

I. STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF THE NORTH EASTERN AREAS (REORGANISATION) AMENDMENT ORDINANCE 1975 (NO. 2 OF 1975) PROMULGATED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE 20TH JANUARY, 1975.

II. THE NORTH-EASTERN AREAS (REORGANISATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1975

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House disapproves the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Amendment Ordinance, 1975 (No. 2 of 1975) promulgated by the President on the 20th January, 1975."

Although the Ordinance by itself does not contain too much, I think it is necessary for me to move a Resolution disapproving it for two reasons.

One is that it was brought in the form of an Ordinance and it could have been very well brought before this House before the Parliament adjourned the last session.

The second reason is about the way the Government is behaving towards the North Eastern areas because this raises very serious questions as to whether we are serving the national interests of the country in that area. I would use this opportunity through this Ordinance disapproving Resolution to highlight certain facts which this House should be familiar with.

This Bill is an outcome of the original Reorganisation Bill that was presented before Parliament in 1971 and in January 1974, that is, a year ago. The Government suddenly found that it had not implemented all the aspects of the Bill which had earlier been passed in 1971. They sought a one year extension on the ground that within this one year they would be able to finally bring about the necessary reorganisation in particular regarding the Electricity Board. But now one year has elapsed. Now another Ordinance has come

and we are again asked to approve it and give time to the Government to the extent of three years to bring about this change.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay) in the Chair].

I think Government has not given any adequate explanation as to why they have chosen to sleep over the matter for such a long time.

I think that this laziness or neglect is illustrative of the general neglect of that region, namely, the original State of Assam which was divided into several States. I say, Madam, that this neglect in Nagaland is at all levels, it is at the economic level, at the political level and at the cultural level. Now, as an example of the neglect of this region in the economic sphere, I would mention about a State here which is being talked about much in the papers today and that is the State of Nagaland. Till 1969, the total investment in Nagaland was only Rs. 8 crores and this has to be contrasted with the total investment of roughly about Rs. 35,000 crores in the nation as a whole. Here is an example of the economic neglect of a particular State. If you take the figures for Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, you will find similar neglect in terms of allocation for economic development. It is not that these regions do not have any resources at all. On the contrary, they have abundant resources. Forests in this region are abundant. If we could have had several paper factories there, we could have provided this country with enough paper and employment to the people in that region and the discontent that is there would have come down. But what we find is that the Government belatedly decided to set up in Nagaland a paper and pulp factory. But nothing has been done since then. They built a few buildings, a few residential buildings. But, subsequently, these buildings collapsed under the landslide there since the site was not chosen properly and that project is there without being taken up. Madam, it is not that these regions do not have enough manpower also. Presently, the literacy rate in

these hill areas is higher than in many other States of India, in fact, higher than in most of the States in India. Educated manpower is available in abundance in these areas. But we have tended to treat this region as something hostile, as something which should be suppressed, as something in the case of which the only approach should be military repression. Of course, the military is not responsible for this, but the Central political leadership. But we have generally created an impression that these regions are somewhat hostile areas where the only way to keep them inside the Indian Union is by resorting to military force. Now, this is being systematically built up at every stage. Again, the question of Nagaland comes. The issues of Nagaland, the economic, political, social and cultural issues of Nagaland, were dealt with by the Ministry of External Affairs till 1972. Till June 1972, Madam, these issues were dealt with by the Ministry of External Affairs. It is never heard of in the history of any country that a unit of its own has its affairs dealt with by its Ministry of External Affairs. And, Madam, the Central Government has never really welcomed the government which is being properly elected there and which might have some differences with itself. For example, the UDF won on the basis of an election in which 80 per cent of the people voted for it. In fact, the Naga hostiles and the People's Republic of China, both of them, told the Naga people to boycott the election. In spite of that, 80 per cent of the people voted for it and it is the highest-exercised adult franchise and the UDF came to power on this basis and they got a majority. But what did the Governor do? Instead of calling them to form the government there, he said something and there was delay. After a great deal of delay, the UDF was able to form the government there. But, subsequently, attempts were made to topple this Government also. The President of the UDF, a lady, Mrs. Shaiza, came to New Delhi and tried to meet the Prime Minister and sought to clear up the doubts that might have been here in the mind of the Centre about the UDF. But, unfortunately, the

Prime Minister refused to meet her. After about ten days or so, she had to leave. At the same time, the present Chief Minister, Mr. Jasokie, came here and he was received with great honour by the Prime Minister and a great deal of publicity was given to his arrival here. Of course, the UDF has been toppled now and in its place a new Government has been brought about through pure engineering of defection and has been set up there. Now, I don't want to take sides on this issue. But the fact of the matter is that the Centre is taking sides on this issue and trying to distort the picture, to bring about an image here which is not really in keeping with the reality. I also find that the Government of India is alienating the public in that region by roughshod methods against the citizens of that area, by arresting people because of the so-called anti-national activities. There are reports coming in papers that there are arrests on a large scale by use of what is called wild cat arrest methods.

Similarly, Article 371A, Part (b), is an instrument by which the States in those areas are made subordinate to the Centre. This is in sharp contrast with Article 370 where the State is given more powers, because they say there is a special situation there. But in the case of the States in this region, Article 371 is used because of special situation, and that special situation provides the Government with an opportunity to take more powers. The entire law and order in those States is administered by the Governor, and not by the Chief Minister; Governor, of course, is responsible to the Central Government. So if the law and order breaks down there, it is the Central Government's responsibility. But, again, here an impression has been created that in this region the law and order is breaking down because the governments are not doing their work. The Prime Minister herself, in reply to a question here during the Question Hour, stated: We do not agree with the UDF Government and some others in that area, because they are not doing a good job of law and order. But law and order happens to be the subject of the Governor.

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

I think another factor which is very disturbing in the States in this region is the number of discredited and superannuated officials who are sent there to look after the Central Government work. Now, it is very important really that fresh minds and dynamic and energetic people...

SHRI I. T. SINGH (Manipur): Sir,...

(Interruptions)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If you want to make an intervention, I shall sit down...

(Interruptions)

The officials there happen to be superannuated. Now, one index is that the Government there itself have been frequently urging the Central Government to take back certain officials who have developed certain vested interests in remaining there and are painting a picture of total collapse so that they can continue to have power. For example, the Government of Nagaland has several times protested against the chief representative of the Governor there, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Ramani. He is now past the age of 65 but he is going on getting extensions, and the Government is turning a deaf ear to this demand. Of course, now with the toppling of the UDF Government and bringing in of the NNO Government, which is clearly an associate party of the Congress Party, an acknowledged associate of the Congress Party, I suppose that Mr. Ramani would be suitably rewarded. We have not been able to convince the people there that we really...

SHRI I. T. SINGH (Manipur): Sir, on a point of order. He cannot name the officers who are not supposed to defend themselves in the House... (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: The Minister will reply to this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Go on.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You see how sportingly I take interruptions... (Interruptions). The Government there is not able to put across the idea that this region should integrate with the mainstream of the country. Now, for example, today there is a vicious propaganda going on the area that if the Government can negotiate with Sheikh Abdullah, why should it not negotiate with anti-national elements in Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal; in Arunachal, of course, the situations is not so serious, but it can become serious. Now, why is this demand raised? This is because the Government of India is not able to take any constructive programmes for integrating the people of that area with the rest of India. The ratio of unemployment there is much higher than in the rest of India. At the same time, the proportion of educated people in that area is much higher. Consequently, they become victims of foreign missionaries and they become victims of other forces which are trying to whip up trouble there. The Government has closed its eyes. I doubt if the Home Minister has been to that region. Perhaps he goes to Shillong, has a good time there and comes back. I do not think the Home Minister has really taken the trouble to go into the interior of these places, to have heart to heart talk with the people and to find out the actual situation. I would suggest four points for the consideration of the Government and if the Government is willing to accept these four points or at least to seriously ponder over these points, I am willing to withdraw my resolution of disapproval. The first thing that the Government should do is to see that they do not engage in the politics of defection and if indeed a Government falls because of serious defections, then it is the duty of the Central Government to dissolve that Assembly and to have fresh elections. The Government must apply this principle rigorously in that area. Secondly, the Government should scrap Article 371(A)(b) and also seriously curb its rather lawless application of the unlawful activities. Thirdly, the Government should transfer its corrupt officials in that region according to the advice of the Chief Minister there so

that a more healthy attitude develops between the Centre and the State. Fourthly, the Government should immediately form a parliamentary delegation which should be allowed to go there and investigate what the actual situation is so that the Parliament may be better informed in the future.

The question was proposed.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, be taken into consideration."

Madam, this is a simple piece of legislation which seeks to replace the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Amendment Ordinance, 1975, which was promulgated by the President under Article 240 of the Constitution on the 20th January, 1975.

As a result of reorganisation of the composite State of Assam under the principal Act of 1971, as from the 21st January 1972, the Assam State Electricity Board and the Assam State Warehousing Corporation existing at that time in the composite State became inter-State bodies corporate. A provision was made in section 53 of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, for the continued functioning of these two bodies in all the territories of the composite State, i.e. the present State of Assam, the State of Meghalaya and the Union territory of Mizoram. It was also provided in sub-section (3) of the same section that these bodies shall cease to function and stand dissolved on the expiry of the period of two years [which period was later extended to 'three years' under the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Amendment Act, 1974] from the date of reorganisation or such earlier date as the Central Government may, by Order, appoint.

In so far as the Assam State Warehousing Corporation is concerned, the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation (Department of Food), who are concerned with warehousing,

have issued an Order under sub-section (3) of section 53 dissolving the inter-State Warehousing Corporation as from the 21st January, 1975, after the new intra-State Warehousing Corporations set-up by the State of Assam and Meghalaya took over the undertakings, assets, rights and liabilities of the inter-State Warehousing Corporation relating to the Warehousing Centres functioning within the territories of the two States. It may be mentioned that there is no Warehousing Centre in the Union territory of Mizoram.

In regard to the Assam State Electricity Board, however, the Ministry of Energy (Department of Power), who are concerned with Electricity Boards, were holding discussions with the representatives of the Governments of Assam and Meghalaya with a view to persuading the two States to evolve mutually acceptable arrangements for the future functioning of the Electricity Board. An agreement was reached and signed by the Ministers of the two States on the afternoon of the 19th January, 1975. However, as all the details necessary for incorporation in the statutory Order to be issued by the Central Government for the taking over of the undertakings, assets, rights and liabilities of the Inter-State Electricity Board by the new intra-State Electricity Boards set-up by the two States, were not immediately available and it was also necessary to consult Mizoram, which was a necessary party, it was found necessary to extend the life of the inter-State Electricity Board by another two months beyond the 20th January, 1975, on which date it was otherwise due to stand dissolved.

Accordingly, the President was pleased to promulgate on the 20th January, 1975 the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Amendment Ordinance, 1975 (No. 2 of 1975), which the present Bill seeks to replace.

I will now refer to the individual clauses of the Bill. Clause 1 relates to short title and commencement. Clause 2 seeks to

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

make the substantive amendment by substituting the words "three years" occurring in sub-section (3) of section 53 of the principal Act, as amended by the Amendment Act of 1974, by the words "thirty-eight months". Clause 3 relates to repeal and saving.

Madam, I now move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

Madam, my esteemed friend, Mr. Subramanian Swamy, has taken this opportunity to raise many points which otherwise are very much irrelevant for the purpose of this Bill. Perhaps, he has taken this forum as if it is a discussion on the Budget Estimates.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan): Here, you can reply.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: For the purpose of this Bill, perhaps, they are very much irrelevant and I do not want to digress much on this. One point he has made is about the defection of the UDF members to the NNO. Perhaps, he may be aware that even those who were elected on NNO tickets also defected to the UDF at the initial stage. It is not as though our Party or the Government wants these defections. You can know the sense of urgency with which we have moved a Bill to stop these defections.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: When are you bringing that Bill?

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: It is already at the Select Committee stage. Your Party is well represented there. We are very eager to get it passed provided all the Members of the Opposition co-operate with us. We have brought this Bill before the House and it has been referred to the Select Committee. It shows that we are very much interested in getting the anti-defection Bill passed. This, of course, is known to you all. We do not want any kind of defections. We have even provided a disqualification for a member who has defected from one party to another.

We were never interested in defections. And whichever party has got a majority will rule in accordance with the democratic principles, for which my friend should not have any grievance.

Then he has said of lawless application of laws on unlawful activities. You are aware, Sir, that in some of these areas, there are people who are indulging in these unlawful activities and who are not reconciled with the democratic functioning of our Government or the constitutionally constituted Government. Some people are engaged in rebellious activities and underground activities which are detrimental to the security of the country. And that is exactly the reason why some special laws may be required to see that such elements are brought under control. As soon as it comes to our notice that no such elements are existing in the area where this application has been made, we will not hesitate to withdraw all the special measures whereby we desire to control such unlawful activities which are very dangerous to the security of our country. My friend should appreciate that the Government have taken such a salutary step to control such activities which are very prejudicial to the existence of our democratic set-up. He has also said about a parliamentary delegation. I don't think that there is any necessity for any parliamentary delegation. We are very much alive to the situation and every step is being taken to see that . . .

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What is your objection to the parliamentary delegation?

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: For what purpose?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: To know what is going on there.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: You are in the knowledge of the things and the Government is in the knowledge of the things there. You can give suggestions. If it is a useful suggestion, we do consider it.

Sir, he has said that this part is very much neglected. It is not neglected. It is very backward. We know that the North Eastern Region is backward.

In some of the areas there are tribals.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala):
And they are grossly neglected.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN : No, it is not so. Of course, you will always say that.

Everything possible is being done to improve their condition. It may be of interest to hon. Members to know that we are spending more in that region than in any other area in the country if you take the *per capita* basis. Looking to the population in that region, we agree that much needs to be done and every effort is being made to see that proper industries are opened and proper employment opportunities are generated so that that part of the country also comes on par with the other developed parts of the country. With the limited resources available to us, we are doing whatever is possible.

Anyway, Sir, this is not the time nor the occasion to discuss all these things. There may be some other occasion to discuss all these things in detail. Moreover, I do not have all the information available with me at the present moment.

Sir, my friend has pointed out that we are extending this Ordinance by another three years. He has not understood it. What we are seeking to do is to extend it by only two months and not three years, as he has mistakenly understood. By the previous Act, the life of the main Act was extended by one year. By the present Bill we want to extend the life of the Act by two months only and this period of two months will expire on 21st of March which is only one week ahead now. So, the impression that has been created in the mind of Shri Subramanian Swamy is not at all correct.

Sir, we did not even want to take this much of time, i.e., even this two months time we did not want to take. In fact, an agreement has already been reached on the 19th January, 1975, that was before the dead-line, but the other details could not be worked out and hence we had to promulgate an Ordinance on that day. So, this is only intended to replace that Ordinance and the period is extended from three years to 38 months, i.e., only by 2 months.

I hope there will be no objection to the passing of this Bill unanimously.

The question was proposed.

SHRI B. D. BARMAN (Tripura) :
Madam Vice-Chairman, I must say that we should take recourse to Ordinances to the minimum extent possible. When the situation can be well foreseen, we can make a provision during the continuance of the Session itself and so this extraordinary method of promulgating Ordinances should not be taken recourse to.

I admit that the provisions of this Bill are simple. In this connection, I want to make some submissions.

Before this reorganisation takes effect, there was the Assam State Electricity Board and these corporations. After the reorganisation, the assets and liabilities should be distributed between the inter-State bodies. In this connection I want to point out one thing to the Minister so far as this region is concerned, namely, that there should be a co-ordinated policy, a co-ordinated power policy. Unless and until there is a co-ordinated power policy, there is no scope of development of this undeveloped area. This undeveloped area is rich in its natural resources. Exploration of power is the most essential and vital thing for the exploitation of the rich resources found within this region. So, unless and until there is a co-ordinated power policy so far as this region is concerned, there is no hope of any development of this undeveloped area.

[Shri B. D. Barman]

So far as my State, Tripura, is concerned, we are to take power from Assam or rather from Meghalaya because in our State the one hydel project that was commenced several years ago has not yet seen the light of the day.

Expenditure to the extent of three times the actual sanctioned amount has been spent in this connection but up till now it has not been completed. Three thousand families have been evicted from the dam site but they have not yet been rehabilitated. What the experts say is that even after completion, this project will not generate the power that is expected but much less. Therefore, until and unless a coordinated power policy is formulated so far as this area is concerned, the backwardness of this area cannot be done away with. Therefore I want to submit to the hon. Minister that the North-Eastern Regional Council should be adequately powered, if necessary by legislation, so that the power generated in that area can be distributed properly to all the centres, so that it is under proper control and supervision and so that unnecessary expenditure on this power project may not take place. So far as the money that is spent on this project is concerned, I must say that it will not give the expected results. The three thousand families which have been evicted from this project area have not yet been rehabilitated and they are all tribal families living in dense hills. Therefore, they have to be rehabilitated.

I have no objection to the amendment proposed in the Bill. It is a natural consequence of the reorganisation of the States. But, I appeal to the hon. Minister that there should be a co-ordinated power policy which will give effective stimulus for the development and prosperity of this State which has rich resources of all sorts. If these resources have to be exploited, power is the most vital and essential thing and, therefore, there must be a co-ordinated power policy for the North-Eastern area without which nothing can be done.

With these words, Madam, I support this Bill.

SHRI I. T. SINGH (Manipur) : Madam Vice-Chairman, while I am supporting the amendment, my friend Mr. Subramaniam Swamy is away from the House. The amendment is so simple and it needs no further discussion; it can be passed easily.

Now Swamyji has come. I wanted to invite him personally because he is a Professor and I also belong to the teaching profession—to discuss the problems of the North-Eastern areas in a passionate manner. Madam, through you I would like to tell my friend, Mr. Swamy and the House that it is of no use sending a parliamentary delegation there as I have said in the case of Mizoram also, earlier, during a Call-Attention discussion on Mizoram. Let us go and see what the actual position is. So far as the North-Eastern region is concerned, we should not look at it from a narrow party angle. We should discuss it from the national point of view as was done in the case of Kashmir.

Actually I wanted to participate in the Kashmir discussion that Kashmir accord had so much effect to our North Eastern zone which is also a very sensitive area where insurgency had been taking place but that discussion is now closed. I was cutting a joke to Honourable member Swamyji during Kashmir discussion that he will fix his eyes on Nagaland and Mizoram since there is no Kashmir problem now and I will be very happy if Jana Sangh is ready to go there. Are present leaders of Jana Sangh ready to go to Nagaland or Mizoram for the cause of the people according to the policy of the party as their leader, Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, laid his life in Kashmir, they can do so if they like.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You are not speaking on Kashmir. That debate is over. Please do not bring in that thing here.

SHRI I. T. SINGH : I know that. Because the policy of the Jana Sangh is

like that I would like to invite them to come to Nagaland and Mizoram so that they may acquire knowledge. Let him not go all alone. He may go with any member coming from that area and all will be ready to help him to get information.

You know the Government of India is pursuing a policy through which Kashmir and the North-East region are enjoying special privileges. If that was not so, Manipur, Nagaland and Meghalaya would not have enjoyed the present status of a full fledged state and Mizoram and Arunachal may not enjoy the position of union territories. The history of the North Eastern zone is quite different from other parts of the country. Because of the topography, because of the geographical situation and other historical factors, from which we could not escape quite a long time the mainstream of the Indian political life had not found place in that part of the country. Still lot of things are to be done in that directions.

Coming to the Bill, the difficulty at the moment with us is that there is no power. There is shortage of power in Mizoram. There is a shortage of power in Manipur and in Meghalaya. The whole Assam is suffering from the shortage of power. Some projects are yet to be commissioned. In reply to my question on the floor of this House, I was told that the Loktak project of Manipur is likely to be commissioned in 1976 but at two moments there is acute shortage of power. There are transport bottlenecks. There are other factors. Because of the political turmoil and instability in the immediate past unhappy things had taken place in this region which needs total cure now. One thing is quite clear. That part of the country is also coming to the mainstream of the political life. It is no denying the fact that a sense of normal political life has returned in Nagaland and Mizoram. Even hostiles are coming out. Those hostiles who were never wedded to the idea of the Indian nationhood, they are

coming out and telling and participating as the first-class Indian in day to-day activities. There is lack of communication and there are some other factors also but a new horizon is coming up. The only problem is of development. Some pertinent points were raised by Shri Swamy. He has talked about defectors. I may tell him I am also a defector but I am wedded to the principles of democracy, secularism and socialism. I may tell you what your friends might have tried to do. Try to organise Jan Sangh and take the trouble to go there but the place will not be fertile for a communal party.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: We will still try.

SHRI I. T. SINGH: That is not possible because we were wedded to the principles of democracy, secularism and socialism. Therefore, it will be very difficult for us to subscribe to the view of the Jan Sangh to some extent. We appreciate Jana Sangh's nationalist views. Sometimes they are found very useful for certain purposes. You may, if you like, utilise that in Nagaland or Mizoram. You can lay your life there for the cause of this people who have been kept neglected and unknown for centuries. I may tell you very frankly that that danger is still there. He is still talking about the unlawful activity. In order to save a Muslim friend and a South Indian friend, without disclosing myself as a Member of Manipur Assembly some years back, I was beating back a Naga boy. Lawlessness and anti-national elements are still there...*(Interruptions)*. I may tell you the facts. If he goes to the internal part of the tribal belts he will find them quite good and hospitable. In fact he is taking the help of an hon'ble Member who is not here today. But regarding defection in Manipur and Nagaland, it is not that type of defection of other places. Party politics is new to this region and they want to come to the mainstream of the national life. They want to share the national view, they are not ready to join your party or Rajnarain's party B.L.D.

[Shri I. T. Singh]

इंगलिश हटाओ, यह करो वह करो, इसको हटाओ -
उसको हटाओ ये सब दिमाग खराब करने की बातें हैं।

Even then you may try to convert some youngsters either in school or college in Delhi to bring to the Jana Sangh fold. Therefore, so far as political defection is concerned, it is not there. At the same time, how can he blame the officers? The officers have nothing to do with it. We are awakening and we are thinking how to solve our problems and how to contribute our little mite in the body politic of India (*Time bell rings*). Madam, one or two minutes; otherwise, I will not be in a position to reply. Then Article 371, 371A and 371B and special provisions of Chapter 21 of the Constitution is very important. For example, a plane man in Manipur is not in a position to buy an inch of land in the hill. If he had been there, the Jana Sangh would start agitation against the hillmen. His party will not be in a position how to protect tribal interest. Therefore order to protect these tribals' interests in that part of the country, the customary laws and local laws are very important. Therefore, so far as Article 371A, 371B are concerned, this is protecting mechanism. Therefore, the question of scrapping of this Article does not arise. The officers are very fine officers when they are in our State. What is use of accusing poor officers serving in far flung areas.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please finish.

SHRI I. T. SINGH: All right, Madam. Therefore, so far as that part of the country is concerned. I would like to appeal to all the other parties, not belonging to the Treasury Benches, not to enter into party politics in handling of North Eastern Zone.

One point. I want to seek a clarification from the Minister. According to the Reorganisation of Manipur also about medical services had to be contributed on 20th Jan. 1975. I think there is some lacuna and the Central Health Ministry

might have expended C.H.S. to Manipur for six months. But what is the exact position? I would like to know the exact position if the Home Minister can throw any light over this matter. Therefore, so far as this amendment is concerned, I wholeheartedly support it. There is no point of argument. This is a very simple Bill. I would appeal to Mr. Subramanian Swamy to withdraw his Resolution.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal): Madam, this simple Bill was not at all necessary nor was the Ordinance, had the administration taken some initiative during the last three years. This is how the entire thing is going on. On every matter we find prolonged delays to come to some solution. There are long statements and unnecessary waste of energy, time and money. Very often we are faced with such Bills, which is actually a sheer waste of money because the Parliament has to sit for hours and several thousands of rupees are spent. Nonetheless, this is a simple Bill and there is no question of any objection to it.

But I would like to mention here one or two points. My friend Mr. Barman raised the question of development in the whole North Eastern region. There is no denying the fact that these areas which may not have been neglected according to Mr. Mohsin, are absolutely undeveloped. What steps has the Government of India been taking so long after the Independence to develop these areas? Has the Government of India any plan to develop any industry there, excepting some oil industry in Assam? Tea gardens are there but the credit does not go to the Government of India. These tea gardens are 100 years old. Excepting the tea industry in the North Eastern region, no other industry worth the name has developed as yet and the Government has got no plans. In Shillong, I remember, in the days of late Dr. B. C. Roy, some sort of hydro electric project was developed but since then, no further projects have been developed there. In that region, a number

of industries could have been developed. Excepting some cottage industries which are peculiar to that particular area and which the local people had been engaged in for centuries, no other industry worth the name has been developed as yet and the region has remained undeveloped. The Minister will come and say that we have been spending more *per capita* there than anywhere else in India. That also does not go to the credit of the Government of India. Even if the Government spends more *per capita*, it does not help the people of that region as such.

So, you must keep that in mind and give some thought over the matter.

5.00 P.M.

The second point is that within this area falls another hilly region called Darjeeling. I have mentioned it in the past during the discussion on the Minority Commission's report. In Darjeeling the hill people have been demanding autonomy for a district within the State of West Bengal. In the same way Mizoram has been demanding a separate State. These hill people have been demanding only an autonomous district within the State of West Bengal for their own development. All political parties including Gorkhali, CPI(M) and even ruling Congress Party in the Darjeeling have sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister. This demand is a long-standing one. During the days of Jawaharlal Nehru they had been pressing for this. They met him when he went to Darjeeling and submitted a memorandum. But nothing has yet been done by the Government, whereas you have considered the demand of Mizoram for a separate State. Even their modest demand for inclusion of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution has been rejected. Although the Prime Minister accepted it when she visited Darjeeling two years back, she rejected it after she came back to Delhi. This is most unfortunate. The whole country is being run like this. Assurances are given and they are taken back.

When their legitimate demands are again and again rejected and callous attitude is shown to these people, naturally chauvinist elements in the area raise their heads. I cannot blame them for that. They have shown enough patience for decades and decades. Their demand for the autonomy for the district is a simple one. Whether you reject it or not, why don't you consider it? I would appeal to you and urge upon you to give some thought over the matter. You do not act unless you are compelled to act. That is our unfortunate experience. If Darjeeling hill people resort to some sort of direct action, then only you will act; otherwise not. Is that your position? we would like to know what is your stand.

While supporting this Bill, I would again appeal to you to agree to their demand for district autonomy within the State of West Bengal for the development of their own language and the hilly area. Even the tea estates there are being neglected. A few minutes back Prof. D. P. Chattopadhyaya was here. He knows very well that during the British days these tea gardens were set up, but after that those tea gardens have not been developed and even replantation has been neglected. And a number of tea gardens have been closed or have been declared sick because of the callous attitude on the part of the Congress Government towards the people of that area. That attitude is to be condemned, and I would again request that their demand should be considered.

SHRI SHOWALESS K. SHILLA (Meghalaya): Madam Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to you for allowing me to speak. Actually, I was not prepared to speak but the remarks of hon. friend, Mr. Subramanian Swamy, provoked me—I could not help—to seek your indulgence to allow me to speak.

The fact of the matter is that this is a very plain and simple Bill. It only seeks that some provisions of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act—be amended. And without this extension, it would have

[Shri Showaleess K. Shilla]

no meaning. It is to allow the provisions of the Act to come into being into the State so that certain liabilities of the old Electricity Board of Assam could be divided.

Madam, I wish to point out as to what really made me stand up. It is really a matter of deep regret for me that my hon. friends from the Jana Sangh time and again cannot think or speak of the North-Eastern region without—I emphasise 'without'—condemning the foreign missionaries. It shocked me, coming from there. I think it must have been a slip of the tongue. He deemed it fit to say "The people became the victims of foreign missionaries." I do not understand as to what he meant by that. In the beginning, when he stated that the literacy percentage there is very high, I thought he was directly paying a tribute to the foreign missionaries, because the truth of the matter is that. It is because of the foreign missionaries that we are now proud that we have some of the best educational institutions in Eastern India and we also have very good hospitals in that area. These are the things which the Government have not been able to fulfil, but which the foreign missionaries have done. And no Jana Sangh worker—I emphasise 'no Jana Sangh worker' so that they do not repeat this in future—has ever thought of it, let alone doing it.

I wish when they think of the North Eastern regions they do not think with prejudices and bias, and that should anything happen there they should not think that it is because of foreign missionaries. I think that should be enough to bring home the fact that we are not victims of foreign missionaries.

Coming to the point that this Bill is really a very simple Bill that only seeks to help the implementation of the original Act, I stand to support it. There has been a complaint that there is delay in implementation. But democracy at work is really not dictatorship at work in the sense that you cannot just do things as fast as you

would like to. I can understand the difficulties of the Government in this respect. In democracy there is the question of give and take the due process of law. There was long negotiation between the two parties, Meghalaya on the one side and Assam on the other, and for the Electricity Board it took time to come to an understanding. Then after this the question of Tripura had to be considered. Consequently this delay. I am grateful to the Government of India for their patience. Now that they have come to an agreement the two respective Electricity Boards will function smoothly.

Madam Vice-Chairman, my regret in this matter is that provision has not been made for other intra-State agencies like the State Transport. Because of the provision in the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act the problem of the Electricity Board has now come to a happy end. But for the Assam State transport no provision has been made and still poses a big problem. I do not know when this problem will be solved. I take this opportunity on the floor of this House to appeal to the Assam Government to be more sympathetic, to be more understanding for, after all, we are neighbours and must live together in peace, as equal citizens, as equal participants in building up this great country of ours.

In this respect I would like to mention a certain aspect which has come up because of the Assam Transport Undertaking. They run a fleet of trucks and these trucks of theirs go empty one way. And at the same time they will not utilise the trucks of the private carriers. To make my point clear, from Gauhati to Shillong the State transport carries the goods. But for timber from Shillong, from Meghalay to Gauhati they allow the private carriers because they cannot meet the demand. They do not have enough trucks. But these trucks that carry timber are supposed to come back empty with the result that there is colossal waste. Madam, we are facing energy crisis and for the import of oil, the black gold,

we are paying through our nose. Yet we allow this wastage to go on. I want to draw the attention of the Government to this important point so that something can be done about it, so that this problem is solved.

Madam Vice-Chairman, I will not prolong any more. I conclude by saying again that I support this Bill. Thank you.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : Madam, may I rise on a point of personal explanation? I think he had not heard very clearly what I said.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Mr. Swamy, as the mover of the Resolution you have the right of reply. And since all the speakers have spoken, now it is for you to inflict another speech on the Members.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : If you say like that, I will sit down without saying a word.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : Please go on.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : I want to make just a brief intervention before the matter is placed before the House. I made a distinction between Christian missionaries and foreign missionaries, and this distinction apparently escaped the Member here. I myself am a product of a Christian missionary school. So, I know the contribution they have made for education in this country. I also know that we in this country have been guilty of neglect in the field of education, and the other communities in this country have not played as large a role in the education of the country as they should have played. All this is agreed. But the fact does remain, and it has been over and over again proved, that although the Christian missionaries have created a good environment for education in the country, with the missionaries coming from abroad into this country, this particular medium has been

exploited by foreign powers hostile to this country to propagate a certain philosophy which is basically separatist in outlook. This cannot be denied, and I am sure he cannot deny it. Of course, there are good foreign missionaries. I have myself been educated in a foreign country. I cannot possibly think that every foreigner is a CIA or KGB agent. But the fact remains that because of the Governments neglect, because of the fact that the Government has done very little in this area, that area has become a victim of foreign missionaries who have definitely instilled or attempted to instil a sense of separate identity there.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN : Madam, I am very much thankful to the Members who have given unanimous support to this Bill. But at the same time, I must refer to a few points which have been raised by the hon. Members. Shri Barman has made some useful suggestions about the necessity for co-ordinating efforts for power generation in this north-eastern region. I might mention here that the agency of North-eastern Council has been set up for co-ordinating these power plants, and they are being considered by the North-eastern Council. A point was made that there is no industrial progress in these areas. It may be of interest to the Members to know that an effort is being made to develop paper and pulp industry in this area. I do not remember exactly where these units are to be set up, but I very much know that the paper and pulp industry is coming up soon. The power projects, which are on hand are the Lok Tak project in Manipur, Dumbur in Tripura and micro-hydel schemes in Arunachal Pradesh, and these are for generation of more power. The other suggestions that have been made by the Members will be kept in mind. I might also mention for the information of Mr. Subramanian Swamy, because he has made much about the so-called defection—perhaps he has no party base there in the north-eastern region ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : Not yet.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN : Not in the future also. Perhaps there is less possibility in future of their having any base in the north-eastern region. For his information, I might say that in Nagaland Assembly the Congress Party is not there. His allegation was that we had engineered the defections there. There is no Congress Party in the Legislature in Nagaland. This NNO is not Congress Party as such. So whatever be his intention, it has been nullified by these facts. I wanted to bring this to his notice. We very much deprecate this tendency of defection from one party to another.

Madam, I again thank the hon. Members for their unqualified support for this measure.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): The question is :

"That this House disapproves the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Amendment Ordinance, 1975 (No. 2 of 1975) promulgated by the President on the 20th January, 1975."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up 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 F. H. MOHSIN : Madam I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : My friend Shri Swamy has spoken already on the subject. In this connection, I want to make one or two observations.

First, this region is in a disturbed region. It is not a question of administratively tackling, the situation. There must be proper political approach. Proper political approach means, specific problems of the region, particularly those relating to the tribal people, as mentioned by some of our friends, should be given due attention. These are deferred problems. In fact you should have taken up this problem much earlier. The Constitution in its Schedule provides for such action being taken. We are also called upon to do so by the movements and agitations of the people. Therefore, my suggestion is that the problems of the tribal people should receive the utmost attention today.

Take, for instance, the case of Tripura. The tribals have their legitimate grievances. They have made certain demands. They have brought deputation here to meet the Prime Minister. From your visits to Manipur and these areas you know how explosive those problems are, if they are not and thereby creating conditions of chaos properly tackled. Therefore, Government should not lose any time in sorting them out and meeting their legitimate demands as far as possible within the framework of our Constitution. Tripura has undergone a change due to the influx of the refugees. If the tribal people want certain rights to be protected, it is absolutely necessary and justified. That cannot be ignored. The same applies to other areas. In our Constitution there are certain provisions for making special arrangements and so on. These should be implemented when the situation demands that.

Secondly, foreign agents and the intelligence outfit are very active in that area. When subversion is going on in the country, they are interested in organising divisive and separatist movements, which will

set one section of people against another and thereby creating conditions of chaos and confusion. That is being consistently done. Everybody knows that CIA, for example, has been very, very active in these regions. If you read any book on CIA relating to India, you will find that CIA elements are giving special attention to Darjeeling, Kalingpong and areas in Assam and North-Eastern region.

Now, the recent incidents that have taken place in some parts of the North-Eastern Region cannot be just assessed by divorcing them from the consideration of the CIA activities. This I am mentioning because everybody suspects that this is so and yet, steps are not being taken by the Government. It is true that, on the one side, preventive action on the basis of the reports of the Intelligence outfit of the Government should be taken and, on the other, punitive action should be taken. Both types of action should be simultaneously taken and that, unfortunately, is not being done, certainly on a scale on which it should be done.

Money is being unloaded there and the missionaries are working there and some of the missionaries have been contacted by the CIA people in order to be used by them. Religious sentiments are there and certain appeals are there and they want to exploit a certain backwardness of the local people in order to channelise them into subversive and destructive movements and that is what is happening there now. Madam, Mr. Om Mehta is there just now. He is the Minister in the Department of Personnel and I believe our counter-part of the CIA is outside his scope. Such a good man like him cannot handle this. I do not know how he will handle the CIA people because such good people cannot handle them. It does not mean that we want bad people, to deal with the CIA I do not know whether Shri Brahmananda Reddy can do it. He is not here at the moment. From the way in which he jerks his shoulders, one wonders one does not know, whether he is for or against. I want to find out from the indication of

his gestures and other things as to whether he is supporting a proposition or opposing it. I am thoroughly confused and I cannot really make out what he means, whether he means "Yes" or "No". Now you can understand how others will be confused if he acts in this manner. One should be very clear, firm and categorical in saying "Yes" or "No", in saying whether a certain thing should be done or not. Right from the Prime Minister downwards everybody says that there is the CIA activity in the country. Everybody suspects it. Even my friend, Shri Subramanian Swamy, tells that. But the only thing is that he brings in the KGB, because, otherwise he thinks he will not be doing justice to the subject from his point of view.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But the Soviet Union is not a country which is hostile to India. You refer to the Soviet Union either as a friendly country or an unfriendly country. If the Soviet Union is an unfriendly country, I could have understood his bringing in the KGB. But the Soviet Union does not operate that way. There is no relevance in bringing in the KGB. The Soviet Union is a friendly country. A friendly country will not allow such things to happen. A country which is friendly to us will not act in such a way as to subvert our system or our independence. On the one hand, they say that the Soviet Union is helping Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government and, on the other, they say that the Soviet Union is engaging itself in KGB activities in our country against our country! How could that be? It is a patent inconsistency. Either one thing or the other. Both cannot go together. You cannot have bothways. You cannot ride on two horses at the same time ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : But the CPI is doing it ; you are doing it

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I cannot do it unless you are a horse Now, I say

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

that you get this out of your mind. No friendly country would think of engaging itself in objectionable activities in another friendly country and that is the established practice in international politics. Here, Madam, America is a hostile country and America wants to subvert your independence, subvert your democracy and foster the forces which work against your stability and hence it has evolved the theory of destabilisation the doctrine of "destabilisation." I would like to ask Mr. Om Mehta whether he has been reading the book, "The Cult of the CIA". Mr. Om Mehta, have you read that book?

SHRI OM MEHTA : Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You can see so many instances which are given in that book. The CIA man has written that their job is to carry on subversion, to carry on operations which will help hostile political elements, which will destabilise the regime and so on. These are the things and these things are being done in our country. Now, if this is the conclusion, if this is the assessment made from all the materials available and which are in your possession, then, take action. But nothing that way is being done.

I think you will agree that it is very, very important. On many occasions we have brought these things to the notice of the Government and that this region should be particularly looked after. Why should there be so many foreigners in that region? Tell me. It is not necessary for them to remain there. Let them hang around Delhi, in Connaught Place, and so on, either as hippies, as instructors, as experts, as technicians, and so on, and keep them under surveillance. If you allow them to go to those areas, it is very difficult to keep an eye on them, because these are sprawling areas, of jungles, mountains and so on. It is not possible to keep an eye on them there. Recently, we read in news papers that somebody was entering India from the Punjab border, carrying weapons. It has come out in the papers that he was smuggling weapons.

He was a West German. It is suspected that he was acting for the CIA. You can imagine what they are doing.

You talk about the Nagas, the Mizos and others everyday. You call them hostile, unfortunately, they have gone wrong. They are so well trained. Who trains them? I should like to know from Mr. Om Mehta or the Home Minister. Who trains them? They are not very educated. They have not got sophisticated education as my friend, Mr. Swamy, has got. He has been educated in India. He has been educated in the USA. And he is now being mis-educated in the Jana Sangh Party . . . (Interruptions). He is a very intelligent person. I sometimes feel sorry that such a bright, intelligent young man is in such a hellishly wrong company . . . (Interruptions). I cannot think of it sometimes. I am very sorry for him.

So, who is training these Nagas? Who is training Mizos? I must know from the Government. It is very easy for them to carry on an operation. The other day they killed a DIG and an IG. It is a first-rate operation as if like a photograph it was executed in Chicago or New York or master-minded like the murder of Mr. Kennedy. In minutes the whole thing was done. Tell me, who are training them? Who are training them—these people who live in hills and jungles? There must be some people somewhere who are training them and giving them this kind of expertise to carry out their subversive activities, assassinations. . . . (Time bell Rings) Therefore, I say: Take timely action. I would like to suggest in this connection that the Government should make special arrangements for these areas to look after them politically, administratively and for economic development. This is very, important. I think all the Ministries concerned should have proper coordination amongst them to look after these, and the Home Ministry, being specifically responsible for it, should see that co-ordination comes into existence.

Madam, Vice-Chairman, these areas surely need special care and attention. It

is a very delicate and explosive area. The people are excellent. People are fine there. They are not by nature criminal. But unfortunately, hostile forces are operating on them month after month, year after year. And unless we step in in a big way with sympathy and understanding of their problems and take necessary economic, political and other measures, we will not be able to defeat the machinations and subversive activities that are being organized part of the conspiracy against the freedom of our country, against our democratic institutions. Therefore, take timely action. Take effective action and deal with the situation in a very, very comprehensive and effect manner.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN) : Madam, of course, he has made very useful suggestions about the improvement of the economic condition of the backward classes, on which there can be no two opinions. This area is admittedly a backward area where much of the tribal population is inhabited. Special attention is being paid and every effort is being made to see that their economic condition is improved. There are so many schemes for the tribals and also for the Scheduled Castes and the schemes are effectively and successfully implemented in order to see that their economic conditions improve progressively. As regards the

other points that he has made, I do agree that this is a very sensitive area. Strict vigilance is being maintained to prevent any machinations of any foreign intelligence agency. I might add that there is no cause for any concern or any anxiety. The Government is alive to the situation. We are taking all possible care to see that we do not give any room to any international or foreign agency to have any manoeuvring there. The other suggestions that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and other Members have made will be kept in mind and we will certainly take whatever action is necessary in order to see that the area is developed. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-seven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 14th March, 1975.