

cussions and, therefore, the House shall have to be strict; no extension would be possible in any discussion this year.

So far as the Kerala business is concerned, I put this to the Finance Minister. If we can definitely finish on the 26th, would it not be possible to get it through in the Rajya Sabha after that?

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I am certainly in the hands of the House. But my difficulty is that these should be voted and passed in time; otherwise, the government will come to a standstill for other reasons.

Mr. Speaker: If we definitely do it by the 26th, is there not enough time to get it through in the Rajya Sabha after that because they are sitting up to the 31st?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The Chair will appreciate that 26th also is only half a day.

Mr. Speaker: We will finish it.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Only 2 hours are needed.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha): Time should be given for it. It cannot be pushed through. Kerala is too much being pushed about here.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I do not know if the other House would be able to complete it within the time. Are they sitting on 29th?

Mr. Speaker: They have three days.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Actually, this is a matter which the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs should handle.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: We are cutting too fine.

Mr. Speaker: According to the other side's astrology, Monday is the best

for starting the general discussion on the Budget.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: I have no objection if we start it on Monday. I was saying that we are cutting it too fine. In such matters, we need not. I would again try if it is possible.

An hon. Member: Has he agreed or not?

Mr. Speaker: We will begin general discussion on the General Budget on Monday.

12.36 hrs.

ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS) CONTINUANCE BILL—
contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Swaran Singh on the 12th March, 1965, namely:

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

Shri Daji was on his legs.

Shri Daji (Indore): The point I was making last time was that the House is not objecting to the powers sought to be given to the military. The question is: armed with these powers, what specifically have the military forces been able to do? I tried to show that with all these powers and with all the resources at the command of Government, our armed forces there seem to have failed to prevent the Naga hostiles from regularly crossing the border and going over to Pakistan.

It is not just an isolated case. It is not just one incident. Every year, every season almost they are able to cross with impunity and come back after getting training and equip

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ment. Last time I said that the Naga hostiles have opened a military academy in Pakistan where they regularly send batch after batch for training. After one batch is trained, another goes. When we raise it in the House, we are told that they filter through the jungles in dribbles and we are unable to prevent them. The question I posed was this. One can understand it to a certain extent. One can understand that all the 1,500 could not be apprehended. But how is it that not even one has been apprehended by the armed forces stationed there?

In this connection, it is very pertinent to bring to the notice of the House the fact that when a similar question was raised a few days back in the House, it was found that the hon. Minister meticulously said that this crossing of Naga hostiles to Pakistan for training and back again was not against the letter of the agreement entered into with the Naga hostiles. Again and again, the hon. Minister was pressed, and he only maintained that it was against the spirit of the agreement, not the letter of it. To a pertinent question, it was also asserted that the agreement does not, in terms, prohibit this.

One would like to know one thing. We sent our armed forces there. We equipped them with special powers. How is it that this was not specifically prohibited? How is it that in the truce talks, in the talks preceding the agreement, this was not specifically prohibited, namely, when we negotiated for an armed truce, was it not part of it, ordinarily, that nothing should be done to disturb the balance or *status quo*? Are we to understand that we have kept it open for the Naga hostiles to replenish their forces, gather strength and drag on the negotiations interminably for months and that there is no term in the agreement which actually prevents them from sending a posse across the border to Pakistan, equipping them and bring-

ing them back? This goes on. This shows either confusion on the part of Government, a serious slip in drafting, or a deliberate fogging in thinking at the governmental level. And this sometimes makes us feel that we have perhaps given in more to the so-called peace makers who are trying to intervene in the internal affairs of our country than apparently meets our eye.

Even when the talks have been recessed, as the Naga hostiles' Parliament is going to meet, it seems that the military wing of the Naga hostiles and the political wing of the Naga hostiles are not themselves agreeing on what actually the terms of settlement are. It is said there is difference of language, the language is difficult, we do not follow the language. But, are we quite clear as to the terms we have offered, or will we, after some time, say that it is against the spirit, not against the letter of the terms?

This was most shocking that the Minister of External Affairs had to admit in this House that the agreement did not in letter prohibit the Naga hostiles from sending personnel across the border for equipping them in Pakistan and bringing them back.

The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh): Bringing is prohibited.

Shri Daji: Bringing is prohibited, sending is not. Very good. If it is prohibited, have we brought it to the notice of the Naga hostiles that they are violating the truce terms?

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): They are not violating them.

Shri Daji: You mean to say they are not coming back from Pakistan with arms?

Shri Swaran Singh: No one has come back.

Shri Daji: I thought last time you said that 1,500 or 1,700 had come back.

The negotiations are in a very delicate stage. We do not want to foreclose and foreclose things, we do not want to disturb the balance, we do not want to do anything which would add fire to the trouble in the area, but the impression that is left is, firstly, that the Government is not clear as to what it is doing, secondly that the Naga hostiles are being treated a little softly in the hope of a settlement out of the peace talks, and that too much latitude is given to certain persons to fish in troubled waters. This is, I think, a risky matter. We would all like peace to return to Nagaland, and wish success to Government's efforts to bring about peace through negotiations, but negotiation should not be at the cost of our definite, determined policy. Let not these peace talks and the recess be used by the Naga hostiles to replenish themselves and then start hostilities on a wider scale, let us not be caught napping. This at least should be guarded against.

Therefore, before passing this Bill, we must know, we must be told very clearly as to what exactly our armed forces are supposed to do there in terms of preventing the Naga hostiles from stepping up their hostile activity.

Shri M. B. Masani This is an important Bill. It is also a very far-reaching measure, because it gives very draconian and far-reaching powers to our armed forces engaged not against foreigners or enemies of the country, but against our own citizens. And when powers are given for practically establishing martial law whenever the civil arm wants to declare an area to be a disturbed area, the House should be very careful and vigilant to see that the exercise of these powers is made very carefully and with the fullest sense of responsibility.

I was very glad at the remarks made by the hon. Minister of External Affairs when he introduced the Bill, in particular when he said that the Government had no desire to extend the operation of this measure a

day beyond its necessity. I think that assurance should be adhered to, and I would like to urge on the Minister of External Affairs and the Government that this House and all those who love civil liberty and democratic rights will expect that this measure will be dropped the moment it becomes possible.

In today's circumstances, nobody can say that the measure should not be extended, and I am not for a moment opposing the extension of the measure. On the contrary, I would like to support the spirit in which the Foreign Minister spoke, and the spirit in which the Prime Minister and the Government are approaching this very difficult problem. In fact, I am echoing what the Governor of Nagaland said yesterday at the opening of the Nagaland Assembly. According to the press, he expressed the hope that permanent peace might speedily return to Nagaland, so that the resources of the Government and the people might be devoted exclusively to the betterment of the Nagas. It is in that spirit that I rise to speak on this Bill.

The House knows that with the goodwill of the Government, the Prime Minister and the Government, several Members of this House,—I think we were about 15—of various political elements and parties, visited Nagaland from 5th February to 11th February. I would like to share some of my impressions and feelings, because, after all, the purpose of our going there was that the House might be better enlightened on the unfortunate situation that makes the extension of this law necessary.

There we have good people on both sides facing each other, both on the side of the hostiles and on our side. We have good people from the rest of India, people of whom we may be proud. My colleagues and I felt very proud when we saw the men from various parts of the country, in the armed forces and the civilian administration, working together with the highest degree of team spirit, with every desire to present India to the

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people of Nagaland in the most favourable and the brightest light. We were proud of these people—people from Punjab, Kerala and every part of India were there rubbing shoulders working in a rather strange climate, a strange environment, so that Nagaland might be preserved for the Indian Union.

We told the Naga people, we told the people from the underground, or the Naga Federal Government people as they call themselves, that we are a very big country, that our motto is unity in diversity, that they are no more different from us than one member of our group was from another, so far as their ethnic, linguistic and other characteristics are concerned. We told them that there was ample room for them in this great family of the Indian Union. We told them that they needed us and that we needed them; we need them for our defence and they need us for their defence against their dangerous neighbours like the Chinese Communists near their frontiers. Both need each other for their common survival and prosperity. We pointed out how their resources were very meagre, how this country was pouring in treasure for the building of roads, the development of their life, the education of their children, and so we appealed to them freely and voluntarily to remain part of our Union, and not to pursue this desire to secede from the Union, which we feel we cannot agree to.

On their side, they also had their own logic. Men of the underground say, "We are not Indians, we are a different nation. We want to be friends with you, we want to be near to you, but please don't dominate us, please do not try to rule us. We will be allies and friends and neighbours, but we do not want to be ruled."

To that we replied that nobody was trying to rule over them, that people in Madras, Bengal and Punjab were not ruled over by others, they were ruling themselves, but for common

purposes they had surrendered part of their sovereignty to the Union, and that was all that we asked of them.

We pointed out that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution gives them more autonomy than we in the rest of India enjoy, that this Parliament, for instance, cannot pass certain laws about their social customs, land etc., without the consent of the Nagaland Assembly—something that this Parliament can do in so far as the rest of the Indian Union is concerned—that they are in that respect already favoured people. We said to them that so long as they remained in the Indian Union, our Government had said that these matters were negotiable, that if it came to that we would bring in another Amendment of the Constitution, the Nineteenth or Twentieth Amendment, to modify the relationship between them and us.

So, we have tried to explain the Indian point of view and we have tried to understand their point of view. We must admit that they are good people, they are decent people, they are brave people, they are disciplined people, they are highly educated people anything around 20 per cent speak English. They are more educated in that respect and more literate than the people of Kerala who lead the rest of the country in that regard.

Therefore, we have a situation wherein good people are standing up against good people, and we want that this barrier that has arisen should be overcome and that they should remain free and happy members of the Indian Union. Thanks to the very noble and devoted efforts of the Peace Mission, it has been possible, since last September, to have a suspension of operations as we call it, or a ceasefire as the Federal Republic people call it. Whatever it is called, it is peace, and in the report that has been unanimously submitted by the members of our group to the Prime Minister and the Government . . .

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): May I make a request to the hon. Member? To share his impressions, would it be possible to place that report on the Table of the House?

Shri M. R. Masani: I have no objection if the Speaker permits me.

Mr. Speaker: I have no objection.

Shri M. R. Masani: I am glad the Speaker has ruled that it should be so placed. There is nothing secret about it. It has been given to the Prime Minister, with the support, I am glad, of members of all groups who formed this party.

At one point in the report, we say:

"The delegation is left with no doubt that the suspension of firing as from September 6, 1964 and its continuance has been greatly appreciated by the Naga people as a whole... The benefits of peace was welcome to the Nagas and there was a near unanimous desire for the prolongation of peace. The Chief Minister and a number of officials whom we met thought that the prolongation of peace was both to India's and Naga's advantage."

At another point, we say:

"The delegation reiterates that the suspension of firing has been beneficial both to India and Nagaland and would like it to be prolonged."

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): How does this occur that after the suspension of hostilities and the cease-fire, there has been violence taking place. Did you ask them to take some steps and stop this violence?

Shri M. R. Masani: I am coming to that. I am glad my friend Dr. Aney has raised this issue. There are people who have said here that such and

such things are alleged to be happening; so let us stop the cease-fire and go back to shooting. Perhaps they did not understand what was happening, the horrors of the guerilla warfare, not between us and our enemies, not between us and those who were coming into our country, but our own citizens who, we claim, are members of our own nation. It is true that there had been violations.

There are allegations of violations on both sides. Until now there has been no method of examining these allegations. For the first time, I am glad to say, on February 24, at the last negotiations between the two sides, it had been announced that a mixed group of three nominees of the Indian Government and three nominees of the underground will work under the Peace Mission as a fact-finding, investigating mechanism. One on each side will go and investigate every allegation made of a violation of the cease-fire and we hope, it is to be hoped, that with this new mechanism which had rather belatedly been brought into existence, it will be possible to verify the truth of these charges that are made. Unfortunately, in such a situation there are vested interests on both sides who would like the cease-fire and peace to come to an end. I am sorry to say that a section of the Indian Press has not been doing its duty either by this country or by the Nagas. Only a few days ago, an alarming report of a firing at one of our posts by mortar guns by the underground was reported. I am glad that the Chief Minister of Nagaland, Mr. Shilu Ao, has hit that one on the head. One of our own dumps blew up by mistake and immediately some pressmen said that the Nagas have taken up arms. This can easily lead to a tragedy without anyone seriously intending it. I am very glad to say that the Chief Minister of Nagaland has said that no such incident ever took place as was reported. That is very important. So, this new machinery of investigation, rather like a United Nations team, but consisting

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of ourselves, has been set up for this purpose.

Now, Sir, it is argued sometimes that the Nagas are strengthening their position. My hon. friend behind me was worried about that and said that some Nagas had crossed the frontier and may come back. Since so much has been made about the terms of the cease-fire; let me read two relevant paragraphs:

"The underground leaders have given the assurance that no arms will be imported from abroad during the period of stoppage of operations."

I am happy to say that everyone agrees that not one bullet has come into Nagaland since the ceasefire was signed. Therefore, this agreement has been scrupulously maintained by both sides.

But there is an open frontier and that frontier was not closed as part of the ceasefire agreement. On the contrary, the Indian Armed Forces were given permission to patrol three miles border from the frontier and to stop whoever they wanted to stop. It says:

"The interim arrangement for patrolling of the international border is that the security forces will maintain patrolling to a depth of three miles as the crow flies from the frontier."

If they are able to cross and recross that has nothing to do with the cease-fire. It has something to do with the terrain and the great difficulty of stopping people moving between the Indian side and the Burmese side of the border. Therefore, let us not get unnecessarily panicky. A few people coming and going is not going to cow down the mighty Indian Union. It has a very strong military force.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta—South-West): Why are they coming back?

Shri M. R. Masani It is something which the cease-fire agreement allows. It is not even admitted; nobody is prepared to admit or deny it. We believe it is so; nobody has given an explanation why they are coming back. We did not want to encourage it. We told everyone concerned that not only the latter but the spirit of the agreement should also be maintained so that neither side has a grievance or fear that something is going wrong from their point of view. Assuming that over 1500 men have gone and come, let me put it that the balance of advantage in favour of the cease-fire.

Guerilla forces can only function in a favourable political climate. So long as the people in the villages give food and supplies and harbour the guerillas, it is extremely difficult to fight them. That has been the experience in Malaya, that has been the experience with the Viet Cong, that is the experience in South Viet Nam today. It is very important therefore that the common people in the villages, who are neither on this side or that side, should be won over.

The cease-fire is giving our administrators, for the first time after ten years, a chance to carry on civil administration and show the real face of India; they are a fine band of civil servants and they want time to show what India can do for Nagaland. Similarly, the Ministers said to us that for the first time they were able to go to the villages and argue with the people and face the underground people and win the debate over them because they could sit together and talk and give and take in the presence of the villagers, and they are able to say: we have a better case. A large number of public meetings had been held, where resolutions had been passed supporting the efforts of the Peace

Mission and the proposals of the Peace Mission.

What are the proposals of the Peace Mission? They boil down to two sentences. While the people of Nagaland, like all other people may have a right to decide their own destiny, the fairest and the only practicable solution for this dispute is they should voluntarily participate in the Indian Union, the Union of India. That is the basis on which the Peace Mission has invited both sides to negotiate. It is a very good thing that these negotiations are going on.

I want to warn the House that we cannot expect positive results in a couple of months. It is possible that these negotiations will go on for two or three years. The negotiations at Pan Mun Jan went on for a decade and in the end the Korean Peace Treaty was signed. The negotiations for the Austrian Peace Treaty went on for ten years and today Austria is free and neutral. Therefore, even if it takes two or three years, so long as people talk round a table, so long as there is peace and people in the countryside and the valleys and hills are happy and at peace, what does it matter if the negotiations are prolonged. The Indian flag flies in Nagaland. Our Army is there; our administration is there; a popularly elected Government is there, till 1967. Let us give them time to recondition themselves.

What do we know about Nagaland and what do they know about us? I asked one of the Ministers of the underground Government there to come to Delhi and meet people here. He said: Will they give me safe conduct? Will I not be arrested? I said: My friend, whether you like it or not, you are a citizen of this Union; there is the Supreme Court and there is *habeas corpus*. If anything happens to you while you are in Delhi, I will go to the Supreme Court and get you released. He was surprised at this. He thought that he was going into an enemy country. These are the bar-

riers that have been created by history. They have not been part of the Indian nation as we have all been part of it; they feel different. We have got to draw them nearer. You cannot impose nationhood by force. You have got to win their hearts and minds and that is what is being done today by all those who stand for us in Nagaland.

For every year of shooting, we have shot now for nearly 12 or 14 years, may we not have one month of truce, one month of negotiation? Why should we be so impatient? If it takes two or three years, what harm is there? So long as no harm is done, let us talk. There was a great war horse, as he was called, Winston Churchill, and he had a very good saying: "It is better to jaw-jaw than war-war."

Shri Khadilkar: Mr. Speaker, the Government from the measure it appears, are seeking to extend this bill by just one year because, I presume, they are expecting that peace would return to this land of Nagas. The Nagas in all these tribal regions are more or less on the periphery of civilisation. They have been cut off from the main current of civilization and to that extent their ideas about life, about civilisation, about Government are far apart from our ideas. That must be clearly understood. Nagaland is the spearhead of discontent in the border areas, and border areas, I would like to say very plainly, are very sensitive regions, and they have also got to face the challenge of new social influences. They are not insulated against the social challenges on the border. I had an opportunity to exchange some of my experiences with the Peace Mission and with the people who went to Nagaland. After my study, I would like to say that many people who raise their voices here—I am surprised—do not care to study what is Nagaland and what is the position, what is the general approach to this problem and so on. About 50,000 Nagas are beyond our borders in Burma and their relations are very close. You cannot just cross

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the whole border, except perhaps 40 miles, and for the last 12 or 14 years, they have fought, whatever their idea about the so-called independence, to win back their independence from this guerilla warfare is going on. They have done a great sacrifice for the past 12 or 14 years. To bring peace is not a joke. It cannot be achieved in a day. They have never known peace.

13 hrs.

I was very happy—I discussed this subject with one of the leaders—to learn that they want peace. For the first time they have experienced what is peace after 12 to 14 years of conflict. They were either this side or that side but they were mostly supporting the struggle, whether they liked it or not, because the terrain is such and the people are such that they have got to be brought nearer India by other methods. Therefore, this measure has become necessary for the time being, and as it is giving only a continuation of one year, it has to be supported, because the extension is not for long. I hope that Government's efforts and the Peace Mission's efforts would succeed in bringing peace in this area.

Coming to the main problem of this region, NEFA, the Hill tribes in Assam and Nagaland, the point is, as I said, it is a very sensitive region; their contact with the other side is still close. Even in NEFA, I am told that the marriages used to take place with Tibetan families, but now, for the time being, it has stopped. Our approach to this problem of the border must be decided by taking into consideration the region, the level of civilisation and the approach of the people to India and their understanding or want of understanding about ourselves. That also must be clearly understood on this occasion, because I feel that in this House, on many an occasion, voices are raised that so many Nagas have come with arms. They might be coming and going, but there is no positive proof about it. I happened

to meet the man who was in charge of our military operations for a very long time there, with the rank of a Brigadier. The Defence Minister is here now fortunately. The brigadier told me very plainly that we have been strained in operating, because the orders were such that our army becomes demoralised when you cannot have full-scale operation. They were in a very, very tight corner and were given certain restrictive orders. If you had a full-scale military operation, the problem would have been solved long ago. But the Government rightly decided that the presence of the military was just meant there to win over the people and to help whatever skeleton administration they had to function. I am glad to know that the civil administration there, with all the hazards and privations today, is functioning with a missionary zeal. It is a compliment that they deserve because the conditions are still trying. Therefore, I would plead with the Government that whatever some people in this House might say, the peace efforts, even if they should take a little longer, should continue. The peace efforts were started by the Sarvodaya organisation, and they have pointed out that in the border regions—and I would repeat again—if unfortunately the peace efforts fail, it is not only in Nagaland but you will have to face the problem right up to NEFA. I have, for instance, a letter written by a Member of this House, a most responsible person, that in NEFA, when the people left their houses and when everything came down after the Chinese aggression, the rehabilitation compensation was not paid to them to go back and settle down. This is the position. This aspect has been pointed out to the authorities concerned, and I was told by a responsible person, a Member of this House, that the matter is still hanging fire, because of some procedural matters which have come in the way. If these things are not taken seriously, what would happen? It is a sensitive region, and first priority must be given to them in the shape of

an administration; give them whatever they lack; educate them and give them medical help and change their approach and outlook.

Do you know that only one-third of the Nagas are under Christian influence and that the rest of them have no religion? They have not known what it is. They have of course got their tribal taboos and rituals and other things. But two-thirds of them have no religion. Religion is a civilising thing and influence to begin with, but from which they have been kept away. In such a situation, I would plead with the Government that whatever some people might feel about Nagaland, it is not simple. We should do our best to settle them and accept them within the Indian union. Here, I entirely share my views with those expressed by my hon. friend Shri Masani. In India, you cannot have just one pattern of government because the level of development is different, and when the levels of development are different, you will have to find out some pattern of government whereby central loyalty to the Indian union could be achieved. You will have to find out a pattern, a local pattern which is of such a nature where they will find a better self-expression which would meet their local needs quickly. Delhi is far off. What do they know of Delhi? We know of it because we sit here, but when we go to the periphery of India we will or we must realise their point of view from this angle which must be considered carefully and some form must be found out.

Lastly, we have studied what happened in Algeria. I was recently reading a book about Algerian struggle. In Algeria, the French were in a tight corner, and the question they faced was either they must be settled the problem peacefully or they must be fought, because it was a question of great financial strain on France. All the intellectuals in France rose in revolt and they said to the military people, the French people there, "For Heaven's sake, do not now take arms."

Why? Because they realised that after a pretty long struggle there, a certain rigid attitude had developed. The same thing has happened in Nagaland and that rigidity has got to be overcome. It cannot be overcome by force. Therefore, I presume that if force is meant, it is meant to assist to the minimum, where it is absolutely necessary, the civil administration and those who have joined the Indian union in the sense that those who have formed the government and are prepared to accept parliamentary democracy as they have understood it in the present context, must be strengthened. I am sure that within a short period we will have some good results, because, all those people are perhaps tired of the war and of the brutal and cruel things. I mean brutalities in warfare during those long years, and they must be won over by peace and the peace negotiations should continue for a little longer period. Ultimately, we must be determined that Nagaland, through the Peace Mission's efforts and our own efforts, shall be established as a peaceful State and thus we shall have to set an example for other border areas not to take to arms but to take to the path of negotiations and talk and settle their problems.

With these words, I support the Bill.

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Bill is one of the shortest Bills before the House. It seeks to change just one word: from 'seven' to 'eight', but then, it is not so simple as it appears to be. It has a far-reaching effect, as my hon. friend Shri Masani was stating just now. The district of Naga Hills as it was then called was taken out from the administrative control of the Government of Assam and put in charge of the Governor of Assam as an agent of the President. Then, hopes were held that everything would be O.K. thereafter and that peace will reign there and the hostilities shown by the Naga people would gradually.

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come to an end. But our hopes were belied and indeed things began to proceed from bad to worse, and it came to such a pass that the security of the country was endangered. At that time, our President promulgated an ordinance which was followed by the enactment of the Act giving special powers to the army. But this also became ineffective because the hostile activities continued and then a delegation of the nationalist Nagas was organised. They saw the late Prime Minister and a political settlement was arrived at resulting in the district of Naga-Hills getting a separate State. This was accepted by the delegation and they went back. But in Nagaland, the people were divided on this issue. Some of them accepted the statehood, but some went underground as hostiles. Not only were the hostiles carrying on their activities more vigorously, but they were also successful in establishing contact with Pakistan. They sent their people there for training in arms in Pakistan became a source of supply of arms for their activities in Nagaland. This went on for several years.

Then the Peace Mission came into existence. We do not know what is the status of this Peace Mission or on whose behalf it is working which are still confusing; but it seems it has assumed the position of a body of arbitrators trying to arbitrate between the Government of India on one hand and the Government of hostile Nagas on the other. Whatever it may be, they are making an honest effort to bring a lasting peace in Nagaland. Although it is very difficult to say what the ultimate outcome would be, one very good thing been able to do is to bring about a temporary cessation of hostilities in that area and also to bring together the leaders of hostile Nagas and the representatives of the Government of India round a conference table. As my friend, Mr. Masani said, we must allow some time to

pass. The hostilities have been there for more than 10 or 12 years. Let there be one month for one year, which means another 10 or 12 months. I think time as a great healer is also a very important factor in this matter.

While the leaders of the hostiles are engaged in discussion with the representatives of the Government, a section of them are still active. They are making frequent visits to Pakistan and bringing with them more and more arms.

A news item appeared in the *Assam Tribune* dated 19th February as follows:

"The Government of Assam have taken a very serious view of the forcible occupation of some of her lands on the border of Assam and Nagaland by armed Nagas and have asked the Border Security Force to take effective steps to clear these areas of unauthorised occupation and stop any acts of lawlessness.

The 120 mile long border between Naga Hills on one side and Sibsagar and Mikir Hills on the other was defined by the Government in 1928 when Naga-Hills formed a district of Assam. When it became a State in 1957, Assam Government suggested that the border should be properly demarcated. There were some disputes on this matter and it was under consideration of both the Governments. The Assam Government had information about armed Nagas infiltrating into these places and intimidating people. The matter was brought to the notice of the Nagaland Government. It appears that neither any steps were taken nor did they reply to communications from the Assam Government."

In the *Times of India* dated 8th March it is stated:

"The Chief Minister, Mr. B. P. Chaliha, told the Assam Assembly here yesterday that armed Nagas had occupied 150 acres of forest land in Sibsagar district and the State Government had strongly protested to the Nagaland Government about the intrusion.

As a result of the vigorous action taken by the Sibsagar district authorities to round up the trespassers, four Nagas had been arrested, Mr. Chaliha said in response to a calling attention motion."

So, the hostile activities are still going on. We should gird up our lines and we should see that our armed forces are given proper powers to deal with the situation. It is said that since the cessation of hostilities, the Naga hostiles who were underground have come over-ground. On the other hand, our armed men, under the terms of the agreement, have been made to go underground. They are just confined to their camps and do not come out armed. While they are having their target practices and parades in the camps, by their side, the hostiles also are carrying on their parades and target practices. Let our armed men be underground we do not mind but and let there be peace and peace reign there. That is our wish. But we should see that our armed men get proper powers to deal with the situation when there is any exigency. We will be happy if that exigency does not come.

With these words, I support this Bill.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Sir, I doubt if there is anybody in this House who would be opposed to this measure. Honest men with good intentions have been working to bring about better relations between the Naga people and the Indian people.

13.17 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

This work of peace-making or reconciliation may take some time. It is for the Members of this House to see that that is the only reasonable approach that can be made by the Government of India under the existing circumstances.

There is one point to which I wish to invite the attention of the House particularly. Mr. Khadilkar said that India is a big country with different kinds of people and therefore there may be different patterns of autonomy. It may be so; it is up to this House to evolve new patterns also, I admit. But so long as members of this House are concerned, as loyal citizens of India, they are committed to a certain pattern of democracy and we take pride that this is the pattern that is proper for the people of the world. That being the case, with all our best intentions to honour the customs, manners and various other things of those people, our attempt should be to imbibe into their minds the respect for the kind of institution of democracy that exists under the Constitution. It may take more time; I do not mind the time.

Secondly, there is their habit of running over to the other side. I would not have minded it if the country on the other side had friendly relations with us. But objection is taken here because they run to a country which is definitely hostile to us and which is interested in creating a feeling of hostility and enmity against the people of India. To allow these people to have frequent contacts with the other side is a rather dangerous position against which we must guard. We want at least to instruct those persons who are the harbingers of peace to lay down certain limits which should be observed and to carry out their mission in such a way as to be less offensive and more persuasive and in that way gradually win them over. I do not mind the time.

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

I once visited that territory in 1942. I found that the English people, when the Second World War was being fought, were taking the help of the Nagas. I found how the Nagas, for the sake of English people, were helping them in building big roads, constructing bridges and so on. I saw it with my own eyes. So the English people could make them work. That spirit which enabled the English people to rule over them and get work from them should be understood by us. If the Nagas were made to do big things like that against their own enemies, we must try to understand and follow that spirit. If it is with these considerations that those who are working are making efforts to bring about conciliation between the hostile Nagas and the people of India, I believe that we must give every encouragement to that kind of effort.

Sir, with these words I support the motion before the House.

श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले सत्तरह सालों के अन्दर भारत सरकार का कितना खर्च नागालैंड में सैनिक प्रशासन के लिये हुआ है और कितना खर्च असैनिक या गैर सरकारी कामों के लिये हुआ है, बाकी हिन्दुस्तान के कितने लोग सैनिक काम पर नागालैंड गये हैं और कितने लोग असैनिक या गैर सरकारी काम पर गये हैं अगर इसका हिसाब हम लोग लगायें तो पता लगाना मुश्किल नहीं होगा कि पिछले सत्तरह सालों की भारत सरकार की गलत नीतियों के नागाओं के साथ हिन्दुस्तान के लगाव को घटाया है बढ़ाया नहीं है। सैनिक सम्बन्ध ज्यादा हुए और असैनिक तथा गैर सरकारी सम्बन्ध कम हुए। यह हिन्दुस्तान की नीति नागाओं के प्रति पिछले सत्तरह सालों में जारी रही है।

नागाओं के साथ हिन्दुस्तान की एकता के लिये सरकार के पास कोई योजना या कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं है। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, खेल के

क्षेत्र में या सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में नागाओं को हिन्दुस्तानियों के साथ मिला कर रखने के लिये सरकार का कोई दृष्टिकोण नहीं रहा। हिन्दुस्तान के नाटक दलों में खेल के दलों में और दूसरे दलों में नागाओं को शामिल करने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया। खास कर खेलों के बारे में जैसे कि दूसरे क्षेत्रों के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में सिर्फ ऊंची जाति का आधिपत्य रहा है। मुझे लोगों ने बतलाया है कि खास करके खेल के कार्यों में स्पोर्ट्स के मैदान में ऊंची जाति के लोगों की अपेक्षा पहाड़ी लोग और आदिवासी लोग ज्यादा योग्य होते हैं। अगर भारत के फुटबाल हाकी आदि खेलों में ऊंची जाति के लड़कों की संख्या कम हो और आदिवासी नागाओं और पहाड़ियों की संख्या ज्यादा हो तो विश्व के खेलों में भी हिन्दुस्तान का स्थान बढ़ सकता है लेकिन नागाओं को पहाड़ियों को आदिवासियों को हिन्दुस्तान के इन क्षेत्रों में रखने के लिये सरकार की कोई कोशिश नहीं है सरकार का कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के विभिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों में नागा विद्यार्थियों को लेने पहाड़ी विद्यार्थियों को लेने और उनको दूसरे प्रान्तों के नागरिकों में भरती करने की दिशा में कोई भी प्रयास नहीं हुआ है।

खास कर भाषा के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नागा समस्या एक ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है। अंग्रेजी के जरिये हिन्दुस्तान की एकता कायम नहीं हो सकती। जब तक अंग्रेजी भाषा माध्यम बनी रहेगी तब तक नागालैंड से जो लोग हिन्दुस्तान को आयेंगे वे सिर्फ कुछ राजनीतिक नेताओं से या सरकारी अफसरों से ही बातचीत कर सकते हैं। वे एक देहाती नागा बन कर देश के जो दूसरे प्रान्त हैं उनके लोगों से या वहां के देहातियों से बातचीत या सम्बन्ध कायम नहीं रख सकते हैं। अगर इन सत्तरह सालों के अन्दर हम हिन्दुस्तान की जो भाषायें हैं उनका प्रसार नागालैंड में किया होता या पहाड़ी इलाकों और जो दूसरे वार्डर इलाके हैं उनमें

किया होता तो क्या हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की एकता मजबूत न हुई होती। तो जो मुख्य समस्या है नागालैण्ड के बारे में वह एक तो सैनिक स्तर पर है और दूसरी जो सबसे ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है वह यह कि असैनिक और गैर सरकारी स्तर पर जो सम्बन्ध होना चाहिये नागालैण्ड में और हिन्दुस्तान में एकता, कायम करने के लिये। किस प्रकार वह एकता सम्भव होगी यह मन्त्री जी बतलायें इस बिल को पास करने के पहले।

Shri Swaran Singh: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members of this House for the support that they have been good enough to extend to this Bill. It is one of those rare occasions when a measure of this type has received support from all sections of the House, and I am therefore grateful to this august House for showing this understanding of the complicated problem that we are facing in Nagaland.

Therefore, there is little for me to say on this Bill. I would, however, like to take this opportunity of saying a few words about the approach to the Naga problem. On this occasion, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am beholden to the hon. Members who have shown such understanding of the problem and who have extended their sympathetic approach to the efforts that are being made for maintaining peace and for trying to solve this difficult problem by negotiations.

I would like to pay my tribute to the Members of Parliament belonging to different sections of the House who were good enough to undertake the inconvenience of a visit to Nagaland. This has enabled hon. Members to see for themselves not only the terrain and the physical features of Nagaland but they had also the opportunity to study firsthand the problem as we are facing today.

It is a very happy thought for me that the basic thing in this respect is

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fully appreciated on all hands. This basic thing is that here we have got a very fine set of people, Nagas, who are brave people, whose culture is different. I do not at all agree with some hon. Members who have hinted that they are not civilised enough. It may be that their approach to many problems, their social approach, their approach even to property and other matters may be different from ours; but it will be wrong for us to imagine that they are not civilised enough.

Shri Manoharan (Madras South): What is their language?

Shri Swaran Singh: They have many languages, a large number of tribal languages. It might interest the House to know that, in the course of these talks, when a person from the hostile Naga group was speaking in one of their tribal languages there was no interpreter who could interpret it into the other tribal language which was understood by others. So, we had to undertake double interpretation. The tribal language which was used by that speaker was first interpreted into English and then from English into the other tribal language so that other people might be able to understand it. This shows that there are many tribal languages that are used by these people. This also shows that sometimes we are prone to take a very superficial view of the problem, which is really intricate and difficult.

The important thing that has emerged as a result of today's discussion is that our basic approach has to be that these are our own people, that they are part and parcel of our own big family and, therefore, any attitude that sometimes we develop of taking the so-called tough-line or trying to find by strong military action a solution of the problem, is I think something which we should eschew, if we can avoid it. Our approach should be that here are our people whom we have to convince that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by remaining members of this big family which is India.

[Shri Swaran Singh]

I am glad that this last visit of the Members of Parliament did give an opportunity to the Naga hostile leaders to see for themselves that there is nothing but sympathy and understanding for their aspirations and difficulties. I am personally very happy that hon. Members found it convenient to pay a visit to this part of our country. It has helped them to understand the problem and appreciate the difficulties and intricacies of the problem. It has also brought a great measure of confidence among the Nagas that the parliamentary delegation, representing various sections of the House, has not got any hostility towards the aspirations of the Nagas and, on the contrary, they have nothing but understanding and goodwill for them. Therefore, the first essential point to help in mind is that they are our own people.

The second point on which stress has been laid is the prevalence of peace in that part. I must say that if anything has ensued as a result of these negotiations, the efforts of the Peace Mission, the efforts of the administration and the efforts of the leader of the Indian governmental team, Shri Gundevia, it is the prevalence of peace and I must say that he showed great patience and great tact in understanding this problem. He has really earned the confidence of the Naga hostiles and they are now talking to him informally and with a certain measure of freedom. It is of great importance that we should encourage our people who might be engaged in such difficult and delicate task and we should give them the assurance that we appreciated the stand or attitude they take or adopt and, if they succeed in creating confidence amongst the hostiles, this is something for which we should be proud of and we should encourage the efforts of such people instead of being critical.

If I may say so, the vested interest in peace is growing and is getting

more and more consolidated. There were parts in Nagaland where night light were unknown. There was curfew from dusk to dawn and no light used to be lit and some of the Naga hostiles were completely cut off from the mainstream of Indian life. Now some of them have come back to their families. The villagers have also tested what peace means and what normal conditions mean. There is a growing volume of opinion in favour of continuance of peace. These are the two basic factors which we should keep in mind while we assess the situation.

Another point which has been urged was about the movement of Nagas into Burmese territories and then going over to Pakistan. On that I want to be quite clear. In the original agreement which had been arrived at, and which resulted in the cessation of operations against the Nagas, it was clearly mentioned that "no arms will be imported from abroad by the underground Nagas during the period of stoppage of operations". This was the relevant part of the assurance. Hon. Members might argue, and perhaps with some justification that there is no specific provision made here in the assurance or in the agreement that no one will leave Nagaland for this purpose. But it should be appreciated that the operative part is the import of arms from abroad and on that there is a clear assurance. Therefore, any step that is taken by the Naga hostiles by which they leave the territory of Nagaland, cross over to Pakistan with the object of getting arms is, according to the view that we have taken, clearly against the spirit of the agreement. Why should they go to a foreign country and get arms when they cannot import arms? Therefore, we have made this position quite clear to the Naga hostile leaders who have been negotiating with the Government team that Government take a serious view of this action on the part of certain Naga hostiles in crossing over to Pakistan territory for getting arms.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: If they do it, we are never able to intercept them. That is what has happened in the past.

Shri Swaran Singh: I am not talking of the past, about which the hon. Member is correct. But, during this period, as pointed out by my hon. friend, Shri Masani, it is a fact which I have no hesitation in admitting, that during the period that peace was prevailing, no arm has been imported from outside territory. It is quite another thing that they are going out and according to our information they are going out for getting arms. It is something which we strongly object to because we feel that they have no business to do it unless they have got the intention to import arms, which they have agreed not to import. Therefore, we have used this expression with care and stated that this is clearly against the spirit of the agreement and we take strong objection to this. The Naga hostile leaders saw the force of this argument and some assurance has also been given that the agreement will be adhered to. But, at the same time, as a Government we cannot shirk our responsibility to ensure that any import of arms by any surreptitious means has to be checked by all means. It is our responsibility, and it is for this reason that not only very intense patrolling is there in the three mile belt along the border but certain subdivisions, even in Manipur, have been declared "disturbed" under this Act and the army and the police have been given special powers to meet the situation so that the Naga hostiles may be stopped if they attempt to bring in any arms.

Then a question was asked by Shri Daji why not a single case has been shown in which the army has detected the hostiles bringing in arms. It is a fact that on several occasions when Nagas were trying to enter the territory from outside they had been apprehended and many times they had been shot down. Even when they were going out they were shot down.

There was a question in this House on this subject. Whenever they attempted to go out, the police took action, or the armed forces took action, and several Nagas were shot down, for they were doing something which was illegal and which was unwarranted.

As is appreciated by the House, this is an Act which is necessary. But, personally speaking, and I am sure I am speaking for the whole House, all of us will be happy, every one in India will be happy, if no opportunity arises to use this Act. The peace efforts that are being made, if they succeed, and the situation in Nagaland develops to such a favourable form that a satisfactory solution is possible and there is no opportunity to use this Act, I am sure that the entire House will be happy and every one in India will be happy. All of us in India have no ambitions of any type on that region except to feel that it is a part of India and that the Naga people are Indian nationals. That we have to assure them and we have to win their heart and see that they function as contented, useful, proud citizens of India.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, before you proceed to put it to vote, may I make a request? The hon. Member, Mr. Masani, referred to the Report of the Parliamentary Delegation which, I think, has been placed on the Table of the House. In the spirit in which the debate took place, we are all interested in knowing what were the impressions of our own Delegation. May I, therefore, request you that you may direct him that the Report be circulated among Members of Parliament?

Shri Swaran Singh: I will be very happy. A copy has already been laid on the floor of the House. I will check up that with my copy and supply an authenticated copy and that could be circulated.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

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

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

The question is:

"That clauses 1 and 2, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 1 and 2, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

Shri Swaran Singh: I move that the Bill be passed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed"

The motion was adopted.

13.42 hrs.

KERALA BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION; *DEMANDS FOR ON ACCOUNT (KERALA), 1965-66; AND DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS (KERALA), 1964-65.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall now take up the Kerala Budget for 1965-66, the Demands for Grants on Account (Kerala) and the Supplementary Demands for Grants (Kerala). Time allotted is four hours. Does the House want a separate discussion on each of them or one discussion?

Some Hon. Members: Let it be one discussion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. Does the Minister want to say anything now?

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I have submitted a statement. I do not think I would like to add anything now.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT (KERALA), 1965-66

DEMAND NO. I—AGRICULTURE INCOME TAX AND SALES TAX

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,44,000 be granted to the President, on account, out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Agricultural Income Tax and Sales Tax.'"

DEMAND NO. II—LAND REVENUE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,20,000 be granted to the President, on account, out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Land Revenue.'"

DEMAND NO. III—EXCISE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,84,000 be granted to the President, on account, out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Excise.'"

DEMAND NO. IV—TAXES ON VEHICLES

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,65,000 be granted to the

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.