

**THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF
NAGALAND (CHANGE IN RE-
PRESENTATION) BILL, 1968**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN ! Mr. Bhagat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) :
I read a report today that you are going to
London.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) : I am here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Do not go.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Thank you for your
advice.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And
convey this advice to your Prime Minister
also.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Madam, I beg to
move :

"That the Bill to provide for a change in
representation in the Legislative Assembly
of Nagaland and for that purpose to make
consequential amendments in the State of
Nagaland Act, 1962 and the Representation
of the People Act, 1950, as passed by the Lok
Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Madam, the necessity of this Bill will be
apparent to hon. Members because of the fact
that the Tuensang area should be given more
representation gradually. Clause (2) of article
371A of the Constitution provides for special
safeguards for the Tuensang district of Naga-
land to be in force for a period of ten years
from the date of the formation of Nagaland and
for a further period as the Governor may, on the
recommendation of the Regional Council,
specify. In the Nagaland Act of 1962 Tuensang
district has been allotted six seats in the
Legislative Assembly to be filled by the
members of the Regional Council from
amongst themselves. At the end of this period
Tuensang district will have the right to return
twenty members to the Assembly based on their
population. Now that the representatives of
Tuensang district have had experience of
participating in the deliberations of the
Legislative Assembly and the democratic form
of Government for five years,

it is felt that an increase in their representation,
which is at present inadequate, would be
justified. Therefore, this Bill seeks to achieve
the objective of increasing the representation
of Tuensang district from six to twelve. The
extra seats will also be filled by the members of
the Regional Council from amongst them-
selves. The increased number of twenty is still
there, which is the ultimate objective of
representation to this district, if it is considered
strictly on a population basis. I hope that, in
course of time, the objective will be realised.
This is a step in that direction.

Finally, this Bill has also a saving provision
relating to the existing Legislative Assembly of
Nagaland to the effect that it will not affect the
representation in the Legislative Assembly till
it is dissolved. This will mean that the
Legislative Assembly of Nagaland to be
constituted, after the passing of this legislation,
will consist of elected representatives from the
territorial constituencies of Kohima and
Mokokchung districts and the increased
strength of 12 representatives from the
Tuensang district, chosen from the members of
the Regional Council under article 371A of the
Constitution. With these words, I hope the
House will pass this Bill.

The question was proposed.

SHRI M. VERO (Nagaland) : Madam
Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the
Legislative Assembly of Nagaland Bill, 1968,
which is before the House for our approval. At
the outset, may I congratulate the Minister of
State in the Ministry of External Affairs for
introducing this timely Bill in Parliament? In
the Third People's Convention of Nagaland
held at Mokokchung in 1959, the
representatives of Tuensang area desired that
Tuensang should be kept under a special
provision for a period of ten years. Accordingly,
at the time of the constitutional amendment for
the creation of a separate State for Nagaland,
this provision was incorporated in the Consti-
tution. The main reason for this provision was
that Tuensang required special care in matters
of development and education. However,
provision was made for six members to
represent Tuensang in the Nagaland Legislative
Assembly fulfilling the aspirations of the
people and from among them there is a Cabinet
Minister looking after Tuensang Affairs.
Even

though this provision was for ten years, the people of Tuensang would like more membership in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly before the completion of ten years. The passage of this Bill will entitle Tuensang to send 12 members to the Nagaland Assembly. Therefore, this BUI deserves our support and good wishes and I hope the House will pass it unanimously.

While participating in this debate, for the benefit of the House, I would like to say, briefly, about the situation in Nagaland. Since Nagaland belongs to the family of this great Indian nation, it has been the sincere approach of both the Union and State Governments to solve the problems through peaceful means. I should say that a peaceful approach to the problem has paid great dividends, because more and more people are coming to understand the reality of the situation. To give you one example. In the coming general election in Nagaland, you will find over a hundred highly educated candidates contesting 40 seats in Nagaland. This shows that the hard core and the politicians on the whole are coming to accept our democratic and peaceful methods. We have made a great headway towards this goal. But any unimaginative action to solve the Naga problem will defeat the very purpose for which the State was created. There is a section of high officials, who claim themselves to be experts on Naga affairs, always trying to take a hard line in dealing with the Nagas, irrespective of rebels and loyalists in Nagaland. Moreover, the State's legitimate right of having law and order powers and a separate Governor are all deliberately ignored by the Union Government and practically the State is helpless. Bui I must warn them, through this House, that the Naga problem is not a military problem and as such force is not the only answer to the problem. Rather it will destroy the State which has come into existence through many years of hard work by dedicated and sincere leaders of the State Government. What I firmly believe and recommend is that the Union Government should strengthen the hands of the State Government by giving them full powers of law and order without casting doubt on their integrity and provide adequate funds for the development of the State. I would further request that our Prime Minister may instruct the civil and army authorities in Nagaland,

who are working in very difficult and trying conditions not to lose patience, whatever the circumstances may be, because the solution of this problem lies in winning friends and not suppressing the people.

The passing of this Bill will give more representation to Tuensang area and thereby help the people of Tuensang in the full participation and running of the State Government. It will also make them realise better how far they are responsible for their own affairs. Once again, I appeal to the Members to give their whole-hearted and unanimous support to this Bill.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : महोदया, विदेश मंत्रालय की तरफ से जो बिल आया है यह वहाँ की समस्या का हल नहीं है। मैं आशा करता था कि नागालैंड की समस्या का कभी न कभी कोई निदान सामने आवेगा। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् लगातार 20 वर्षों तक, एक भी वर्ष, एक भी महीना, एक भी सप्ताह ऐसा नहीं गया जब कि भारतवर्ष के ऊपर, हमारे राष्ट्र के ऊपर नागा प्रदेश की समस्या किसी न किसी प्रकार संकट का कारण न बनी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यदि नागा कन्वेंशन के अनुसार त्वेन्सांग प्रान्त के लिए उस समय केवल 6 सीटों की गुंजायश की गई थी और कांस्टीट्यूशन के अनुसार किसी विधान सभा में 60 से कम सदस्य नहीं हो सकते हैं। नागालैंड में आपने 46 सीटों की व्यवस्था की है और अब आप यह तादाद बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि नागा प्रदेश में आपने 46 सीटों की व्यवस्था क्यों की। मंत्री जी इसके जवाब में यह कहेंगे कि चूँकि त्वेन्सांग का जिला पिछड़ा हुआ है और आबादी के वृद्धि के अनुसार हम उनको ज्यादा प्रतिनिधित्व दे रहे हैं। तो मैं मंत्री जी से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि त्वेन्सांग से भी ज्यादा पिछड़ा हुआ बस्तर का जिला है और उसको आप क्यों नहीं ज्यादा प्रतिनिधित्व देना चाहते हैं? ऐसा खयाल मत कीजिये कि I P.M. किसी स्थान पर रेप्रिजेंटेशन कम करने और क्रमशः धीरे-धीरे देने से वहाँ की उन्नति हो

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

जायेगी। जब चुनाव होते हैं अडल्ट फ्रेंचाइज के अनुसार तो लोगों में एक चेतना की भावना होती है और लोगों को जान होता है। अगर उस समय भी हम त्वेन्सांग प्रांत के लिये पूरा रेप्रिजेंटेशन दे देते तो कांस्टिट्यूशन के लिये विशेष एक प्रकार का दर्जा देने के लिये और 60 से कम 46 विधायकों की वहां उपस्थिति के लिये हमें किसी प्रकार से गुंजाइश की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ती।

महोदया, नागा प्रदेश की समस्या भारतवर्ष के सिर पर एक गंभीर तलवार की तरह लटकती हुई समस्या है। वह बहुत छोटा सा प्रदेश है और पूरे राष्ट्र के मुकाबले में एक प्रान्त नहीं, प्रांत के एक छोटे हिस्से के बराबर नागा प्रदेश है लेकिन बीस वर्षों में मंत्रालय इस प्रदेश की समस्या को मुलझा नहीं पाया और इसलिये नहीं मुलझा पाया कि कांग्रेस के कर्णाधार जो राष्ट्र की नीति का संचालन करते हैं उनके मेस्तिष्क में एक रोग है, आदमियों के मनाने की जो उनकी प्रवृत्ति है उससे अंततोगत्वा आदमी उनके कब्जे में आते नहीं हैं, किन्तु उसे मनाने की प्रवृत्ति के कारण वे लीडर बन जाते हैं जो आगे चल कर दुख का कारण बनते हैं। यहां पर इतने वरिष्ठ कांग्रेसमन बैठे हैं। उनके सामने हम एक तथ्य लाना चाहते हैं। पाकिस्तान का कोई सवाल नहीं था और जिन्ना साहब का भी कोई सवाल नहीं था। जिन्ना साहब की स्थिति विल्कुल नगण्य थी। लेकिन उनसे मिलाप करते-करते उनकी स्थिति को कायदे आजम तक पहुंचाने वाली कांग्रेस है और अन्त में उसका परिणाम देश का विभाजन हुआ। उसी प्रकार फिजो की भी कोई समस्या नहीं थी। फिजो भी एक नगण्य आदमी था, एक मामूली पादरी था। लेकिन उस से बड़े से बड़ा आदमी भेंट करता रहा, लंदन से बुला कर के उससे भेंट करता रहा और उसको एक बहुत बड़ा आदमी बना दिया गया और उसका परिणाम यह है कि आज नागालैंड की समस्या बराबर उलझी हुई है। हमारे मित्र

बेरो साहब ने जो बात कही, वह बहुत अच्छी बात है और हम भी उसको कभी-कभी मानते हैं, सदैव नहीं मानते हैं कि नागा प्रदेश की समस्या का हल यह नहीं है कि वहां पर आर्म्ड फोर्स के द्वारा हम कार्रवाई करें। हम उनको उत्तर देते हैं कि हमारे राष्ट्र ने आर्म्ड फोर्स का सहारा कभी आगे हो कर के नहीं लिया है। लेकिन जब हमारे नागरिकों का अपहरण वहां पर हो, जब हमारे सिपाहियों पर, हमारे हवालदारों पर, हमारे थानेदारों पर, हमारे मिलिट्री के आदमियों पर दनादन गोलियां चले और घेर कर के और उनके हाथ बांध कर के दस-दस आदमी एक साथ गोलियों से मार दिये जायें, तब हमारा इतना निर्वल राष्ट्र भी नहीं है कि हम उनकी इन कार्रवाइयों को यूं ही टाल जायें।

इसलिये मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि नागा प्रदेश के बारे में बहुत सख्ती में अमल किया जाना चाहिये। आखिर संसार में और राष्ट्रों ने भी यह किया है। पाकिस्तान के सामने मंकी के पीर का इसी प्रकार का विद्रोह था। जर्मनी के सामने इसी प्रकार का बोहेमिया का विद्रोह था। स्वयं ब्रिटेन के सामने वेल्स और स्कॉटलैंड का इसी प्रकार का विद्रोह था। चीन के सामने सिक्कांग का विद्रोह था और रूस के सामने कुरदिस्तान का विद्रोह था और आज वे सब विद्रोह समाप्त कर दिये गये हैं। वे हाथ जोड़ कर नहीं समाप्त किये गये, ताकत के साथ किये गये। एक बार आप ताकत का प्रदर्शन करिये और जितनी वहां की आबादी है उसमें मुश्किल से 25 मील के एरिया में एक आध गांव बसते हैं जो उधम करते हैं, उन गांव वालों को आप अलग कर दीजिये और जितने भी रिबेल्स हैं, चाहे वे चीन से प्रशिक्षण ले कर आयें, चाहे पाकिस्तान से प्रशिक्षण ले कर आयें, हमारे मिलिट्री के जवान उनका मुकाबला करें। वहां पर हमारे मिलिट्री के जवान थोड़े हो सकते हैं, लेकिन उनके पीछे समस्त राष्ट्र की ताकत रहेगी और हम

समझते हैं कि अंत में, अंततोगत्वा इसके सिवाय कोई दूसरा उपाय हमारे मंत्रालय के सामने नहीं होगा।

अब जब से फिजो साहब चले गये, श्री जयप्रकाश साहब आगे आये और अब उनकी पीस कौंसिल चल रही है। हमारा मंत्रालय बार-बार जयप्रकाश जी को आगे कर के शांति वार्ता के नाम पर नागा समस्या को उलझाने में लगा हुआ है। नागा समस्याएं जय प्रकाश जी के माध्यम से नहीं सुलझाई जा सकती हैं। इसी प्रकार काश्मीर की समस्याएं, चक्रवर्ती राजगोपालाचारी की बातों से नहीं सुलझाई जा सकतीं। आदरणीया, हमने इस राष्ट्र को जातियों से अलग राष्ट्र माना है। हमारा ऐसा विश्वास है कि जब तक हम जातिवाद से ऊपर नहीं उठेंगे तब तक इन समस्याओं का निदान नहीं हो सकता। वहां की प्रमुख समस्या यह है कि वे जो बड़े आदमी हैं वे ब्रिटेन की नकल कर के इस देश में ब्रिटेन की विचारधारा से प्रभावित हो कर इसे ईसाई राष्ट्र बनाने के लिये तैयार बैठे हैं और उन्होंने इस प्रकार के वक्तव्य एक से अधिक बार दिये हैं। अच्छा यह था कि हिन्दुस्तान की प्रभुसत्ता में विश्वास करने वाले देश के ईसाई विद्वान आगे जा कर उनका निराकरण करते और यह काम मंत्रालय को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये था। लेकिन मंत्रालय ने इस ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया; जो सज्जन ईसाई हैं वे पीछे रह गये और जो ब्रिटेन के पिछलग्गू ईसाई हैं उनको आगे कर दिया गया और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि वहां की समस्या बराबर उलझती चली जा रही है।

इसके अतिरिक्त भी कुछ कारण हैं। हम पूछते हैं कि पूरे भारतवर्ष में जितने प्रांत हैं सब प्रांतों के नाम भारतवर्ष की संस्कृति के अनुरूप हैं या नहीं। क्या मंत्रालय बतायेगा कि एक भी प्रांत हमारे देश में ऐसा है जिस का नाम हमारी संस्कृति के अनुरूप न हो। सब के नाम

हमारी संस्कृति के अनुरूप हैं। लेकिन नागा प्रदेश का नाम आपने नागालैंड ही क्यों रखा? इसका मतलब यह है कि उनका शरीर तो यहां है लेकिन उनकी आत्मा इंग्लैंड में है और यही कारण है कि बराबर यह लड़ाई झगड़ा होता चला जा रहा है।

अभी 1968 में ही रूस ने कुछ नक्शे प्रकाशित किये हैं और उसमें भारत सरकार के मुंह पर अच्छी चपत मारी है। रूस ने उन नक्शों में नागालैंड नहीं लिखा है, उनमें लिखा है नागा प्रदेश। उसने उनमें वेस्ट बंगाल नहीं लिखा है, उसने लिखा है पश्चिमी बंगाल। उसने जम्मू एंड काश्मीर भी नहीं लिखा है। उसने लिखा है जम्मू और काश्मीर। क्या हमारी सरकार इससे सबक नहीं ले सकती, शिक्षा ग्रहण नहीं कर सकती? यदि आप हमारे राष्ट्र के अंग प्रांतों का ईसाईकरण करेंगे और वह ईसाईकरण भी इस माने में जो कि बाहर के किसी देश के पिछलग्गूपन से प्रेरित हो तो आप निश्चित रूप से उसी प्रकार से पाकिस्तान के बनाने की मनोवृत्ति को जीवित रखेंगे और उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि जितना आपने वहां सीमा पर सुरक्षा बल रखा है वह सुरक्षा बल भी पूरी तरह से सफल नहीं हो पायेगा और न सफल हो पा रहा है।

त्वेनसांग जिला पूरे नागालैंड में सब से ज्यादा खतरनाक हमारे लिये आज है क्योंकि वहां पर पाकिस्तान की सीमा मिलती है, क्योंकि वहां पर चीन की सीमा मिलती है और चीन भी हमारा शत्रु है और पाकिस्तान भी हमारा शत्रु है। दोनों उन लोगों के लिये बराबर बन्दूकें और हथियार भेज रहे हैं। पिछले दिनों में जब हमला हुआ था तब हमारी अर्थ नीति फेल करने के लिये उनके लिये हथियारों की संख्या में उन्होंने नोट भी भेजे थे। आज वह फिर उसको कर सकते हैं। इसके उपचार, पर मंत्रालय को विचार करना चाहिये। पहला तो यह है कि जिस तरह से उन्होंने कहा है कि धीरे-धीरे हमने 6 से 12 कर दिया और 12 से अब हम बीस

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

विधायक वहां पर दे देंगे और इस तरह से 40 और 20 यानी 60 की पूरी संख्या कांस्टीट्यूशन के अनुसार, जो कम से कम एक प्रदेश की असेम्बली के लिये है, वह हम पूरी कर देंगे। हम समझते हैं कि उनको यह एकदम देना चाहिये ताकि कभी कहने का मौका उनको न मिले कि हमारे साथ किसी दूसरे प्रकार की भेदभाव की नीति बरती जा रही है। उसके बाद फिर हम गारंटी चाहते हैं मंत्रालय से कि फिजो साहब को किसी कीमत पर मुंह नहीं लगाया जायगा, और उनसे वातचीत करने का सारा दरवाजा बन्द कर दिया जायगा। दूसरी हम गारंटी मंत्रालय से यह भी चाहते हैं कि मंत्रालय को अकर्मण्य राजनीतिज्ञ, आमचेयर पोलिटीशियन जो हैं जयप्रकाश जी जैसे—हम उन्हें, बड़ी श्रद्धा के साथ देखते हैं, लेकिन वे राजनीति में सफल नहीं हैं, अत्यन्त असफल व्यक्ति हैं—उनकी बातों में पड़ कर शान्ति मिशन की चर्चाएं वहां पर नहीं करनी चाहिए। तीसरी बात यह है कि वहां पर जैसे रानी गिडालों हैं या उसके समर्थक बहुत से आदमी हैं उन लोगों को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिए और वहां पर जो ईसाई नागा हैं जो इस देश से अपने को अलग मानते हैं और राजनीतिक और सामाजिक दोनों क्षेत्रों में बाहर के लोगों से प्रभावित हैं उनके मुकाबले में नवयुवकों का एक दल बनाना चाहिए और तभी हम उनके मुकाबले की भरसक तैयारी कर सकते हैं। इसके साथ ही वहां पर बारबार शांति आयोजनों के अंतर्गत गुप्त नागा लोग, हमारी राजधानी जो वहां है, उसके पास में बैठकर दरबार लगाया करते हैं और उसमें निर्णय किया करते हैं, भारत सरकार उनको प्रोत्साहन न दे, भारत सरकार संधि की शर्तों में बराबर ढील न दे, भारत सरकार यह भी न कहे कि हमने 6 महीने के लिए और संधि की अवधि बढ़ा दी क्योंकि वे यहां पर मिलने आए। उसका परिणाम यह है कि भारतवर्ष की जो

ढील है उसके कारण ही ये उपद्रव होने हैं और उनके कारण यह प्रदेश बिलकुल उच्छृंखल होता चला जा रहा है। हमारे यहां, आदरणीया, एक कहावत है कि मार से भूत भागते हैं एक बार ताकत के साथ मुकाबला किया जाय। कितने उनके पाकिस्तानी साथ हैं, कितने उनके चाइनीज लोग साथ हैं मुकाबले में आकर देख लें। उसके बाद हमारा भी उत्तर-दायित्व भार जो है वह कम हो जायगा। वह पर सेना है, पुलिस है, हमारे खर्च से सब कुछ हो रहा है, इस देश के एक-एक आदमी के ऊपर कर का भार पड़ा हुआ है और करों से हमारा देश दबता चला जा रहा है। इन सब कारणों के कारण आज नागा प्रदेश की समस्या बराबर उलझती चली जा रही है। हम चाहते हैं कि मंत्रालय इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करे। वह अपने देश के बहुत से युवकों को वहां पर भेजे और उसके साथ सामाजिक कार्यक्रमों को भी आगे बल दे तब हम समझते हैं कि नागा प्रदेश में हम काम कर सकते हैं।

आदरणीया, एक बात मैं और कहूंगा। नागा प्रदेश में ईमानदार, भले और सच्चरित्र युवकों की कमी नहीं है, वे बहुत हैं लेकिन संकट यह है कि भारत सरकार उनको पूछती नहीं, उनकी सहायता नहीं लेती। एक-दो आदमी उच्छृंखल प्रकृति के हैं, जिनके हाथ में राजनीति की खिलवाड़ रहती है, जो नेता बनने का स्वप्न देखते रहते हैं, जो बाहर से पैसा खाते हैं उन लोगों को भारत सरकार वार्ता करने का निमंत्रण देती है और उसी का परिणाम है कि हमारे नागा प्रदेश की समस्या उलझती चली जा रही है। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि नागा प्रदेश से जो रोजाना गड़बड़ होने के समाचार आते रहते हैं और जिनके बारे में हमारे यहां पर ध्यानाकर्षण प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ करते हैं मंत्रालय कृपा करके उनसे मुक्ति दिलाने के लिए, जो मुझसे हमने दिए हैं उन पर अमल करे और अमल करने के पश्चात् नागा प्रदेश के लोगों को शिक्षा देने के लिए आगे बढ़े।

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGO-PALAN) (Madras) : Madam, I rise to support the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland (Change in Representation) Bill. I would like to state that by this Bill the total representation is raised to 52 and the Tuensang District gets a rise, from six to twelve. Of course this change will not affect the present Legislative Assembly until it is dissolved, and after the General Election takes place, this change will be effective. I welcome this change because it gives an opportunity to the Tuensang District. It is a trouble spot. By this change the people of that area have more opportunities to participate in the administration and thereby also realise the responsibility not only to Nagaland but to the country as a whole.

Now, I would like to say a few words about Nagaland. In our country, Nagaland occupies a strategic position like the State of Jammu and Kashmir for it is on the border of our country. In the west we have Pakistan and in the east we have China. So it occupies a very strategic position. Knowing the terrain area of this land, it is vital for the security and integrity of the country. So, it should be the earnest desire of the External Affairs Ministry to maintain sound and satisfactory relationship as far as Nagaland is concerned.

The situation in Nagaland is complex and delicate. There are three parties in Nagaland itself. One is the party of the late Mr. Kaito, which is the underground armed wing. Mr. Kaito was brutally assassinated. The next is the party of the followers of Mr. Phizo. And the last one are the Nagas who are loyal to the Central Government. In such a situation, the best remedy would be to win over the people of Nagaland by all means. This Bill is really an indication to that effect, and I hope by the introduction of this Bill, as Mr. Vero just now put it, the people of Nagaland will realise the responsibility. He has said that in the coming General Election 100 educated people are going to contest for the 40 seats. That indicates that the people of Nagaland have already realised the democratic value of this Bill.

I would also like to point out that the Government should also effect changes in the outlook of the people of this area. The people of this area also should try

to mingle with the outside world. I would like to know from the Government of India what steps they are sponsoring to give effect to this idea. There should be interchange of views. I would also like to know how many have had the opportunity of visiting Nagaland or how many Nagas were allowed to come and visit the rest of the country so that they can also understand the feelings, the difficulties and the responsibilities of the Central Government as well as the people of India. So, in this connection, I think an interchange of people at all levels—political, cultural, business and trade—is very essential as far as this part of the country is concerned. In the Lok Sabha, when the Members demanded a promise about employment opportunities for the people of Nagaland, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs wholeheartedly supported it and said that this part has been neglected for many centuries. I think the Ministry of External Affairs itself realises—a responsible person holding position in the Government itself has stated it—that this part has been neglected for centuries.

So far as their demand to have a separate Governor is concerned, this area really needs a separate Governor because the problem itself is a complicated and delicate one, and the people of Nagaland are justified in asking for a separate Governor. As far as the law and order problem is concerned, I would like to say that we may have enforcement of the police force—the Central Reserve Police or whatever it is called—to tackle the illegal entry of the rebel Nagas as well as the law and order problem in Nagaland. But in spite of that it is necessary that there is the co-operation of the people living in that area as well as of that Government. So, as Mr. Vero has very rightly suggested, the law and order there should be given to the Government of Nagaland and they should be allowed to tackle the problem. Madam, just now Mr. Varma made some remarks against the Christian missionaries. I am very sorry that without knowing facts he accused a particular community who are really doing very good service in Nagaland. Just because some people have been creating trouble one cannot condemn the entire community or religion.

Madam, while replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha the Deputy Minister of External Affairs has stated :—

[Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan)] "All these are there. They have been pointed out by the State Government. But we had said that this is not the proper time for these things. At the moment conditions are abnormal; there is no peace in that area."

I am glad that the Government realises that there is no peace and security in that area. Therefore, it should be our best endeavour to see that peace and security is established in that area. But that cannot be done without the help and cooperation of the people living there. I hope the Government endorses the view expressed by the Deputy Minister of External Affairs and they will make all efforts after the general elections in February to restore cordial relationship at all levels and that they will open the door of Nagaland to the rest of the country.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : Madam, I am happy to support this Bill. A very ancient and proud people have not been treated properly all along for centuries. I am not one of those who believe that our country has got a monolithic culture or anything of that type. Ours is a culture which we have got from various tribes ; later various nationalities have contributed to it. We know that India has not just a monolithic culture, as my friend tried to make out. So many have contributed to it. So many tribes have contributed to it. Even with regard to the Hindu religion, I do not know how it was not the pre-Aryan contribution that has helped it to grow whether Lord Siva himself is not the contribution of the old tribal peoples. For example, it is very clear that the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Pannagas, all these tribes had Lord Siva as their God which Aryans might have taken up later on. Our tribals had a very ancient culture. And certainly if you think that you can force on them your culture you are sadly mistaken. You should know how it will be reacted to by the people in those areas. Whatever is good in their culture will have to be preserved, will have to be saved. It is not a question of forcing anything on them.

There is no question of appeasement in dealing with the Nagas. There is no appeasement, in fact, in dealing with our minorities. Let us go to the maximum extent. There is nothing wrong

in it. Let us do that in order to win them over. There is no question of frightening anybody. It might be that we are stronger because of our military. But it should be a question of winning them over, winning over a very proud and ancient people. I am glad steps are being taken now. Of course, there are differences among them. Well, differences are bound to be there because of different tribal cultures and it will remain so till a national culture emerges. Naturally, you will have to understand them instead of making use of one against the other . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) :
How do you say that ours is not one nation?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : It will develop into a nation you will see.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : His Communist party accepted the two-nation theory and divided the country. He is again cr>ing "nation, nation". According to him every State has a separate nation. India is one nation. Or do you want again this country to be divided?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON :
Do not be under the impression that in India there is only one nation or one religion. No. India is a multi-national State . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : We do not believe in a multi-nation theory. India is one nation country though it has got several religions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is all right. He has every right to express his opinion.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I am expressing the view that people who speak one language, who have a certain culture of their own, who have certain contiguity of territory, in which they live, develop into nationalities. Our country is a multi-national country. That is what I wanted to say. I am glad the first step has been taken in the direction that we are having more representation for the Tuensang area. And when they accept it, they will also come along and we will have a representative system. Madam

Deputy Chairman, they are much more democratic than us. They have fortunately not gone through the various phases of individualistic development and aggrain-dismant as we have. They will take to democracy much quicker than most of us who are caste ridden and communa-listic. Our people have lost all concepts of real democracy. We have to wage a war against such dirty forces. Only this morning you heard the news how Harijans were burnt to death. Unless our attitude is changed and we learn to respect all sections of the people we will not be able to have a sound democracy. That is why I say that with patience and with understanding of the Nagas and their rich culture, of their very big past, let us develop a closer relationship. For that purpose people like Shri Jaya Prakash Narayana will be necessary, because I feel it is not merely a question of politics; it is much more than that. An objective understanding is necessary. If the Christian missionaries have been there, they have been helpful, than most of us and so were welcomed. We speak so much about our culture. We say our culture is great and we expect them to obey us. Nothing will be done. Therefore, I say let us even go out of our way and spend as much as we can and help them and see that they willingly become a part of this multi-national country; they have to be won over. With that attitude we go. I am sure the little difficulties that we are having today and even the rebellion that is there will subside. One has to respect their feelings in the sense that they are a proud people. By giving them equal rights we will win them over. The Government, in that direction, have taken a correct step, and let us proceed. Let us not proceed with the suggestion that was made here, namely, "No appeasement". I do not accept that approach. Your approach should be just like that of a mother; an approach to her erring children. If we had such an attitude earlier, the history of Nagaland would have been different. It is my friend's obstinacy, an obstinacy of such people, which creates difficulties. He wants the Government to fight the people there. Let us not have that attitude because it will create troubles for us and miseries for them. It has created enough of trouble. I believe the Nagas have a big role to play in building up this multi-national state of ours into a powerful one.

3—65 R.S./68

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: May I put one question to him? Is every religion a nation? There are so many religions in India we would never accept a religion or a language unit as a separate nation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is not saying that.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I said nationality consists of certain people living in a certain area, having a culture of their own. That is nationality. They, as days go by, will develop into nations and when they come together, there will be a great multi-national State. We are passing through that period. We are not understanding it. We are little fellows who do not respect others.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very grateful to the hon. Members of the House who have given unanimous support to this measure and thereby endorsed the step that has been taken to democratise further or achieve another landmark in the democratisation and representation in the Assembly of Nagaland; particularly as Tuensang area has been given a commitment by the country, it is very heartening that this right step that has been taken towards that, has the unanimous and full support of the House.

A number of things have been said Madam, but I would state again that the policy that we are following towards Nagaland is the correct policy. It is the policy of winning the hearts of the people, letting them feel a sense of development, a sense of belonging to us as the Naga people are our people, our brothers and belong to the same family, the great Indian family. And by the policy we pursue we are creating that feeling in them. Then about the climate of peace, more and more people there want peace and they are loving peace. But there are certain elements which are not only hostile and are taking to the path of violence, but are also in league with certain outside countries and are trying to import arms, get training and so on. We are opposed to them and we will try to eliminate such elements. But in doing so, we must do it in a manner that we get the loyal support of the people there. We must meet the requirements of the people there and effectively deal with such misguided people and prevent their

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

activities. That is the policy that we have been following and I am quite sure that it runs counter to the policy that the hon. Member, Mr. Varma, was suggesting. You cannot deal with people with a bit rod or wth a big stick. If you want to win the hearts of the people, you have to ge>. the co-operation of the people and try to understand them. Certainly the more important thing is the unity and integrity of this country. It is possible that hon. Members may have different ideas about nationality. The nationality that the hon. Member there has defined is a different concept and that has emerged differently particularly after the State of Soviet Union was formed, and the famous resolution on nationality which was evolved by Sta'in is a different concept. So far as our country is concerned, I will not give this impression that this country has a multi-nationality. There is multi-culture, multi-religion, multi-race and different languages. But the country from thousands and tens of thousands of years has been one. Economy, history and geography have made this country one. It is such a beautiful concept that our forefathers thousands of years ago envisaged—that the country south of the Himalayas up to the ocean, washed by river Ganges, Narmada and other rivers, will be one and though people live in different areas, speaking different languages, their hearts are one ; that is the nation of India. Therefore, I would not like this concept of multinationality. That concept may be good for a country like the Soviet Union. But it is dangerous to introduce that concept here—that concept of nationality and from nationality developing into nationhood. That is a dangerous concept and it has no place in our life here. Therefore, Madam, what is paramount is the unity and integrity of this country. We pursue this policy. We co-operate with all political elements in this country and what we are trying to pursue in Nagaland is that the Nagaland people, who are our brothers, must feel a sense of belonging to us, must be more and more integrated with us, must develop themselves democratically and mus-; play their rightful role in our national life This is the essence and sprit of this B.II and I am very happy that it has the unanimous support of all sections after house.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill to provide for a change in representation in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland and for that purpose to make consequential amendments in the State of Nagaland Act, 1962, and the Representation of the Peoph Ac., 1950, as passed by tha Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

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

Clauses 2 to 5 were added to the Bill.

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

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Madam , move :

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

OBITUARY REFERENCE TO SHRI VINAYAKRAO PANDURANG PATIL

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Before we go on the the next item, I have to refer to the passing away of Shri Vinayak-rao Pandurang Patil, an ex-Member. Shri Patil was a Member of the Rajya Sabha from April i960 to December 1962. He resigned from the Rajya Sabha in 1962. Shri Patil was elected to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly in 1967 and was the Minister of Co-operation in the present Cabinet of Maharashtra Government. Shri Pail had taken keen interest in social, educational and co-operative activities in the State of Maharashtra. Shri Patil was only 42 years of age at the time of his death. We deeply mourn the loss. I would request Members to stand and observe a minute's silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

(Hon. Members then stood in silence for one minute)

Secretary will convey to the bereaved family our deep sense of sorrow and sympathy.