

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pant, you move your motion.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT): I may point out, Sir, that I have listened to Dr. Gour and we will consult the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

### **THE NAGA HILLS-TUENSANG AREA BILL, 1957**

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to provide for the formation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area of Assam as an administrative unit, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Bill which I am placing before this House for consideration has been passed unanimously by the Lok Sabha. All parties were good enough to extend their support to the Bill. Such occasions are rare, and I hope that the Bill will commend itself also to the hon. Members of this august House.

The Bill is a simple one. It seeks to create a new administrative unit consisting of the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Division. The Naga Hills District at present forms part of the State of Assam and is administered by the Assam Government. The Tuensang Division forms part of the North East Frontier Agency and is directly under the External Affairs Ministry. Its affairs, however, are administered by the Governor of Assam on behalf of the Government of India. Under the new arrangement both of these areas are to be integrated into one unit, to be administered by the President through the External Affairs Ministry. This arrangement is being made out of regard for the wishes expressed by the Naga leaders who assembled at Kohima about the end of the month of August and passed a resolution to this effect. Thereafter in the month of September, the leading and prominent men who took part in

that conference met the Prime Minister and repeated their request. So, in compliance with their wishes, it has been proposed that a new administrative unit should be formed to be administered directly by the Government of India. This is, in a way, an interim measure, because this step is being taken, as I said, to carry out the proposals made by the Naga Conference which met at Kohima. It was a representative conference attended by 2,000 delegates and 1,500 visitors, but there are still hostiles who have not joined this conference and who have not accepted the resolutions that were passed at this conference.

Hon. Members are presumably acquainted with the history of these tracts. They form part of Assam. The British Government, had a lot of trouble with them between 1850 and 1875, when they tried to establish some sort of authority over them. The people in the hills raided the plains ten times or more and then military missions were sent by the British to punish them. After that, some time about 1870, a district—the Naga Hills District—was formed and a District Officer was appointed. He too was killed after some time. Thereafter, Kohima was selected as the headquarters of the District and a Political Officer was appointed. He too was after some time murdered, but the area continued to be administered according to the Unadministered Areas Regulations of 1870 for some time. The area was directly under the Governor General, being managed on his behalf by the Governor of Assam. Then the Scheduled Districts were formed, but the area for the most part continued to remain under the Government of India, as it was then constituted. In 1920 when the Montagu Scheme was introduced, these areas were called and described as backward tracts, but even thereafter these particular portions, which I am referring to, continued to remain under the Foreign and Political Department. Under the 1935 Act there were certain excluded areas and

certain partially-excluded areas. These areas were grouped under the head of excluded areas and were administered even thereafter by the Secretariat of the Governor-General (Public). When independence was declared in 1947, considerable thought was given to these and other hill tracts of Assam. A Committee was appointed under one of the foremost leaders of Assam, Shri Bardoloi, and that Committee toured round these areas and made certain proposals. According to their proposals, Autonomous Councils were to be set up in six districts, the Hill Districts as they are called, mainly inhabited by tribal people. Some areas were to be left out to be administered by the President or the Governor General as he used to be called immediately after the advent of independence. In accordance with the decisions taken on the basis of the report of the Bardoloi Committee, this Naga Hills District was given the opportunity of forming an Autonomous Council and also of sending three representatives to the Legislature of Assam. The people living in this district did not, however, form such a Council. They did not carry out the scheme voluntarily and during the first 1952 elections they did not even send any representatives to the Assam Legislature; they did so in the last elections. The Government of India has been throughout anxious to bring about not only political but emotional integration between these far-away tracts of our country and the rest of it. They are strategically important too; they adjoin Burma and in fact some Nagas live on the other side in Burma. It is desirable that every citizen of our country should have full scope for development and growth. Though the people there, especially one of their principal and now their main leader, Shri Phizo, had throughout been adopting a very recalcitrant attitude, still attempts were made to reason with him, to argue with him and to win him over to the right side, so that the progress of these areas might be expedited. The Prime Minister met him more than once but he was adamant and

would not be satisfied with anything, short of independence. In fact, in a way he declared that this area was independent and he also formed a sort of small Council. But we tried, as I said, to win over the people and to see that whatever misunderstandings there were, were removed, but they did not listen. Still we exercised the utmost patience and forbearance in the matter. Independence is almost a preposterous sort of idea, so far as these areas are concerned. This Naga Hills District has hardly a population of 2 lakhs and the Tuensang Division 1½ lakhs, so that the two together would not have a population of more than 3,50,000. That total <sup>10</sup> AT revenue, the income of the 12 NOON. area, comes to nearly Rs. 5 lakhs while the expenditure there that is being incurred borders round Rs. 7 crores, partly being borne by the Assam Government and partly by the Centre. If they were left to themselves, they would be swallowed up by some other States because there are States nearby. By themselves they cannot possibly do anything substantial for their progress and for the development of their natural resources. Communications have to be established, schools, dispensaries and so many other things have to be opened. For all that, a substantial amount is needed. Rs. 5 lakhs of revenue can hardly serve their needs at all. So in their own interest as well as in the interest of the security of India, independence cannot be thought of but the Government has always been prepared to negotiate and discuss with them a reasonable scheme that would give them the maximum scope for self-fulfilment and advancement and would enable them to enjoy the benefits of science and technology on which modern society mainly rests for all its amenities and comforts. But this has not yet been achieved. Not only did Phizo and the people associated with him not accept the scheme but after some time they took to ways of violence. In fact, there had been some sort of subsidiary currents even previously. But in about 1954 or 1955 there was an outbreak of violence in

[Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.] Tuensang and these people who were led presumably by Phizo conducted a campaign of murders, lootings and the like in that area. They were, however, suppressed and peace was restored, and Tuensang area has been peaceful since. After that Phizo issued a statement saying that he would have recourse only to peaceful methods and the Chief Minister of Assam went round and allowed him to accompany him in order to speak to these people and to advise them not to deviate from the path of peace. But soon after this, this campaign of violence was started in Naga Hills. Instead of really asking these people to remain peaceful, Phizo made use of the freedom that had been given to him for carrying out his conspiracy for violence and thereafter troubles started. When this Tuensang violence was organised, some of the leading members and others of the Naga National Council as it was called, withdrew from that Council and they said that they would have a constitutional scheme in consultation with or with the approval of the Government of India and they abjured the path of violence and they also abandoned this demand of independence. The Secretary of the Naga National Council was the leader of this group. After some time he was tortured, tied to a tree and shot. Similar was the fate of several others. When this violence increased, the civil authority was not able to deal with the situation and the Government of India had to send military forces there for the assistance of the civil authorities. The military forces have been there for some time. They had to carry out a very difficult task. The Nagas are our own brethren, they are our co-citizens and our countrymen. They could not adopt the orthodox methods of warfare and the Nagas, at least several of them, are adepts in the method of guerilla warfare. Some of them had training in such warfare during the Second World War and in that area there were large dumps of arms and ammunition which were left there by the Japanese as well as by I

the British. So this trouble went on and it has not yet completely ceased. In fact, the hostiles or some of them have come over but there are still groups—the number cannot be easily estimated—who continue their previous methods which can only lead to disaster. But when this conference was held by the Nagas and they passed this resolution and when they met the Prime Minister, they were told to take steps in the direction desired by them. Accordingly, this Bill has been framed and it is hoped that it will pave the way for the cessation of hostilities and for the speedy development of these areas in normal conditions with all assistance that we can give to the people living in those areas. The Nagas are a self-respecting and brave people and we have every desire to preserve and promote their culture. We don't want in any way to interfere with their way of life but we wish to give them whatever assistance we can so that their economic conditions may improve and they may lead a better and a richer life. That is our only object. It is with a view to achieving this aim that this Bill has been framed. We hope that it will serve as a step in our progress towards durable and permanent peace in that region, and I hope this House will be pleased to accept it unanimously. Sir, I move.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for the formation of the Naga Hills—Tuensang Area of Assam as an administrative unit, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I have listened with very great attention to the motion moved by the hon. Home Minister. He pointed out that this is an interim Bill, that it is a Bill for the interim period for carrying on the administration and that negotiations have been going on and representations have been made to the Prime Minister. Probably a little later, a more comprehensive Bill will come

where some sort of representative government or representation to elective bodies will be given to the people of the Naga Hills Area. Sir, when we are considering this Bill, the hon. Home Minister in a very elaborate speech tried to give us the background of past history and the possibilities of future development. So when the House examines this Bill, hon. Members should keep in their mind that background and the possibilities of future developments. I beg to submit that the speech has given me the impression that our policy about our frontier States is a little vacillating policy. The problem of frontier areas is a difficult one. In any country and in particular in the case of our country, the frontier areas have always given us trouble. As the hon. Home Minister pointed out, from 1850 to 1870 and even right up to the day of our independence, the North East Frontier Agency area was a source of continuous trouble. You know, Sir, the North Western Frontier Province was always a source of trouble and now that the North Western Frontier Province has gone out of India we have certain other areas as borders between India and Pakistan and they are now giving us trouble. Therefore, I submit that we should not confine our attention to only this small Bill creating an administrative unit and pass it thinking that this is a small Bill which is only making an administrative change and therefore no more attention need be paid to it. As the hon. Home Minister pointed out, this area contains a population of 34 lakh with an income of Rs. 5 lakhs and a total expenditure of Rs. 7 crores. When the people of India and the Government of India pay Rs. 7 crores for the maintenance of this area, the underlying idea is the security of India, the prosperity of India. Therefore, we should consider this problem, whether this Bill is the beginning of further encouragement to fissiparous tendencies, to a campaign of violence, loot and murder to thereby persuade the *Government of India* into yielding ng,

into making a beginning in this direction and subsequently repenting ever

it. I had an occasion to go to Assam and these areas and when I talked to the officers they gave me the impression that the missionaries were doing very good work with regard to education, with regard to health facilities, but they were also giving the people certain ideas of freedom, of independence, going out of the Union and separating from India and that these ideas are slowly and gradually growing. If proper steps are not taken by the Government, a day may come they may demand complete independence. That day has come. The hon. Home Minister told us that they wanted independence. He rejected it as the idea was preposterous. But negotiations went on and today he has come forward with this Bill for an administrative unit. Tomorrow he will come forward with some other Bill giving them a little more freedom, a little more independence. Sir, if you consider it altruistically, every nation and every group of people have got the fullest right to be independent and in the name of democracy, you can always go on saying things and making big speeches that these people have got the fullest right. But democracy in our sense, has certain responsibilities. And when it is a question of democracy for a people living in hill areas, a backward people who are new to modern civilisation, who are likely to be misled and misguided by certain interested parties, interested people, into wrong channels, is it the duty of the Government of India, is it right on our part, to yield and go on yielding ground slowly and gradually? I do not want to say how a series of mistakes in other parts of our country have led us into very complicated situations. I suppose you know that the interim decision has appeared in today's newspapers about the judgment of the Hague Court. Well, I give that example only to show that the Government of India has involved itself into a very difficult situation with regard to Goa and other parts of that territory. Tomorrow a similar thing may happen with regard to this NEFA areas. We have got very powerful neighbours, very

[Shri Kishen Chand.] friendly neighbours. They are very friendly nations and I don't see anything from those friendly nations. But it is the demand of wisdom that we should use a little foresight and see things in advance. If you do not want to utilise foresight, naturally when the trouble comes, the Government will offer the excuse that they did not realise it, that they did not know it. I beg to warn the Government and submit that it should be made very clear and it should have been an integral part of this measure, that we are only making an administrative unit for the better management of that area, that no further concessions would be shown either with regard to the setting up of an independent unit there or a representative unit with certain political rights behind it. If that was made clear, I would have had no objection to the creation of this administrative unit. But without that assurance and with the fear that this may lead to certain other undesirable things, I am very much afraid that the hon. Home Minister has not given the full information to this House, that he is not taking the House into his confidence.

I say this because, the leader there— Mr. Phizo—has by his past actions forfeited our confidence in him. He has abused his freedom and during the negotiations he went back on the terms offered by him and his associates. There was a big gathering, Sir, of the tribes' representatives. I admit that they passed certain resolutions. As you know, it is the normal thing to do, that when the frontal attack does not succeed, you have to make the flank attack. Here the frontal attack did not succeed. The demand for an independent Naga area did not succeed. So instead of a frontal attack, we are going to have a flank attack. This flank attack will be to ask in the beginning for an administrative unit, then for more political rights to be conferred on them, and after political rights are conferred, some further demands to be made.

I think, Sir, that the Government of India should not carry on any negotiations or give any facility to the leader, Mr. Phizo, who has not only once but several times broken his word of honour, who went behind the terms that he had offered, who is now carrying on a campaign of violence and hatred against India and who is trying to wean away those tribes which may be favourably inclined towards us. What efforts are being made by our Government to win over those tribes back? Sir, you know that in the North-Western Frontier Province, the British Government, with the experience of 200 or 300 years of colonial rule, with all the modern weapons of warfare could not conquer the hardy Afridis of those areas. They then had to adopt a policy of giving subsidy and free money to those areas which did not work to the detriment of those Afridis because they were well provided for. Similarly, Sir, I maintain that our Government will have to adopt some similar policy in the NEFA areas. It is a hilly area and the policy of reprisal, the policy of military action, against the Nagas did not and will never succeed because the terrain is not suitable for it. Therefore, some other policy should have been adopted by our Government. I do not want to elaborate this subject because it is a difficult one and there are many things which I would like to say but should not say. Therefore, drawing the attention of the Home Minister to this problem, I suggest that this Bill should come with certain assurances that no subsequent Bills giving greater freedom to that area will be brought forward.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, I rise to extend my full and wholehearted support to the Bill that has been moved by Pandit Pant. He has stated the case with the clarity and precision, with the sympathy and understanding that characterise all his utterances. The Naga problem, in fact, the Eastern Frontier problem, has been with India for the last 100 years or so but it was not through the centuries of our past

history a problem such as it is now. About two thousand years ago there was a great geographer, Ptolemy was his name, and he made mention of the Nanga Logae in the Eastern Frontier of India, in India Extra-Gangem. He had described these people as a very brave people as Pandit Pant described them. They are a people who have been living in the areas where they are for the last 2000 years at least. The background that the hon. Home Minister presented so cleanly before us explains some of the troubles that we are facing today. These troubles arise from the fact that very intensive vindictive and punitive measures were taken against those Frontier people continuously for more than 25 years and the whole administrative machinery was run in these areas in a manner that lacked understanding of their social and religious habits, customs and traditions. I do believe that a Bill of this kind has not been too early in view of the circumstances with which we had been faced in the last couple of years or so and I would not, therefore, say many words in explanation of the case that has already been stated so ably by the Honourable Home Minister before the House. I would only say that it is certainly an important national problem; but it is not merely a national problem inasmuch as it has attained certain international significance, and we shall be judged outside of India by the manner in which we deal with this problem. If Mr. Phizo could get entry into certain important journals like "The New York Times", if one of his statements could find its way there, and from time to time if British journals could make reference to the Naga problem in not very friendly terms, it means that its importance is not merely national but also international. We must also realise the fact that the Nagas are not merely here with us on this side of the Indian frontier but they are on the other side as well, along the Burmese Frontier, and the question is such that two Prime Ministers of the two countries had jointly to visit the

Naga areas from both sides. It has

therefore, an importance which we must not seek to minimise. I regret I did not understand or quite follow the logic of the previous speaker, our hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand. He said that the policy of the Government of India was vascillating and weak, and he seems to have pleaded for a more firm policy. I do not really understand what he means by a more firm policy. For good or for evil, personally I feel for good, we have been pursuing not only on national questions but also on international questions, a certain policy that is informed by understanding and wisdom, that is informed by experience gained over the last few decades of our national struggle for independence and cherished by our traditions and values, and we are more or less following the same principles and policies in respect of our dealings with the Nagas and other hill tribes on our Eastern Frontiers. There are about seventeen or eighteen tribes belonging to various racial strains and speaking various languages. Even amongst the Nagas, there are about 30 groups. We only know the names of two or three or four of them. They speak different languages and when they get together and have to exchange their ideas they have to do so either in Assamese or, so far as the more educated ones are concerned, in English. The problem is not an easy one and for no reason we can be, in Mr. Kishen Chand's language, very firm with them. A policy of blood and iron never succeeds and we cannot think of such a policy with our own kith and kin, the tribes in the Eastern Frontiers of India. Our administrative policy must be informed by an understanding of these people. While we must seek a peaceful political settlement by all means, we are not thinking in terms of a military settlement, indeed, we cannot. We are thinking in terms of political solutions; certainly we must do so and try to come to an understanding even with the rebels, for coming to an understanding with the rebels is the measure of our success in our relations with those who do not

[Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray.] agree with us or who do not want to fall in line with us. But beyond a political solution there are certain other solutions, solution in terms of finding better social amenities, for example, founding schools, dispensaries, hospitals, educational institutions, etc. To my mind, these alone are not enough. We have a very good scholar with a sympathetic understanding as our tribal officer in those regions and he is an able officer. But when we deal with indigenous tribes, be they within the very heart of India or be they on our frontiers, when we deal with such tribes, it is not enough merely to be administratively efficient; it is not enough to found institutions for general education or in respect of sanitation or health or to found medical institutions.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

we must also know their patterns of behaviour, we must know their social customs and we must know their patterns of life. It is a big problem in India, the question of dealing with indigenous tribes, but the problem is much bigger, much more difficult in the Eastern Frontier of Assam. As a student of archaeology and anthropology I have some knowledge of these areas. I have lived amongst the Vimals; I know them. But I regret to confess that most of our people, the plains people, the educated people, the middle-class people, who are usually the administrators, do not understand the working of their mind, have very little knowledge of their social pattern. My plea would be, and I would argue in all earnestness that while we try to achieve a political solution of the problem we must also try to look at it with a deeper understanding, not only with efficiency, but with a greater and deeper knowledge of the people whom we are dealing with. Since we lack knowledge and to the extent we lack knowledge, to that very extent we are destined to fail. This should be tackled by administrators who have some understanding of tribal life and knowledge of as many tribal languages as possible. If we could approach

them through their own languages the task would have been made infinitely easier. That has been our experience as students of anthropology. I would therefore, make a plea for changing a little the pattern of our administration and the character of our administrative officers, and manning the machinery with such people as have love for and understanding of the social pattern of these people. I would give you only one instance. You know that head hunting with us is a very bad thing and we who are all fired with reformist zeal may like to see these things amongst the Nagas ended. But if you go there and try to tell them that head hunting is a bad thing, if you pass a legislation to the effect that head hunting is prohibited or would be punished according to the law, then you are not going to achieve the object you want to. It may be a very laudable thing, but that is not the way one has to work amongst the tribes. A new policy has to be evolved and I would make a very strong plea for the adoption of such a policy. Secondly, as I said, it has some international importance. Nationally the extent to which the measure will succeed will be the measure of success we achieve in dealing with them. Internationally too. I would like to remind this House that it is not ourselves alone that are looking at it. Part of the knowing world's eyes are attracted towards those Eastern Frontiers, and they are watching how we are going to tackle this problem. It therefore demands all the attention that we can muster on this situation and all the efforts of our Government. Perhaps it is a small problem; it does not cover a very wide area perhaps. It only affects about three lakhs and a half of the Indian population. But the importance of a problem is not always judged by the number of people or by the amount of money we spend on it. Apart from this, there are certain other minor considerations which this House might take note of. Certain foreign elements are trying to fish in the troubled waters of our Eastern Frontiers. We must be aware of this too, when we

speak about taking certain other policies, say, the kind of policy recommended by my friend, Mr. Kishen Chand. I am sorry that such an argument was tried to be made out. since, as I listened to his speech., I reminded of certain sorts of arguments, a certain way of approach that characterised the policy of the British Government in India. We are not going to speak in that language. We are not going to pursue a policy of that kind. We are trying to evolve a different kind of policy. May be we have failed at times; may be we have not achieved that kind of success that we desire, but through trials and errors we are trying to evolve a different kind of policy, and this measure is one of the expressions of that policy to which I lend my wholehearted support.

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman I support this Bill with mixed feelings and I will explain why I am supporting this Bill with mixed feelings. But there is no other way but to come with such a Bill after that convention which was held in Kohima recently.' Our Home Minister in the course of his speech in this House and the other House said that this is an interim arrangement and for the future he will see that a final decision is made which must satisfy all concerned and that a happy solution must be found.

Sir, many of you may know Zappo Phizo, who is the leader of these hos-tiles. I also happened to know him when I toured for seven days in the Naga Hills in the year 1946 in the month of October along with my husband who was a Member of the Constituent Assembly. You may wonder, we were not allowed to go there in the beginning, but he being a Member of the Constituent Assembly we were allowed to go up to Kohima and not to other areas. At that time Zappo Phizo was with us. We were addressing meetings together and in the Naga villages we addressed in Assamese. Because in these areas they understand only Assamese, which is their *lingua franca*, that is, broken Assamese. As I said, we were address-

ing meetings. Then Zappo Phizo was trying to explain to the tribal people: Why not we Nagas who were residing in Burma and in other neighbouring areas of India, why not we combine together and join with the Assamese people and later on ask for our boundary, the boundary being the Brahmaputra river. Then we tried to convince him that it would be a suicidal policy. He won't admit it, but at that time his leadership was not recognised by all the Naga tribes except of course by the Angamis, who respected him as their leader, but among the other tribes he was not so popular. But he was a clever man and he managed to make one Ao as the chairman of the Naga National Council and wanted to just make the movement popular. His idea was to sever it from the Indian Union and have a Naga Union with the other Nagas living in Burma and in the Indian Union. But that was not successful. We know how he behaved even during British time and during the time of the British Government he was ex-terned in Rangoon. He was residing in Rangoon but subsequently he entered India with the I.N.A. And after joining the I.N.A., he came to Kohima and joined the Axis. You can see how he went on betraying. We know it from the past history. He came for an interview with the Chief Minister, sent a wire that he did not believe in violence and there was violence. All these things happened. The Government of India tried to pamper him in the beginning. Afterwards when he was adamant on the demand for independence, our Prime Minister refused to give him interview. All our Members know what happened. Now, as we know, for this convention our military people also helped with convoys to bring the delegates and members to the conference. There the resolution was passed. On the basis of this resolution, this new Bill has come. Whether it is going to solve the problem permanently is the fear in my mind. We people residing in that State feel very hurt and with a heavy heart we will have to support this Bill. They have been like our kith and kin for the past two thousand years. We have been living together



[Shrimati Pushpalata Das.] in ties of friendship. Whenever danger came to Assam, whenever Assam was invaded by outsiders, these Nagas came to our help. Whenever we were threatened with foreign invasion, the Nagas came and helped. Ahom Kings had matrimonial alliances with the Nagas. So, we were always having friendly ties with them. After the Britishers came, they wanted to separate us and they divided it into administered and unadministered areas. We were not allowed to go. Congress workers were debarred from going. They allowed no one except officers to go there. Even at the time of the Constituent Assembly, only with special permission we were allowed to go to the headquarters. So, they were separated in this way.

About these foreign missionaries, one point was made by Mr. Kishen Chand. That is true. But one thing is, the Nagas wanted independence even under the British rule. They killed so many political officers. They are very brave people, but sometimes they did very cowardly deeds also. They invited some of the political officers sometimes and conspired against the officers and they were killed in cold blood. Khanama is the place where all this conspiracy occurred and that is the place where Zappo Phizo was born also. People were suspicious of this Khanama leadership, but Phizo was clever enough to unite these other tribes, appointing the chairman and publicity officers and other officers from other tribes.

After this convention when these leaders came to Calcutta, on their way to meet the Prime Minister, the press people met them in the Assam House. They addressed a press conference. The leader of the delegation told the pressmen that it was an interim arrangement. Though the demand for independence is not in the resolution, but the resolution demanded a compact Naga area, that is from Tuensang Division of NEFA, to the reserved forests of the Sibsagar district. Maybe, it is with good intentions. Whatever it is we do not want to suspect their motives, but they wanted a compact

area. Just after this resolution, there was some agitation in the Khasi hills as well as in Manipur hills too. Also, I read in the papers that there was some trouble in the Burma border of the area. How far it is correct we do not know. Government are trying to arrest it. The States Reorganisation Commission wanted to integrate the States on a solid ground. They wanted to unite and consolidate. Now, these tribes are a part and parcel of the State of Assam. Today, they want to go out. However painful it must be, for the sake of peace, for the sake of the prosperity of the Naga brethren, for the sake of tranquillity, we accede to their demand. Let them go in a natural, friendly way. I think perhaps they were misled by someone. Whatever it is, for time immemorial we have been living together. Why should they separate today? Are we at fault? Whether we have adopted a wrong policy, will be judged by our future generations. Recently while I was going through the papers I read a news item. I do not know how far it is correct. I want clarification on that also. There was a news in the papers that no Assamese and Bengali officers will be allowed to go to that area. I do not know how far it is correct. Sometimes press news is not correct, but this must be clarified. Even the Britishers who wanted to bring them under their control—those Britishers also, when there was a rebellion in that area—or some intricate problems to tackle—they used to send Assamese officers to that area. They used to negotiate and tackle it. Even now that must be our policy. Because these are the people who were in close touch with the tribal areas and who know their customs, manners and psychology. In the NEFA area very few local people are in the cadre. We are not allowing them. In the other House, one Opposition Member—Mr. Achaw Singh, I think, I do not remember his name—said that in Manipur and Tripura the officers appointed by the Central Government are not liked by the local people. They are not in sympathy and they think them as outsiders. And those

officers have a superiority complex. In handling these tribal areas, we must be very careful in selecting our officers. If they are friendly with the local people we can win over them. If they begin to disbelieve, it is very difficult to bring them round. The seeds of enmity will be spread in that way. So, I feel that this Bill is something, as if a surgical operation is done on a wounded limb, so that that germ might not affect the other organs and spread that disease. So, with this intention this Bill has come before the House. I hope, like a best surgeon, the operation will be successful. Let not the disease of disintegration be allowed to spread. Let not the forces of disintegration be let loose in that border State. Otherwise, not only the security of Assam will be in danger, but the security of India will also be in danger if these fissiparous tendencies are allowed to grow. After this Bill is passed, the other hill areas might agitate for a separate hill state. But the geography is such that we cannot have a chain of separate hill states?—I just want to ask whether they want small states, like the Greek city states as they had before in Greece? If we want to have small hill states, there will be small city states like the Greek city states. But it should be considered whether they will be economically independent. The geography of Assam is such that the hills and plains are interlinked. It is not a parochial or any other kind of argument. The geography of Assam, if you see, is peculiar. We have got one hill district and another plain district. If you go down from the Khasi hills, you meet the brothers of Kamrup district. If you go down from the Mikir hills, you will meet the brothers of Nowgong district. If you go down the Naga hill, you will meet the brothers of Sibsagar district. From Dafla hill we come down to Darang district; from Bhutan we will come down and meet the brothers of Borpata sub-division. The geography is such that we cannot have a compact hill state, because there is no link or chain except in NEFA. Except NEFA you can never have a separate hill state there. So, the other hill districts would also agitate: *w'len*

the Naga hill has got a separate administration why not we? So, in bringing about this amendment, we must be very careful. The leaders of this convention want to meet the hostile Nagas and we are told by our Home Minister that they are allowed to contact them. Let us see what is the result. But let us not encourage this tendency to have separate states. This convention has passed a resolution, which is quite different from what Zappo Phizo des'res. But even in this resolution there is a tendency to have a link even in this resolution. They want to have a compact Naga area. They wanted the reserved forests of the Sibsagar district also. After they met our Prime Minister, he convinced them not to demand that area; but the tendency is there. Now, these hostiles are very active in the Mani-pur area. So, in dealing with these things, we must be rather careful. Naturally, we the people of Assam feel very much hurt to bid goodbye in this way. They must understand that they are misled. But let not our policy mislead them any more in future. We must be very careful in tackling this problem. With these few words, I welcome this Bill and I hope that it will make a permanent solution to this Naga problem, and also to the hill tracts problem in the frontier State of Assam.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAI VARGIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Is it not that in Manipur, the Nagas are in a minority?

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS: Minority; but they want to have those Nagas also.

DR. D. H. VARIAVA (Bombay): Sir, I support this Bill. I had no intention of speaking on this Bill, but after hearing the speech of my friend here, Mr. Ray, I rose to say a few points.

He pointed out that this question did not only pertain to India, but it was international. Well, here, I object to that. Why is this question international? It is only about our

[Dr. D. H. Variava.] domestic affairs, how we deal with this Naga problem. Well, the world knows how we do it. But we must not be affected by what the world thinks about us or about what we are doing. I think we are too much affected by what the world is thinking about us and in this way, we are injuring our cause in many places and I want to bring to the notice of the Members of Parliament and of the people of India that, always, we must not think as to what the world is thinking of us. But the world knows about our action in certain measures. Well, we have a policy of non-violence and of no-war. But that does not mean that if we are attacked, we must meekly bear the attack and do nothing. Suppose, in the Naga Hills, our people are attacked. Then we must proceed with a very strong hand, take action to suppress it. I do not mean to say that we must take a very active and aggressive policy against the Nagas. But the main point that I want to bring to the notice of the Members of Parliament and of the people of India is that we must not always be guided by what the world is thinking about us. In this way, we have injured our cause both in Kashmir and in Goa. When we come to some decision, it is for the good of India and for the good of the people of India and what is there for the other nations to think about it? He said that Mr. Phizo wrote some article in a New York journal. Well, he can write any article, because we have now come to know that these great Powers are always in search of certain matters to bring them into the cold war. No matter, whether our actions are right or wrong, they always want to fish in troubled waters. What we do is for the good of our own country. We do what we think to be right, not what the other people of the world will think. As we know, they say that they are doing the right thing and we know that they are doing absolutely the contrary in many parts of the world, in the Middle East, in South-East Asia and other places. They do not care a pin what our opinion about

them is. Why should we always say that this is an international affair and feel worried as to what the world will think about us? So, we must not think about that.

Shri Kishen Chand said that we must be careful that the Nagas should not get a separate, independent unit. It is quite all right. We should not allow the Nagas to be independent because they are on our frontier and they will injure us. So, we must see that nothing is done to endanger the security of India. And for that reason, whatever Bill we pass, we must see that the security of India is ensured. Well, the Nagas are the people of India; they are Indians themselves and they cannot be independent. But, at the same time, they have no right to bring the security of India in danger. As we have seen, there was a recent report that a certain country was going to bring its navy in the Indian Ocean and that it was going to set up a naval base at Goa.

Now, our handling of the Goa question has much affected us. A great power will get entrenched at Goa and it will be very difficult for us to take it out. So, before anything happens, that thing should also be considered by the Home Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry as to what we should do about it and not think what the world will say. I think our recent stand on Kashmir has done good to Kashmir. There was our weak-kneed policy in not naming Pakistan as aggressor in the first instance. And we are now suffering from that.

So, I want once again, to tell my friends here that it is no use always thinking what the world is going to think about us. We are going to do the right thing not caring what the world thinks about us.

I support this Bill, Sir.

SHRI T. BODRA (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I take this chance to express my grateful thanks to the Government of India and to the Home Minister for bringing forth this Bill. This is

the first time in which I find the Government of India putting in their efforts in the right direction in dealing with the tribals, especially the Naga Hill Areas and I do hope that, along with me, about 2- 5 crores of the Scheduled Tribes inhabiting other parts of the country join in congratulating the Government of India for coming forth with this Bill.

Sir, I am pained to hear some of the speeches of hon. Members and, especially, of Mr. Kishen Chand who has tried to give an absolutely wrong picture of the tribal areas of Assam. He little realises that the Nagas also are Indians and they are the bone of bones and flesh of flesh of the Indian people. From the very beginning, to me it appeared that the Nagas never wanted an independent State inasmuch as they wanted that their customs, religion, their republic and their special land system should be kept intact and that they should not be wedded to the ideals of people like the Assamese or the Hindus living in the plains. It was out of frustration that they came and passed a resolution because they were compelled to join the vast Hindu majority who was out and out prepared to exploit the illiteracy, ignorance and backwardness of the hill people. It was perhaps out of frustration that they went to the other extreme and they declared that they wanted a complete independent State. The tribals, as you know, Sir, are never in love with looting, kidnapping or murdering people. By nature, they love peace. They are a peaceful people. But when they find that the other races of India are there who do not take a humanitarian aspect of the whole thing, when they want to come down and rob them of their lands, when the other Indians are prepared not to respect their religion, custom and other aspects which they have inherited from time immemorial, then and then only, anger and bitterness come to their mind. And it is due to the weakness of mind that the tribal is driven to way which he thinks is the best

course of retaliating against the invader. The tribals of India do not want segregation. They had been kept segregated in the past and they have realised that they do not want segregation and they want assimilation. When they wanted to be assimilated, they were kept out of doors. If the Civil List of Assam is perused, I am sure there is very little percentage of the Nagas in Class II or III services, and also in Class IV services. How many hospitals, how many communications and roads have been built by the Government of Assam? What was the amount of money that was sanctioned under the First Five Year Plan to be spent for the development of the Naga Areas? The growth of the people of that area and also of other hill States and the hilly people in other States is crippled not by the Central Government, but by the State administration. Many of the separatist tendencies which are growing today are not because the Central Government is at fault, but because of the State administration. The State Ministers and their officers have never treated the tribal people or the hilly people in a way that they should treat them. Whether they are judicial officers or overseers or even contractors, they are treated just like Africans and slaves.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will continue after lunch.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI T. BODRA: Sir, I was just saying that the separatist tendencies in the minds of the tribals are growing not because of the Central Government's administration, but mostly because of the State Governments, and this aspect of their life and attitude has to be considered very seriously. I have got the experience, Sir, of the

[Shri T. Bodra.]  
State Governments' administration,  
and when I look back to the State  
administration of Bengal or Bihar or  
Orissa or Madhya Pradesh.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are here only concerned with the Naga Hills, not with the State Governments' administration. It is not necessary to go into the administration of Bengal or Bihar here. Any remarks about this Bill will be relevant. I am not going to allow anything about Bengal or Bihar,

SHRI T. BODRA: My point is, Sir, that if the tribals do not find a place of honour in the State administration, if the tribals are treated most contemptuously at the police stations or the thanas or in the courts, and they are falsely prosecuted and thus exploited by the forest officials, then their minds are embittered.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nor is this Bill about the Naga tribal areas, Mr. Bodra. This is about the Naga Hills. You cannot make this occasion to demand another State for Chhota Nagpur.

SHRI T. BODRA: Sir, I am trying to give to the House a realistic picture as to how a tribal mind works. Even in the case of Madras, Sir, we are having this agitation about Dravida Kazhagam.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not want you to go into all those things.

SHRI T. BODRA: Then, Sir, I will cut short my speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. Please confine yourself to the Bill before the House. You can make all those points when the Report about the Tribal Areas comes before the House.

SHRI T. BODRA: Sir, this Bill will go a long way to alleviate many of the miseries that the Naga tribals were facing and they will always be look-

ing forward to the Central aid for their economic and educational developments. And I do hope, Sir, that when this Bill comes into force, it will give them more technical schools, engineering colleges, roads, communications and hospitals, and in a period of 10 or 15 years these Nagas will be developed economically and educationally to such an extent that they will themselves pray that their part should be assimilated with the Assam administration. Sir, when this Bill comes into force, I humbly submit, that the general demands of the hill people like the recognition of their land system, their village panchayats, their rights in forests and the separation of the executive from the judiciary, will be conceded. Of course, it is incorporated in the Constitution, but it has not been implemented in many of the tribal areas. I hope, Sir, that with this Bill coming into force they will be able to get schools, colleges, hospitals, roads etc. and due representation in the services, and measures will be taken for the prevention of their exploitation at the hands of the other advanced and educated people inhabiting that particular area, and I trust that efforts will be made to make them as happy as possible. It is time, Sir, that we should all condemn the killings of the Nagas when they went out of their way in demanding a separate State of the Indian Union. No sensible man today in 1957 can think on that line, but as I submit, Sir, much of this frustration which crept into their minds was due to this maladministration by the State Government of Assam. Thank you, Sir.

**श्री एल० ललित माखन शर्मा (मनीपुर) :**

श्रीमान्, उपसभापति महोदय, नागा पहाड़ियों और तुएन्सांग क्षेत्र दोनों की एक प्रशासनिक इकाई बनाने का जो विधेयक सदन के सामने है उस का मैं बड़े सन्तोष के साथ सम्पूर्ण हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ। नागा हिल्स् हमारे मनीपुर प्रदेश के उत्तरी विभाग की एक ही पर्वत माला में बसे हुए हैं और जो कुछ इन लोगों

का, नागा पहाड़ियों का, दो साल से गोलमाल रहा है, जो कुछ इन आदिम जाति के भाइयों में अशान्ति फैल रही है उस का नतीजा खुद हमारे मनीपुर राज्य में भी हुआ है और हम लोगों को भी उस का प्रतिफल मिला है। हमारा रास्ता नागा हिल्स के द्वारा ही है, हमारे इम्फाल से मनीपुर राज्य के लिये नागा हिल्स के बीच में से ही आने जाने का रास्ता है और उसी के बीच में से हो कर यातायात का सारा प्रबन्ध है। हमारे मनीपुर की जो ६ लाख जनता है, उस की खाने पीने की चीजों का और हर एक विषय का उसी रास्ते से यातायात होता है लेकिन इस उपद्रव के कारण हमारे सामने भी बड़ी कठिनाई आ गई है क्योंकि सब पहाड़ एक में ही लगे हुए हैं और हमेशा उन के बीच में आना जाना होता है। वहां की जनता भयभीत है। अब इस विधेयक द्वारा वहां एक शान्तिपूर्ण शासन आयेगा और इसलिये इस से मुझे बड़ा सन्तोष हुआ है।

१८५० तक नागा हिल्स मनीपुर राज्य के अन्दर था। कोहिमा को आज कल के शिक्षित लोग "कोहिमा" कर के जानते हैं लेकिन जितनी मनीपुर की जनता है और काश्तकार लोग हैं वे कोहिमा को थिबोमई कहा करते हैं। उन की प्राचीन भाषा में भी कोहिमा का नाम थिबोमई है। मनीपुर के बाहर से होने वाले आक्रमण को रोकने के लिये कोहिमा में हमारे सैनिक अक्टूबर १८५० तक थे। सन् १८३४ में ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी और गवर्नर जनरल की सुप्रीम काउंसिल ने एक संधि के बहाने पश्चिम सीमा पर मनीपुर के कासार डिस्ट्रिक्ट में तीन, चार थाने ले लिये और इस तरह से हमारा जो इलाका था वह चला गया। लेकिन नागा हिल डिस्ट्रिक्ट के लोग राजनीति में और चालचलन में बहुत होशियार और कुशल थे क्योंकि प्राचीन काल से प्रशासन के अन्दर थे। लोग कुछ गरम मिजाज वाले थे। लेकिन ब्रिटिश शासन काल में तुएनसांग

के लोगों की अच्छी तरह से देख रेख नहीं की गई और इसलिये शिक्षा या सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में वे पिछड़े हुए थे। तुएनसांग के नागा लोगों में एक प्रथा है जिस को मंसद बोलते हैं। मंसद के मानी हैं, बदला लेना। उस एरिया में अभी तक नर हत्या का काम चलता है। कोई जवान व्यक्ति जिस ने विवाह नहीं किया, शादी नहीं की वह जब तक किसी एक या दो नर की हत्या नहीं करेगा उस को शादी में लड़की नहीं मिलती क्योंकि शादी से पहले लड़की उस से पूछा करती है कि अगर तुम हम को लेना चाहते हो तो पहले यह बतलाओ कि तुम ने कितने आदमियों की हत्या की। तो यह एक प्रकार का धार्मिक कृत्य बन गया है। मैं आशा करता हूं कि एक प्रशासन के अन्दर आ जाने से इन लोगों में सत्य, अहिंसा और प्रेम का प्रसार होगा और मानव भाव उन में जाग्रत होंगे। इस वक्त उन का आकार तो मनुष्य का है लेकिन कुछ उन की भावना यह है कि वे नर हत्या करना धर्म समझते हैं। मनीपुर वालों ने प्रत्यक्ष रूप से उन के प्रशासन में किसी तरह का दखल नहीं किया और ब्रिटिश लोगों ने भी नहीं किया। ब्रिटिश काल में भी तुएनसांग को निराला सा छोड़ दिया गया। इसलिये उन की जो मंसद की प्राचीन प्रथा है वह अब तक चली आ रही है। सुनने में तो यह नर हत्या घृणा की बात है, लेकिन उन के लिये यह एक धर्म है। नर हत्या की इस धार्मिक भावना में परिवर्तन लाने के लिये यह बहुत जरूरी है कि हम प्रेम, सत्य, अहिंसा और मानव भाव का उन लोगों में प्रचार करें। अगर हम ऐसा करेंगे तो बहुत शीघ्र ही, बहुत जल्दी ही हमारे पूर्वोत्तर संबंधों में सुधार होगा और शान्ति स्थापित हो सकेगी।

इन लोगों में एक भावना और बन गई है। जब तक ब्रिटिश शासन रहा, हमारे इन आदिम जाति भाइयों के जितने पड़ोसी स्टेट हैं, मनीपुर, आसाम और त्रिपुरा हैं, इन में रहने वाले आदिम जातियों को अच्छत कह कर, अस्पृश्य

[श्री एन० ललित भाषव शर्मा]

कह कर हमेशा दबाते थे। इस सिलसिले में आगे चल कर अंग्रेज मिशनरियों ने कुछ काम किया, इन लोगों के इलाज के लिये, इन लोगों की शिक्षा के लिये। इस तरह में ब्रिटिश मिशनरियों ने पहाड़ी इलाकों में उन के लिये जो कार्य किया उस की वजह से ये लोग उन को फादर के नाम से पिता माता के नाम से पुकारते हैं। उन्होंने ने नागा लोगों का विश्वास प्राप्त कर लिया था। सन् १९४६ में प्रोफेसर कुपलिन ने इन के लिये एक प्लान बनाया था जिस का ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों ने उस समय बहुत जोर से प्रचार किया था। कुपलिन प्लान के अन्दर चित्तगांव, त्रिपुरा, लुशाई हिल्स, मनीपुर, नागा हिल्स, तुएनसांग, सदिया आते थे। तो हमारे ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों ने बर्मा और इंडिया के बीच में, एक लम्बा सा पहाड़ी इलाका बनाने का दावा (प्लान) किया था और इस के लिये नागाओं को समझाया। खुद मैं ने अपनी आंख से देखा कि हमारे मनीपुर के पोलिटिकल एजेंट और मनीपुर स्टेट में दरबार के प्रेजीडेंट जो कि एक योरोपियन आई० सो० एस० आफिसर थे वे साल भर नागा पहाड़ियों में दौरा करते रहते थे और खूब खिलाई पिलाई करते थे। वे वहां के लोगों से कहते थे कि तुम लोग हमारे चले जाने के बाद दबाये जाओगे इसलिये तुम अपनी एक वफर स्टेट बना लो, एक अलग स्टेट के लिये दावा करो और फिर हम लोग तुम्हारे लिये एक बन्दोबस्त कर जायेंगे जिस के अनुसार आर्थिक, शिक्षा और भौगोलिक विषय में तुम लोग किसी के अधीन न रहोगे। इस प्रकार का प्रचार ये ब्रिटिश अधिकारी याने—हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के दिन तक—यहां से जाने से एक दिन पहले तक—अर्थात् सन् १९४७ की १४ अगस्त तक करते रहे। इन लोगों ने हर एक पहाड़ी इलाकों में जा कर हमारे आदिम जाति के भाइयों में इस प्रकार का विष फैलाया था। लेकिन अब मुझे आशा है कि आज जब हम ने संविधान द्वारा अस्पृश्यता को बंद कर दिया है और

आदिम जातियों के समाज के कल्याण के लिये कार्यक्रम शुरू किये हैं तब से उस का असर अच्छा हुआ क्योंकि हमारे यहां पहाड़ी इलाकों में जो समझदार और शिक्षित लोग हैं उन्होंने ने समझ लिया है कि भारत के अन्दर रहने में ही हमारा कल्याण होगा। इसलिये मैं आशा करता हूं कि हमारा यह जो नागा हिल्स तुएनसांग एरिया का एक प्रशासनिक विधेयक है, निर्विरोध ही हमारे इस सदन से भी पारित हो जायगा क्योंकि हमारे भारतवर्ष के अन्दर कहीं कोने पर, पूर्वोत्तर कोने पर, हमेशा एक प्रकार की अशांति रहे, यह चीज हमारे सदस्यों को कभी पसन्द नहीं होगी। इसलिये मैं फिर आशा करता हूं कि हमारे राज्य सभा के जितने सदस्य हैं वे इस को निर्विरोध ही पारित करेंगे और इस से भविष्य में हमारे कष्ट दूर होंगे। हमें अभी भी आने जाने में कितना कष्ट हो रहा है। दो साल हुए जब से हमारे यहां हर एक चीज के दाम बढ़ गये हैं। जरा सी नमक जैसी चीज हमारे यहां पांच आने, साढ़े पांच आने सेर हो गई है। आसाम में वह तीन आने सेर, दस पैसे सेर मिलती है। बाहर से यातायात द्वारा जो चीजें पहाड़ी इलाकों में आती हैं उन सब के दाम बढ़ गये हैं क्योंकि जहां पहले आने जाने में एक दिन लगता था वहां अब दो दिन लगते हैं। आजकल मांड एरिया से नागा पहाड़ियों के लिये मिलिटरी कोच की मदद से जाना होता है। आज १२ बजे इंकाल से मऊ तक रवाना होंगे, फिर रात बही मऊ में ठहरना पड़ेगा, और सुबह नौ बजे मिलिटरी कोच से हम को मनीपुर रोड जाना पड़ता है। मैं आशा करता हूं यह विधेयक शीघ्र ही निर्विरोध पारित हो जायेगा जिस से वहां शांति स्थापित हो जायेगी और हमारे सब संकट मिट जायेंगे।

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I listened with great pleasure to the temperate and sympathetic speech of the Home Minister in moving for the consideration of the Bill before us. The problem with which we are

dealing is not a creation of the Government of India. It is an unfortunate inheritance from the pre-independence days. If the policy before we became independent had been different, we might not have had to deal with such a problem as that with which we are confronted. According to the States Reorganisation Commission, the policy of the British Government towards the tribal zones was that of 'inner line regulation', which has sometimes been called the 'national park approach'. That is, the attempt was to demarcate the tribal zones and to isolate them, as far as possible, from external influences, and rules were made to prevent immigration into the scheduled areas. The States Reorganisation Commission says:

"The 'inner line' regulation in the pre-independence period, although it was ostensibly intended to discourage unnecessary interference with and the economic exploitation of the tribal people was administered rigorously so as to exclude all contact between them and the inhabitants of the plains districts."

It further says:

"The results of the 'inner line' regulation policy, as administered by the British, illustrate the dangers of deliberate and complete segregation."

It then goes on to point out that this policy was in point of fact not enforced so much against the Europeans and Christians as against the other Indian communities. This policy has produced the result that might have been expected from it and we have now to devise measures in order to overcome it and to create a new state of things in which the people in the tribal zones would consider themselves to be an integral part of the population of this country. It has been said that this question is not merely a national one but also an international question. If there is trouble in any part of the world, the newspapers by referring to it, can

make it an international question. But neither the magnitude of this question nor its intrinsic character are such as to make the matter one of international interest. It has further been said that the Government of India has to settle the trouble in the Naga Hills district not by using force but by sympathy and understanding. It is the Government of India's misfortune that it had to send troops to the Naga Hills district in order to deal with the violent and murderous activities of a gang of people whose word could not be trusted and who had refused to listen to the advice from people who were interested in their own future welfare and development. I think the Government of India would have completely failed in its duty if it had shrunk from sending troops to the Naga Hills district but while the area in which violence is being used has been reduced, full control has not been gained over the whole of the district. This is by no means surprising, considering the nature of the terrain. The area is not merely hilly but also wooded. The troops, therefore, have to work there in the face of these disadvantages. But the advance made by the troops, I think, is sufficient to enable us to proceed with constructive policies.

Now, it seems to me that there is no essential difference between the North East Frontier and what was formerly the North West Frontier of India. The attempts that were made in the North West Frontier area to make it more peaceful and which had a fair amount of effect over a fairly long period, can bear fruit here too. There are, I think, three things in particular which ought to be mentioned on this occasion. The British, so long as they controlled the administration of India, sent some of their best officers to the tribal zones and kept them there for long periods so that they might acquire full knowledge of the habits and customs of the people and be able to gain their confidence. So far as I remember, one of the officers, a well-known I.C.S.



[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] officer of the Assam cadre, was in charge of the Naga Hills district between 10 and 20 years. In order to induce experienced and competent officers to remain in charge of these districts, arrangements were made to enable them to receive promotion even while they acted only as Deputy Commissioners. Then they received decorations for the good work done by them. In these ways capable officers were induced to remain in charge of these people for long periods. Unfortunately, since the achievement of independence, we have overlooked the importance of the policy followed by the British and have failed to give these districts, officers imbued with sympathy and understanding and have also not realised the necessity of keeping them in these districts for a long period. These districts are not like the ordinary settled districts where a Deputy Commissioner may work for three, four or five years and then be transferred to another district. The customs and manners of each tribe are different from those of others, and it requires a long period of time to learn them and to get into touch with the people and to make them feel that the district officer is really their well-wisher.

Next, I should like to refer to the question of the economic development of this area. Towards the North West Frontier, certain areas were developed and people from the other side, who used to create trouble, that is to say, people from across the border who used to create trouble, were given land on this side of the border so that they might have an economic stake in the maintenance of peace on the Indian side of the border. This policy was followed with singular success towards the North West Frontier between India and Swat and Bunor. The water of the Swati river was used to irrigate the area set apart for cultivation and the Swatis and Bunoris were settled on this side of the frontier. Consequently the attacks that the tribal people used to make on the people living on the

Indian side ceased in a short time. Now, we have to do two things. We have first to develop the region as a whole. The people there are extremely poor. Probably, the resources of the district too are poor, we do not know. I doubt whether we know fully what they are. But in any case, we have to develop those resources fully and try by every means in our power to raise the standard of living of the people. The second thing that we have to do is to make special efforts to develop large areas for cultivation and thus offer an inducement to the people of that area, where we have not been able to gain full control as yet, to acquire land and thus have an interest in the maintenance of peace in the Naga Hill districts. I do not know whether any such areas could be found in the Naga Hill districts, but I have no doubt that special attention should be paid to this question and whatever the expenditure might be in a feasible scheme in connection with such a development, it ought to be unhesitatingly carried out.

The third thing to which I would like to refer is the construction of roads. In the North West Frontier, the construction of roads was useful in two ways. It provided rapid means of communication, both for the army in times of danger and for the tribal people in ordinary times. Apart from this, they were the means of keeping the people employed. My hon. friend Mr. Kishen Chand, referred this morning to the allowances that were given to the tribal chiefs to keep them quiet. These allowances were, no doubt, given and perhaps are still being given. But what has to be remembered is that road construction was a very useful way of employing the people who had no means of livelihood and thus preventing them from raiding the Indian districts. I think that policy ought to be followed in this area too. I do not know whether the Government has thought of this and has made up

its mind to follow such a policy. But if this has not been done, then the sooner we follow here the example set by the British Government in the North West Frontier area, the better. We ought to construct roads in order to enable the people to move freely and also in order to enable our officers to acquire a knowledge of every part of the districts and our army also to move rapidly in case the peace of the district is disturbed by hostile people.

These are not the only ways in which we can make the people, of what I may call, the unsettled parts of the Naga districts interested in the maintenance of peace. The

re are other ways also. For instance, the employment of the educated men there in larger numbers than at present in India, either under a State or under the Government of India. The influence of such officers who could see much more of India than the tribal people can, who realise that no worth-while effort for the development of the Naga Hill district can be made by the tribal people themselves, will be of a far-reaching character, when they go back to their districts. Again, there is the giving of opportunities to the students in the Naga Hill districts to come here and receive education in other parts of India. This will also, in the end prove useful and valuable. We know that batches of students from the tribal zones, who have visited different parts of India, have had their outlook greatly enlarged and their views with regard to their future have substantially changed. Therefore, if not for our sake, at any rate for the sake of those young men themselves, they should be given opportunities of going outside their own small districts and also of receiving education in surroundings which will make them think of the larger problems affecting India and the world and make them realise that their district is but a tiny part of that big country which has to face tre-

mendous national and international problems.

In this way, Sir, I am sure, a great deal can be done to improve the state of things in the Naga Hills district. What I have said of the Naga Hills district will apply also to what is at present the Tuensang Frontier Division. We had trouble there recently but happily we have been able to put it down. Let us remember that the trouble while it was believed to be fomented by the people living in the Naga Hills district was to no small degree economic. The Government of India are following a bold and enlightened policy in the North East Frontier Agency. The work that is being done there is of the greatest value to the tribal people themselves and to the rest of India. The same policy requires to be followed in the Naga Hills district. I do not say that it requires to be followed in the Tuensang Frontier Division because that was part of the NEFA and that policy was at work there, but I trust that this policy will be followed in the whole of the new unit. If this is done and if capable officers are sent there, officers who will consider it their privilege to stay among the people for years and years, to get intimately acquainted with their ways of life and be regarded by them as their best friends, we shall soon have a settled frontier and find among the tribal people some of the strongest supporters of the independence of India.

Sir, when the States Reorganisation Commission was engaged in its enquiries, the question of combining the Tuensang Frontier Division and the Naga Hills district was raised before it. Unfortunately, it could not get sufficiently accurate evidence on the subject to come to a clear conclusion. I know, however, that the creation of a unit under the Central Government consisting of the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang Frontier Division was not acceptable to the Assam Government

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] or to the people of Assam. The Assam Government thought that the combination of these two areas under one administration instead of easing the problem that existed, would accentuate it and this view was strongly held by the people of Assam too. I gather from the papers that there is some feeling in that State still on this question but it speaks volumes, Sir, for the good sense and patriotism of the Government and the people of Assam that they have accepted the advice of the Government of India and have agreed to the creation of a unit consisting of the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang Frontier Division. I think Shrimati Pushpalata Das enquired whether use would be made of the services of the Assam officers in the new area. I do not think there need be any objection to the utilisation of the services of capable and sympathetic officers but I venture to think that it would be a mistake because of the nearness of Assam to this area, to depend primarily on it for the choice of officers. The Government of India should exercise its discretion in the matter and only picked officers, whether they belong to Assam or to any other State, should be chosen to administer the area. I am afraid that if too much reliance is placed on one State, even those who are on our side and who want that the peace of the district should not continue to be disturbed, will feel uneasy and will find it difficult to defend the policy of the Government of India in the face of the criticism of those who are unfriendly to it.

Lastly, Sir, I should like to say a word or two about the amendment of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The Home Minister said that this Bill was an interim measure but he did not explain really the full policy of the Government of India in regard to it. We have a right to know what future development is contemplated by the authorities. I

gather from what was said by the Home Minister in another place that the Government of India is thinking of amending the Sixth Schedule. In what respects it wants to amend the Schedule, I cannot say but I think that it ought to bear in mind the difficult character of the problems that will have to be dealt with when this Schedule is amended. The States Reorganisation Commission said, with regard to the working of the autonomous bodies,—

"A question which figures prominently during the course of our enquiry concerning this region..."

That is, the region in which there are autonomous councils.

"...was the working of the district and regional autonomous bodies which were created under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the scheme is not working satisfactorily. However, as regards the lines on which the schemes of autonomy should be improved, we came across two diametrically opposite views."

I am afraid that the Constituent Assembly was not able to pay adequate attention to the problems of the autonomous districts when the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution was considered by it. And I hope that any changes that are made here in it will be the result of a full and careful consideration. I venture to think that it will be better to have an enquiry into the working of the Sixth Schedule before any change is made in it. No change should be made in it only because this section or that section of the people complains of something in the Schedule, or on sentimental grounds. Next time, when we deal with the Sixth Schedule we should give to it the attention that it deserves and act on the basis of the fullest knowledge that we can acquire.

श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान (पश्चिमी बंगाल) :  
जनाब डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, मैं इस बिल का

पूरी तौर से समर्थन करता हूं और चाहता हूं कि यह बिल जल्द से जल्द पास हो जाये और जल्द से जल्द अमल में आये।

मेरे ख्याल में यह बिल एक नया अप्रोच लेकर हमारे सामने आया है। इससे पहले कई साल तक हमने इस मामले को जिस तौर से हल करना चाहा था, यानी अब तक हम फीजी कार्रवाई से इस मामले को हल कर रहे थे, उससे मुझे तशबीह थी। मैं खुश नहीं था। मुझे मालूम यह होता था कि यह एक एकतरफा कार्रवाई है, यह कोई साल्यूशन नहीं है। आज इस तजवीज को देख कर मुझे यह पता चलता है कि वाकई मामले को हल करने वाली एक तजवीज और नजरिया हमारे सामने है।

बहुत से हमारे आनरेबिल मੈम्बरों ने, जो इस मामले को अच्छी तरह जानते हैं, यहां कहा भी है कि मसला बहुत ही पुराना है। मामले की आड़ में दरपदा लोग कोई दूसरे ही हैं जो इसको पेचीदा बना चुके हैं और अब भी बना रहे हैं। हम उनको सामने नहीं पा रहे थे, हम उनसे मुकाबला नहीं कर रहे थे। हम मुकाबला कर रहे थे उन लोगों से जो उन दुश्मनों के हाथ में खेल रहे थे। तो आज जा यह अप्रोच निकाला गया है, जैसा कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर ने बयान किया है, यह एक नया अप्रोच है हमारे विन ओवर करने का। उन लोगों को विन ओवर करने का अप्रोच आज हमारे सामने है, पार्लियामेंट के सामने है और मैं इस के लिये बधाई देता हूं।

हमारे वे भाई जो हम से बिछड़ गये हैं, जो दुश्मन के कब्जे में, उस के हाथ में फंस गये हैं, उनको विन ओवर करने का, उनको छुड़ा कर अपनी तरफ खींचने का और उनको जीतने का यह जो अप्रोच है यह हमें कबूल है। मैं इस बिल में और इस तजवीज में यही देखता हूं, चुनांचे इसके लिये मैं बधाई देता हूं। आज हमारे भाइयों ने इसकी बाबत यह कहा है कि यह तो यील्ड करना हुआ,

हमारी जो तजवीज है, हमारी जो हुकूमत है वह इस मामले में यील्ड कर रही है। मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसा ख्याल करना बहुत गलत है। यह हमारा यील्ड करना नहीं है, यह तो हमारे भाइयों को जो बिछड़ गये हैं, उनको सही रास्ते पर करना है, उनको अपने साथ लाना है। हमारी तो हमेशा से यही पालिसी रही है चाहे हम उसको इतने दिनों तक किसी भी वजह से अमल नहीं कर पाये और आज जब हमने उसको करने की तरफ तबज्जह दी है, तो उस पर हमें खुश होना चाहिये। मुझे इस में शक नहीं कि अगर यह तजवीज काम में लाई गई और नागा कांफ्रेंस में जैसी तजवीज की है उसके मुताबिक सही तौर पर हम अपने अप्रोच को सामने रख कर आगे बढ़ें, तो हम जरूर अपने भाइयों को विन ओवर कर के अपनी तरफ ला सकेंगे।

बहुत से भाइयों का ख्याल यह है कि फीजी दुश्मन हैं और उसने ऐसा वैसा किया है। बहुत कुछ किया है, इस में कोई शक नहीं है। गलती उन्होंने ने की है, इस में कोई शक नहीं। लेकिन मैं होम मिनिस्ट्री से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक मेरा ख्याल है—मुझ फीजी से मिलने का इतिफाक हुआ है, उन से बातचीत करने का भी मौका हुआ है और मैं कह सकता हूं कि फीजी को भी विन किया जा सकता है अगर हम सही तौर पर काम करें तो। सिर्फ इमलिये कि उन्होंने ज्यादाती की है, चुनांचे उनसे बदला लेना चाहिये, यह जहनियत अगर न रखी जाये और सत्य और अहिंसा की नीति इसमें भी चलाई जाय तो मेरे ख्याल में फीजी भी विन किये जा सकते हैं और इसके बाद उनके दरपदा उनके पीछे आड़ में जो दुश्मन हैं उन को नंगा कर दिया जा सकता है और यह करना चाहिये। मैं बढ़ाना नहीं चाहता इस वक्त पुरानी बातों को, उन को उठा कर बहस को तूल देना नहीं चाहता। इसकी जरूरत नहीं रह गई है। जो कुछ हुआ है हम सब जानते हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि किस

[श्री अबदुर रज्जाक खान]

तरीके से इन को लपेटा जाय, किस तरीके से इस को निभाया जाय। इस निभाने के सवाल में, मसले में अब जब हमारे सामने एक खास तजवीज है, हम उसको लेकर आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो उसमें पुराने झगड़ों को में उठाना नहीं चाहता वरना इसमें कहा जा सकता है कि किनका किनका हाथ है। हमारी कहां तक गलती है, कहां तक हम इसको सोच पायें, देख पायें? मेरे ख्याल में वह जज्बा जो नागाओं का था, उसको हम अच्छी तरह से समझ नहीं पाये। आज नागा कांग्रेस में नागाओं का जज्बा साफ हो चुका है। हम समझ रहे थे कि दुश्मन की वजह से नागा इलाके के लोग अलग हो जाना चाहते हैं, हमारा यह ख्याल गलत था। इस को आज तक हम गौर से नहीं समझ रहे थे, अच्छी तरह समझ नहीं पा रहे थे। वह तो गलत वजह थी जो नागा लोगों पर थोप दी गई थी।

नागाओं के इस मामले को समझने में हमारी ही गलती हुई है और कुछ दूसरे लोगों ने भी इस मसले को भड़काकर उछाल दिया है। खैर, मैं नागा कांग्रेस को बधाई देता हूं, जिन्होंने मिलकर इस मसले का हल तलाश कर लिया। उन्होंने बिल्कुल इस मसले को साफ कर दिया और हमको एक सही रास्ता अस्तित्वार करने के लिये एक नया अग्रोच का भौका दिया है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि यह बिल इस हाउस से जल्द अज जल्द पास हो जायगा और इसको इस तरकीब से अमल में लाया जाये जिस तरह से हमारे कुंजरू साहब ने अभी फरमाया है। इस बिल पर अमल करने के लिये हमें हमदरदाना पालिसी अस्तित्वार करनी होगी। मैं यह जानता हूं कि मौजूदा बिल में जो तजवीजें हैं वे मुकम्मल नहीं हैं, उनमें बहुत कुछ घटाना और बढ़ाना होगा। लेकिन जो कुछ भी तजवीज इस समय रखी गई है उसको बहुत इन्तहाई अहतियात के साथ, इसको एक नाजुक मसला समझ कर, एक नया

अग्रोच समझ कर अमल करना होगा। इसके साथ ही साथ इस नये अग्रोच को अमल में लाने के लिये ऐसे अफसर भेजने चाहियें जो कि इस चीज को अच्छी तरह से सरंजाम दें।

अभी तो आप जानते हैं कि बिल में जो तजवीज है, वह यह है कि इस एरिया का कुछ ताल्लुक आसाम और सेन्टर के साथ रहेगा। यह एक पेचीदा मसला है और मैं इसकी बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं और न इसकी तफसील में ही जाना चाहता हूं। इस मसले में हमारे आसाम के भाइयों के भी कुछ जज्बात हैं, यह बात कुछ हद तक सही भी है। जज्बात होने भी चाहियें, लेकिन मसले की पेचीदगी को देखते हुये हमें कोई ऐसा काम नहीं करना चाहिये जो मसले को बिगाड़ने वाला हो। हमें ऐसी तरकीब करनी चाहिये कि जिस तरह से हमारे भाई बदल रहे हैं, उसी तरह से हम भी अपने को बदलें और हमें अपने अफसरों के मिजाज को भी बदलना होगा।

इस मसले के बारे में जो कुछ कहा जा सकता है सिर्फ इतना ही है कि कुछ तामीरी काम, गठनमूलक काम होना चाहिये, जैसा कि हमारे कुंजरू साहब ने अपनी तकरीर में फरमाया है। हमें अपने पुराने रवैये को जिससे कि हमारे ये भाई हिन्दुस्तान से दूर रहते थे, बदलना होगा। ये दो चीजें बहुत जरूरी हैं, जिसको हमें सबसे पहले करना चाहिये।

हां, एक आखिरी बात यह है कि बाज भाइयों ने इस मसले को इंटरनेशनल तौर पर पेश किया है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह एक गलत चीज है। नागाओं का मसला एक मामूली मसला है और हिन्दुस्तान का निजी मसला है। इस मसले में इंटरनेशनल आस्पेक्ट को जोड़ देना और पार्लियामेंट में जिक्र करना, मेरे ख्याल में सस्त गलती है।

इसका इंटरनेशनल कंटेक्टर यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान को चारों तरफ से घेरा जा रहा है और उसको मुसीबत में फँसाने के लिये इस तरह की चालें की जाती हैं। हमने इस बात पर बहुत गौर नहीं किया, वरना आप मन्द जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के आसपास जो साजिशें चल रही हैं वे बहुत ही खतरनाक हैं। ये सब चीजें हिन्दुस्तान की अपनी बनाई हुई नहीं हैं। इन चीजों को ऐसे लोग बना रहे हैं जो पदों के पीछे से काम कर रहे हैं और हिन्दुस्तान को जाल में फँसाना चाहते हैं।

श्री अभिमन्यु रथ (उड़ीसा) : इस चीज के बारे में कुछ समझ में नहीं आता है।

श्री अब्दुर रज्जाक खान : इस चीज को साफ करने की जरूरत नहीं है, सब लोग समझ रहे हैं, इसमें कोई नई बात नहीं है। हाँ, कुछ लोग हैं जिनका यहां पर नाम लेना मुश्किल है। वे लोग चारों तरफ फैले हुए हैं और हिन्दुस्तान को घेर लिया है। अगर इस मसले का कोई इंटरनेशनल आस्पेक्ट है तो वह यही है कि हिन्दुस्तान को चारों ओर से घेरा जा रहा है। मगर मैं समझता हूँ कि यह भी इंटरनेशनल आस्पेक्ट नहीं है, यह तो हमारी आजादी को खतरे में डालने की बात है। जब हमारे सामने इस तरह का खतरा हो, तो हम मुंह ताकते बैठे नहीं रह सकते हैं। अगर हमारी आजादी पर किसी तरह का खतरा हो, चाहे वह दुनिया के किसी कोने से हो, हम उसका मुकाबला करने के लिये किसी की भी परवाह नहीं करेंगे। इस मसले का इंटरनेशनल आस्पेक्ट कुछ भी नहीं है। अगर कुछ भी है तो वह यह है कि बाहर के लोगों की गड़बड़ की वजह से यह मसला उलझ गया है। वरना फीजो जो इसके लीडर हैं, वे इस मसले पर गुप्तगू करने के लिये कई बार दिल्ली आये थे। लेकिन उनके रुखसत होने से पहले किसी ने उन्हें भड़काकर इस मसले को बिगाड़ दिया। ये सब बातें मुझे मालूम हैं, इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि इस मसले को बिन करने के लिये जो

अप्रोच हमने खस्तियार किया है, वह बहुत सही है। उस अप्रोच पर चलकर हमारे अफसरों को काम करना चाहिये। इतना कहकर मैं अपना तक्रार खत्म करता हूँ।

SHRIMATI B E D A V A T I  
BURAGOHAIN (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Bill. While supporting the Bill I would like to say a few words. Naga hill which is just situated at the border of Burma and the eastern side of Assam is a sentinel guarding Assam from all enemies. There are other Nagas spreading in some parts of Manipur also. From time immemorial, these Naga brethren maintained a good relationship with the Assamese people and treated them as their own kith and kin. Even now some of the Naga brothers claim to be descendants of the great Ahom Kim Gadadhar who took refuge during his troubled time. These are all historical facts. Even the great religious head Shri Sankar-deb had a Naga disciple like Narutam Ata. The workers of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Kasturba Trust, who are working among the Nagas, are very popular and they never think them to be their enemies. But during the British regime only, the Britishers wanted to keep them isolated for their administrative purposes. Though these Naga brothers and sisters speak their own dialects among themselves, yet a Naga brother talks in Assamese when he meets another Naga brother from another place even today. Now, the Naga hills and Tuensang area are going to form a separate unit under the External Affairs Ministry. The relationship between the hills and the plains is so interlinked geographically and economically that it would not be possible to cut off this relationship. Due to some misunderstanding on the part of the Naga brothers, this unhappy situation developed in the Naga hills. In spite of the best efforts of the Government and the people, it has failed to bring peace among the Naga brothers and sisters during the past few year\*.

[Shrimati Bedavati Buragohain.] But this unhappiness cannot continue for all time to come; it must come to an end and it is necessary to arrive at a solution to end this unhappiness. So, we all welcome the Kohima Convention's resolution. There is no other way out. No one likes that one of his or her limbs should be detached from the body. So also is the case with Assam. Though it pains us to think that the Naga hills area is to be disintegrated administratively, yet we feel happy when we think of their allround development. No one likes that these tribal brothers and sisters should lag behind any other advanced people of the country. They have maintained their own traditional customs and culture in their own simplicity.

As they are very simple and straight forward, it is very difficult to deal with these tribal brothers and sisters. So, I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister specially to put such personnel as would be able to tackle the problem of these people and also to foster good relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

Now, I want to contradict what Mr. Bodra on the opposite side said about a little while ago. The best hospital that they have in Kohima is a well-known proof of what the Assam Government had done for them. Crores of rupees have been spent to improve the communications in the inaccessible hilly tracts of these tribal lands. The Government have often given so many scholarships to the tribal boys and they do not know how to utilise this money. Not only scholarships, but freeships are also given to the tribal students and their educational expenditure is very nominal. So, the charges against the Government of Assam are baseless.

With these few words, I support the Bill. Thank you very much.

SHRI R. THANHLIRA (Assam): Sir, as a Member from Assam, I receive

this Bill with mixed feelings. However, Sir, I do not find in this Bill, what kind of administrative setup is to be given to this new unit. I think that is more important than the Bill itself. We have been kept in the dark as to what kind of administration will be given to this new area. I will come to that point later.

Sir, this Bill before us intends to bring about the administrative disintegration of Assam. So far as it points of that, I cannot welcome it with enthusiasm. Assam, as it is now, is already a very complicated State. Within the State of Assam we find many varieties of administrations. We have, what is called the North-East Frontier Agency which is administered by the President, but which is politically an area belonging to Assam. We are now going to have another Naga Hills and Tuensang Area. This area is also in Assam, but it is not going to be administered by the Assam Government. Over and above that, we have the areas which are administered by the Assam Government. So, here, we find that there is a sort of administrative disintegration on the eastern frontier of India. I am afraid that this system will be eventually detrimental to the security of India. Sir, I feel that the Government should always take good care of what is going on in this eastern frontier of our country.

It is a regrettable matter that the situation in the Naga hills has developed to such an extent that, for the last few years, life is not secure at all there. Some speakers have put the blame on Mr. Phizo, the ringleader of the rebels and some put the blame on the Government. Actually, I do not know who is to be blamed and I am not trying to pin down the blame upon anybody. But one thing I know. That is, when political consciousness was first awakened in the Naga hills, the aim of the Naga people was not straight-way for the complete independence from India. When the late Sir Akbar Hydari was the Governor of Assam,

the Naga people demanded that they would remain in India for 10 years and at the completion of 10 years, they should be given the choice to opt out of India or to remain within India. That was what they demanded. And if I remember aright, the late Sir Akbar Hydari was somewhat inclined to this demand. Anyway, ultimately, that demand was turned down. But even then, the Nagas were not violent as far as I can remember. They said that they would not co-operate with India and they remained non-violent and non-co-operative. As the Home Minister said this morning, they did not take part in the General Elections of 1952 and they refused to have the District Council as provided for them in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. But, as things developed gradually, some two years back, there was violence on both sides. I think, in this regard, the blame can be put on the Government as well as on the Naga People. Anyway, the Government did not do quite well in handling the Naga situation and the Naga problems. When the Nagas were still non-violent, their case was handled by the Government in varying ways. Sometimes, they tried to please and win over the Nagas by offering them appointments and jobs in the Government. They built schools and dispensaries. In various ways, the Government made every effort to please them, so much so, they became targets of jealousy for other tribes in Assam in getting appointments. Even now, it is true that, just to be a Naga, is a very strong qualification for getting a job anywhere in India. I understand that, even recently, a high appointment is decided to be given to a Naga. I mean, the appointment of the Assistant Commissioner of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, although there is already one Naga who is holding the same post in Assam. Such is the favour—I will say undue favour—given to the Nagas in regard to appointments. I do not know, but if such kind of undue favour is given to the rebels also, I 78 R.S.D.—4.

think, it might have very bad repercussions on the other tribes in future. Many Members before me have spoken about the necessity of handling the problems of the tribal areas in the eastern State with sympathy and understanding. So I need not dwell much on that. But I am glad that the Government of India is quite aware of the necessity of these things. And not only the present Government of India, but even the Constituent Assembly of India was kind enough to make a specific provision for the administration of the tribal areas in Assam. The Sixth Schedule was provided in the Constitution by which the tribal areas and the hill districts of Assam were allowed to have District Councils of their own. But as stated by some of the speakers, even the provision in the Sixth Schedule is not quite satisfactory. It is unsatisfactory in many ways. It provides very few legislative functions and very small financial resources. The Sixth Schedule says that the administration of the autonomous districts is vested in the Council. When the administration of a district is vested in the District Council. I am of the opinion that it has to be provided with adequate financial resources and with adequate executive powers. But the District Council at the moment can do very little. They can hardly pay for their own administration or for the staff of their office at the moment.

There is, Sir, one thing more which is very important. If we are going to amend the Sixth Schedule or review the administration of the autonomous districts in Assam, we must do away with the system of dual Government which is in practice in these districts. In these autonomous districts, as I have just mentioned, the District Council which is a body elected by the tribals themselves is functioning. It has legislative powers and it has executive powers and it has some functions regarding almost every department of the administration, and besides that we find that the State Government also is functioning to administer



[Shri R. Thanhliira.]  
and look after the matters which are outside the purview of the District Council. But since the functions of the District Council as well as of the State Government are not clearly defined, there is bound to be some clash or difference of opinion between the District Council and the Deputy-Commissioner, *i.e.* the State Government. And whenever there is a clash, it is likely to bring about some misunderstanding between these two organs, and this often leads the tribal people to think that the Government or the Congress is trying to curtail the executive powers of the District Council as much as possible. Like that the tribal people are always trying to blame somebody. So in order to avoid this misunderstanding and un-happiness in the tribal areas, I think we should do away with this dual system of administration in the autonomous districts. And as far as my experience is concerned, the district administration which is being carried on by the District Council as well as by the State Government in the district can well be entrusted to the District Council, specially to those in the Mizo District, in the Khasi Hills District and in the Garo Hills District. In order, therefore, to bring about smooth administration and successful working of the District Councils, it is imperative that the District Councils should be converted into the District Governments in all these districts. I understand that the Sixth Schedule is going to be amended by the Government. But I would like the Home Minister to take into consideration also all the points that I have just mentioned.

Now, Sir, coming to the Bill itself, as I have pointed out earlier, we are still in the dark as to what kind of administrative set up is going to be provided for the Naga Hills and Tuen-sang area. The Bill simply says that this new area will be administered by the Governor of Assam as the representative of the President. But what sort of administration will be?

put in that new area, we want to know that. They say that this area is going to be administered by the Centre. Even Manipur is administered by the Centre. So are Tripura and the North East Frontier Agency. And we know that our Naga friends are not willing to be in Assam. They want to be away from Assam and they do not like to be administered by the Assam Government. So what is important to know for us as well as for the Nagas is this —what kind of administrative set up is intended to be formed by the Government? Until and unless we are kept informed of this aspect of the Bill, I do not know it myself whether the Bill will be for the good of the Nagas or not. We only know here that the Kohima Convention, held some months back, wanted that the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Division should be amalgamated into one district. And this is being done now. But what kind of administrative machinery will be set up there, and whether that will be advantageous to the Nagas or not, we cannot know. But that is what is more important than the Bill itself. I think the Members are entitled to know what is the intention of the Government. Until and unless we know that, it is very difficult for us to judge whether the Bill will really be in the interest of the Nagas or not. As the Bill now stands, it says that as from the commencement of this Act, there shall be formed a new administrative unit in the State of Assam by the name of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area comprising the tribal areas which at such commencement were known as the Naga Hills District and Tuensang Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency. Clause 19 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution provides for the establishment of the District Councils. I therefore think, the Members have got the right to know whether it is the intention of the Government to establish District Councils elected by the Nagas themselves. However, Sir, I hope that our Naga friends will realise that the Government of India and the people of India are very sincere in trying to do good.

for them and to bring about peace and tranquillity in their area; and I hope that even our Naga friends will cooperate in this effort for return of peace and tranquillity in this area in the interest of theirs and all of us. Thank you.

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SHARMA (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I support the Bill but with a heavy heart. As one from Assam, I am not prepared in heart to separate from any part of the State and more particularly from the vigorous, brave, Naga brothers of Assam with whom we have been living for generations together. My friends, Mrs. Das and Mrs. Buragohain, have narrated certain stories about the connections of the Naga people with the people of Assam. We have never heard at any time in history that there was any quarrel between the Nagas and the Assamese people for thousands of years. History will bear out that the people of Assam had been living in good relationship with the Naga people and the Naga people have been giving shelter to many of our heroes. And even today we have several dramas in Assam depicting Naga life and the Naga people and we find young Nagas playing along with our own Assamese people on the same stage or on the same platform.

SHRI T. BODRA: Drama of the poverty.

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SHARMA: No, that is not so. Socially and culturally we have been united together for generations past. It is only the British people who drove a wedge between us and the Naga people by excluding their part of the country from the administration of the State. Till our Constitution was made, till our independence in 1947, that part of the country was treated as an excluded area. Although these areas were under the Governor of Assam, the people of these areas mixed with the Assamese people and Assamese officers were there living in harmony with the Naga people. Visions are before me

of the Naga people in their colourful dresses dancing with their musical instruments with our people. Our youths till the other day, have been mixing with these Naga people and living with them, trading with them, and having all social and cultural connections—with them. Even at the present moment they are living in our midst in the districts of Sibsagar and Manipur and other parts of Assam.

Now, what does this Bill provide? It does not provide for independence which they were clamouring for. It does not touch even the fringe of the problem of the Nagas. It only provides for the separation of this district from the administrative control of the Government of Assam. Under the Constitution, there was some sort of control exercised over this area by the Government of Assam. The Chief Minister of Assam had some part to play there and had some sort of control over the area. Now, that part has been separated from us. But that does not solve the problem. My submission is that we have not touched the core of the problem. The demand of the Nagas was for independence. We do not know if their demand was only for separation from Assam. We have reasons to believe that a wedge has been driven by some interested parties between the people of Assam and the people of the Naga hills. We have reasons to believe that there was some agency working and doing propaganda that the Assamese and the Bengali people should have no place in the administration of the Naga hills. We the people of Assam have been deeply grieved over this. Who is it that has made this propaganda? We have no doubt that none of the Nagas said that. We have doubts about the sincerity of some of the people who had been put there. We still claim the same affection for the Nagas as any other people in this country. The move that the Assamese and Bengalis should be ousted from the Naga hill\* is something which brings about some sort of suspicion in our minds. Till a week before the Kohima Con-

[Shri Purna Chandra Sharma.] vention, the Chief Minister of Assam had been travelling in the inner part of the hill districts and he was received with great ovation, was given gifts and was received as their own elder brother.

SHRI T. BODRA: Under what influence?

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SHARMA: Yet we find that in the Convention a resolution was passed demanding nothing more than separation from Assam. We on our side with a grieved heart accept this Bill only because if an attempt is being made from the Centre to pacify these people, we shall not stand in the way. The Assamese people will be very happy if these people are satisfied or can be pacified. We, therefore, take this as an experiment. We accept this as an interim measure. This has been proposed as an interim measure and we accept it, and we hope that soon after the Naga people will again be integrated with the people of Assam completely. In view of this, we support this measure for the time being. Just as it was said that this was an interim measure, we also support it for the time being. I personally feel that if this measure would satisfy the Nagas, then this separation from Assam will be justified, but if it does not satisfy them, does not pacify them this separation, I am afraid is only a prelude to further separations of the hill areas of Assam. I conclude by saying that I support this Bill but I am sceptical myself about the success of this measure, but if it succeeds, nobody will be happier than the people of Assam.

SHRI T. J. M. WILSON (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the length of this Bill is no measure of its significance and the very lengthy participation of Pandit Kunzru and the knowledge and scrutiny and the insight that has been brought to bear upon the discussion of this question by Pandit Kunzru is an eloquent evi-

dence of the enormous importance of this question. If this Bill attains its objective, I believe, it will be a very great achievement of free India. It embodies two basic principles, one, that the Nagas have a rich, peculiar culture of their own and have their own customs and manners and their own social structure and organisation and that the Government of India is prepared to give full protection to those rights and to that culture. Secondly, that even though they constitute a rich culture different from the rest of the culture of India, even then, the territory that they occupy, will never be outside the Indian Union. This Bill, is, if I may say so, an expression of the awareness and conviction on the part of the Government of India which fact has been refuted and argued by a number of Members who preceded me—an evidence of the conviction on the part of the Government of India that the Nagas are not merely a problem of law and order, they are not merely a problem as of any other linguistic population of this country but that they are a political problem and if I may say so, a human problem. It was most unfortunate that the misguided enthusiasm and spirit of some leaders of these Naga people have made this a purely law and order problem, the deeper causes of which lie perhaps elsewhere, as has been referred to by some speakers who preceded me, in the long imperialist rule that preceded this Government or perhaps if we search our hearts, in the diabolic or the unfortunate social structure that we in India have, the social structure which has been erupting in the several maladies among which, is the mad incitement against the Brahmins in the South, the reports of which many of us read in the morning. Perhaps the deeper causes lie elsewhere, I don't know. But it is said that there are certain foreign elements also in this area and mention has been made by at least one Member, Shri Kishen Chand, of some foreign missionaries. This is not the occasion when I can appropriately speak on the doings and the mis-

doings or the services of the missionaries and this charge against the missionaries has been, I think to some extent, answered by Shrimati Pushpa-lata Das when she said that this demand of independence on the part of the Nagas had been there earlier even during the British rule. I wish and I urge upon the Home Minister to strengthen his Intelligence Department and to pursue and comb these foreign elements who are at work not only in this particular Naga area but also in other areas of the country and take the severest action against those who are working against the security of our country. I must say that I am not, as I have said before, in sympathy with the views and fears and the spirit behind the views expressed by Shri Kishen Chand. I am in absolute disagreement with the hon. Member who laboured hard to say that this was not an international problem. I don't know what he meant by it but the significance of that statement had been sufficiently explained by Pandit Kunzru by adverting to the complex character of this question, but what has caused more pain was the hon. Member seeking to bring an analogy and bringing in Kashmir and Goa issues thereby bringing in Pakistan and Portugal. I regret it, because while we here in this Bill are dealing with our own brethren and with our fellow citizens, in those two examples which he cited, we were dealing with a foreign imperial power and an aggressor. I should have wished that, not a discordant voice but a unanimous voice of appreciation would go forth from this House to those Naga people, of their culture and of their rights and I hope and I also feel that that has been in some measure expressed by this House. I trust, however—and it has been expressed by speakers before—that the fine sentiments expressed by Shrimati Pushpalata Das, one of the most balanced speeches I have heard in this House, reflect the overwhelming opinion of the Assamese people and their patriotism to which tribute has been laid by Pandit Kunzru"

Sir, I do not think that the Home Minister believes, as has been pointed out by a Member who just preceded me, that by creating this autonomous administrative unit this Bill completely solves the problem of the Nagas. I am sure that the Home Minister would bear in mind and would follow the observations and the very valuable suggestions made by Pandit Kunzru in regard to the administration of these units regarding the officers and the conditions of their service of those who are to be sent to this part of the country. I think that this is a step in the right direction and as has been said by hon. Members before me. I hope that further measures would be pursued very early in this matter. If it is intended to change the provisions in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, I hope it would be changed only in order to further enlarge the rights that were given to the Nagas under the provision of that Schedule. I also wish that the Nagas would realise that here is an opportunity now which they should embrace because they may not get in future such tolerant and far-sighted men in the Government of India as the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and that they would embrace this opportunity and that the appeal of this House and the appeals made several times by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and other national leaders of this country would reach them and that they would be appreciated by the Nagas and they would soon realise that their rights and their culture would be absolutely safe in the Indian secular democracy and that they would be partners and co-sharers of the benefits of our advancement and development.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I should like to extend my support to this Bill. In doing so I would like to emphasise that the Naga problem cannot be looked upon as a problem of law and order. It is a problem which calls for the exercise of the highest gifts of

[Shri P. N. Sapru.] statesmanship. For a solution of it you require imagination and vision, a capacity to appreciate the point of view of a highly sensitive people who were made in the days when the British functioned in this country, to look upon themselves as separate from India. I was surprised to hear Mrs. Pushpalata Das say that the British had nothing to do with the creation of this problem. If she will read Prof. Coupland's book on India she will find that he visualised that the Naga land would be separated from the mainland of India.

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS: I did not say that. It is the creation of the British people. They wanted to separate it.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I am sorry. I was . . .

SHRI PUSHPALATA DAS: In fact the last Governor there before independence held a meeting in camera at Kohima.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I apologise. We know that in the old Government of India Act of 1935 we had partially excluded and completely excluded areas and I believe, the Naga land, the Naga districts were completely regarded as excluded areas. This separatist tendency is an inheritance from the past and we are trying to get rid of that inheritance.

Therefore, the question now to my mind is, what are we to do, situated as we are, with this Naga problem? I welcome this Kohima convention because it has provided us with a way out. It has given us a ray of hope that a solution of the problem is possible and near at hand. I think the natural desire of these excluded areas which will be formed into one district and centrally administered, will be to possess a certain amount of power of regulating their daily lives. They will naturally want some autonomy and we should be generous in meeting their desire for autonomy. We should endeavour to provide them with

facilities for the development of their distinctive way of life. India, it is the proud boast of this country, has a civilisation which is a synthesis of many cultures, and surely Naga culture too has something of value to contribute to the mighty stream of Indian culture.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL (Bihar): Will you concede such a natural desire in every other area also?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Well, I am for conceding autonomy to every unit that really desires autonomy. Now, for example, I have never quarrelled with my friend's desire to have autonomy for Bihar and I see no reason why he should grudge the poor people of these hill areas some measure of autonomy which will "not be as good as the autonomy that he enjoys.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: Perhaps my friend does not know that there are many hill tribes which have got even less autonomy and . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. You must stand up and speak and should address the Chair.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I have no unlimited faith in coercion. I believe in wise conciliation and I welcome this Kohima Convention because it represents a move in the direction of wise conciliation. It is obviously impossible for us to agree to independence in the Naga land. That independence is out of question. Some autonomy, it is possible for us, to concede and I take it that when the Sixth Schedule is revised, care will be taken to see that the Nagas get a fair amount of internal autonomy. I can very well sympathise with the point of view of my Assamese friends. They are linked with the Naga land and that link is to be broken up. It is not their fault that things have happened in the way they have.

DR R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): In fact, it was that link that was creating the trouble

SHRI P. N. SUPRU: I do not know whether it was the link that did it. If my friends over there had their own way, the only link that they would have so far as this country is concerned, is with the Soviet Union and the States of Eastern Europe and China.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): And that link is missing.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: And that link is missing, in his opinion, so far as this country is concerned.

I very much appreciate and I can very well understand the feelings of the people of Assam. If a part of the U.P. were to be separated from Uttar Pradesh we should be very annoyed and angry. The Assamese people have shown far greater wisdom than we would have done in those circumstances. But there is a duty that they owe to the country, that we owe to the country and I think this problem should be looked at from the point of view of the country as a whole. I will not analyse the provisions of this Bill, because they have been analysed by previous speakers. The question whether this Bill will succeed or will not succeed, will depend upon the successive steps that are taken after this Bill has been passed, to implement the hope of autonomy that this Bill gives to the people of Naga land plus the Tuensang Division.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I do not think I have anything more to say. I should like, however, to point out that there is, as far as I can see, no alternative to this Bill. No one has suggested any alternative to it. The only other alternative is to go on endlessly with warlike operations in the Naga areas. Whether Mr. Phizo who has shown himself to be a brave man—because it requires great courage to fight a mighty government—whether he will bow to the inevitable or not, I do not know. But I think, he will and I think he should. And if he does, I think he can be a useful citizen of this country. He will have a useful part to play in this

country. The greatness of a country lies in devising measures by which it can convert rebels into supporters of the country. The British people were able to convert General Smuts into a supporter of the British Commonwealth. The British were able to retain India in the Commonwealth.

4 P.M.

Britain was able to retain India in the Commonwealth because she showed some wisdom towards the end of her stay in this country. Let it be recorded by history that we showed wisdom in dealing with a problem which affects vitally the interests of a portion of our country, which affects the people of a culture which has many features in common with the culture which is ours. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAI VARGIYA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, probably I am the last speaker it appears. However, I am very happy, even at this stage, to give my wholehearted support to this measure. As the Home Minister said, this is an interim measure and probably more will follow; some more changes in the Sixth Schedule will come in under some other measure. Probably, the Government is also going to await later developments because, if we pass this interim measure now, we shall have the hope that those of the Nagas who have not yet come round will see wisdom and come round to the point of view of the moderate leaders of the Nagas themselves. In this way, we shall solve in stages, in phases, the problem of the Naga land. Recent history of this area is well known and we all know how the Government were compelled to take repressive measures and repress this unlawful activity and the violence that was committed by the rebels there. There was then the Kohima conference of the moderate leaders of the Nagas—who thought that they should now make peace with the Government which was the only way of achieving progress for that area. They gathered together and passed a

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[Shri Gopkrishna Vijaivargiya.] resolution. The necessary promise was given by the Government of India. This is the history of this measure that is now before us. The Prime Minister gave that promise and I think that was a reasonable and a good thing. All the citizens of India, including the Nagas, form part of this country and, as our own citizens, we should deal with the Nagas with moderation. Our ideas for this Republic are justice and equality. Therefore, it is necessary that we should pass this interim measure and also adopt other measure's which will go to make for peace in that part of the country. Sir, in recent years, there have been other countries also which have solved this problem of nationalities. I will have to refer to Soviet Russia and also to the recent example of China. When the Delegation from our Parliament went to China, we saw the Institute of Nationalities there. They are solving all these problems with sympathy, with understanding and by giving considerable autonomy to the people. Of course, even in those countries that may be called progressive or radical or leftist — whatever we may say of those countries like Russia and China—they have not allowed any complete independence to these Nationalities. All their external affairs and all their important affairs are in the hands of the Central Government there and only in local matters are they given autonomy. We should, in this country also, show some elasticity in our Constitution. We cannot be harsh to our own people, even if they are in a minority as in this case. The whole of the Naga area is not a very viable area. Its area is less, its population is very little and the income is also very little. Therefore, it cannot be an independent country even if Mr. Phizo or any other person, the leaders of Nagas, thinks so. If they become independent, they will become a pawn in the hands of some other bigger powers which will be a great danger to the security of India. Therefore, independence is out of question and independence cannot be given.

The whole of this country is a Republic of the people of India. Nagas as equal citizens of this country can live here, progress here and prosper here. Therefore, the only thing that we can do for the Nagas is that we can give them autonomy for their progress in their own way of life within the limitations that we can put on them. Sir, some people have said that this is the thin end of the wedge of a flossiparous tendency and that this will disintegrate the whole State of Assam. Of course, Assam is so situated and there are many tribes that such demands may crop up more and more but, as one of our sister Members here, Mrs. Pushpalata Das, said, the hills and the plains are so interconnected, inter-linked that they cannot be divided up. The State cannot be divided into many smaller States. Therefore, somehow some homogeneity has got to be maintained while giving this autonomy. I think we here in the Parliament can make an appeal also to the rebel leaders, even to Mr. Phizo, that they should now have wisdom, become sane and not rake up that cry for independence. They should have faith in the leaders of this Government of India who are very sympathetic to them. They should stop all these rebellious activities and cooperate with this Government which is doing so much for their progress now.

Sir, I fully support this measure and I think that this will go a long way in satisfying the aspirations of the Naga people.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Sir, shall we adjourn now instead of sitting for a few minutes more?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister will reply tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at eight minutes past four of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 28th November 1957.