

mation is based upon forged documents and fraudulent literature. We all know that in that area there is a lot of fraudulent literature and false information being circulated. It says that the Free Press Journal which was circulated, published a letter purportedly written to the Editor by Mr. Gordon of the U.S. Office on Naval Research. It goes on to describe how this had been circulated. Later on, they discovered that this is a total forgery. I get newspaper cuttings and so on from that region in which people write letters to the Editors and people write pamphlets with the sole object of whipping up sentiments against the Centre and the Centre is doing precisely little in this regard. Finally, I would say that one of the problems that exists between the Centre and the State of Nagaland is that the information that the Centre gets regarding law and order and other matters is routed not so directly through the elected Members, i.e., the Chief Minister and others, but is routed through its own specially appointed officers. There are some officers who have already retired and have got re-posted there. They are functioning there as little Maharajas. The Governor does not live there. He lives in Shillong. When the last Governor, Mr. B. K. Nehru, was leaving, he was interviewed by a newspaper reporter in Calcutta. He was asked about his new posting in England. He said that he knew a lot more about England than he knew about the North-Eastern areas. In a sense, the Governors and the Central Government officers rarely visit that area and the information that we are getting is routed through some officers. Some of them have been charged with serious corruption charges. I do not want to name them. I have named them several times here. I would, therefore, suggest that the need is to bring about a major change in the personnel there. Please see that the people who have already retired from service are not posted there. They have got the feudal mentality and the colonial mentality and they have expressed that through a number of public statements. There should be a

mass scale transfer at the top, and young officers recruited from this area as well as that area should be entrusted with the general responsibility of running the Administration. If the Government is able to do that, I am quite confident that the situation will improve and we in the Opposition also would be in a position to take the heat off the Government. Thank you Sir.

## **MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA**

### **The Air Force and Army Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1975**

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

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to inform you that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on the 25th March, 1975, agreed without any amendment to the Air Force and Army Laws (Amendment) Bill 1975, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th February, 1975."

## **THE BUDGET (NAGALAND) 1975-76;**

### **THE NAGALAND APPROPRIATION (VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL, 1975; AND THE NAGALAND APPROPRIATION BILL, 1975—contd.**

SHRI I. T. SINGH (Manipur): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with a mixed feeling I am to support imposition of the Presidential rule in Nagaland and as a result of that, we have an opportunity to discuss the Nagaland Budget. Much has been said on Nagaland in the morning from both sides of the House under what circumstances the Presidential rule was imposed in Nagaland. It is no use to repeat and digress from that point. So far as Nagaland politics is concerned,

[Shri I. T. Singh]

I may state for the information of the House, particularly for the information of my friend, Mr. Subramanian Swamy, that this is a State born out of insurgency. Before the insurgency took place, it was known as Naga Hills district of Assam. And fortunately, in the eastern region, because of Naga-land, a sense of competition comes out. If Nagaland is treated as a privileged State, why not Mizoram, why not the Manipur State? All these political issues are hanging in the air. Sir, I am refuting the charge levelled against the Central Government from the Opposition benches that Nagaland was not properly looked after. Nagaland is the only State, besides Kashmir, which is looked after by the Centre as a privileged State. For the information of the House, I may say that even an MLA in Nagaland, who has crossed the floor this side or that side, is provided with a jeep because of topographical and other factors. Nowhere in the country, except in Nagaland, the MLAs are provided with jeeps. This is an exception. Even then, they are not satisfied and they are crossing the floor from this side or that side. It is no use blaming the Central Government or any quarter. This is present trend in Nagaland. I know very thoroughly the Nagaland politics, and particularly of Nagas in Manipur. I happen to be a close neighbour, and accidentally, 20 per cent of the population of my State belongs to the Naga tribes and out of six districts, at least three districts are Naga districts. Ukhrul is a district of Manipur from where there is much impact of Naga politics and then the district of Mao. It is the gateway to Nagaland and Manipur. Then there is another Naga district called Tamenglo district. In these three districts the insurgents take the asylum from Nagaland and *vice versa*. Therefore, Sir, we have had a bit of taste of politics of Naga underground movements. There is no use criticizing the NNO and the UDF for this floor-crossing business. I welcome it wholeheartedly for the time being. Why? Because, the Nagas have learnt the experience now.

There are two parties in Nagaland—the NNO and the UDF. At the moment, they have started the crossing of floor. The wind is blowing from the Centre and from other parts of the country. That part of the country is in the border. This whole drama of floor crossing and the Aya Ram and the Gaya Ram started in 1967 in bigger States. But this sad story came here recently. This drama came very recently to Nagaland and Manipur. In Manipur, that drama is over. Now, we expect a very stable Government so far as Manipur is concerned. But in Nagaland, after functioning for a year, the UDF Government failed miserably. The NNO also tried to capture power. That also failed. It is no use finding fault with the Governor that he had recommended for the President's rule. He has recommended for the suspension of the Assembly and not for the dissolution of the Assembly and to hold the elections in the month of October if Assembly is dissolved. I should say that it is rather fortunate for those defectors of the NNO and the UDF that the Assembly was not dissolved. We were once a victim of this in Manipur. There was dissolution because of the bad behaviour of the MLAs and the Ministers. Because of their bad behaviour, the MLAs and the Ministers deserve even total dissolution of the Assembly. Any way, because of the special circumstances prevailing in that part of the country and because of the fact that a large number of Nagas are coming out from the underground, the Government of India sympathetically considered it and the Assembly was not dissolved. And, within a short time, within two months, three months or six months, when normalcy comes, then the Assembly may be restored and the party which may enjoy the majority, maybe the U.D.F. or the N.N.O., may form the Government Only then Nagaland may have a Government of the people.

But, at the moment we have seen the developments that are taking place in Nagaland. We have seen roads are

coming up and Naga villages are being linked up with roads. We had a chance to see Kohima in 1953-54 and you will be surprised to see how fast Kohima is coming up now. If Mr. Phizo, who is in self-exile, who has not reconciled himself to the fact that he is an Indian, even if he happened to come to Nagaland and see Nagaland and the developments that have taken place there, he would like to change his heart. How much development has taken place during the last 25 years though all the time there is insurgency. Insurgency in that area will take place for some time to come because those who are in power, directly or indirectly, they are also involved; that is the problem in the eastern zone. Take, for example, in Mizoram and Nagaland, even for those who have gone to the other side, will receive a soft corner from the highest quarter of over-ground because of their having been underground for long and that has a very bad repercussion on normal functioning of a Government. Therefore, there is a mixed hotch-potch thing is going on. We are decrying defections in the strongest terms. One day these defectors will realise that they will be punished by the people.

Sir, during the present spell of the President's rule in Nagaland, we would like to request the Central Government, through you, Sir, that the funds allotted for Nagaland should be properly spent. The thing is that during this period of insurgency in Nagaland an elite section of the Nagas has come up. Now, it is not a fight between Delhi and Nagaland. It is a fight among the Naga educated and elite sections, who want to stick to power. The Naga left or the groups happen to be in rivalry to stick to power. We have our tribal way of life, that is, the socialist way of life and the community way of life but that fine fabric of the society will be marred because of the new elite of the people who have come up. They would like to stick to power by hook or by crook.

At the moment I want to emphasise one thing and that is that under this spell of the President's rule the Centre should be cautious enough to see that the moneys allotted for industry, agriculture or road construction are properly spent. This thing should be noted very seriously by the Central Government. It is a fact that we are given more money, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland are given more money, in comparison to other parts of the country, but at the time of spending proper check and proper supervision is not there. The result is that this money which is given in the best interests of the public, in the best interests of the common people, does not reach the common people or does not benefit them. There are intermediaries, who, in the form of the business community, or contractors, who are not Nagas. The business is not in the hands of Nagas. Take, for example, Dimapur, which is a common station of Nagaland and Manipur and which connects the rest of the country and which is a gate-way to Kohima, is coming up as a commercial town and business communities are coming from other parts of the country and the Nagas are being exploited left and right. This aspect should be seriously looked into.

Nagaland is primarily hilly and, at the same time, there are no big valleys except some area around rivulets. Some cultivation of rice and plantation of rice is taking place there. Nags are trying their level best to stop that self-sufficiency on food is attained in Nagaland. But even then much is 'eaten' in Nagaland so far as agriculture is concerned because for some years now there has been deficiency in food there.

So far as industry is concerned, the paper mill did not come up as expected earlier. Anyway. We see that in the Central Budget the allocation is there. We hope that work on the paper mill would be accelerated without any sluggishness, neglect or lapse on the part of the Central Government.

[Shri I. T. Singh]

Sir, so far as transport is concerned, we have national highway No. 39 in Nagaland which runs from Dimapur to More, a small township of Manipur at Burma border. National highway No. 39 is the life line between Kohima, the capital of Nagaland and the rest of the country. During the monsoon, sometimes, for about two or three months the highway is blocked because of landslides and if there is landslide there in Nagaland, we in Manipur are also affected by it because without crossing Kohima we cannot go out. Therefore, if anything happens in Nagaland, we too are affected by it. If something happens in Nagaland, the people there come to Manipur; if something happens in Manipur, our people go there and take shelter there. It is so because in our day-to-day life we are so much mixed with a' id inter-dependent on each other.

So far the entire North-Eastern region is concerned it is land of tribes. Particularly in Nagaland, there are some big tribes like Ao, Sema, Lotha, Angami and Konyaks. Among the tribals also there is a sort of rivalry in politics. The tribal rivalry is now coming down but it will turn into party rivalry now. Sir, we have the North-Eastern Regional Council and this is a common pool for Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal and Assam but, so far, Nagaland has not joined the common pool. Through you, Sir, I would appeal to my friends here, Mr. Lotha and Mr. Scato Swu and other Naga leaders that it is high time they should join the pool. It will show a sense of oneness because we are all Indians. To say that we are citizens of Nagaland or Manipur will be very wrong. Although either the UDF or the NNO has a soft corner for the underground Nagas, they are ready to join the Indian way of life and run the administration within the Indian Union and Constitution. No doubt, some of the problems facing the Nagas will be there for some time but they will be over in due course of time because

time is the best healer. Of course, the hardcore Nagas think that it will be impossible for them to come out and join the Indian way of life but it is wrong notion on their part, because the central Government or Indian or the so called big brothers are very keen for them to come out. We are also trying to embrace the Nagas. (*Time bell rings*.) Take for example, the extermination policy, that Pakistan had adopted towards people in Bangladesh, had been never applied by our Central Government, to the insurgents during the last twenty years but had been pursuing a policy of love and understanding and trying to help them by way of providing roads and other communication and industries so that Nagaland develops more and more. The only thing is, there was a mistake in the past so far as the social structure is concerned. Previously, we were not mixing so freely. Now, there is inter-marriage and other social contacts. It is high time for all of us to put our heads together and to think as to how to bring all the Nagas into the mainstream of Indian political life. The quarrel between the N.N.O. and the U.D.F. is also a good sign. Let them realise that the small regional parties will not solve the problem. All the time, the U.D.F. is trying to take the help of the Opposition and their complaint is that their point of view was not appreciated by the Centre. It is not so. They were given enough money. The N.N.O. should also not claim that they are being backed by the Centre or the Congress. It is also wrong if they think so. Let them join the Congress if they like. Let them organise a branch of the Congress Party there in the best interest of the Nagas. (*Times bell rings*). The best way for all of us is to join the mainstream of the Indian national life. It is high time for us to do away with parochialism, sentimentalism and inferiority complex. India is one country in which minorities can flourish and can contribute their little mite of the Indian political life. Thank you.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, the House has been asked to discuss the Nagaland budget which should have been discussed by the State Legislature. Apart from Gujarat and Pondicherry, this is the third budget which we have been asked to discuss. I will not be wrong if I say that both the Kerala and Tripura budgets would have been discussed by this House had they not played tricks. In Kerala particularly, the budget was passed by a minority vote. The entire opposition including six Muslim League MLAs who were with the Treasury bench so long, absented themselves and boycotted the Legislature. Taking advantage of that, the Kerala budget was passed by a minority vote and the House was adjourned *sine die*. In Tripura also, a situation is developing and the Parliament shall have to discuss another proclamation like this in the near future. It is not because of the movement of the people who are being suppressed with grenades and bullets, but it is because of the quarrel within the ruling party itself. That is happening in Tripura in particular. The other day while a discussion was going on with regard to the North Eastern region, the Minister of State for Finance told us that *per capita* expenditure from the Centre for the people of that region is more than in any other part in India. I have heard a speech from one of the hon. Members just now that the Centre is spending the highest amount of money for Kashmir and Nagaland. With 20 years of rigged elections and suppression of civil liberties of the people of Kashmir, they could not win the hearts of the people of Kashmir, even though they spent crores and crores of rupees which went to waste absolutely. At last the ruling party thought it fit to discuss with Mr. Abdullah and settle matters on that score instead of putting Mr. Abdullah to prison. About Nagaland also, Sir, when again and again that question was discussed in this House and in the other House also, the point was that instead of depending upon the bayonet and rockets and all the modern armaments to deal with the unarmed people of

Nagaland and letting loose repression, there should be an attempt to try to have talks with them and deal with them and see that in a peaceful manner the entire people of Nagaland can join the mainstream of India today. The UDF Government exactly wanted to do that. In this House, Sir, a few months back, the then Home Minister told that the UDF Ministry was in league with the underground Naga people. Now, Sir, even the Chief Minister was not informed whether the CRP and the military force would operate. Then in some of the villages they took out the entire people from the village and kept them under sun for the whole day without any food or drinking water and tried to extract some information from them, but they failed to do that. Then they gave punishment. The then Chief Minister had to see all these things with blank eyes, without the right and authority to do anything. That was the situation. Now, Sir, it is evident from discussion that it was from the Centre through the Governor there that defections had been organised and manipulated. Some MLAs, 5 MLAs, it has come out in the newspapers, were taken and kept out with the help of the security force to sign a document for defections from UDF. Immediately thereafter they were released and came to the Assembly and declared themselves in favour of UDF instead of NNO. They did not actually join NNO; they were forced to do that. That is how the defection was organised and conspired from the Centre with the help of the Governor. We have got our own experience in West Bengal. We know how defections are made. We know how in 1967 the then UDF Government was toppled even without giving a chance to the Assembly to sit and have a vote of confidence in the then Ministry, the Governor at the instance of the Centre, toppled the Ministry and set up another Ministry. Of course, that Ministry could not stay for more than two months. The Minister of State for Finance knows it very well because he comes from that part and he was one of them at that time who belonged to

[Shri Monoranjan Roy.]

the UF of the Left Parties and Opposition who formed the Government. So we know how the Governors are asked to manipulate and help defection in the interest of ruling party. They are tools in the hands of the ruling party.

Now, Sir, coming to the Budget, I do not like to go into other points of Supplementary Demands, Vote on Account etc. From the whole Budget, it is evident that special expenditure on maintenance of so called law and order comprised a total sum of Rs. 6,66,70,000 out of a Budget of Rs. 62 crores, including the Plan allocation. Now, Sir, about the construction of roads, the Finance Minister will say we have constructed so many roads. Construction of roads does not indicate the development of that particular place. The development of a place and its people depends upon how much you spend on agriculture there, how much land is being distributed among landless peasants and what are their wages and how many industries have been started. Only upon that, the economy of a backward place depends. Sir, the roads are constructed not so much, for the advantage of the people but it is for military purposes to crush any movement in the backward area and for that purpose only, the roads are constructed and for that purpose only, the money is spent on roads. I know that when the Minister will reply, he will say that they have spent so much money, about Rs. 4 crores on the construction of roads etc. But what about agriculture? What about minor irrigation?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Do you mean to say that roads are used only by the military personnel and not by civil population? It is a strange argument.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: When the people die, they will be fortunate enough to take a funeral procession on these roads. Nothing more can be done. The people are dying of starvation. What will they do with the roads? Only funeral procession will go on these roads. What more can they do with it?

Now, Sir, I do not like to go into that. For agriculture and minor irrigation, fisheries, all together, the allocation is only Rs. 2 crores. That is the Budget. And for the police to suppress the movements there, you see the allocation. It is not only the C.R.P. or the military who are there for which the expenditure is shown, apart from the C.R.P. and military in Nagaland, only on the civil police force, for the jails and for the special police, a sum of Rs. 6,66,00,000 has been allocated, which is the highest amount for one single item. From this, Sir, it is evident what is the attitude of the Government towards the Naga people and towards their aspirations and towards the development of that area. It is so not only here; it is so in the entire north-east region. I repeat, the entire north-east region has been neglected, except for the large amounts spent on police and for suppression of the people's movement in the north-east India.

We shall now hear again that a paper mill will be started. Since how long have we been hearing about Nagaland's paper mill? When will it start production? When will it come up? A certain amount, I find, has been allocated for industries. I want to know how much of it is for capital purposes and how much for other purposes. What about the small-scale industries about which the Government say that they will help the small-scale industries? Sir, the other day I asked about Tripura and about the tribal areas. If the Government of India does not look into the matter and only rely upon the police force, the C.R.P. and the military force, then

a day will come when it will not been able to cow them down by the police force alone. Sir, the other day, in Tripura, the tribal people were shot down because they came with their demand for which they have been aspiring, that is, the demand of their own lands not to be transferred to the non-tribals, the demand of their own language. Only for that they were shot down and killed. The other day, the Boro people, the tribal people of Assam made a demand for their own language. They were shot down. Peasants were killed. People were hounded out of the field and the crops they had cultivated, were not allowed to be harvested by them. These crops were taken away by the police force and the *goondas* of the *jotedars*. This is how the Government of India is treating the tribal people and the backward people of the north-east region. Sir, the other day also I said that in Darjeeling the Nepalese people have been demanding their right to form an autonomous district within the State of West Bengal in order to develop their own language. Sir, that was not accepted. Not only it was not accepted, the assurance that was given by the Prime Minister when she visited Darjeeling that their language will come under the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, has not been honoured. Now, she says that if that language is accepted in the Eighth Schedule, other languages will come in and they will demand that they should also be included in it. So, their demand has not been accepted. Now, this is how the entire Eastern region, the tribal and backward people are being treated by this Government.

My last point is this. There was no necessity of discussing this Budget at all by this House. It was absolutely a machination and a conspiracy to topple the UDF Government. The suspended animation is also not necessary. The Governor could have asked the Speaker to hold the Assembly session and you could have seen which party held majority. The Speaker's

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so-called argument given to the Governor is absolutely untenable. He says that he was afraid that the underground Nagas would kill him? Is that an argument? Why was he elected and he thinks himself to be the representative of the people. If he was so afraid, he should have resigned from the Speakership and he should have gone to another State or to a safe place where he would not be killed by the underground Naga people. These are things which absolutely prove that the suspended animation of the Assembly was unnecessary. It is a machination and a creation of the Central Government.

With these words, I oppose the Budget.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Pu-rabi Mukherjee) in the Chair.]

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI (Gujarat); Madam, Vice-Chairman, I am taking this opportunity to speak about Nagaland. Just as we, the people from Gujarat, defend our borders on the West coast and we have a common border with Pakistan. I would like to pay my tribute to the people of Nagaland who are defending our frontiers on the Eastern side. It is only with this feeling that they are an integral part of the country to which we have the honour to belong. I am taking this opportunity to say a few words. Before I say something about what I feel about it, I would like to say a few words to our friend, Mr. Lotha, who is from Nagaland. We very much enjoy his enthusiasm, his dedication and he is a dear young friend of this House.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What about us?

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Of course, all of you are. Madam, I am really surprised that he should have asked this. I do not know how he was prompted to ask this

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni.]

question—which Constitution and of which country? Madam, I would like to submit when we speak on the floor of this House, the country is always India and the Constitution is the Indian Constitution. Can they ever doubt it? It is *my* submission to the hon. Member, Mr. Lotha, that Naga-land is a part of this country and it is the Constitution of India which is relevant here. Madam, he also suggested that nobody should go against the people of Nagaland. It is because we admire them that we have always been anxious to understand their problems and participate in their problems.

Again, I would like to say that a constitutional crisis arose in that part of the country and that is why today this august House has to take up this subject for discussion. There was such a situation that barely *ten* days had passed when the Government has had to be set aside. There was so much defections going on. I am surprised at this malady of defection, of Aya Ram and Gaya Ram, which is prevalent in the plains, in the rest of the country, engulfing this part of the country too. I could never believe that such a thing could happen in the east highlands of our country. And this thing was being carried on at the point of bayonet. The whole constitutional machinery, the democracy was thwarted. The Assembly had to be suspended. Because it was only on the 19th of this month that the Assembly was suspended and before the 31st of March budget provisions have to be voted on account; otherwise the Administrative machinery will come to a standstill and the people of Nagaland at large will suffer. That is the only reason, I think, why the President's Rule had to be invoked. That is why article 356 of the Constitution had to be invoked otherwise under no circumstances this article 356 can be invoked. This is one reason why the President's Rule was essential in the interest of Nagaland

as well as in the interest of democracy. Therefore, I would like to submit and let us consider what else could be done. The emergency was about the clearance of the Budget because the Assembly was suspended. Members were crossing and recrossing the floor and they did not know what would happen. The presiding officer was not sure about the situation. This is one reason why the President's Rule became essential.

Madam, I will not be very much wrong if I submit that the Central Government has its own problems and they are not really keen on taking any State under President's Rule. It is not a bed of roses to take on additional responsibilities of taking over one or the other States. Therefore, we are most reluctant to take any State under the President's Rule. It is only when the constitutional machinery broke down and there was fear that things could not be any more carried on in a proper democratic manner that this thing became essential.

Madam, what is surprising and what is really alarming is the circumstances in which this whole thing developed. People were abducted. The people were frightened that they could not function independently. And as you know this is a sensitive and difficult area. As I said just now, it is the eastern frontier, very strategically important. Underground movements were going on. Hostilities have been going on. People have been fighting but still keeping their composure. Of course, the role of the Opposition is to make most of any crisis anywhere in the country. But I would appeal to them that there are areas which are beyond the pale of party politics. There are issues when we have to rise above party lines and to think in terms of national issues. This is one such issue where I would implore the Opposition Members to think not in terms of party lines. It is part of the country's problem. Let them not exploit any situation in the interest



of the Opposition or to embarrass the Central Government.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You should support it.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I would support anything which is healthy. By carrying a parliamentary delegation, Mr. Subramanian, I know it is not going to solve the problem.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana): Your intentions are very clear.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: This is the time when the Opposition should rise to the occasion and come forward with a national view. This is such a sensitive area where a number of problems are going on where people are operating underground. Therefore, let us not aggravate the situation. Is it not time when people should be united instead of trying to exploit and making the situation more and more difficult? Are we doing that? This is the question. I feel that our Opposition friends are somehow not realising the importance and the delicateness of the whole situation. So I would like to suggest to the Opposition Members that we might refrain from making the "whole" issue worsen.

The, second point that I had was about the Budget of Nagaland. Madam, I have tremendous respect for the hon. Member, Shri Subramanian Swamy. He is an economist. As a Professor of Economics, he should know much better than myself. But I am a little surprised when he says that this Budget is anti-people, that it is not in favour of the people of Nagaland and that it has been doctored here and heavily loaded against the people of Nagaland. Madam, it was on the 19th the House was adjourned and it was the 22nd of this month that President's rule was imposed. It is such a far away place that it takes at least seven days for any mail to reach there.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: No, no.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Of course, it does, in the normal course. The Assembly was going to deal with the Budget and they were on the point of clearing it. Whatever the Budget proposals, it is my presumption, they were prepared by the popular Ministry there. These are the same proposals which have been brought over here. It cannot be said that there was any considerable time available with the Central Government. However efficient they might be, they did not have any time to consider this aspect where it was loaded heavily in favour of something or it neglected something else. So it will be wrong and highly illogical for him to suggest that the Central Government has loaded it against the people of the State.

Madam, I would like to make only two or three points about the State. It is a very tiny State with a population of five lakhs. It has got seven districts. It is a hilly tract, full of forests and we cannot have railways there. What I feel is that this area must have extensive road services. Any place in India is in need of a bigger budget for education, social welfare, agriculture, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, road transportation and other things. Now here are some figures which are rather enlightening. For education, Madam, the allocation is Rs. 5.31 crores.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It is all revenue expenditure, not capital expenditure.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: That is what I am saying, that we must apply our mind and create greater educational facilities for people of this part. These are the things we should be concerned about, with regard to the people of Nagaland and not the other issues which you were raising.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I raised it.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: You raised it only subsequently. Coming to health, the health condition of this area is in a very bad shape. The children there suffer from malnutrition and so many other things. For health the provision is Rs. 3 crores which, in my opinion, is not adequate. Again whether it is Rs 3 crores or Rs. 5 crores, what is essential is that that money should not be spent on only running around in jeeps and spending on petrol, but should be used for something more solid, for the health and educational benefit of that area. This is my request to the Government. For social welfare, the provision is only Rs. 35 lakhs. Now this is an area where more than Rs. 35 lakhs should have been provided. With regard to soil conservation, these hilly areas are suffering from the endemic erosion of the soil, with the result that the forests are being wiped out, the climate is changing and the rainfall is getting affected. A provision of Rs. 40 lakhs is, in my opinion, very inadequate. In hilly regions, it is essential that soil conservation has to be taken up on a priority basis.

The last thing is about mineral development. These are again hills which are rich in various minerals. For their development, a provision of Rs. 25 lakhs is almost nothing. It is a pittance of an amount, not sufficient even to start one project of this nature. So these are some of my suggestions.

In the end, Madam, I would only like to say one thing. Now that the President's Rule has been imposed there, one good thing about the whole thing is that the Assembly has merely been suspended and not dissolved. The State of Nagaland is of special significance and importance to us all. They have single-handedly attended to the various problems of the hostiles and the underground hostiles and the other problems which I have enumerated. Till 1962—64, Madam, they were not able to participate as actively and as effectively as they wanted

to. Now, for once, in the 1974 February elections, 80 per cent of the Nagaland people went for voting and that shows their interest in democracy. For the sake of the people of Nagaland, Madam, I would urge that their faith in democracy should not be eroded by any action and we must see that as early as possible they settle down and as early as possible some semblance of order is brought in the political life of Nagaland. We should allow the Assembly to do the experiment where they can function and where the wishes of the people of Nagaland can be reflected. This is very essential and we should not do it in a way which lengthens the whole process. Our efforts should be to see that at the earliest opportunity the people of Nagaland get their essential political rights and the other fundamental rights and they must be restored to them and the Assembly must be restored there in which the people of Nagaland can decide what exactly is in their best interest. This can only be done provided the bayonets are not brought into play. Madam, a number of members have been held on the point of the bayonet and that is the reason why this crisis has come about I would request the members of the Opposition to see that they should not do anything in this situation whereby the democracy in that region is affected and this is very important.

Then, Madam, I would also like to state that the people in the Government here should first think about the people of Nagaland and restore their Assembly to them at the earliest opportunity and, at the same time, it is my admonition and it is my request also to the members of the Opposition that they should not treat this area as an area where then can fish in troubled waters and they should not increase the difficulties and the crisis in this area. Thank you, Madam.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI:  
Madam....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Will you please answer the first query I put when I started my speech?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): You have made all the points and the Minister is replying now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: But I have a right to get a reply to my question. I hope the Minister will reply to that.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI: Madam, I have to thank the honourable Members who have participated in the discussions today. Madam, the honourable Members have considerably lightened my work because we have been given both sides of the picture by members from this side and also from that side. Some criticised the Government for the neglect of a particular sector and the others informed the House about the progress made in a particular area. Some said that the Government! has not given priority to a particular area while the others countered this with statistics and figures and also their personal knowledge to prove that the case is the other way about. Therefore, Madam, I do not think I have anything very much add to what all has been said here except that I would like to give certain figures which would substantiate the point that there has been improvement in this region. I would like to quote the figures now.

As against the original outlay for 1974-75, there is an increase in the outlay for this year and the Grand Total stands at Rs. 17.51 crores as against Rs. 15.71 crores for last year. Whereas the State Plan provision stood at Rs. 14.00 crores, this year it is Rs. 15.24 crores and for the Centrally sponsored schemes, as against Rs. 1.71 crores last year, it is now Rs. 2.27 crores. Even under "Central Assistance", we find that it is assumed at Rs. 9.12 crores plus Rs. 2.27 crores for the Centrally sponsored schemes. Therefore, these figures show that there has been a slight improvement in the region from this point of view also.

So far as the sectoral break-up is concerned, I would like to tell for the information of the honourable Members one thing; Much has been said about policing and the administrative expenditure so far as policing is concerned. I would like to remind the honourable Members that this is a very sensitive area and this is a very strategic place and it has a special significance of its own and from every point of view, Madam, this is only the necessary quantum of expenditure that has been incurred there for this purpose.

5 P.M.

Five battalions are there. Even the total expenditure on the Police is 1/13th of the entire amount. We cannot forget the fact, Madam, that Police is necessary in that part of the country where there is always the fear of insurgency and infiltration of ideas, arms and ammunition. Therefore, we cannot neglect that particular aspect.

Apart from the Police, about the others, for instance, for Education, It has been stated that the amount is Rs. 5.31 lakhs, for Medical Aid Rs. 3 crores and 6 lakhs, for Tribal Development Blocks Rs. 83 lakhs, for Agriculture, Minor Irrigation and Fisheries Rs. 2 crores and 21 lakhs, for Power Projects Rs. 4 crores and 43 lakhs -----

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: This is what I also read out. The fact of the matter is that this is all revenue expenditure. In fact, on most of the items it is zero. For instances, on agriculture what is the Plan expenditure? Zero. What is the Plan expenditure for Education? Zero. What is the Plan expenditure for many other items? Zero. So what you are quoting is revenue expenditure, which is not part of the planning. It is part of what is already continuing. Therefore, you cannot use these figures to say that you are spending on development.

SHRIMALI; (SUSHILA ROHATGI: Even with the wildest of imagination I don't see how it is zero...

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I can read out to you from the figures given here, which have been circulated by your Government. Agriculture; 2.24 crores as revenue; capital 'zero'; Total: 2.24 crores. Similarly, take Education: 5.31 crores; Capital 'zero'. You are all 'zeroes'. You cannot say that you are doing planning in Nagaland. Certainly whatever is going on, you are continuing it. But don't say that you are engaged in planning in Nagaland.

SHRIMALI SUSHILA ROHATGI: Do you mean to say that what is going on in Nagaland is without any planning? There is no priority? There is no planning? Anyway, I don't want to go into that controversy.

Then, Madam, the question that there has been a neglect of the State, I think, has already been covered.

A very basic point was raised that we should have more young officers there. We have already thought of it. There is always scope for them.

Apart from other factors, a point about the paper projects was mentioned I think it is under consideration. We have not made any commitment so far. But that is under consideration of the Government.

Now, also about the point with which you basically started, we are aware of the hurry, and we are also aware of the special circumstances in which these things are being brought before this hon. House. Had it not been for the politics of defections, had it not been for the factors which transpired at a particular moment probably the entire Budget and these things would not have been discussed in this House. But this is a provision for only three months. When the whole thing comes, we shall also discuss these things.

with these words, Madam, I think I have covered all the points.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I want to know from the Minister whether this money has already been spent or is it required to be spent in the next five days? Can you tell us just where we stand on that?

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI: A couple of days are still left. We may be using. We do not know whether something is pending....

*(Interruptions)*

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

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Nagaland for the services of a part of the financial year 1975-76, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Now, we shall take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

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

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

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI: With your permission, I move;

"That the Bill be returned." *The question was put and the motion was adopted.*