

[श्री राजनारायण]

को स्टेनलैम स्टील के आयात लाइसेंस के मामले में कृष्णकांत द्वारा पूछे गये प्रश्न के उत्तर पर प्रधान मंत्री के सामने जाकर लोगों ने उनके आचरण पर टीका टिप्पणी की। तो उन्होंने कहा कि इसको यहां नहीं उठा सकते। उन्होंने कहा मैं इसकी सहमति नहीं देता हूँ और अब जब उन्होंने सहमति नहीं दी तो फिर हमारा नियम यह कहता है कि उस समय आप चेयर से कहिये कि चेयर हमारे विशेषाधिकार अवहेलना के प्रश्न की प्रति जो सेक्रेटरी को मिली है उसको पढ़ कर सुना दें और उसको सुनाने के बाद फिर आदेश दें, उसकी हम अवहेलना करें तो कहें।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप बैठ जाइये। मैं फिर कह रहा हूँ कि यहां पर कोई ऐसी अवस्था नहीं है कि उसे पढ़कर सुनाया जाए। इसलिए इसमें कोई विशेषाधिकार का प्रश्न नहीं उठता है, इसमें कोई प्रिविलेज मोगन नहीं बनता है।

**CALLING ATTENTION TO A
MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC
IMPORTANCE**

**Hostile Activities by underground
Nagas**

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the recent incident of unrest in Nagaland and hostile activities by the underground Nagas there and the reported statement of the President of the United Democratic Front made in this connection.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT): Sir, the violent activities of the underground Nagas have been recently on the increase and security operations have had to be stepped up. During the current year up to July 31, 1974, the underground Naga? have been responsible for 58 violent incidents in Nagaland. Of these, 32 violent

incidents in which 25 security forces personnel and 12 civilians were killed and 10 security forces personnel and 2 civilians were injured took place after the United Democratic Front Party came to power on February 26, 1974.

Government's attention had been drawn to the report in the 'Hindustan Times' of August 4, 1974 about its Correspondent's interview with Smt. Shaiza, President of the United Democratic Front Party. Smt. Shaiza and her husband have also met me twice during the last few days. Government feel that the President of the United Democratic Front of Nagaland is taking a wholly unrealistic view of the recent developments in Nagaland. She is evidently in sympathy with the attitude and approach of the underground. Such an attitude would neither help the cause of peace in Nagaland nor remove apprehensions that the UDF as a party is not serious about its responsibilities in resisting (lie illegal and anti-national activities of the underground. Her reference to the UDF eliminating some more of their opponents politically, if not physically, is bound to have serious repercussions, though I must mention that in her talk with me she denied having used the words "if not physically".

Government are taking all necessary measures to deal with the violent activities of the Naga underground effectively under law. There can be no question of any dialogue with the insurgent Naga hostiles who are indulging in treasonable activities.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, at the outset, I have to congratulate the Government on their very firm and positive statements which they have made on the insurgent activities of the underground Nagas and also about the lukewarm sympathy of the UDF and the President of the UDF Party with the insurgents which is creating security problems in the border areas of this country.

Sir, as has been rightly pointed out. the interview given by Mrs. Shaiza is very provocative. On the one hand. Sir, she is trying to get a political solution to this longstanding issue and she says that the chances of settlement are bright. This is

what she says. On the other hand, she is advocating something else. I would like to quote from her statement:

"To see these incidents in any other light would be to betray the ignorance of the Naga ethos which demands that murder without justification should not go unavenged."

Sir, I do not understand what the Xaga ethos is. This is just a barbaric statement made by the President of the UDF. There is a democratic Government there and there is this elected Government. Whatever may be the problems of the UDF or of these insurgents, they can get the solutions to their problems within the framework of law and under the democratic set-up which is there. So, Sir, I would like to bring this to the notice of the Home Minister and would request him to denounce such statements which encourage insurgent activities on a large scale.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to know whether the recommendations of the President of the UDF Party to have direct talks has any relevance at all since the talks can be held by the UDF Government with the Government of India and a solution can be found under the present set-up. But direct talks should not be there since they will encourage hostilities and lawlessness.

Thirdly, Sir, along with (his, I would like to know whether the Ministry of Home Affairs or the Home Minister himself has inquired whether there are any positive links between Mr. Phizo and Mrs. Shaiza either as relatives or otherwise and, also, whether there is, what you call, an overt or covert sympathy on the part of the UDF Government for these insurgents. Unless drastic steps are taken, these things will create more problems for our country.

Then, Sir, I would like to make one more point. These are all border States, Nagaland, Mizoram, etc. and they are being encouraged by our enemies like China and Pakistan. I would like to know whether, because of this, Mrs. Shaiza is hankering upon the possibility that there is a way out and also whether the Government has

considered the possibility of finding solution in between the two extremes of complete independence for the State Government and complete integration with India. (I want to know whether they have explored the possibility to satisfy politically the UDF Government.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Sir, (lie hon. Member has, in the first instance, raised two points; regarding the Government of India taking a firm attitude towards hostile, insurgent activities of the Nagas and also that there can be no dialogue with such insurgent elements. In general terms I have already expressed clearly the attitude and policy of the Government of India and, therefore, I have no hesitation in saying that I find myself in agreement with the approach which he has spelt out just now.

The third point he has raised is that of the relationship of Mrs. Rano Shaiza. Sir, it is well known that she is the niece of Mr. Phizo who is in London and he has been from time to time trying to give guidance to the underground activities. Naturally, I believe that there may be some other personal, domestic or family contacts or relationships. Some of these underground Nagas had been kidnapped from the villages. Then over a period of time they get accustomed to and acclimatized and indoctrinated in the methods of underground activities but the fact that they are related to somebody in some village or other is not ruled out, is not eliminated.

Sir, the fourth point that he has raised is the possibility of amicable settlement of the problem. The whole approach of the Government of India during all these ten or eleven years has been to take an attitude of understanding, even sympathy so as to understand the mind of the Naga tribes, Naga people and that is why from time to time the Government of India have been giving opportunities to all individual Indians and Nagaland citizens to find out the mind of the underground. If there were any indication that they have any proposal for settlement within the four corners of the constitutional position which has been recognised for Nagaland, we would always be willing to consider that and even in future we shall look forward

[Shri Umashankar Dikshit] to any occasion, any opportunity, any proposal for amicable settlement. If it is a matter of industrial or economic development, if there is any grievance about a manner of administration which is not suitable to their tradition or way of living, anything that they think is retarding the progress of citizens of Nagaland, better conditions of living, prosperity and self-respecting life, we are always ready to consider such grievances or aspirations or problems. But, Sir, at present, the fact is that after the taking over of the Government of Nagaland by the UDF Ministry, alter the elections and particularly alcti the statement* made b\ the UDF T'anv of which Smt. Shaiza is the leader, they have felt encouraged; the underground have felt greatly encoirraged by the statements and general attitude expressed In them. Even the Chief Minister at one time was not certain aboui the line of action that the Government should take but by his experience of the last few months I think he has realised the dangerous implications of the Government of Nagaland not taking a clear and linn line of action particularly in regard to violance, insurgent violence, kidnappings, intimidation for enrolment and collection of fines etc.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, one point he has not replied. I brought to the notice of the Home Minister thai the statement of Mrs. Rino savs murder foi murder, etc. is the theory of these Nagas. I would like to know' whether the Home Minister has brought to the noiiee of Madam Rino lhat this statement has got a dangerous impact on the democratic set-up of this countrv.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: I entirely agree. This is precisely the point that has been emphasised.

SHRI SCATO SWU (Nominated): Sir, if there was am man in Nagaland who was loyal to Mr. Phizo, ii was I. If there uas any man who carried out the directions and orders of Mr. Phizo, it was I. But then later on serious differences arose between him and me on sortie important issues. To him sovereignty of Nagas would be possible. I said il would nevet lie possible. There would be no nation which would

be able to force India to recognise the sovereignty of Nagaland. He said we should have faith in the barrel of the gun. I said, no; Nagas would never have salvation through the barrel of the gun. He said, international intervention was required. I said, had external physical intervention been possible, there would have been a greater catastrophe and suffering to the Naga people and it would help Naga« in no way. There are two recognised poli tical parties in Nagaland: Nagaland Nationalist Organisation and United Democratic Front. In Nagaland three general elections had been conducted where the whole population had participated. So I do not agree with the statement given by Mrs. Rino tvhen she said Nagas arc sensitive and they do not want to be equated with any others. Three general elections have been held in Nagaland which fact itself justifies that Naga- are Indian citizens.

So I do not agree when she says thai Nagas are sensitive and they do not want, to be equated with others. Note the word "sensitive", I do not know much of English. But there are some educated people who havfi very good knowledge of English iii Nagaland. So this word may create some indignation in Nagaland when she describes Nagas as sensitive, becaus(it ha* got some bad meaning; and then, when she says Nagas do not want to be equated with others, does she refer il to herself also? I would like to ask whetliet this question refers to herself or not. Now, according to my information there are two factions in the underground. One pails still believes in the Naga Nationalist Council which is in London. They say thai Naga Nationalist Council should lie given the authority to bring about a settlement to the Naga problem because the) are in a position to influence and convince all the people who would be able to sponsor the case of Nagas. And that is why all the trouble and so main murder eases take place. This part) is responsible for all the murder cases in Nagaland. According to this part) th< sovereignty of Nagaland is tiiiiiiignifiable Recently eleven murders of Naga Aimed Police have taken place. Then, the other part) says thai the\ would like to be within the Indian Onion, \nd so far as the attitude of the Cm eminent of India low,ml-, the underground movement is concerned, I should sav, as has been said by the Home Minister just now,

it has been very sympathetic towards these people. The Government of Nagaland offered chances of talks with the underground people from 1964 to 197." But the underground people did not avail of the opportunity offered. So, I should say, the position of the Government of India is very much clear and justified. Now the underground activities have been very much accelerated, as has been pointed out by the hon. Home Minister. Mr. V. V. Giri. The Chief Minister of Nagaland has released a statement on July 22. The Chief Minister, Mr. V. V. Giri, warned that his Government would not tolerate any act of violence and said that stern action would be taken to deal with the situation. He said, "I am shocked to learn the attack on Khonoma where two persons were shot dead by unidentified persons last night." And also, in another village, 11 police personnel were killed in an ambush by the underground Nagas.

Sir, the Security Forces should be instructed to help Mr. V. V. Giri in his attempt to bring about normal situation of law and order in Nagaland, so that he may be able to justify his statement, given on the 22nd July, that he would take stern action against the underground people.

Sir, regarding the matters of religion, the Nagas should not be disturbed in any way in whatever religion they profess because, to Nagas religion is more than life. In those days their religious worship was disturbed and the church buildings were burnt down. That is why, I should say that the Government should take proper steps in order not to disturb the religion that prevails in Nagaland.

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the religion there?

SHRI SCATO SWU: Christianity.
Sir,

I am sorry to say that the Nagas are still living in the condition of semi-civilisation. The Nagas are economically backward but they are not mentally backward. They are mentally very resourceful. They are very hard working people. They have the highest sense of dignity and labour. But I am sorry to say that their work that they do, their method of approach is primitive. So, they cannot help others very much in

any way they wanted to do. It was the policy of the British Government to keep the Nagas as ignorant as possible. Sir, according to me, ignorance is very harmful and dangerous to the society because I had a good proof of it during those 18 years of underground life. During those days, I did not get any contribution, any support or any goodwill from the educated class in Nagaland except from the poor villagers and ignorant people because the educated people knew that Naga sovereignty would be an impossible thing and so, they did not participate. Sir, I would like to appeal to the Government of India that proper education should be given to Naga people. As I see, the education system today in Nagaland is very defective. Only class 4th or 5th class passed people are teaching in schools. They do not have any knowledge of the children's psychology or mood. So, I request the Government of India to have a review of the education system there. Sir, can you

imagine anybody living in absolute nakedness in the spare age of today? Can you imagine anybody taking a journey for two or three days or five or six days on foot carrying everything on his head? Can you imagine any people living in hopeless conditions of life, who are ill-clad, ill-sheltered and ill-fed? I should say that this is the case with the Nagas. (Some per cent of Naga people live almost in naked condition. I should, therefore, say that it is the duty of the Government of India. There are many naked people in Russia and U.S.A. I saw some naked people in the Connaught Place. They are naked because they are fed up with using clothes. That is why they are naked. That is not the case with the Nagas. They want to have clothes but they do not have. See the contrast. I think it is the wrong policies of the Government of India which have neglected Nagas and caused this rebellion. So, I would request the Government of India to take a serious view about this problem and take steps to develop and improve upon Nagaland.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, now you will have to wind up.

SHRI SCATO SWU: I was told by some responsible people who came to Nagaland from China that Chinese had told Nagas and assured them that as their territory

[Shri Scato Swu.] was very small and their number of population is very few and as they could not do anything by themselves, China would come to their help, do everything, develop their country and then go back. That is the assurance of China given to Naga people. So, I should say that the Government of India should take a serious view towards the whole north-eastern sector of the country. If that area is neglected, the country will be very much exposed to danger.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I fesej now vou wind up.

SHRI SCATO SWU: Now, the loyalty of the present Government in Nagaland is very much in dispute. Now, I would suggest that in the event of such difficulties, the Governor should be allowed to be in full picture. According to the Home Minister's statement the other day in the Lok Sabha, the law and order situation is very much in utter confusion because when the Security Forces arrested several Naga underground people and handed over, the police refused to accept them, the I.G.P. refused to accept these underground people who were arrested. Now, the Security Forces should be strictly instructed not to touch the civilian population in any way because in those days by touching the civilian population, they sided with the underground people. So, these villagers should not be touched nor any physical harassment should be caused to them.

Now, I would like to ask the Home Minister whether it would be possible for the Government of India to hand over the law and order matter to the State Government, so as to see whether they would actually or not? That is what I want to know from carry out the things that need to be done the Home Minister?

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Sir, the hon. Member has made very valuable suggestions and he has given the House in his own excellent style the background information on the basis of which we should look at the problems of Nagaland.

He has not put questions, except at the end. But there are implied questions—about a couple of them or so—to which I would briefly reply.

Sir, Mr. Scato Swu has occupied a very responsible position. Therefore, he knows as much about the underground as the administration overground, and he is a patriot and is deeply interested in the progress of his State. His advice deserves our most serious and sympathetic consideration . . .

{Interruptions}

Sir, he mentioned the NNO, Naga Nationalists Organizations, the party which was in power until recently, when after the elections in February the UDF took over office. He was referring to their attitude. I would like to say that not only the NNO, but, by and large, a large majority of the population are peaceful people; they are fed up with this kind of interminable warfare that goes on due to the intransigent, recalcitrant attitude of the Naga leaders who are underground. Some Members of Parliament who went there said, on coming back, that we should understand this fact that the people there really want peace and their life and property and their way of living should be protected. And that is the policy which the Government of India is following. So the hon. Member should be assured that in that matter, that is, in the matter of religion not being affected adversely in any manner, the Government of India realises the necessity of taking suitable measures. He also said that the Government of India should realise the necessity of taking suitable measures for the economic development of the State. He said, Sir, rather in a moving manner how the large majority of the people in Nagaland are in a poor economic condition and, therefore, we have to modernize the methods of economic development, of production and so on and also improve the methods of education. Sir, the problem as he himself has pointed out, is that due to the attitude, the persistently hostile attitude, of the underground Nagas encouraged by various factors, including encouragement from abroad, it has been exceedingly difficult to achieve or effectuate the various plans of development that we have for the Naga people.

He also said that we should take a serious view of the attitude of China about this matter. I have learnt for the first time about the assurance which the group which had gone to Unan province of China was given by the Chinese authorities. It is a

vet) serious matter, and we shall certainly take this information into consideration.

Lastly, he said two things. First, that the Governor should be in full picture so far as the enforcement of peace and order in Nagaland is concerned. Secondly, lie said that the Chief Minister should be given the facility and opportunity to enforce necessary measures of law and order in the State of Nagaland. In both respects, I agree with him. The position is that there are three factors there; the peculiar situation at the border, from the point of view of border security, the underground Nagas, and the developpraem of the State. i In re is the Governor who has got a special lonstitutional responsibility for looking after peace and order then-, and the Ciicif Minis lei is responsible lor security and main-tenance of law and order, prevention of timn, and so on. Also, there is the Holder Security Force which functions tn the specified conditions. But »ti far as the internal security or. internal management of law and older is concerned, the Chief Minister will get, and is getting, the necessary fari-litie..

JHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal): Sir, recently some great incidents have been happening in Nagaland. I find in *The Hindustan Times Weekly* of August 4: The headline is—TALKS WITH REBEL NAGAS FAVOURED. In it, the Hindustan Times Correspondent gives a statement of Mrs. Shai/a, Piesident of the United Democraric Front. Sir, at this critical moment, a difficult position exists in Nagaland from various sides. Naga problem is not a ntw problem to us. Many force* are acting behind Naga problem in and outside the land. Still, Nagaland problem should be approached from various sides also, socially, politi-. economically and ratbtr emotionally. Naga people are very emotional. From the statement, I would like to state some salient points which have been made by the President of UDF and I want a clarification horn the hon. Minister about the reaction of the Government in regard to this statement made by the President of UDF. First, "Mrs. Shai/a denied that the UDF was an overground extension of the underground movement or was in anyway responsible for the recent happenings." There must be some positive approach from the side of the Government towards UDF as to what should

be the relation in future with this organisation which is trying its best to help the situation towards a peaceful and amicable settlement.

Sir, the second point of Mrs. Shai/a is: "She is quite convinced that the situation *in* Nagaland cannot be normalised unless there is some sort of a dialogue between the rebels and the Government". They have got some idea to start the dialogue, to continue the dialogue and have a positive approach. My point is whether the Government will take <uch part with the LtJF to continue such a dialogue or not.

The thiid point is: "She denied thai since the UDF had come into power, any underground Nagas had gone to China fbi military training". How far <an it be ascertained whether it is true or not? Government should go deeply and seriously and confident!) and with a conviction and see how far they can settle this matter.

Lastly, "Most of the incidents were acts of revenge on the part of the Naga rebels against the highhandedness of the security forces". I do not know how far it was an act of highhandedness against the rebels. Security forces at ted in U.P., in Bengal and in Uihai or anywhere else and whether tlirv acted similarly in Nagaland. That is nn question whether emotional side was neglected there.

Then, Sir, it says: "UDF was firmly committed to the view that peaceful permanent solution of the political question must involve tiie initiators of the Naga independence movement. *Wc* have not been able to bring about a dialogue \et but given a chance and a propel climate I am sure we can Mill do it," and continue it for that peaceful and amicable settlement.

Sir, all this has been read from the paper. It is disturbing the political minds as well as all sorts of regional minds also and I want clarification from the hon. Home Minister on this peculiar situation of Nagaland.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Sir, nobody has said on behalf of the Government of India that UDF is an extension of

[Shri Umashankar Dikshit.] Ilic underground Naga hostiles nor liave we said that the party or the President of the UDF party is or was personally responsible for the incidents that have taken plate or that they have engineered or encouraged them. Nobody lias said that. What I said, Sir, in the other House, the other day, was about their attitude of sympathy expressed from time to time, particularly at an early stage after a violent incident, and then later when some hostile Nagas were killed. At a meeting of the party, the President of the party expressed sympathy and expressed condolences.

anu. Sir, it is a conflict between insurgency and the lawfully constituted Government of Nagaland. And the party itself expressed sympathy on the side of the casualties suffered by the Underground, but not a word of sympathy for the families of persons who were killed from the security forces or others who maintain law and order. This son of attitude, we Felt, has encouraged the Underground. I might also add that the Underground do not need much encouragement from am body. There has been a consistent policy with the hard core of Naga hostiles. The hard core has been consistently following one line, a kind of warlike attitude, and at no time have they given up that idea. Moreover, theit demand is lor an independent Naga-land with sovereignty. Therefore, our altitude is this. If they can give Mrs. Raino Shai/a or anybody else alter meeting them - because they seem to be in some contact with each otuer—some indication of what is wanted it would be helpful, lite Chief Minister lias said that what he wants is within the existing constitutional status of Nagaland. That, being so, there must be some minor matters in which he is interested. Now, if we can get some idea about it, then certainly the matter could be con-sidiinl. For that it is not necessarx that there should be some sort of negotiation as if between two high contracting parties. Without getting some such indication the Government of India cannot conceive of a talk or a dialogue on the question whethel we Should have a recognised independent Nagaland and so on. That is the main point which hiis i<> be considered. No such indication has come from the party leader or am body else. Then, they said that the Nagas had not gone to China after the UDF had come into power. We have riftvei

said thai they had. What happened is this. A group of Nagas went to Yunan province in China earlier. They received training there from the Chinese in guerilla warfare. Only recently lley returned and the) hate joined the Naga hostiles. Since (hen the situation has become worse. So, merely explaining that they have not sent any new people for training does not help. What is their altitude towards those who have come back? They have not been condemned. Then, the hon. Member asked about the source, to which a reference was also made by another hon. Member and explained that they acted in retaliation, that lhc\ did so in revenge. A little reflection will show that this is a dangerous explanation and ii is very difficult to understand. All these tunes it was not as if we provoked this insurgency. It is the Underground who started it. The} have formed a federal government. They have got a Federal army, a 'federal general' and 'a federal president'. They started conflict and the) Say they did it in retaliation for what we did. Now, it the Border Security lone or the police act and there are some casualties, thru they want to take revenge. I his is a stand which cannot be understood ot interpreted in charitable terms.

Then, there was also a reference to a propel climate. Again our difficulty is this. The pain leaders and party people are trying to persuade us to create that climate. Thej should go to thai own people. They should go to the Naga Underground and persuade them to create a climate and stop this kind ol forcible conversion, forcible enrolment, kidnapping and all such activities. The Nagaland people are carried away from their villages. All these activities are very much on the increase.

Ilicrdoie, if really and sincerelv it is intended to create a proper and suitable climate for settlement, then the party leaders and others should try and persuade them by letter or by message or in any other waj that they can think of. And we understand that it is not difficult for them to come into informal contact with the Naga Underground.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Orissa): In a sensitive border area of Nagaland or the North Eastern region, am action which weakens the security of country must be put down with a heavy and firm hand. The Minister replied that since February, 1974, there had been 58 casualties, and span

Divisional Commander of the rank of Major General had been shot down, and 11 policemen have also been killed, thereby indicating that there has been a lapse in the security effort or that there are some gaps in the security system. In his reply the Minister also said that he is stepping up the security arrangements and that they are trying to effectively counter the step-by-step-up of hostile activities, which again indicates or reflects, if one reads between the lines of the Minister's reply, that the security steps so far taken there have not been up to the mark and there is still a lot to be desired.

Sir, there are multiple security agencies there. One is the Army, the other is the Border Security Force and there is, of course, the Nagaland police. And the Government of India must be having its own agencies. I would like to know whether these various agencies mentioned had given them any intelligence report before these incidents took place and, if so, whether the Government had alerted the UDF Government there to take adequate preventive action and, if so, whether effective preventive action was taken, and in spite of all this, these killings and the shooting down of the Divisional Commander took place and 58 casualties among the security and civilian staff took place? Also from his reply, one gets the impression that probably there are elements within the UDF Government who are not very sincere in following the security steps there. I would also like to know whether there had been any member of the UDF Government who had been preventing taking action by the security agencies on any of the underground hostiles or whether anyone is giving protection to any of these underground hostiles? And also whether this spate of violence is in retaliation to some preventive steps having been taken by any of the security agencies functioning there?

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: The main point to remember is that when the last General Election took place in Nagaland before that the Naga-Underground stepped up their activity and our forces were rather distributed or spread over in connection with the arrangement for the election work. And the then Chief Minister and the Government had taken adequate and full measures.

ordination with the then Governor. The situation was continuing more or less as it was before. But during the election period, suddenly the number of such incidents increased within a matter of about two weeks. And you will find that in the month of January, the number of incidents was one and including minor ones it was four, but in February, it was 25. Subsequently also for April and May it was 8 and 4 respectively. The last one in July was more serious when a platoon was ambushed, and there the eleven constables were killed. That is why the number has gone up. The hon'ble Member should remember the peculiar terrain, the topographical position and how the Naga underground are distributed all over the place. There are no barriers at the boundaries. That is, there are villages to which anyone can go at night, at odd hours. There cannot be so much army or Border Security Force as to have its presence all over the place. I hope the hon'ble Member will not want me to go into too many details. I would, however, like to assure him that we are fully aware of the situation. Only the change that has come about under the new government should be understood. We have reviewed the situation in consultation with the Defence Ministry. Further consideration is going on for suitable steps. But, Sir, I would like to repeat: although we are determined to take a firm line of action to prevent such activities and to meet the situation adequately, we do not propose to close our minds for all times. If there is any reasonable approach for a settlement within the four corners of the constitutional position, we do not propose to reject it.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: Sir, I asked two specific questions. One was whether there was any retaliation to any provocation by the Security Forces, and secondly whether any body from the J.D.F. is preventing action being taken by the Security Forces against the underground.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: It is not possible to say whether the U.D.F. themselves are preventing it. I here was one case reported. There were certain cases pending before courts against people arrested for certain illegal activities and the punishments awarded are reported to have been minor or not serious. But we have not examined the cases and we cannot

[Slid Umashankar Dikshit.]

come 10 any specific conclusion whether this was done deliberately.

As regards retaliation, Sir, I have already answered the question. It is an insurgent body at war with Nagaland and as regards the question of what is retaliation and what is vengeance, they have been carrying on serious insurgent activities against Nagaland and India. The Government's Security forces are trying to meet the situation.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I raised several questions here primarily to clearly understand what the Government of India's policy is. It is an undeniable fact that even after 25 years the Government of India has failed to establish normalcy in Nagaland. It is also undeniable that the Naga people in the last elections in February, 1974 voted to power a Government which had argued for a different approach in the handling of the Naga underground people. The hon'ble Minister said that 91 per cent, of the people in Nagaland are peace-loving and are with the rest of the country. Now roughly 80 per cent, of the people exercised their franchise and a government was voted into power which had an approach different from that of the Government of India. It stated very clearly in its election manifesto . . .

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: AH of them did not vote. Only 80 per cent voted.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You were voted to power by 32 per cent, in U.P.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Let him stick to the point that he is making.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I said that 80 per cent, of the people exercised their franchise and they voted into power a party which in its election manifesto argued for a different approach from that of the Central Government . . .

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: That is not correct.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: ... and the previous Governments. There is no

doubt that Nagaland is a part of India and there is nobody who can change it. But has the Government of India's policy made absolutely clear to the Naga people that Nagaland is part of India. For example till June 1, 1972 the Nagaland affairs were handled by the Ministry of External Affairs,

I P.M.

Only on June 1, 1972, was this shifted to the Home Ministry, "that is, for 25 years after independence this matter was with the Foreign Ministry. Now, does it not create a separatist outlook? What has the Government of India done to foster unity? The Home Minister on the floor of the House talked of "Indian citizens" and "Nagaland citizens". It is a slip, I know. But it reveals the subconscious. Has he made up his mind in the subconscious that Nagaland is part of India and he would treat the Nagaland people as integral part of the Indian mainstream?

Now about the kind of Governors that are appointed. Mr. B. K. Nehru, when he was going to take up his London post, was asked how he would perform in London. Dressed in a three-piece suit and tie he replied: "I am not as ignorant of England as I am of NEFA". This was his reply. It was supposed to be funny, but again the subconscious of the Government of India is revealed through its representatives.

What has the Government done for development in Nagaland? Till 1969 the total Plan investment was just Rs. 8 crores. What is Rs. 8 crores? I am told Mr. Yashpal Kapur spends Rs. 8 crores in one night, what to talk of Nagaland development in Rs. 8 crores? The Nagaland pulp and paper factory has been on the blue-print stage for the last seven years, but nothing has happened, if you look at the Industrial Development Ministry's report, we seem to be going in the opposite direction. I am raising these questions because I am confused. I regard Nagaland as a part of India. I want a solution to be arrived at. But has the Government of India really approached this problem in this integrated way? For example, the UDF is in a majority there and one statement of the President of the UDF is quoted. I will quote a statement of the President of the UDF which

has not been mentioned by any of the speakers here. She was asked: "What about independence for Nagaland?" She said:

"It is true that since 1947 Nagas have never regarded themselves as a part of India. But in the changing context of the situation¹, the thinking amongst a large section has changed."

She is talking of the underground people, the five per cent who are not included in Mr. Dikshit's calculations.

Now, the President of the UDF came here and wanted to meet the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister was busy. As far as I have come to learn, the Prime Minister is usually busy. But when some representative, Mr. Jasoki, of the NNO—which was once the ruling party and which seems to have some connection with the Ruling Congress—arrived here on July 1, the Prime Minister met him. It came on the front page of the newspapers, whereas the President of the UDF waited here for how long, I do not know, may be 10 days, but there was no interview, no appointment. In other words, an impression has been clearly created that somehow the Government of India regards the UDF Government as undesirable. Otherwise I cannot imagine why there should be this unevenness in their treatment. I again ask the Minister: Is it not a fact that the way the Central Government behaves with Sheikh Abdullah is very much different from the way it is behaving with the UDF Government? Does the Government of India regard the UDF Government as a hostile Government? If it does, please state so, and the Parliament will definitely give me good advice as to how to deal with this Government.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few points. I have seen all the old newspapers to see whether I could collect some information. There were wild-cat arrests under the so-called Unlawful Activities Act of 1967 which was imposed in Nagaland in 1972. For example, there was an assassination attempt on the life of a former Chief Minister. The Government's prompt reaction was to arrest five MLAs of the UDF. They were charged with conspiracy to murder him. After two months, they were quietly released with an apology that they

were arrested on false information and an enquiry would be conducted as to how this false information was supplied to the Central Government. Such wild-cat arrests are bound to create the impression that the Government of India is not approaching the problem with objectivity. Similarly, Mr. Scato Swu raised the question of law and order. The Home Minister sidestepped the question and reformulated the question in a different way.

The fact is according to Article 57A(b) of the Constitution the Governor has complete power over the law and order problem. And the Governor takes a decision without consultation with the Chief Minister. Now what is the Governor doing? He sits in Shillong. He does not know what is happening in Nagaland. Mr. B. K. Nehru knows more about England than he knows about Nagaland. How does he know? A Special Secretary has been posted in Nagaland. The Special Secretary is a superannuated, retired Government official. I do not know why the Government keeps on appointing such people. I do not know why the Government still keeps this Special Secretary there who has many charges against him, including the charge about Nagaland lot-Urx. The Government should investigate into that. That Special Officer sends information to the Governor. And on the basis of that information the Governor is acting. In addition to all these questions that I have raised, in order to bring about a fair appreciation amongst Members of Parliament of that part of India, I would ask the Minister to take a delegation from here to Nagaland so that a complete picture is placed before Parliament, because I think you are not getting the kind of objective information you should get from Nagaland in view of all that I have said.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: I am sorry to say that the honourable Member has tried to import controversy into a matter which is a matter of national importance and national character, where every section of the House, every section of the people should take one general approach. We have neither had any inbuilt permanent hostility towards Naga people nor have we taken a view that even against violent insurgency we should take a quiet attitude of yielding to pressure or violence or intimidation. He has stated a number of things in a manner

[Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit]

as if he is more sympathetic with the Naga Underground . . .

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I must protest, Sir. I said Nagaland is a part of India and I would be willing to fight for it. I have been saying that the Government of India is creating a separatist mentality.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: He may object to it, but I can only say that he has created the impression as if the leader of the party is treated in a particular manner and the Chief Minister is treated differently . . .

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Can you deny these facts?

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Why is it mentioned! It is mentioned with a purpose, in that I am objecting and protesting. He said a number of things. I do not know what additional information he exactly wants. I have spoken at length and spell out the policy of the Government of India. He talks about 25 years. Yes, the problem of Nagas exists. There are problems, difficult and complicated problems, born of divisions created by the foreign Government, imperial Government, foreign agencies, which continue to create trouble, by even a neighbour like China where these people are going and getting training. There is a peculiar terrain. It is not an open plain where army men can go and soften the area. It is entirely a peculiar and complicated situation. Therefore, I would appeal to him and other Members of the House to understand the problem. There are difficult problems with which Governments have to live . . .

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: We want to go there and see.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Mr. Rain Niwas Mirdha is going shortly to visit Nagaland, Mizoram and Manipur. And then I propose to go there sometime in September. After the situation has come under better control, if necessary, other people can go. Members of Parliament did go earlier. I do not think that the present is a suitable time for such a move.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHIA (Nagaland): Sir, Nagaland problem is not a new thing. It has been there since before I was born. Nagas are known as head-hunters and backward and yet they have political aspirations. It was manifested in the year 1929 when Simon Commission came to Xaga Hills. Nagaland was then a subdivision in Assam. At that time, the British Government without consulting the Nagas included the Naga Hills in the Reform Schemes of India. So in 1929 about ten representatives of the Nagas presented a memorandum to the Simon Commission expressing their desire to be kept out of the reform scheme. From that we know the political aspirations of the Nagas. It can be traced back to a very early stage. We all agree and our Home Minister has agreed that the problem has been there. The problem is still there and it has been there. I am glad that an hon. Member today made a confession that he was in the underground and he was a leader. But he should not forget that it was due to the policy or approach of our party which was known as Democratic Party and later as the I.N. of Nagaland and which is now known as the United Democratic Front, that he is here. Our approach to the underground is different. Military and Army have been there and the atrocities committed on the innocent people are so much. Our policy is such that we want to bring all these people out of that movement. I have never been in the underground. I have always advocated peaceful settlement of this problem. As a young man I grew up in a situation where repressive measures were used by the Central Government against Nagas. So, the underground problem is very much there and we want to solve it once and for all. The only difference between the two parties, NNO and UDF is the approach towards the same problem. The Home Minister has proved on the floor of the House that he has some soft corner for the NNO. He has some sentimental attachment to them, perhaps. But it was because of the failures of the NNO Government towards the solving of this problem, that they are now in the opposition. We were in the opposition. We had to fight against the ruling party with all the machinery and money that they had in their hands. It was not easy for us to defeat them. It is not because I am good or not because Mr. Vizol is honest.

that we are in our respective positions. There are thousands of honest men who are not elected. But it was the desire of the people of Nagaland to see a different approach adopted towards the solution of this problem. We have a written manifesto. In it we have never said that we are not Indians. We have praised the Constitution. I have taken the oath in this House as a Member of this House and as a citizen of India. Still you have doubts about our party, there are interested quarters. They in to malign our party and our Government. Why do you blame if these people come back from China? Why do you blame this Government? It is supposed to be the duty of the security forces to guard the International borders. It is they who should be blamed, and not the State Government or the party for that.

And, Sir, just because they have entered there, should the security forces go on harassing the innocent villagers? We are all elected people and there is the democracy. If at all democracy is there in Nagaland, then, law and order should be in the hands of the State, that is, the State Government. But why is it that it is still in the hands of the Governor as has been pointed out already? The Governor does not know what is actually happening there. But he is being given reports which are all false. Sir, I should say that in this country not only food is adulterated, but even information is adulterated and such a kind of information is sent to the authorities poisoning the minds of the Central Government against us. We have taken the Oath here, oath of allegiance to this country and we want to bring them round. But the difference is in our approach. Our approach to the problem is different. There have been cases of sabotage and since we got elected, they tried to create many things. Not only this. Politicians including the administrators play their role. There is the Special Secretary to the Governor who has been sending false information to the Central Government. I want an inquiry to be conducted into this and I have made an allegation against him: Why should he try to malign our party? He is the same person who said, when he was there as the Commissioner in Nagaland, "I have been sent here by God to rule and I shall ride." This is what he said and the same man today is the Special Secretary to the Governor! There is the Governor. But he is in

Shillong and he does not know what is happening. Sir, here is a paper "The Citizen's Voice", which is a local paper and I would like to quote from its editorial and I would quote the last paragraph. It says like this:

"The rest of India and the world will not believe that here in Nagaland we have Government-paid jawans in civilian dresses, wearing heavy Naga shawls and two sawed off stenguns underneath and roaming around the streets of the capital in the best traditions of Hitler's secret police. They have the capacity to create any situation. Even the most hardened public here are far from feeling secure in this most democratic country of Asia."

Sir, this is what is happening in Nagaland! This was published in the month of July. Sir, you may remember that Mr. [Amir] was a Deputy Minister of the Central Government and he was a Congress member when he was here and you know he has been defeated. You know very well about his policies and, yet, in the general elections, when he was defeated by our party member who is now in the Lok Sabha, he made an assessment of the situation and he has said why he was defeated in the election. He has written:

"The army operations have become a nightmare for the Nagas and the very sight of the army stirs up bitterness and helps to undo whatever good things have been done by the Government. The image of India has been projected through army action rather than through developmental activities."

This is what is still happening in Nagaland and this is the reason why these killings are continuing there and they are in the process of being continued. Another thing is there which you will not believe. This is something written by Mr. Rustomji, the Chief Secretary of Meghalaya. He has also said (his is his book):

"It was not until ten years later that the Naga Hills were granted the Central Administration after the embitterment of prolonged military operations. By then the gift had lost its grace and the feeling among the Nagas was that they had won their new status through their own

[Shri Klivoino Lotha
dogcdmss in tfee held rather than from any
sympathetic or enlightened approach on the
part of the Government and the people of
India."

{Time bell rings}

Sir, I request you to give me some more time because I have not spoken during the last few months and perhaps I will not like to speak much hereafter.

Before my coming here, I was working as a Press man. as a journalist, in a small newspaper, which was focussing all these things. We criticized the Government. We praised them. But we also criticized. Once I reported about an incident when three young girls were raped inside the church which is abandoned now by the security forces. They threatened me. Even my life was in danger. But I was not afraid. There are hundreds of instances. Poor villagers are suppressed. There is no civil liberty as it was written in our manifesto. We want to be a real and full democratic State of this country. We want to manage our own affairs. The Prime Minister herself has said, "You should solve your own problems". Then why do you send this army in lakhs? Recently, curfew was imposed in eleven villages, because the army wanted to search something since these incidents. The Chief Minister said that in order to avoid any harassment to the civil population the army should go along with the civil police and civil authorities. Well, in these eleven villages it was done according to the Chief Minister's desire. But in the next village known as Nerhema, there was a great deal of harassment caused to civil population without informing the civil authority. The poor villagers were herded in the open field, drenched in rain; as it was raining heavily. They were kept without food and they were harassed. These things are going on . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Wind up.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHIA: In the light of this there has been collusion as I said. The officers there malign us. They fall in line with the NNO party. We can use their services. But they are so much against us. All reports should be enquired into. I demand this as a Member of this House. Why should they send false, concocted reports or information to the Central Gov

ernment to poison their mind-- against us? The Minister has been saying something about our President Mrs. Rano Shaiza niece of Mr. Phi/o. The Government should be happy that his niece has taken her pledge to the constitution of India. She is also one of the sisters-in-law of the Chief Minister of Manipur, which he forgot to mention.

I want that the responsibility of maintaining law and order of our State should be transferred to our State Government, which is popularly elected, and that a delegation of all parties in Parliament should go and see and make an on-the-spot study, because the Government is receiving false reports. That delegation should see things for themselves.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: The hon. Member has made his speech rather in a condition of mental excitement. I would request him to approach this problem with a cool mind. Provocations do not help to solve any problem, and certainly not a complicated problem like this. He has made some accusations also which I rather wish he had not done. For instance, he has said that we have a soft corner for the earlier party. That is not so, although the new party came with the help of the independents out of 12 independents, 7 went to UDE and 5 went to the other side. Therefore, it is not as if the electorate gave them a clear majority directly. That is not so.

Now the main point which the honourable Member has made is...*{Interruption by Shri Subramanian Swamy}* Please do not interrupt me.

Mr. Lotha, when he makes a statement, should understand the implications of it. Mr. Lotha asked why I was referring to Mrs. Shaiza. That was because one honourable Member in the House asked me about her. Then he mentioned the designation of the President and wanted to know the relations. I: I wanted to tell you about it. I certainly would have mentioned her relationship with the Chief Minister of Manipur. *(Interruptions by Shri Klivoino Lotha)* Let him understand. Let him not interrupt and contradict unnecessarily. He has made another allegation which I repudiate and protest against, that

the Special Secretary to Llic Governor is making false reports. I have narrated to this House and the oilier House the actual events giving their numbers and dates and if the honourable Member wants, he can get the important dales and other details from me. Then it lie can tell me which of the incidents has been incorrectly reported by me on the basis of any wrong information received from the Special Secretary, let him do so. I receive reports from the Governor who is there as our representative

.....(*Interruptions*). I do not know uhv the hon. Member is repeatedly interrupting. He does no! know the fails and he goes on interrupting. I would ask him to listen lo me first. He should write to me if he has anything to say. I have said already that I accept full responsibility for the information about the number of incidents and periods and everything. .And I can give him more details. If he thinks that any of these facts are incorrect, let him write to me and I will make inquiries into thetn. And if there is any mistake. I will admit it; otherwise, he should withdraw such statements. It is not necessary for him to think that we draw any distinction between two parties or like one pari) more and another part) less. This is not so. This is not the tradition of litis country. The honourable Member seems to feel that the Underground insurgent Nagas should continue their hostile acti-liies, violent activities, while there should be no army, no border Security Force, no action should be taken, and that if we take action, against the underground then we aie being unkind or duel to those people. This is not a correct approach. So long as insurgency lasts, and such incidents continue to happen we have to afford protection, as much protection as is humanly possible, to the people and to our force* who are working there under very difficult conditions. They do not know of any time or place at which they might be ambushed because the terrain is such. Often while the security men are moving in vehicles suddenly the)¹ are ambushed. All the lime they have to hold their lives in their palms. Therefore. I would appeal to every Member of the House to appreciate the difficulties with which the men of the security force are faced and the conditions under which they are functioning. So far as hon. Member's misgivings are concerned, because he seems to entertain some

misgivings, I would like to tell him that they are not well-based. He should have-no misgivings about our attitude to the people- of Nagaland or about the new Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now *Mr.* Niren Ghosh.

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : मेरा एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। एक उन का चाजं सेक्योरिटी कोर्स के द्वारा रेप के बारे में था। उस का आप ने कोई जवाब नहीं दिया उस के लिए बतायें।

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Let him ask his questions. These questions ha .c been asked and replies giv< n.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West bengal): Two honourable Members from Nagalam] have spoken. I feel that (he *voice* of Mr. Scalo proved that it is the voice of the Government of India. The other Member who has spoken...

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Whose voice is yours, Mr. Niren Ghosh?

MIRI NIREN GHOSH: Sh voice? 1 represent the working class of the country, the working class of India.

the voice of the other Member.—Whether we like it or not: that is another thing is the voice of the Nagaland people. Lei thete be no mistake about it. Otherwise, ilie Government will come to a wrong judgement. Thai is win. I am saying that he should tiol feel wrong over it. Sir, at one lime there was peace negotiation but il was broken down. On what poinl and al what siage. we ate not fully informed th< el. i. lis. Then there was true.. And the truce was extended a number eel linns. but -till, it has not been solved and the question remains. Whether the Home Minister likes il or not. some of the questions posed by Mr. Swam) oi Mr. I.oiha must be answered. I apprehend and therein I feel the danger—do you want only a military solution to ibis problem':

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT:
No.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You say 'no' but tin practice seems to tell something otherwise. That is why the apprehension. For -ii years yon have adopted an attitude towards Kashmir and we said continuously that it was a wrong attitude. After 20 years. you have at least entered into negotiations. But at thuu time also, we persistently said. It is why, I would like to remind the Government of India. Now it is a fact that atrocities have taken place and the questions ol rapes are there. Even in West Bengal, allegations have been made that women prisoners, under-trial prisoners have been stripped naked. With the atrocities icni mitted on them, vagina and rectum have become one. Can \ou imagine that? Ha\e the] gone amuck? This would not solve the problem. These tilings should be enquired into. Members of Parliament have gone there, I would like to know of what party; I would feel assured if an all-party delegation is sponsored by the Government. They can go. Mrs. Shai/a has spoken thai her husband with the knowledge of the police and the BSI- visited an underground (amp. And [he next (lav after that, thai camp was attacked, she wanted to say— whether it is correct or not, I am not going info that—that these recent events are not political murders. Is it in response to thatr¹ I do not know because I have never gone there. So, I cannot sav that. But she has asserted thai a peaceful solution can be found. I demand that the atrocities must stop. II the HSf. which is being developed like a parallel army lo the standing .iraiv can run amuck, ii is a bad day for India. I he Vrmv'S image and the BSF's image is being tarnished before the eyes of the people. The Government should realize Ihis. I hcrfor. t'.ese things should stop. I request the Government to peacefully negotiate and settle it. Why not a fully autonomous Nagaland within the Union of India? We cm think of that. What do you mean by 'within the present framework'? Is the present framework like this in any Other State? If they have so much of aspiration, why not a fully autonomous Nagaland within the Union of India? And the financial resources i<> develop it? He has said that China has given the advice. Has Mr. Scato heard from China? lit' he heard himself? Has he been given this information by the Chinese:- Then, where

is the name of that China, we would like to know. It is a serious question for tin country il they do this. He should tell tin House . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI SCATO SWU: You do not know i he actual situation of Nagaland . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: if they do this he should tell t!ie House. He has said all this. Then, in all fairness he should give i In names.

dull rruptions).

SHRI SUA I () SU I : I want to sav tiiat.

AN HON. MEMBER: He comes from that area.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I am nol ug. He should inform this House whether he has personally heard this from the Chinese.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is Why he got up. When von ask him to inform, he gets up.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Let me finish formulating the questions. What are the names of those Chinese? What is their status? What have they -aid:- It becomes a little curious because they could oi i tipy thai plai e.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please come to the point.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Can he give the information to the House? We won't like anybody <>i any other country to interfere in our affairs. That is clear enough to us. We should make thai clear whether thai i China or Soviet Union or anybody else.

(Time lull rin[

I would like the negotiations to be resumed and il can be and it might be that a lully autonomous Nagaland within the Union of India might be possible.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. I am calling the Minister.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I., the military posture lie given up. Thai won't help. It has mil help, d lor L'i years.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Sir, I do not think he has put any new question which I have no answered already Fully. The general position that I have made out has been understood by me and I have made a note of it.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, मैं प्रश्नों के द्वारा घर मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करूँगा कि वे भी किसी दूसरे को न प्रोवोक करें और न खुद प्रोवोक हों।

श्रीमन्, कारण क्या है कि नागालैण्ड की समस्या आज तक उत्तरी हुई है? सन् 1946 से—एक प्रकार से देखा जाए तो—एक दल की सरकार है, ऐसा कहा जा सकता है, तो एक परिवार की सरकार है? क्या कारण है कि नागालैण्ड आज तक रह रह कर उभड़ता है? आज भी समाचार पत्र हिंदी के हिन्दुस्तान में देखा जाए तो उसमें नागालैण्ड के संघर्ष की चर्चा है कि 22 लाख रु० मुक्ति के लिए वे एकत्रित कर रहे हैं। मैं इसके बारे में कोई अपनी निजी जानकारी नहीं कर पाया हूँ। समाचार पत्रों में यहां तक लिखा हुआ है कि जो मौजूदा सरकार है, जो भूमिगत नागा हैं, उनको एक न एक प्रकार की सहूलियत देती है। मगर मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि यह सही है या गलत है। उसमें यहां तक भी लिखा हुआ है कि बहुत से लोग जो इस समय गिर-फ्तार किए गए थे उनको भी छोड़ दिया गया है और जो नागालैण्ड में उपद्रव मचाने के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं यह जो दिल्ली से प्रकाशित "हिन्दुस्तान" है उसमें आप पढ़िए उसका मतलब। यह सही बात हो, गलत हो, इसी सदन में 2 सम्मानित सदस्यों के 2 वर्णन हैं।

मैं फिर घर मंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा, इस पर रंज न हो। यदि मैं

यह कहूँ कि आज मौजूदा भारत की सरकार भारत-हित चिन्ता से मुक्त है...

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : विरोधी दल वाले मुक्त हैं।

श्री राजनारायण: देखा जाए—चाहे विरोध दल हों, चाहे माननीय सदस्य जो चेयरमैन बने हैं हमारी कमेटी के, घर-घर दिलाने के, चाहे वह हमको अपना शत्रु ही मानें....

श्री रणवीर सिंह : नहीं, दोस्त हैं आप।

श्री राजनारायण : कांग्रेस की ओर से तमाम पोस्टर छपे कि राष्ट्र के गिराने वाले राष्ट्र के शत्रुओं को हराओ।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री ओम् मेहता) : तुम शत्रु हो?

श्री राजनारायण: हम तो शत्रु नहीं हैं, लेकिन जो इस तरह की बात लिखता है वह शत्रु है और देश का शत्रु है।

श्री उपसभापति : आप नागालैण्ड के बारे में बोलें।

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन्, आप जानते हैं कि जो पोस्टरों में बात छपी है? श्री अटलबिहारी वाजपेयी, श्री चरण सिंह, श्री सी०बी० गृप्ता और श्री राजनारायण, इन सब को रावण का परिवार दिखलाया गया है। एक और दशहरा हों। आग से नहीं बल्कि बोट से। ये राष्ट्र के शत्रु हैं और उन्हें चुनाव में गिराओ।

इस तरह के तमाम पोस्टर उत्तर प्रदेश में छपे हैं। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नागालैण्ड की समस्या के बारे में...

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्वेश्चन।

श्री राजनारायण : क्वेश्चन मत कहो। जब हमने हिमालय की पालिसी के बारे में कहा था तो भारत सरकार ने हमारी बात हिमालय के बारे में नहीं मानी। जब हमने काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में पालिसी बतलाई थी, लेकिन भारत सरकार ने काश्मीर की बात नहीं सुनी। नित्यप्रति हम हिन्द महासागर के सम्बन्ध में नीति कहते आ रहे हैं, लेकिन भारत सरकार उस पर ध्यान नहीं दे रही है। इसी तरह से उत्तर पूर्वी सीमा अंचल के सम्बन्ध में विस्तृत जानकारी, माननीय घर मंत्री जी, डा० लोहिया जी को विदेश नीतियों पर पा जायेंगे। मैं माननीय घर मंत्री जी को बतला देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि वे इलाहाबाद में रहे हैं, डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया जी कांग्रेस के विदेश विभाग के इंचार्ज थे, तो उनके जितने नोट हैं और उनके बारे में जो इस सम्बन्ध में लेख हैं, किताबें हैं, उन्हें पढ़ा जाय, तो पता चल जायेगा कि नागालैंड के सम्बन्ध में उनकी क्या पालिसी थी?

आज नागालैंड को भारत के अन्य भागों से दूसरा समझा जा रहा है। इसका कारण क्या है? हम तो कहते हैं कि नागालैंड हमारा है और नागालैंड हमारे राष्ट्र का एक अंग है। कारण क्या है कि नागालैंड के लोग आज भी, आजादी के 27 साल के बाद भी, अपने को भारत का अंग नहीं मानते हैं। इसका कारण क्या है? उनमें ग़ज़ब दर्जे की गरीबी और दरिद्रावस्था है। उनमें शिक्षा की कमी है। क्या कारण है? न तो वहाँ पर शिक्षा है क्योंकि दोनों सदस्यों के बयानों को देख लिया जाय। इस बात को दोनों मानते हैं कि वहाँ पर खाने की कमी है, वहाँ पर शिक्षा की कमी है, वहाँ पर रहन सहन का स्तर नीचा है और वहाँ के लोग दरिद्रावस्था में रहते हैं। उनके पास उत्पादन शक्ति नहीं है। वे वानें सारी की सारी, दोनों सदस्यों ने कही है। केवल

मतभेद यह है कि एक माननीय सदस्य ने घर मंत्री जी से कहा है कि हम भारत सरकार के शुक्रगुजार रहे हैं कि वहाँ पर कुछ न कुछ किया है, लेकिन वह 'कुछ' कुछ नहीं है। सामान्य बात यह है कि जो स्वामी जी, जो सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य हैं, उन पर रंज होने से, गुस्सा होने से, वहाँ के लोग भारत के प्रति वफ़ादार नहीं होंगे। जो हमारे सम्मानित सदस्य, जो सरकार वहाँ पर बनी है, उसके दल के हैं, उनके रंज होने से भी काम नहीं चलेगा।

मेरा कहना यह है कि आज भारत के अन्य हिस्से के लोगों को नागालैंड के बारे में बहुत कम बातें मालूम हो पा रही हैं, इस बात को घर मंत्री जी मान लें। भारत की संस्कृति, भारत की सम्पत्ति, भारत की शिष्टता जो है, उसके बारे में नागालैंड वाले कैसे अवगत हों, इसके बारे में मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार ने क्या कार्य इस सम्बन्ध में किया है। मंत्री जी बतलायें कि इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ किया है? अगर इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं किया गया, तो इसका क्या कारण है? मैं मणिपुर के बारे में जानता हूँ, नागालैंड के बारे में जानता हूँ कि जो भारत सरकार के आफिसर वहाँ पर जाते हैं, वे अपने को यह समझ लेते हैं कि हम खुदा हैं। वे तो थोड़े बोलें। मैं तो यहाँ तक जानता हूँ और मुखारबिन्दु से सुन चुका हूँ, ऐसे आफिसरों को सुन चुका हूँ जो आफिसर हमारे मिला रहे हैं और उत्तर प्रदेश के जिलों में कलैक्टर रह चुके हैं। वे कहते हैं कि जब हम वहाँ पर जाते हैं तो फिर हमें कोई पृष्ठने वाला नहीं है। अब हमारे चाहे कोई कर्म हो, कुकर्म हो, सुकर्म हो, उनकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी हमारी है, क्वेश्चन करने वाला कोई नहीं है। यह बुराई उनके अन्दर आ जाती है और जब यह बुराई आ जाती है तो वे निरंकुश होकर वहाँ की जनता के साथ व्यवहार करते हैं, वहाँ

की जनता को हेय मानते हैं। भारत सरकार की ओर से जो अफसर वहां भेजे जाते हैं उनके अन्दर इस प्रकार की बुराई पैदा हो जाती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार उस बुराई को रोके और इन अफसरों के चालचलन, उनके व्यवहार, उनके रहन-सहन, उनके सम्बन्धों के बारे में केवल अपने अफसरों के मुँह से ही न सुने बल्कि वहां की जनता के लोगों से भी सुने। दूसरे सदस्यों ने मांग की है और मैं भी मांग करता हूँ कि एक पार्लियामेंटरी डेलीगेशन वहां जाय, हर दल के लोग जायं, जाकर सम्पूर्ण समस्याओं का अध्ययन करें और देखें कि सारी समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए क्या हो सकता है।

मुझे एक बात कहनी है। मैं बहुत ही सफाई के साथ अपने माननीय मित्र से, जो अभी बोले थे, कहना चाहूंगा और भाई नीरेन घोष को भी कहना चाहूंगा कि जरा हम लोग अच्छी तरह से सोच लें कि हम चाहते क्या हैं। नागालैंड भारत है या नागालैंड भारत नहीं है, एक सवाल यह भी इन लोगों की बातों को सुन कर उठता है। जो लोग इस नतीजे पर पहुंच गए हैं कि नागालैंड भारत है क्या वे चाहेंगे कि नागालैंड में उपद्रव वह शकल ग्रहण करे कि नागालैंड के लोग चीन से या बर्मा से या कहीं से शक्ति प्राप्त करके वहां विद्रोह करें? अगर नागालैंड के लोग इस प्रकार सशस्त्र विद्रोह करते हैं तो उनको दबाने का काम हमारा होगा या नहीं होगा, यह प्रश्न सबसे सामने खुल कर आना चाहिए। जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि नागालैंड भारत है, भारत नागालैंड है मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह मांग वहां की सरकार क्यों करता है कि वहां सेना न रहे। नीरेन घोष की इस बात में मैं सत्य पाता हूँ कि बोर्डर सीक्योरिटी फोर्स, सेना और सेन्ट्रल रिजर्व फोर्स जो अनेक प्रकार की कैंटैगरीज आज पैदा कर दी जा रही हैं ये एक आने वाले खतरे

10 P.S.S./M/D/74

की सूचक है। इससे भयंकर खतरा हो सकता है। हमने बनारस में देखा है कि जब सेन्ट्रल पुलिस फोर्स गई और वहां के कलैक्टर ने उनको कहा है, बोर्डर सीक्योरिटी फोर्स को, मिलिटरी को तो वे कहते हैं कि हम तेरा आदेश मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं और उन्होंने हमारे लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। जब उनका अफसर आया और उनके अफसर से कलैक्टर ने कहा कि मैं कहता हूँ कि इनको छोड़ दो तब हमारे लोग छोड़े गए, यह स्थिति पैदा हो गई। यह स्थिति बनारस में पैदा हुई है, पटना में पैदा हुई है, कलकत्ते में पैदा हुई है और वहां भी हो सकती है। मगर नागालैंड में कोई ऐसा विद्रोह न पनपे, नागालैंड के लोगों के अन्दर कोई ऐसी भावना न पैदा हो जिससे वे सोचें कि हम स्वतंत्र हैं, एक राष्ट्र हैं—इस भावना को हमें दबाना होगा। लेकिन इस भावना को दबाने का तरीका भिन्न हो सकता है। प्रेम से, महबूबत से, समझा-बुझा कर, भारत की श्रेष्ठता और गौरव के बारे में बता कर, नागालैंड की संस्कृति और हमारी संस्कृति एक है, उनमें तादात्म्य है, यह उन्हें बताना होगा। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं भारत सरकार को पूर्ण दोषी पाता हूँ। भारतवर्ष में बूढ़ धर्म, जैन धर्म, आर्य धर्म, सनातन धर्म ये सब धर्म हैं और क्रिश्चियन धर्म भी है, क्या इन धार्मिक तथ्यों को समझाने की चेष्टा भारत की सरकार ने की है?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIJUFAN: You will have to wind up. You cannot be making a lecture. You have taken ten minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : यह एक महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है। मैं एक बात साफ बता दूँ कि जबरदस्ती धर्म-परिवर्तन को मैं उचित नहीं मानता हूँ। मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि कहीं जबरदस्ती धर्म-परिवर्तन किया जाय। विलिगली कोई किसी धर्म को ग्रहण कर ले, मगर जबर-

[श्री राजनारायण]

दस्ती धर्म-परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया देश के किसी भी कोने में हो तो उसको भी रोकने के लिए भारत सरकार को तत्पर होना पड़ेगा। इन तमाम बातों के सम्बन्ध में मैं सरकार का, मंत्री जी का दृष्टिकोण जानना चाहूंगा। मैं चाहूंगा कि वे खुल कर सफाई के साथ उत्तर दें कि किस तरीके से नागालैंड के लोगों का दिमाग और हमारा दिमाग एक हो सकता है क्योंकि जब तक दिमाग एक नहीं होगा तब तक समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा।

श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित : उपसभापति महोदय माननीय सदस्य राजनारायण जी ने जो बातें कही हैं मुख्यतः दो, तीन वह उन्होंने अपनी भाषा में और अपने तरीके से कही हैं लेकिन राजनारायण जी ने जो अपने मुख्य विचार रखे हैं उन से मैं पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ। कोई बात उन्होंने पहले कही कोई अंत में लेकिन एक बात शुरू में भी कही थी और अंत में भी और वह उन्होंने यह कही कि जब नागालैंड भारत का अंग है, वह भारत का एक प्रदेश है और उसको हम अपना मानते हैं! और अगर बाहर का कोई षडयंत्र हो तो उसकी सुरक्षा के लिए उस खतरे का मुकाबला हम को करना चाहिए। इस में हमारा कोई भी मतभेद नहीं है और मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद किसी को भी नहीं होगा।

दूसरे उन्होंने यह कहा कि नागा नागरिकों की जो मनोवृत्ति है उस को हमें भारतीय सभ्यता की जो मुख्य धारा है जीवन की, विचारों की, उससे प्रभावित करना चाहिए और उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि हम ने इस संबंध में क्या किया है यह हम बताएँ। श्रोमन् यह प्रश्न बड़ा पेचीदा है। इस विषय को अगर हम इतना सीधा समझे कि उन लोगों को हम समझा कर मना लेंगे और उस से सांस्कृतिक या दूसरी

तरह का कुछ लाभ हो सकेगा तो इस पर हम को विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। वह एक आदिवासी समाज है। उन की अपनी परंपरायें हैं। यद्यपि ईसाई धर्म से उत्पन्न उनके जो इंटेलेक्चुअल्स हैं, जो उन के समाज में अग्रगामी हैं वह प्रभावित हो रहे हैं। उस से उन को कुछ लाभ हुआ है। उस से उन में कुछ अर्वाचीनता आयी है, कुछ ज्ञान बढ़ा है, लेकिन अधिकांश जनता उस से प्रभावित नहीं हुई है और प्राचीन धर्म वहाँ अब भी चल रहा है। हमारे मित्र राजनारायण जो ने जितने धर्मों की गिनती करायी, वे वहाँ कोई भी नहीं हैं। अभी हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने स्वयं कहा कि जो वहाँ की स्थिति जानते हैं वे उन पर बाहर से धर्म या संस्कृति या सभ्यता लाद कर उन को प्रभावित नहीं करना चाहते। भारत सरकार की यह नीति रही है कि गोवा में या पांडुचेरी में या दूसरे जो हमारे सरहद्दी सूबे हैं वहाँ जहाँ कहीं भी कोई भिन्न सांस्कृतिक धारा रही है उसका निरादर नहीं किया क्योंकि हम अपनी सभ्यता या संस्कृति उन पर ठूसना नहीं चाहते। लेकिन यह हमारी इच्छा और आकांक्षा जरूर है, और इस के लिए कोशिश भी हो, कि वह हमारे निकट आयेँ और हमारे जीवन की, सभ्यता की, संस्कृति की मुख्य धारा में शामिल हों। इस में भी हमारा विशेष मतभेद नहीं है।

अधिक बात माननीय सदस्य ने और दूसरों ने भी यह कही है कि यहाँ से कोई डेलीगेशन जाय पार्लियामेंट की ओर से। मैं अत्यन्त आदरपूर्वक निवेदन करूंगा कि इस समय जब कि वहाँ की परिस्थिति में एक परिवर्तन हुआ है। इस तरह के डेलीगेशन के जाने से वहाँ कुछ गलतपहमी पैदा हो सकती है, कुछ भ्रान्ति पैदा हो सकती है। और समय

बीत जाने दीजिए शान्ति वहां हो जाय, तो इस पर विचार कर लेंगे और जैसा मैं ने कहा कि हमारे जो राज्य मंत्री हैं वह वहां जाने वाले हैं और मैं स्वयं जाऊंगा और आप भी जाना चाहें तो मुझे उस में कोई आपत्ति नहीं। पहले भी आप जा चुके हैं और आगे भी जा सकेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : 22 लाख रुपया वहां कलेक्ट हो रहा है और 600 लोग ट्रेनिंग पा रहे हैं और वहां की वर्तमान सरकार के बारे में आप ने कुछ नहीं कहा।

श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित : इस के बारे में इस समय मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता। आप फिर पूछेंगे तो बता दूंगा।

REFERENCE TO ALLEGED EVASION OF INCOME-TAX AND VIOLATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE REGULATION BY MR. JAN DROBOT OF WESTINGHOUSE TRADING CORPORATION (ASIA) LIMITED

SHRI NIREN GHOSE (West Bengal). Sir, I want to draw the attention of the Government to the press report that the Income-tax Department has drawn tip a dossier on Mr. Jan Drobot, a top official of Messrs. Westinghouse Trading Corporation (Asia) Limited, on his life style and about his income-tax and foreign exchange regulation violations. He had rented a house on Rs. 4000. Top officials of the Government had been treated by this man at different hotels lavishly. It seems that he almost forged bills in order to avoid paying income-tax. Westinghouse is a multinational company, one of the most powerful companies of the world. Here in India its top executive is doing all these things. Some of the officers of the Income-tax Department were after him; they could not move him. He has been nabbed only after the present Chief has come. Now I do not know whether he has been let out or not. I

want this dossier to be placed on the Table of the House so that Parliament and the people of the country know about the activities of the companies which toppled governments in China and Latin America. It is one of such companies. It is a notorious company in that sense. So I would like that dossier to be placed on the Table of the House so that Parliament may know about it and the people may know about it and they should know what action they are going to take. This man should not leave the shores of India until and unless everything is cleared.

MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

(I) The Major Port Trusts (Amendment) Bill, 1974.

(II) The Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1974.

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

(i)

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Major Port Trusts (Amendment) Bill, 1974, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 6th August, 1974".

(ii)

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1974, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 5th August, 1974".

Sir, I lay a copy of each of the Bills on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2-45 P.M.

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