

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS):** Have you taken the permission of the Chairman?

**SHRI GODEY MURAHARI:** I had talked to the Chairman. My submission is that it was this House that had passed a Resolution on the abolition of Privy purse but the Government chose to introduce the Bill in the other House. Of course the explanation that is being given is that it is part of Parliament and that the assurance that they had given was that it will be introduced in Parliament. It is all right to say that both Houses constitute the Parliament but initially it was this House which had passed the Resolution and it was incumbent on the Government that they should have come forward with the Bill in this House.

Moreover, the assurance was that during this Budget session the Bill would be got passed but the Government chose to introduce the Bill on the last but one day of the session and the process of discussing the Bill has been put off to the next Session. God knows what is going to happen in the next Session; it may get postponed to another Session. Therefore I want the Government to explain to us as to why they chose to dilly-dally with the Bill in this fashion.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):** Sir, you are now in the Chair. You were the person who got the Resolution passed. We have got information today that there is an attempt to delay it. They will not pass it during this session. They will start discussions and on one pretext or another it would be delayed. As you know, yesterday a large number of Congressmen were not even present in the House. Therefore there we are smelling a rat. It seems a deal has been arrived at between the leaders of the Congress Party and some Princes and others. . .

**SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir):** No, No; it is not so.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Mr. Om Mehta, if you would have been taken into confidence I would have been very happy, but you were not. It is Shri Bhanu Prakash Singh, the tiny Deputy Minister, who goes and tells the Prime Minister, if you do not do this thing, we shall do this kind of thing. Sir,

there is a conspiracy. In pursuance of the direction in the Resolution that we have passed you please ask Mr. Chavan to give us a time schedule about the enactment of this measure. It should have been taken up tomorrow but since it is not being done it should be taken up on the first day of the next session and passed and it should be the first item to be taken up by this House from among the items that are transmitted to us from the Lok Sabha. A clear assurance is needed and Mr. Bhanu Prakash Singh should be expelled from the Government as a known self-confessed saboteur of this entire thing.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS):** Mr. Gupta, that is enough. The House stands adjourned till 2.00 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock **THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN)** in the Chair.

#### **THE NORTH-EASTERN COUNCIL BILL, 1970—contd.**

**SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu):** Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, yesterday I was making out the point that this Council is something like a miniature Zonal Council. The Eastern Zonal Council covers Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. Now, the North-East Council covers only Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura and the tribal areas in Assam. I have already said that I give my support to this Bill. The only thing that I wish to insist is this. I am afraid and I should like to caution the Government whether this would create any conflict, an apple of discord, between the Council and the Co-ordination Committee. The Council consists of about ten members and the Co-ordination Committee consists of only eight members. Only two members are missing, viz., a Minister each from the State of Assam and from Meghalaya to be nominated by the Governor on the recommendation of the Chief Minister concerned. These two members are absent in the Co-ordination Committee. So far as the functions are concerned, I think the chief function is to discuss any matter of common interest. It may

[Shri N. R. Muniswamy]

be anything under the Sun and the Moon. In particular, it has to formulate for the States represented thereon a unified and co-ordinated regional plan in respect of such plan schemes for those States as are of common importance such as schemes relating to inter-State communications, common irrigation, power and flood control projects, agricultural production and so on. Another important thing is to review from time to time the implementation of the schemes included in the regional plan and recommend measures for effecting co-ordination in implementation of the schemes by the Governments of the States concerned. I have cautioned the Government that here we have got a Co-ordination Committee. It has not got as much powers and functions as the Council. The Council has got wider powers. Only one thing is there. They can recommend for co-ordination and implementation all the schemes covered by them. The Co-ordination Committee which is a separate committee has got only one aspect, that is : the maintenance of security and public order. Here it looks as if they have no other powers, except with regard to the maintenance of security and public order. This would create conflict between the Council and the Co-ordination Committee. The Co-ordination Committee is all in all with regard to the maintenance of law and order and security. As regards the other one, they cover everything else, excepting the security aspect. My only point is the Government should see that there is no discord between the Council and the Co-ordination Committee. The Co-ordination Committee is a small body, while the Council is a bigger body. These two bodies meet at different times, not at the same time. The functions of these two bodies vary from subject to subject. Only thing is they should see that there is no discord between these two. This will open the floodgate of similar demands being made by other States. For example, the north-western area, comprising Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, is also a vulnerable region. This region of our country in the north-western area is also vulnerable to aggression. It is susceptible to such a thing. I wish they would create such a Council only in the north-eastern corner. We find that in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, there also such things may arise and they have got

some disputes among them. Therefore, I only say that the Government should not create a condition for a similar demand being made by other States. I only want that they should be cautioned about this, so that this is not extended to other areas but only specifically confined to this area. I only wish that instead of this Bill, they could have created another Council called the Inter-State Council. It is definitely stated in our Constitution in article 263. More than once Members have referred to it. It is nothing new. Now, this is an opportune time and appropriate time. Instead of this Bill, they could have brought forward a Bill for creating an inter-State Council. The functions of such a Council are the same. The same things are mentioned in the article. It says:—

“If at any time it appears to the President that the public interests would be served by the establishment of Council charged with the duty of—

(a) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between States;

(b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest; or

(c) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better co-ordination of policy and action with respect to that subject, . . .”.

Therefore, the same thing is covered by this. Instead of having a separate Bill, they could have formed an inter-State Council. This is not a new thing and they could have done it.

The other point which I wish to make is this. I initially stated that though I welcome this Bill my support is somewhat critical. I only want to caution the Government and I hope the Government will achieve the real object with which they have brought forward this Bill. It is not only the socio-economic objective which has to be realised, but also the stability and integrity of the country. This should also be indirectly thought of. I do not know whether they will be able to achieve the objects of the Bill. Unless the Gov-

rnment thinks of inviting the north-eastern area people, they will not even have any Panchayati Raj or any other Raj. It would be thought that we are controlling them and not allowing them to participate in the mainstream of our administration. I only want to say that unless we get in touch with these people and associate these people with us, at least have one or two representatives on this Council, they may not feel the pleasure of being associated with the country. Instead of having three bureaucrats or only officers, it is better to have one or two non-officials. The North-Eastern Frontier Area people in that area are also of the same cultural people who have got something to do with them. They can certainly be absorbed in this Council and we can see that the object of this Bill and this Council is achieved.

With these observations, I support the Bill, but my support is of a critical type. I hope that the objects will be achieved by implementing this.

Thank you.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** Mr. Baharul Islam. As there are many speakers, I would request Members to limit themselves to seven minutes each.

**SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to give my reactions and to offer some criticisms on the Bill. We were crying hoarse in the last few years. . .

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : लोकसभा से जो बिल पास हुआ है वह हम को भिजवा दिया जाय । मुझे इस की जानकारी अभी हुई है कि जो बिल, जिस शब्द में लोक सभा ने पास किया है वह यह नहीं जो दिया गया है । वह काफी मिले तो ठीक से विचार हो ।

**THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** Please see that the hon. Member gets a copy of it.

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) :** Now, Sir, I find that I am also in the same difficulty. The difficulty is that they have circulated the translation as it was introduced in Lok Sabha, not as

passed by them. That is the difficulty. Therefore, it does not contain the Bill as amended.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM :** Sir, this entire area of India to the coast of East Pakistan is a very backward area. It consists of six regions, namely, two full States—Assam and Nagaland—one sub-State, viz., Meghalaya, two Union territories, namely, Manipur and Tripura and NEFA or North East Frontier Agency, which is governed by the Home Ministry of India. Of these, Meghalaya and NEFA are hills. The others are not hills but plains. But the entire area is very backward although very rich in natural resources. This entire area is very rich in natural resources like coal, timber, petroleum, and other forest products. The people of this area have been feeling neglected. Sometimes they feel that they were ignored particularly at the time of Chinese aggression. They felt that they were given up. We are very happy now that Government of India has been pleased to bring forward this measure for a co-ordinated development of this entire area. This area is again very important strategically because it is surrounded on the north and north-east by China, on the south and west by Pakistan, and on the east by Burma. Burma is friendly with us, the other two are inimical. Therefore, it is strategically very important and from the point of view of security also it is very important. There are two perennial problems, namely, the problems of the hostile Nagas and the hostile Mizos. A new problem has been added to these problems, namely, the problem of the Naxalites. Very recently the Naxalites also are creating troubles in the districts of Goalpara and North Kamrup. In those districts some intermediate jotedars have been killed by the Naxalites saying that they had come to the rescue of the village people because these people were exploiting them. These troubles are there. A very co-ordinated and speedy development of the entire area is very essential, but the difficulty is that in the Council as envisaged in this Bill Nagaland is absent. Without Nagaland it will be playing "Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark". Nagaland is in the centre of the entire area. The railway line which is the only life-line of this area passes through Nagaland. . .

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** The Home Minister explained yesterday that negotiations are going on.

**SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM:** Supposing Nagaland does not come in, what will happen? What I am saying is without Nagaland there cannot be a co-ordinated development of the entire area. Its presence in the Council is very essential and of the utmost importance. What I was saying is the railway line passes through it. The people of Meghalaya and Assam cannot go to Manipur without going through Nagaland by the land route. Therefore, Nagaland's presence in the Council is absolutely essential. I hope the Government will see its way as to how soon they can be brought in. Otherwise the object which is very laudable will be absolutely useless without Nagaland in this Council.

Now I come to clauses 3 and 7 of the Bill regarding the composition of the Council and the Co-ordination Committee of the Council. Practically the Co-ordination Committee and the Council are one and the same thing excepting that the Committee is equal to the Council minus the Minister. Of this Council and Committee the Governor of Assam has been made the Chairman. There are other members. My objection to these two provisions is that the Governor, who is the constitutional head under the Constitution of India, has been made the Chairman of these bodies. There is one Chief Minister of a full State, namely, the Chief Minister of Assam. Nagaland has not yet joined. There are two Chief Ministers of two Union Territories. None of them has been made the Chairman. They are elected representatives of the people, whereas the Governor who is the titular head has been made the Chairman. Furthermore, he has been made the most powerful person because he has been given the casting vote. My submission is that this making of the Governor the Chairman of the Committee affects the very fundamental principle of democracy and the parliamentary form of Government. Either the senior Chief Minister of a full State or any of the Chief Ministers ought to have been made the Chairman of the Council and the Committee, or the Council and the Committee should have been left to elect their own Chairman because the Chairman of the Council

would have been the Chairman of the Committee also. I could even concede that even the Home Minister might have been made the Chairman of this Council because after all the Home Minister is also an elected person.

Then I come to clauses 5(1) and 7(4) of the Bill regarding the rules of procedure of the Council and the Co-ordination Committee. Even the rules for their guidance, for the functioning of the Council and the Committee are to be approved by the Central Government. I do not know why. Even ordinary bodies like municipalities, panchayats, co-operative societies, etc., have power to frame their own rules. Why should you think that such a powerful body should not have its own full power to frame its own final rules? Why should they be approved by the Central Government? The powers given to the Central Government for the approval of the rules of procedure will affect the autonomy and the free functioning of the Council and the Committee. Therefore, I would request the hon. Home Minister to see whether these defects, which in my humble opinion are very vital, can be removed by the Government of India.

Thank you.

**श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लोक सभा से जिस ढंग से यह विधेयक पास हुआ है, उसकी एक-एक प्रति कृपया हमको दीजिए। हमको अभी तक कापी नहीं मिली।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** आपको अमेंडेड कापी मिल तो गई है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** हमारे पास ओरिजनल कापी है, अमेंडेड नहीं है। अंग्रेजी की हम लेते ही नहीं हैं। आप बिलकुल गैर-कानूनी काम कर रहे हैं। मैं व्यवस्था के मुताबिक कह रहा हूँ कि जब तक इसकी अंग्रेजी-हिन्दी दोनों कापी न हो, तब तक आप प्रोसीड नहीं कर सकते।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** अंग्रेजी तो आप जानते हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** भाषा के सवाल से मज़ाक मत करें। हिन्दी सदन में ऐसोशियेट भाषा है, या अंग्रेज़ी? मूल विधेयक हिन्दी में होगा और अंग्रेज़ी में उसका अनुवाद होगा। अंग्रेज़ी गौण भाषा है। आप हिन्दी को गौण बना रहे हैं। अगर है भी तो भी दोनों साथ-साथ चलनी चाहिए। जब तक हिन्दी की प्रति नहीं मिलेगी, तब तक आपसे मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि आप कार्यवाही रोकिये।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** हिन्दी का ट्रांसलेशन मिलना बहुत ज़रूरी है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। ऐतराज भी इस पर कर सकते हैं और मेरे ख्याल में होम मिनिस्टर साहब भी इसको तस्लीम करेंगे। पर जो बिल है वह अंग्रेज़ी में आप प्राप्त कर चुके हैं, समझ तो आप गये हैं, इसलिए आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए। आपकी आपत्ति वैसे कायदे की आपत्ति है। . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** मुझे अफसोस है कि अपने को गांधी का नाम लेने वाले, अपने को देशभक्त कहने वाले आज अंग्रेज़ी भक्त बनते चले जा रहे हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** आप तशरीफ़ रखिए।

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप कानून के विरुद्ध काम कर रहे हैं इस सदन में। आप किस नियम के मुताबिक कार्यवाही चला रहे हैं? या तो आप यह कहें कि बहुमत आपके साथ है। संख्या की दृष्टि से बहुमत आपके साथ नहीं है। मैं आज कार्यवाही चलने नहीं दूंगा। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि कानून का नित्य-प्रति उल्लंघन इस सदन में मैं नहीं करने दूंगा। चवाण साहब खुद जानते हैं, उन्होंने ला पास किया है। नित्य प्रति इस सदन में मर्यादा भंग होती है।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** I fully appreciate that when we have a discussion on a certain Bill, we should have its copies both in English and Hindi. There are no two opinions about that. But in view of the difficulty of the Secretariat or some lapses, . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** You change your Secretariat. अब समय आ चुका है कि आप अपने सचिवालय को बन्द करें। चेयर से हल्ला हो चुकी है कि अब आइन्दा अगर हिन्दी की प्रतियाँ नहीं रहेंगी तो आगे काम नहीं होगा। भार्गव जी बैठे थे, यह उनकी व्यवस्था है और उन्होंने आगे की कार्यवाही बन्द कर दी थी।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** You please sit down. I think it is necessary to have it. But I think the House will appreciate that we cannot stop the conduct of business simply because that copy, for some difficulties. . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** यह "सिम्पली" है। आपके लिये यह सिम्पली है हमारे लिये यह मेजर है।

**श्री लाल आडवाणी (दिल्ली) :** गृह मंत्री जी बता दें कि क्या दिक्कत है।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** राजनारायण जी, आप हमसे ज्यादा अच्छी अंग्रेज़ी बोलते हो।

**श्री राजनारायण :** वह हमारी नालायकी है। जो भारतवर्ष में अंग्रेज़ी अच्छी बोलने का घमंड करते हैं वह बेवकूफ़ हैं।

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** गृह मंत्री जी बता दें कि क्यों कैसे हिन्दी की प्रति नहीं आई तो शायद समस्या हल हो जायगी।

**श्री राजनारायण :** गृह मंत्री बतायें। कोई सीमा बांधे कि आज के बाद हिन्दी और अंग्रेज़ी दोनों के विधेयक नहीं आयें तो उसके बाद कार्यवाही नहीं चलेगी। जब भी हम सवाल उठाते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि आइन्दा ऐसा होगा जैसे कि हिन्दी का लाइमजूस दिया जा रहा है, जैसे कि मैं कोई हल्की बात कर रहा हूँ। सारा देश अग्नि की ज्वाला में भस्म हो गया होता, जिस राष्ट्रपिता का नाम ले ले कर हम आज शासन चला रहे हैं वह अगर आज जिन्दा होते तो इस सदन की कार्यवाही हर्गिज नहीं चलने देते।

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** चव्हाण साहब तो बोलें कि क्या बात है ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, क्या आज्ञा है । गृह मंत्री को कहने दीजिये कि वह क्या कहते हैं । आइन्दा हिन्दी के बिना कोई कार्य-वाही नहीं चलेगी ।

**श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण :** मैं जरा बोल दूँ । जो वैधानिक बात है उसके विषय में मैं नहीं कहता ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** वही तो यहां बात है ।

**श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण :** वैधानिक बात के बारे में मैं आपके साथ सहमत हूँ, हिन्दी की कापी मिलनी चाहिये, उसके बारे में मैं कुछ नहीं कह रहा था । यह आपका हक है कि जैसा बिल होगा, अमेंडमेंट होगा, जो पास होगा, वही हिन्दी की कापी मिलनी चाहिये । उसके बारे में मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ ।  
Some hon. Members wanted me to explain where the Act is amended.

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** मेरा इसी से अभिप्राय था कि यह कठिनाई क्यों हुई है कि हिन्दी की प्रति नहीं मिली ।

**श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण :** यह जिम्मेदारी मेरी नहीं है, राज्य सभा सेक्रेटैरियट की है ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** लोक सभा से आया नहीं ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं कोई गांव की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, अपने घर की बात, अपनी निजी बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मैं कानून की बात कर रहा हूँ । गृह मंत्री ने सही कहा, वह मर्यादित है, वह सही आदमी है, वह सही ढंग से, वैधानिक ढंग से चलने में हमारी मदद करना चाहते हैं लेकिन मुझे मालूम नहीं कि क्यों आप इस तरह से चलना चाहते हैं । जो हमारा हक है, सदन के सदस्यों का हक है उस हक की अवहेलना आपके द्वारा हो रही है । मैं इस समय गुस्से के साथ आपसे कहना चाहता

हूँ कि आप हिन्दी भाषा की उपेक्षा कर रहे हैं । मैं यह मर्यादा के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ । आप उसको नेगलेक्ट कर रहे हैं । यह राष्ट्रीय सम्मान की अवहेलना है ।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कह दिया ...

**श्री राजनारायण :** त्यागी जी आप बैठिये होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कह दिया तो क्या वह हमारे लिये खुदा है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We have heard you.

**श्री राजनारायण :** जी हां, आपका ध्यान खींच दिया तो मेरा काम पूरा हो गया और आप गलत काम करते रहें ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You will be going on speaking? Please sit down.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Why not?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I have explained to you. You please do not go on speaking.

**श्री राजनारायण :** यानी आप गलत काम करेंगे, आप सदन को अमर्यादित ढंग से चलाना चाहेंगे ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I have told you. . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप हमेशा यही कहते हैं कि आज नहीं आया है, मान जाओ, और हम हमेशा मानते आये हैं । कहीं कोई सीमा होगी, कोई आखीर होगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You can bring the matter to the notice of the Chairman and I am sure. . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** आपने यह अपनी आदत बना ली है कि जब भी भाषा का सवाल, हिन्दी का सवाल, राष्ट्र का सवाल, उठता है तो आप

अपील करते हैं कि अभी होने दीजिये, आइन्दा ठीक होगा लेकिन वह आइन्दा कभी होता नहीं ।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** As I have already mentioned, we are sorry that it could not be supplied and you will bring the matter to the notice of the Chairman. Today's record and proceedings will be placed before the Chairman and I assure you, Mr. Rajnarain, and all other Members that we will try our best to see that on other occasions not only English but Hindi version is also supplied. What else can I do at this stage?

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं आपकी भावना को समझ रहा हूँ, वह मंत्री जी भी बहुत उत्सुक होंगे कि इसको पास हो जाने दिया जाय, मगर हमारी दिक्कत को थोड़ा सा महसूस किया जाय । जिम इंग्लिश का इस सदन का सदस्य रहते हुये यह फैसला हो, जिसका दिमाग इस तरीके का बना हो, कि जब तक हिन्दी ठीक ढंग से नहीं चलेगी तब तक हमारी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा नहीं होगी, तब तक हमारे देश का विकास नहीं होगा, तब तक हमारी राष्ट्रीय भावनायें प्रतिबिम्बित नहीं होगी और जब तक राष्ट्रीय भावनाये प्रतिबिम्बित नहीं होंगी तब तक राष्ट्र खोखला रहेगा, तो जिस व्यक्ति की यह धारणा हो वह व्यक्ति क्या करे । कैसे इस काम को आगे बढ़ाये । इसके बारे में हमें बता दीजिये ।

मैं जानता हूँ कि तमाम जिसके लिये हमारे माननीय मंत्री जी उत्तर पूर्व परिषद् विधेयक को पास कराना चाहते हैं उन क्षेत्रों में मैं काफी घूमा हूँ, चीन तो हिन्दी भाषा बोलता है और हमारे फौजी अफसरान अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं, फौजी जवान समझते ही नहीं हैं । इसलिये मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने एक संवैधानिक, हमने एक कानूनी बात उठाई है । कानूनी बात का जवाब कानूनी ढंग से होना चाहिये, अपील और उदारता की जगह यहां नहीं है । अपील और उदारता की जगह होगी जब हम

आपके घर चलें, आप हमारे घर आयें, हम अपनी कहें और आप अपनी कहें ।

**SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM:** On a point of order.

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) :** बहुत जज्बाली हो जाते हैं । बैठ जाइये ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** इसी जज्बाली के न रहने से ही देश तबाह हुआ है ।

**SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu):** Are we discussing the Language Bill? What is this?

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, हमारी इस बात को सुनने के बाद आपने क्या किया ।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** I have directed that every effort should be made. . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** एफर्ट के माने क्या हैं !

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** That I cannot tell you, Mr. Rajnarain.

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप गारंटी दीजिये हम क्या इस विधेयक को फाड़ कर फेंकें।

**SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY:** Nobody can obstruct the proceedings like this. There are fourteen or fifteen languages.

**श्री राजनारायण :** 15 लैंग्वेज में दे दिया जाय । मैं 15 लैंग्वेज का विरोधी नहीं हूँ । अंग्रेजी के अलावा जितनी राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं उन सभी भाषाओं में विधेयक का अनुवाद दे दिया जाय, इसमें हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है ।

**SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY:** We have got translation arrangements here. Let there be Tamil translation also. I want everything.

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं उनकी भावना के साथ हूँ । मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितनी राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं, 15 हों, 14 हों, 16 हों, सभी भाषाओं में अनुवाद दिया जाय । मैं इसका पक्षपाती हूँ । मैं इनकी बात की कद्र करता हूँ । मगर

[श्री राजनारायण]

आज सरकार बहाना ले सकती है कि कानून में यह व्यवस्था नहीं है, कानून में अभी तक केवल हिन्दी की ही व्यवस्था है तो भी आज चेयर उस हिन्दी की कतरव्योत कर रहा है। जो कानूनी व्यवस्था दी गई है, जिस व्यवस्था को दे कर देश के आन्दोलन को थोड़े समय के लिये शान्त किया गया उस कानूनी व्यवस्था को चेयर कत्ल करे और चेयर के हाथों और चेयर की ज़बान से उस कानून की व्यवस्था को कत्ल होते हम देखें, क्या यह हमारे लिये शर्म की बात नहीं है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : अच्छा, बहुत हो गया, अब आप बैठिये भी।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : हिन्दी के सम्मान की रक्षा, हिन्दी की रक्षा करना, मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ...

श्री राजनारायण : केवल ज़बानी।

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: On a point of order. Mr. Rajnarain raised a point of order saying that Hindi is a very great language. It is the official language, that it should be for official purpose. But this Parliament consists of Members speaking several languages. This is a special forum. We are expressing our views from every region and every region must have its own language and papers should be distributed in those languages also. You cannot say that Hindi alone should be there. Every region is represented in Parliament.

श्री राजनारायण : कानून में यह लिखा हुआ है कि संसद की सभी कार्यवाही हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में होगी। यह भाषा कानून में लिखा हुआ है। श्रीमन्, यह भाषा कानून में लिखा हुआ है कि इस संसद की सभी कार्यवाही हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में होगी तो उसके मुताबिक चला जाय।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Point of Order. Mrs. Mukhopadhyay.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): This is the first time that we are meeting to discuss new measures. This is a very important measure from our point of view. It is also accepted that the translation in Hindi was also a necessary thing. But, anyhow the office could not do that and we should not be so annoyed at the office that Mr. Raj Narain will continue discussing the same, one point for hours and hours together. So please give us a ruling that in future, translation will be made available to the members in Hindi. But today we should proceed with this Bill. Let us continue with the Bill. What is this controversy going on unnecessarily? Nobody denies that there should be a Hindi translation. You also said that you are sorry for that. There is no point now in wasting the time of the House like this.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय और सम्मानित सदस्या ने सदन का समय नष्ट किया। ये अभी नयी नयी आई हैं। 4 साल से मैं देख रहा हूँ यही रूलिंग होती है। जब भाषा का मवाल आता है...

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: Sir, he is all the time monopolising the time of the House.

श्री राजनारायण : ...यही होता है। या तो कानून की इस किताब का फाड़ दिया जाये या कानून के मर्यादा की रक्षा की जाय। या तो कानून की किताब फाड़ी जाये, लैंग्वेज ऐक्ट फाड़ा जाये, कानून तोड़ा जाये, कह दिया जाये संसद की भाषा केवल हिन्दी है...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The point has been raised. I have heard you. Now please sit down.

श्री राजनारायण : आप हमको पहली बार "हियर" नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप हमको हजारों बार इस सदन में सुने होंगे और आपने हजारों बार रूलिंग सुनी होगी। आप कानून का मज़ाक कर रहे हैं, देश का अपमान कर रहे हैं, राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं को कत्ल कर रहे हैं चेयर पर बैठ कर। आपके मुँह से राष्ट्र भाषा का अपमान हो। राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी का अपमान नहीं किया जा सकता।



**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** राजनारायण जी, चेयर को आप ऐसा क्यों कह रहे हैं ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** चेयर कर रहा है, चेयर कर रहा है । चेयर कहता है कि कानून की हिफाजत होगी और कानून के मुताबिक सदन चलेगा । तो कोई हमको गारन्टी दे । घर मंत्री गारन्टी दे कि आयंदा अंग्रेजी हिन्दी दोनों में प्रतियां यहाँ रखी जायेंगी ।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** आपने हाउस में भी तो अंग्रेजी में भाषण दिया ।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** मैं वाइस चेयरमैन साहब आपकी मार्फत से श्री राजनारायण से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने हिन्दी की रक्षा के लिये काफी काम किया है, हिन्दी की बहुत सेवा की है, सारा हाउस इसको तसलीम करता है । आज भी आप जो कर रहे हैं, भावना से आप प्रेरित हैं, वह शुद्ध भाव है, हिन्दी के प्रति आपकी भक्ति है, इसी के लिये आप कह रहे हैं । लेकिन जब आपकी बात गवर्नमेंट ने स्वीकार कर ली, जब आपकी बात चेयर ने स्वीकार कर ली, हाउस भी आपसे सहमत है, तो आप उसमें न जाइये । जो पौइन्ट आपका था वह आप जीत चुके ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** यह तो माननीय सदस्य पहली बार हम को सुन रहे हैं । इमीलिये ऐसी बात कह रहे हैं । कब तक हम लोग यह बात बार बार कहते रहें कि हमको अंग्रेजी के साथ हिन्दी में भी काफी दो । 5 साल से लगातार चलती हो तो वह कानून ही क्यों बना हुआ है । (अंतर्बाधाएं) देखिये आपको मालूम होना चाहिये कि गांधी जी ने कहा था हम अपने देश के सवाल पर अपने देश की भाषा में बोलेंगे । 1917 की बात मैं बता रहा हूँ । श्रीमन्, कहीं एक सीमा बंधती हो...

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY : Please give your ruling.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I am giving the ruling, but he does not listen...

**श्री राजनारायण :** देखिये यह रूलिंग का सवाल नहीं है । यह सवाल है कानून की मर्यादा की रक्षा का । इसमें रूलिंग नहीं चलती ! अगर चेयर मंजूरी दे कि मैं अनियमित काम करूंगा, मैं कानून की जरा पर्वाह नहीं करूंगा तो क्या यह रूलिंग है । इसको रूलिंग नहीं कहते ।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** अब सदन के सारे लोग आपसे अपील कर रहे हैं आप बैठ जाइये । आपको काफी मिलेगी ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** नेता सदन इस बात की गारन्टी दे कि आयंदा इस सदन में अंग्रेजी के साथ हिन्दी अनिवार्य रूप से आयेंगी...

**श्री ओम् मेहता (जम्मू और काश्मीर)** जरूर आयेंगी ।

**नेता सदन (श्री के० के० शाह) :** मैंने पिछली दफा भी कहा था कि हम सारी चीज को रिकॉर्गनाइज कर रहे हैं और जल्द से जल्द आपकी इच्छा पूरी करेंगे...

**श्री राजनारायण :** जल्द से जल्द नहीं । पिछली बार भी इसी भाषा का प्रयोग किया था । मैं चाहता हूँ इसको आखिरी कहा जाये...

**श्री के० के० शाह :** देखिये हमने कितनी मेहनत की है । दोनों हाउसेज के सेक्रेटरी और हमारी जो सभा है, ये सब तीनों मिल कर के, साथ में बैठ कर, सारा रिकॉर्गनाइज कर रहे हैं ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** ठीक है, हम नेता सदन की इस बात को, और आप लोगों की इस बात को मानकर बैठे हैं कि आज ही आखिरी है, इसके बाद अगर अंग्रेजी के साथ हिन्दी का कोई विधेयक नहीं आयेगा, या कोई हिन्दी की प्रति नहीं आयेगी तो—मैं चेयर और नेता सदन और घर मंत्री तीनों की भावना समझ रहा हूँ—अब आगे ऐसा काम नहीं चलेगा ।

श्री लाल आडवाणी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे मित्र श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर और श्री राजनारायण जी ने इस विधेयक पर जो संशोधन रखा है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। दोनों ने एक ही संशोधन रखा है और उन्होंने मत व्यक्त किया है कि यह जो नार्थ ईस्टर्न कौंसिल बिल चम्हाण साहब ने सदन के सामने रखा है उसको प्रवर समिति के मुपुर्द किया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि दोनों की भावनाएं एक हैं जिस समय उन्होंने सेलेक्ट कमेटी में भेजने का सुझाव दिया। मूलतः अपने उद्देश्य में इस बिल का स्वागत किया जा सकता है।

विगत कुछ वर्षों, जिस क्षेत्र से इस बिल का संबंध है, उस उत्तर पूर्व क्षेत्र का एक विघटन सा हो रहा है, विघटन की प्रक्रिया हो रही है, असम में से नागालैंड बना। अब मेघालय प्रदेश बना। कई बार पुनर्गठन की आवश्यकता भी समझ में आ सकती है। एक बड़े भूभाग को टुकड़ों में बांट कर वहाँ की जनता की इच्छाओं और आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप हम कोई राज्य व्यवस्था कर सकें, इस प्रकार की आवश्यकता पड़ सकती है। मेरी शिकायत यह है कि जिस समय ये दोनों प्रदेश बने या जिस समय यह प्रक्रिया चली तो उस प्रक्रिया के चलाने में कोई सुविचारित निर्णय नहीं हुआ, बल्कि राजनैतिक दबाव में आकर यह निर्णय लिया गया। सरकार के अपने वक्तव्य इस बात के साक्षी होंगे कि जब उन्होंने इस प्रदेश को बनाया या प्रदेश को बांटा तो विधेयक की तो उन्होंने बहुत प्रशंसा की होगी, लेकिन उसके तुरन्त पूर्व तक इस मांग की आलोचना करते रहे होंगे और कहते रहे होंगे कि असम का विभाजन नहीं होना चाहिये, असम को हिस्सों में बांटना नहीं चाहिये था। इस प्रकार यह विघटन की प्रक्रिया कुछ सुविचारित निर्णयों के आधार पर नहीं हुई। जब इसमें दुष्परिणाम दिखायी देने लगे और प्रतीत हुआ कि जिस क्षेत्र का विकास समन्वित रूप से होना चाहिये, कोऑर्डिनेटेड रूप से होना चाहिये, जिस प्रदेश

की सुरक्षा समन्वित रूप से होनी चाहिये, और यह नहीं हो रहा है, तो अनुभव हुआ कि जब तक ऐसा फोरम नहीं होगा, ऐसा मन्च नहीं होगा, जहाँ पर सेक्योरिटी के प्राबलम पर, जहाँ पर डेवलपमेन्ट के प्राबलम्स पर समन्वित रूप से विचार किया जा सके तो समस्या बिगड़ती जायेगी। इसी बात को विचार में रखते हुए यह नार्थ ईस्टर्न कौंसिल बिल लाया गया है। अतः जहाँ तक इस बिल के द्वारा पिछले दुष्परिणामों को ठीक करने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है, मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ।

It is an attempt to rectify the earlier indiscretions—जहाँ तक मैं कुछ निर्णय लिये थे और उस समय नहीं सोचा कि इसके कारण इकानामिक डेवलपमेन्ट के, सेक्योरिटी के प्राबलम खड़े हो जायेंगे। उसको कुछ सुधारने की कांशिश की जा रही है। लेकिन जहाँ तक इसकी धाराएं हैं उन धाराओं में बहुत दोष दिखायी दे रहे हैं, त्रुटियां दिखायी दे रही हैं, जिनके कारण मैं कह रहा हूँ अगर प्रवर समिति के पास यह विधेयक जायेगा तो सम्भव है ये दोष दूर हो जायें, त्रुटियां दूर हो जायेंगी, और यह विधेयक कुछ अधिक उत्कृष्ट बन कर, उत्तम बन कर, हमारे सामने आए।

जैसा कि इसके स्टेटमेंट आफ आब्जेक्ट एंड रीजन्स में दिया हुआ है :

"... calls for an integrated and well co-ordinated approach towards development as also security of the region."

यह जो दो प्रमुख उद्देश्य रखे गये हैं, उनमें से दूसरे उद्देश्य का इस बिल की धाराओं में कोई प्रतिबिम्ब दिखलाई नहीं देता है। सिक्योरिटी की जो चिन्ता होनी चाहिये वह दिखलाई नहीं देती है। मेरा सुझाव है कि अब भी इसमें अमेंडमेंट करके उसके कम्पोजीशन में डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री और होम मिनिस्ट्री, दोनों के प्रतिनिधियों को, रखा जाना चाहिये। सिक्योरिटी का संबंध जहाँ आन्तरिक संकटों से है वहाँ क्योंकि यह हमारा सीमान्त से लगा हुआ क्षेत्र है, इसलिए

इसका संबंध बाह्य संकटों से भी है। इस कारण मिक्कोरिटी के संबंध में दोनों पहलुओं को ध्यान में रखकर प्रति रक्षा मंत्रालय के प्रतिनिधि और गृह मंत्रालय के प्रतिनिधि इस कौंसिल के परामर्श दाताओं में होने चाहिये। यह तो मेरा पहला सुझाव है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :**  
अब आप खत्म कीजिये।

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** जहां तक नागालैंड की बात है, मैं समझता हूं कि पहली बार एक स्टेच्यूटरी प्रोविजन किसी क्षेत्र के बारे में किया जा रहा है तथा वहां के एक प्रदेश को इस तरह की छूट दी जा रही है कि वह इसके बाद चाहे रहे या न रहे। तो मैं यह समझता हूं कि इस तरह की जो छूट दी जा रही है वह एक गलत परम्परा कायम की जा रही है। इस विधेयक के द्वारा जो परम्परा कायम की जा रही है उसके कारण भविष्य में कोई प्रदेश क्षेत्रीय परिषदों के बारे में भी इसी तरह की कोई आपत्ति करेगा। कोई भी कह सकता है कि हम इस कौंसिल में नहीं रहेंगे। इस बात का प्रयत्न हो सकता है, जोर दिया जा सकता है और पूरा दबाव डाला जा सकता है कि हम इस तरह की कौंसिलों से अलग रहना चाहते हैं। जब इस तरह की परम्परा डाली जायेगी तो स्टेट्स भी चाहेंगे कि उनको भी इस तरह की छूट मिलनी चाहिये।

नागालैंड जो कि इसका पड़ोसी राज्य है जिसको अन्य राज्यों की तरह आना चाहिये था उसको इस बात की छूट मिल गई है। क्या ही अच्छा होता अगर गृह मंत्री जी आरम्भ में ही इस के बारे में बनला देते कि नागालैंड की आपत्ति इस संबंध में क्या थी। शायद उनकी आपत्ति यह होगी कि अभी तक उनका संबंध और संचालन केन्द्र भी ओर से विदेश मंत्रालय द्वारा होता था, लेकिन इस बिल के आ जाने के बाद, अगर यह पान हो गया, तो इस कारण इसका संबंध गृह मंत्रालय से हो जायेगा। दूसरी आपत्ति शायद उनको गवर्नर के संबंध में हो

सकती है क्योंकि आसाम और नागालैंड दोनों का एक ही गवर्नर है। वे लोग पिछले दिनों से इस बात का प्रयत्न भी कर रहे हैं कि उनका एक अलग गवर्नर हो जाय।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** He has already said that negotiation is going. Not only this, there may be many other objections.

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो एक गलत परम्परा डाली जा रही है वह अच्छी चीज नहीं है। इस परम्परा के पीछे जो भावना है, इस परम्परा के पीछे जो पृष्ठ भूमि है, अगर उसके संबंध में गृह मंत्रालय यहां पर बात स्पष्ट करता तो हो सकता है कंविन्स हो जाता। वास्तव में मेरा मत यह है कि आरम्भ से ही इस क्षेत्र को विदेश मंत्रालय के अधीन रखना गलत था। आज भी इस स्थिति को सुधारा जाना चाहिये और नागालैंड के संबंध में जो कुछ भी सारी व्यवस्थाएँ हैं उनका सीधा संबंध गृह मंत्रालय से होना चाहिये न कि विदेश मंत्रालय से।

आखिरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि इस क्षेत्र में जो संघीय क्षेत्र मनीपुर और त्रिपुरा है, उनकी अपनी अपनी समस्याएँ हैं और वे अपनी समस्याओं के अनुसार अलग से ऊंचे दर्जे की मांग कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि अब समय आ गया है कि जितने भी संघीय राज्य क्षेत्र हैं, वे चाहे मनीपुर हो, त्रिपुरा हो हिमाचल प्रदेश हो, दिल्ली हो, सब कुछ न कुछ असंतोष के कारण बने हुए हैं। स्टेट रिआर्गनाइजेशन कमिशन ने भी एक पृष्ठ भूमि में सुझाव दिया था कि इन सब क्षेत्रों को खत्म कर दिया जाय। "सी" पार्ट्स को खत्म करने की सिफा, रिश स्टेट रिआर्गनाइजेशन कमिशन ने की थी, लेकिन समय समय पर और भिन्न भिन्न कारणों से इन क्षेत्रों को अलग अलग स्थान केन्द्र के अधीन दिया जाता रहा। दिल्ली को विधान सभा का रूप नहीं दिया गया। वह अब भी एक संघीय राज्य क्षेत्र है। मैं समझता हूं कि इन संघीय राज्य क्षेत्रों को चाहे मनीपुर हो

[श्री लाल आडवाणी]

त्रिपुरा हो, हिमाचल प्रदेश हो या दिल्ली हो, उनके बारे में एक साथ फैसला होना चाहिये कि उनका भविष्य क्या होगा। इस तरह का फैसला टुकड़ों में नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, पीसपील न होकर, एडवाक बेसिस पर न हो कर यह फैसला समन्वित रूप से होना चाहिये।

मैं पुनः इस बिल को प्रवर समिति के भेजे जाने के संबंध में श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर और श्री राजनारायण जी का जो सुझाव है, उसका अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

**SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKA-YASTHA (Assam):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, I whole-heartedly welcome the introduction of the Bill which has not come a day too soon. As early as 1936 a farsighted Member of the Central Assembly, who hailed from Assam, introduced a Bill in the Central Assembly for changing the name of Assam into the North-Eastern Frontier State. He later became the Home Minister of Assam. If that Bill had been passed at that time, I think many of the problems that have arisen in the North-East region would not have arisen.

Sir, the main problems of this North-Eastern region are security and development. We should bear in mind that there are elements in Nagaland, in Assam, in Manipur and in N.E.F.A. who do not regard themselves as Indians. With such a background, I think security measures should be tightened in that area, and I think this measure meets the requirement.

This measure, I think, promises to open a new chapter in the development of that part of the country. It is time to associate the representatives of that area with the development and security of that part. So I whole-heartedly welcome the measure.

Sir, the problems of this territory cannot be looked at in isolation; they have to be viewed as a whole and solved. It is unfortunate that the Government of Nagaland has chosen to remain out of this North-Eastern Council. I hope attempts would be made to persuade them to join the North-Eastern Council.

I know there is discontent among the Nagas for the Government's failure to assure them that they would have a separate Governor for Nagaland and get the Naga-speaking areas contiguous to Nagaland. This is a vital problem and will have to be solved. Along with that, there are problems of Manipur and Tripura. The people there have raised their voice for full Statehood. I request the Home Minister to treat the demand for Statehood to Manipur and Tripura sympathetically and see if Statehood can be granted to them immediately.

In the N.E.F.A. the people are aspiring to get a responsible Government. The Government of India has already set up a Panchayat Council. I hope that its status will be raised and in no time N.E.F.A. will have a fully representative Government.

In Nagaland the Government have decided to set up a paper mill. In Assam the main source of paper is from Cachar and Mizo. If there is co-ordination between the different regions, then the development work in that region can be taken up.

There is a demand for setting up a University each in Nagaland, in Meghalaya, in Manipur and in Tripura and in my district which, though in Assam, is a Bengali-speaking district. It has also joined in that demand because of the Government's policy to introduce the regional language as the medium of instruction in the University. In Assam there are three Universities, and all these Universities are located in the Assamese-speaking region. Naturally, the regional language of these Universities is Assamese. Then, what will happen to the people of my district, Cachar, which consists of 20 lakhs of Bengali-speaking people? So that is the immediate problem. I hope through this North-Eastern Council a portion of the University will be earmarked for all these regions where the medium of instruction should be English to be gradually replaced by Hindi.

Sir, when the multi-lingual State of Assam was made a unilingual State, all the linguistic minorities living in Assam and the plains tribals, all joined together and demanded that the official language of Assam should be English till it is replaced by Hindi. But the request was

not heeded. As a result, Assam is fragmented. I hope with the creation of this North-Eastern Council the process of fragmentation that has set in will be reversed and the centrifugal, fissiparous tendencies that are raising their ugly head in that part of the country will be checked.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the main problem of that region is development of communications. Even after 23 years of independence, communication there is very difficult. People from one region cannot go to another region. There are also restrictions on the movement of people either to Nagaland or to the Mizo area or to NEFA. These restrictions should be removed so that the people of the whole region think themselves as belonging to one nation, one country and one region, so that there may be free mixing, there may be free exchange of ideas and they can think together as to how the area can be developed. With these words, I support this Bill.

**SHRI BIRA KESARI DEO (Orissa):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support this Bill. While inaugurating the Meghalaya State, the Prime Minister had stressed the need for development. It is true that that area needs development. Sir, in this Bill in clause 4, there is a provision that the Council will discuss about development. But, Sir, 12 years ago, in 1958, the then Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while writing the foreword to the book on the Philosophy of NEFA, had given five principles, or *panch-sheel* for that area. He had said that for the development of that area, the fundamental principles should be:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

4. We should not overadminister these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

And lastly, the most important one:

5. We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Sir, we the people of the plains have enjoyed a lot. We the people of the plains are the more fortunate people of India. It is the hill people who are the sufferers. So, we the people of the plains should sacrifice more of our resources in favour of the people of the hills. I would congratulate the Home Minister if he spends more money in that area instead of building border roads through the Border Roads Organisation. Lastly, Sir, NEFA is a very important part of that area, but unfortunately the hon. Member of Parliament from NEFA is not a member of the Council. With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** माननीय वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं इस विधेयक की तारीफ करते हुए अपने गृह मंत्री जी का जो उनकी कमजोरी है उसकी ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। नागालैंड गवर्नमेंट नहीं चाहती है, इसलिए उसे इसमें शुमार नहीं किया गया है, यह मैं समझता हूँ भारत सरकार की परले दर्जे की कमजोरी है। आज यदि ईस्टर्न जोनल कौंसिल में बिहार कह दे कि हम नहीं रहेंगे, महाराष्ट्र कह दे कि वेस्टर्न जोनल कौंसिल में हम नहीं रहेंगे तो क्या वैसा होने दिया जायगा ? तो क्या नागालैंड गवर्नमेंट की इतनी हिमाकत है कि वह कहे कि हम नहीं रहेंगे तो नहीं रहेगी ? किस तरह से डेवलपमेंट होगा ? 33 करोड़ रुपए लेने के लिए तो भारत सरकार के साथ रहेंगे और जब एक तरह से मिलजुल कर विकास करने की बात आई तो उन्होंने ध्यान आकर्षित किया कि हम वैदेशिक मंत्री के हाथ में हैं। विदेश मंत्री के हाथ में क्यों रहेंगे ? यह तो तय हो गया था कि जैसे और भूभाग है वैसे नागालैंड भी गृह मंत्रालय के अंतर्गत रहेगा। जब

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

यह निश्चय हो चुका है तो उसे गृह मंत्रालय के अंतर्गत रहना चाहिए।

माननीय वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, हमारी थोड़ी सी कमजोरी की वजह से ईस्टर्न जोन में तरह तरह के उत्पात होते हैं थोड़ी सी कमजोरी पहले नागालैंड में दिखलाई, वहां होस्टाइल हो गए, चीन पहुंच गए, पाकिस्तान पहुंच गए और अब मनीपुर में पहुंचना शुरू हो गए हैं, मिजो में पहुंचना शुरू हो गए हैं। इसलिए यह सारी हमारी कमजोरी है। शासन करना है तो थोड़ी दृढ़ता के साथ करना चाहिये।

कल माननीय वीरो जी का भाषण हुआ। मैं नहीं समझा कि वे क्या भाषण दे रहे हैं। उन्होंने इस बात को डिफेंड किया कि नागालैंड को अलग रहना चाहिए। यह मनोवृत्ति बड़ी निन्दनीय है और मैं इसकी निन्दा करना चाहता हूं, चाहे यह कोई भी सदस्य कहे। जब हम होल ईस्टर्न जोन में सबका विकास करना चाहते हैं, नागालैंड का भी विकास होना चाहिए, मिजो का भी विकास होना चाहिए, मेघालय का भी विकास होना चाहिए, मनीपुर और त्रिपुरा का भी विकास होना चाहिए तो अकेला नागालैंड अलग कैसे रह सकता है? इसलिए हमको बहुत खतरा मालूम पड़ता है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को कहता हूं कि यदि इस तरह की कमजोरी दिखलाएंगे तो हिन्दुस्तान की एकता को आप रख नहीं सकते। कोई भी जोन में कहेगा कि हम नहीं आएंगे और खुद-मुख्तार होना शुरू कर देगा। क्या हिमाकत है नागालैंड की कि अलग रहेगा? आप जोर दीजिए, कहिए कि रहना पड़ेगा। उनको समझाना चाहिए कि इसमें कुशलता है, इसी में हिन्दुस्तान की भलाई है, आपकी भलाई है, डेवलपमेंट होगा, इस तरह की बात होगी।

इसके साथ साथ जो हमारे आसाम के भाई लोग हैं इन्होंने रिजोल्यूशन पास किया कि सारा नागा इनहेबिटेड एरिया, मनीपुर, त्रिपुरा, मेघालय को मिला कर एक राज्य बनेगा लेकिन

जब बंगाली स्पीकिंग एरिया पर इनका प्रहार हुआ तो नागालैंड के लोगों को भी शक हुआ, मेघालय के लोगों को भी शक हुआ, सबको शक हो गया, इसलिए वह बन नहीं पाया। जो हमारे आसाम के भाई लोगों ने रिजोल्यूशन पास किया उसमें नागालैंड के लोग थे, मेघालय के थे, त्रिपुरा के थे, सबने एक स्वर से उसे पास किया, लेकिन आसाम के भाई भाषावाद के शिकार हुए, उसकी वजह से वह बन नहीं पाया, कटुता बढ़ गई और सब अलग हो गए। इसलिए अब जो नार्थ-ईस्टर्न कौंसिल बनाना चाहते हैं उसकी पृष्ठभूमि दीजिए कि यही फाउन्डेशन होगी, नींव होगी। कहा गया कि जो छोटी छोटी स्टेट होंगी भाषा के आधार पर उनका निर्माण होगा, लेकिन नागालैंड में कौन सी भाषा है? वहां 55 डाइलेक्ट हैं। मेघालय में क्या भाषा है? कोई भाषा नहीं है। इसलिए आप भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्तों का निर्माण नहीं कर रहे हैं। इसलिए आप अपनी कमजोरी को छोड़िए नहीं तो आप हिन्दुस्तान की एकता को नहीं रख सकते। इस तरह से आप यह कर दें कि वे अलग रहेंगे तो यह बीमारी और भी आने वाली है। इसलिए आपसे करबद्ध प्रार्थना करता हूं कि इस कमजोरी को छोड़ो। नागालैंड में लोगों ने हथियार उठाए... और आप ने विवश हो कर उस को स्टेट बना दिया। आप कहते हैं कि वह कमजोरी नहीं है, हमने यू ही बना दिया। एक किताब पढ़ रहे थे हमारे माननीय सदस्य। क्या उस किताब के हिसाब से हिन्दुस्तान का इंटीग्रेशन होगा। पंडित जी ने जो बात उम किताब में लिख दी क्या वह सब हम ऐसे ही मान लेंगे। इस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान का इंटीग्रेशन कैसे होगा? हम वहां जा नहीं सकते, षड्चूल ट्राइब्स में काम नहीं कर सकते, तो क्या बाबा आदम के जमाने की किताब से ही काम चलेगा? ऐसी ही किताबों ने हमारे देश का सत्यानाश किया है चाहे वह पंडित जी ने लिखी हो या किसी और ने। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो कुछ अभी नागालैंड में हुआ है उस से ज्यादा उत्पात मचने वाला है मणिपुर में और त्रिपुरा में। मैं इस के लिए

चेतावनी नहीं देता लेकिन मैं देख रहा हूँ कि वहाँ आज हजारों नौजवान लोग भाग रहे हैं। आप ने उन को चस्का लगा दिया है। नागालैंड वालों ने जरा जोर लगा दिया, आप ने उन का स्टेट अलग बना दिया और अब 30 करोड़ रुपया उन को देते हैं। इस को देख कर जो पास के क्षेत्र उन में भी यह भावना फैलेगी कि नागालैंड की तरह से ही हथियार उठाओ तो भारत सरकार देगी और उन की बात मानेगी। इस प्रकार का चस्का उन को लग गया है। इस के लिए आप गया करेंगे। इस लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप उन सब को मिला जुला कर एक करिये जल्दी से जल्दी, नहीं तो हिमाचल बन जायगा, उधर बन जायगा उधर बन जायगा और उस से खराबी ही होगी। यह जो कौंसिल बन रही है उस में होम मिनिस्ट्री का और डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री का रिप्रेजेंटेटिव रहना चाहिए और उन सब क्षेत्रों के प्रतिनिधि होने चाहिए और सब से ज्यादा वहाँ के विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। जो असली समाजवाद है वह वहाँ आना चाहिए। असली गरीब वहाँ हैं ट्राइबल एरियाज में। लीडर लोग भले ही चीन और पाकिस्तान से और दिल्ली में आ कर बात कर लें, लेकिन वहाँ की असली जनता गरीब है। उस के डेवलपमेंट के लिए इस तरह की कौंसिल की आवश्यकता है। अगर लीडर नहीं चाहते हैं तो उन को आप फोर्स करिये। वहाँ के डेवलपमेंट के लिए उन को इस कौंसिल में लाना निहायत जरूरी है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक की तहेदिल से तार्किक करता हूँ और सरकार से अपील करता हूँ कि नागालैंड के लोगों को समझाने की कोशिश करें कि वह इसमें जल्दी से चले आएँ। जय हिन्द।

3 P.M.

**SHRI BIPINDAL DAS (Assam):** Sir, it is true that this entire region lying on our eastern border needs integrated and coordinated development and security measures. There is absolutely no doubt about it and from that point of view the objective of this Bill may be quite good. But I want to repeat what I said the other day in this

House that integrated development of an area cannot take place without the active and willing participation of the people, and the security of an area cannot be safeguarded unless the people of that area are kept satisfied. We should now examine whether the provisions enunciated in this Bill will meet these two points.

The honourable Members of this House may remember that before Meghalaya came into existence, there was a movement in the hill areas of Assam for a separate Hill State. As a solution to this problem the Government of India suggested what was called the federal plan. The honourable Home Minister will remember that happened in Assam when this federal plan was suggested. What were the consequences? Why had the plan to be withdrawn? And now I suspect that the provisions introduced in this Bill are nothing but the introduction of the federal plan through the back-door. If you want to introduce the federal plan, have the courage and do it openly. Why say one thing today and withdraw it the next day? If you want to do it, do it in a democratic way. Now, this Bill is worse than the federal plan. This is a federal plan with a bureaucratic basis. I welcome Meghalaya. I wish Meghalaya well. But the people there must be satisfied. Their demands must be met. I may point out that Meghalaya has started with a failure. There were six hill districts in Assam. The Naga district became a separate State and out of the five remaining hill districts, only two have joined Meghalaya; three have refused to join. At the very outset Meghalaya has failed. I still wish it success. I still wish it well. Let the people of Meghalaya be contented. Let them have their own way. But this is how things are happening. I have no time to elaborate and I do not want to go into the history of the eastern region from the beginning. But I must say that right from the beginning, from the day we got independence the policies pursued by the Government of India in that part of the country have led to nothing but the growth of fissiparous tendencies and disintegrating forces. If I had the time I would have proved it. Look at the policy towards NEFA, towards Nagaland. Look at what they are doing in Manipur, what they are doing in Tripura.

[Shri Bipinpal Das.]

Let me now come to the provisions of this Bill. The first point is—a very vital point—why should Nagaland be out of this? The honourable Home Minister said in the Lok Sabha that negotiations are going on and that for Nagaland it has become a question of prestige or something like that. Yesterday we heard Mr. Vero. It is not a question of prestige or sentiment. The Nagas have their practical sense. Now what is going to happen? The Nagas should be proved to be wrong. Their apprehensions should be proved to be baseless. May I ask the Government of India: Can any integrated development of this area take place without the cooperation of Nagaland? If the Government says that it is negotiating with Nagaland, well, let us then wait. I do not see why we can not wait. We are not in a hurry. Let us first see what happens to Meghalaya. It is a new experiment. Let us wait for the consent of Nagaland and postpone this Bill. Without the active cooperation of Nagaland I do not think there can be any integrated and coordinated development or security in that part of the country.

Let us now come to the composition of the Council. I do not want anybody to misunderstand me. Speaking strictly from a constitutional point of view I do not think the State of Assam stands on the same footing as Meghalaya or Manipur or Tripura or NEFA. But still on the Council they have all been equated and given the same vote. This is sure to give rise to misgivings in my State. Constitutionally speaking, surely they do not stand on the same footing. Only Nagaland and Assam stand on the same footing, but not the rest. Now they have all been placed on the same footing and given the same right of vote. . .

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** It is an advisory body.

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS :** I know that. I am coming to that. If you want a body to advise the State in the matter of economic development and security measures and all that, the question arises whether you have the elected representatives of the people in that body. Why should you bring in the Governor of Assam? Why should you

bring in the Administrators of Manipur, Tripura and NEFA? They are nothing but bureaucrats. They do not represent the people. If you want the people to do something for themselves, then, let the people's representatives come and decide it. Let the elected representatives of the people from Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura and NEFA come together, sit together and plan. Why do you bring in the bureaucrats? Out of the ten members on the Council, four are regular bureaucrats. So far as Manipur and Tripura are concerned, their Chief Ministers do not enjoy the same powers as the Chief Minister of U.P. or Assam. They have only limited powers. For all practical purposes the Administrators of Manipur and Tripura are more or less the super Chief Ministers. So then there are six of them and they will dominate? I do not understand how Mr. Luthra is there. On what basis can Mr. Luthra become a member of this Council?

Why should Mr. Ering who represents NEFA in the Lok Sabha and also in the Council of Ministers be kept out? How does Mr. Luthra come in? Sir, I may be permitted to say that Mr. Luthra has been there for 12 years without transfer. Now the time has come for his retirement and therefore very cleverly a provision has been made by the Home Ministry for a new Secretariat staff for this Council. I am sure Mr. Luthra will be the first candidate for the post of Secretary of the Council. Such things give rise to misgivings. Today Nagaland has refused to join the Council. If Meghalaya also opts out and Manipur and Tripura follow suit, what will happen to this Council? Therefore we have to see that it is going to work and it will be a feasible measure. As it is, I do not think it is going to be a practical proposition (*Time bell rings*). Now, Sir, you have asked me to sit down. So I have to cut short my points.

Another point that has struck me is that according to the Bill the Rules of Procedure of this Council are to be approved by the Government of India and the Government of India would, in practice, mean not Mr. Chavan, but Mr. L. P. Singh. It is very clear that there is going to be a raj of Mr. L. P. Singh, Mr. B. K. Nehru and Mr. Luthra. Tomorrow they may change, but the same set-up of bureaucrats will con-



tinue. The whole thing is going to be dominated by the same set of people. It may be all right in theory. But in practice what is going to happen? Why should the Rules of Procedure be approved by the Central Government? Why can't this Council lay down its own procedure? What is this game?

Then, Sir, they have introduced a provision for a Co-ordination Committee to be constituted out of this Council by excluding one Minister from Assam and one Minister from Meghalaya. I do not see any reason why they have done this. The rest of the people are there in the Co-ordination Committee. The two Ministers who have been excluded would have perhaps represented the people in the Council. And now what remains, anybody can see. So this whole game raises serious doubts and misgivings in our minds; it is going to be a grand plan for the establishment of a bureaucratic regime in between the autonomous and democratic rights of the people on the one hand and the Central Government on the other hand. It will also cause in effect the erosion of the democratic rights of the people of this area. Under these circumstances I doubt whether the people there will be willing to actively participate in achieving the objective of this Bill. It is not only going to have very bad repercussions which will soon be seen but it is also going to be a wasteful affair. Therefore will the Government of India be kind enough to consider the advisability of waiting to see what happens to Meghalaya first? Meanwhile the Government of India may win over Nagaland to join this Council. Regarding the composition of the Council, let us make it more democratic and more representative of the people. I have no quarrel with the objective as such but the way in which this objective is proposed to be achieved as provided for in the Bill is not in my opinion quite correct. Before I conclude, I must say that if you want this objective to be fulfilled, then you must do the following things :

(1) Nagaland must be persuaded to join this Council as one of the very important areas in that particular region.

(2) Remove all the bureaucratic elements, including the Governor and the Administrators, from the composition of the Council.

I will request Mr. Chavan or his Deputy to preside over this Council. Why is that not possible? If you do not want any one of the Chief Ministers of that area to preside over the Council, Why not Mr. Chavan or Mr. Shukla? That will be quite democratic. Why do you bring in the Governor of Assam who represents none except the Central Government? Then, Sir, I would also suggest :

(3) the decisions of the Council must not be taken by majority vote. The provision for vote must be eliminated from the Bill. The decisions should be taken by consensus.

(4) Let the people of Manipur, Tripura and NEFA enjoy full democratic rights.

Before Manipur enjoys Statehood, which is its demand—and I am sure it will be followed by Tripura also—I do not think you will get the willing and active co-operation from these people. I do not think that under these circumstances the objective of this Bill is going to be achieved in its present form. So I will advise the Government to re-examine the whole question. There is no hurry about it. Let us do something which will be practicable and feasible so that ultimately we will be able to achieve the objective laid down by us. Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI (Assam):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, the purpose of the Bill is quite welcome but the manner in which it has been drafted is not at all good. I must say that I agree with many points made by my friend, Mr. Baharul Islam, and my friend, Mr. Bipinpal Das. Sir, this North-East Frontier is a very sensitive area surrounded by hostile countries like Pakistan and China and I know this region for the last several years because I have moved in this region with the people. Even I have moved with Mr. Phizo and contacted him not in a hostile way but to persuade him to remain in India. I had been to Manipur, I had been to Tripura, Nagaland, NEFA, Mizo Hills and other hill districts of Assam in this region. So I can tell you that I know their problems and their sentiments and feelings. I know their problems much better than anybody else in the Home Ministry. Even the Home Minister does not know their feelings and sentiments as much as

[Shri Sriman Prafulla Goswami.]

I do. He might be knowing it but that knowing is not like my knowing it, because I have worked for about 20 years in all these areas. I know most of the problems there. Sir, I do not know whether the draft Bill was sent to the different States for their opinion and whether they expressed their opinion. That I do not know. But I am making some observations from my personal study of the problem.

I fail to understand why the Home Minister is in so much hurry to pass such a Bill when Nagaland is not going to co-operate with the Council and is not going to join it. I fully appreciate the purpose of the Bill that there should be co-ordination, there should be development in all these areas and close co-operation is necessary for national integration. But I must say that this Bill has been drafted by the bureaucrats of the Central Government. Of course the Home Minister is quite responsible and I do not doubt the sincerity of the Home Minister; he is a great patriot and he wants national integration. But I must say that the Bill as it has been drafted contains the seeds of disintegration of that area. Shri Bipinpal Das has rightly pointed out "Why have you introduced bureaucracy?" We know how bureaucrats work, how they make conspiracies and how they try to set Manipur against Assam, Nagaland against Assam or NEFA against Tripura. So I will suggest that let it be tried like the Zonal Councils not on a statutory basis but in a conventional way. My conscience pricks me when I find that the Governor is to preside. Why not the Home Minister? He has been presiding over the Zonal Council. Here also he can preside because he will be able to understand the problems of the people better than a Governor can. The present Governor is not elected; he is only a bureaucrat. In case the Home Minister does not like to preside, let the Chief Ministers of all the States and territories preside by rotation.

My previous speakers, Shri Islam and Shri Das have ably pointed out that clause 3 ought not to have been introduced. It says that the decision will be by majority vote. For the future development and integrity of the area, why should there be a voting? With

common agreement development should take place. Why is Nagaland not coming in? It is because they are fearing that by voting they will be out-numbered. You are initiating all your political experiments in Assam. You brought about Meghalaya. We gave you full support to that. But all the political experiments Mr. Chavan wants to make in that area alone. You should have made some political experiments in Maharashtra, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh etc. In these States also, there are Tribal areas and undeveloped backward areas. I know how patient our Home Minister is but here, I find how hurriedly he wants to make this experiment. I was all along supporting the Home Minister but in this case it pains me not to give support to such a defective Bill. I have full confidence in his patriotism but here somehow he has been misled by some Home Secretary. This is a historical step. The future generation will judge by what we say here. I must say that the Bill, as drafted, contains the seeds for future disintegration and for the building up of bureaucracy there. Unless and until this Bill is fully discussed with us, we should not become a party to such a Bill. Our party in the State did not brief us on this and we also do not know the views of our State Government over this Bill. If I had a chance of discussing this, if the Bill had been discussed in our Party either in the State or here, then I would have spoken my mind here and I would try to convince the Party. Here for the first time I have seen the Bill. We supported the Meghalaya Bill. From the beginning I was supporting it, but this Bill for NE Council is hurriedly drafted.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN:** My friend should not feel that this has come as a surprise. As a matter of fact the initial statement that the Government issued on the basis of which Meghalaya was brought into existence, that itself contained the provision for establishing the North Eastern Council. This idea is not new. This idea was discussed very widely. Possibly the Member may have forgotten.

**SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI:** I have no quarrel with it. I welcome the idea of national integration.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN:** That is all right.

**SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI:** With the idea of drafting this Bill I still agree. With national integration I agree but where you have put that some of the officers of the Central Government, . . .

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA** (Orissa): Would you like the Bill to be sent to a Joint Select Committee? There is already an amendment to that effect. You can improve on the Bill.

**SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI:** Do not drag me into it. I do not agree. If I had such an idea, I would have tabled such an amendment. I am expressing my mind and I am stating my views so that the future generation may judge. I am also making my appeal to the Home Minister. I am a born socialist. I believe in my Party but I am not a dumb follower like anybody without any consideration of the facts.

Regarding the rules, they should be left to the Council. If any Secretariat is to be created, it should have been left to the Regional Council, not to the Central Government. The Central Government, of late, has developed a tendency to boss over the States with the help of top bureaucrats. They cannot boss over Maharashtra but they can do over our small states like Assam. I am expressing my view. This is something frank and the feeling of my state.

**SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON** (Kerala): I like the formation of the North Eastern Council but I am afraid I cannot support this Bill.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Without your support the Bill is not going to be passed.

**SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON:** This Council is absolutely necessary. It is after a good deal of struggle that the Nagas were able to get Nagaland and the Meghalaya people got their Meghalaya. There are other States like Tripura and Manipur that must also get their Statehood. I am not one who believes that by threat you can force them together. My Jan Sangh friends want it but I do believe that such a possibility cannot be there unless we get their willing cooperation.

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** कौन कहता है थ्रेट की बात । कोई नहीं कहता ।

**SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON:** In the name of fighting with the Chinese or with Pakistan let us not try to create greater trouble among the hill people. Those people can be fought effectively with the willing cooperation of our friends and it will be willingly given also. A flexible stand was taken by the Government when it accepted Nagaland and Meghalaya. I believe it will be equally flexible in the case of Tripura and Manipur and let us have all these areas with their own Governments. There is nothing wrong. India is such a huge continent and let us together, as brothers, come and fight the enemies and also work for the improvement of our entire area. It is absolutely necessary that in this area a coordinated effort should be made and for that the first thing should be that Assam should go out and Nagaland should come in here for the time being. I am not for permanent exclusion of Assam. For the time being let Assam go out and Nagaland come in. Why? The fear of Assam was responsible for this. It was the fear of Assam the fear of the plains people, the fear that the Nagas had about the plains people from the period of Janamejaya onwards right down from the period of the Aryan invasion, that fear still continues and you have to go and win them over and that can be done only by respecting the Nagas, respecting their culture etc. They are a proud people with a very sensitive feeling. What we have to do is to win them over which can be done by removing the plains people for the time being away from that and getting the other people together and not by having a Governor to preside over this Council: I would therefore request for the election of a Chief Minister because we do not want the Governor to sit in judgment over the people's representatives. Even in Nagaland, even in those areas which are considered to be sensitive areas, let us not have the bureaucracy to decide. They have faith in the people. Once we have it, I am sure these people can be won over. I would therefore say that regarding clause 3, there should be a change. Regarding the North Eastern Agency, till the situation is changed, I have said that Assam can go out.

[Shri Balachandra Menon.]

Regarding the functions of the Council I fully agree with it; it is quite necessary and it is quite good. Such co-ordinated efforts will have to be made by neighbouring States. Then the meeting of the Council is not to be presided over by the Governor. I would also suggest that the Central Minister should be there; one of the Ministers should be there. If possible, he can, preside; that would be much better; that will show greater respect for them and that area requires greater help. So the Planning Commission Member and also one of the Ministers from here should be there in that Committee. This Co-ordination Committee as it is again is highly bureaucratic; it should not be so.

Lastly I would also say that in regard to transaction of business the Central Government's approval is not necessary. Let them discuss and get things passed. Let us give it a democratic content. I am one who believes that with greater democracy, with greater faith in the people there, we will be able to improve those so-called backward areas and also win over those people who today are suspicious. Mr. Vero, representative of Nagaland, spoke yesterday. What he said should be taken as a warning and also as a prophesy. It is a warning that if you force it will be resisted; it is a prophesy that if you leave them they will come together. Let us accept it and we shall have a contented tribal area which can solve the problem. For the time being let us not force this on the people there. That is what I would suggest.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I whole-heartedly support this Bill. I congratulate the Home Minister for introducing this Bill here in this House. Sir, I do not agree with the Members who have spoken just now, some of them bitterly criticising the provisions of the Bill or the spirit of the Bill. Mr. Prafulla Goswami went even so far as to criticise the Home Minister personally as if he had some personal motives or some personal interest in the matter. This attitude. . .

SHRI SHRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI: I objected to the drafting.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I have not drafted it.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYA: Sir, this is a very sensitive area. The region which is covered by this Council holds a very strategic position. Geographically, strategically, the whole of the Indian people are concerned about this eastern region.

With regard to the proposed Council we may have some suggestions as to whether the Home Minister should be the Chairman of this Council or whether the Governor shall serve the purpose. We may differ on this minor point. The purpose of this Bill is to have a coordinated effort, coordinated planning, coordinated security measures, coordinated action with regard to many States and the Centrally administered regions in this North-Eastern Council. Sir, the purpose of the Bill will not be served if it is just some sort of a zonal meeting or a body with some of the States of that zone, just as we have the eastern zone or the northern zone meetings presided over by the Home Minister. These are not statutory bodies. Here we need a statutory body in the form of this North-Eastern Council because the necessity is much more imperative in this region than the wishes of the people in the other regions where the executive board or the Ministers and Administrators of those States could meet under the chairmanship of the Home Minister but in this particular region it should be a statutory body and so I welcome these provisions of this Bill, because it will be a statutory body and nobody at his sweet will will be able to change these provisions. If there is any necessity for any further amendment it must always come to the Lok Sabha and to this House. I therefore welcome the establishment of this Council through these statutory provisions.

Sir, there are many provisions in this Bill. In clause 4 we have the functions of the Council enumerated and again in clause 7 I find there is provision for a Co-ordination Committee. I find it is superfluous; it is not necessary because in clause 4 where the functions of the Council are enumerated there is a provision for a review from time to time of the implementation of the schemes included in the regional plan. In clause 7 again there should not be another Co-ordination Committee to review the same thing which is already contained in clause 4. So I find that clause 7 is superfluous and redundant.

The main importance of this North-Eastern Council is because of the threat we are getting from international communism. This is a region where multilingual people are residing with various interests about their own community, about their own creed. For example, some of the Mizos in Assam have already gone underground or gone to Pakistan to get trained in guerilla warfare techniques. We remember there was a Mizo rebellion for an independent Mizoland about three years ago. That sentiment is still there and some of them have gone underground and are getting training in guerilla warfare techniques. In Nagaland the hostile Nagas are still there who demand an autonomous sovereign Statehood. These are the various interests in this region; there is thus clash of interests, clash of personalities, clash of aspirations. And there is also a political aspect to these aspirations because of the neighbouring States being China and Pakistan, and the Government of India should always have some sort of control over this region. That is one of the reasons why I should like to see that the Home Minister is made the Chairman of this Council. With our experience of the Government we do not have any faith in that executive head. Let the Home Minister take this suggestion into consideration because it will be too late then to rectify the mischief of the mistake. The M. Ps. elected from those areas should also be including in the Council. I would also suggest that Tripura and Manipur should be declared independent States as early as possible. With all this clash of interests, clash of personalities, clash of opposing ideas, some sort of a Regional Council as has been envisaged in this Bill is most welcome and I thank the Home Minister for introducing this Bill in the House.

**श्री जी० बरबोरा (आसाम):** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बिल के पीछे जो भावना है वह तो सराहनीय है, लेकिन जिस ढंग से इस बिल को लाया गया है मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ और मैं चाहूंगा, राजनारायण जी का जो अमेन्डमेन्ट है, इस बिल को सेलेक्ट कमेटी में भेजने के लिये, सदन उस पर गौर से सोचे।

आज जो इसमें क्लॉज 3 है कम्पोजीशन के बारे में, इसमें देखा गया है कि आसाम का

चीफ मिनिस्टर हो, मेघालय का चीफ मिनिस्टर हो, मणिपुर में कभी कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर बने तो उसका चीफ मिनिस्टर, त्रिपुरा का चीफ मिनिस्टर हो और साथ ही साथ गवर्नर एज चेयरमैन और अपने वोट के साथ उनका एक कास्टिंग वोट भी हो। त्रिपुरा का जो चीफ कमिशनर है एड्मिनिस्ट्रेटर, मणिपुर का एड्मिनिस्ट्रेटर, एड्वाइजर टु द गवर्नर आफ आसाम आन् डाइबल अफेयर्स, नेफा के बारे में जो है। ये कुल आफिशियल लोग इस कौंसिल को डोमिनेट करेंगे। मैं बहुत जोरों के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह कौंसिल बन जायेगी तो शायद पूर्वी इलाके में व्योरोक्रेट्स का राज्य हो जायेगा। इसलिए इस कौंसिल की जो इस समय शक्ल है, उसका मैं विरोध करता हूँ।

नागालैंड अभी इस कौंसिल में शामिल नहीं होना चाहता है; क्योंकि वह एक फुल फ्लैज्ड स्टेट है। नागालैंड इस कौंसिल के बाहर रहना चाहता है और अगर वह बाहर रहता है तो फिर इस कौंसिल को कोई काम नहीं करना पड़ेगा। साथ ही साथ वहाँ पर त्रिपुरा और मनीपुर की जो जनता है, वह भी फुल फ्लैज्ड स्टेट की मांग कर रही है और उनकी मांग को आपको पूरा करना है। उर्वशियम, जिसको आजकल नेफा कहा जाता है, वहाँ की 8 लाख जनता के ऊपर वर्षों से अफसरों का राज्य चलता आ रहा है और वहाँ पर प्रजातंत्र नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है। लोक सभा में वहाँ का जो उम्मीदवार है, वह भी नामिनेटेड है और उनका नाम एरिंग है और वे भी इस तरह की स्थिति वहाँ के लिए नहीं चाहते हैं। वे भी चाहते हैं कि वहाँ पर जनता का राज्य और उनका शासन कायम हो। वहाँ पर पंचायत जैसी कोई चीज लाई जा रही है, लेकिन वहाँ पर नेफा के जो लोग हैं, शिक्षित नौजवान हैं, जो पहाड़ों में रहते हैं, उन लोगों की मांग है कि एडल्ट फ्रेन्चाइज के जरिये उनके वहाँ चुनाव हो और उनका प्रतिनिधि चुना जाय। इसलिए ये सब चीजें जब तक पूरी नहीं होगी और मणि-

[श्री जी० बरबोरा]

पुर, त्रिपुरा और नेफा में डेमोक्रेसी के संबंध में जो बुनियादी काम है, वह पूरा नहीं होगा तब तक आप इस कौंसिल को लाद कर उनसे पूरा सहयोग प्राप्त नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप पहले उनकी मांगों को पूरा करें और फिर बाद में इस कौंसिल को उनके ऊपर ला दें।

वहाँ पर जो गवर्नर है वह बहुत ही पावर-फुल है। आसाम का जो गवर्नर है वह नागालैंड का भी गवर्नर है। दिल्ली में राष्ट्रपति को झायद उतनी पावर नहीं है, जितनी की वहाँ के गवर्नर को आपने दे रखी है। वहाँ का गवर्नर इस कौंसिल का चेयरमैन भी होगा और इस कौंसिल में इस तरह से वहाँ की आम जनता का कोई भी प्रतिनिधि नहीं होगा। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इस कौंसिल का चेयरमैन रूटीन से होना चाहिये। एक साल के लिए आसाम स्टेट का चीफ मिनिस्टर होना चाहिये और दूसरे साल के लिए किसी नागालैंड स्टेट का चीफ मिनिस्टर होना चाहिये। अगर भविष्य में त्रिपुरा और मणिपुर को भी स्टेट का दर्जा मिल गया तो वहाँ के चीफ मिनिस्टर भी इसके चेयरमैन रूटीन बेसिस पर बनाये जाने चाहियें। उर्वंशियम में जो भी प्रजातंत्र व्यवस्था हो, उनका निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधि इसमें रखा जाना चाहिये और इस समय तो कम से कम होम मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से होम मिनिस्टर साहब को इसमें रहना चाहिये।

इस समय जो कौंसिल की रचना है, उसमें अफसरशाही की बू आती है और वह अप्रजा-तांत्रिक मालूम देती है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस कौंसिल की जो व्यवस्था है, उसको भी बदला जाना चाहिये।

जहाँ तक इसके सेक्रेटेरियट के फंक्शन करने का सवाल है, इसमें दिया हुआ है :

The Council shall have a secretarial staff consisting of a Secretary, a Planning Adviser and such other officers

and employees as the Central Government may by order determine.

इस तरह की जो कौंसिल बनाई जा रही है, वह उसमें आदमियों को रखने के लिए स्वतंत्र होगी। इस तरह से आप सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से अपने आदमियों को उस कौंसिल में लादना चाहते हैं, जो कि ठीक बात नहीं है।

दूसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इन राज्यों के बीच में कोई बाउन्डरी डिस्प्यूट है, लिगविस्टिक माइनारिटीज के संबंध में कोई बात हो, तो उन्हें पहले आपस में बैठ कर फैसला कर लेना चाहिये। आसाम, नागालैंड, मणिपुर या किसी भी राज्य के साथ अगर कोई सीमा के संबंध में या किसी तरह का झगड़ा होता है तो उन्हें पहले आपस में बैठ कर बात कर लेना चाहिये। बाउंडर डिस्प्यूट के साथ ही इन्टर स्टेट कम्युनिकेशन्स का सवाल आता है, इरि-गेशन के झगड़े आते हैं, पी० डब्लू० डी० के झगड़े होते हैं, तो इस तरह के जितने भी झगड़े होते हैं, उन्हें पहले कौंसिल के अन्दर आपस में इन राज्यों को मिल बैठ कर फैसला कर लेना चाहिये। अगर इस तरह के झगड़ों का फैसला वहाँ पर नहीं होता है, तब इसको सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के पास भेजना चाहिये। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बिल को फिर से रिड्राफ्ट किया जाना चाहिये। इस बिल को इस रूप में नहीं लाना चाहिये और जैसा श्री राजनारायण जी ने सुझाव दिया है कि इस बिल को सिलेक्ट कमेटी में भेज दिया जाय, उसका मैं अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

SHRI E. M. SANGMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not want to speak much on this particular matter. On the evening of the 24th December, 1969, the Meghalaya Bill or the Assam Reorganisation Bill was passed both in this House and in the other House. As the Home Minister has already said, in clause 76 of the Meghalaya Bill at page 25 there is a mention that there will be such a Council for this region. My friends who have spoken first have spoken opposing this. I do not oppose the spirit and the idea of having such

a Council in this region. You know, Sir, in the entire area of this north-eastern region of the country many parts have been sliced from the State of Assam. Assam has been divided into several parts and formed into different States like Nagaland or Meghalaya or NEFA. After splitting up all this area from one compact area, now I am glad that the Government of India has come forward with an idea that these areas should be brought together again by having such a Regional Council. But as my friends have said, in this particular matter bureaucracy should not creep in. There should be no question of bureaucracy coming into the picture. People have elected their own representatives, their own elected members have chosen their own leaders as Chief Ministers or Ministers. So why the question of the Governor or the Lieutenant Governor or the Chief Commissioner or the Adviser to the Governor regarding NEFA should come into the picture? To this particular matter I am also opposed.

Another thing is this. Why Nagaland should be excluded? People say that it is a very sensitive area. If you want to have such a Council for a sensitive area, the more sensitive area must be brought in here. If it is not here, the Council is not complete. I would say with due respect to the Home Minister that this Council which he proposes now to have is a very incomplete. It is very much incomplete without having Nagaland there.

I do not want to touch the other points. I will only say that whatever the policy or intention of the Government of India may be, that policy and intention must be left to the wishes and willingness of the people of the area concerned.

With these words, I sit down.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this Bill has been discussed in all its detail. Some hon. Members have supported it, some hon. Members have criticised it and some other have criticised it very severely also. But those who have criticised it, I am afraid they have criticised it out of a complete misunderstanding of the purpose of this Bill and the object with which this Bill has been moved. I know—while criticising, they have said that they welcomed the idea of

having this new forum for the eastern region. But they have misunderstood one thing—the nature of this forum is not that of a political assembly or body which is going to legislate for that area, but it is a forum which we are creating to enable the different administrative units in that region to come together for consultations and evolve some sort of advice which they can, in their combined wisdom, give to themselves and to the Government of India. Therefore, the question of the political status of the unit concerned does not come in the picture at all. As we all know, that area is full of political sensitiveness. I did make mention of Nagaland, that the Government of Nagaland has not agreed to associate itself with this body because they have got certain doubts about the purpose of this body. Possibly, they may have doubts. I do not think they have put it in so many words. But they may have doubts whether by joining such a body they are likely to compromise their political status. I am replying to this doubt, which may exist in Nagaland, and which may still be in some Members' minds, that this is not a body which is really going to be a sort of political assembly of the different political units to legislate for themselves. This is not the purpose of this body.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : Has there been any correspondence so that we can know what is in their mind?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The point is, most of the cases we had informal consultations because I did not want to give that sort of formality to this measure. And whatever we have agreed to, it is mostly through consultations and understanding.

Sir, some Members are pressing me to let them take this matter to the Select Committee. I do not think that questions such as composition, function, etc. of such a body can be decided by the Select Committee. I am prepared to concede one thing that some of the suggestions that the hon. Members have made, personally I consider them to be very good, very logical, very democratic in their nature. But the type of forum that we propose to evolve has to be set up with the acceptance of certain realities of the areas concerned.

Some Members asked : Why is it that the Home Minister does not go

[Shri Y. B. Chavan.]

there and preside over the meetings? If it was merely a question of holding some meetings, I would have agreed to go and preside over them, as I do in the case of other Zonal Councils. But our main purpose is that there should be continuous consultations and following up of certain matters. It is much better that somebody who is stationed in that area should be the Chairman. Sir, under the political sensitiveness to which I made a reference, it is very difficult for me to make it compulsory that one of the Chief Ministers presides over the meeting.

AN. HON. MEMBER : By rotation it can be done.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not against that also. Please do not suppose that I am against it, I would like to tell you. And even the Governor himself was the most reluctant to become the Chairman of this body. And I do not suppose that any Member would say as if somebody manoeuvred to put him as the Chairman there. But we thought that the one person at the present moment who happens to have relations with the three most important areas in the region, is the Governor of Assam and Nagaland, who is also the Administrator of the NEFA area.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : It is precisely because my experience...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : My fear about you is.... (*Interruptions*) I would request the hon. Member not to suffer from that inferiority complex.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : No inferiority.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : My own fear is that you have got some sort of misunderstanding about the entire concept of bringing them together.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : That is precisely because of 23 years of my experience of the treatment from the Central Government.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Maybe, you may have reasons for that. But as far as the political reorganisation is concerned, you will have to forget the 23 years, you will have to start a new era of your thinking. While accepting the formation of the Meghalaya, you

had accepted new ideas and you yourself said that you wished it well. I am very glad indeed. Your party has also given cooperation and I welcome that attitude. But I would request you to forget what happened in the last 23 years. We will have to look at these problems with new hope and orientation. I have not come here with the feeling that everything that I have suggested in this Bill is perfect or it is the last word on the subject. I have no experience of the working of this Council ; many changes may have to be made.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS : If this body is to come in with no political status, why give statutory basis to an advisory body and why do you introduce the question of voting there?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Why a statutory body is necessary? Really speaking, we can meet and have informal consultation and discussion in many ways. But we wanted a statutory body because we wanted to provide a forum where on certain statutory basis they can ask for certain grants, etc. from the Planning Commission and the Government of India also, and to ensure that there will be a body which will take a continuing interest in some of important common projects. For that matter it is very essential that there should be some sort of a statutory body. This is the most important thing that you should know.

Now, the other question he asked was why there should be voting. I would like to give him my experience about the working of the Zonal Councils. Even in the Zonal Councils it is the same position. But in the working of the Zonal Councils, no decision is taken by voting. I have no doubt in my mind that even in this body, if a decision is taken by a majority, it will never be implemented. Decisions will have to be there on the basis of some sort of consensus. But in matters involving the problems of security, if for example the Government of India needs advice and if in that matter some view has to be taken, possibly it will have to be taken by a majority. The most important thing in this matter is the security aspect of it.

4 P.M.

I know, Sir, that there are certain units which are of different types from



one another. NEFA has a different administrative stature there; it is on a different level of political development. There are certain Union territories. There are some full States. This consists of rather different types of political and administrative units there. But, Sir, we cannot forget that the entire area is such poses a security problem which require coordinated consideration. We cannot say that in respect of NEFA, because it has a different type of administration, therefore its problems of security are different from Assam which is a full State or Nagaland which is a full State or from Tripura or Manipur which are Union territories. We cannot take that position. Therefore it is very essential that we have some forum where all the representatives and people responsible to their administrations can come together and make a proper assessment and appreciation of the problems of security.

Some member asked why a representative of the Defence Ministry does not sit there. I can tell you that it is not mentioned there because I do not want the Defence representative to sit in formal meetings, giving all the information about the security matters in a meeting like that. If you see the last section of this Bill, we have said that the Secretariat of this Council will have representatives of different Ministries. Officers of different Ministries and organisations can be invited there, and there they can certainly invite even the GOCs. But I do not want the GOCs to sit there as legal representatives of a statutory body and be responsible for answering questions which can on the next day be published in the papers and further question can be asked on the floor of the House. We are trying to evolve a something new. This is rather an unprecedented experiment. We are trying to create a new forum, the functions and purposes of which are quite different from those of the Zonal Council.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Therefore, I would plead with this House that it is not my claim that this is a perfect legislation. This is, really speaking, an attempt at evolving a new body, the purpose of which is accepted by everybody. The necessity of this is accepted by everybody. Now we have to see how it functions. If there are going to be any difficulties in the functioning of this body, I will be the first

person to come before this hon. House and say that by experience it is found...

AN. HON. MEMBER : You have said that security matters can be discussed in this body. But we see that it is purely entrusted with things like communications, irrigation, flood control and such other things. The question of security does not arise anywhere.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Unfortunately, though this is a very small Bill, people do not read the entire Bill. If you see section 7, it is said : "There will be a Committee of the Council called the Co-ordination Committee consisting of—(a) the Governor of Assam and the Chief Ministers of Assam and Meghalaya..." There you will find : "It shall be the duty of the Co-ordination Committee to review from time to time the measures taken by the States represented on the Council for the maintenance of security and public order therein and to recommend to the Governments of the States concerned further measures necessary in this regard".

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : What is the need of a separate body? The Council can...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The deliberations of the Council are quite different from the deliberations of the Committee.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : You have only two Ministers, one from Assam and one from Meghalaya. How is it going to be different?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I tell you. In the meeting of that body you have many advisers who are Members of other offices; they need not sit here. It is not necessary to keep formal records also. The purpose, the motives, can be different. That is the main thing. All the important representatives of the administration sit there.

The point my hon. friend stated is that there was no mention of any security problems. It is not so. Security problems are mentioned as the main function of the Co-ordination Committee.

So, Sir, as I have said, I am not pleading that this is a first-class piece

[Shri Y. B. Chavan.]

of legislation. It is not so. I normally would not oppose any move for taking matters to the Joint Select Committees. I always believe in collective wisdom than in individual wisdom or ministerial wisdom. I have no doubt about it. It is quite natural that when a minister, who sits in the secretariat and considers problems, sits with his able, democratic colleagues, certainly new lights are thrown. This is my own experience. Many new aspects of it are seen in different contexts. I don't deny that. But I do not think that it is necessary in the present context. Ultimately it will have to be evolved by the experience of the representatives who sit in the Council. Ultimately it should become a body,—powerful, experienced, wise, mature by its own working and functioning.

One last word about Nagaland. It is my wish, it is my request—if I would request the Nagaland Government from the floor of this House, I would like to do that—that those attitudes of suspicious must be given up now. There is no question of compromising the status of the Nagaland. It is because of some speeches you made that their suspicions are supported. You said that it is a federation in a different form. When you call it a federation, then the suspicion of Nagaland becomes reasonable. This is not a federation. This is not at all our intention. Our point is that there are certainly matters which are common to all of them, which they should consider together in a common meeting or in a common forum. This is the real purpose. And I say that hon. Members support this particular objective. This can be brought about only by understanding and exchange of views, by mutual consultations.

Sir, this is the purpose of this Bill. I hope after this lengthy explanation about the purposes and functions of this Bill and keeping in view the primary motive behind the moving of this Bill, hon. Members will support the Bill unanimously, without insisting on the move to refer the Bill to the Joint Select Committee.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I now put the amendment in the name of Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur to vote.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) : मैं दो शब्द कह लूँ ?

श्री उपसभापति : अभी कह ही नहीं सकते आप ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उन्होंने सेलेक्ट कमेटी के संबंध में जो कुछ कहा है...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do you want to withdraw it ?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : नहीं ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : When the hon. Minister has replied to the debate, there is no procedure by which the hon. member can reply now.

श्री राजनारायण : तो आप की यह व्यवस्था है कि जिन का अमेंडमेंट है उन को बोलने की जरूरत नहीं है ।

श्री उपसभापति : मिनिस्टर के जवाब देने के बाद बोलने की व्यवस्था नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : मिनिस्टर बीच में भी इंटरवीन कर सकते हैं ।

श्री उपसभापति : दिस इज ए मवर्नमेंट विल । जब गवर्नमेंट विल सामने है तो उस में आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर के जवाब देने के बाद कोई आनरेबिल मेम्बर बोल नहीं सकता ।

श्री राजनारायण : सरकारी विधेयक में भी मंत्री महोदय बीच में इंटरवीन कर सकते हैं ।

श्री उपसभापति : यह इंटरवेंशन नहीं है । दिस इज दि रिप्लाय टू दि होल डिबेट ।

श्री राजनारायण : जो सर्वमान्य संसदीय प्रथा है उस को आप काटना चाहते हैं । आप कह सकते हैं कि मंत्री महोदय ने बीच में इंटरवीन नहीं किया है, यह उन का फाइनल रिप्लाय है...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The hon. Minister has replied on behalf of the Government, and now nobody can be allowed to speak.

श्री राजनारायण : आप अगर इस तरह से समय बचाना चाहते हैं, तो समय बचेगा नहीं। इस समय नहीं बोलने देंगे तो थर्ड रीडिंग में हम बोलेंगे।

श्री उपसभापति : हां थर्ड रीडिंग में बोलियेगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am putting this amendment to vote. Do you want to withdraw it?

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : No, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the North-Eastern Council Bill, 1970, as passed by the Lok Sabha be referred to a Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha consisting of fifteen members, namely :

1. Shri Golap Barbora.
2. Dr. Bhai Mahavir.
3. Shri Bipinpal Das.
4. Shri Banka Behary Das.
5. Shri S. D. Misra.
6. Shri R. S. Doogar.
7. Shri Lal K. Advani.
8. Shri Chitta Basu.
9. Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta.
10. Shri Balkrishna Gupta.
11. Shri Loknath Misra.
12. Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel
13. Shri M. Vero
14. Shri E. M. Sangma and
15. Shri Baharul Islam

with instructions to report by the 1st day of the next (Seventy-third) session of the Rajya Sabha."

*The motion was negated.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

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mittee of the Rajya Sabha consisting of fifteen members, namely :—

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10. Shri Balkrishna Gupta
11. Shri Lokanath Misra
12. Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel
13. Shri M. Vero
14. Shri E. M. Sangma, and
15. Shri Baharul Islam

with instructions to report by the last day of the next (seventy-third) session of the Rajya Sabha.

*The motion was negated.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now I will put the motion. The question is :

"That the Bill to provide for the setting up of a Council for the north-eastern areas of India to be called the North-Eastern Council and for matters connected therewith, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

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

*Clauses 2 to 8 were added to the Bill.*

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

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

*The question was proposed.*

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय घर मंत्री को इतने से ही संतोष कर लेना चाहिए कि अमेंड-मेंट हम लोगों का गिर गया और बाजी उनकी हो गई ...

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : अमेंडमेंट नहीं 'संशोधन' कहिए।

**श्री राजनारायण :** धन्यवाद । हमारा संशोधन गिर गया और मंत्री जी की बाजी हो गई । तो अब मैं आखीर में उनसे अपील करूंगा अपने तर्कों को देकर कि हमारा तर्क उनके अन्दर सद्बुद्धि लाये और वह इस विधेयक को स्वेच्छा से वापस ले लें । मैं सही में अपने दिल की बात कहना चाहूंगा ।

घर मंत्री बखूबी जानते हैं इस बात को कि सरकार की ओर से कभी नहीं कहा गया कि सरकार अपने कर्मों से देश की सुरक्षा खतरे में ले जाएगी । सरकार ने बराबर यही कहा कि देश की सीमाओं की सुरक्षा के लिए ये-ये काम हम कर रहे हैं और उन कामों में मैं आपके द्वारा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को बताना चाहता हूँ कि 1955 में उर्वसीयम जिसको आप लोग नेफा (नार्थ ईस्ट फ्रंटियर एजेंसी) कहते हैं, उसको उत्तर पूर्व सीमा अंचल का सुन्दर नाम हमने बना दिया । उर्वसी का नाम भारतीय संस्कृति में आप पायेंगे । मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उर्वसी में डा० लोहिया जाने नहीं पाये । गिरफ्तार हो गये । घर मंत्री जी जानते हैं, श्री त्रिलोकी सिंह भी जानते हैं । उस समय वह हमारी पार्टी के सेक्रेटरी थे और पंत जी यहां घर मंत्री थे । मुकदमा चला और बाद में छूट गये ।

हम लोगों के पास खबरें आई थी कि उर्वसी के अन्दर चीन घुसपैठ कर रहा है । गांधी जी का चित्र दुकान से हटा करके तोड़ा जाता है और फाड़ा जाता है, भारत विरोधी भावना का प्रचार होता है, भारत के लोग वहां नहीं जाने पाते थे; क्योंकि सरकार के सलाहकारों ने सलाह दी कि उर्वसीयम को बिलकुल अलग रखा जाए । अब भी वही सलाहकार होंगे, चव्हाण साहब हमारे इस खतरे को दूर करें—और अन्य भारत के भूभाग की रोशनी यहां न आये; ये अपनी अजीबो-गरीब संस्कृति में पले हुए हैं; इनको बिलकुल अपने ढंग से रहने दिया जाए । भारत के लोग सामान्य ढंग से भारत के भूभाग में जाने नहीं पाये और अब भी वही स्थिति है ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अभी तो थर्ड स्टेज चल रही है . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप अभी आये हैं, आप हमारी मुसीबत देखिए । मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से अपील कर रहा हूँ कि वह बिल को वापस ले लें । वह इतने सीधे कहां हैं कि इतने में ही वापस ले लें, कुछ तो हम तर्क रखें । समय तो लगेगा । आप तो अभी सुस्ता कर आये हैं ।

बिपिन पाल दास ने जो तर्क रखा कि इसका ढांचा लोकतंत्रीय किया जाए, तो लोकतंत्रीय अगर ढांचा नहीं है, वही राज्यपाल, वही सलाहकार राज्य के अंदर आकर बैठ जाएं और उन्हीं की महंती रहेगी तो जो घर मंत्री खुद कह रहे हैं कि देश में सामान्य रूप से सभी बातों में आदान-प्रदान होगा तो कैसे होगा, इसका उत्तर घर मंत्री जी ने नहीं दिया है । इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो 7(3) का उद्देश्य है, बहुत अच्छा है । हम जरूर चाहते हैं कि हमारी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा हो, लोगों में विश्वास बना रहे । यह सरकार की इच्छा है । मगर सरकार की इस इच्छा की पूर्ति जो सरकार तरीका अख्तियार कर रही है, उससे होने वाली नहीं है । मैं अपनी शका को ठीक तरीके से इस जगह व्यक्त कर देना चाहता हूँ ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि घर मंत्री कुछ अनुभूतियों को भी स्मरण करेंगे, क्योंकि बिना भूत की अनुभूति किए हुए भविष्य बन नहीं सकता है । तो भूत की अनुभूति हम कराना चाहेंगे कुछ दूर ले जाकर और कुछ नजदीक रख कर । दूर ले जायेंगे तो स्वर्ण युग में । यह स्वर्ण कहां की रहने वाली थी, शीलभद्र ?

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** विदर्भ ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** उर्वसीयम की थी । मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चित्तागंदा कहां की थी ? उर्वसीयम की । आज भारत देश ऐसे प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ में पड़ा कि जो न तो प्राचीन

संस्कृति को जानने न प्राचीन बातों के जानकार हैं। उसकी चोटी पर उसने वृक्ष लगा दिया और उनसे जो फल निकल रहा है, चव्हाण साहब इधर-उधर से ताँड़कर कुछ ऐसा बताना चाहते हैं कि उस वृक्ष का फल हमारे देश की जनता को न मिले, लेकिन अगर वही रफ्तार ब्रेडंगी जो पहले थी वो अब भी है, तो घर मंत्री यशवंत राव चव्हाण आज हमको वह फल खिलाकर रहेंगे।

तो मेरा कहना है कि अगर हम अपने प्राचीन इतिहास को देखते हैं, तो हमारा कितना इस इलाके से ताल्लुक है, इसको समझ लिया जाना चाहिए और जो नेकट का भूत है, जब से श्री जवाहर लाल जी नेहरू इस भारत के प्रधान मंत्री हुए और गांधी जी का निधन हुआ, तब से उनकी कोई पकड़ने वाला नहीं रह गया। वह एक दम छल ग मारने लगे। जो मन में जिस समय आया, वही नीति हो गई। उनकी इच्छा नीति हो गई। क्या इच्छा थी? क्या चाहते थे? यशवंत राव जी ने एक शब्द कह दिया था कि 'इफीरियरिटी कंप्लेक्स' यानी 'हीन-भाव ग्रस्त'। हीन-भाव-ग्रस्त और उच्च-भाव ग्रस्त दोनों एक ही हैं।

इसलिये मैं घर मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मान लिया जाय कि यह विधेयक कानून बन गया, अधिनियम बन गया, तो जो अविश्वास व्याप्त है, उस अविश्वास को उसके जरिये कैसे दूर किया जायगा। क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि अगर महात्मा गांधी न रहे होते तो मुद्दतः आसाम पाकिस्तान को चला जाता। घर मंत्री याद करें और हमारी बात की ताईद करें। बाकायदा श्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू आसाम को दे चुके थे, मगर महात्मा गांधी वज्रिद हुये...

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : बिलकुल गलत बात है।

श्री राजनारायण : बोलो नहीं, इतिहास की बात है।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, आप बिल के बारे में दो मिनट में बोलिये, यह थर्ड रीडिंग है।

श्री राजनारायण : इसलिए यह विधेयक है कि वहाँ के लोगों के दिलों में विश्वास पैदा किया जाय।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह रीजनल कौंसिल की बात थी और यह कहां की बात को कहां से ले आये।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, यह उद्देश्यों और कारणों का कथन है :

“हमारे देश के उत्तर-पूर्वीय प्रदेश की स्थिति अति महत्वपूर्ण है। अतः इस प्रदेश के विकास और उसकी सुरक्षा के प्रति एकीकृत और सुसमन्वित दृष्टिकोण की आवश्यकता है। इस मूलभूत उद्देश्य को अग्रसर करने के लिए प्रस्थापना यह है कि एक उच्च स्तर की परिषद् की स्थापना की व्यवस्था की जाए...”

यह उद्देश्य ही मैं लिखा हुआ है मगर, श्रीमन्, हमारे जो मितगण यहां हैं वे इस उद्देश्य को नहीं पढ़ते, कारण को नहीं पढ़ते कि विधेयक क्यों आया। क्या घर मंत्री के दिमाग में कोई खराबी थी कि यकायक ला कर के विधेयक रख दिया। घर मंत्री एक पवित्र उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये इस विधेयक को लाये हैं, इसलिये घर मंत्री के उस उद्देश्य को ठीक तरह से समझें, नहीं समझेंगे तो केवल हाथ उठा कर के अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं कर पायेंगे। यही हमारे देश की दुर्दशा है। तो श्रीमन्, मैं यह कह रहा हूँ...

श्री उपसभापति : कह रहा हूँ नहीं, कह रहा था। जल्दी समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री राजनारायण : दोनों भाषा चलती है। मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि हम थोड़ा 1962 ई० में चले जायें।

**श्री उपसभापति :** 1969 से ज्यादा पीछे नहीं जाना है, 1970 में आइये, जल्दी कीजिये ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** 1962 के काम को ही घर मंत्री आगे करना चाहते हैं । देखिये, 1962 की दो तारीख हैं, 10 अक्टूबर और फिर 23 अक्टूबर । 10 अक्टूबर को प्रधान मंत्री कोलम्बो जा रहे हैं, पत्रकार पूछते हैं कि आप कोलम्बो जा रहे हैं । चीन की सेनाओं का सीमा पर जमाव हो रहा है, क्या होगा, तो प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि हमें मालूम है, हमने अपनी पलटन को हुकम कर दिया है कि हमलावरों को खदेड़ कर बाहर करो । याद करो हमारे भाई, हम शील-भद्र याजी की इज्जत करते हैं, मगर क्या करूं इतने बांगडू हैं । अब जब वह वहां से लौटने लगते हैं तो भी लोग पूछते हैं तो कहते हैं कि वह तो भगा दिये गये होंगे, हमने हुकम दे दिया, मगर चव्हाण साहब जब 20 अक्टूबर को चीन का व्यापक हमला हुआ है और जब भग-दड़ मची है तो तीन दिन के बाद प्रधान मंत्री का क्या भाषण हुआ है । मैं नहीं जानता चीन के क्या इरादें हैं, चीन क्या चाहता है, उसके पास बड़ी पलटन है, उसके हथियार अच्छे हैं, पहाड़ी इलाके की लड़ाई लड़ना जानते हैं, मैंने तो युद्ध की तैयारी नहीं की, मैं तो शान्त वातावरण में था और चीन युद्ध के वातावरण में था, आसाम की जनता पर आज बड़ी मुसीबत है, आसाम की जनता के साथ हमारी सद्भावना है । श्री पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की सद्भावना की अभिव्यक्ति रेडियो से ब्राडकास्ट होती है और तेजपुर खाली हो जाता है । आसाम की जनता को यकीन नहीं हुआ जब कि पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का रेडियो ब्राडकास्ट हुआ । आसाम की जनता पर बड़ी मुसीबत है, तो तेजपुर ने ममझ लिया कि अब तो चीनी आ गये । तो वह आसाम की जनता इस परिषद् की स्थापना से विश्वास नहीं करेगी, इसलिए श्री के० के० शाह साहब पुरानी बातों को ममझये ।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, इनको रोकिये, इनको कंट्रोल कीजिये, यह थर्ड रीडिंग है ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर सद्भावना करनी हो तो आप कामरूप कमच्छा चले जाइये । कामरूप कमच्छा का जो पंडित है वह आज भी फर्रुखाबाद का पंडित है, कन्नौज के मिसिर लोग हैं । चले जाइये बद्रीनाथ, केरल का महापुजारी है । तो इस तरह से सद्भावना होती है, इस तरह से राष्ट्रीय एकबद्धता होती है, इस तरह से समन्वय होता है ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप खत्म कीजिये ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर हम कह दें कि एक परिषद् बना दी जाय, जिसमें आसाम का राज्यपाल हो जो कि उसका अध्यक्ष होगा, आसाम और मेघालय के मुख्य मंत्री हों, आसाम राज्य और मेघालय का एक एक मंत्री, जो संबद्ध मुख्य मंत्री की सिफारिश पर राज्यपाल द्वारा नामनिर्दिष्ट किया जायगा, मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा संघ राज्य क्षेत्रों के प्रशासक हों...

**श्री उपसभापति :** यह पढ़ने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** तो मैं चाहता हूं कि हमको आज गृह-मंत्री आश्वस्त करें...

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप पूरे सदन को आश्वस्त कर रहे हैं ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** ... कि इस परिषद् की स्थापना से कैसे लोगों में विश्वास होगा और कैसे सीमा की सुरक्षा हो जायगी, कैसे लोक-व्यवस्था सुसंगठित होगी । यह मूल बात है ।

**SHRI MAHITOSH PURA-KAYASTHA :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, on a point of order. Is there no time-limit for Mr. Rajnarain? He took 45 minutes for useless arguments about whether he got a Hindi copy or not. Now when you allowed him 5 to 7 minutes, he has taken more than 13

minutes. There must be an end to it. He cannot monopolise the time of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is the third reading stage of the Bill and I think it is not desirable...

SHRI MAHITOSH PURA-KAYASTHA : He has taken more than one hour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : ... that the hon. Member should take a long time.

श्री राजनारायण : उन्हें अपने दिमाग की गर्मी निकाल लेने दीजिये । कोई मजाक नहीं है ।

श्री नागेश्वर असाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं तो समझते हैं कि सब ठीक है । यह अंग्रेजी के गुलाम हैं ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, please.

श्री राजनारायण : आर्डर आर्डर कहते हैं, लेकिन आर्डर रखना नहीं चाहते । आप हमारी सिध्दाई का नाजयज फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप बैठिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर हम अपने अमेंडमेंट पर बोलते तो क्या आप हमको पहले रोक सकते थे । चूंकि हमने ओम् मेहता की बात को मान लिया तो क्या ओम् मेहता की बात को मानने से आप नाजयज फायदा लेंगे । कोई तरीका होना चाहिये ।

श्री उपसभापति : ठीक है, आप बैठिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा, हम बैठ गये, मैं बैठ के बोल रहा हूँ । हमको तो आपने आराम दे दिया, थोड़ा और बोलेंगे ।

श्री उपसभापति : अभी आपके सामने और सदन के सामने एक और दूसरा बिल है ।

श्री राजनारायण : वह हमारी जिम्मेदारी नहीं है ।

श्री उपसभापति : जरा सुन लीजिये । बिल की जिम्मेदारी न हो वह तो देखेंगे लेकिन उसके बाद में एक ऐसा डिस्कशन भी है, जिसमें सदन को बहुत इंटरेस्ट है, राज्य सभा के चुनाव के बारे में जो पैसा इस्तेमाल किया गया होगा उस पर आज यहाँ डिस्कशन करना होगा तो इसीलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि पांच या दस मिनट में यह बिल खत्म होना चाहिये और मैं राजनारायण जी से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह एक दो मिनट में खत्म कर दें, उसके बाद उनकी बात का चक्काण साहब जवाब दें सकेंगे और फिर यह बिल खत्म हो जायगा ।

श्री गनेशी लाल चौधरी : श्रीमन्, एक हमारा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM : Sir, on a point of order. There should be equal distribution of time to all the hon. Members. (Interruption) Can a Member harass the whole House like this ?

(Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति : गनेश लाल जी, आप भी कहिये, आपका क्या व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

श्री गनेशी लाल चौधरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं आपसे व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ कि जब कोई माननीय सदस्य इस सदन में बोल रहे हैं, तो कोई माननीय सदस्य क्या उनको बोलने से रोकेंगे । क्या यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न बन सकता है ?

श्री उपसभापति : रोकेंगे नहीं ; अगर ज्यादा समय ले रहे हैं तो कोई सदस्य बता सकता है ।

श्री राजनारायण : अब जो भी समय ज्यादा होगा, उसकी जिम्मेदारी श्रीमन्, आप पर जायेगी और उन सदस्यों पर जायेगी जिन्होंने हाउसिंग को और जो व्यवस्था के प्रश्न को अपने जीवन में समझ नहीं सकते । मेरे हाथ में है, डिवीजन में हम 10 मिनट ले लेंगे । (Interruption) तुम हमको डिवीजन कराने से रोक दोगे क्या, क्या बात करते हो ?

श्री उपसभापति : अच्छा राजनारायण जी 2 मिनट में समाप्त कर दीजिए ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर आप बीच में हस्त-क्षेप नहीं करते तो शायद मैंने समाप्त कर लिया होता। मगर अब अपने बूते में हम खुद नहीं हैं। अब हमारा दिमाग अपने ढंग से चलेगा।

**श्री उपसभापति :** ऐसा दिमाग उड़ने लगे तो कैसे चलेगा।

**श्री राजनारायण :** देखिये हम उनके साथ बिहेव करते हैं जो बिहेव करते हैं। जो बिहेव करना ही नहीं जानते उनके साथ बिहेव नहीं कर सकते। हमने एक वचन दे दिया था और उस वचन का हमने आदर किया था...

**श्री उपसभापति :** कौन सा वचन।

**श्री राजनारायण :** हमने ओम् मेहता को वचन दिया था। लेकिन जो ट्रेजरी बेंच के लोग अपनी नालायकी का इजहार करके हमको रोकना चाहते हैं, तो अपनी ताकत से नहीं रोकेंगे।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपने उनको क्या आश्वासन दिया था, मुझ मालूम नहीं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप तो बाद में आए आपको क्या पता। इसलिये चेयर पर वहीं जो शुरुआद करे वहीं आखिरी भी करे तो अच्छा है, उसको पता होता है कौन बोल चुका है कौन नहीं बोला है। अब आप दो, तीन मिनट शांति से रहिये।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप घड़ी देख लीजिए।

**श्री राजनारायण :** तो जितनी आपत्ति श्री बिपिन पाल दास ने व्यक्त की, जितनी आपत्ति गोलप बरबोरा ने व्यक्त की और हमारे दूसरे साथियों ने जितनी आपत्तियाँ व्यक्त की, घर मंत्री ने उनका कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया, उन्होंने केवल अपनी सद्भावना यहाँ पर दिखायी कि यह सद्भावना है, इस मद्द्इच्छा को पूरा करने के लिये हम यह विधेयक ला रहे हैं, इसको पास करें। देखिये, सरकार का बहुमत है, वह पास करा लेंगे। मगर मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ। क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि घर मंत्री ने एम० एम० पी० की तारीफ की कि मेघालय क

विधेयक जब आया था, तो एस० एस० पी० ने भी अपना योगदान दिया था। ठीक है। मगर हमने अपनी शंका उस वक्त भी व्यक्त कर दी थी कि घर मंत्री जी जिस उद्देश की पूर्ति के लिये मेघालय बना रहे हैं, उस उद्देश की पूर्ति नहीं हो पायेगी। आज हमारी वह शंका सही हो रही है—5 साल में नहीं, 3 साल में नहीं, 2 साल में नहीं। मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इसी ढंग से यह परिपक्व रहती है, इसको लोकतंत्रीय ढांचा नहीं बनाया जाता है, तो जिस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति करना चाहते हैं घर मंत्री, वह उद्देश्य पक्व रहते हुए भी उनकी पूर्ति नहीं होगी। राज्यपाल तो उनका है ही, राज्यपाल से वह जानकारी पूछ सकते हैं, मंत्री हैं ही, सलाहकार हैं ही, वह तो उनको सारी जानकारी बता ही सकते हैं। इसमें नयी शक्ति क्या है, जो नये विचारों का आदान प्रदान करायें, पुरानी खामियों को दूर करायें, नयी खामियाँ फिर न आने दे। उसका रास्ता कौन है। उस रास्ते को जब तक घर मंत्री नहीं निकालते हैं, तब तक हम कतई इस राय के हैं कि यह विधेयक अपने मकसद को हासिल करने में कामयाब नहीं रहेगा। इसलिये मैं इसका विरोध कर रहा हूँ और घर मंत्री से सादर, साग्रह निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि हे घर मंत्री, देश के उत्थान और सीमा की हिफाजत के लिये एक अच्छा, बढ़िया विधेयक लाइयें, इस विधेयक को लाकर एक बड़े अविश्वास का सृजन मत करिये।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** मैं एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह कमेटी परामर्शदात्री स्वरूप है, लेकिन इसमें जो निर्णय लिये जायेंगे, वह मतदान से लिये जायेंगे और अगर बहुमत और अल्पमत रहे तो जो राज्य अल्पमत में रहे जिन्होंने वोट पक्ष में नहीं दिया, उन लोगों को जो विपक्ष में है, मनवाने के लिये आप क्या व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I would like to answer the last question first. The honourable Member has asked what happens if there is a difference of opinion because there are some members who are likely to be in a minority



He has asked what is the way of converting them into a majority so that they will ultimately be able to implement it. I have explained that once there is a difference of opinion which is expressed in a very bitter form, then, possibly the purpose of the Council will be defeated. I have no doubt about it. That is why on more important decisions the Council should have full and deliberate discussion. There will have to be full discussion with the maximum consensus. When you are passing an Act or a rule, you can only say that the majority will prevail. But it does not mean that on important decisions also there will be no attempt for unanimity. The Council in its wisdom will always consider important matters and arrive at decisions after full discussion and deliberation so that it can have as near unanimity as possible. This is my experience, I may tell you, during the last three years in the Zonal Councils. Though there is also a provision for voting in the case of Zonal Councils, most of the decisions are taken by understanding and agreement. When we find that there is no understanding or agreement, if there is any difficulty, we leave it to the States to discuss the matter again so that the Zonal Council can meet again and then decide. When we are passing an Act or a rule, naturally the rule has to be on the basis of the majority.

Then, as far as Mr. Rajnarain is concerned, it is very easy and very safe for Members always to say that while they support it, it is likely to fail. It is the wisest possible thing to say. When we are trying to find solutions to very difficult and complex problems, it is in the very nature of the solution that it may fail. But our efforts will have to be to see that even the failure is ultimately converted into a success. How can I say that this solution will fail or succeed? For example, Meghalaya was the solution to a difficult situation there. I think it should be our effort to find the best possible solution. It is quite possible that it may fail, but it should be our effort, our continuous effort, to see that it does not fail and that it succeeds ultimately. He was asking how are you going to do it? The problem is there. In order to solve the problem, he also agrees that such a forum, such an organisation, such a Council, is necessary. So let us give

our goodwill. Let us give our co-operation...

**श्री राजनारायण :** उसका ढांचा तो हम दूसरा चाहते हैं।

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I do not say that this is the only *dhancha*. That is not the final word or the last word on it. The *dhancha* will ultimately evolve itself. I have said, let this new Council start functioning and on the basis of its experience, if they find any modifications necessary, then, we will certainly come before the House making suggestions on those modifications.

The honourable Member has very politely asked me to withdraw this Bill. When this honourable House in its wisdom has passed this Bill, it would be an insult to this House even to suggest that this Bill should be withdrawn.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

#### THE INDIAN MEDICINE AND HOMOEOPATHY CENTRAL COUNCIL BILL, 1968

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL** (Gujarat) : I think this can be taken up on another day.

**SHRI N. G. GORAY** (Maharashtra) : It is not urgent.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** It was decided in the Business Advisory Committee that these two Bills should be disposed of and then only we should pass on to the next item on the agenda.

**THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING AND WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI K. K. SHAH) :** Whatever preparations we have for Ayurved and other Indian systems of medicine...

**श्री राजनारायण :** अरे, अभी हम लोगों को खूब दवा मिल रही है आयुर्वेद की, कोई मुश्किल नहीं है।