

and socialistic democracy are projected fully in our foreign policies also. I might say with a little sense of pride that events have only supported that our basic tenets of foreign policy were sound to the core.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Question.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It is the distortion of the foreign policy which could be questioned, not be basic tenets. Our foreign policy can never be made in isolation of our domestic policies.

The dignified and magnificent account given by the secularism of India in the front by our armed forces and in the rearguard by our civil population is the real triumph of this war, which shattered the evil designs and pernicious propaganda of Pakistan and which gave new prestige to the people of this country abroad. This has disillusioned the U.K. and has forced the USA and others to have second thoughts. This has brought us closed to the USSR and the socialist countries. Above all, it has underlined new tasks and programmes for us, to go the hard way in developing our defence and economy. This is a great lesson for us that there is no substitute for self-help and internal strength and that we should be firm and unflinching in this regard.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warangal): Sir, I rise to support the foreign policy of the Government of India in its entirety. I say in its entirety because there has been talk about rethinking, reassessment, etc. In the conflict with Pakistan, it is not only the armed forces that have gone through fire, but also our domestic and foreign policies have gone through this ordeal of fire and come out as sound as gold.

The invasion by Pakistan was no ordinary thing, because there was preparation for months and even years. Pakistan expected that their

infiltrators in Srinagar will create havoc, there will be a revolution in Kashmir and communal riots in India. With all that, they expected that their friends in the West will pour arms for their help and that the friend from the East will open a second front. In the face of all this, we had no Sabre jets or Patton tanks, no pillboxes of solid concrete on our frontiers. Comparatively, we were ill-prepared, and yet we succeeded. What is the secret of this success? I maintain, Sir, it is the domestic and foreign policy of this Government that created in us that confidence in ourselves, that unity, that we faced for the first time a foe as a united people and as a united country.

17 hrs.

An hon. Member: It was in spite of that.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: My hon. friend may not accept, but facts are facts. After all, when you fight with a superior armour, there is something which you must have to go, fight and conquer, and that was the will of the country, the faith of our country in the policies that we have been pursuing. That is one reason why we have succeeded.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue tomorrow. We shall now take up the other item.

17.01 hrs.

PEACE TALKS WITH NAGA REBELS*

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): Sir, all attempts at political settlement of the Naga problem by the Government with Mr. Phizo's men have proved futile, and if I may indulge in a prophecy, I would say that these talks are destined not to succeed because of the intransigence of the Naga

*Half-An-Hour Discussion.

[Shri Hem Barua]

rebels. Let us not forget that it was in 1953 that the Naga rebels rose in armed revolt against the Government and since then violent activities, instead of being eased, are being intensified and now with arms from Pakistan.

In 1965, the Federal Government of Naga rebels with a separate flag and a separate constitution was established and, unfortunately, it is with this Federal Government that the Peace Mission are at present negotiating for peace in Nagaland. I do not want to dilate upon this story because the time at my disposal is very short and, therefore, let me come to the actual or the present Naga situation *vis-a-vis* the Peace Mission and their efforts at bringing about a peaceful solution of the Naga problem.

Sir, this so-called cease-fire or suspension of operations between the Government and the rebel Nagas came into force on the mid-night of 5th-6th September 1964. During these 12 months and more, the peace talks are either postponed or if they are held, nothing materialises. Our own experience is this that during this time of 12 months and more we have not advanced even an inch towards peace.

Why is it so? It is because of the fact that peace talks are converted into little UNO's by the representatives of the Naga Federal Government who raise objections after objections and then nothing materialises.

Now there is another proposal. The proposal is to raise the peace talks to a ministerial level on the side of the Government of India. Rev. Michael Scott, who is a member of this Peace Mission, has held out a threat on behalf of the Naga rebels. According to him, the peace talks might flounder, with grave consequences, if they are not lifted to a higher level. Why? I do not know. I would have understood him, this

proposal or this demand, if the Naga rebels after announcing their intention to work and function within the framework of the Indian Constitution would have asked the Indian Government to be represented by a Minister so as to discuss the details of a special political status to be given to Nagaland. In that case I would have understood it. True it is that the present Chief Minister of Nagaland, Shri Shilu Ao is a member of the Indian Delegation, but according to the Naga rebels he does not have any *locus standi*. The Naga rebels have made it absolutely clear.

Now, what happens My problem is this. Are the Naga hostiles really serious about political settlement of the Naga problem except on their own terms? They are not. They are not serious about it. If they were serious about a political settlement in Nagaland, they would have responded to the latest proposals of the Peace Mission as early as January last, instead of postponing decisions indefinitely on this plea or that plea. Let there be no illusion on this point; they are not at all serious about it. On the other hand, the Naga hostiles are utilising the period of the so-called cease-fire for the fulfilment of their own designs. They are as follows: (1) the increase of the Naga forces from 2,000 to 10,000 as at present; (2) import of large quantities of arms and ammunitions from Pakistan; (3) training of Nagas in guerilla warfare in Pakistan, now in collusion with China; and (4) the extension of the area of hostile activities to places like Manipur and Tuensang that were comparatively calm and unaffected before the so-called cease-fire took place. These are ample evidences of the fact that the Naga hostiles have fruitfully utilized the period of cease-fire for their own revolutionary ends.

Besides, to be very frank, I do not understand the psychology of the three Samaritans of the so-called Peace Mission. They have propounded an

exhilarating idea,—that if we extend the period of cease-fire indefinitely, the Nagas would be so much addicted to peace that ultimately they would be averse to the doctrine of arms. Subsequently events have belied this idea. What has happened subsequently? The Naga hostiles had to be persuaded at great pains to agree to the extension of the cease-fire even by a month or two.

May I tell you one thing? The Naga rebels celebrated the Naga Independence Day on 14th August, 1964 in Mao Sub-division of Manipur where the Naga flag was unfurled by the President of the Naga Federal Government and the Naga national anthem was also sung? That shows how they are working all through. And if we are blind to such developments, I would say that our nation would be at peril.

Now, what about the Peace Mission itself? According to the latest proposals of the Peace Mission—I have told Shri Jayaprakash Narayan when I met him in Kohima—they have given open recognition to the Naga Federal Government. May I read out paragraph 13 of the latest Peace Mission proposals? It reads.

"The Naga Federal Government could of their own volition decide to be a participant in the Union of India and mutually settle the terms and conditions for that purpose."

Now, the Naga Federal Government have interpreted this particular clause like this. They say: "If we have the right to decide participation in the Indian Union, we have the right to arrive at a contrary decision also." I think, they are right in their interpretation.

Where is the common ground for negotiation? I do not understand that. According to the suggestion of the Peace Mission, Mr. Phizo's brother, Mr. Kevi Yallay, was sent to London for consultation with Mr. Phizo. His

visit to London was jointly sponsored by the Peace Mission and the Government of India. Mr. Kevi Yallay has come back to India. May I know what Mr. Phizo has conveyed through his brother, Mr. Kevi Yallay, to the underground Naga leaders? I do not think, our Government knows—even an iota of it, although our Government sponsored the visit of Mr. Kevi Yallay to London.

The latest proposal—very funny—is that the three members of the Peace Mission should meet Mr. Phizo, for consultations possibly. I do not understand the psychology or the logic behind this proposal. Mr. Phizo is now cooling his heels in London. Let him cool his heels there as much as he can. But when you make the proposal of meeting him, why do you forget the fact that Mr. Phizo has become a foreign national by virtue of his having accepted British citizenship in 1961? It was on 6th November, 1961 that he did that. If it is so, it is morally and legally correct to negotiate with a foreigner, which Mr. Phizo is, for an area that is indisputably a part of India?

Shri Basumatari (Goalpara): What about Michael Scott?

Shri Hem Barua: I will come to that. You do not follow.

Shri Basumatari: I have followed.

Shri Hem Barua: You do not follow anything. Michael Scott does not come in here.

Negotiations and that too with a man—Mr. Phizo is a man—who has never for once expressed his willingness to function within the framework of the Indian Constitution? Do you remember what his brother Kevi Yallay, after he came back from London, said on the 2nd September, 1965, at the Dum Dum Airport? He said:—

"Mr. Phizo's views on Nagaland becoming a Sovereign State remained unchanged".

That is what he has said.

[Shri Hem Barua]

As late as 7th November, 1965, Mr. Phizo has himself said that he is prepared to come, to "his" country provided "his" people want him to come and this too in reply to the telegram that Shri Chaliha, a member of the Peace Mission, sent to Mr. Phizo asking him or inviting him to come!

What is the response of the Naga Federal Government to the Peace Mission's proposals? May I tell you that? They have only offered "friendly relations with India in the spirit of Bandung for settling any political dispute between the two peoples". That is what they have offered you.

Originally, the Peace Mission—I come to the Peace Mission now—was visualised as a liaison body between the Naga rebels and the Government of India, but by now the three peace missionaries have exceeded their limits and have started functioning like public relations officers on behalf of the Naga rebels. I can understand the psychology of the Reverend Michael Scott who does not owe any allegiance either to the Indian Flag or to the Indian Constitution; but I fail to understand the psychology of the two Indians in the team. What can be the explanation of their behaviour? Possibly, it might be this—I have thought it out,—Gandhism seems to have settled too heavily on them. In itself, Gandhism is not a bad thing but when it becomes an occupational disease, the rub sets in there. It has become an occupational disease with them.

Another thing I will say. While addressing the Naga Federal Parliament, Shri Chaliha, a member of the Peace Mission, spoke about self-determination for Nagaland. If you can concede self-determination for Nagaland, how can you withhold it from Kashmir? I do not understand that.

About the Reverend Michael Scott, the less said the better. His partisan

attitude has become all too evident. He has produced a voluminous report on the so-called atrocities committed by the Indian security forces on the Naga hostiles. He has produced this. This is supposed to be a confidential document. This was presented to me by Mr. Michael Scott on 29th December, 1964 and a copy of it was presented to the Prime Minister also.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): This should be laid on the Table.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Why do you want it? (Interruption).

Shri Hem Barua: I would have appreciated if the Rev. Michael Scott had produced another document, another report, on the atrocities committed by the Naga rebels on the innocent Nagas. That he has not done. Pressurising innocent villagers to submit to the authority of the Naga Federal Government at gun points still continues. In fact, I would say, at present there are two parallel Governments in Nagaland, one of Dr. Shilu Ao owing allegiance to the Indian Constitution and the other, the Naga Federal Government challenging it. I want to make it absolutely clear that everybody desires peace in Nagaland. But the way it has been pursued by the Peace Mission and the Naga Federal Government limits it to a single dimension, mis-called self-determination.

I would say that in the interest of defence and security it is high time for our Government to cry halt to all these useless parleys with the hostile Nagas and to deal with them as all Governments deal with their intransigent citizens.

I would say another thing also. There is a proposal that a Naga delegation is going to meet our Prime Minister. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister is not present here. I would request the Prime Minister to tell Naga hostiles before they meet him that they should give an assurance.

that they are ready to function within the framework of the Indian Constitution and that it is then and then alone he can meet them and not otherwise.

At the same time, I would say that it is high time for the Government to issue an ultimatum on the Naga Federal Government that they should disband the Government as soon as possible. There can be no two parallel Governments in any part of India.

Then, the Peace Mission ought to be also told point blank that their proposal to meet Phizo in Colombo or in Burma is not going to materialise and that the Government is not going to allow them to meet a foreign national in a foreign country. If necessary, the Government should ask the Peace Mission to withdraw from Nagaland if they do not behave.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): In view of the fact that Phizo has not deemed it expedient to accept India as his land and that he thinks of some other place as his country, why should the Government not practically leave him out of the picture and settle the dispute with the Naga hostiles direct? Why should the Government have anything to do with this gentleman?

श्री किशन पटनायक (समवलपुर): क्या भारत सरकार यह समझ गयी है कि नागालैंड विवाद में ब्रिटिश कूटनीति का श्री काफ़ी बड़ा हाथ है, और यह ब्रिटिश कूटनीति की एक साधारण नीति है, हिन्दुस्तान की सीमाओं को कमजोर बना कर काश्मीर में तिब्बत में और नागालैंड में भारत की सत्तानी पर नियंत्रण रखना।

Shri Rasumatari: It is reported that there are two groups of Naga hostiles. May I know whether Phizo's coming over to India is acceptable to both the groups?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I would like to know whether our Government is aware that Phizo's ideology about Nagaland and its achievement is being translated into action by the Rev. Michael Scott who has no loyalty to this country and, if so, whether the Government of India is going to exclude the Rev. Michael Scott from the Peace Mission so that peace may really be established in Nagaland. Otherwise, I know, he is going to create trouble for everyone and the Naga hostiles are gaining ground.

Shri Bade rose.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry the notice must have been given before.

Shri Bade (Kharagone): It was given before the discussion.

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar): Yes, we have given notice.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No. (Interruptions).

Order, order.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): The hon. Member, who made the initial speech, gave a very detailed account of the Peace Mission and the situation in Nagaland. He has really made my task very easy. However, I would proceed on the basis of the questions that he has asked. I agree with him that the peace talks have not made any progress due to the Nagas' hostile attitude. It must be agreed because for over a year we have the extension of the truce but it has not produced any results.

But I will not accept his second point, namely, that the Peace Mission has failed to adopt a definite line of action. From the very beginning the hostiles have been told that any kind of settlement will be within the framework of the Indian Constitution and whether they meet the Prime Minister or anybody else, the issue is

[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon]

very clear as far as Government of India is concerned. We are not going to accept any kind of settlement or negotiation which will mean a settlement outside the framework of the Constitution. I think there is a good deal of misunderstanding because the Peace Mission's proposal of December 20, 1964, rather stated the position of the Government of India perhaps in not so positive a term as the hon. member would wish. He said that the underground.

Shri Hem Barua: This is a federal government and not undergrounds...

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: "could on their own volition decide to be a participant in the Union of India and to mutually settle the terms and conditions for that purpose. On the other hand, the Government of India could consider to what extent the pattern and structure of the relationship between Nagaland and the Government of India should be adapted and recast so as to satisfy the political aspirations of all sections of Naga opinion."

This is a very clear statement of the view of the Government of India with regard to settlement. The Naga Federal Government might have their own views, but it is not binding on the Government of India to accept anything which is not in conformity with the views expressed by the Government delegation on behalf of the Government of India. It is true that not all the truce terms are abided by the hostiles. For instance, as the hon. member pointed out, they have been sending people in the eastern area through Burma to Pakistan and getting them trained. But now of course, this has been made difficult by the fact that we have declared the three miles on the border as a disturbed area. Therefore, our people can apprehend them when they come across them.

Regarding the internal difficulties, it is not true to say that there are

two governments in Nagaland, namely, Shilu Ao's Government and the Federal Government. It is true that they are trying to set up a parallel government....

Shri Hem Barua: They have already established it. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I was telling the House that there have been violations of the truce agreement. These are violations of the truce agreement. Government know it and we are taking measures to see that these do not spread. For instance, in certain areas, they have been collecting taxes. And we have taken steps; our officers have gone there; and people have been told not to give taxes to the Federal Government; in fact, in the case of a section where there are 80 houses, 65 households have already given taxes to Government. So, we have been watching very carefully the activities of the Federal Government of the Naga hostiles, and we are doing everything possible to see that the truce agreement is not violated. It is true that they are attempting at all times to violate the truce agreement....

Shri Yudhvir Singh (Mahendragarh): So-called Federal Government. There is no Federal Government there, but only a so-called Federal Government.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Yes, it is the so-called Federal Government.

As for the Peace Mission, the Peace Mission is not the creation of the Government of India at all. Let it be very clearly understood. The Peace Mission has nothing to do with the Government of India.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Bara Banki): Who is paying the cost of it?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I do not know who pays the cost; they may be paying it themselves or the local Government or the so-called Federal Government may be paying it....

Shri Ranga: What is this? The hon. Minister should be knowing this.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: We are not paying anything; I know that much.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: Who is going to pay the cost? Is it the local Government or some foreign Government which is paying it?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: As I have said, the Government of India is not paying for the Peace Mission. The Peace Mission is a body created by the Baptist Mission Council which met at Wokhe and they are responsible for that. In fact, it is not we who have invited Rev. Michael Scott to come to India. The only concern that the Government of India have is to restore peace in our border State of Nagaland. As the Prime Minister said the other day, it is not because we are pleased with the way that things are proceeding, but there is no other alternative but to give every opportunity to find out ways and means by which peace can be restored. I am sure Members of Parliament who visited Nagaland are of the same opinion; they went there and saw them and they saw how earnest the Naga people were to have peace and how for the first time after ten years people were able to go about freely, and smile and go to their work and go to school etc; they thought that it was better to extend the truce period....

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rajganj): Shri Hem Barua danced with them also.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:... so that more and more people might come to know the advantages of peace. What Shri Basumatari has said is true that there are two groups in the

hostile section. One section consists of people who have come to understand the value of peace and who find that it is necessary to come to an understanding with the Government. They are not at all very keen to continue the policies of the extreme section of people who want to arm themselves and continue to fight.

Shri Ranga: What are we doing to encourage that co-operative group?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: We are doing everything to encourage that co-operative group, and probably it was due to the pressure of the other group that the mission of Kevi Yalley was not a success. In fact, the reason why Kevi Yalley went to London was this; when the Naga hostiles had met in their TATAR HO HO, they had said that they could not take a decision unless they consulted Phizo. They have forgotten and at least most of them have failed to realise that Phizo is no more an Indian citizen or even a Naga, and that he has accepted another nationality; the people way out in the woods in Nagaland perhaps are not so discriminating or understanding as Members of Parliament. The result is that when Kevi Yalley came back he said that the only thing would be for the Peace Mission to meet Phizo. Of course, the hon. Member need not have any anxiety about the Peace Mission going to London and cooling their heels. They are not going. Nobody is going to London. Phizo, if he wants to negotiate, will come to India. All that the Government of India have promised in this part of the negotiations is to give him a safe conduct if he comes to India for negotiations with the Peace Mission. It is true as the hon. Members have said that there is a proposal for the hostile leaders to meet the Prime Minister, but the time is not fixed. Certainly, the Prime Minister who wants peace, like all of us, in this area, will meet them....

An hon. Member: Peace at any cost?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:...and I do not think that he is going to accept the extreme measure suggested by the hon. Member, because the Prime Minister's ways are different from the methods pursued by the hon. Members opposite....

Shri S. M. Banerjee: We must ask Rev. Michael Scott to go away.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: If the Peace Mission wants Rev. Michael Scott to go away, he will go away. He is a British citizen, and he can come to India whenever he wants and go out when he wants.

Shri Hem Barua: What I am afraid of is this that if these peace talks fail, as they are going to fail, Rev. Michael Scott will publish this report in London, and we shall be calumnised.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: There are already so many published reports, so that is not going to affect us.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The an-hour discussion is now over.

17.30 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, November 16, 1965/Kartika 25.
(Saka).