

12.43 hrs.

**CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER  
OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE****REPORTED ENTRY OF NAGA HOSTILES INTO  
EAST PAKISTAN, BREAKDOWN OF NAGA  
PEACE TALKS AND THE CLAIM OF NAGA  
HOSTILES FOR AN INDEPENDENT  
NAGALAND**

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अखिलभारतीय लोक महत्व  
के निम्नलिखित विषय की श्रीर वैदेशिक-  
कार्य मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना  
करता हूँ कि वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य  
दें :

नागा विद्रोहियों के पूर्वी पाकिस्तान  
में प्रवेश, नागा शान्ति वार्ता  
के असफल होने तथा स्वतंत्र  
नागालैंड के लिये नागा विद्रो-  
हियों की मांग ।

**The Minister of External Affairs**  
(Shri Swaran Singh): With your per-  
mission, I may read the statement.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं व्यवस्था  
चाहता हूँ । मैं ने जो सवाल हिन्दी में किया  
है उस का उत्तर भी हिन्दी में मिलना  
चाहिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उस का तर्जुमा  
हो रहा है, आप को तकलीफ नहीं  
होगी ।

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The talks with  
the Underground Naga delegation at  
Chedema village, near Kohima, are  
continuing. The Foreign Secretary,  
who has been leading the Government  
of India's delegation has returned to  
Delhi on 16th November, 1964, but is  
to resume these discussions with the  
Underground delegation soon after  
November 27. These negotiations have  
not broken down.

2. As the Hon'ble Members are  
aware, during the last round of talks  
with the Underground delegation, the  
3 Members of the Peace Mission had  
suggested that some understanding  
might be brought about between the

two delegations, in which the Under-  
ground might lay down their arms,  
leaving it to the Peace Mission to  
arrange for the safe custody of these  
arms, and the Security Forces of the  
Government of India, other than the  
troops which might be necessary for  
the protection of the country against  
the threat of external aggression,  
might be withdrawn from Nagaland.  
This plan of the Peace Mission was  
discussed in Chedema, this time, be-  
tween the two delegations, on the 10th  
and 11th November, but no agreement  
was reached. The Foreign Secretary  
made it very clear that our security  
forces could not possibly leave Naga-  
land, unless the Underground agreed  
to lay down the arms and the safe  
custody of these arms could be ensured  
to our satisfaction by the Peace Mis-  
sion and, in any case, some forces will  
have to remain in Nagaland for Law  
and Order purposes.

3. While these discussions were in  
progress at Kohima, we have received  
reports that two large gangs of  
Underground hostiles have crossed  
over into Burma and are making their  
way southwards, along the Burma  
border, presumably on their way to  
East Pakistan. This is definitely  
against the spirit of the agreement  
which led to the suspension of opera-  
tions in Nagaland on 6th September,  
1964. The Foreign Secretary has, in  
the course of the Chedema discussions  
protested, unequivocally, against this  
move on the part of the Underground,  
and the Peace Mission have told the  
Underground leaders that they take  
a serious view of this matter.

4. In these discussions in Chedema,  
till now, the Underground delegation  
had not stated, in any clear terms,  
what they wanted by way of a politi-  
cal settlement. The Leader of our  
delegation, the Foreign Secretary, has  
repeatedly asked them to explain what  
they mean by independence for Naga-  
land. On November 14, the Foreign  
Secretary, in a prepared statement,  
has explained to the Underground  
delegation what the Government of  
India has done in these last several

[Shri Swaran Singh]

years after 1947, to meet the wishes of the people of Nagaland. As the House is aware, Nagaland now is an autonomous state within the Indian Union, but there is good reason to believe that the Underground leaders do not know and are probably not aware of the degree of autonomy that this new State enjoys within the Indian Union. The Foreign Secretary's statement was meant to explain this to them, in some detail. The Underground delegation did not state their case during the Conference session, but on November 16, just before the Foreign Secretary left Kohima, they have addressed a letter to our delegation in which they have said that Nagaland was never really conquered by the British and they have always remained sovereign and independent.

5. In discussions of this nature, as the House will appreciate, both sides are free to state their case. It is our stand that Nagaland enjoys ample autonomy and the Government of India has fully met the wishes of the people of Nagaland. It will be upto our delegation to explain to the Underground delegation that the demands in their letter of November 16 are untenable. The talks are continuing and it would be advisable not to make any pronouncement till after the next meeting in Chedema towards the end of this month.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि नागा विद्रोहियों को पाकिस्तान, अमरीका और इंग्लैंड द्वारा चूँकि काफी सशस्त्र और आर्थिक सहायता मिलती है तो क्या सरकार ने इन देशों को कुछ लिखा है। यदि लिखा है तो क्या? फिर हम ने देखा कि पिछले कई सालों से नागाओं के साथ शान्ति वार्ता चल रही है। यदि वे नहीं मानते तो क्या उन को अरेस्ट करने का सरकार का विचार है, और जो शान्ति वार्ता चल रही है ...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप इतने सवाल

इकट्ठे न करें। एक सवाल आप ने कर लिया तब दूसरा करना मुनासिब नहीं है। उन्होंने ने कहा कि इस वक्त वार्ता चल रही है, तब यह कहना कि उन को अरेस्ट करने का खयाल है या नहीं, यह ठीक नहीं है।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** जो शान्ति वार्ता चल रही है, वह उन की भाषा में चल रही है या किसी और भाषा में चल रही है ?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** According to our information, there is no help from the Governments of either the United Kingdom or the United States as was hinted at by the hon. Member. There was this allegation that they have got some help from Pakistan. The Pakistan Government have denied that they have given any support but we have a feeling from some sources that they did get arms, maybe, from Pakistan although Pakistan had denied it.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** He has a feeling? The Chief Minister of Nagaland himself admitted that arms and ammunitions so far captured from the Naga hostiles show that they were from Pakistan. Why should he try to mislead the House?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** There is no question of trying to mislead the House. It is very easy for the hon. Member to use such strong expression.

**Mr. Speaker:** Members should realise that the Foreign Minister has to use some precise language and he has to be careful. He cannot use whatever language the Members could use; he has to be careful.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** Whereas all great care should be taken to use a language of highest courtesy and politeness, I think equal regard should be shown to the truth. May I remind you that his worthy predecessor, the late lamented predecessor has told this House in categorical terms that Gov-

ernment have enough evidence to show that arms were supplied by Pakistan to the Nagas? I do not think that we should deviate from the truth.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** What I have said was that Pakistan Government have denied this. I did not say anything beyond this. Therefore, there is no contradiction.

**Mr. Speaker:** The objection was taken because subsequent to that, the hon. Minister said, "we have a feeling."

**Shri Nath Pai:** You have enough proof.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** Maybe the word "feeling" was not very happy. So far as the language that is used in the course of the discussion is concerned, the representatives of Naga hostiles do understand English, but there are others also who can interpret it to them.

**श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) :** नागा लैंड के राज्यपाल ने कोहिमा के आस-पास कुछ क्षेत्र को उपद्रवग्रस्त घोषित किया था । मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि वह कितना क्षेत्र है और उस के बारे में हमारी नीति क्या है ।

**Shri Swaran Singh:** That has been recently notified by the Governor and it is I think a strip of area. I forget now the exact width of that, but this is to enable the movement of troops so that the necessary protection of our territory and of our borders might be maintained.

**श्री बड़े (खारगोन) :** 1300 नागा पाकिस्तान हाल में चले गए हैं और वे पहले भी जा चुके हैं । क्या पाकिस्तान का बारडर अभी तक सील नहीं किया गया है और क्या हमारी सेना का कंट्रोल लूज है ?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I think the hon. Member has not followed the facts that I have given in my statement.

There is a common border between Burma and Pakistan and according to what I have said, they have crossed over into the Burmese territory, and then they are travelling southwards, because there is that common border between Burma and Pakistan. Our information is that their entry is through that part. So, it is not a question of sealing the border between Pakistan and India, but it is a question of the Nagas who are on the periphery of our territory crossing into Burma.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** I would like to know how far it is true that Mr. Phizo is now in East Pakistan, during the peace talks and is guiding and directing these Naga hostiles to see that the whole thing is sabotaged. I would like to know whether he is in Pakistan.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I have no information that Phizo is in Pakistan.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** This was stated by Shri Hem Barua and others long ago. We want some information about it.

**Mr. Speaker:** He says he has no information. Shri Banerjee would realise what I can do about it!

**श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) :** जबकि नागा होस्टाइल्स ने इंडिपेंडेंट नागा लैंड की मांग को एक मिनट के लिए भी वापस नहीं लिया है तो उन के साथ बराबर के दर्जे पर पीस टाक्स का क्या मतलब है ?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** इस के मुताल्लिक दो राएं हो सकती हैं । जब तक हम अपनी बात में मजबूत हैं, तो महज यह बात कि दूसरी साइड एक बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी बात करती है, इससे हमें नहीं घबराना चाहिए ।

**Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar):** After about one and a half years of Rev. Michael Scott's stay in Nagaland and after about two months of continuance of peace talks, there comes a

[Shri P. C. Borooah]

hand-out from the Naga hostiles that Nagaland is independent of India and for that we must agree to a referendum on the issue of independence of Nagaland. This is just akin to President Ayub Khans' demand in respect of Kashmir. May I know whether the Government have any reason to believe that in the drafting of the hand-out there is some unseen foreign hand?

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member makes a speech instead of putting a question. I had advised him earlier that he should not make a speech before a question is put.

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** The question is whether, in drafting the hand-out, the Government suspects any unseen foreign hand to help the Naga hostiles' latest demand.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I will be travelling beyond the factual position if I have to speculate if there is any foreign hand in the drafting or not. I have said that our position with regard to the issues is clear.

**Shri Daji (Indore):** Did the Government make it clear to the underground Naga leaders there that during the negotiations at least there should be no arms build-up and, if arms build-up has been going on during the talks, may I know whether it has been taken up during the talk itself that they should not continue with the arms build-up and also the talks?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** We have made it absolutely clear that any attempt to collect arms will be against the spirit of the agreement and we would not permit that.

**श्री मोहन स्वर्ण (पीलीभीत) :** अभी मंत्री जी ने कहा कि नागाओं ने ऐसा कहा है कि ब्रिटिशर्स ने नागा लैंड को कभी कांकर नहीं किया था, इसलिए भारत सरकार को

वहाँ कोई अधिकार नहीं है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि किस आधार पर यह मान लिया गया कि वह मैक्सिमम लोकल आटानमी से खुश हो जायेंगे और टाक्स कामयाब रहेंगी। यह किस आधार पर मान लिया गया? पीस मिशन ने और भारत सरकार ने इस को किस आधार पर मान लिया?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** मैं समझ नहीं पाया कि सवाल का क्या मतलब है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** उन्होंने कहा कि जब पूरी खुदमस्तारी मांगी थी तो पहले उन को जो आटानमी दी गयी उसके देने का क्या फायदा था, क्यों दी गयी?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The Parliament in their wisdom agreed to do that, because it was considered that that will satisfy the legitimate demands of the people in Nagaland, for their aspiration for development and to run their own affairs to the best of their advantage. There are others who may not agree with that feeling, and they might put forward demands which, according to our thinking, are extremely unreasonable.

**Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah (Adoni):** Even before sitting for the peace conference negotiations with the hostile Nagas by the three-man Peace Commission, may I know whether the Government had any knowledge at any time whether the hostile Nagas had indicated to Rev. Michael Scott or Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan that they would be putting forward this demand of Independent Nagaland during the course of their talks and whether the Government was aware of it before they entered into negotiations with Naga hostiles?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** They had been saying earlier also about what their stand is. We also have made our stand clear, and it is known that this

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august House has taken a particular decision and a particular stand. Beyond that, we did not have any clear indication what they are going to demand. I would again suggest that so long as we are clear about the stand that we take, we need not take too drastic a view with regard to the other party taking a view which, according to our stand, is unreasonable.

**Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana):** Has it not always been known ever since 1947 and was it not clearly known when our present negotiations started, that the Nagas claim the Naga territory to be a sovereign State and, if so, why was Parliament and the public kept in the dark through embellishments and duplicity, so far?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I do not know whether it was known to everybody. I do not follow the connection between the two—the formulation which the hon. Member has put forward. Their demand may be one thing and the demand of the hostiles may be one thing. Then the Parliament had decided a certain set-up for Nagaland. It is worthwhile persuading even those who may not agree with that, that the best that could possibly be done for the people in Nagaland has been done. I do not see any contradiction between these.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** I want a clear answer to my question. My question is a simple one. Was the Government aware, when the negotiations started, that the Nagas claimed the Naga territory to be a sovereign State and, if so, why was not Parliament informed of it clearly?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I am saying clearly that that is incorrect, because the hon. Member is confusing the Nagas with the hostile Nagas. There might be a section amongst the Nagas who may put forward a particular view-point, and we have, on the presumption that what we are doing is in the best interests of the Naga

people, have taken a decision. (*Interruption*).

**Shri Bade:** There is an underground government an underground President and an underground Foreign Minister! (*Interruption*).

13 hrs.

**Shri Solanki (Kaira):** The Nagas claim to be an independent State while we refute it. Will the Government of India ask the Nagas to accept the decision of the Hague International Court in this matter?

**Some hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** It is amazing that a suggestion of this type should be made by an hon. Member. Nagaland is part of India and there is no question of any international authority coming into this matter in any form.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a suggestion; it need not be answered.

**Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa):** It is very much similar to the suggestion made recently by a Central Minister that there should be plebiscite in Goa regarding its future. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** I take it that the negotiations going on between the Government of India and the hostile Nagas will result in the desired truce. But I want to ask the hon. Minister how he will meet those 1,300 hostile Nagas who have gone across to Pakistan and how he will be able to keep them from doing mischief again when the negotiations have fructified.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** When they return, they can be dealt with according to the best of our capacity by our forces.

**Shri Hem Barua:** What I gathered from two Naga underground leaders who met me recently somewhere in Assam was that they would be satisfied with a sort of political status-similar to that of Bhutan or Sikkim.

**Mr. Speaker:** Was the meeting with the hon. Member above ground or below ground?

**Shri Hem Barua:** It was underground.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** He is the fourth wheel of the Peace Mission. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Hem Barua:** In that connection, since our Government are going to continue negotiations with the Naga underground leaders, may I know whether our Government are in a position to tell them categorically or tell us categorically that our Government will never countenance a proposal of this sort?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I think this is hypothetical. To expect the Government to commit themselves one way or the other on something which is hypothetical, I think, is not very fair.

**Shri Hem Barua:** I have not made any commitment; I have dismissed the suggestion. At the same time, when the Foreign Minister says like that, that he has no reply to this suggestion from the underground leaders who met me, I do not understand. What is your reaction to this?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I am sorry I cannot accept the conveying of a message through the hon. Member, particularly when he puts a question here. He did not show me the courtesy of saying to me that they want to convey a message and if he had done this, then he could discuss it with me and I could give some reaction.

**Shri Hem Barua:** He may not accept my position as an emissary. But at the same time, we are interested in knowing what is the reaction of the Government to this.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has given his reaction already in an earlier answer.

**Shri Hem Barua:** He has not.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** May I say, Sir, that the hon. Member by raising this is doing the opposite of what is intended by him? That is all I can say. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** This should be finished here. I have called the next Member.

**Shri Hem Barua:** This Government does not have the guts to say to the underground Naga leaders that the Government rejects this proposal. Here they boast of their power.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** May I ask whether the hon. Member had the guts to say like that to them?

**Shri Hem Barua:** I said like that and I said many more things which I cannot divulge here. You do not have the guts to say all that. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Would he continue like that? Shrimati Barkataki.

**Shrimati Renuka Barkataki** (Barkataki): May I know whether the insistence by the Naga hostiles on parity in the level of representation of negotiators, their refusal to talk in the presence of the Nagaland Chief Minister, and their insistence on the presence of an international observer to supervise the surrender of arms and subsequent withdrawal of security forces did not give the Government ample evidence to suspect that the objective of the Naga hostiles in continuing the talk was only to give implicit recognition....

**Mr. Speaker:** She is making a long speech. What is her question?

**Shrimati Renuka Barkataki:** ... of their claim for sovereignty and independence? May I know why the Government of India did not take steps to avoid this diplomatic trap

that was being prepared by the Naga hostiles for us?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I am sorry that by using this expression, we give them the type of authority or feeling which probably they also do not claim. We should never use expressions like diplomacy when we are dealing with our own people. It will be wrong to make any such suggestion. We might feel unhappy about various things that they have said. But if we are quite clear about the stand that we take, we need not be unnecessarily irritated if others pitch their demands at a high note. We can take note of it and can hold our own. Let us not be irritated about small things. About the various points mentioned by the hon. Lady Member, they did raise those points, but ultimately they did not press them. For instance, Mr. Shilu Ao is there in our team. We do not accept any international authority of any type. So, let us not try really to argue for them and create a feeling in the country which is certainly not countenanced by the Government.

**श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :** नागा नेताओं के जिस वर्ग विशेष के साथ यह शान्ति वार्ता चल रही है उस की भारत विरोधी गतिविधियों को ध्यान में रखते हुए श्री गुणदेविया और असम के राज्यपाल श्री विष्णु सहाय ने अपनी राय सरकार को दी है कि यह शान्ति वार्ता सफल होने की आशा नहीं है जबकि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण और दूसरे राजनीतिक नेताओं की राय यह है कि नहीं, इस वार्ता को चालू रखा जाय; सरकार दोनों में से किस के मुझाव से प्रभावित है और कब तक इस बारे में अन्तिम निर्णय ले लिया जायगा ?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं हुई इसलिए दूसरा सवाल पैदा नहीं होता है ।

1478(Ai) LSD—5.

Some hon. Members rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members know that only those who have signed the notice are allowed to put questions.

12.11 hrs.

RE. CALLING ATTENTION NOTICE

(Query)

**श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक दूसरी बात निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज दिल्ली में रात को बारह बजे से दिल्ली के बड़े अस्पतालों के 350 डॉक्टर्स हड़ताल करने जा रहे हैं जिस का कि प्रभाव हजारों रोगियों के जीवन पर पड़ेगा . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** वह आप का नोटिस मुझे मिला था मगर चूँकि केवल एक कॉलिंग अटेंशन नोटिस एक दिन में रखा जा सकता है, दो कॉलिंग अटेंशन नोटिसें उसी दिन नहीं रखे जा सकते थे लेकिन चूँकि मैं चाहता था कि वह हो जाय इसलिए आज पांच बजे हेल्थ मिनिस्टर साहब उस का यहां जवाब देंगे ।

12.11½ hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER ALL INDIA SERVICES ACT AND SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES OF MINISTERS ACT

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications:—

(i) G.S.R. No. 1322 dated the 19th September, 1964 making cer-