

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR
 MOTION *RE* STRIKE BY DELHI
 SCHOOL TEACHERS

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that under rule 172 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, the Chairman has allotted two hours for consideration of the motion regarding the strike by Delhi school teachers.

THE ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL
 POWERS) CONTINUANCE BILL,
 1968

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN
 THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL
 AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL
 SINGH): Madam, I move:

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

Madam, the Bill which is only an enabling Bill, seeks to continue in the territory of Nagaland State, for a further period, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958. It enables the Governor of Nagaland to declare whole or any part of the State as a 'disturbed' area, if in his opinion the disturbed or dangerous conditions prevailing in the area necessitate the use of Armed Forces in aid of the civil power. It is only when a declaration is made by the Governor in the Official Gazette that the substantive provisions of the Regulation come into force.

The said Regulation was promulgated in 1958 by the President in exercise of powers conferred by article 240 of the Constitution read with sub-para 2 of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule thereof. It conferred certain special powers on commissioned, warrant and non-commissioned officers of the Armed Forces

not below the rank of Havildar to enable them to aid effectively the civil power in those areas of Kohima and Mokokchung districts of the then Naga Hills Tuensang Area, which were declared as disturbed areas by the Governor of Assam by notification in the Official Gazette.

The Regulation was initially in force for a period of one year. Since disturbed conditions in the areas of Kohima and Mokokchung districts continued to prevail the Regulation was extended from year to year till 1963 by appropriate Regulation promulgated by the President. After the formation of the State of Nagaland on the 1st December, 1963, the 1958 Regulation was continued by parliamentary legislation, and for this purpose the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Continuance Acts of 1964 and 1965 were passed. The Regulation was further extended to Tuensang district of Nagaland and continued for another period of one year in 1966. Now it covers the entire State of Nagaland and the present extension is due to expire on the 4th April, 1968. It is necessary to extend the Regulation for a further period of one year beyond 5th April, 1968 in view of the continued existence of a threat to peace and security in this strategic border region.

The object of the Bill is to extend the Regulation to the entire State of Nagaland for a further period of one year.

In the end, I would like to assure the House that it is not our intention to vest members of the Armed Forces with special powers for a period longer than is necessary. That is why we are extending the Regulation for a further period of one year only. Madam, I move.

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, you will remember when the matter first came up in this House,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]
 we had certain very strong reservations about the kind of arrangements proposed to be made. We are now introducing the Armed Forces into the domain of that State. Now that the Nagaland State has come into existence, it becomes the domain of the police administration to use the normal powers to deal with a particular situation. Besides, the Armed Forces have been given certain powers which are normally not given to them at all. Now the ground for all this is that it is necessary in order to tackle the situation in what they call the sensitive area and deal with the problem of Naga hostiles. Naturally this argument has been advanced from year to year or from time to time as and when it has become necessary for the Government to ask for the extension of these powers. Even now the hon. Minister has said that it is not the intention of the Government to continue this power for longer than is necessary. He should have given us some indication as to how and in what manner the special powers are going to be ended in the near future, if at all. We should have also been allowed to discuss as to whether another sort of arrangement is possible or desirable there in order to deal with the situation.

I think the time has come for the Government to apply its mind a little more politically to the subject of these hill areas. Obviously the entire area become today highly sensitive in a way, full of discontent, and I do not deny that certain fissiparous and disruptive tendencies are also in evidence. I know it for a fact that certain missionaries of British and American origin are encouraging hostile and other activities in that area but the Government does not of course act effectively against such foreign elements which still remain entrenched there. This is one side of the problem.

There is an attempt on the part of the Government to intimidate the Nagas while the same time talking to them. It may

be that at the political level, the level of the Government or the Ministry or even the Secretariat level, it may not be so. But when it comes to the actual practice, in the areas concerned the special powers given to the Armed Forces are used as a kind of intimidation against the Naga people, which does not help a political solution of the problem. It is not for a moment my contention that we should not protect life and property against violent activities but at the same time it is necessary for us also to bear in mind that people react to the manner in which we administer in that area these laws and powers to tackle the situation. Nagas look at India very often through these Forces that are there. The image of India, to a greater extent, is created, good or bad, by what these Forces do there or how the special powers are used. I make this point because in order to attract the Nagas towards the rest of the country or to sober them or to help them to see reason, it is essential that we project India's image there in a sympathetic manner, so that the Nagas feel that we really mean to attend to their needs and urges to the best of our ability and resources provided they willingly and unreservedly accept the fact that they are a part of the large Indian community. Unfortunately in this respect, there are certain deficiencies in the administration of these Forces or in the manner in which we are running our affairs there. In this connection perhaps I should also ask the Government to reconsider this policy of creating such Forces. We know that when these Forces are used in a wrong way, not in Nagaland or in other parts of the country, the Nagas feel or the people in similar situations feel that what we say in our political overtones is not sincere and that we mean something else. When the Government behaves in this undemocratic anti-people manner in the neighbouring Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and other States, obviously these cannot but have very adverse repercussions in the minds of the Nagas who may begin to doubt the *bona fides* of the Govern-

ment of India when it says that it is willing to extend larger autonomy to the hill areas or to make good, acceptable arrangements provided they reciprocate by accepting without qualifications the fact that they are a part of India and that territory forms a part of the Republic or the Union.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): It is just because we are not certain in our minds nor is there evidence that they will accept that condition that all these seem to follow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This question is very difficult to answer. First of all, we thought nobody would accept. Then we thought or we took them for granted. Then when we had our independence then problems arose and then we felt that perhaps the situation would be much more serious than it is. Then we found that some of them were willing to remain with the rest of the country and not go in for that kind of action which is why I believe the creation of Nagaland was expedited but there are others who are not of this persuasion and I cannot say that there is any evidence on the part of the extremist elements that they are going to accept it but even so, I find important developments take place and that is when the negotiations and the so-called peace talks started accompanied by a cease-fire or whatever you call it on the part of the Government of India and a kind of agreement was arrived at. It is not my suggestion that the agreement has been observed by the other side but the fact that we have taken to this kind of approach of talks and negotiations across the table despite certain explosive developments showed that we are primarily interested in a political settlement of the problem that is haunting us all these years. I am approaching it precisely from that angle. My contention is, use of the Force should not try to negate what we have gained by way of even bringing about the talks and other developments. If we have reached

out a certain section of the Naga community, we should try to reach out the other sections of the community instead of doing things which repel those who have been won over to the position we have taken.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : There is the constituted Government of Nagaland. Have they objected to this extension ? Have you any information ? My question is supposing the constituted Government of Nagaland about which you spoke is not objecting to this, what have you to say ?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) : Have you ever been to Nagaland ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is there in the statement of Objects and Reasons. You can read it. They have not ? A large number of people have not shifted their loyalty yet but there is a constant effort on the part of some people there to win that loyalty. It is going on. That is why I say the process should continue and nothing should be done which disturbs that process and sometimes the excessive use of power or a sort of aggressive gesture will create difficulties. All the time it is not good to talk.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : I asked Mr. Gupta, 'Have you ever visited Nagaland' ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am sure my friend has been there. I have not been there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : He went with Subash Bose...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But I have been to the very proximity to that. I have been to Imphal, Manipur and all that. But in order to state what is happening in the House of Commons, we not go to Westminster. The House of Commons discusses the Commonwealth Immigration Bill but is it necessary for

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

us all to be in the House of Commons in order to understand what is happening there ? Anyway, if you are interested in my usual itinerary, I mean that Nagaland has not been included in it this time but I should like to be there. So nothing should be done to disturb it. The time has come for us to think whether we can straight way say something politically positive and attractive to the Nagas, instead of merely talking. The talks should go on, I am not opposed to it but we should come out with a suggestion and mobilise public opinion in the country and somehow or other create an impression among the Nagas that we mean to accommodate them as far as possible. It must be said that the hills' people have genuine grievances and apprehensions about certain things. Let us not wish them away. They are there. They may be right or wrong but this is part of their life from which we cannot escape. Why the Nagas ? Look at what is happening in Assam or in Tripura and other places or in the entire tribal regions of this country. There is ferment, there are disbeliefs, apprehensions and so on. Therefore it is necessary to develop a political approach in the right manner.

As far as the Central Forces are concerned, the Central Government, as you know, is assuming more and more powers. I am not willing to give it any power, because, first of all it misuses the power. Secondly, the powers become licence for it. Thirdly, the powers kill its capacity to think politically and weakens its democratic good sense, if it has any. Take the so-called Central Reserve Forces meant for the borders. It is being used to suppress internally in the various States the mass movements and struggles. It was created to protect and secure the border areas. Now it is being used for breaking strikes and intimidating people or for toppling the non-Congress Governments and what not. I do not want to go into that. I am sure if, for example, in Nagaland by any chance there is a non-Congress Government, I wonder what

this Armed Force Special Regulation will be like in that region, not that they are always in a position to use it in this manner. The way the Government is behaving is adding to the misgivings and apprehensions in the minds of the Nagas. All the more so when there is always an attempt to talk on the one hand, and to hold out the sword on the other. I think we should see that the talks and discussions, the spirit of peace and discussion, get the upper hand in dealing with the affairs rather than this thing. If there is the police force, let the police force be used for protecting life and property. If it is a Centrally administered area, the Centrally-administered area have their police force and if it is the Nagaland area,—as it is now in most places—there also you have certainly a police force: give the police a little more power in order to function effectively—not to suppress people—rather than assume more and more power and bring this kind of armed force into operation. That should not be done.

Therefore I do not wish to say anything much on the subject. The approach of the Government is defective, and as always happens with these so-called temporary measures, they continue. Have you come across here any temporary measure being repealed or not continued ? We started in 1952. We had been given year after year what they call temporary measures of this kind. Ministers come and go, fall or rise, but somehow or other these measures continue, perpetually and eternally. Well, you chose not to call them permanent measures but they are, in fact, permanent measures, as, for example, the Preventive Detention Act; it is continuing. It was supposed to have died three years after 1952, but it was continuing to be applied at least up to the end of 1967, I believe, and I am sure, by the time it prefers to die, there will not have remained any Congress Party in the Treasury Benches. Therefore such is the situation, and the less said about the temporary aspect of the matter, the better.

श्री शैलभद्र याजी : माननीय डिपुटी चैयरमैन महोदया, मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ। अभी जब कामरेड भूपेश गुप्त जी का जो प्रवचन चल रहा था, सरमन चल रहा था तो मैंने उनसे सवाल किया था और वह सही सवाल किया था। वहाँ की समस्याओं को उन्होंने समझा नहीं। ज़रूर यह कहा कि ब्रिटिश और अमरीकन जो मिशनरी हैं, उनके इशारे पर...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chaiman, with your permission, I am leaving. I do not mean disrespect to him. I assure you I am not going to Nagaland. I shall come back.

श्री शैलभद्र याजी : ... तो उनके इशारे पर वहाँ काम हो रहा है। मैं एक महीने में तो नहीं लेकिन तीन महीने में वहाँ ज़रूर एक बार जाता हूँ और वहाँ की समस्याओं को बारह वर्ष से मैं जानता हूँ। जब हम लोगों की बस चलती थी दिमापुर से इम्फाल के लिए तो वह कन्वाय में चलती थी। अभी तो सीज फायर हुआ है और सीज फायर के बाद क्या हुआ मैं अभी बताऊंगा। तो जब हम जाते थे तो मालूम पड़ता था जैसे कि हम लोग एक रणस्थल में जा रहे हों, लड़ाई लड़ने जा रहे हों। हमारी समझ से हमारी सेना को शिकायत है हमारी सरकार से, और इसलिए मैंने गत बार अपनी सरकार को कहा था कि यह सरकार इतनी कमजोर है कि नागालैण्ड और मणिपुर में जो हमारी टैरीटरी है, वहाँ जो जो चीजें हो रही हैं, हमारी गवर्नमेंट देखती नहीं है। खुलेआम बगावत हो रही है हमारी गवर्नमेंट के साथ। उनकी अपनी आर्मी, अपनी सेना, परेड करती है। हमारी आर्मी खड़ी देखती है, कहती है दिल्ली से आर्डर नहीं हुआ है। प्रेम मोहब्बत करो, इस तरह की बातों का यहाँ से फतवा जाता है। नतीजा यह है कि हमारी सेना महफूज नहीं है, लोग महफूज नहीं हैं और लोग विवश हो कर जो आपके साथ थे वे अब होस्टाइल नागाज के साथ हो रहे हैं। परिस्थिति

वहाँ की इतनी गम्भीर है कि आपने कभी सुना नहीं होगा कि एक देश की धरती में एक सरकार के रहते हुए सीज फायर हुआ हो और हमारी सेना देखती है। उसकी सेना परेड करती है। सीज फायर के रहते खुलेआम जो होस्टाइल नागा आर्मी है वह घूमती है, ठेकेदारों से चन्दा लेती है। मैं ऐसी ऐसी बात जानता हूँ मगर कंट्री की सिक्योरिटी की वजह से मैं आप को बता नहीं सकता इम सदन में कि क्या क्या घटनायें चल रही हैं। लेकिन तो भी दबी जबान से भूपेश गुप्ता ने कुछ मिशनरियों की तरफ इशारा कर दिया। लेकिन चाइना से जो पीकिंगपंथी करा रहे हैं उस के बारे में दबी जबान में और चीन के बारे में उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा। पाकिस्तान के बारे में भी उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा कि वहाँ से नाग नैड से वह पीकिंग तक भी जाते हैं, उन की ट्रेनिंग होती है, ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में उन की सेना सुगठित हो रही है। यदि इस सीज फायर से किसी को फायदा हुआ है तो सिर्फ होस्टाइल नागाज को हुआ है, सारे दो-तिहाई मणिपुर में नाम के लिये हमारी हुूमत है। उन का कोर्ट चलता है उन की आज्ञा भी सेना चलती है और हमारे लोगों के लिये कोई व्यवस्था वहाँ नहीं है। मुझे पता नहीं कि सीज फायर मणिपुर में लागू होगा या नहीं, यह तो मिनिस्टर साहब बतायेंगे लेकिन आज हमारी वहाँ पर सरकार नहीं है। इसलिये मैं ने गत बार गोलते हुए कहा था कि सरकार को चुल्लू भर पानी में डूब जाना चाहिये। इतने सख्त अलफाज तक मैं सरकार को कह चुका हूँ। होस्टाइल नागाज की सेना वहाँ परेड करे, हमारी ब्रिज उड़ा दिये जायें, तोड़फोड़ की जाये और यहाँ से कहा जाय कि प्रेम करो, मोहब्बत करो। भूपेश गुप्त जैसे आदमी इम तरह की बात करें तो नीरेन घोष तो ज़रूर बोलींगे चूँकि चीन का मैं ने नाम ले लिया है। उसी जबान में जिस में भूपेश गुप्त बोल रहे थे वह भी बात करेंगे। इसलिये यह मामला इतना गम्भीर मामला है कि जितने अधिक से अधिक पावर सरकार मांगें उस को मिलना चाहिये।

(श्री शीलभद्र य.जी)

भार्षी को गठित कर के हथियार दे कर होस्टाइल एक्सीमेंट जो वहां है उस को दबाना चाहिये। जो लोग खुले आम चीन से मदद ले रहे हैं, पाकिस्तान से मदद ले रहे हैं उन की वहां पर गुरिल्ला ट्रेनिंग हो रहा है और हम चुपचाप बैठे हुए हैं चूंकि सौज फायर है। इस का अपने मुल्क में क्या असर होता है लेकिन जब एक बार गलती हो गई तो उस को धोना है . . .

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN :

Madam, may I ask him the question which I asked Shri Bhupesh Gupta himself ? There is a legally consti tuted Government of Nagaland. Now are these armies parading and demonstrating arms to them ? Or are they allied to them ? This is a separate section of the force. Did the constitutional Government of Nagaland ask the Government of India for stronger and stronger use of armed force against them ? Or are they saying, let us wait and let us watch, unless my friend implies by what he says that the peace talks should be terminated ?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE :

You are suggesting it as though it was in my observations; I never suggested ter-

pe talks. After

you have not followed my Hindi speech and that is why you say that I had suggested that peace talks should be terminated. What I was suggesting was that though there was the constitutional Government of Nagaland there, in spite of this, the Naga hostiles have got their separate parliament, a hostile parliament, a hostile Government a hostile army parading open and doing hostile acts against the constitutional Government there and waging war against the constitutional Government and against the peaceful Nagas. Should we go on allowing them to attack the Government and the people and the members of this Force ? Even as it is, this Armed Force is being attacked by them, and their attacks will increase if this Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, is discontinued,

since this Armed Forces will no more have the power to deal with them. That is why I was suggesting it. Let me now continue with my speech. I shall reply to you later on.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : I am explaining the question. Have you any information that the constitutional Government of Nagaland wants that kind of thing, which you are suggesting to be done ?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE :

Madam, there the Ministers in Nagaland always issue statements against the Naga hostiles, also stating that they are going to China, that they are going to Pakistan, for training in guerilla warfare, to wage war against the constitutional Government of Nagaland, and that their activities should be curbed. They are issuing such statements openly, and they must have written to the Central Government, I take it—on this the Government will reply when the time for reply comes. Now, I told you in the beginning that after every two months I go there, and again I am going after ten days. So what I was suggesting was that our Government's policy is a weak-kneed policy. It may be conciliatory to you perhaps, but to me it appears to be a weak-kneed policy.

मैडम, मैं सजेस्ट कर रहा था कि अब सारे खुराफाती होस्टाइल नागाज जो हैं वह नागा लैंड से मणिपुर आ गये हैं। उन की बड़ी तैयारी हो रही है। लेकिन मुझे ख़शी है कि हमारी सेना की भी उतनी ही तैयारी हो रही है। दस साल पहले जो तैयारी थी और जो अब देख रहा हूं उस से मालूम पड़ता है कि हमारी भी तैयारी जरूर है। लेकिन जो यह समझते हैं कि जो नागालैंड की गवर्नमेंट है वह हमारी सरकार के साथ है तो एक बात जब वह जानते हैं कि खुलेआम उन को गुरिल्ला ट्रेनिंग पाकिस्तान में कराई जा रही है, चाइना में कराई जा रही है तो यह सब उन की जानकारी में है और हम चुपचाप जिस तरह से देख रहे हैं उस का बुरा असर पड़ता है क्योंकि

उन की देखादेखी और भी करने लगते हैं। उन को देख कर आज मणिपुर के लोग बगावत कर रहे हैं, आज मणिपुर में बगावत हो रही है और यह बीमारी फैलती जा रही है। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ, उस का दमन किया जायगा लेकिन जिस तरह से हमारे सोने पर प्रहार कर के बूटन मड़र किया गया है फिर भी हमारे आदमी कुछ नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। इसलिये हम तहेदिल से कामरेड भूषण गुप्त को भी और नीरेन जी को भी सम्मानना चाहेंगे।

3 P.M.

चूँकि चीन का नाम ले लिया तो बिगड़ न जायें। इसलिये आज जरूरी है कि जो परिस्थिति इस समय वहाँ पर है उस को जल्द से जल्द खत्म किया जाना चाहिये। व लोग कहते हैं कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर नहीं रहेंगे। वह खुले आम यह बात कहते हैं और अपनी अलग से सेना बनाते हैं यह हमारे लिए लज्जा और शर्म की बात है। जो कुछ भी अधिकार सरकार इस बिल के द्वारा माँग रही है उस का हर एक सदस्य को तहेदिल से समर्थन करना चाहिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When the debate started, I had just two names, Now I have six names before me. So I hope hon. Members will keep to the time limit. Now, Mr. Chordia.

श्री विश्वल कुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभापति महोदया, यह बिल सरकार हर साल लाती है और यह समझ कर लाती है कि वह इस समस्या को हल कर लेगी मगर वह हल होती नजर नहीं आती है। इस संबंध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि शुरू में जब यह बात पैदा हुई थी, जिस समय वहाँ पर लोगों ने गड़बड़ पैदा की थी, उसी समय सरकार इस चीज को दवा देती तो आज के दिन यह समस्या इतनी भीषण रूप धारण नहीं करती। जैसे कहा जाता है कि 'ए स्टिच इन टाइम

सेव्ज नाइन' अगर समय पर इस चीज का इजाजत कर लिया जाता तो आज हमारे देश को यह दिन देखना नहीं पड़ता। अभी भी हमारी सरकार अपना दिमाग साफ नहीं कर पाई है तो इस समस्या का हल कैसे हो सकता है? सरकार जिस मेजर्स से पुराने ढंग से चल रही है और उस को अपनाते हो चली जा रही है इस का परिणाम यह होता जा रहा है कि जो हमारे पड़ोसी शत्रु देश हैं वे उस का लाभ उठा रहे हैं। चीन वाले और पाकिस्तान वाले इन विद्रोही नागाज को ट्रेनिंग देते हैं, घरेलू युद्ध का प्रशिक्षण दे रहे हैं जिस के कारण उस क्षेत्र में जो हमारे देशभक्त नागाज हैं उन का स्थिति दिन प्रति दिन नाजुक होती चली जा रही है। हमारी सरकार ने उस क्षेत्र में काफी रुपया खर्च किया है। उस ने वहाँ पर अध्यापकों को अच्छे वेतन दिये हैं और ठेकेदारों को काम करने के लिये अच्छा पैसा दिया है, क्योंकि उस क्षेत्र में काम करना कठिन होता है। लेकिन मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर नागाज विद्रोही जनता से टैक्स के रूप में पैसा वसूल कर रहे हैं और हमारी सरकार इस चीज को नहीं रोक पा रही है। यह सवाल मैं अपनी सरकार से करना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभापति महोदया, हमारी सरकार को अब अपनी नीति में कुछ परिवर्तन करना चाहिये क्योंकि जो देशभक्त नागाज हैं वे दो चक्कियों के पाट में इस तरह की नीति से पीसे जा रहे हैं। एक तरफ तो हमारी सरकार कहती है कि विद्रोही नागाज को मत आने दो, दूसरी तरफ वह विद्रोही नागाज के साथ बात करती है। सरकार इस बिल द्वारा और अधिकार माँग रही है। मरा निवेदन है कि अगर वहाँ की स्थिति को निपटने के लिये उस के पास अधिकार पर्याप्त नहीं हैं, तो वह जितने अधिकार चाहती है ले ले, मगर इस समस्या को जल्द से जल्द समाप्त करे। वहाँ पर जो देशभक्त नागाज हैं, जो कानून का पालन करते हैं,

(श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्ग्या)

उन को सरकार तिरस्कृत करती है और जो नागाज विद्रोह करते हैं, जो देशद्रोही हैं, उन से प्रेम की बातचीत की जाती है।

उपसभापति महोदय, हम ने सोचा था कि नागा स्टेट बनने के बाद इस समस्या का हल हो जायेगा, मगर इस समस्या का हल नहीं निकला और यह समस्या बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। एकसटर्नल मिनिस्ट्री को यह समस्या क्यों दे दी गई है, यह बात ममझ में नहीं आती है। आर्म्ड फोर्सों को यह समस्या तब दी जाती जब हमारे ऊपर कोई विदेशी आक्रमण हुआ होता या कोई विदेशी आ मण करना चाहता, मगर यह तो अपने ही स्टेट की समस्या है, सेना को उसी स्थिति में समस्या को निवटने के लिए दिया जाता है जब कि विदेशी आक्रमण का भय हो ताकि वह जिस तरह से चाहे उस समस्या को निबट ले। आज हमारे मुल्क के एक प्रान्त में यह गड़बड़ हो रही है और इस को होम मिनिस्ट्री के अन्तर्गत होना चाहिये था क्योंकि जब कोई विद्रोह का मामला अपने ही मुल्क के अन्दर हो तो यही विभाग उसका जिम्मेवार होता है। लेकिन एक ही हमारा देश है और उसमें से कुछ प्रमुख लोग, कुछ मिशनरी वाले इस तरह का काम कर रहे हैं जो हमारी देश की सुरक्षा के लिये उचित नहीं है। वहाँ पर पादरी लोग जनता में देशद्रोह की भावना फैला रहे हैं। तो मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग हमारी जनता में इस तरह की भावना फैला रहे हैं उन के साथ राजनीतिक दृष्टि से व्यवहार क्यों नहीं किया जाता है और उन को वहाँ से हटाने का प्रयत्न क्यों नहीं किया जा रहा है। इस तरह के लोगों को वहाँ की जनता से बिल्कुल अलग रखा जाना चाहिये और हमारी कमजोरी की वजह से वे लोग इस तरह का फायदा उठा रहे हैं। इसलिये सरकार को इस बारे में

निश्चित रूप से सोचना चाहिये कि इस तरह के जो लोग हैं उनको देशभक्त लोगों के बीच में नहीं रखा जाना चाहिये। जो देशभक्त लोग हैं उनको एक जगह पर इकट्ठा किया जाय और उनमें भी अगर कोई देशद्रोही हो तो उसके साथ सख्ती के साथ अमल किया जाय।

हमारी सरकार की जो दुलमुल की नीति है, वाता करने की नीति है, वह ठीक नहीं है। अगर आप सचमुच गाँधी जी के सिद्धान्तों पर विश्वास रखते हों, उनकी अहिंसा की नीति पर विश्वास रखते हों, तो आप एक सेना तैयार कीजिये। आप को गाँधी जी के सिद्धान्तों पर विश्वास रखने वाले तो मिल जायेंगे मगर उनके सिद्धान्तों को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने वाले नहीं मिलेंगे। अगर आप में इतनी शक्ति है तो आप इस तरह के लोगों की सेना बना कर वहाँ भेजिये और उन का हृदय परिवर्तन कीजिये। लेकिन मैं इस चीज को सच्चे अर्थों में कार्यरूप में परिणत होने में सन्देह करता हूँ क्योंकि ऐसे लोगों की कमी है। अगर आप इस समस्या को इस तरह से हल नहीं कर सकते हो तो फिर इस काम को सेना के हाथ में दे दीजिये और वह जैसा उचित समझेगी करेगी।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : May I ask a question? Two things are happening now. One is the peace talks which are going on. The other is the extension of this measure. Do you suggest that the peace talks should stop and this law alone should operate?

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्ग्या : पीस टाक्स करते करते इतने वर्ष निकल गये हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में, मैं फिर भी इस मत का हूँ कि अगर गाँधी जी के सिद्धान्त पर विश्वास रखने वाले लोग हैं तो उन्हें वहाँ जाकर लोगों का हृदय परिवर्तन करना चाहिये और उन को देशभक्त बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिये। मगर काँग्रेस में ऐसे लोगों की कमी है और उन लोगों में इस कार्य को करने की क्षमता नहीं है। तो फिर हमें प्रशासनिक

दृष्टि के आधार पर और राजनैतिक दृष्टि के आधार पर इस समस्या का हल निकालना चाहिये और देशभक्त लोगों को सुरक्षा प्रदान करनी चाहिये। पीस वार्ता कर के इस समस्या का हल नहीं निकाला जा सकता है और न हम इस चीज को पसन्द करते हैं। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि यह समस्या एक्सटर्नल मिनिस्ट्री से हटा कर होम मिनिस्ट्री को सौंप दी जानी चाहिये। अगर देश में कहीं विद्रोह होता है तो उस को सख्ती के साथ दबाया जाना चाहिये।

इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि आप ग्राम्स फोर्सेज के लिये जितनी भी शक्ति चाहते हैं ले लीजिये। मगर जब हम समस्या को हल करने की माँग करते हैं तो सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि हम इस स्थिति में नहीं हैं और वह हर साल सदन के सामने इस तरह का बिल लाती रहती है। मैं फिर अंत में सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप को ताकत चाहिये तो ले लीजिये, मगर समस्या का हल करने का क्या तरीका है, उस पर अपना मत प्रकट कीजिये।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not like such an emergency measure being extended from year to year. And I also do not believe that this Government is competent to handle emergency powers. This Government is thoroughly irresponsible and they do not know how to solve any national problem. They create problems and that is why I say it is unwise to vest this Government with extraordinary powers.

As far as the Naga problem is concerned, Madam, if only a separate State of Nagaland had been created in 1948 and this they did later perhaps the Naga problem would not have been created at all. They did not do that in time. They in fact said that there was no problem, that there was no such problem. They said that all are Assa-

me people, that there are no Nagas. Perhaps in their eyes all the Nagas were Assamese people and so they should all be in Assam and no separate State of Nagaland should be given to them these people should not be given a separate Statehood. They went on in this fashion and so they created this Naga problem. There were movements. There were some fishy elements also, bad elements, missionary elements and missionary influences, foreign influences and so on. That was because all of them, certain missionaries and particularly some U.S. missionaries were against the foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru, they wanted to disrupt this Government and they started and encouraged these troubles. But the question is, how did these people find a fertile soil in that area? How could those movements grow? That was because the Naga problem was not tackled properly. Their demand for separate Statehood within the Indian Union was denied. Ultimately they did concede this demand, but they did it when it was too late.

Now some hon. friends here would say that we should settle this issue by force of arms. If the Government of India could they would have. They tried, they have tried for a number of years but they were not able to crush the rebellion. Ultimately the so-called peace talks have begun only after that.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to the fact that another problem has already been created, the Mizo problem. What they asked for at that time a few years back including the Mizoland and all the Hill peoples was Statehood under the Indian union or a Federal set-up or something like that but that was denied. And then the extremist elements took charge and now we have a Mizo rebellion on hand besides the Naga problem. The Nagas are 4 1/2 lakhs; the Mizos, I hear, are 10 lakhs and this Government would never be able to solve these problems. They will go on dragging them from year to year indefinitely. Even now, I ask how

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

they want to solve the Naga problem. Actually the Government has not put forward any precise and concrete proposals. I should say within the Indian Union the Naga State should have the widest measure of powers. The Centre should be divested of all arbitrary powers and the maximum power should be given to them; it should be a sort of an autonomous state within the Indian Union but our Government does not envisage any such thing because in response to a query from me the other day, the Prime Minister said that strategic considerations have to be taken into account in considering whether wider powers should be conferred on the State of Nagaland. So they have reservations even on that score. That is why I say this Government would not solve either the Naga problem or the Mizo problem or the problem of Assam Hill peoples. They will go on creating more and more problems all around the country and they will go on breaking up the country and at the same time they will come forward asking for extraordinary powers. I say that an Army unit operating in any part of the country should have no special powers whatsoever except the normal powers of the Government of a State; nothing more than that. If you give extraordinary powers to the Army units when they operate in any part of the country, it becomes another Government. In fact, we have now there the Assam Government, then the Nagaland Government and the Government of the Army. These three Governments are functioning there. That is the position we have come to. This problem cannot be tackled militarily; if you can tackle it militarily do it; you have tried it but I have not the least doubt that it is not possible to solve national problems by resorting to military means. This is a national problem. There are so many nationalities in India. You cannot crush them; you have to cement the unity of India by their voluntary consent. So this issue has got to be tackled through peaceful means only. There is no other way of doing it.

That being the position you must put forward certain concrete proposal to solve the problem. Even if the extremists do not accept that proposal, all the other elements could be won over and peace established and in that way the extremists can be isolated. But you do not propose to give them any powers. You cannot solve this militarily but you ask us to grant you extraordinary powers. As I said, this Government will go on creating problems. This is an irresponsible Government and I am dead set against any extraordinary powers being granted to this Government at the Centre. It will only complicate the problem; it won't solve any problem. So I oppose the extension of these extraordinary powers.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But they say they need these powers to combat the Chinese.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You can be made a Lieut. General and sent to Tibet or Peking to wage battle there. You can do that.

So I am against this extension. I want the Government to put forward definite concrete proposals giving the widest possible powers to the State of Nagaland so that 90 per cent of the Nagas can be won over and so that a peaceful solution can be brought about. The policy of force and conciliation that has been followed there is going to yield no fruit whatsoever. It is barren and a completely sterile policy. I am therefore against extension being given for these extraordinary powers any more.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Madam, I am not asking time for a talk at all but I suggest that this discussion will become more fruitful and purposeful if the Minister can answer this question now so that we know where we stand, as to whether he has got the support of the constituted Government of Nagaland in bringing this measure.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH:
I submit that we have the consent of the Nagaland Government for this measure.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN:
Thank you.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman I had no mind to take part in this debate but when I heard some of the speeches here, I found that many of the Members did not probably know the exact position that is prevailing in Nagaland. I had occasion to visit Nagaland as a member of the parliamentary delegation and if I claim that I know a little about this it may not be out of place. Madam, the Naga problem is not a simple problem. It cannot be solved militarily. When we were there we were glad to find that the Peace Mission which was constituted by the Baptist Mission had done wonderful work. I am aware that the work of the Peace Mission has been misunderstood and many extremist sections of Nagas have taken undue advantage out of that but by and large the cease-fire which was brought about by the efforts of the Peace Mission has really helped the peaceful Nagas in Nagaland. After having tasted the fruits of peace, the local Nagas who are not extremists or who are not under the influence of foreign powers or under the influence of missionaries are really very much appreciative of the fact that peace regions in Nagaland and that Nagaland can be developed to a proper level; it can compete with and come up to the level of other states. So my submission is that there is a lot of misunderstanding in the country and many people do not know what exactly is the position there. People even ask why the Naga problem cannot be solved with a little force. There I had occasion to meet the various military commanders and they openly said that the Naga problem can be solved in two ways. They say: Hand over the entire Nagaland to us and we will solve it in three days. We will only request you not to raise anything in Parliament. We will not tolerate any sort of criticism.

you hand it over to us, you will have the solution militarily. Otherwise, leave it to the politicians and let there be a political solution of the Naga problem. These are the two alternatives. My submission is, the military in this modern world has never solved a problem. On the contrary, it has created more problems than it has solved. So there can only be a political solution. We also got the impression there that we were rather hasty to give freedom to Nagaland. We created Nagaland much earlier than they expected. They did not expect that a separate Nagaland would be created so early. Now, they say that there is no elbow-room for any negotiations with the Government of India and, therefore, this problem is there. I know that the peace negotiations are very much protracted. Undue advantage is being taken of it by the hostile Nagas. There are certain agents of foreign powers also there creating troubles, but in spite of all this there is progress in Nagaland. The Naga people realise their responsibility. They think that if Nagaland is separated from this country, it will become the hotbed of international politics. All sorts of politics will be manoeuvred and ultimately Nagaland will not remain Nagaland. Barring one section, the extremists, who are probably provoked by foreign powers, we had occasion to meet the local Nagas. We met so many people and we got the impression that, by and large, the Nagas are a very fine people. They have got their ambitions. They are a tribal people and they must be treated with sympathy. There cannot be any military solution in Nagaland.

Now, Mr. Chordia said that people are being abducted and ransom is being demanded. The Government of India is spending crores and crores of rupees on the development of Nagaland. May I remind him that in Madhya Pradesh also, in the dacoit-infested areas, every day people are being abducted and ransom is being demanded? Will he suggest that there should be military rule in such areas also? The military people cannot

Shri R.S. Khandekar] solve such problems. These problems can only be solved with understanding and through negotiations. The Nagas must be convinced that if they remain part and parcel of this country, they will be happy, that their happiness and progress depends on their remaining in this country. My submission is that a lot of misunderstanding prevails there. The Government should send more people to Nagaland. They should apprise the people, they should educate the people and let them know about the real conditions in Nagaland. It is no use staying thousands of miles away and, after reading in newspapers that certain people are abducted, you ask: why not the military exercise their power there? We also met the military officers there. They were complaining that after the ceasefire, they could not do anything within 1,000 yards. They are helpless spectators to the crossings which take place from Nagaland. It is true that the section which indulges in it and which takes undue advantage of the protracted peace negotiations must be dealt with severely. Our intelligence should be more vigilant. We should try to check the activities of hostile Nagas, who are doing all these things with the help of foreign powers, mainly Pakistan and China. They are bringing arms from there and they are taking undue advantage of it. This only shows weakness on our part. We are not so vigilant. Why do we allow the Nagas to cross over, through Burma, to China and Pakistan and bring arms. Instead of solving the problem of the Nagas militarily, we should tighten our borders. We should develop Nagaland more industrially. We should build more roads and there should be economic development. I am quite sure, after some time, the Nagas themselves will feel that in peace lies their development and prosperity. Unfortunately, we are creating unnecessary problems over our borders. It is Kashmir today. Tomorrow it is Nagaland. The third day it is something else. We are not finding any solution.

We just do not know what exactly the position is. Therefore, we should be more educated. Our people must go there and find out the position. Only with sympathy we can solve the Naga problem.

As far as the provision for the extension of this particular measure is concerned, we have nothing to say, because it is necessary in the prevailing circumstances. It is absolutely essential that if India is to remain an integrated country, she must preserve and protect her borders and she must have a proper army. But internally such problems cannot be solved by force of arms only.

This Nagaland is still with the Ministry of External Affairs. We were told that it was the wish of Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that this particular problem should remain in his portfolio and because Pandit Nehru happened to be the External Affairs Minister also, the Nagaland affairs were entrusted to him. There is now no reason why it should remain with the External Affairs Ministry and why it should be treated as a Department of the Ministry of External Affairs. Only on account of Pandit Nehru it became a part of the External Affairs Ministry. Now, the time has come to transfer the Nagaland affairs to the Home Ministry. Otherwise, the impression is created that even today, although Nagaland is part and parcel of this country, its affairs are being administered by the External Affairs Ministry. So, to remove this suspicion, they should transfer the entire Nagaland question to the Home Ministry, so that there will not be this impression any more.

श्री बी० एन० मण्डल (बिहार): उप-सभापति महोदय, जो विल हम लोगों के सामने आया हुआ है इसके जरिये सरकार चाहती है कि आर्म्ड फोर्स (स्पेशल पावर्स) रेगुलेशन को एक वर्ष के लिये बढ़ाया जाय। एक वर्ष और बढ़ाने का क्या नतीजा होगा यह कहना मुश्किल है लेकिन आज तक का जो अनुभव हुआ है उस अनुभव के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि जब से हम लोगों ने

(श्री शोल भद्र यात्री)

इस कानून को बनाया है तब से कोई भी फायदा इस कानून से देश को नहीं मिला है, देश का खर्च हुआ है और बेकार की परेशानी हुई है। एक सत्र से इम्पेन्ट बात यह है कि आज तक हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार इस बात को नहीं तय कर पायी है कि नागालैंड के साथ किस फुटिंग पर व्यवहार किया जाय, अभी तक यह फारेन मिनिस्ट्री का एक अंग बना हुआ है, इसका मतलब है कि यह सरकार यह निश्चय नहीं कर पा रही है कि यह विदेश है या देश के अन्दर की चीज है। इस बात को सरकार तय नहीं कर पा रही है। तो यह जो सरकार की दुविधा है इस दुविधा के कारण भी स्थिति में गड़बड़ी है।

वहाँ पर जब से मिलिटरी की कार्यवाही शुरू हुई है तब से भी इसका कोई नतीजा नहीं निकल पा रहा है। हमको ऐसी भी रिपोर्ट मिली है कि इतनी मिलिटरी के रहते हुये भी वहाँ के जंग लंग हैं वे हमारी सरकार के मातहत अपने को नहीं समझते हैं बल्कि होस्टाइल नागा लोगों की जो सरकार बनी है उसी का मातहत वह कबूल करते हैं, उन्हीं का कर देते हैं और उन्हीं के मातहत काम करते हैं। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि सभी के सभी नागाज होस्टाइल नागाज के पक्ष में हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के पक्ष में भी बहुत नागाज हैं लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार वहाँ मिलिटरी रखने पर भी उनको प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दे पाती है इसलिए लाचार हो कर उन लोगों को उन्हीं के अन्दर में काम करना पड़ता है। इस तरह की स्थिति होने का एक कारण यह भी है कि शुरू से जब से देश आजाद हुआ है उस समय से जो स्टेप्स लेना चाहिये थे वहाँ के बारे में वह सरकार ने नहीं लिये हैं। डा० लाहिया ने शुरू में कहा था कि जंगल पहाड़ी प्रदेश हैं उनके लिये हमें एक नीति बनानी चाहिये और उनका हमें माडर्नाइज करना चाहिए। माडर्नाइज करने का मतलब यह है कि वहाँ सड़क वगैराह काफी ताबाद में बननी चाहिये, वहाँ पर इन्डस्ट्री

वगैरा खुलनी चाहिये और आधुनिकीकरण का जो कुछ भी उपाय हो सकता है वह करना चाहिये लेकिन सरकार ने उन बातों पर ध्यान नहीं दिया और सरकार की जो नीति रही उसके आधार पर डा० लाहिया का जिन्होंने वहाँ जाने की कंशिश की रोका गया, वह वहाँ जा भी नहीं पाये।

इस तरह से वहाँ के लोगों को इसका मौका सरकार ने नहीं दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के साथ उनका इन्टीग्रेशन हो, आपस में आना जाना हो, बोलचाल हो, प्रेम हो। उसी का यह नतीजा है कि वहाँ के जंगल पादरी हैं या हम लोगों का दुश्मन चीन है या पाकिस्तान है, उन लोगों की वहाँ पर आती है और आज ताँ स्थिति यह हो गई है कि नागालैंड से होस्टाइल चीन में जाते हैं, पाकिस्तान में जाते हैं और वहाँ से ट्रेनिंग लेकर आते हैं और सरकार ने उनको जाने से रोक सकती है और न आने से रोक सकती है और इस तरीके से दिन ब दिन वहाँ पर जो होस्टाइल नागाज हैं वे इस ढंग से आर्म्ड हो रहे हैं जिसका नतीजा यह होने वाला है कि जैसा वियतनाम में हो रहा है उस ढंग की परिस्थिति यहाँ भी आ सकती है। जिस बीच में सरकार ने बातचीत का सिलसिला शुरू किया उस बातचीत के सिलसिले में एक शर्त यह रखनी चाहिये थी कि जब तक बातचीत का क्रम चलता रहेगा तब तक नागाज की ओर से कोई इस तरह का ऐक्ट नहीं होना चाहिये जिसमें कि वायलेन्स वगैरह हो लेकिन यह शर्त भी यह सरकार नहीं मनवा सकी। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि बातचीत के दौरान जहाँ स्थिति अच्छी होती चाहिये थी वहाँ वह स्थिति और बिकट होती जा रही है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार सारी स्थिति पर विचार करके कुछ ऐसी नीति चलावे जिस नीति के जरिये वहाँ शांति स्थापित हो सके। शांति स्थापित करने के लिये अब निश्चित रूप में वहाँ जो मिलिट्री है उसको मजबूत करना चाहिये क्योंकि अब सिर्फ नागा लोगों

की ही समस्या वहां पर नहीं रह गई है, वहां चीन और पाकिस्तान से आदमी ट्रेड हेकर आने लगे हैं, इसलिये ज कि दूसरे देशों का इन्टरफीयरेंस हना शुरू हो गया है तो यह केवल हमारी सीमा की बात नहीं रह गई है बल्कि हमारे देश में दूसरे देश से आक्रमण होने की स्थिति आ गई है और इसलिये सरकार को मिलिटरी के जरिये भी अगर दाने की जरूरत होती उनके दाना चाहिये और उस हद तक दिया जाय कि उसका असर हो सके। मैं समझता हूं नागाओं के साथ जातिघात चल रही है उसमें सकलता लाने के लिये अपने का मजबूत दिखाना जरूरी है। लेकिन आज जो सेना वहां पर हमारी है वह सेना उतनी कारगर नहीं हो रही है और स्थिति हम लोगों के खिलाफ होती जा रही है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं सरकार इन सारी बातों पर विचार करे और कोई ब्रह्म नैतिप्रण ए।

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH:
Madam Deputy Chairman, as I said in my earlier statement it is a non-controversial and a simple Bill but the discussion on the Bill has been very, very fruitful indeed because during the debate members have touched upon the entire gamut of the Nagaland problem and the all suggestions that they have put forward and all the criticisms they have come forward with will certainly be of the great benefit to the Government and they will keep all those suggestions in mind whenever the question of Nagaland comes up...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA :
Please come near the mike.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH:
From the discussion it appears that two points of view have been thrown up in the debate. One is which is supported by a large number of speakers that we should try and seek a political solution of the pro-

blem rather than try to solve this problem by the use of force. Some Members who had spoken before suggested that perhaps we are not using force adequately enough and that we should use more force and try and crush the whole movement as early as possible. We have made our stand very clear in the past Madam that the Government of India believes honestly and truly that the only solution which can be a lasting solution of the problem is the one which is arrived at by a political settlement negotiated with the Naga people themselves. It is on that line that we are proceeding from year to year, from time to time, though we have not achieved much of a success so far but as I have said earlier in answer to many questions on the floor of the House, we have every reason to feel and believe that the policy we are pursuing is proving quite fruitful inasmuch as the agreement on suspension of operations that we have entered into with the underground Nagas has brought about a certain amount of peace and stability in Nagaland and a number of people have begun to have some stake in peace there and quite a large number of people are of the opinion that probably their future lies with India and they would like to remain within the Indian Union. But there are still quite a large number of people who are extremists among the underground Nagas who still talk in terms of separatism and an independent State for Nagaland. But we can only judge our success by making an assessment as to whether more people in Nagaland are on our side, with our way of thinking, with our view, or more are on the other side. It is our assessment that now by and large people are on our side, they appreciate our policy, and our policy has proved fairly good, and we propose to go on with it so long as we find that the underground Nagas are prepared to keep the terms of the Agsop, and we are hoping that as time goes by, more and more people will come to our side and that these extremist elements will be completely isolated or they will be won over ultimately to our way of thinking. So, my purpose in make-

ing this remark is that the Government of India also feels that the real solution to the problem lies in solving the problem peacefully and through negotiations, and to that end we are proceeding.

Madam, when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was speaking on the subject, he said excessive use of force should not be used over there. I whole heartedly agree with him over that, and we can assure the House that even though we give such powers to the Armed Forces, they will be used with the utmost restraint, and only when absolutely necessary, when the situation demands it. We have to give them these powers so that any unexpected situation arising there can be dealt with by force, in a place where conditions are not normal, the terrain is very difficult and they have to take on the spot decisions, they have to be empowered to deal with the situation. A suggestion has already been made that instead of renewing this power from year to year, we should make it permanent, instead of our coming every year for extension of this power. To that I can only say that we do not relish this idea. We do it specially because the situation demands it. We are hopeful that as a result of the negotiations and discussions the whole problem will be solved amicably and peacefully and there will be no need for our Armed Forces to be given these special powers. That is why we are extending these powers from year to year and hoping all the time that probably this is the last time that we are doing it. Unfortunately in the past we also gave a promise that it would not be necessary to extend the powers, but the situation still remains rather fluid and difficult. That is why we have again come to the House with this request.

A number of other points were raised during the debate. Mention was made of some of the foreign powers being interested in interfering in Nagaland and creating trouble there. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Niren Ghosh particularly said that the British and the Americans had a hand in it. While it is true that some foreign

powers have tried to fish in troubled waters in Nagaland, it will not be correct to put the blame entirely on the British or the Americans in this. I think as far as our information goes the Chinese and the Pakistanis have played a big part in this, and, as the House already knows, the underground Nagas are trying to establish contact with the Chinese, and though we have no authentic information as to how much help in the form of finances or arms they have been able to get from China, this much is a fact that some of them had been able to establish contact with the Chinese and some kind of training in guerilla warfare has been given to them. It is also said that they have procured some small arms. As to what kind of help they are getting from Pakistan, that is already known to the House and we have already expressed our views on that. As regards the activities of the foreign missionaries, I may inform the House. Madam, that there are no foreign missionaries working in Nagaland and we do not approve of foreign missionaries going to Nagaland for, and carrying on, political activities. There are at present four Catholic nuns, I think Italian in nationality, who are working as teachers in Nagaland and they are being retained at the request of the Nagaland Government because they are only interested in teaching and in educational work, not in taking active part in politics. There is also a British lady who is a teacher there. They are not carrying on missionary activities nor are they inciting the people over there nor are they carrying on any anti-national activities.

Then, as regards this question as to why this subject is being dealt with by the External Affairs Ministry, that has been gone into a number of times. There are historical reasons. All I can say is that this was one of the conditions which the Government of India agreed to when they first entered into the negotiation with the representatives of the Naga People Convention and the same thing is being followed. That does not mean that we

are treating Nagaland as a foreign land. Nagaland is very much a part of the Indian Union, the Nagas are our kith and kin, and the fact that some of their affairs are dealt with by us does not necessarily mean that their's is a foreign land. That criticism has been met a number of times before. I have nothing more to say on that point.

As I have said earlier, this is only an enabling Bill. It merely gives special powers to our Armed Forces to help the Government whenever it is very necessary for the power to be used.

I do not think there is any opposition to the Bill as such from the Members, though they have taken this occasion to air their views on the whole Nagaland problem. Therefore, without taking too much time of the House, I would commend that this Bill may be taken into consideration.

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 adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, let us take the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2—Amendment of section 1

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: (Kerala): Madam, I move :

1. "That at page 1, line 8, after the figure 1969 the words 'or such further date as the Central Government may, by notification, from time to time appoint' be inserted."

2. "That at page 1, after line 8, the following be inserted, namely :—

“(b) after sub-section (4), the following proviso shall be inserted, namely :—

‘Provided that a notification issued by the Central Government under this

sub-section shall be laid as soon as may be after it is issued, before each House of Parliament while it is in session for a total period of fifteen days, and if both Houses agree in making any modification in the notification, or both Houses agree that the notification should not be issued, the notification shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that notification.’

The questions were proposed.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN:

Madam, I would submit that I entirely agree with the hon. Minister that there should not be a permanent legislation and that is why this legislation is being renewed from year to year. But I am unable to understand—if at all the parent legislation would be necessary—why power cannot be taken by the Central Government by the issue of a notification? And that notification has to be placed before the Houses of Parliament and shall take effect only subject to such amendments or a annulment itself that the Houses of Parliament may decide upon on the placing of such a notification.

While I entirely agree with the sentiments expressed against the continuance of the parent legislation itself, I would submit that if at all this has got to be extended for another year as proposed now by this amending Bill, the hon. Minister must assure this House that it is not proposed to continue this measure for more than a year. The parent legislation was enacted in 1958 in the nature of a Regulation and every year we have been having continuance legislations passed by each House of Parliament. This is the tenth amending Bill and the tenth year in which this is being passed into law.

Looking at the way things are moving in Nagaland and the discussions are moving in respect of Nagaland, without going into the merits of this legislation, the Central Government having felt that these powers were necessary during the previous years, I have no doubt that the Central Government might be asking the Houses of Parliament in future years also for this power, and there is no likelihood of this being the last legislation on the matter. If that is the purpose, my submission, would be that the time of the Houses of Parliament should not be in a way, if I may say so, unnecessarily be deployed by legislations of this nature. The time can no doubt be fruitfully taken when a notification is issued and the notification is placed before the Houses of Parliament and any amendments made to such notifications, those amendments can be discussed. This entails a lot of waste of time, if I may say so, on the part of the Government and on the part of the administrative departments. The matter each year has got to be reviewed at a very high level for the purpose of extending this legislation, for merely extending this legislation, which could as well be done by a notification and the notification can be placed before each House of Parliament.

That is the purport of my amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Deputy Minister, any reply to the amendments ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : As I have said earlier, it is not necessary to invest them with special powers for a longer period. As I have already said, we are continually watching the situation. We are hoping that the problem will be solved and that it may not be necessary to have this legislation. I therefore, do not accept, this amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

1. "That at page 1, line 8, after the figure '1969' the words 'or such further date as the Central Government may, by notification, from time to time appoint' be inserted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

2. "That at page 1, after line 8, the following be inserted, namely :—

'(b) after sub-section (4), the following proviso shall be inserted, namely :—

Provided that a notification issued by the Central Government under this sub-section shall be laid as soon as may be after it is issued, before each House of Parliament while it is in session for a total period of fifteen days, and if both Houses agree in making any modification in the notification, or both Houses agree that the notification should not be issued, the notification shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that notification.'

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

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.