

having got Statehood, should try to work it and they should take advantage of it, not for personal gains or positions or for factional position, and so on. They should make way for those who would patriotically build up the system and give a fair trial to the constitutional, democratic aspect that has come into existence.

Sir, many other things can be said. These are all political matters.

As far as the report is concerned, I will say one or two things. Sir, I am surprised. The Governor has said in paragraph 6 of his report:

"He (Speaker) had received warnings through his own men about a likely attempt on his life by the underground supporters of the UDF..."

This is one point. Then, another point. He has said:

"... the Appropriation Bill had to be passed before 1st April if the functioning of the Nagaland Government was not to be paralysed from that date because of non-authorisation of expenditure..."

This is a serious point

Then:

"His (Speaker's) answer was that he was fully cognisant of the constitutional implications but that he had made up his mind not to resume sittings of the Assembly for about a month as, in his judgment, that was the period necessary for the tension to die down and normal atmosphere to be re-created."

Sir, these are the statements by him. Tension is there. This is not disputed. Now, Sir, how to get rid of this tension? How to eliminate tension? This is the problem today, I think we should consider it seriously. May I suggest, Sir, that Mr. Om Mehta visits Nagaland since he is in the Ministry of Home Affairs. He should discuss

things with the leaders, because we are not having a party there; others have no parties there. So a Minister of the Government should go and deal with the situation and go into the problems, economic problems and other problems, and see how quickly these things can be settled.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Whatever is left, I will speak on the other Bill . . . (Interruptions) One or two points are left. I again appeal to the House: Let us look at it in a serious manner. It is a special problem. It has a national significance and importance too. Both have to be blended together. An approach of statesmanship, understanding and sympathy should be there, in order that we can help them, and find a solution, so that normal provisions of the Constitution can function and the Council of Ministers and the Assembly can come back and occupy their place and position they are expected to occupy, and the role they are expected to fulfil they are in a position to fulfil.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at ten minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Yogendra Sharma) in the Chair.

I. MOTION SEEKING REVOCATION OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF NAGALAND—
Contd.

II. RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF NAGALAND—Contd.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आडवाणी जी जब अपना प्रस्ताव पेश कर रहे थे तो उन्होंने विचार व्यक्त किया कि राष्ट्रीय मामलों को राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से न देखा जाये, परन्तु उन्होंने स्वयं इस राष्ट्रीय मामले को राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से देखा और उसी दृष्टिकोण से अपने विचार व्यक्त किए।

नागालैंड की एक विशिष्ट स्थिति है और विशेष महत्व है। नागालैंड की आजादी के पहले और आजादी के बाद दोनों में विशेष परिस्थितियां रही हैं। आजादी के पहले अंग्रेजी सरकार किस तरह से वहां काम करती थी, कैसे वहां व्यवस्था रखे हुए थी और कैसे व्यवहार करती थी इसको ध्यान में रखना चाहिए उन विशेष परिस्थितियों को जानने के लिए जो नागालैंड के अन्दर हैं।

इस समय भी श्रीमन् नागालैंड का एक विशेष महत्व है और उन विशेष दृष्टिकोण से नागालैंड के हर एक मसले पर और एक एक पहलू पर विचार करना होगा। आज जो वहां परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के समय उस पर भी उस विशेष परिस्थिति के संदर्भ में ही विचार करना होगा। यह बात किसी से छिपी नहीं है कि चीन का नागालैंड के सम्बन्ध में और हमारे देश के उत्तरी पूर्वी भाग के सम्बन्ध में क्या इरादा है। यह भी किसी से छिपा नहीं है कि पाकिस्तान जो अपने यहां बिलोचिस्तान में और सीमान्त प्रदेश में जिस परिस्थिति का सामना कर रहा है उसके प्रकोप स्वरूप नागालैंड के लिये क्या इरादे रखता है और उस क्षेत्र में वह क्या करना चाहता है अपने जासूसों के द्वारा और दूसरे तरीकों से। श्रीमन्, यह भी किसी से छिपा नहीं है कि अमरीका का वहां के लिये क्या इरादा है और

वहां पादरियों के माध्यम से विशेष कर अमरीका कौन सा प्रचार और कौन से प्रयास कर रहा है। तो चीन, पाकिस्तान और अमरीका, यह तीनों राष्ट्र मिल कर भारत के उत्तरी पूर्वी क्षेत्र में कौन सा कुचक्र चला रहे हैं और क्या उनके इरादे हैं इसको ध्यान में रखते हुये हमको इस पर विचार करना होगा, नागालैंड के सम्बन्ध में कोई विचार करना होगा। श्रीमन्, यह बात भी सामने आ चुकी है कि चीन अपना यह इरादा घोषित कर चुका है कि बर्मा के कुछ उत्तरी हिस्से को और हिन्दुस्तान के उत्तरी पूर्वी हिस्से को और भूटान और सिक्किम को मिलाकर एक स्वतंत्र राज्य बनाया जाये। इसकी वह कल्पना कर रहा है। यह चीन का इरादा है और मेरा खाल है कि उसने यह इरादा उसी समय बना रखा था जब उसने तिब्बत पर अपना कब्जा कर लिया था। तिब्बत पर जब उस ने कब्जा कर लिया तभी से उसने यह इरादा बना रखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान का कुछ क्षेत्र और भूटान और सिक्किम का क्षेत्र और बर्मा का उत्तरी क्षेत्र मिला कर वह एक राज्य कायम करे और उस राज्य में अपना प्रभाव रखे। इसको दृष्टि में रखते हुये नागालैंड की आज की परिस्थिति पर विचार करने से यह साफ जाहिर है कि जो रिपोर्ट गवर्नर ने भेजी वह बिल्कुल उचित है और भारत सरकार ने जो फैसला किया, राष्ट्रपति ने जो फैसला किया उसके अलावा इस समय और कोई दूसरा सही कदम ही हो सकता है। आडवाणी जी भी अपने दिल में इस बात के कायल हैं कि इसके अलावा कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं था लेकिन इस राष्ट्रीय मसले को राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से देखने के लिये यह विवश हैं इसलिये इसमें भिन्न विचार व्यक्त करते हैं।

श्रीमन्, पिछले दिनों उस क्षेत्र में पादरी लोग जो गांव गांव में फैले हुये हैं वह खुले आम प्रचार करते थे कि नागालैंड को एक स्वतन्त्र देश बनाया जाये। उसके लिये

उन्होंने नागाओं को हथियार प्राप्त करने के लिये, हथियार अपनाने के लिये भी क्लियरकट सहायता दी। अमरीका तथा दूसरे पश्चिमी देशों से विपुल धन लाकर उन्होंने छिपे नागाओं को हथियार प्राप्त कराने और हथियार का रास्ता अपनाने में सहायता की। लेकिन हम किन्हीं परिस्थितियों में और धर्म निरपेक्षता के कारण इन पादरियों के मामलों में ज्यादा दखल न दे सकें और वह स्वच्छन्द होकर वहां पर अराष्ट्रीय विचारों और अराष्ट्रीय कार्यों को प्रोत्साहन देते रहे। आज उसका नतीजा है कि जो भी नागालैण्ड में असामाजिक तत्व हैं वह चीन से अपने सम्बन्ध कायम किये हुये हैं और कुछ सैकड़ों और कुछ हजारों की तादाद में छिपकर चीन जाते हैं। वहां हथियारों का ट्रेनिंग लेते हैं और वहां से वापस आकर नागालैण्ड में हथियारी वगावत करने की कोशिश करते हैं। श्रीमन्, आप जरा गौर करें कि इस परिस्थिति में और क्या हो सकता है।

आप गवर्नर को रिपोर्ट के पैरा ७ पर गौर करें जब कि गवर्नर ने स्पीकर को बुलाकर उनसे पूछा तो स्पीकर ने गवर्नर को बताया कि उन्हें अपने व्यक्तियों के जरिये चेतावनी मिली थी कि यू० डी० एफ० के भूमिगत समर्थकों द्वारा उनकी हत्या का प्रयास किये जाने की सम्भावना है। साथ ही जो व्यक्ति श्री शुरुहोजलो के मकान पर अपनी मर्जी के खिलाफ रखे गये थे यदि उन्होंने अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक कोई काम किया तो उन्हें भी अपनी जान से हाथ धोना पड़ेगा। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि वह इस तरह का खतरा मोल लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं और जब तक वहां स्पीकर तथा विधान मंडल के अन्य सदस्य पूरी आजादी के साथ काम करने की स्थिति में नहीं हों और सुरक्षित रूप में न आ जा सकें तब तक वहां विधान मंडल नहीं चल सकता है। इस तरह की वहां पर हालत है। जिस क्षेत्र में विधान मंडल के सदस्यों की जान की खतरा हो उन्हें इस बात की

स्वतन्त्रता न हो कि वह किस दल में रहेंगे, क्या मत व्यक्त करेंगे उन्हें यह कहा गया हो कि अगर तुम फलों मत व्यक्त करोगे तो जिन्दगी नहीं रहेगी, तो ऐसी हालत में कैसे उनसे आशा की जा सकती है कि वे विधान सभा में आकर अपने स्वतन्त्र विचार व्यक्त कर सकेंगे? ऐसी स्थिति में यह राय देना कि ऐसेम्बली को सस्पेंड नहीं करना चाहिये था, हम सोच नहीं पा रहे हैं कि हमारे माननीय आडवाणी जी ने किस तरह से गवर्नर की राय को अनुचित समझा है।

जहां पर कि स्पीकर और विधान सभा के सदस्यों की जान खतरे में हो, उन्हें इस बात की स्वतन्त्रता न हो कि विधान सभा में आकर अपने विचारों को व्यक्त कर सकें वहां पर विधान सभा कैसे चल सकती है। एक साल पहले विधान सभा का चुनाव हुआ है और चुनाव होने के बाद आज जो स्थिति है वह सामने है। माननीय सदस्य का कहना था कि गवर्नर को ऐसेम्बली भंग नहीं करनी चाहिये थी। अगर ऐसेम्बली भंग कर भी दी गई तो तुरंत चुनाव करा देने चाहिये थे।

श्री लाल आडवाणी : यह मेरा कहना नहीं है। आर्टिकल 353 के अनुसार कुछ करने की जरूरत नहीं है। वजट पास हो सकता है।

श्री सताराम सिंह (बिहार) : वहां जा कर इनका चश्मा बदल गया है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : आपने यह सुझाव दिया कि गवर्नर की राय सही राय नहीं है। जहां ऐसी परिस्थिति हो तो इसके अलावा और क्या दूसरा कदम हो सकता था। जहां पर विधान सभा के हर सदस्य की जान का खतरा हो वहां इसके अलावा और दूसरा सही कदम नहीं हो सकता था।

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

श्रीमान्, यह भी कहा गया है कि गवर्नर ने स्पीकर की राय मान कर काम किया। आप देखेंगे कि गवर्नर ने स्पीकर की एडवाइस पर काम नहीं किया बल्कि स्पीकर को बुलाकर परिस्थिति की जानकारी प्राप्त की। उन्होंने यहां कहा है कि मेरे अनुरोध पर आज तीसरे पहर अध्यक्ष मंज से मिले और मैंने उनसे, सदन को अनिश्चित काल तक के लिये स्थगित करने की जो असाधारण कार्यवाही उन्होंने की, उस पर पूरा प्रकाश डालने के लिये कहा। गवर्नर ने उनकी एडवाइस पर काम नहीं किया। बल्कि गवर्नर ने स्वयं स्पीकर को बुलाकर पूछा . . .

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश): वह निर्णय करने के लिये गये थे।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: उस तरह, समझ मेरी नहीं है जैसी आपकी है। जिस समझ से आप काम लेते हैं उस समझ से मैं काम नहीं लेता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा): आप अब समाप्त करिये।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: मैं अभी समाप्त कर रहा हूं। इसके साफ माने यह है कि गवर्नर स्पीकर के इस कदम से सन्तुष्ट नहीं थे कि स्पीकर असेम्बली को साइन डाई अडर्जर्न कर दिया था इसके अलावा और कोई चारा ही नहीं था।

श्री राजनारायण: ऐसा क्यों हुआ? इसके लिये वे जिम्मेदार हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: स्पीकर के इस कदम के लिये गवर्नर को आप ही जिम्मेदार ठहरा सकते हैं और कोई नहीं ठहरा सकता।

श्री राजनारायण: यह तो आप जानते हैं कि यह वही स्पीकर है जो दल-बदल कर रहे हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: फंसला लेने से पहले दोनों दलों के नेताओं से राय ली गई। दोनों दलों के नेताओं ने इस बात को जाहिर किया कि परिस्थिति बड़ी गम्भीर है। दोनों दलों के नेताओं ने चिन्ता व्यक्त की। गवर्नर ने जमीर और जसोकी दोनों को बुला कर कहा था कि आपस में कुछ तय कर लें। सारी परिस्थिति के बाद गवर्नर ने जो यह फैसला लिया वह ऐसे समय में उचित फैसला था। आखिर में मैं यह कह कर खत्म करना चाहता हूं कि गवर्नर इस बात को चाहते थे कि असेम्बली सस्पेंड न की जाय। वे चाहते थे कि असेम्बली चले। लेकिन सारे प्रयास के बावजूद और कोई रास्ता नहीं था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा): हो गई आपका मत।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: उन्होंने कहा है कि किसी राज्य में ऐसी घटना असन्तोष जनक और अशान्त स्थिति की द्योतक होगी और उस राज्य में तो विशेष रूप से जहां के राजद्रोही लोगों के किसी बाहरी देश से सम्पर्क रख कर और हथियार प्राप्त करके बगावत करने के कारण सुरक्षा को विशेष समस्या से हों। आगे गवर्नर ने अंत में कहा कि तथापि कुछ ऐसी बातें हैं जिनके आधार पर यह बांछनीय होगा कि विधान मंडल को अभी भंग न किया जाए और कुछ समय बाद, तथा शांत वातावरण में दूसरे मंत्रिमंडल के बनने की सम्भावना का पता लगाया जाए। इन सब बातों में यह बात साफ जहिर होती है कि गवर्नर इस बात के लिये बहुत उत्सुक थे और उन्होंने बहुत प्रयास भी किया कि किसी प्रकार से विधान मंडल चलता रहे, काम होता रहे और बजट भी पेश हो। मगर ऐसी परिस्थिति हो गई कि सारा काम ठप्प हो गया। ऐसी स्थिति में गवर्नर की जो रिपोर्ट

है वह बहुत सही रिपोर्ट है और राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जो घोषणा की गई है, उसके अलावा कोई दूसरा कदम राष्ट्र हित में नहीं हो सकता था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा) :
श्री निरेन घोष।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Why not Shri Rajnarain? That is a bigger party, Yesterday, it was taken party-wise.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा) :
श्री राजनारायण जी आप बोलिये।

श्री राजनारायण : आप भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के हैं, इसलिए हमारा नाम भूल जाते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा) :
आप ऐसा आक्षेप तो न लगाइये।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारा तो इससे शरीर भी बड़ा है।

यह जो राष्ट्रपति शासन की घोषणा हुई है और नागालैण्ड में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है, मैं इसका घोर विरोधी हूँ। आडवाणी जी ने जो निरस्त करने का प्रस्ताव रखा है मैं उसका समर्थक हूँ। बहुत से प्रश्नों पर आडवाणी जी ने प्रकाश डाल दिया है। अब उनकी पुनरावृत्ति करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हमारे कुछ मित्र जो रूलिंग पार्टी का तरफ से बोले हैं उनके कुछ तर्कों का जवाब मैं अवश्य दे दूंगा।

मैं पहले यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि इमरजेंसी की जो स्थिति हमारे देश के अन्दर लगाई गई है, यह तत्काल हटे। मगर हमारी तमाम कोशिशों के बावजूद यह आपतकालीन स्थिति कायम की गई है। रेलवे मजदूरों की हड़ताल हो तो आपतकालीन स्थिति लगा दो, हड़ताल रोकने का सवाल हो तो आपतकालीन स्थिति लगा दो और नागरिक

अधिकारों को कुचलना हो तो आपतकालीन स्थिति लगा दो। मैं श्री शाही जी से कहूंगा कि संविधान की धारा 353 का पढ़ो। संसद को पूरा अधिकार है कि वह धारा 353 को लागू कर दे और बजट भी पास कर सकती है। जो रपट हमारे पास आई है, आज इस अवसर पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी राज्यपाल जो ऐसे मामलों के सम्बन्ध में अपनी रपट भेजे तो उसकी पूरी प्रति सदन के सामने होनी चाहिए। उसमें से छांट कर देना, उचित नहीं है। छांट कर देने से हमें इस बात की जानकारी नहीं होती है कि पूरी रपट क्या है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि राज्यपाल की रपट को अगर सही तरीके से पूरी सूची के साथ प्रकाशित किया जाये तो मालूम हो सकता है कि राज्यपाल ने क्या रपट दी है। हमें यह जो प्रतिलिपि दी गई है यह पूरी रपट नहीं है। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है और मित्रों से जो जानकारी मुझे मिली है, राज्यपाल ने अपनी पूरी रपट में कई सजेशन (सुझाव) लिखे हैं कि ये-ये चीजें हो सकती हैं। उन्होंने तीन सजेशन लिख कर दिये हैं। लेकिन चूंकि राष्ट्रपति महोदय की वहां की सरकार के ऊपर कृपा थी और भारत की सरकार नहीं चाहती थी कि कोई विरोधी दल की हुकूमत आए, इसलिए राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दिया गया।

श्रीमन्, राज्यपाल ने अपनी रपट में लिखा है कि यू० डी० एफ० के 33 और एन० एन० ओ० के 27 मेम्बर थे। यह बात सब मानते हैं और यह इस रपट में लिखा हुआ है। स्पष्ट बहुमत के सम्बन्ध में स्पीकर्स कांग्रेस की रपट को भी इस बारे में देखा जाय और इससे पता चलेगा कि अन्ततोगत्वा उसकी जो अन्तिम रपट है वह क्या है? कि जब कभी भी यह मौका आए कि कौन सा दल बहुमत में है या अल्पमत में है तो सदन ही वह सर्वोत्तम और सर्वोच्च स्थान है जहां पर कि शक्ति परीक्षा हो।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : रिपोर्ट में वही है ।

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है; राज्यपाल ने इस बात की कोशिश की । मगर जो स्पीकर थे, चूँकि वे दल बदल कर गए थे, वह एन० एन० ओ० में मिल गए थे, इसलिए अध्यक्ष ने सदन को स्थगित कर दिया । अध्यक्ष ने बहुत ही गलत का किया, निन्दनीय काम किया, असंसदीय काम किया, अजन-तन्तीय काम किया और मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र की रक्षा के लिए अध्यक्ष का स्वतन्त्र होना बहुत आवश्यक है, अध्यक्ष का निर्दल होना बहुत ही आवश्यक है । श्रीमन्, आपको शायद जानकारी न हो, मैं बतला दूँ कि आदरणीय पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन ने उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा में कहा— क्योंकि तब मुस्लिम लीग थी, मुस्लिम लीग वालों की बैठक बाहर हुई, उन्होंने कहा अध्यक्ष पर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लायेंगे— यह खबर टंडन जी ने अखबार में पढ़ी तो जय ही कुर्सी पर आए वह कहते हैं हमने समाचारपत्रों में पढ़ा है और अगर इस सदन का एक भी सदस्य हमारी व्यवस्था को पक्षपातपूर्ण कहता है तो मेरा इस्तीफा । अब मुस्लिम लीग के लोग घबड़ा गए; फिर उसके नेता लोग उठे हैं, लाहिड़ी साहब उठे हैं, खलीकुज्जमा साहब उठे हैं; उन्होंने कहा यहाँ पर व्यवस्था का सवाल है, श्री पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन हमारे आदरणीय अध्यक्ष हैं, हम लोग उनसे विनयपूर्वक निवेदन करेंगे कि वे अध्यक्ष की कुर्सी संभालें और उस पर कायम रहें; शायद डंग से यह समाचार अखबारों में चला गया यह उनको कहना पड़ा । ऐसे अध्यक्ष जब तक नहीं होंगे और जब अध्यक्ष यहाँ बैठा रहेगा, कानों में ताकेगा प्रधान मंत्री क्या इशारा कर रही हैं, मुख्य मंत्री क्या इशारा कर रहा है, उसके इशारे पर व्यवस्था देगा तो सदन चलेगा क्या ? इसलिए अगर अध्यक्ष सुधरें नहीं, संभलें नहीं, तो हमारे देश की संसदीय परम्परा के लिए सब से बड़ा संकट आ रहा है ।

श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक हमने इस रपट का अध्ययन किया है, यह बिल्कुल ठीक कहा है राज्यपाल ने कि अध्यक्ष उनकी सफाई भी नहीं देना चाहते थे । यह तो उन्होंने अध्यक्ष से कहा कि आप सदन की बैठक बुलाइए और बैठक बुला कर उस सदन में सारी स्थिति को स्पष्ट कीजिए और बजट पास कीजिये । रपट की शुरुआत पर देखा जाए : मेरे अनुरोध पर, मेरे बार-बार के आग्रह पर आज तीसरे पहर अध्यक्ष मुझ से मिले, मैंने उनको सदन की अनिश्चित काल के लिए स्थगित करने का जो असाधारण कार्यवाही उन्होंने का उस पर पूरा प्रकाश डालने के लिए कहा ।” यह उन्होंने इसमें लिखा है, ज. हमको समरी दी गई है उसमें । इसका सीधा-सादा मतलब है कि गवर्नर असन्तुष्ट था, गवर्नर कहता था कि सदन की बैठक बुलाओ, इस बार तुम बजट पास कराओ, तुमने जो सदन की अनिश्चित काल के लिए स्थगित किया क्या किया यह बिल्कुल असाधारण घटना है, इससे बिल्कुल साफ है

श्री लाल आडवाणी : लेकिन वह कहते हैं वहाँ संकट नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो वहाँ संकट क्या था ? संकट यह था कि एन० एन० ओ० अल्पमत में हो गई, यू० डी० एफ० बहुमत में हो गई । यू० डी० एफ० पहले भी बहुमत में था, यू० डी० एफ० के लोगों को तोड़ कर कांग्रेस ने अपने दल में मिला लिया था और फिर उनको मिला कर वह दूर चले गए । तो सारा बात तो श्रीमन्, दल-बदल की है । (Interruption) सारी बातें देखिए । जहाँ भी बोन, स्पष्ट और ईमानदारी से । बातों को तोड़ मरोड़ कर कहने से कोई फायदा नहीं । दल बदल की शुरुआत कहां से हुई, पहले इसको भी देख लिया जाए । जो इतिहास के विद्यार्थी है वे जानते होंगे— श्रीमन्, आपको भी याद होगा—जब हम

* लोगों ने 1948 में कांग्रेस को छोड़ा, शायद रेड्डी साहब को न मालूम हो कि 12 लोगों ने उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा से आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव के नेतृत्व में इस्तीफा दे दिया, समेरिली, क्योंकि आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी ने कहा हमने कांग्रेस छोड़ी है, हम कांग्रेस के टिकट पर जीते थे, इसलिए अब हमारी राजनैतिक नैतिकता का तकाजा है कि हम असेम्बली से इस्तीफा दें और अपने दल के नाम पर चुनाव लड़ें। उस समय श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी थे और 72 आदमियों ने दस्तखत किये थे और जिस समय इस्तीफा देने का समय आया तो केवल 12 आदमियों ने इस्तीफा दिया था।

अब आ जाइये 1954 में। उत्तर प्रदेश में अलीगढ़ के श्री मल्खान सिंह जो हमारी पार्टी के थे, कांग्रेस पार्टी ने डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बनाने का लालच दिया था और इसी वजह से वे पार्टी से दल बदल कर कांग्रेस में गये। इसी तरह से थानुपिल्ले का भी किस्सा हुआ। इन तमाम बातों को देखा जाय तो मालूम हो जायेगा कि दल बदल की कार्यवाही की शुरूआत कांग्रेस पार्टी ने पहिले की थी।

श्रीमन्, आज भी दल बदल हो रहा है और आज उत्तर प्रदेश में कांग्रेस पार्टी को देख लिया जाय। श्री सीताराम, जो फैजाबाद के हैं, जहाँ हमने अनशुन किया था, हमारे दल से चुने गये थे, उनको दल बदल कराके अपने दल में मिला लिया। वहाँ की सम्पूर्ण जनता उनकी इस कार्यवाही से नाराज हुई। जब वे वहाँ पर आये तो चूकि उनकी शक्ल काली थी, इसलिए उनके मुँह में सफ़ेद पेंट किया गया। इस तरह की जो कार्यवाही दल बदल की हो रही है, वह सब कांग्रेस पार्टी ही करा रही है। मैं इस बारे में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ और जैसा अभी श्री अइवाणी जी ने जिक्र किया कि दल बदल को रोकने के लिए तो बराबर चर्चा होती है।

इस सम्बन्ध में जो विधेयक है वह संयुक्त प्रवर समिति के सामने है और उसको सदन में आने से आज क.न रोक रहा है? आज जो पार्टी इस तरह से दल बदल करवा रही है और जिसको इस चीज से फायदा हो रहा है, वही इस विधेयक को सदन में आने से रोक रहा है। विरोधी पक्ष तो इस तरह के बिल को जल्द से जल्द पास करवाना चाहता है।

श्रीमन्, 1974 में जो उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनाव हुए थे उसमें कांग्रेस पार्टी को 210 या 211 सीटें प्राप्त हुई थीं, लेकिन आज उनकी संख्या 252 हो गई है। यह कैसे हो गई? यह काम दल बदल से किया गया और धन, पद तथा सत्ता का लोभ दिया गया और लोगों का दल बदल करवाया गया। आज कांग्रेस सरकार, सत्ताधारी दल, कांग्रेस दल लोगों के चरित्र का हनन कर रही है और उनके चरित्र को भ्रष्ट कर रही है और इसके बाद भी लम्बी डींग हांकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, मैं जरा पुरानी बातों के सम्बन्ध में बोलना चाहता हूँ और आपकी आज्ञा से सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को बतलाना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेश्वर शर्मा) : लेकिन आप जरा समय की सीमा का भी खयाल रखें।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, जितना भूपेश गुप्त बोले हैं, उससे कम ही हम बोलेंगे। हम चाहते हैं कि डेजरी बेंच वाले जरा हमारी बात को ध्यान से सुनें और समझे। हम नागालैंड के बारे में और उत्तर पूर्व सीमा अंचल के सम्बन्ध में समय-समय पर चिन्ता व्यक्त कर चुके हैं और इस सम्बन्ध में किस तरह से सुधार लाया जा सकता है, इस बारे में समय-समय पर मुझाव दे चुके हैं। भारत सरकार ने हमारे इन मुझावों को कब-कब और कैसे ठुकराया है, उसको मैं थोड़े में

बतला देना चाहता हूं और आपके सामने थोड़ा पढ़ देना चाहता हूं ।

डा० लोहिया ने उत्तर पूर्वी सीमा के सम्बन्ध में अपनी पुस्तक में यह चीज लिखी है :

“मैं समझता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री के विरुद्ध विशेषाधिकार का प्रस्ताव लाया जा सकता है, क्योंकि दो बातों पर उन्होंने लोक सभा को गलत सूचनाएं दीं । पहली, उन्होंने कहा कि मेरे अर्बंसीग्राम जाने पर सरकार को कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, जब कि वास्तव में मुझे दो बार उस क्षेत्र में जाने से मझे जबरदस्ती रोका गया । दूसरी, उन्होंने कहा कि कुछ को छोड़ क अर्बंसीग्राम की अधिकांश जगहों में लोग जा सकते हैं, जब कि अर्बंसीग्राम प्रशासन ने ऐसा कहा और किया कि अधिकांश जगहों को छोड़ कर कुछ में ही लोग जा सकते हैं । मैं यह भी बदला दूं कि जब मैं दुबारा जाने का प्रयत्न कर रहा था तो मुझे पड़ताल चौकी से कोई 15 कदम परशुराम कुंड जाने वाली सड़क पर गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया । 'परशुराम कुंड को क्या रेडी साहब या ओम् मेहता साहब या प्रधान मंत्री जानती हैं ? परशुराम कुंड का नाम अ जाने से ही एक आन्योयता की भावना प्रकट होती है । और यह बात सिद्ध होती है कि सम्पूर्ण उत्तर-पूर्व सीमांचल भारत का अंग था, भारत वहां तक था शताब्दियों से ।

अब मैं नागालैंड की समस्या के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा । 1959 के 23 अक्टूबर से 26 अक्टूबर तक विचारों का मन्थन करके जो प्रस्ताव हमने पास किया था वह यह था—

“समाजवादी दल की राष्ट्रीय समिति हिन्दुस्तान की जनता का ध्यान आर्थिउबो घटना की ओर खींचना चाहती है । मणीपुर की क्षेत्रीय कौंसिल के एक समाजवादी सदस्य, श्री आर्थिउबो ने लगभग

150 सशस्त्र नागाओं को आत्म-समर्पण करने के लिए राजी कर लिया था, किन्तु, प्रशासन के वचन के विपरीत, इन नागाओं को राज क्षमा नहीं दी गयी । इस घटना से समझौते का काम असम्भव हो गया है । इससे भारत सरकार के स्वभाव और तरीकों पर भी भयानक प्रकाश पड़ा है । नागा समस्या को मुख्यतः मनोवैज्ञानिक और राजनीतिक मानने और राजकौशल के उदार उपचार काम में लाने के बजाय, प्रशासन ने कुत्सित अहंकार का आचरण किया और जोर-जबरदस्ती का प्रदर्शन और इस्तेमाल भी किया । इस बात को अच्छी तरह समझते हुए कि अपने देश और हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होने की मांग से समझौता पूर्ण हल निकालना बहुत कठिन हो गया है, राष्ट्रीय समिति यह दर्ज करा देना चाहती है कि प्रशासन की ओर से मद और नागाओं की ओर से क्रोध के कारण नागा समस्या बिगड़ गई है और इसमें से शायद कोई हल ढूंढा जा सकता है । विनम्रता की भावना से और सफल होने की योग्यता का दावा किये बिना समाजवादी दल की राष्ट्रीय समिति अपने अच्छे रिश्तों का इस्तेमाल करने का प्रस्ताव करती है । यह याद दिला देना उपयुक्त होगा कि स्वतन्त्र हिन्दुस्तान की पहली संसद की लोक सभा में जो सब से पहले नागा गये, वे थे समाजवादी रीशांग की शांग ।’

रीशांग की शांग को किसने दल-बदल कराया ? उनको दल-बदल कराया कांग्रेस पार्टी ने । वे पहले नागा थे जो समाज-

वादी दल में थे, लेकिन कांग्रेस पार्टी ने उनको हमसे तोड़ा और तोड़ कर कांग्रेस में ले गए ताकि उन में कोई सोशलिस्ट न रहे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा) :
राजनारायण जी ।

श्री राजनारायण : अभी मैंने भूपेश गुप्त का आधा समय भी नहीं लिया है । मैं जल्दी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ ।

अब मैं रुक्मिणी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ । यह वही क्षेत्र है जहाँ की रुक्मिणी रहने वाली थी । नागालैंड वही क्षेत्र है भीम की पत्नी हिडम्बी जहाँ की रहने वाली थी, घटोत्कच जिनका लड़का था ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा) :
आप इतिहास में बहुत जा रहे हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : अब इतिहास में जाएंगे तभी तो सब समझेंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा) :
इतिहास सब को मालूम है ।

श्री राजनारायण : कोई बता दे हिडम्बी भीम की पत्नी थी, रुक्मिणी वहाँ की रहने वाली थी, घटोत्कच उनका लड़का था, परशुराम कुंड वहाँ था । जो लोग खोजते हैं वे ही जानते हैं कि हम में और उनमें क्या कितना तादात्म्य था ।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूँगा कि भारत की सरकार आज नागालैंड को हमसे अलग कर रही है या अमरीका और इंग्लैंड ? नागालैंड की जबान अंग्रेजी किसने बनाई ? भारत की सरकार ने बनाई । क्यों ? पहले तो नागालैंड को जबान अंग्रेजी बनाई और अब कहते हैं कि नागालैंड को हमसे अलग करने की साजिश अंग्रेज कर रहे हैं । मैं आज माँग करना चाहता हूँ कि संसद के द्वारा कि नागालैंड की जबान जो अंग्रेजी बनाई गई है उसको फ़ौरन हटाया जाय, नागालैंड की जबान अंग्रेजी न रहे ।

सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि अब भी हम लोगों के वहाँ आने-जाने पर रोक है, हम लोग आधा गति से आजा नहीं सकते । क्यों ? भारत की गरीब जनता नागालैंड के लोगों से क्यों न मिले, वहाँ क्यों न जाय, वहाँ के गरीबों में क्यों न मिक्स करे, क्यों न उनकी बातों को समझे, क्यों न उनसे तादात्म्य करे । भारत सरकार की गलत नीति ने, राष्ट्रद्रोही नीति ने आज भी नागालैंड की समस्या खड़ कर रखी है ।

जिस ढंग से राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है यह ढंग वहाँ नयी समस्याएँ उत्पन्न करेगा । इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन फ़ौरन खत्म किया जाय और वहाँ तत्काल चुनाव कराये जायें । चुनाव से वहाँ पीछे हटना जनतंत्र की पीठ में छुरा मारना है । इसलिये मैं आडवाणी जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थक हूँ और राष्ट्रपति शासन का वहाँ विरोधी हूँ । हमारी माँग है कि वहाँ जाने से रोक टोक हटाई जाये और वहाँ अंग्रेजी को खत्म किया जाय और तत्काल वहाँ चुनाव कराये जाये और वहाँ का जनता को रिश्तत न दी जाय । हुश्रा क्या, श्रीमन्, वहाँ कत्ल, औरतों के साथ व्यभिचार, गोली, लाठी है और इस सबकी बदौलत नागालैंड को आप अपने पास नहीं रख सकते । मान लो कि हम कुछ गड़बड़ करते हैं तो अगर हम गड़बड़ करते हैं तो क्या हमको तुम गोली से मार दोगे । हमारी औरतों के साथ व्यभिचार और बलात्कार करोगे । लेकिन यह नागालैंड का पूरे का पूरा इतिहास है एक-एक पन्ने पर । इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ जो अफसर भेजे जायें वह सचरित्र हों और देश भक्त हों और जो गरीब जनता मिलने में आत्म सम्मान का अनुभव करते हों । वहाँ व्योरोक्रेट्स न भेजे जायें जो जा कर नागालैंड के रहने वालों की समस्याओं को समझें भी नहीं । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आडवाणी साहब के प्रस्ताव का फ़िर समर्थन करता हूँ और राष्ट्रपति शासन का विरोध

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, we are dealing with an extremely politically sensitive region. Not only Nagaland, but I would like to say the entire North Eastern India is now full of resentment, discontent, frustration and all that. The attitude the Government has adopted and is continuing to pursue is one of brutal military posture and of being high and mighty. Now, Sir, he has already said in the other House, as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said, that there is a trek towards China. I enquired about it from the people of Nagaland and I was told that they are fleeing because their lives are in danger. The security forces are hunting them down and are trying to shoot them down. In order to save their lives, they are trying to flee the border. They were told, after Bangladesh now we could concentrate as many lakhs of troops as we liked. I have said that one lakh of the security forces have been concentrated on six lakhs of Nagas. Let us clearly recognise that the Naga problem is a national problem. They are a nationality, the Naga nationality. At one time there were talks between the underground and New Delhi. It failed. I do think that the time has come when it would be wise on the part of the Government to initiate a fresh dialogue. Now, the Naga people feel that it is not possible for six lakhs of Nagas to have a sovereign, independent State. So, short of secession it should be treated as something on par with Kashmir, giving them the widest possible autonomy and powers. Now, who will believe Mr. Brahmananda Reddy? I know when he was the Chief Minister he shot down 200 Naxalites in cold blood and the excuse given to the press was encounter. They died in an encounter

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY): It is a reckless allegation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I say it is completely true. It is absolutely true. Even CPI Members will bear me out. They have told about it several times.

They were caught and without giving any trial they were shot down. This is the position.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Which party did they belong to?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA): Come to Nagaland.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Some of our people have also been killed in this fashion.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: How many have you killed?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Give me figures. You ought to know better. I will reply, I do not shy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA): Come to Nagaland leaving these accusations and counter-accusations.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have said before that there should be no Central rule in any State, no Presidential Rule. That much autonomy each State must have. Is there King's rule in England when Parliament is dissolved? No. So it should never happen. The Governor's post should be abolished and a mechanism should be evolved so that immediately elections, if necessary, can take place.

As regards defection I will give certain points. Here is a letter signed by Mr. W. W. Wanpen, Member of Nagaland Legislative Assembly, dated 22-3-1975. He says:--

"I take this opportunity to let the people of Nagaland and the rest of the country know as to how I was deceived and misled by Mr. Chingwang Konyak, MLA, to join the N.N.O. as it is my bounden duty to expose the dirty tricks played by some selfish politician on the innocent MLA like me. The word defection is foreign to me but I was compelled to follow Mr. Chingwang, MLA, under false circumstances.

On 3rd March 1975, Mr Chingwang MLA (1) came to Phumching to meet me with a message that several UDF MLAs have already joined the N.N.O. and they are going to form the Government. He had shown me a list of names and thus I was compelled to follow him by his jeep up to Dimapur, I spent the night of 3rd March at Dimapur with Chingwang. On 4th March 1975 in the evening at 6 P.M. Mr. Tokheho's bodyguard came by Mr. Chingwang's jeep and took me to one rest house of Messrs. Saharia Plywood Factory at Bokajan. Mr. Scato, former President of the Federal Government (Outlawed) was also in the rest house. When I arrived there the following MLAs namely Mr. Metpong, Mr. Monchua, Mr. Yanchu and Mr. Rasutho were already there. After staying three nights at Bokajan, two cars were brought by Mr. Chakravarti, PS to Tokheho Sema and Mr. Phukan and took us to Kasaringa Forest Rest House, Mr. Scato M.P. also accompanied us. After staying one day we were again taken out at 8 P.M. and reached Kohima at 5 A.M. and went to Mr. Tokheho's residence and from there we were taken to Mr. Jasokie's residence. Lumti MLA and Mr. Chakravarty, PS to Tokheho brought vehicles to take us from Kazaranga Forest Rest House."

Thus they were compelled to sign up.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:
Who gave you this letter?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. S. C. Jamir, Leader of the UDF Parliamentary Party. Now, another thing. Mr. Jahir says:—

"Shri Hentok was then made to sign his resignation letter alongwith Shri K. V. Kiditen from Jasokie's residence and the same were submitted to the then Chief Minister."

He was forced to sign the resignation letter. When the last Assembly was in session pressmen were barred. It is an unprecedented thing. Can it ever happen? Why? Some dirty game was to be played. So, what happened? When there was some "gad-bad" or noise, within five minutes the Speaker went away. Nobody knows what he did say or did not say. The Assembly Secretary, who was sitting very close to the Speaker, also admitted that he did not hear what actually the Speaker said. Then after 1½ hours, an unsigned bulletin was issued saying that the House had been adjourned *sine die*. An unsigned bulletin! So, this is what has taken place in Nagaland. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, like a very innocent babe, has said that both the parties tried and failed and so, there was no alternative to President's rule. It is military rule there and Mr. Rajnarain is correct on that point. In the Home Ministry Consultative Committee meeting, a complete list of names was given. I dare say Mr. Scato Swu, if he remembers his past, will be able to give you hundreds of instances as to how people were butchered, how girls were raped and all that, if he chooses to now, he who speaks now from that side. This is what is happening under a military umbrella. From the very first day, from the utterances of the Central Government it was clear that you did not want the UDF Government. The NNO is now trying to transform itself into Congress. They said the UDF was an open wing of the Underground. That is how you treated them because the UDF Ministry pleaded for peace, for peaceful talks and negotiations, for reconciliation. If the Military is withdrawn, I doubt whether a single NNO member would be elected there. That is the real position.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:
He is terrorising us here.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes, that is the position. People are being hounded out; they are being butchered. And you did that in Andhra Pradesh. The

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

Prime Minister has selected a proper man for the post of Home Minister. That is his past. He seems to be a nice dove but he is a real hawk inside.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI (Gujarat): On a point of order. Are we discussing our Home Minister or Nagaland? What has it got to do with Nagaland?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He has brought in the Proclamation. You must know what it is.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Whether I am a dove or a hawk, I am absolutely useless before a stengun.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I am not up to my ears involved in shooting down people in cold blood. I can never match you in that respect.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA): Don't go into comparisons on shooting.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I must take this opportunity to tell the House that all the States of India are closely watching these things. The demand for greater autonomy will surge forth throughout India from all the States and a mass struggle would be unleashed to-day or tomorrow. All those steps that you are taking in suppression of the Naga people and the other peoples would recoil and boomerang on you. And a day might come when, with this high and mighty attitude, reducing the States to merely glorified municipalities and playing with them at will, you will disintegrate India. That is the path you are treading. So, Sir, I take this opportunity to tell you this again. This is the history of defection there. The Assembly is the supreme arbiter and it was there. But it was not allowed to function. The no-confidence motion was pending. The Speaker knew that it would be passed and so, he played this dirty trick and it is a sad commentary on him as has been pointed out by some honourable Members here. Who does not know that the Nagaland Government has no real powers and that the

powers are in the hands of the Governor and the security forces? They cannot even move about freely, I mean, the people of Nagaland, and they cannot go to any place freely. Even the Ministers cannot do it and the Secretary to the Governor rules Nagaland. This set-up in Nagaland will never, never solve the Naga problem and it would never solve the problem of Nagaland and it would never solve the problem of any State. State autonomy... (Time bell rings)... in all the States of India is going to be the order of the day in the coming years and you cannot escape it. So, it is better for the unity of India if you give up the policy of suppression, the policy of repression, and if you revoke this Presidential Rule there, you give the Assembly an opportunity to sit. If the no-confidence motion had been passed, the Ministry could have been formed immediately and the Budget could have been passed and there would have been no difficulty at all. Some of the members asked how the Budget could be passed. It could have been passed; the Ministry could have been sworn in; the NNO Ministry could have been sworn in. Sir, I would plead that the Assembly should be reconvened immediately and the Presidential Proclamation should be revoked. Let the Government be formed there and you initiate a dialogue with the underground people. Sir, I do not plead for secession at all and let me make that clear. But Nagaland and the people of Nagaland should be given the widest autonomy to decide their own affairs within the framework of the Indian Union. Short of this, there cannot be any solution to this problem and it is high time that you gave up this military attitude, this brutal attitude, and you came to your senses and reversed this policy and initiated this dialogue.

With these words, Sir, I conclude.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju)
in the Chair.

SHRI SCATO SWU (Nominated): Sir, on a point of personal explanation.

Sir there is no denying the fact that for a long time there were mutual killings amongst the Nagas before 1964 and this killing still continues. None can deny that. But the thing which Mr. Niren Ghosh has referred to is a bit surprising and I think he has to give his justification for that. There are some people who are to be held responsible for that. How does he suppose that I am to be held responsible for this? Suppose I am to be held responsible in any way for the whole thing. Now, I came to an understanding with the Government of India in 1973 and, after that also, quite a number of people have been killed and the killing still continues. Therefore, I do not think that there is any proper justification for Mr. Niren Ghosh to hold me responsible for anything in any way.

I would very much like to say that he should not have made such allegations without proper evidence and justification. I thought he was trying to discuss something about Nagaland. But he was trying to frame allegations against me which I think, are wrong and which, I think, should be withdrawn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. R. RAJU): That is all right. That is enough.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I only read out a letter and I did not make any remark on my own. This much I must make clear that I read out a letter from an MLA and I have read out his name also, Mr. Scato Swu.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): That is all right.

SHRI SCATO SWU: I did not listen to that at that time because I was busy with something else.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You can have a look at it now. Here it is; read it and return it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): All right. Please sit down, Mr. Ghosh.

3.00 P.M.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH (Nagaland): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grieved to discuss the Nagaland issue once again in this august House where the characters of our political leaders in Nagaland have been involved. I pity them for what they have committed and the examples they have shown to our youngsters. But with conviction, I can say that they have been black-mailed; they were lured to do it. And today they have been black-mailed. Defections, we never knew about. The form of government that we are running today in Nagaland is only 11 years' old. And, for the first time, we are hearing about defections. Who has encouraged these defections?

Now, because of the defections, what the President says in his Proclamation, I quote:

"I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of Nagaland State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India".

The Nagaland State Government cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India. Then, of which country do you want the provisions of Constitution in Nagaland? That question will be asked by many youngsters. Today, I have a letter here, a statement issued by the Naga Students Federation President. I quote one of the lines:

"The Naga Students' Federation feels that such kind of dissension in the State may lead the young people into wrong directions, since the young generation are the leaders of tomorrow."

As I said the other day, one of the political parties democratically elected, constitutionally recognized, has been debarred from running the government. It is very unfortunate. That means that from 20th March to 22nd March, the Government in Nagaland was a minority government and an

[Shri Khyomo Lotha.]

illegal government, and the majority elected by the people have been denied this constitutional right to form the government. I also feel sorry for the Governor, who has sent a report which has been several times read out both in the other House and in this House. As a layman, I feel that his report is nothing but that of an errand boy.

The Governor has also mentioned several things that have happened. But after going through it again and again, I have not found anything in these paragraphs to show that the Governor tried to exert his authority as the Governor of one of the States in this country. He has certain responsibilities. Why do we have Governors in this country? The Governor is kept because, we feel, there might be times like this in States when a constitutional crisis will arise, and at that time the Governor has to act with responsibility. I have not come across even a single paragraph in which the Governor has tried to exert his authority. It has been very well pointed out by one of the speakers, Mr. Advani. Nagaland is a new State. It is a State in the making. There are still sections of people who have not joined us. The Central Government has been advocating that these people should also join us in the mainstream of our national life. But what is national life today? To me, as a young man, when you do things unconstitutionally, what you mean by national life is to invite people from Nagaland to demonstrate or to offer a satyagraha in front of Parliament. Do you want us to do that? Is that joining the mainstream of national life of this country? In Nagaland, what we need today is justice. I had a discussion with one of the Generals. He said, "What we learned and what we know since the British times is that the Nagas should be dealt with by force". I am ashamed to hear such things from a General. He should know that we are in India. India has its own democratic system of Government run by our own people. He

still clings to the British rule. I told him that force used without justice is a dangerous thing and that is what is going on. The other day when the Prime Minister was talking about the agreement with Sheikh Abdullah, she described to us in a very clear term about witch-hunting. In the same way, I can say that the witch-hunting policy of the N.N.O. for the last 10 years has led the Central Government to a type of policy of segregation and today you are in favour of one group of hand-picked leaders and you want to segregate the others. As a young man, when I joined this House, I came with great hopes and I had thought that I would be able to defend my people constitutionally. But, I found Mr. Dikshit, the then Home Minister, trying to pollute the minds of the Members by saying things against the U.D.F. party and the Government. He gave the same statement in the other House also. I felt so bad that such a responsible person in this country should try to pollute and poison the minds of our parliamentarians. I am very sorry to say that I had demanded that a parliamentary delegation should go to Nagaland to find out the facts. He had assured in this House that he would go himself or he would send Mr. Mirdha, the then State Minister. Instead of going to Nagaland, Mr. Mirdha went to Imphal. He called some officers from Kohima who were not even elected Members. He called some non-Naga officials, discussed something with them at Imphal and returned. I should have raised the matter at that time. But as a new Member, I did not know the rules.

Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

So, what should we do today? The Central Government must give up this policy of segregation. Again and again I have said in this House and Mr. Vizol, our Chief Minister of Nagaland said again and again in his public speeches that we are with the Indian Union and that our young men should give up violence. He is one of

the Chief Ministers to declare so openly. And what have you done? He has been blackmailed and toppled. And when I accuse that the Central Government has a hand in this, the Home Minister, Mr. Reddy, denies it. He wants to wash his hands of all this. Maybe, he will wash his face also. Well, Sir, I can give instances where the State cannot carry on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India. The whole thing was manipulated, maybe, with the encouragement that this group of people, the NNO people, got from the Central Government. What do they do? This time when I went to Nagaland, without knowing what was to happen, when I landed in the airport—I got a message—and when I reached Kohima, even the NNO people started asking many questions as to how much money is given to these NNO leaders to lure these MLAs. They wanted to know how much money the NNO leaders got, how much has been spent and how much has been kept back and so on and so forth. I did not know. I was dumb-founded. And there was also a propaganda going on that this has been helped by the Central Government directly. And as Mr. Niren Ghosh pointed out, there is a statement by one of the defected MLAs that one of our Members in this House, Mr. Scato Swu, who is a Nominated Member and who is also a member of one of the committees of the Congress—I do not know which committee—is directly involved in this toppling business. Where are we going? Where are we dragging this country to? I am today talking as a Member of Parliament... *(Interruption by Shri Scato Swu).* What is happening? Mr. Scato Swu is a Member nominated by the President. I am only referring to the statement made by a defected MLA. You cannot accuse me for that. If you feel that you have been insulted, you can go and seek a clarification from him. A written statement is issued. So Sir, the propaganda was going on that he was deputed by the Central Government. But before that also, they used

to come to Delhi, then go back and make propaganda that the Congress is only in their favour and that the Congress does not like the UDF and all that. This propaganda has been going on. Well, Sir, in a small State in a House with 60 members, can't the Central Government keep these 60 members together? Then how will you keep this country together? I wonder. Well, time and again, I must say—Opposition Members will not feel bad when I say this because I have stated this to many of the Congress Members as well—that we are neither anti-Congress nor anti-Central Government. We only want to maintain our regional political parties. We also feel that even this small State can also set an example to this country that we have only two parties in our State.

We wanted to maintain it because we want to maintain a stable democratic Government in that border region. This has been stated by me in the month of February before I came here in a public meeting at Wokha where many people including officials were present and I pleaded with them that what India needs and requires from us, from this border State, is a stable Government; a stable Government with which every one must co-operate, all officials must co-operate with us and implement projects and work for the welfare of the people and keep this State as a stable State. But, what has happened? These people came, they make all sorts of propaganda and it is they who have been creating this sort of instability in the minds of the people. Well, I do not know whether the Prime Minister is aware of it; but a group of leaders came to her, met her, took photographs and went back. These photographs they will have in their pockets and say: See the U.D.F. people go to Delhi and they are not allowed to meet but this is it. This was later on published in a local paper and they started making propaganda. Well, only God knows and our Prime Minister knows.

[Shri Khyomo Lotha.]

Sir, I say that we are not anti-Congress nor anti any party. The only thing that we want is to maintain these two regional parties and we feel that in all other States also if they maintain two parties, including the Centre, it will be good. If that is done, perhaps our Government would be better and stable.

Well, Sir, as I say again that the Proclamation of the President denying democratic rights to my party in a most undemocratic way and stripping us off of this democratic right is unfortunate and we will continue to fight for it, for our democratic rights, for our right to run the Government, tooth and nail, but the only danger which we should not forget is the impact that we will be creating on the minds of the youngsters. We and especially the Central Government should be very careful in its decisions. It has rightly been pointed out by our friend, Mr. Advani, that it was politically unwise

So, Sir, I need not repeat the things again. I have stated certain things which have led to this unwise and undemocratic and unconstitutional Proclamation of the President's rule. If only the Governor had asserted his right at that time and even if he had failed then, I suppose, he could have dissolved the Assembly and not suspended. Today we want our right and denial of that right will be very bad and the consequences arising out of it, I am sorry to say, will be the Centre's responsibility.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am at a slight disadvantage in a debate of this kind because even though I have moved my motion for revoking the President's rule, the reply from the Government is to come only after I have given my reply

So far as the other Members who participated in this debate are concerned, I am thankful to all of them who have brought to focus the viewpoint that I presented and one of them sought to meet the arguments that I mentioned. But, I would be looking forward to a comprehensive reply from the Minister of Home Affairs who is present here and I expect that he will cover all the points that I have mentioned.

I have mentioned several points, some of them constitutional, some of them legal. At this particular stage I would not like to say that my feeling has been strengthened by what Shri Lotha has just now said, that the present situation has arisen mainly because of the Central Government's policy to reconcile to the political ouster of the NNO in last year's elections. This is how I view it. The NNO's own frustration and dissatisfaction are understandable but I expect the Central Government to hold the scales even between the NNO and the UDF so far as its own constitutional obligations are concerned. It can have prejudices or predilections in favour of or against any particular party—I can understand that—and if it is favourable to the NNO or if the NNO is favourable to the Congress, I have no objection. In fact, even though I belong to an opposition party, when I read the report yesterday or the day before yesterday that the NNO is likely to join the Congress as such, I felt happy about it and I would feel happy if regional parties all over the country identify themselves with some or the other national parties, because they would have joined the political mainstream even more completely, even though I have no objection to regional parties maintaining their own identity either. What I do not quite relish is Shri Lotha's statement that he is not anti-Centre or otherwise. One should not be against the Centre if one really believes in the Union and the Constitution, but saying that one is neither anti-Congress nor pro-Congress shows

a kind of disinterestedness in national politics which I do not relish. I would like every one to become involved in national politics, even the regional parties, and to assume certain postures and for that purpose...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: They are afraid, as I said.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I understand. I am understanding the attitude to their problems, but at the same time I would appeal to them. The two Members we have here, who have sharp exchanges between themselves, can contribute a lot because they come to Delhi, they meet us and they see us and they sense the House, and I am sure they know that there is nothing but goodwill for them and for the problems of the people of Nagaland in both the Houses and from all sections. So, the nearer they come to us the better it would be.

On this occasion I would only like to repeat that manipulative politics is not going to solve any problem in Nagaland and, I am afraid, in this particular episode the Central Government has not behaved as it ought to have and if it had been very cautious and scrupulous, then things would not have come to this pass and without the promulgation of article 356 the political situation would not have gone out of hand.

I need not recapitulate all the points that I have made, particularly about the Speaker. There was no answer. The Governor's bringing in the Speaker in this matter is absolutely not relevant; he has not mentioned the Chief Minister at all. If the Chief Minister had advised him that he could not convene the Assembly I could have conceded some way even though I would have said that the Governor's obligation was to convene the Assembly to see to it that the majority party in the Legislature was able to run the Government without the President's rule. This is different.

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With these words, Sir, I thank you.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Members who have participated in this debate on this motion. I am sorry that I could not be present when Mr. Advani made his speech. However, Sir, Shri Rajnarain was saying that the report of the Governor is not full and that there is some other report which, he feels, the Governor has sent.

I may submit to this House that what was given either in this House or in the other House was the full report of the Governor on the subject.

SHRI LAL K ADVANI: I had mentioned that we have not got the advocate-General's report. The Governor has referred to the Advocate-General's report. It is in this that the Governor's report is not full. Is there any clarification about the Advocate-General's opinion?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: This is the report which we have in our possession and we have given it to this House.

SHRI LAL K ADVANI: On page 2, paragraph 7 of this report, the last line is: "I have already sent to you the full text of the Advocate-General's opinion." Now this Advocate-General's opinion is not there. So that becomes in a way necessary part of this report.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I will find out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I suggest that we adjourn the House for 15 minutes so that he can read it. Our friend Mr. Brahmananda Reddy should take a friendly advice.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: What is it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know you do not belong to the category of

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Ministers who would come to the House after reading but perhaps you will have to read it this time. I am ready for 15 minutes' adjournment of the House.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I may clarify for the Home Minister that I was keen to know whether the Advocate-General has even contemplated that article 353 can be used in this situation and there would be no use in invoking article 356. Has this been considered or has this point struck the Home Minister?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: We have got the opinion of the Advocate-General.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am merely asking whether in this opinion the possibility of invoking article 353, i.e., Parliament during Emergency has a right to pass that budget, has even been contemplated.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: If you want me to read it out I will read it out, but I have already made the point at length.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: His difficulty and our difficulty here is about a brief reference to the opinion of the Advocate-General in the report. He has said he has given his opinion in a separate document, but that document is not appended to this report nor a gist of the opinion is given. This is the difficulty.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I will read out the opinion of the Advocate-General.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Frankly speaking, Mr. Deputy Chairman, if it had not been the last day, I would have seen that the matter is stopped. Unless copies are prepared and circulated before this House, a report of this kind in which a reference has been made to the Advocate-General's opinion but a copy of the same has not been appended, cannot be discussed in the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But anyway. . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It amounts to treating this House shabbily.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: For your benefit let me read it out:

"The Assembly having been adjourned *sine die* at the fag end of the financial year a situation has arisen under which the demands for grant could not be passed in the Assembly and consequently no Appropriation Bill can be passed. This will mean that no money out of the Consolidated Fund of the State can be taken out with effect from 1st April vide article 266, clause (3) of the Constitution of India. .

"...For the passing of an Appropriation Bill under Article 204, the procedures laid down under Articles 202 and 203 are to be first complied with and after the Grants under Article 202 and 203 are first complied with and after the Grants under Article 203 are made by the Assembly, the Appropriation Bill can be introduced. To obviate the aforesaid deadlock, it has to be examined whether under Article 213 of the Constitution of India, the Governor can pass an Appropriation Ordinance. It is no doubt true that the Governor's powers under Article 213 are as wide as that of the Legislature. But it cannot be more than that of the said body. An Appropriation Bill cannot be introduced in the Assembly unless the Demands for Grants are passed and such a limitation has been put in the powers of the Legislature in this behalf. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the Governor in exercise of his power under Article 213 can exercise a legislative power beyond that of the Legislature itself. The passing of the Demands for Grants is a condition precedent. I am afraid it will not be legal for the Governor to promulgate an

Ordinance for the purpose of appropriation of money out of the Consolidated Fund of the State."

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, he is dealing with the powers of Governors trying to promulgate an Ordinance for passing the Budget. My question was, whether the possibility of invoking Article 353 which empowers Parliament during an emergency to pass laws with respect to State Legislature, notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, has been contemplated by the Advocate-General. Obviously, it has not been contemplated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has not touched that point.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: He has not touched that at all and therefore..

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I felt sorry when Mr. Lotha and also Mr. Advani said that there was some inspiration from the Central Government. I might tell you that the Central Government had no hand in the matter.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Nobody believes it. All facts cry out against it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You call it a white lie or a dark lie because this is something which you say on every subject. There is no point in using harsh words.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Tomorrow if you become Communications Minister, you will speak about it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: That does not make your position stronger. There was neither inspiration nor intervention of the Central Government with regard to the recommendation of the Governor for issue of a Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution. You would have seen from the Governor's

report—I think you would have profited by it—it is an exhaustive report, a reasoned report which was submitted to the House. Even the suggestion that all Members should go to the Governor's residence or office and their heads counted, he did not like it. He wanted that it should be decided on the floor of the House—the relative strength of the parties—and in fact..

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have read out certain things, one from the Leader of UDF. He should clarify those points.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I am not yielding.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Oh, don't yield, because you cannot answer that.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I do not wish to answer irrelevant matters.

Now, Sir, it was uncharitable on the part of Mr. Advani to say that the Government was not reconciled to the fact that the NNO had lost in the elections and that the UDF was able to form a Government, after all I have quoted and after this discussion in the House.

And, therefore, I do not want to traverse the same grounds again when many facts have been brought to your notice. Though the U.D.F. got 25 seats with 30 per cent and odd votes and the N.N.O. got only 23 seats with about 36 per cent votes, still the Central Government did not intervene or do anything to disable the U.D.F. party to form the Government. Obviously, the intentions of the Central Government are clear. Therefore, Sir.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You read your speech again in the Calling Attention; it proves to the contrary.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You see, the culture is one that will enable your mind to grasp

[Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy]

what others also speak. Don't think that all the commonsense and intelligence is only confined to you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: (*Interruptions*). I am doing nothing more; what I can do I am not doing.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You and I must learn to listen to others though unpalatable it may be. I do not expect the opposition to say that what we have done is all good; I do expect the opposition to criticise...(*Interruptions by Shri Niren Ghosh*). You have made your point in your own way but you allow others also to say what they feel like saying.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In what way?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: In fact, Sir, you may also know that the U.D.F. Government functioned for more than a year and at no time during this period was there any intervention by the Central Government or by the Governor himself. The Governor did not do anything without the advice of the Council of Ministers forming the U.D.F. Government. Therefore, Sir, you must kindly see the attitude taken either by the Central Government or by the Governor there with regard to the functioning of the U.D.F. Government in spite of the fact that the activities of the underground Nagas have increased in the year 1974. You are aware of the most notable incident of firing on an I.A.F. helicopter on July 12, 1974, injuring the G.O.C. Nagaland and killing 11 personnel in Lower Seema area and that indicated that the underground Nagas feel emboldened.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What happened after this incident?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Please, for God's sake.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Communists do not believe in God.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niren Ghosh, you cannot be commenting on every sentence of the Minister.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, can you make clear who is responsible for law and order in Nagaland?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You are also aware. I will come to that. You are also aware of Article 371A of the Constitution. It is in pursuance of an agreement entered into in 1960. It is not a sudden thinking of the Central Government. It was preceded by a number of consultations with Naga leaders, and what not, and after due deliberations of 1960, a sixteen point agreement emerged.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Which Naga leaders? NNO leaders?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niren Ghosh, you cannot be interrupting like that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I am giving facts.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You please keep your facts to yourself; you cannot be expecting your facts to be brought by him.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: At that time, Sir, C. P. M. were not in existence. The point is, Sir at that time, after due deliberations under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as you all know, and after lengthy discussions between the Central Government and the Naga leaders and others interested, a sixteen-point agreement emerged and in pursuance of this agreement, Article 371A was introduced and subsequently it is in pursuance of this agreement that full statehood to Nagaland was given and a responsible Government later came into being. If you see Article 371A, the Governor has got a special responsibility and he acts on the advice of the Council of Ministers. If you have

got the Constitution, kindly give it to me. Article 371A is in pursuance of the agreement. Do you want me to read that portion? Point 3.3 of the 16-point agreement placed by the delegation of the Naga People's Convention before the Prime Minister on July 26, 1960 and finally recast by the delegation in the light of the discussions which they had on the 27th and 28th July, 1960 with the Foreign Secretary reads as follows:—

"The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law and order during the transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. In exercising this special responsibility the Governor shall, after consultation with the Ministry, act in his individual judgment. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns."

After that article 371A was introduced and article 371A (b) reads:—

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

Therefore, to say, like Mr. Niren Ghosh, that they have absolutely no power, that it is only a municipality and everything is exercised by the Governor or the Central Government is a perverted view of article 371A.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Even the full-fledged States are like municipalities, what to speak of Nagaland.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:

That is a different matter. If your proposition was a general one, I would not have just now said this. It is a general issue on which you can hold an opinion and we hold a different opinion. So long as the Constitution exists, we are guided by the Constitution and the several lists allocating the powers and responsibilities between the States and the Centre. Therefore, my submission is to say that the State of Nagaland or the Ministry there does not enjoy equal power with the States, except to the extent of article 371A (b), does not hold water. Firstly, the Governor's report is full; however, as was pointed out, the Advocate-General's opinion was not mentioned therein in detail and, therefore, I have just now read it. Secondly, there was neither Central intervention nor inspiration. After going through various processes, after trying to see that they were given an opportunity to test their strength on the floor of the House, after the action of the Speaker in adjourning the House *sine die* and the compelling circumstance of passing the Budget and the Appropriation Bill before the end of March, the Governor had no option but to recommend Proclamation being made under article 356 of the Constitution.

Now, Sir, with regard to my friend, Shri Niren Ghosh—in spite of what he says he continues to be my friend—he has said there is an arrogant attitude on the part of the Central Government. And it is what Mr. Rajnarain said. Shri Niren Ghosh said that there is high and mighty attitude. There is no high and mighty attitude. All of us know that the North Eastern area is a sensitive area and, therefore, we want them to develop, we want all the people in that area to get into the mainstream of the national life. There are no doubts in that regard.

Fortunately or unfortunately, I happened to be the Chairman of the Sixth Finance Commission. If you see the allocations made to the eastern area,

[Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy]

whether it is Nagaland, whether it is Manipur, whether it be Meghalaya or whether it be Tripura or even Assam, you would see that it would add up to Rs. 1,000 crores, it is all revenue expenditure. I am not suggesting to you about the Plan, if you see the Plan it is in the words of the ex-Chief Minister of the U. D. F., Mr. Vizol.....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: From Bihar and Orissa down to the other States you have drained all their wealth. That is what you have done.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Please. But for you the Naga people and the U. D. F. will be much better.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: But for you the country would have been much better.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Thank you very much. I am sorry you disturbed my thought. The point is that if you only glance through the allocations made by the Sixth Finance Commission and compare it with what was done in the previous years you will find the difference. Even for meeting their ordinary revenue expenditure great allocations have been made though if you count the heads it is a meagre population. Even so we know our responsibility. Apart from that Nagaland is a border State. Even in the North Eastern Council additional amounts have been allocated to take care of some other needs. You would also have seen during discussions and during Question Hours what a fairly reasonable effort has been made by the administration there, by the previous Governments in Nagaland. Communications have been developed fairly but much more remains to be done.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHIA: On a point of order. We are discussing about the President's Proclamation. What is the relevance? What we need to discuss is its political right, not this economic aspect.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Members have referred to various things and he has to reply to them.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: When I went to Nagaland I have seen with my own eyes a sugar factory coming up. A cement factory has been promised from the Central sector. I do not know the amount, but a huge paper mill running into, probably, Rs. 100 crores is proposed to be set up in that area. Therefore, you cannot say that the Naga area or the North Eastern area is being neglected in the matter of development. But, Sir, in spite of the fact that this is our attitude, in spite of the fact that we want all Naga people, not only Naga people but all the people living in the eastern area to get into the mainstream of the national life, it will be obvious to you that there is an element of underground who are disturbing the peace and tranquillity in the area; they may be just a few hundreds. I need not quote here again that several attempts have been made here not only to sneak into a foreign power's area to get arms and ammunition as also to get psychological inspiration. When you see these attempts, when you see certain gangs trying to cross over, luckily the Security Forces were competent enough to intercept them and catch them. When you see such a thing going on, it is difficult for any Central Government to keep quiet. We have to meet the situation. It is no use if my friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, or his counterpart in the other House, says that the security forces are committing atrocities. These wild allegations do not take us anywhere. They are doing a difficult job. I do not know if Mr. Niren Ghosh had ever entered that area..

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Why not send a parliamentary delegation of all parties? Let us go and see.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are very eager to go there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I will apologise before the House if I am proved wrong. Are you prepared to accept it?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You have your point of view and you will never change also, I know, whatever may be said to the contrary. It is not as if I am trying to waste my breath on you, but I am trying to explain to the House and to the public at large the several steps that have been taken to improve the lot of the people of Nagaland, to get them into the mainstream of national life. But I must say definitely that the Central Government cannot be soft to the insurgents, to the underground, who are creating disturbances in that area. I can say that the Naga people generally want peace, want development, want their own customary laws to prevail. All that they want is that their culture should be protected. All that is done even under our Constitution. But still on account of a fear, fear of the underground, for recruitment or for money or for this or for that, they also feel that they are not allowed to have a peaceful time. It is necessary, therefore, that we should have a stable Government. A stable Government is the first requisite for any economic betterment. It is a necessity. It is a necessity for any State. Even more so, in a State of this situation, it becomes very necessary that you should have a very stable Government which can command the confidence not only of the legislature but of the people. Therefore, my submission to the House would be that this Proclamation was necessitated by the situation which is of their own creation. I need not go into the other question how the UDF Government was formed and how it was toppled or how some other Ministry lost its majority or did not lose its majority. I do not know. But just because a news report came that some people are trying to join the Congress, you cannot just rush to the conclusion that the NNO is in league with the Congress. We are not concerned with the Congress. We are concerned with

the stability of the State of Nagaland and its development and its people getting into the mainstream of national life. This is the intention of the Central Government.

Sir, from what I have stated, it is absolutely clear that there is no high and mighty attitude. There will not be neither with regard to Nagaland nor with regard to any other State. Our attitude will be to help restore peaceful conditions, to have, if possible, a stable Government. Therefore, it should be the Governor's responsibility also not only to run the normal administration but to keep in mind the development effort that will have to take place unimpeded in that area. I hope it will be possible for him to do so. I do not want to trouble the House further and I request Mr. Advani, Mr. Lotha and the people of his persuasion to feel that there is no Central Government intervention. We are not interested in creating unstable conditions in a sensitive State like Nagaland.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on the 22nd March, 1975, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Nagaland, be revoked."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 22nd March 1975, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Nagaland."

The motion was adopted.