into the public demands, you would find umpteen things that are in public demand. People cry right and left for something to sustain their lives. The people from my State now want rain.

God has not favoured us with rain. We want artificial rain and have even agreed to get some Canadian firm to come and experiment on artificial rain in Madras. Our Government, I believe, has written a number of letters. But there is no response from this Government. I am told somebody from the Meteorological Department.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You may take it up on some other occasion.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : My point is, how could they say that Opposition parties are standing in their way?

If the experiment is conducted and if it goes through and if we get rain, we have to pay to the Canadian company Rs. 1 crore; failing that, we have to pay them Rs. 12 lakhs. If we look into the wasteful expenditure of this Government or if you see the Public Accounts Committee reports—you are also a member of that Committee—12 lakhs is flea-bite. But they are heartless. The temperature in Madras is 117 degrees F.

And there is no drop of water. All the sub-soil water has dried up. People get water once in four days. Many people have not taken their bath for 5 or 6 days. You know Madras city. That being the case, Shri K. D. Malaviya comes out with the statement that Opposition parties are standing in the way of Government implementing this, that and the other. Sir, you must inform the Prime Minister not to entertain senile people in her Cabinet. This is nothing but senility. What he said is out of all proportions. How could he say that opposition party has stalled all the good reforms? This House must pass a unanimous resolution that Mrs. Gandhi should not include in her Cabinet senile people. She should take people like my friend Mr. Krishna or anybody like him, but not senile people.

With these words, inevitably—there is no other way—I support this Nagaland Bill.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात निस्सन्देह है कि बहुत मामलों में विशेषकर इस उत्तर-पूर्वी सरहद के मामले में सरकार ने बड़ी अदूरदृष्टिता दिखाई। थोड़ा मा अगर हम देखें तो नागालैंड की पृष्ठभूमि ऐतिहासिक भी है और भौगोलिक भी और आज के राजनीतिक बंबडर में भी वह पड़ गयी है। सभापति महोदय, मंगोलों का अभ्युदय हुआ तो चंगेज के जमाने में मंगोलों का राईन नदी (हर्मनी) से पैसिफिक समुद्र तक और उत्तर में साइबेरिया मैदान से लेकर ईरान तक कब्जा था। चंगेज खां ने, जिसने बहुत बड़ा साम्राज्य स्थापित किया उसके साम्राज्य के अंदर इंडोनेशिया से लेकर दक्षिणी पूर्व सारा एशिया केस्पियन सागर तक और ईरान से लेकर मंगोलिया तक शामिल था।

शायद सरकार को पता हो या नहीं चंगेज खां जैसी ही आज माओ की स्थिति है। माओ ने कनेम किया है कि जहां जहां तक मंगोलों टाघ गया खासकर जहां तक कुबलाई खां का राज्य था वह चीन का स्वाभाविक अंग होना चाहिए। उसके नक्शे में नेपाल, भूटान, सिक्किम, नागालैंड, बर्मा, इंडोनेशिया, साउथ ईस्ट एशिया, थाईलैंड, कंबोडिया

और पश्चिम में कैस्पियन सागर तक उसके नवशे के अंदर है। क्या रंग लाएगा यह मिशन माओ का ? जिस शक्ति का वह संचय कर रहे हैं उसका क्या नतीजा होगा इसका सबसे बड़ा आंसलेट आपके देश को उठाना पड़ेगा और उससे आप भाग नहीं मकेगे। और आपको चारों तरफ से आज इन शक्तियों ने घेर रखा है। यह बात सही है कि अमेरिका ने दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया में गलत नीति अपनाई है। लेकिन जिस तरह से उसके खिलाफ प्रचार किया गया था वह भी दूरदर्शिता नहीं थी। यह संघर्ष काफी दिनों से चल रहा था और अन्त में वहाँ पर कम्युनिस्टों की विजय हुई। अमेरिका को इस बात का खतरा हुआ कि अगर पर्ल हारबर गया तो फिर अमेरिका की सरहदों को भी खतरा हो सकता है। इसलिए अमेरिका ने दूर दूर क्षेत्रों में अपने अड्डे बनाये। अमेरिका की अब तक यही कोशिश रही कि चीनी अजगर को आगे बढ़ने से रोका जाये। लेकिन वह ऐसा नहीं कर सका। आप जानते हैं कि इस बारे में हमारे नेहरू जी ने भी भूल की। अंग्रेजों ने अपने समय में तिब्बत को एक बफर स्टेट के रूप में कायम कर दिया था, लेकिन हमने उसको चीन को दे दिया। हालत आज यह हो गई है कि यही अजगर हमारे सिर पर खड़ा हो गया। अमेरिका ने इस बात की भूल की कि एशिया के लोगों को ज़रूरत से ज्यादा मदद की। उसको यह मदद नहीं करनी चाहिए थी और इन देशों को अपनी स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा करने के लिए छोड़ देना चाहिए था। जो हमला अब हुआ है, यह डेमोक्रेसी की जीत नहीं है। आप इस बात को भूल जाइए कि हममें जनतन्त्र की जीत हुई है। इस बात को याद रखिए कि चाहे हिटलर हो, मुसोलिनी हो, या स्टालिन हो, या माओ हो ये सब चंगेज के दूसरे रूप हैं और जनतन्त्र के सबसे बड़े दुश्मन हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये सारी शक्तियाँ जनता की विरोधी और दुश्मन हैं। इस परिस्थिति में अगर आप हमारे उत्तर पूर्व क्षेत्र पर दृष्टि डालें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि यह हमारी उत्तर पूर्वी सीमा एक नासूर जैसी है। आप जानते हैं कि नासूर एक फोड़ा होता है जो बहुत दर्द भी नहीं करता है, लेकिन रिसना बनाए रखता है और अच्छा भी नहीं होता है। उसका सबसे बड़ा खतरा होता है कोई एक ऐसा समय आता है जबकि यह नासूर केसर का रूप ले लेता है। इसलिए खतरा इस बात का है कि जो नासूर आपने नागालैंड

में पैदा किया है वह किसी दिन केंसर न बन जाए। ऐसा सोचना उस स्थिति में और भी ज़रूरी हो जाता है जब कि सारा दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया लाल पंजे के अन्दर आ गया है, माओ के पंजे के अन्तर्गत आ चुका है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यद्यपि अमेरिका वहाँ से हट गया है, लेकिन वहाँ पर वेक्यूम नहीं रहेगा। रूस और चीन के अन्दर इस बात की होड़ लगी हुई है कि इस रिक्तता को कौन पूरा कर, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि इस होड़ में रूस पीछे चला जाएगा। ये छोटे-छोटे मुल्क अपनी आजादी को कायम नहीं रख सकेंगे और कोई उनकी रक्षा करने वाला भी नहीं है। ऐसी स्थिति में चीन इन देशों में हावी हो जाएगा और हमारा देश इन सब शक्तियों से घिर जाएगा। सिकन्दर ने जब कान्धार और तक्षशिला पर आक्रमण किया था तो भारतवासियों ने उसके दांत खट्टे किए थे, लेकिन हमारी बदकिस्मती यह है कि गान्धार और तक्षशिला भी अब हमारे देश के हिस्से नहीं रहे हैं। हमारी सरहद वहाँ से हट गई है। कुछ लोगों के लिए यह फक्त की बात हो सकती है और राजनैतिक तौर पर वे इसको कामयाबी भी मान सकते हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐतिहासिक तौर पर इस क्षेत्र में हमारी बहुत बड़ी हार हुई है और ये क्षेत्र अब कभी भी भारतीय क्षेत्र नहीं हो सकते हैं। हमारी सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी यह रही कि हमने कभी किसी को अपने में मिलाने की कोशिश नहीं की। दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया में हमारी संस्कृति फैली हुई थी। सारा अफ़ग़ानिस्तान और गान्धार का क्षेत्र हमारी संस्कृति के अन्दर था और हमारे देश का अंग था। इस सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि के साथ यदि हम नागालैंड की समस्या को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि अकेले राजनैतिक तौर पर हम इस समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। जैसा कि हमारे मित्र श्री त्यागी जी ने कहा, इस समस्या को हमें सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक तौर पर हल करना होगा। इतिहास इस बात को बताता है कि नाग जाति हमारे देश के अन्दर शिव जी के गले का हार थी। नाग लोग पहाड़ों में रहते थे। लेकिन दुःख इस बात का है कि पुराणों की गाथाओं का अध्ययन वैज्ञानिक ढंग से कराने का प्रयत्न हमारी सरकार ने आज तक नहीं किया।

इन जातियों का बहुत पुराना इतिहास है। ये लोग हमारे साथ हैं और इसकी कुछ पृष्ठभूमि और उसको खोजने का हमने कभी भी प्रयास नहीं किया है। हमें

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

इस बन्धन को मजबूत करना होगा। आज समुद्र पार मिशनरीज इन लोगों को अपना बना सकते हैं, लेकिन हमारे बगल में होने हुए हमारी सारी संस्कृति पृष्ठभूमि होते हुए, हम उनसे किनारे हैं। यह क्या बात है? आप इन लोगों को तलवार के बल पर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के बल पर, इन जातियों को जीत नहीं सकते हैं और न ही अपने में मिला सकते हैं। इसके पीछे तो सारी सांस्कृतिक, सारी सामाजिक, सारी भौगोलिक, सारी आर्थिक, इन सब पृष्ठभूमियों को लेकर ही इसका राजनीतिक हल किया जा सकता है। केवल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और फौज के बल पर वहां के लोगों का दिल नहीं जीता जा सकता है। इसलिए सरकार से मेरी प्रार्थना और अनुरोध है कि जो भूल हमने काश्मीर के संबंध में पहिले की थी, जिस भयंकर भूल को सुधारा जा रहा है, उसी तरह से यहां पर जो कुछ विद्रोही हैं, उनके लिए भी हमारी यह नीति होनी चाहिए कि चाहे जिस कीमत पर भी क्यों न हो, चाहे जैसे भी हो, हम उनको अपने में मिला सके ताकि वहां पर शान्ति कायम हो जाये और लोग शान्तिपूर्वक जीवन व्यतीत कर सकें। इस तरह की बात डंडे के बल पर नहीं हो सकती है। यह काम तो तब ही हो सकता है जब कि अग्रस्त्य और विश्वामित्र जैसे लोग हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा हों और फिर वहां जाकर बसें। जब बाहर के मिशनरी लोग वहां के लोगों को अपना बना सकते हैं, तो क्या हम सेना के बल पर ही उनको अपने में मिला सकते हैं? अगर हमारी सरकार की यही नीति रही तो वह हिस्सा खड-खंड होता चला जाएगा। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उनके साथ प्यार का व्यवहार किया जाना चाहिए, उनके साथ सांस्कृतिक व्यवहार करना पड़ेगा, वहां पर मीन्स आफ कम्युनिकेशन्स, आमदोरफ्त बढ़ाना होगा ताकि वहां के लोगों के साथ सम्पर्क हो सके और वे लोग यह महसूस कर सकें कि हम भी इसी देश के अंग हैं। इस तरह की सारी चीजों को आपको दूरदर्शिता के साथ करना होगा क्योंकि वह एक खतरनाक जगह है। अगर हमने वहां पर होशियारी के साथ काम नहीं किया तो हमें एक दिन पछताना पड़ेगा और इसमें दो राय नहीं हो सकती है।

मैं सरकार से यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि उसको वहां पर अपनी पार्टी कायम करने की दृष्टि से कोई खराब काम नहीं करना चाहिए और ओछी बुद्धि

से और छोटी राजनीति से वहां पर कार्य नहीं करना चाहिए। वहां पर पार्टी में दल-बदल की भावना को बढ़ावा नहीं देना चाहिए। इस तरह की कार्यवाही उस इलाके में नहीं चलाई जानी चाहिए। आप यू० पी० में इस तरह की बात कर सकते हैं, मध्य प्रदेश में चला सकते हैं, लेकिन उस क्षेत्र में इस तरह की ओछी राजनीति चलाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। आपको वहां पर दल बदल को प्रोत्साहन देना नहीं चाहिए। आपने जो वहां पर अभी तक गल्ती की है, उसका अब खत्म कर देना चाहिये और इस तरह से कार्य करना चाहिये ताकि वहां के लोग अपने को हिन्दुस्तान का ही अंग समझें इसलिए मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वहां पर पापुलर गवर्नमेंट को कायम किया जाय और विद्रोहियों को अपने साथ लाने के लिए बराबर प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए। सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि को मजबूत बनाया जाना चाहिए और इसके साथ ही आर्थिक क्षेत्र में भी प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिए तथा मीन्स आफ कम्युनिकेशन्स को जोड़ा जाना चाहिए क्योंकि वह क्षेत्र बहुत खतरनाक क्षेत्र है और उस पर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए।

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while dealing with the problems of Nagaland, our colleague, Mr. Khyomo Lotha, has laid more emphasis on the problem of securing national integration. To me it appears that the national integration is really a very important problem which must receive Government's utmost attention. The Naga people should not consider us as outsiders. We should not consider them as people of a particular territory. They should be like any other Indian. In this connection, I have to make two suggestions. In the first place, the tribals, since they constitute hundred per cent population of that area, should be provided reservation on the basis of the proportion of their population. It should be the policy of the Government to see that all the posts which are available in that territory should be, as far as possible, filled from that area where suitable candidates are available. It should be the policy of the Government to avoid bringing in officers from outside the area. They

should be afforded more opportunities provided suitable people are available. I think there will be no difficulty in respect of Class III and Class IV appointments and the local people will be available. Therefore, the Government should decide as a matter of rule that so far as vacancies in Class III and Class IV are concerned, they would invariably be filled from amongst the local people.

There should be a systematic effort on the part of the Government to see that their representation in service increases gradually.

My second suggestion is that the people of these areas should be provided jobs in other parts of the country. I have been dealing with the problem of reservation in services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I have seen that there are no tribal people in most of the public sector undertakings where there is a good potential for employment. I will give the example of one factory in Madhya Pradesh. They are trying their best, but they are not able to get tribals even from Madhya Pradesh. Could we not have a scheme whereby the tribals who are living in the border areas are given training in different professions and ultimately they are absorbed in the services? Could not have a scheme whereby we can say with pride that so far as the Nagas or people from Mizoram or from other parts of that area are concerned, they are employed in every part of the country? Let us have a scheme whereby the tribals will be found in Madras, Kerala and Gujarat and also in other parts of the country. If we are able to achieve this, then these people will feel as if they are being given an opportunity to share the prosperity of the country. Why restrict them to two or three areas? Let them feel that the whole country is theirs. This is one way of achieving some integration. These are the suggestions that I would like to make for the consideration of the Government.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful, to the hon. Members

for making their observations while taking part in the discussion on Appropriation Bill for Nagaland. I share the concern of the hon. Members that it is really unfortunate to discuss the financial proposals of a State Government on the floor of the Parliament when we do not have the opportunity of having first-hand knowledge of the situation prevailing there. At the same time, the situation under which the President's rule was promulgated, under Article 356 of the Constitution, in Nagaland is known to the hon. Members. In this connection I would like to recall and reiterate what had happened in the third week of March, 1975 when the Presidential rule was imposed.

4 p.m.

Sir, one hon. Member while making his observations has stated that the whole idea of toppling the UDF Government was hatched by somebody and he did not even spare the security forces in this game. Perhaps, it is not the correct picture. Sir, if we look at the actual position which prevailed in Nagaland in the month of March, you will find yourselves that on 8th March, the composition of Legislature was UDF 38, NNO 22, on 9th March UDF came down to 25 and NNO became 35, on 10th March the new Ministry came into existence; on 18th March 10 NNO Members joined UDF under the leadership of Shri S. C. Jamir. There was a proposal to form the Ministry and on that day the position was UDF 25 + 10 = 35 and NNO 35 - 10 = 25; and on the 20th March the Assembly was adjourned *sine die* by the Speaker.

श्री श्रीराम प्रकाश त्यागी : उन्होंने जो स्टेटमेंट दिया था कि 6 एम एल ए सेनयोरिटी फोर्स ने रखे हुए हैं उनको क्या आपने कांस्ट्रिक्ट किया ?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : I am coming to that.

Sir, the Report which the Governor submitted to the President recommending Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution was laid on the Table of the

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House and if the hon. Members took the trouble of going through it, they themselves would have come to the conclusion that there was no alternative but to impose the President's rule in that situation. Sir, it was pointed out by the Governor himself to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly that he ought to authorise money for the financial year and that he should try to find out a way in which the Assembly could be restored.

" It has been pointed out by some hon. Members that why the Assembly House was heavily guarded there was no such apprehension, but when the Speaker himself expresses his doubt that his life is in danger or that the lives of the Members are in danger, if some unwarranted incident took place perhaps the hon. Members themselves could have come and condemned the Government of India and the Governor and asked us as to why we did not take adequate security measures? It is the Governor himself who asked the leaders of the contending parties whether they could sit together and find a way out in which the constitutional working could be restored and the constitutional impasse which was created as a result of the frequent floor crossings could be avoided. Therefore, it is not the intention of the Government of India and nor is it the intention of the Governor to see that a certain Government is toppled. The Vizol Government continued for more than a year or almost for about a year. Therefore, there is no point in suggesting that some conspiracy was hatched and defection was caused. It has been asked why did not the Government come out with a contradiction? On the floor of this very House when the Proclamation was discussed, the Home Minister pointed out that it is not a fact that certain people were kidnapped and that they were kept under the protection of security forces. Therefore, this is not the position. Unfortunately, the Chief Minister made that statement. But, it is not easy like the politicians—for the security people and the Army people to come forward and issue a rejoinder. Therefore, Sir, this

is not the position. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the Governor conducted some sort of a conspiracy or anybody sitting in Shillong hatched a conspiracy as a result of which the Ministry fell and the constitutional machinery could not function.

Now, the question has been raised as to why the Assembly has no been dissolved. It has been pointed out when the Proclamation was passed by this House that we are trying to see that a constitutional Government, duly elected people's representative Government, could function in the State of Nagaland. We are aware of the sensitiveness of the area. We are aware of the position which prevails in that area. As a result of that it would have been easier for the Government of India to see that a responsible Government duly elected by the people could discharge their functions.

I entirely agree with the hon'ble Members that the problem of Nagaland is not merely that of administration and that it requires a political solution. But how that political solution can be arrived at? Is it possible to have that political solution by charging blanketly the Governments policy as a policy of atrocities? I do not deny the possibility that there might be some excessiveness here and there on the part of the Security Forces themselves. I do not deny the possibility that there might be a bit of atrocities. But it would not be correct to come to the conclusion that all the people belonging to the Border Security Forces and Armed Forces are all debauch, all of them are corrupt, they commit all sorts of heinous crimes on the innocent people of Nagaland. We should not forget in our emotions that these are the people who are defending our borders. We should not forget that these are the people who are asked to discharge the most unpleasant jobs in very difficult situations, particularly in sensitive areas like these. Therefore, it would be my appeal to the hon'ble Members that instead of charging blanketly that all Border Security Forces people are corrupt, all of them are committing all sorts of heinous crimes and atrocities on the innocent people of Nagaland, if there be any

specific charges against particular individuals, those should be brought to the notice of the Government and we should take care of them.

In this connection, I would like to point out that in two specific cases which have been pointed out by Mr. Lotha, very high powered commissions have already been initiated and due action would be taken. Therefore, it would not perhaps be correct to say that Government is following a policy of atrocities and Government is not realising the existing situations there. To establish a responsible government there is the political solution. To share the responsibilities and to bring Nagaland in the mainstream of national life is the political solution. To give them adequate assistance and policy to bring them in the national mainstream is the political solution. It is not correct to say that the Government of India has not done much for Nagaland. We agree that compared to the demands, compared to the requirements, not much has been done; but, at the same time, it has to be kept in mind, Sir, that the industrial development which we can contemplate in an area like U. P. or West Bengal or Maharashtra is not possible in an area like this. Mr. Om Prakash Tyagi, while making his observations, asked why a paper mill has not come up. The paper mill is coming up. It is expected to be commissioned in 1977. It is almost 100 per cent Centrally assisted, and a scheme worth Rs. 60 crores, when it is put into commission, it would have some effect on the industrial character of Nagaland. But, in spite of the best wishes, we cannot change the industrial map of Nagaland overnight. We will have to see what type of infrastructure is there. Definitely there is the question of building infrastructure, there is the question of building public sector industries, there is the question of allowing private sector to be established there. But all these things will take time. If he takes the trouble of looking into the allocations in the current year's budget, he will himself find that compared to many other States, investment in the social services, investment in the community services and investment in the agricultural development in Nagaland, percentage-wise

would be more. Therefore, these are the efforts aimed at a political situation there. In spite of this, unfortunately, some shortfalls still exist there. Irrespective of our political beliefs and convictions, we should remember that this is a very sensitive area, it is a vulnerable area, and, as it has been pointed out by two hon'ble Members, there is a danger of having insurrection and attack from outside. We should not therefore take the issue of Nagaland as an ordinary political issue, and while making our observations, we should restrain ourselves and confine ourselves to the reality there. In spite of our best efforts it has not been possible to establish commissions pointed out, they were rectified. It would be wrong to say, Sir, that by and large the people of Nagaland are hostile to the Government of India. There have been efforts made all these years, but at the same time I have no hesitation to say that there might have been some omissions and commissions, but whenever those omissions and commissions were pointed out, they were rectified. It would be the continuous effort of the Government of India to see that the people of Nagaland who have a very distinct culture, who have a very distinct tradition, they can be brought into the mainstream of national life. I have no hesitation that the Members of the Opposition will agree that when we provided Article 371A giving special cultural protections for the people of Nagaland, it was an attempt to protect their own culture, their distinct culture, and at the same time to bring them in the mainstream of national life. Therefore, certain efforts are being made and more and more efforts will be made and any suggestions in that direction, I hope, will be appreciated by the Government of India.

Sir, regarding the point raised by Mr. N. R. Choudhury that the entire north eastern region is being neglected, I would not like to go into the details of what has been the financial allocation or the development in those regions because the House got the opportunity of discussing the problems of industrial development and financial allocations on many occasions as

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it had the opportunity of discussing two or three financial Bills in the week which just preceded. Only one thing I would like to point out here. The whole purpose of setting up the North Eastern Council is to have an integrated development. Therefore, the North Eastern Council is looking into that aspect and a sum of Rs. 10 crores has been allocated for the current year to get that job done. Regarding certain other developmental aspects, Sir, I would like to point out that if we look at the Plan allocations for the current year, we will come to the conclusion that in spite of the constraints in our resource position, it has been possible for us to increase the annual plan of the Nagaland Government. Sir, last year, it was in the order of Rs. 7.12 crores and this year it is in the order of Rs. 9.12 crores plus Rs. 2.28 crores for the centrally sponsored schemes. In the quantum of money, it is not much but what I want to impress upon the hon. Members is, in a very difficult situation when the resource position is extremely difficult, it has been our effort to see that relatively backward areas get more and more opportunities for their economic and industrial development.

While making his observations Mr. Choudhury pointed out to one circular issued by the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dimapur regarding the non-Nagas. Sir, unfortunately a circular was issued but as soon as it came to the notice of the State Government, that circular has been withdrawn and there is no difficulty as pointed out by the hon. Member.

Regarding certain other observations which the hon. Members Mr. Mariswamy and Mr. Varma have made, I am really grateful to Mr. Varma and Mr. Tyagi also for their very scholastic observations about the culture of those areas and their historical bondage with the national life. I feel, perhaps, I have not much to reply to those points which they have mentioned.

With these words, I again offer my thanks to the hon. Members.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH : Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Lotha, your reference is actually to the security forces having been stationed. Therefore, I think the Government should have noted what you have said.

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 1975-76, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Now we 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 PRANAB MUKHERJEE : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE GOVERNMENT OF UNION TERRITORIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1975

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I move :

"That the Bill further to amend the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963, the Representation of the People Act, 1950 and the Representation of the People Act, 1951 and also to amend the North-Eastern Council Act, 1971, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."