

SHRI DINESH SINGH : Steps are being taken to prevent infiltration of people from outside and this has been made known to the House from time to time. So far as the question of Assam is concerned, it is an integral part of India and no amount of propaganda by Mr. Bhutto's followers or anybody else is going to change this fact.

#### TWENTY-EIGHTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Twenty-eighth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1968-69) on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Thirty-eighth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1966-67) on P/ri'es and Chemicals Development C >. L. d.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

THE ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS) CONTINUANCE BILL, 1969—*contd.*

SHRI S. K. V A IS HA MP A YEN (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Bill moved by the hon. Deputy Minister of External Affairs, because it reflects in general the policy of the Government with regard to the Nagaland situation. I consider that the policy that is being pursued at present is certainly a policy of peace, a policy of peace with firmness and, therefore, it is desirable that all the Members of the different Parties should support this particular policy that the Government is pursuing at present with regard to Nagaland. I am sorry to note that two of the Members who have spoken earlier on this Bill have criticised the Government in respect of certain policies. I was also one of the critics of the Government's policy some time back and I can understand the criticism being made in this House or the other that the policy of the Government is weak-kneed. But since August, 1968 the policy of the Government itself has changed and they have taken to a policy of firmness in dealing with the underground Nagas. I would like to draw the attention of Members to the fact that in August 1968 the Government made a statement that the Government would deal very strictly so far as the rebels were concerned. They also affirmed strong dealing with violence in Nagaland. Further, they

have made it clear to the underground Nagas that there will be no talks with the underground Nagas unless they abandoned their policy of violence.

Thirdly, the Government of India has since then tried to strengthen the hands of the local administration there. These are the three distinct features of the Government policy which has been formulated since August, 1968, and therefore we must try to support this policy.

I am sorry that there has been a criticism in this House by the Member who spoke earlier that this policy is a weak policy. I do not think that it is so. Now a change is there so far as the Government policy is concerned. There has been criticism by another Member too, but at least so far as the delicate question of Nagaland is concerned, why should we look at it from a communal point of view? There is also a limit to communalism and making use of communalism for the sake of one's politics. I wish that the situation in Nagaland should not be viewed from that point of view.

I feel that since August 1968 there has been a change also so far as the underground Nagas are concerned. It is true that since so many years a see-saw or some sort of political struggle has been going on among the Nagas, but this see-saw with continuous change of leadership among the Nagas has now swerved round to the moderate section of Mr. Sukhai. He is now almost in charge of the leadership of the underground Nagas. The influence of the I Phizo section is waning and Mr. Sukhai has taken hold completely of the situation in Nagaland. So far as the policies of the underground Nagas are concerned, he has also made certain pronouncements—I wish that this should be noted—Mr. Sukhai has made two pronouncements. One is that he has made it very clear that henceforth since his assumption of the leadership of the underground Nagas the policy that they will pursue will be a policy for a peaceful solution of the Naga question, and secondly that he would discourage any import of arms. I think so far as our country is concerned and the Naga question is concerned, these are really very encouraging and constructive pronouncements made by Mr. Sukhai. Therefore, one finds that there is a silver lining so far as the Naga situation is concerned. Added to this we must take note also of the recent elections that were held there, the second general elections that were held in Nagaland. It was expected that they would not be as peaceful, as fair and as free as they should be because of interference from the extremist group.

[Shri S. K. Vaishampayan] among the Nagas. But there has been nothing like that. On the other hand, if at all there have been really very free and fair elections, they have been in this small State of Nagaland as such. They have elected their own representatives. They have conducted themselves well in trying to find a solution about the leadership, and the moderate section who desire a peaceful solution of the Naga question are in full possession of the State and the administration as such. So, I would put it this way that the Nagas have now a sort of vested interest in peace, and we should all welcome, India should welcome this change in the whole attitude of the Nagas, the dominant Nagas that are there under the leadership on the one hand of the Chief Minister of Nagaland and then under the leadership of Mr. Sukhai, and we should try to see that this particular situation in Nagaland is strengthened.

But at the same time one has to be very cautious and careful with regard to the small section, the pro-Phizo section that is there among the underground Nagas. They are still banking on help from China. They have sent some of the Nagas to China for training. All of us know that some of them are outside, they have been trained, they are about 2000 to 3000 Nagas. One batch is already on the Indo-Burmese border waiting there for the last three months. They tried to infiltrate but due to the security measures that were taken by the Government, very timely security measures of sealing the Indo-Burmese border, they could not do anything and they are waiting for a chance. Another batch of 250 China-trained rebels also last month tried to infiltrate, but that attempt of the underground Nagas was also defeated. Thirdly, there is a very recent news that a third batch of China-trained underground Nagas of 1000 strong have entered into East Pakistan near Chittagong and they are posing a sort of threat so far as the Naga situation is concerned. So there is a need even now of firmly dealing with this small but extremist section of Phizo supporters who are banking on the support of China. We must be very careful about them and therefore there is the need of a Bill that has been brought forward by the Government before this House. So, this policy should be pursued of keeping ourselves under vigilance, watching the activities of the underground Nagas, watching the plans of the underground Nagas who want to infiltrate into Nagaland with the help of China and also Pakistan. We

should try to see that their collusion with Mizos is also stopped and blocked, and this should be done very firmly. This should be done without any kind of laxity shown in our policy so far as the security measures are concerned. I would urge upon the Government to see that no laxity is shown with regard to their dealings with this extremist section of Nagas who are banking on the help of China and who are getting themselves trained with the Chinese help.

Therefore, I would like to submit, as I have submitted earlier, that ours should be a policy of peace and firmness. That is what, I think, is the Government of India's policy at present. We should go on with this policy of vigil with regard to the Naga situation. We must also keep open the doors of negotiation because the section led by Mr. Sukhai desires still to negotiate with the Government of India and find out a peaceful solution. They have already declared that they would not like to undertake any import of arms from outside. Therefore, we must try and see what avenues we can explore to come to some sort of settlement, but whilst making this settlement we must also make further our position clear to the Nagas that the policy of importing arms should be abandoned, that they should also discourage those who would like to have some sort of what I would call clandestine trafficking in arms with China and Pakistan. That must be also made clear to them. They would abandon this particular attitude of theirs and see what they can do within the framework of the Indian Union. We may grant them a large autonomy so far as their affairs are concerned, but this autonomy should be within the framework of the Indian Union. If the Government of India makes this position clear and on the basis of this the talks are continued, I think that should be undertaken with this new moderate group that is there so far as the underground Nagas are concerned.

Lastly, I would submit to the Government one thing. They must have also made a study of the report of the National Council of Applied Economic Research which has gone into the economic weaknesses of the situation in Nagaland. They have pointed out that it is so under-developed—the whole area; and there are certain areas where development is possible—that the Government of India should prepare a Master Plan for the economic progress and growth of Nagaland as such. They have pointed out that there are a number of potentialities. Therefore, the Government must now concentrate itself on making a

*Continuance Bill, 1969*

rapid development within a specified period of time of this under-developed area, giving them the necessary economic advantage. So that the people of Nagaland will feel that they can see to their own progress within the framework of the Indian Union.

And the Government of India is doing everything for them so far as their economic welfare is concerned.

With these words, Sir, I support this Bill.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : Sir, I rise to make a few brief observations on some of the extremist views which were expressed by some Members. It is said that our policy in Nagaland is not firm, that we should take sterner measures. That is to say, we should apply force to a greater extent. Then, it is said that Nagaland should be open to all Indians to settle in that area. Again, it is urged that we should adopt a policy which will quickly assimilate Nagaland with the rest of India.

Now, the policy of the Government of India with regard to Nagaland had been laid down by Prime Minister Nehru. I think that is the correct policy. It is our approach that is a vital factor. These people have been isolated for a very long time from the main currents of Indian history. In the British times they were left severely alone. All that we knew about the Nagas was that head-hunting was going on there and we had no contact with them. And the only persons who were permitted to have contacts with them were the foreign missionaries. It is true that the foreign missionaries inculcated in them certain attitudes and approaches which come in the way of our settlement with the Nagas today. All that is past history. We have to win over these people and in order to win them over, I think, the fundamentals of the Government's policy are sound. The policy, so far as I have been able to discern, is that we should put our faith and trust in the Government of Nagaland that we have established under our Constitution in that area. We have to move with them and win their confidence and convince them that the policy that we are adopting is the correct policy. That is a fundamental fact which we must recognise, and that has paid dividends. The recent elections in Nagaland have vindicated the approach that the Government have taken so far. I personally feel that the policy in Nagaland would have succeeded to a greater extent in spite of some mistakes in execution, if the Chinese aggression had not taken place in 1962. It is the Chinese aggres-

sion of 1962 which upset the balance and affected our prestige in that area. If the Chinese invasion of 1962 had not taken place, we would have been on the way to a quicker settlement of the Naga problem. But now we have got to take it as it exists. We should apply a policy of limited force in contrast to a policy of unlimited force. A policy of limited force means that we have come to an agreement with the underground Nagas that there should be no hostilities. But if there is a breach of the agreement, if, for instance, they harbour the Chinese-trained Nagas or if they import foreign arms and if these facts come to our knowledge, we should be quick to take prompt action and in one or two cases, we have taken action and that is to the credit of the Government. Subject to that, our policy should be a policy of peaceful approach.

One factor which has helped us considerably during recent years has been the attitude and approach of the Government of Burma. And I think it is the help that the Government of Burma has rendered us in recent times that has prevented a large-scale infiltration of Chinese-trained Nagas into this territory. Therefore, the situation today, as it appears, is better than at any time in recent years and we should continue our present policy. It is a policy which has to be pursued with patience. There are certain areas in which it is not possible to take quick and speedy military action. I was talking to a former Chief of the Army Staff who said that it is, of course, possible, in a military sense, to liquidate the problem. But that will involve a large amount of cruelty to the Nagas and that would leave a trail of bitterness which we will not be able to dilute for decades. It is this factor which we have to take into account. I do not know how long the problem will take to be solved. But each generation has got to do its best. So far as we are concerned, our line is settled that we will pursue our policy peacefully, we will pursue it with the support and goodwill of the Nagaland Government and we will see that the agreement about hostilities is adhered to. But if there are breaches of it, those breaches will certainly have to be sternly dealt with. Within those limitations, we should pursue our policy, and I have no doubt that it will eventually give good results. If we do not get quick results, it is not our fault because our policy is one of patience, and patience does not involve quick dividends. But if we try to solve this problem through military measures, through measures of a ruthless character, the problem may reappear

[Shri M. N. Kaul]

in a different garb. Then it may take a longer time to settle it. We should get accustomed to the idea that just as in the case of Kashmir, we have got to live with this problem so far as our generation is concerned and leave to the next generation the problem which we have inherited in a better shape so that it does not remain a complicated problem and the solution can be carried a step further. I recall a conversation that was reported to have taken place between Lord Mountbatten and Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel at the time of transfer of power in 1947. Lord Mountbatten told Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel, "We have handed over to you this Empire. But please remember that you will have to consolidate this country as we had consolidated the British rule in India in the early times. You will have your own troubles, you will have to use your own judgment and it will take decades before you consolidate your power as effectively as the British did ultimately."

Thank you.

**श्री जगत नारायण (हरियाणा) :** वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं इस बिल को सपोर्ट करता हूँ। मगर मैं श्री कौल साहब के साथ इस बात से मुतफिक नहीं हूँ कि जो हमारी पालिसी चल रही है उसके कारण ये डिविडेन्स मिले हैं। और यह शायद उन्होंने इसलिये कहा कि बिल में जो स्टेटमेंट आफ अवजक्ट्स और रीजन्स है उन को उन्होंने नहीं देखा है। यह आर्डर फोर्सेज बिल 1958 में लागू किया गया था और हर साल यह रिव्यू होता रहा। पहले 1958 में

".... to enable them to aid effectively the civil power in the disturbed areas of Kohima and Mokokchung districts of the then Naga Hills-Tuensang Area. The Regulation was initially in force for one year. It was extended from year to year having regard to the circumstances prevailing in those areas. In 1966, while extending the duration of the Regulation for another year, it was made applicable to Tuensang district of Nagaland also, thus covering the entire State of Nagaland."

पहले तो यह लिमिटेड था। फिर 1966 में इसको सारे नागालैंड स्टेट के लिये लागू कर दिया गया। और अब यह बिल एक एक साल से

चला आ रहा था। मगर इस साल लागू कर रहे हैं :

"The Regulation will cease to have effect on the 5th April, 1969. It is proposed to provide for the continuance of the Regulation for a further period of, three years, i.e., from the 5th April 1969 to the 4th April, 1972 as the stage for dispensing with it has not yet been reached."

इस का मतलब बड़ा सीधा है कि अब बजाय एक साल के इन्होंने तीन साल के लिये लागू किया है जिससे यह मालम होता है कि जो डिविडेन्स यह कह रहे हैं कि हमें मिल रहे हैं हमारी पालिसी से वह नहीं मिल रहे हैं। अब इस को बजाय एक साल के तीन साल के लिये लागू किया है जिस का मतलब साफ है...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
पिछली दफा भी दो साल के लिये ऐक्सटेन्ड किया था।

**श्री जगत नारायण :** एक साल के लिये किया था। अब तीन साल के लिये कर दिया है। बजाय इस के कि दो साल के बजाय एक साल होता अब तीन साल के लिये कर दिया है। यह जो कहा जा रहा है कि इलेक्शन्स में हमें डिविडेन्स मिले हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक नेक स्वादिष्ट है। हालात इस वक्त जो मुल्क के हैं वह बड़ी तेजी से बदल रहे हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
अच्छा उन हालात का बयान दो बजे के बाद कीजियेगा।

The House stands adjourned til] 2 p.m.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Jagat Narain.

**श्री जगत नारायण :** वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं यह बात हाउस के सामने रख रहा था कि नागालैंड में सब अच्छा नहीं है और यह मैंने

इस बिल के जो आब्जेक्ट्स ऐंड रीज़न्स हैं उनको पढ़ कर के बताया था कि यह तीन साल के लिये जो लागू कर रहे हैं इससे यह साफ जाहिर होता है कि वहां पर हालात ठीक नहीं हैं।

वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, आपकी बसातत से मैं वजीर साहब की खिदमत में एक बात रखना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि इस वक्त देश में हालात अच्छे नहीं हैं। जो हमारे फ्रंटियर्स के इलाके हैं वहां पर दो तीन जगह तो नान-कांग्रेस सरकारें बन गई हैं और खास तौर पर मगरवी बंगाल में जो सरकार बनी है और उसका जो रुजहान है वह ज्यादा चीन की तरफ है और इसलिये जो एक खतरा हमारे सामने है वह एक हकीकी खतरा है।

वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, आप को याद होगा कि उस हाउस में एक दफा इस बात का जिक्र किया गया था कि चीन के नेता हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के कुछ इलाके मिल कर के एक नया देश बंगसाम बनाना चाहते हैं। उस वक्त इस बात का यहां पर बड़ा मज़ाक उड़ाया गया था कि इस किस्म की बातें क्यों कही जाती हैं। मैंने भी पंजाब में अपने अखबार में दो साल पहले इस बात को लिखा था और वहां पर भी कई लोगों ने इस बात का मज़ाक उड़ाया था। मगर अब यह एक हकीकी खतरा आपके सामने दरपेश है। आपने अखबारात में पढ़ा होगा कि कल ही मगरवी बंगाल के एक वजीर ने कहा है कि हम सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से एक डेलीगेशन मगरवी पाकिस्तान ले जाने की इजाजत चाहते हैं। आज जो पाकिस्तान के हालात हैं वे किसी से छिपे नहीं हैं। वहां पर आज जो इतनी बड़ी बगावत प्रधान अयूब के खिलाफ उठ खड़ी हुई है वह मगरवी पाकिस्तान के लोगों की तरफ से है, वहां की जनता की तरफ से है और उनके नेताओं की तरफ से है क्योंकि उनके साथ वहां पर ठीक सलूक नहीं किया जा रहा है, उनको सर्विसेज़ में, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में, पुलिस में और मिलिट्री में कोई जगह नहीं दी जा रही है। तो आज जो वहां पर अपहीबल है प्रधान अयूब के खिलाफ वह मगरवी पाकिस्तान की वजह से है और यहां के जो लीडर हैं, वे चाहे मौलाना भासानी

हों या दूसरे कोई हों, उनका सीधा ताल्लुक चीन के साथ है और वे माओवादी हैं। उसी के साथ साथ इस वक्त जो मगरवी बंगाल में बज़ारत बनी हुई है और उसकी जो सब से बड़ी पार्टों हैं वह भी माओवादी है और उसका ताल्लुक भी चीन के साथ है। अब उन्होंने अखबारों में यह बयान भी दे दिया है कि हमें एक डेलीगेशन ले जाने की इजाजत दी जाय। तो इस वक्त वहां पर हालात इस किस्म के बन रहे हैं कि मगरवी पाकिस्तान और मगरवी बंगाल दोनों मिल जायें और अगर ये दोनों मिल जायें तो वह हिस्सा जो आसाम कहलाता है और जिस में नागालैंड आता है, मनीपुर आता है, त्रिपुरा आता है, नेफा आता है, वह भी हिन्दुस्तान से कट जाता है। इस तरह वहां पर वह नक्शा बन जायगा जो कि चीन चाहता है कि एक अलग देश बंगसाम बन जाय जिस की आबादी चार पांच करोड़ हो, वहां पर उसका अड़्डा बन जाय, एक माओवादी हुकूमत बना दी जाय ताकि वह हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दोनों में घुस कर वही मनाज़िर पदा करे जो कि चीन में पैदा किये गये थे जब कि मार्शल च्यांग काई शेक वहां पर हुकूमत करते थे। तो यह एक खतरा है जो हमारे देश के सामने दरपेश है।

मैंने जैसा कि आप से अज़ किया कि मैं इस बिल के हक में हूं। जहां आपने तीन साल की इजाजत मांगी है वहां मैं कहता हूं कि आप पांच साल की इजाजत मांग लीजिये। उसपर मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है। मगर जहां आप यह कहते हैं कि वहां पर हम हालत ठीक समझ रहे हैं ठीक कर रहे हैं, ठीक चल रहे हैं, हमें इत्मीनान मिल रहा है, वहां मैं यह समझता हूं कि यह आप की गलतफहमी है। एक ज़माना था जब कि सारा बंगाल कांग्रेस की पुस्त पर था, लेकिन आज सारा बंगाल आप के हाथ से निकल गया है और वह भी एलेक्शंस के ज़रिये निकल गया है, ऐसा नहीं है कि यूं ही निकल गया है। उसी तरह से जिस ढंग पर आप नागालैंड में इलेक्शंस करवा रहे हैं, जिस ढंग पर वहां काम कर रहे हैं वह भी बड़ा खतरनाक है। मैं आप को बताऊं कि तीन चार महीने की बात है जब कि

[श्री जगत नारायण]

मैं काश्मीर भेल से सफर कर रहा था तो उसमें मिलिट्री का एक बड़ा अफसर भी हमारे साथ था। बातों बातों में नागालैंड का जिक्र आया तो शुरू में उसको कुछ कहने में हिचकिचाहट मालूम हुई। लेकिन जब उसने देखा कि मैं कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ जो किसी तरह से पकड़ में आती हो, तो उसने बतलाया कि हमें वहाँ भेजा तो गया, मगर वहाँ हमें जहाँ रखा गया है वहाँ से चार सौ गज के फासले पर बागी नागाओं का एक बड़ा भारी कन्वेंशन हुआ जिस में हिन्दुस्तान को कोसा गया, हिन्दुस्तान के नेताओं को कोसा गया और साफ तौर पर कहा गया कि हमारा हिन्दुस्तान से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। तो वह अफसर यह कह रहा था कि यह सब चार सौ गज की दूरी पर हुआ, मगर हम बेवस थे क्योंकि हमें हुकम नहीं था कि हम उस हद् के बाहर जा सकें और जा कर के हम यह कहें कि यह जो मीटिंग हो रही है यह नाजायज है, तुम यहाँ पर मीटिंग नहीं कर सकते हो। उसने यह भी बतलाया कि बागी नागा जो हैं वे रोज वहाँ पर आते हैं। जो हमारे ठेकेदार हैं और जो वहाँ पर डेवलपमेंट का काम कर रहे हैं उनसे वे पैसे ले जाते हैं और उनको वे पैसे इस लिये देते हैं कि ताकि वे अपना काम कर सकें। उसने यह भी बताया कि जो हमारे यहाँ बजीर हैं उनकी कोठियों में आ कर के बागी नागा रहते हैं, खाना खाते हैं और फिर चले जाते हैं। जब आसाम के ये हालात हैं तो आप बताइये कि आप किस तरह से नागालैंड को अपने साथ रख सकेंगे। मैं आपके सामने एक तस्वीर रख रहा था जो कि चीन के नेताओं ने बना रखी है। वे मगरवी बंगाल और आसाम को हिन्दुस्तान से काट कर के जिस में नागालैंड, मनीपुर, त्रिपुरा और नेफा वगैरह शामिल हैं एक ऐसा देश बनाना चाहते हैं जहाँ वे अपना अड्डा बना सकें और फिर वहाँ पर हिन्दुस्तान की हुकूमत बना कर के यह कह सकें कि हिन्दुस्तान की असली हुकूमत यही है और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की हुकूमत बर्जुआ लोगों की है, अमीरों की है। इस तरह वे यहाँ वही हालात पैदा

करना चाहते हैं जो कि च्यांग काई शेक के वक्त में चीन में पैदा किये गये थे जिन की वजह से उनको फारमोसा में जा कर के रहना पड़ा था। आज ये हालात हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वहाँ पर जन्न कीजिये, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वहाँ पर मारपीट कीजिये, गोलियां चलाइये, बम फेंकिये। मगर मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हालात का तकाजा यह है कि आप वहाँ के हालात को समझने की कोशिश कीजिये कि आप को वहाँ पर किस तरह से काम करना है, किस तरह से नागालैंड को साथ लेकर के चलना है। अभी यह हालात है कि हमारी मिलिट्री अपने देश की सरहदों पर नहीं जा सकती है और वहाँ सरहदों पर नहीं बैठ सकती है।

कभी आपने सुना है कि किसी देश की मिलिटरी उसकी सरहद पर नहीं बैठ सकती है। नागालैंड में हालत यह है कि आप एक हद् तक जा सकते हैं, चाहे वह आपका डिस्ट्रिक्ट है, हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है, मगर जो उसकी सरहद है उस पर जाकर आप अपनी चौकियां नहीं बना सकते हैं, अपनी चौकियों को कायम नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर यह हालात है तो फिर आप कैसे हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करेंगे। जैसा मैंने आपकी खिदमत में अर्ज किया, जो हालात बन रहे हैं वे ऐसे विकट हैं कि आपको उनको सम्भालने की जरूरत है। अगर बरवक्त उनको सम्भालने की कोशिश नहीं की गई तो यकीन रखिए कि बिलकुल वही हालात पैदा होंगे जो चीन में च्यांग काई शेक के जमाने में पैदा हुए थे और बाद में आप कहेंगे, अफसोस करेंगे क्या हो गया, हम तो सब कुछ ठीक समझते थे। बड़ी कम्प्लेसेंसी में आप बैठे हैं। मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि आपको हालात का पूरा जायजा लेना चाहिए। जैसा मैंने कहा, यह मत समझो कि हालात ठीक हो गए हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि हालात ठीक नहीं हुए हैं, वहाँ अभी भी हालात ऐसे हैं कि जो बागी नागा हैं वे ट्रेनिंग लेने गए हैं चीन, वापस आ रहे हैं। बर्मा एक छोटा सा मुल्क है, हिन्दुस्तान का एक सूबा होता था लेकिन जो वहाँ के इन्चार्ज है, जो वहाँ के प्रेसिडेन्ट हैं, जो वहाँ के सर्वेसर्वा हैं जब उनको मालूम हुआ—एक जमाना था चीन के

साथ बर्मा की पीगें थीं लेकिन अब नहीं रही हैं— कि बागी नागा वहां आए हैं और उनके इलाके में परेड़ करना चाहते हैं तो उन्होंने दो हजार बागी नागाओं का सफाया कर दिया। हमारा कितना बड़ा देश है, बताइए आपने कितने नागाओं का सफाया किया। बागी नागा वहां से ट्रेनिंग लेकर आ रहे थे, असलाह लेकर आ रहे थे, बर्मा छोटा देश है—दो अखबारों में मैन पेज है, सही है या गलत है—लेकिन उन्होंने दो हजार बागी नागाओं का सफाया किया। हालात क्या हैं? वहां पर उनकी पेरिल गवर्नमेंट है, बाकायदा उनका कमान्डर-इन-चीफ है, बाकायदा उनका प्रेसिडेन्ट है। और बाशिन्दे कहाँ के हैं? हिन्दुस्तान के, उनको अप इंडियन नेशनल गिनते हैं।

हालात एक और पैदा हो रही है। गवर्नर ने यह कहा कि अगर फिजो, जिसने यह सारी बगावत पैदा की है, जिसने बागी नागाओं को उकसाया है, जिसने बागी नागाओं को चीनमें भेजा है, कह दे कि मैं इंडियन नेशनल हूँ तो हम उसको इंडियन नेशनल तसब्बुर कर लेंगे। अजीब बात है जिस शरूस ने इतने उपद्रव किए हैं, जिसकी वजह से इतने आदमी मारे गए, हमारी फौज के आदमी मारे गए, आज वह आदमी इतनी बात कह दे कि मैं इंडियन नेशनल बनना चाहता हूँ तो हम उसको इंडियन नेशनल तस्वीम कर लेंगे। यह गलत पालिसी है। आप इस कम्प्लेसेंसी में न रहिए कि ये इलेक्शन अमनोअमान से हो गए और अब आपको अपनी पालिसी का डिवीडेंड मिलना शुरू हो गया है, डिवीडेंड कुछ नहीं मिल रहा है, कुछ अरसे के बाद, 4-5 साल के बाद वहीं हालात पैदा होंगे जो आज बंगाल में पैदा हो गए हैं क्योंकि असली फिलोसोफी जो माओत्सेतुंग की है, जिस ढंग से वे काम करना चाहते हैं, मैं उसको बयान करूँ, वाइस चेयरमेन महोदय, आप उसको अच्छी तरह जानते हैं, वह बड़ी सीधी है :—

"The seizure of power by armed forces, the settlement of the issue by war is the central task of the highest form of revolution. In this sense we may say that only with gun the whole world will be formed."

याना हम माओ की फिलोसोफी है। जिनके साथ आप अमनकी, मुलह की बात करते हैं ये वे नागा हैं बागी जो वहां पर, चीन में ज कर माओ की तालीम लेकर आते हैं और वहां से आकर वे आपके साथ बातें करते हैं। वे आपके साथ इतनी बात करने के लिए नहीं आते क्योंकि उनको यह पता है कि आपने उनके साथ इस बात को तस्वीम नहीं करना है कि नागालैंड अलहदा देश है, वे इसलिए यहां पर आते हैं कि यहां जो चाइनीज एम्बेसी है वहां उनके एम्बेसेडर से नहीं, दूसरे आदमियों से मिल कर सारी बातचीत करें। उसके बारे में यहां कोई रुकावट नहीं है कि वे उनसे न मिल सकें और वहां से इन्सिपिरेशन हासिल न कर सकें। ये बातें मैं आपकी तबज्जह के लिए पेश कर रहा हूँ। जैसा मैंने पहले कहा, मैं इस बिल के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, मैं इस बिल के हक में हूँ। मैं यह भी नहीं चाहता कि आप वहां बमबार्डमेंट करें और सारी जमीन हमवार कर दें लेकिन मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जो हालात का तकाजा है, वक्त का तकाजा है उसको आप समझने की कोशिश करें। जिस तरह बंगाल में मिनिस्ट्री बनी है, जिस ढंग पर हालात आज चल रहे हैं आसाम में, उन पर हमें गौर करनी चाहिए। वाइस चेयरमेन महोदय, मैं क्या बताऊँ। पंजाब की तरह आसाम भी एक बड़ा बदकिस्मत सूबा है। एक जमाना था पंजाब इतना बड़ा सूबा था कि सारी दुनिया में इसकी धाक थी, यहां से गन्दम जाती थी, यहां के कौजी सारी दुनिया में मशहूर थे। बंटवारे के बाद पंजाब के दो हिस्से हो गए। बंटवारा हुआ, देश को आजादी हासिल करनी थी, आपने हमको सेक्कीफाईस किया, हमें उसका मलाल नहीं है। मैं पैदा हुआ वजीराबाद में, पढ़ा लायलपुर में और बसा लाहौर में लेकिन ये तीनों पाकिस्तान में रह गए। टूकेटेंड पंजाब रह गया, आपने उसके भी 4 हिस्से कर दिए। आज आसाम के भी आपने दस टुकड़े करके रख दिए हैं, मणिपुर अलग रह गया, नेफा अलग रह गया।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

[श्री जगत नारायण]

अब ये जो अलग अलग हिस्से हो गए हैं वहाँ देश को चलाए और इस देश को मजबूत बनाने के लिये जोर दे रहे हैं कि आप हमारे लिए अलहदा की कोशिश करें।

स्तजाम कीजिए, हमारे लिए अलहदा चीज बनाइए। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरह से हम आसाम के टुकड़े कर रहे हैं वह न तो देश के हित में है और न उससे हम जो फ़ायदा हैं उनको ही मजबूत बना सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ बड़ी हिम्मत की है अल इंडिया कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदर निजलिगप्पा ने, जिन्होंने साफ़ तौर पर कहा है—मैंने उनका बयान पढ़ा था अखबार में—कि यूनोटेरी फार्म आफ गवर्नमेंट होनी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस ढंग से देश में हालात चल रहे हैं और जिस ढंग से छोटे छोटे टुकड़े हो रहे हैं उससे हिन्दुस्तान की एकजुटता में फर्क आ रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन हालात में, जो मैंने आपके सामने बयान किए, आप आर्डर फोर्स से काम लीजिए, उनको काम करने का मौका दीजिए। आज 11 साल हो गए आप नागालैंड को दुरुस्त नहीं कर सके। कितना बड़ा मुल्क है, कितनी बड़ी आबादी है? साढ़ 4 लाख आबादी नहीं है, कितना बड़ा मुल्क है जिसके बारे में हर साल आप इजाजत लेते हैं आर्डर फोर्स के लिए और अभी तक वहाँ के हालात दुरुस्त नहीं कर सके। अगर आप वहाँ के हालात दुरुस्त नहीं कर सकते तो कल आप चीन और पाकिस्तान से क्या टक्कर ले सकेंगे और इस देश को कैसे मजबूत बना सकेंगे और कम्युनिज्म से टक्कर ले सकेंगे, यह आपके सोचने का काम है।

मैंने थोड़े से अल्फाज में आपके सामने अपने ज़बान रखे हैं। देश में हालात बड़े बिकट पैदा हो रहे हैं। अगर ये इसी तरह चलते चले गए तो यकीन रखिए कि अगली बार पालिया-मेंट में कांग्रेस की वज्रात नहीं आ सकेगी। कौन सी वज्रात आएगी, यह मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ। जिस ढंग पर आप चल रहे हैं देश आपके हाथों से जा रहा है और आप इसको माओवाद अनासिर के हाथों में सौंप रहे हैं। माओवाद अनासिर के हाथों में सौंपने के बजाय आप इसे

डेमोक्रेसी के हाथ में रहने दें ताकि जनता इस देश को चलाए और इस देश को मजबूत बनाए।

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON (Kerala) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I agree that this Bill has to be passed. This Bill seeks to extend the operation of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Continuance Regulation, 1958, from 5th April, 1969 to 5th April, 1972, that is an extension of three years. Madam, I do not know why an extension of three years is asked for. Originally the Government used to ask for an extension of one year. That had a certain advantage because at the end of every year the Government was compelled to come before Parliament to ask for an extension if they wanted it so that the Parliament had an opportunity to express its opinion on the Bill and to see how the Government had dealt with the situation in Nagaland. Now by extending it for three years that opportunity is being denied. Of course, Madam, one may agree that in the case of very sensitive areas like Nagaland, it is very necessary to have extraordinary powers, but extraordinary powers and special powers are, if I may say so, a necessary evil and they have to be exercised with a certain amount of restraint. As far as possible, we should try to avoid it. So, my opinion with regard to the extension is that the Government should ask for an extension of only one year and then, if they find that the situation in Nagaland has not improved very much, it is up to them to come before Parliament and ask for a further extension of one year at the end of that year. While agreeing that some such extraordinary powers should be there, I find myself in disagreement with some of the views expressed by some Hon. Members here. Some Members seemed to think that the question of Nagaland is only a question of law and order. They seem to think that the success of the policy in Nagaland depends to a great extent or wholly upon the amount of force that is being used or brutality with which such force is being used. I respectfully disagree with this point of view. It is undoubtedly a fact that there are certain elements in Nagaland which are disloyal to India. They are in league with hostile neighbours like Pakistan and China. They send their people to China to get training in arms as guerillas. They come here, they smuggle arms and do all sorts of things and they want to declare Nagaland as an independent.



pendent territory and fight the Government of India with these arms. Such things are undoubtedly to be fought against. But if you look at that aspect of the matter only you do not see the whole picture because from whatever knowledge we have been able to get of Nagaland, the position is not as if the entire people of Nagaland or the majority of them are behind such people. I do not minimise the strength of these hostile elements but the recent elections have shown that the majority of the people are not with them. The majority of the people, the sober-minded people, those who wish to live in peace and wish to develop their land, have declared openly their intention and that intention has been clearly demonstrated by the results of the elections. It has been stated that about 90 to 100 per cent, of the voters exercised their franchise. Even the underground people cooperated with the elections, so to say. At least they did not create any disturbances or clashes. Even after the quarrels between the different sections of the underground, they are in sufficient numbers to have disturbed the elections if they wished to do it and if they had given a call for it but they did not do so. What does that show? It shows that the overwhelming desire of the Naia? is for peace and that is an asset to the Government of India. My request to the Government is to see that this trend is encouraged. You should strengthen the hands of those Nagas who have been elected by a sizable majority to see that the country is developed economically and peaceful condition? are maintained. We should not, however, minimise the strength of the underground. They have not yet been wiped out. They have considerable following and they are in a position to create disturbances. What is the policy that we have to follow with regard to this question? I agree with those Members who said that we have to pursue a policy of firmness tempered with patience and that alone will be the correct policy. Some people are very much worried about the developments in Nagaland. But I ask them to consider what is the basis of these disturbances all over the borders of India? It is a question of a belated development of national consciousness among the people of the border areas of India. The bulk of the people of India—in the heart of India—were aroused to national consciousness by the end of the 19th century. They fought with the Britishers and attained independence; but at that time, most of the people living in the border areas were in a state of

tribalism and they had no national consciousness. Now they are beginning to have it and that is why we find that they are very sensitive. They are very independent and proud. They are afraid of the people coming from other parts of India and exploiting them. Can we say with a clear conscience that we are not doing it? I am sure they resent the way in which the capitalists, contractors, etc. go there and build up their business which is nothing but exploitation. So they resent this. Some Members referred to the action of the Christian Missionaries. I hold no brief for them but we have to see the reason as to why some of these Missionaries are popular with them. Whatever may be the mischief done by some of these Missionaries, there are undoubtedly some among them who go and live among them and serve them, build schools and hospitals for them and so they are popular. What do we do? We never do such things. In the old days during the national independence struggle, something like that used to be done, but now we have given all that up. We appear to these tribals only as exploiters or bureaucrats who suppress them and exploit them and that is why all over the border areas of India there is hostility and that has to be tackled. My submission is that we should not be afraid of granting these people the utmost autonomy because they like to have their own Governments, they wish to see their own people come up as administrators, ministers, etc. They have a feeling that they should govern themselves. The suggestion that permission should be given to people to buy lands in Nagaland and they should be allowed to settle there is very dangerous. There should be restrictions because even in interior places, in tribal areas, like Ghota-Nagpur or in Bihar this is a vital question. The lands of the tribals are being expropriated and given to others. They resent it. They have good reasons for it. So taking all these into consideration, we should try to get the sympathy of these people by granting them autonomy. We should not take up the position that all the States should be of a particular pattern and there should be no variation. Consistent with Nagaland being an integral part of India—we should fight the slogan for independence with all the strength at our command and even arms may be used to suppress such movements, if necessary—we should be able to grant the amount of autonomy that will satisfy the majority of the people in Nagaland. The reported statement of the Governor of Nagaland that Mr. Phjizo who is now

[ Shri C. Achutha Menon ] in England may come here and assume Indian citizenship and be a peaceful citizen of India is a very wrong statement because Indian citizenship should not be at the beck and call of any individual who has gone out and set up a parallel Government in a foreign country and is encouraging by every means at his command the dismemberment of this country and encouraging the hostile forces in this country. Such people should not be given any quarter but at the same time we should take the majority of the people into consideration and their thirst for freedom, for autonomy, to have their administration. If you take these into consideration it is very necessary to have negotiations with the Nagas.

Some Hon. Members would go to the extent of saying that we should not have any negotiations and we should only have a strong Government there and use the Armed Forces to suppress whatever movements are there in Nagaland. That will not do; that ignores the realities of the situation because there are various other elements who have no relationship with them in respect of acts of hostility and yet a majority are with them to this extent that they too want their own administration and they want more autonomy. All these things require sympathetic consideration. Even the other States in the Indian Union have become very dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and even they are asking for more powers. So there is no harm whatsoever if those people ask for some kind of autonomy. We should be prepared to negotiate with them in this regard and come to a peaceful settlement of the matter. This is the approach which I would advocate and this is the approach which I would call an approach or policy of firmness with patience.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am one of those who believe that problems can be solved by peaceful negotiations and not by the use of force. The present situation in Nagaland is due if I may say so, to a policy lacking in firmness followed by the Government all these years since independence. Before independence the Britishers, for reasons best known to them and in their own interests, they tried to keep Nagaland away from the rest of the country because it suited them. After independence I had

thought that the Government of India would follow a policy which would make the people of Nagaland believe that they were part of India, that they were one with the rest of the country and that their future lay with the rest of the country. If that policy had been followed, I have no doubt that by today the Nagaland problem would not have been there. But what we have followed is a policy of indecision, the policy of sometimes giving the area for military operations, then stopping them, and again giving the area for military operations and then again stopping them. And that has been the sorrowful tale of Nagaland. And what has been the result ? Instead of giving them a feeling of oneness they have created a feeling of apathy and even hatred towards the Indian Army. This is not a good thing. Whenever there are military operations, some people are bound to suffer; some excesses may take place and that gives a wrong feeling, which should not be given between brothers and brothers. But that has been the sorrowful tale. Even now the Government of India has to decide once for all what policy they want to pursue, whether a policy of peaceful negotiations, or a policy of trying to win them over by force. For myself I rule out the latter. After we have followed a policy of indecision for over sixteen, seventeen years and driven them to a certain attitude by the use of force, it will take a certain period of time to reverse the whole process, to put the car, if I may say so, in the reverse gear, and make them follow the path of peaceful negotiations. And that is exactly what was done a few years back when the military operations came to an end. And then, when we visited Nagaland, we could see, with the operations having ceased, that there was a sort of new atmosphere in the whole place. And the goodwill created by that atmosphere should have been fully utilised by the Government of India. But again I am sorry to say that the position has not been fully utilised. May I ask the Minister for External Affairs what steps have been taken by the Government of India to make the people in Nagaland, especially the underground, feel that their interests lie with the rest of the country and that they have to march pace with pace along with the march of their countrymen elsewhere in the country ? May I ask also what development schemes have been undertaken and whether any publicity has been given to those developmental activities telling the people that here we are doing all these things in your

interests ? What steps have been taken to bring more and more people from Nagaland to other parts of the country, and send more and more people from this side there ? I quite agree with the remarks of Mr. Menon that we should prevent exploiters reaching that place, because that will again create complications; in this world of today nobody is going to tolerate any exploitation by anybody else. Therefore we have to be choosy in sending people from this part of the country to that part of the country, and in providing opportunities, in a generous way, for people from Nagaland to come to Delhi, to Calcutta, to Bombay, to Madras, and other parts of the country and see what is happening in other parts of their motherland. We must give them an opportunity to compare and confirm that what is happening in other parts of the country is also happening in their part of the country. When they begin to realise that something is being done for them, for their benefit, then they will realise that they must also respond, and this is exactly what I would like the Government to do.

Now we came to end the military operations on certain conditions. Those conditions should be observed by all concerned. It cannot be a unilateral agreement, that the Government of India goes on fulfilling all the conditions and the other side does not. If there are any violations of the conditions arrived at, we must firmly bring it to the notice of those with whom we have carried on the negotiations, and say "Gentlemen, this will not do. We have to respect the conditions; both the sides must respect the conditions. It cannot be that our military is a peaceful spectator stationed in Nagaland and the Nagas are free to do whatever they want, to even talk of secession and the rest. This has to stop." Therefore I would appeal to the Government to follow a policy of peaceful negotiations along with firmness wherever it is required.

Now there is a small matter about which this House and the other House have been clamouring, and that is the transfer of the affairs of Nagaland from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs. So long as it is with the Ministry of External Affairs, there is neither the feeling in the country that we are dealing with another part of our country, nor is there other man made to believe that he is dealing with his own Department. In this connection, two years back, when we were discussing this Bill, the hon. Deputy

Minister, Mr. Surendra Pal Singh made certain remarks. I will read them out for his information if he has forgotten.

"The question whether the Nagaland affair should be dealt with by the Ministry of External Affairs or the Ministry of Home Affairs has been raised before a number of times and the Government have clarified their stand on those occasions. Anyway....."

This is the important sentence to be noted.

"...the position at the present moment is that the matter is being considered by the Cabinet and as soon as the Government comes to a decision it will be known to the House."

Then a saving sentence he has added most diplomatically.

"Meanwhile naturally the old arrangement is being carried on."

Now I have to ask the hon. Deputy Minister : is this matter also a prisoner of indecision in the hands of the Government as in many other cases ? I would like to know the reasons why it is taking so long to arrive at a decision on this matter. It is not a very complicated matter which requires a lot of study, attention and consultation between the various Ministries. This is not a matter which has to be referred to the Finance, their clearance got and all of the rest of it as is customary in this bureaucratic set-up of this country. This is a matter which should be decided in a single sitting of the Cabinet and a decision has to be taken that henceforth Nagaland will be administered like all other States by the Ministry of Home Affairs and not by the Ministry of External Affairs. We are not dealing with some external affairs when we deal with Nagaland. We are dealing with our own people; we are dealing with one of our own States. What are the reasons which are preventing the Government to put it under the Ministry of Home Affairs ? I am sorry to say here that a great bungle has been made, I do not know by whom, in breaking off the negotiations. Negotiations were going on; the Prime Minister was negotiating and all of a sudden negotiations were broken off. It is high time that the threads are taken up again from where they were left and the negotiations should again be started. We should not allow time for things to drift and in the meantime not enforce the conditions on which the operations were allowed to end allowing time for those anti-social elements in

[Shri M. P. Bhaigava]

Nagaland who want to create mischief to get stronger and be in a position to raise their heads again. There is no dearth of people who want to create difficulties for this country whether it is in Bengal, whether it is in Nagaland, whether it is in Mizo area or elsewhere. Therefore one has to be very careful in dealing with these anti-social elements, especially those elements who owe their allegiance not to this country but to powers outside. There may be a handful of such people in that part of the country but the activities of those people have to be watched. No person can be allowed to play with the integrity of this country and all steps have to be taken to see that such elements are kept within control and not allowed to play their hand. In this connection the other day I raised the question of people from outside India coming and trying to spoil the minds of our countrymen. A watch has to be kept on such people. So I would like the hon. Deputy Minister when he replies to reply to the three or four points that I have raised :

(1) What are we going to do to establish more and more contact between Nagaland and other parts of the country ?

(2) What steps are we taking firmly to enforce the conditions for cessation of operations which had been agreed to ?

(3) What steps are being taken to restart the negotiations which have been broken off some time back ?

(4) Lastly I would plead with the Government with all the emphasis at my command : Please for God's sake in the interests of the country take a decision soon about the transfer of Nagaland affairs from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH) : Madam, this debate started on Thursday last. It started on a very disappointing note and the two hon. Members who spoke that day had nothing but brickbats to shower at the Government.

श्री वाताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
माइक के पास आ जायें ।

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I think I am near enough to the mike and I think you can hear me.

I was saying that on the first day when the debate started the two hon. Members who participated in the debate had nothing for the Government but brickbats but today I am very happy and pleasantly surprised to see that instead of brickbats, almost all hon. Members who have participated in today's debate had bouquets to give us instead of brickbats. I am also very happy to note that there is a great deal of appreciation and understanding of the Government's policy in regard to Nagaland. On the first day I was rather doubtful as to whether Members had actually understood our policy about Nagaland or not, even though many of them had been to Nagaland. Many press people have been there and there has been a great deal of publicity about our policy in the press and elsewhere and there has been a great deal of appreciation of our policy all over the country.

Madam, it has been a very useful discussion and I am very grateful to the hon. Members who participated in it. As far as this Bill is concerned the consensus is obviously in favour of this measure. Members have not really spoken very much against it but they have quite naturally taken advantage of this debate to discuss all aspects of the Nagaland problem which is as it should be. The Government of India has to deal with a very difficult and delicate situation in Nagaland and we naturally welcome a periodical discussion of this nature because as a result of this we are able to find out and gauge the mind and the mood of the nation about this problem and it helps us to check our own course of action if and when the Government finds it necessary to do so. Whatever hon. Members have suggested here are taken proper note of and due consideration is given to them when we come to review our policy in Nagaland.

Madam, as on past occasions this time too two lines of approach to this problem have been suggested by hon. Members. There are those who have advocated a policy of force; that we should take a tough line and we should deal with the hostile Nagas more ruthlessly and we should curb their movement altogether. And there are others who have appreciated our policy over there and have supported it, who are for peaceful negotiations and for following a peaceful policy. Madam, with regard to those who are in line with our own thinking I have nothing very much to say except that I value their support very much and I am glad that they appreciate our policy. But to those

hon. Members who advocate a tough line in Nagaland, who want us to take ruthless measures to put down the unlawful activities, in Nagaland, I would like to address just a few words. I agree with them fully when they say that the Administration has to be very strict in any part of the country, and particularly in Nagaland. It is true that no Government worth its salt can afford to ignore that maxim. Any Government over there has to give adequate protection to its law-abiding citizens and to punish those who break the law. That function has to be performed by any Government, any responsible Government and we feel that this function is being very adequately performed by the present State Government. I would earnestly appeal to the hon. Members that when they say that this is not being done, I do not think they are doing justice to, or are fair to, the State Government. Many people have gone there and seen the conditions in Nagaland today and practically all of them have come back and said that the State Government's writ is now respected practically throughout the length and breadth of Nagaland. The law and order situation has very much improved, though it is not completely solved yet and gradually more and more control is being exercised by the State Government throughout Nagaland. So, it is not true to say that no improvement has taken place there. The recent elections which were held there are a clear proof of the political conditions prevailing in Nagaland. The elections there were not only held peacefully, but a large number of people participated in them. There were no incidents. Everything went off peacefully. I think it is a very good vindication of our policy in Nagaland.

As regards tougher measures, all I can say is that tough and ruthless measures have never solved a problem of this kind in the past. We tried this line some years back before the AGSOP came into existence and the results were not very happy. A great deal of killing and misery was inflicted on the people over there and even then no solution was in sight. So, there was a change in our policy and strategy in regard to Nagaland and a new policy was evolved, a policy of solving the problem peacefully and with firmness and that policy has been continued all along these years. I can assure hon. Members that that policy has succeeded to a very great extent. It is a policy which will not bear fruit straightway. We cannot say it will be successful in the immediate future, but I think the lines on which

we are going along are the correct lines and in time to come this problem will be solved peacefully. Madam, in Nagaland the situation is very peculiar. It is very difficult to distinguish friend from foe. With the type of fighting one has to do there, it is very difficult for our Security Forces to take ruthless measures and to try and bring about a military solution. We think the best way is to deal with all the unlawful elements according to the law of the land and give adequate protection to those who are law-abiding and thereby gradually draw and isolate all those extremist hostile elements from the rest of the population. As long as the majority of the people over there are in favour of the Government's policies, we feel that we are proceeding in the right direction. And that is exactly what is happening there. I am happy to say that we have achieved a great deal of success.

So much, Madam, about the situation in Nagaland generally. Now, with your permission, I would like to deal with a few specific points which hon. Members have raised during the course of the discussion. The first speaker, Mr. Niranjana Varma, who is not here at the moment, supported the Bill, but his main objection was that this measure should not be extended for a period of three years and that one year should be sufficient. He seems to think that extension for three years implied that the situation there was not really under control, that there is a certain amount of pessimism in our mind and we do not feel comfortable about the situation there. He said that it is not a very happy state of affairs. I only wish to say that we seek to get this extension for a period of three years only for administrative convenience, and it is also a fact that we apprehend a certain amount of trouble from isolated groups of extremists all over Nagaland for some time to come. It is true that the situation is not out of control. It is well under control. But still there are certain elements which are bent upon creating trouble there and it does not matter for how long we carry on negotiations and talks with them, they will never see reason. They will never come to the path of peace. They will continue their depreciations and unlawful activities. For that purpose it is necessary that we have a measure of this kind and that our Security Forces have special powers to deal with any kind of situation which may arise. It is for that reason and for nothing else that we seek to have this measure extended for three years.

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh]

Now, another point Mr. Varma mentioned, which pained me and I am sure it has pained many other Members in this House. It was the communal slant which he gave to his observations the other day when he said that it would be difficult for us to come to terms with the Christians in Nagaland. So long as the Christians remained at the helm of affairs in Nagaland, they would never come to terms and in an implied sort of way he meant that probably the Christians were not really loyal and patriotic citizens of this country. This was rather an unfortunate observation and I wish to say here and now very categorically and firmly that we do not feel very happy about such kind of observations. It is not true to say that the Christians are disloyal or that they are not patriotic. We have a large population of Christians in this country and I am prepared to say that they are as much loyal, just as patriotic as any other community in the country and I am sorry that he made that observation. In the hostile movement there are not only Christians, but also non-Christians. So, this communal angle should not have been brought into this at all. It is purely a political question.

He also said that we should not allow the Peace Mission to enter Nagaland. Now, perhaps he does not realise that the Peace Mission is not there any more. The Peace Mission was disbanded a long time ago. We have a Peace Observers' Group there, who are still functioning and they have a special function to perform. I must say on this occasion that they have done extremely good work. There are no foreigners involved in any kind of negotiations. Mr. Michael Scott was there at one time. As the House knows at one time he was a member of the Peace Mission. He is no longer in this country and there is no other foreigner who is involved in this.

In addition to these two or three points Mr. Varma also wanted certain assurances from the Government, one of which is that we should not carry on any talks with the underground Nagas behind the back of the State Government. Now, this assurance I can give to the House and to Mr. Varma that though we are not against carrying on talks with anybody, in principle, we do feel that at the present juncture no useful purpose will be served by carrying on negotiations or talks with the underground representatives and certainly it will not be done behind the back of the

State Government. If ever the talks are resumed, the State Government will be taken into confidence, they will be consulted and they will be kept in the picture, but at the moment there is no such idea under consideration. The second assurance is about the Peace Mission. I have already mentioned that the Peace Mission is not there any more, not functioning there.

Now, Madam, he mentioned something about the implementation of the development programmes in Nagaland. He also emphasised that we should do a great deal for the development of this backward area, particularly in the fields of education, agriculture, industry and communications. I fully agree with him that there is a great deal to be done and there is need for doing our utmost in this regard, because Nagaland, for various reasons, has remained out of the main stream of the life of this country. They are backward, they have been isolated and they require special attention. This is being given to them. As proof I would like to mention to the hon. Members that out of the total requirement of Nagaland of Rs. 23.18 crores in the estimates for 1968-69, the Government of India's contribution was to be Rs. 22.15 crores for development works in Nagaland, and if we compare it with the national figures, we will find that the *per capita* expenditure on the development activities in Nagaland comes to about Rs. 700 which is much higher than in any other part of the country. Our national *per capita* income is only round about Rs. 400. In Nagaland they are getting up to Rs. 700. So we are actually spending a great deal of money on development activities, on road building, on the setting up of schools, on hospitals, etc. I need not mention all the figures because that will be too long.

Another important point was about the inner line restrictions. It was mentioned not only by Mr. Varma but by a number of other Members also. This matter has been discussed in the House before and the Members were told as to why these restrictions were first brought in. It is not correct to say, as Mr. Yajee said the other day, that when Nagaland was a part of Assam, these restrictions were not there. This is not correct. These regulations and restrictions came into force as far back as 1873 and they are still continuing, and the reason for their continuance is that this was a demand made by the Nagaland leaders when we entered into an agreement with them, what is

*Continuance Bill, 1969*

called the 16-point agreement. They insisted that for some time more until such time as Nagaland was fully developed and was prepared to allow others from outside these restrictions should continue. We have made a commitment. It is only in pursuance of that commitment that we are allowing them to continue. We do feel that conditions in Nagaland have not improved sufficiently, but I will say this much that we are thinking over this matter very seriously, and there is a feeling everywhere that perhaps these restrictions be liberalised to a very great extent and we should allow more and more people to visit Nagaland in order that people from all over the country will have an opportunity to see the conditions there and not leave that area completely isolated. This matter is under the consideration of the Government of India. As the House was told the other day, we will take up this matter with the State Government and take their views on it, but we are in favour of liberalisation. To what extent we will succeed I cannot say at this moment.

In Mr. Yajee's speech the main point was—which has also been supported by Mr. Bhargava—about the transfer of Nagaland affairs from the External Affairs Ministry to the Home Ministry. I am fully in agreement with the sentiments which the two Members have expressed. I can very well gauge their feelings on this question, and some time ago I also agreed with the Members, in the course of my speech last year, I think, that in principle Government agreed that this matter should be dealt with by the Home Ministry. But this problem has a little historical background in as much as that this was again one of the commitments which the Government of India entered into with the Nagaland leaders, in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's time, as far back as then; since we have committed ourselves to this we cannot take any unilateral action and abrogate it. This will only make the position of the State Government, the authorities over there weak in the eyes of their people. So far the State Government is also in favour of the continuance of the present arrangement, but I wish to say this much that for all practical purposes. . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : What is the commitment made with the Nagaland leaders ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : That the Nagaland affairs will be dealt with by the External Affairs Ministry. This

was a commitment. This was one of the points of the 16-point agreement. We cannot abrogate it, as I just now said, without consulting the State Government, because to this day they are in favour of continuance of this arrangement.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : The agreement was made a long time before. After that so much water has flowed under the bridge. Now the Government of India . . .

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I agree with the sentiments of the hon. Member . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Let me explain. After that, every day we are saying that Nagaland has become a part of India and the Home Minister was also kind enough to say that these restrictions would be liberalised so far as entry into Nagaland is concerned. When so much of improvement has been made, why not this aspect also is taken into consideration and Nagaland is brought under the Home Ministry ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : As I was saying, I can very well understand and appreciate the hon. Members' feelings when they put forward this point and as I said earlier also, in principle we agree that Nagaland affairs should be dealt with by the Home Ministry. This matter has been considered on a number of occasions by the Government. We are still waiting for the consent of the State Government because, as I said, the State Government are still of the same view that the restrictions should continue. We do not wish to take any action against the wishes of the State Government. We are hopeful that one of these days by negotiations we will be able to persuade them, to bring them to our way of thinking. I agree that it should be done but I cannot give any categorical assurance that it will be done today, tomorrow or the day after. But the link is a very tenuous link. For all practical purposes the Nagaland Government deals with all our Ministries in the same way as other State Governments do. For giving grants to them, for political reasons, the External Affairs Ministry is still in charge.

Another point was raised that we should be very vigilant about the re-entry of the China-trained gangs which are hovering on the borders of India at the present moment and are trying their very best to come into the country. I may inform the House that adequate security measures

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh] have been taken by our security forces to prevent their re-entry. It is for that reason, Members can very well realise that this gang of 1000 hostile Nagas which are trying to come into the country have not succeeded so far. But we cannot rule out the possibility of these people infiltrating into Nagaland in small batches of ones and twos, even that we are trying to stop by plugging all the gaps at various places. They are also making attempts to enter Nagaland *via* Pakistan, by sea, etc. There too we are also vigilant and every action will be taken to prevent their coming into Nagaland.

Mr. Kaul in his speech said that he supported the policy of the Government of India and he merely said that we should go on patiently following that policy, and that we should try and win over the Nagas by persuasion and not use force. We are in full agreement with that. I have nothing very much more to say about this.

Mr. Bhargava in his speech wanted replies to a number of points which he raised. Unfortunately he is not here, but I will try to answer those points because some of them are quite important. The one important point which he mentioned was that we should take some steps to see that more and more people from India shall go to Nagaland and more and more people from Nagaland shall come to India in order to bring about a proper integration of Nagaland with India. With that point and policy we fully agree and we will do our best to see that the Nagas are made aware of what is going on in India so that they have a feeling that they belong to this country and that they are also made to feel and appreciate what we are capable of doing for Naga-land also. This is a point on which we fully agree with him and whatever is possible for us, we will do in the future. I may also say here that in regard to the inner line permits the restrictions are there only for those people who are likely to go there and exploit the situation for their own advantage and to the disadvantage of the Naga people. But there are no restrictions on *bona fide* travellers or people who want to go to Nagaland to study the situation there and to meet the Naga people. That kind of restriction is not there. Anybody who wants to go there for that purpose is allowed to go.

Another point which he raised was that the Underground Nagas are carrying on their hostile activities, their unlawful

acts, their acts of depredation and violation with complete immunity and that our security forces are not able to take any action against them. This is not true. With them we have entered into an agreement which is called the AGSOP (Agreement for Suspension of Operations) in which it is very clearly laid down that if and when any of the Underground Nagas violate any of the terms of the agreement, our security forces will be free to take action against them. This is being done. One of the biggest violations that they are making at present is the importation of arms from China and Pakistan and whenever it comes to the knowledge of our security forces that a gang is bringing in arms and ammunition from outside, they are followed, they are pursued and action is taken against them. Against their unlawful activity of extortion and abduction and collection of funds and taxes, whenever such cases come to our notice, our security forces take action, and they are not hampered or debarred in any way.

About the question of the transfer of Nagaland affairs to the Home Ministry, I have already mentioned.

Another point which Mr. Bhargava said was about the breaking off of the negotiations with the Underground Nagas, I am afraid, the way in which he has put it gives the impression that the blame for the breaking off of the negotiations lies clearly and openly on the Government of India. This is not the position. The Naga Delegation came here last time. And as we have explained already to the House on a number of occasions, we were prepared to talk to them, to negotiate with them. But the Government of India laid down one and only condition that so long as they agreed to stay within the Indian Union, we were prepared to talk with them about any matter they wished to discuss. But on the basis of independence, we will not negotiate and we will not talk with them. They insisted that they had come here merely to talk about their independence and nothing else. So, that was the reason why the talks broke down. It is not that we wanted the talks to break down. Even now, as regards the resumption of talks and negotiation, as I said earlier, we are not, in principle, against any kind of talks but we have come to the conclusion, with all this past history, that no useful purpose will be served by having talks with the Underground Nagas at present. If they are keen to talk us as has been evident



from one or two quarters, we would advise them to talk to the State Government or to the Governor of Nagaland; they will talk to them and discuss their problems, and we will act on the advice of the State Government and the Governor in this regard.

Mr. Jagat Narain said that we should be very careful and vigilant about the part that China is playing in this part of the world. We are fully aware of these developments over there. We know the subversive activities which they are encouraging and the designs in this part of the world. And whatever is necessary to counteract that is being done by the Government of India.

Mr. Menon said that he was not against giving special powers to the Armed Forces but he advised that these powers should be used with restraint and very judiciously. I wish to assure the hon. Members that these powers will be used with a great deal of restraint—these have been used in the past with restraint—and the operative part of this Bill, as the hon. Member knows, will come into operation only when the Governor declares any part of Nagaland as a disturbed area. Under normal conditions, the security forces will act in aid of the civil authorities; no action will be taken. And only when an area is declared as a disturbed area only then will these powers be exercised by our forces. And you can very well understand, with the conditions in Nagaland being what they are, the difficulty about the communications, the terrain etc., it is necessary that our Armed Forces are armed with these special powers to deal with any kind of situation in a place where it may not be possible for the civil authority to be present all the time. And at the moment, only a three-mile belt along the international border has been declared as a disturbed area. The rest of Nagaland is not a disturbed area. So, these powers are not likely to be used unless and until the situation demands.

As regard his advice that we should not even think of granting independence to Nagaland but that we should give more thought to their demand for more autonomy, etc., this we are in full agreement with. There is no question of giving independence to Nagaland. But if they want to discuss questions of autonomy or more help from the country, they are welcome to put both their demands.

Only the last point, and that is the question of the Governor's reference to

6—1 R.S./69

Mr. Phizo in some interview he gave to some people in Nagaland. Members showed a great deal of concern over that. I wish to say this much that no invitation has been given by the Governor to Mr. Phizo to come back to India. It is a wrong kind of publicity which has been given to the statement. He was interviewing some people, some village people, in Nagaland during his tour. Somebody posed a question, "Why don't you allow Mr. Phizo to come to Nagaland?" In reply to that, he clearly said, "Mr. Phizo is a foreign national. He is a fugitive from justice. He has no *locus standi* in Nagaland, and we cannot have a foreigner meddling in our affairs." Then this question was posed, "Suppose he wants to come to India, would you prevent it?" He merely said, "If he is prepared to renounce his British citizenship and wants to seek Indian citizenship, that will be considered according to the law of this land." So, it is not an invitation as suggested by the hon. Member or any kind of offer by the Government of India or the Governor that we should invite him to come to Nagaland to take part in these affairs over there or that we should carry on talks with him. That kind of idea is completely wrong. It is a wrong kind of publicity given by the Press. So, the Member should not feel any apprehension on that account.

I seem to have covered all the main points but I may again assure the hon. Members that anything that has been left over has been taken note of, and due consideration will be given to it by my Ministry.

With these words, I commend this Bill to this House.

श्री नेकीराम (हरियाणा) : उपसभापति जी, मैं एक बात सरकार से पूछना चाहूंगा कि बर्मा और मनीपुर हो कर कुछ नागा लोग नागालैंड आना चाहते हैं तो क्या सरकार इस ओर भी ध्यान रखे हुए है !

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : We are aware of this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill to continue the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, for a further period, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adapted.*

*Amendment Bill, 1969*

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

*Clause 2 was added to the Bill—Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Madam, I move ;

"That the Bill be passed."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

**THE PUBLIC WAKFS (EXTENSION OF LIMITATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1969**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS, SALEEM) : Madam Deputy Chairman I beg to move :

"That the Bill further to amend the Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) Act, 1959, be taken into consideration."

Hon. Members may recall that the Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) Act, 1959 was extended for obtaining the possession of the Wakf properties which went into the illegal possession of certain persons during the disturbances of 1947. This extension expired in August, 1967. Some suits were instituted for the recovery of the 'possession of the wakf properties. But still several properties continued to be in the unlawful possession of the trespassers.

Therefore, it was felt necessary that some extension should be granted, with the result that this period was further extended by an amendment of the Act of 1967 upto 31st December, 1968. Before the expiry of this period, Madam, representations were received from several States that still there were thousands of Wakf properties which were under the unlawful possession of the illegal occupant and thousands of suits were to be instituted. Therefore, further extension was recommended by several States.

Madam, the legal position is this, Under section 4 of the Central Wakfs Act, a Commissioner is to be appointed by the States to complete the survey of the Wakf properties situate in the respective States. After the survey is completed, the report of the Commissioner is to be sub-

mitted to the State Government, and the State Government, after due scrutiny of the report submitted by the Commissioner, has got to pass on that report to the respective Wakf Boards under section 5 of the Act for publication in the Official Gazette. Now the position is that still there are several States where the Commissioners who are appointed by the State Governments have not yet been able to complete their survey, with the result that it has not been possible for the Wakf Boards of the States to take suitable action to institute suits against the trespassers. Now in view of the above fact, some States went to this extent, Madam, particularly the State of Madras, that if the Central Government was not in a position to amend the limitation Act and grant further extension, they would consider the possibility of introducing an amendment in the Act, the subject being on the Concurrent List. As the hon. Members are aware, where the subject is on the Concurrent List of the Constitution, the State Governments have got rights to introduce suitable amendments as the circumstances may permit. It was further pointed out that inasmuch as the survey work had to be completed in the State of Punjab, Haryana and Delhi, where the hon. Members are aware a large number of Wakf properties are in illegal possession, the necessity for extension was further emphasised. It will be recalled, Madam that on both the occasions when the amending Acts, were passed, there was virtual unanimity of opinion that these properties being of religious and charitable nature and essentially meant to alleviate the conditions of the poorer sections of the public and as they also have a sacredness of their own, there was need for such a concession. And at the time of discussion before both the Houses, it was suggested by several hon. Members, and an assurance was also given by the Minister piloting the Bill that a comprehensive Bill should be introduced for the consideration of both Houses so that not only Wakf properties but properties which belong to members of other communities and religions would also be protected. For this purpose, Madam, a Public Charitable Trusts Bill has already been drafted and has been circulated to the States for their opinion. In that Bill, under section 53, exemption from limitation period for an unlimited period is proposed to be extended in respect of religions and charitable institutions. But we have not yet received the comments from all the States. Therefore, we have not been able to finalise the draft of the