

(Gen. Dis.)

Distt., Assam (Adj. M.)

[Shri A. T. Sarma]

Railway Minister for presenting a nice budget this year. I call the budget nice because it is a surplus budget and it has not increased the passenger fares and it has made certain nice proposals for the improvement and development of Railway administration. But at the same time, I want to point out certain defects and draw the attention of the hon. Minister for the rectification of those defects.

First of all, I would deal with the foodstuffs that are served at the railway stations and in the dining cars. The foods served are very inferior both in quality and quantity. They are not palatable at all. Whatever they sell is not meant for human consumption. There seem to be two sections for vegetarian and non-vegetarian foods. But that is only in name. They prepare all the meals together and they are also served together and there is no distinction and the vegetarian and non-vegetarian passengers are not being benefited. So, I draw the special attention of the hon. Minister to this and request him to see that a distinction is made as between vegetarian and non-vegetarian meals in the dining cars.

Then, in the dining cars, they serve curd but really it is not curd at all. It is just white water in the name of curd. They have special pots for that and the quantity served is just one ounce or two ounces. Even the dal that is served is just one ounce or two ounces. They never care for the benefit of the passengers. They always stick to their measurements. Specially, when the passengers have to travel long distances, they suffer like anything. So, I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this effect and I am sure if proper checking is made, the matters would improve.

Besides that, at the railway platforms what we receive is very infe-

rior in quality. Hygienically, the foodstuffs are very harmful to the health of the public. So, proper checking must be made to see that proper meals and proper foodstuffs are supplied to the passengers.

Now, I will turn to my own State Orissa. No proper attention had been paid to my State even during the B.N.R. regime and after the nationalisation also, nothing has been done in my State. Except the improvement of Bhubaneswar and Puri, the other parts have been neglected like anything. Even the big stations like Balasore, Bhadrak and Kalikot have been neglected. Even the platforms have not been raised so that the passengers can enter into the compartments without any difficulty. I draw the special attention of the hon. Minister to that.

Sir, my State is lacking in railway lines from the beginning. There was only one line from Howrah to Madras and one line from Howrah to Bombay. For Orissa, nothing has been done. Orissa is full of minerals and full of forest products and they are not being properly worked out . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may continue later. We will now take up the adjournment motion.

16 hrs.

#### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

SITUATION IN MIZO DISTRICT, ASSAM

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We have to allot the time limit also. I think 15 minutes for the mover of the motion and 10 minutes for other Members would do.

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri (Bijnore):** 20 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All right,

**Shri Hom Barua (Gauhati):** 15 minutes for others.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All right.  
**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.**

श्री प्रकाशचौर शास्त्री : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि यह सदन अपना कार्य स्थगित करे और असम की पहाड़ियों में प्रशासन के ठप्प होन से सरकार को असफलता की स्थिति पर विचार करे, जब मैं इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित कर रहा हूँ तो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महत्व की दृष्टि से भी मीजो पहाड़ियों का जो महत्व है उस पर सबसे पहले कुछ कहना चाहूँगा।

तीन लाख की आबादी की इस पहाड़ी का क्षेत्रफल लगभग 8140 वर्ग-मील है। इस 8140 वर्गमील की पहाड़ी से पूर्वी पाकिस्तान का 160 मील का हिस्सा मीजो पहाड़ियों से लगता है। लगभग 250 मील मीजो पहाड़ियों का हिस्सा एसा है जो बर्मा की सीमा से टकराता है। मीजो पहाड़ियों में जो असन्तोष उत्पन्न हुआ मैं उसकी पृष्ठभूमि पर भी कुछ कहना चाहूँगा। मीजो क्षेत्र के निवासियों को सबसे बड़ा असन्तोष हुआ तब जब कि मीजो पहाड़ियों के नाम पर जो फण्ड एलाट किया जाता था केन्द्र से, आसाम सरकार जब उसको दूसरे क्षेत्रों में लगा देती थी और जितना फण्ड उन के लिये नियत किया जाता था, उतना उन पर व्यय नहीं होता था? इससे इन लोगों में असन्तोष बढ़ा। मैं चाहूँगा कि गृह-मंत्री अपना उत्तर देते समय, इस पर प्रकाश डालें, और नहीं तो कम से कम पिछले पांच वर्षों के आंकड़ें हमें दें कि पिछले पांच वर्षों में मीजो पहाड़ियों के विकास के लिये कितना फण्ड एलाट हुआ और असम सरकार ने उसमें से कितना व्यय किया।

इस खेल में, उपाध्यक्ष जी, एक जीपे-बिल रोड है जो सिसचर से आइजल तक

जाती है। पीन के पानी की स्थिति यह है कि जो कुछ कच्चा पानी पहाड़ियों से निकलता है, वह भी सुगमता से उन्हें उपलब्ध नहीं होता है। इसी प्रकार से खाने व भ्रम की भी स्थिति है। इस अभाव से ऊब कर उन लोगों में असन्तोष की ज्वाला धीरे-धीरे बढ़ने लगी।

मीजो पहाड़ियों में, उपाध्यक्ष जी, जहां तक शिक्षा की स्थिति है, 45-50 प्रतिशत शिक्षित वहां है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि असम सरकार को उन्हें जितना प्रतिनिधित्व देना चाहिये था सरकारी नौकरियों में, उतना प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं दे सकी। इसलिये विकास की दृष्टि से पिछड़े हुए, अधिकार की दृष्टि से पिछड़े हुए, पानी, खाने-दाने, आदि चीजों में पिछड़े हुए इस भाग में असन्तोष की आग भड़की और धीरे-धीरे उन्होंने यह मांग भी करनी आरम्भ की कि असम से हमारी इस पहाड़ी को अलग कर दिया जाय। पहले यह मांग अपने प्रदेश के रूप में थी, लेकिन फिर आगे चल कर इस मांग ने एक दूसरा रूप धारण किया। मीजो पहाड़ियों में दो राजनीतिक पार्टियां हैं, एक राजनीतिक पार्टी वह है, जिसे मीजो यूनिन कहते हैं, जिसकी स्थापना 1946 में हुई। दूसरा राजनीतिक दल 1960-61 में आरम्भ हुआ, इसका नाम है मीजो नेशनल फ्रंट। इस मीजो नेशनल फ्रंट का स्थापना के बाद फिर इस राजनीतिक मांग में एक नया मोड़ आया। नया मोड़ यह आया कि मीजो पहाड़ियों को एक प्रयुक्त देश रूप में परिणित कर दिया जाय। जो पहले प्रयुक्त प्रदेश के रूप में मांग थी, वह प्रयुक्त देश के रूप में उभर आई। यह मीजो नेशनल फ्रंट प्रयुक्त देश की मांग ही नहीं करता बल्कि इसको पाकिस्तान से भी प्रेरणा मिलती रही और जो लोग इसमें हैं वे प्रायः अधिकतर सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं।

## [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

ग्राइजल जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैडक्वार्टर है, उसमें इसका सैक्रेटेरियट है। असम सरकार के कुछ अधिकारी इसको अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से समर्थन देते रहे हैं और इसके उदाहरण जानना चाहें तो मीजो पहाड़ियों में जितने सरकारी और गैर-सरकारी स्कूल हैं उन्हें देखें इनमें बाकायदा मीजो फ्रंट के लिये वालन्टियर्स तैयार किये जाते हैं, उनकी पैरेड हांती है और इन पर असम सरकार कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगा सकी।

एक और बात इस मीजो नेशनल फ्रंट का जो वाइस प्रेसिडेंट है, वह एक बेसिक स्कूल का सस्पेन्डेड टीचर है, लेकिन आपको सुन कर आश्चर्य होगा कि सस्पेन्डेड होने के बाद भी आज तक असम सरकार बराबर वेतन उसको उसी प्रकार देती चली जा रही है। जब असम सरकार के कुछ प्रमुख अधिकारियों का इस प्रकार समर्थन मीजो फ्रंट को मिल रहा है तो स्वाभाविक है कि मीजो यूनियन, जो राष्ट्र भक्त लोगों की सस्या थी, और भारत के साथ मिल कर रहना चाहती थी, उससे हट कर लोग फ्रंट की ओर जाने लगे। इसका एक और प्रमाण देना चाहता हूँ। ग्राइजल से एक दैनिक पत्र निकलता है—ग्राइजल डेली न्यूज: इसका जो सम्पादक है वह सरकार द्वारा दो बार सस्पेन्डेड किया जा चुका है क्योंकि वह सरकारी कर्मचारी था। वह इस अखबार का एडिटर है वह अभी तक सरकार से बराबर वेतन ले रहा है। वह जो इसका एडिटर है उसकी पत्नी इसको पब्लिशर है और इसमें जितनी न्युज छपती है प्रायः वह समाचार ऐसे होते हैं जो पाकिस्तान रेडियो प्रसारित करता है और पाक समर्थक होते हैं। एक और बात जो बड़ी भयावह है और सरकार के फोन खोलने वाली है। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि कहीं तक इसमें प्रामाणिकता है? खिलांग रेडियो के जो स्टेशन बाइरेक्टर हैं और

जो ट्राइबल प्रोग्राम के भी इन्चार्ज हैं, उन का इन मीजो फ्रंट के अधिकारियों से भी सम्बन्ध है। वहां से भी उनको प्रोत्साहन मिलता है।

इस तरह से यह फ्रंट जिसने प्रथक मीजो पहाड़ी का देश हो, इस तरह की जो भाग भड़काई उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि यह भाग धीरे-धीरे भड़कती रही। असम के मुख्य मंत्री श्री चालिहा असम की समस्याओं से हट कर केवल नागालैण्ड की समस्याओं से बंध कर बैठ गये और वहां की समस्याओं के लिये ही प्रायः अपना सारा समय दे रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान तो यह चाहता ही है कि किसी प्रकार से असम में गड़बड़ी हो। उसका सब से बड़ा प्रमाण यह है कि कल जब राबलपिण्डा में भारत और पाकिस्तान के मंत्रियों के बीच ताशकन्द एग्रीमेन्ट की पृष्ठभूमि में बातचीत हो रही थी, उसी समय पाकिस्तान के एक रेडियो ने मीजो की पहाड़ियों एक स्वतन्त्र देश के रूप में पृथक हो गई हैं, वे भारत से अलग हो गई हैं, यह समाचार प्रसारित किया जा रहा था। इधर राबलपिण्डा में भारत और पाकिस्तान के मंत्री बातचीत कर रहे थे, उसी समय पूर्वी पाकिस्तान का रेडियो भारत सरकार के खिलाफ भाग भड़का रहा था। मीजो नेशनल नेशनल फ्रंट के कुछ आदमी पाकिस्तान से ट्रेनिंग लेकर आये हैं। मेरी जानकारी यह है कि 200-200 के दो बैच ट्रेनिंग लेकर आये हैं और दो बैच अभी ट्रेनिंग ले रहे हैं। न केवल मीजो पहाड़ियों के बल्कि मणिपुर की बाइट जाति के लोग भी वहां ट्रेनिंग ले रहे हैं। एक ओर पाकिस्तान मित्रता का हाथ बढ़ाता है और दूसरी ओर यह छुरा मारने का काम करता है। बर्मा से भी किसी प्रकार का प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से सम्बन्ध है लेकिन जहां तक सिटैन का सम्बन्ध है,

वह बात तो इतनी स्पष्ट है कि ब्रिटेन को इससे ज्यादा खुशी और क्या हो सकती है। हिन्दुस्तान जितने टुकड़ों में विभक्त हो, अच्छा है। अभी तक दुनिया में किसी रेडियो ने घोषणा नहीं की कि मीजो पहाड़ी स्वतन्त्र देश के रूप में परिणत हो कर एक स्वतंत्र इकाई बन गई है भारत सरकार से पृथक होकर। लेकिन आज प्रातः साढ़े सात बजे बी० बी० सी० ने यह समाचार ब्राडकास्ट किया कि मीजो पहाड़ियां स्वतन्त्र देश के रूप में परिणत हो गई हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष जी। तीसरी एक बात और भी है जो मीजो लोगों के अन्दर असन्तोष जागृत करने का कारण बनी। यह मीजो कोम जितनी भी है यह सारी की सारी मिलिट्री रेस है। असम रेजिमेन्ट में, असम राइफलज में, बर्मा रेजिमेन्ट में ज्यादातर लोग वे हैं जो मीजो हैं। लेकिन इतना होते हुए भी, ये लोग जो मिलिट्री में हैं और जमकर लड़ते हैं, इनका उपद्रवी मस्तिष्क नहीं रहा। लेकिन इनमें सबसे बड़ा असन्तोष जब हुआ, आज तब भड़की जब नागा लोगों ने, जो इन से कम शिक्षित हैं, कम विकसित हैं जो किसी प्रकार भी मीजो लोगों के बराबर खड़े नहीं किये जा सकते, भारत सरकार के सामने तलवार उठाई। कहीं पर गाड़ियां गिराई कहीं हवाई जहाज में बम रखा इस पर भी भारत सरकार बार बार उनको बुलाती है और उनसे बातचीत करती है। मीजो लोगों की सबसे बड़ी शिकायत यह है कि जब हमारा और नागाओं का क्षेत्रफल बराबर है, हमारी और नागाओं की आबादी बराबर है, इतना होने पर भी भारत सरकार तीन लाख के नागा प्रदेश पर 17 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करती है और तीन लाख मिजो आबादी के लिये 17 लाख रुपया भी खर्च नहीं करती। यह असन्तोष का प्रमुख कारण है इसी कारण

मीजो लोगों में आज ने भड़क कर दुसरा रूप धारण कर लिया।

मीजो लोगों की सबसे बड़ी शिकायत यह है कि नागाओं के व्यर्थ का महत्व भारत सरकार उनको बार बार यहां बुला कर देती है। हिन्दुस्तान के समाचार पत्रों में भी उनको महत्व मिलता है सरकार उनकी अनुचित मांगों के आगे झुकती है। इससे उन्होंने यह सोचा कि सरकार केवल एक ही भाषा समझती है जो नागा लोग बोलते हैं। इसलिये उसी भाषा में हम लोग भी क्यों न बोलें, जिससे सरकार हमारी समस्याओं को चुने। इधर वे लोग रेल गाड़ियां उड़ा रहे थे, जैसा श्री राम सुभग सिंह न कुछ दिन पूर्व ध्यान आकर्षक प्रस्ताव का जवाब देते हुए बताया था कि 56 आदमी मारे गये। इधर उनके प्रतिनिधि बैठकर प्रधान मंत्री के साथ बातचीत कर रहे थे। वहां हवाई जहाज में बम रखे जा रहे थे यहां उनको फिर एक अप्रैल को आने के लिये निमन्त्रण दिया जा रहा था। असन्तोष के इन कई कारणों से ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गयी जो सरकार उन पर नियन्त्रण नहीं रख सकी।

मैं आज यह कहता हूँ कि मिजो पहाड़ी के निवासियों में जो स्थिति बनी है यह नागाओं जैसी स्थिति नहीं है। आज भी मीजो लोगों के विकास की समस्याओं पर गंभीरता से यदि विचार किया जाय और उनकी घरेलू कठिनाइयों को सुधारा जाय, तो मीजो लोग नागाओं की तरह विद्रोही मनोवृत्ति के नहीं मिलेंगे। मिजो नेशनल फ्रंट जिसने इस प्रवृत्ति को पैदा किया है और वहां सरकार के प्रशासन को ठप्प कर दिया है, अगर सरकार इस पर निःस्वार्थ न कर पाई तो आज देश में और दुनिया में यह चर्चा है कि साढ़े तीन लाख नागाओं पर और मीजो फ्रंट पर भारत सरकार नियन्त्रण नहीं कर सकी, तो इतने बड़े देश पर किस प्रकार अधिकार कर के रखेगी। अगर यह स्थिति चलती

## [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

बली गई तो कल नागालैंड में वह स्थिति थी, आज मीजो पहाड़ी की स्थिति यह है, तो मैं चेतावनी देता हूँ कि फिर यही स्थिति नेफा में होगी, मणिपुर में होगी, त्रिपुरा में होगी, कछार में होगी और भारत सरकार उस पर नियंत्रण नहीं कर पायेगी। इसलिये आज समय है कि सख्ती के साथ उस भावना को दबा दिया जाय। अगर मैं भूल नहीं करता हूँ तो मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है कि 1959 में जब श्री नेहरू प्रधान मंत्री थे, सेना के एक ऊंचे अधिकारी ने प्रधान मंत्री को पत्र लिखा कि यदि आप ने सेना को नागालैंड में काम करने के लिये भेजा है तो उसे हाथ खोलकर काम करने का मौका भी दीजिये। आप हम पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा कर हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को यह कहें कि मिलिटरी हम ने नागालैंड में भेजी हुई है और उधर मिलिटरी हाथ खोल कर वहाँ काम नहीं कर सकती तो शान्ति कैसे कायम होगी? इससे अच्छा तो यह है कि मिलिटरी को आप वापिस बुला लें, पुलिस वहाँ भेज दें। मिलिटरी का नाम तो कम से कम बदनाम नहीं होगा। तब कोई यह तो नहीं कह सकेगा कि सेना गई लेकिन वह नागालैंड में शान्ति स्थापित नहीं कर सकी। पता नहीं उसके बाद क्या निर्णय लिया गया, क्या नहीं लिया गया। लेकिन मुझे इस से भी ज्यादा शिकायत असम के मुख्य मंत्री श्री चालिहा से है। जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है भारत सरकार ने असम के मुख्य मंत्री को यह लिखा था कि सशस्त्र पुलिस की संख्या बढ़ाई जाये। लेकिन असम के मुख्य मंत्री ने भारत सरकार की इस राय पर या भारत सरकार के इस सुझाव पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। मिजो पहाड़ियों के अन्दर जो सुपरिटेण्डेंट पुलिस था उसको मिजो नेशनल फ्रंट के लोगों की शिकायत पर वहाँ से हटा लिया गया और असम के मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा कि डी० सी० ही काफी है। सुपरिटेण्डेंट पुलिस रखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। आज तक मिजो पहाड़ियों के अन्दर उसके बाद

से पुलिस सुपरिटेण्डेंट नहीं है। अगर यही स्थिति रहती है कि भारत सरकार द्वारा दी गई राय का, भारत सरकार द्वारा दिये गये सुझाव का असम के शान्ति दूत, मुख्य मंत्री इसी प्रकार से बराबर उपेक्षा करते रहें तो उपाध्यक्ष जी मुझे दुबारा उन शब्दों को कहने की आप आज्ञा दें कि भारत सरकार के निर्णयों की अगर मुख्य मंत्री इसी तरह से बराबर अवहेलना करते चले जायेंगे तो एक दिन स्थिति यहाँ तक आ जायेंगे कि पार्लियामेंट कोई निर्णय नहीं ले सकेगी। मुख्य मंत्री पार्लियामेंट के ऊपर हाबो हो जायेंगे। केन्द्रीय सरकार जो निर्णय ले सावधानी के साथ उन निर्णयों को कार्यान्वित कराने की भी तो जिम्मेवारी उसी की है। एक दोष मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार पर भी प्रमुख रूप से डालना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि हमारी सरकार की यह आदत हो गई है कि जब पानी बिल्कुल सिर को लांघ जाता है तब सरकार की नींद खुलती है। एन्क्रूम साहब गद्दी से उतार दिये गये और यहाँ प्रधान मंत्री वक्तव्य दे रही थीं कि उनके साथ उनकी क्या क्या बातचीत हुई। 28 फरवरी से यह दुर्घटना मिजो पहाड़ियों के अन्दर घट रही है। आज तीन मार्च को प्रातःकाल कहा जाता है कि वहाँ पर मिलिटरी भेजी गई है हैलीकाप्टर से। एक हैलीकाप्टर में कितने मिलिटरी के आदमी बैठ सकते हैं, इसको भी आप सोच लें। 28 से उत्पात प्रारम्भ हुए और हमारी तीन तारीख को आंख खुल रही है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब इस केन्द्रीय सरकार के अन्दर 52 मिनिस्टर्स की फौज बैठी हुई है, चार चार आदमी होम मिनिस्ट्री में हैं तो क्या इन में से कोई जिम्मेवार मंत्री मिजो पहाड़ियों में जा कर स्थिति का अध्ययन नहीं कर सकता था? स्थिति को नहीं देख सकता था? क्यों नहीं कोई गया? 28 तारीख से वहाँ का प्रशासन ठप्प पड़ा है, सड़कें तोड़ी जा रही थीं, रेल तोड़ी जा रही थी,

डाकखाने तोड़े जा रहे थे, क्यों नहीं जा कर किसी ने स्थिति का अध्ययन किया। आज मैं इसी बात को मुझाव के तौर पर कहता हूँ कि अगर मिजो पहाड़ियों में शान्ति स्थापित करनी है और भारत के उत्तर पूर्वी सीमांचल में शान्ति बनाये रखनी है तो पहला काम प्राप्त यह करो गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री आप दोनों सारे काम को छोड़ कर उस इलाके की स्थिति को देखने के लिए जाओ। साथ ही साथ एक निष्पक्ष संसद सदस्यों का शिष्ट-मंडल वहाँ भेजा जाये जो जा कर सारी स्थिति का अध्ययन करे।

तीसरी बात असम प्रशासन के सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहनी है कि इस प्रकार के जो असम प्रशासन के अन्दर तत्व हैं, उनको वहाँ से हटाया जाये या फिर उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाये।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि मिजो नेशनल फ्रंट को अवैध घोषित किया जाये और अवैध घोषित करने के बाद जो उसके इस प्रकार के सदस्य हैं जो गवर्नमेंट से तो पंशन लेते हैं और गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ साथ साथ काम भी करते हैं, उनको चेतावनी दी जाये। अगर चेतावनी के बावजूद भी वे बाज नहीं आते हैं तो उनकी पंशन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाये।

इसी तरह से मिजो पहाड़ियों के अन्दर जो सरकारी और गैर सरकारी स्कूल हैं और जिन में मिजो नेशनल फ्रंट के लिए बालटीयर तैयार किये जाते हैं, जहाँ बाकायदा पैरेड होती है उन स्कूलों के जिन अध्यापकों का इस में हाथ है, उनको तुरन्त वहाँ से हटाया जाये और उनके स्थान पर दूसरे अध्यापक भेजे जायें।

सुपरिटेण्डेंट पुलिस को जो हटा लिया गया था उसको फिर से वहाँ लगाया जाये।

इसके अतिरिक्त नागा विद्रोहियों के आगे जो सरकार बराबर इस तरह से झुक रही है

और जिस के झुकने का परिणाम अभी मिजो में हम देख रहे हैं। कल को नेफा में, मनीपुर में, त्रिपुरा में और दूसरे स्थानों पर भी होने के लिए जा रहा है, वह इस तरह से झुकना बन्द कर सख्ती से काम करे। श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने यह कहा था कि शान्ति वार्ता असफल होने के बाद अगला निर्णय हम लेंगे फिर हम देखेंगे कि क्या कदम हमें उठाना है। यह छै महीने की बात थी। आज उसको दो साल से भी अधिक होने जा रहे हैं। श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जैसे व्यक्ति ने उससे इस्तीफा दे दिया है और वह असम हो गये हैं। इससे पता लगता है कि शान्ति वार्ता सिवाय इसके कि समय टालने का एक प्रयास है उसका कोई और परिणाम नहीं निकलने वाला है।

अगर आप ने देश में प्रशासन को मजबूत बनाना है तो कम से कम साढ़े तीन लाख लोगों की अनुचित मांगों के आगे तो मत झुको। अगर इस तरह से झुकते चले जाओगे तो आज नागा है तो कल को दूसरे रूपों में दूसरे स्थानों पर भी यही होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बात को मजबूती के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि मिजो पहाड़ियों में प्रशासन को यथावत बनाये रखने में असम सरकार ही नहीं केन्द्रीय सरकार भी असफल हुई है। सरकार की असफलता का जो प्रस्ताव है उसको मैं उपस्थित करता हूँ और सदस्यों से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि गम्भीरता से इस पर वे विचार करें और सरकार की असफलता के इस प्रस्ताव को पारित करें।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the House do now adjourn".

I would request hon. Members to take between 10 to 15 minutes; everyone may not take 15 minutes.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

because I want to give as many Members a chance to speak as possible.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** I am glad that this House has got this opportunity of discussing this very important matter. More than a year ago, some of us were enabled by the late Prime Minister to go to Nagaland in order to study the conditions there and make a report to Parliament. We submitted a unanimous report where-in we suggested that special steps should be taken by Government to make an appeal and reach the heart of the people there. From what has happened till now, it is clear that Government have not implemented the advice that we have given. All that they did was to invite the rebel leaders to come over here for a talk and the other good thing that they did was not to say good-bye to them but to ask them to come back again.

Even at that time when we were touring there in Nagaland, some of the representatives of these Mizo people came and warned us that unless Government were good enough to take timely action in order to satisfy their demands they might also go the way of the Nagas. We conveyed that message and also our fears in regard to that to the Prime Minister. During this one year, one would like to know and one would like to get an account from Government about the active and positive steps that they have taken in order to reconcile the Mizo people and win them over for India's conception of citizenship.

Let us not forget the fact that in our country we have two sets of people. One set of people are those on the periphery of our Motherland who for a very long time have remained unconnected with our national movement, separate from the general stream of social reform and social development that was flowing through the veins of all our people all over India, and living in their own way and for their own good reasons gaining support from the British people

for living in their own way too. Those are the people who are not as much influenced by our conception of patriotism as all the rest of us in the country. It is high time for all of us belonging to all political parties to give some thought to this phenomenon that while in the rest of India, in all these big States, all these hundreds of millions of people do not even dream of every making, and even for argument's sake, of ever offering a threat to declare themselves independent, going out of Indian citizenship as a whole, how it is that tribe after tribe, time after time, raises this cry, and how it is that we get this cry from these people and we get this demand from these people. It is because they have not been integrated as well as the other people with our conception and practice and the achievement as well as enjoyment of Indian citizenship. Therefore, there is every need to make a special effort to reach these people in a manner which is entirely different or which may be entirely different from that to which we are accustomed in the rest of India.

To quote this Constitution and to refer them to the chapter on Fundamental Rights makes no meaning to them. To tell them that it is an impossible thing and an impractical thing for them to remain as an independent nation all by themselves with only 4½ lakhs of people in Nagaland, about three to four lakhs people in the Mizo Hills and a few lakhs in the other tribal areas, such as Cachar etc. in Assam, makes no meaning to them at all. Because they turn round and say with full confidence in themselves that they can make an independent existence and life for themselves. It is with these people that we have got to negotiate and deal. There is every danger, now that they have declared by this recent revolt their complete want of confidence in the professions of this Government, of the situation getting out of control—there have been many professions made year after year from our

one Prime Minister to another, and they have lost their confidence in these professions.

What shall we do? One way of dealing with them is to send the armed forces which the Home Minister is trying to do. Whether you call it the army or the special police, it does not make much difference. The other way is what was suggested by Shri P. V. Shastri—to send one or two of these Ministers to go and make a study. The third one has already been attempted; it has been attempted by the Assam Government, trying to integrate these people with the rest of India, trying to integrate them into the Assam society through their administrative methods and also through their language and so on. Indeed, the unwise hope expressed and attempt made by some of the Assam statesmen to impose the Assamese language on these people has created so much trouble in the past.

**Shri Hem Barua:** No, no; that is wrong.

**Shri Ranga:** That is why I say 'some'; I am not saying 'all'. I cannot say it is completely wrong. But we cannot forget the fact that there were those riots a few years ago over this language problem. Therefore, there was also that attempt made.

Where lies the solution? It is impossible for us here and now to simply prefer any kind of solution. That is why Government have appointed the Pataskar Commission. They say the Commission is going to make a report very soon. But what earthly use is there of getting the report very soon unless there is a determination on the part of Government to implement those recommendations, even go far beyond them, immediately and without delay, with the sole purpose of winning the confidence of these people, making an

appeal to their very heart, so that they would be able to establish rapport with the rest of the country? Just as we have accepted the Tashkent agreement without any details built into it, similarly those people also might be able to shake hands with us and accept the outstretched hand of friendship.

What have they done in regard to Nagaland? Let that be a warning to our Government. Let them not give freedom to the military people and the special police to go and deal with them in the usual way in which people who revolt against authority are dealt with. Because there is always the danger of a repetition of what the Nagas themselves are demanding—an independent judicial commission to go into the misdeeds, so-called misdeeds, alleged misdeeds, possible misdeeds of the military and their activities.

Therefore, there is that danger. Let us not risk that. Let us take caution from our miserable experience in Nagaland. Let us not also think that just because they are only 3½ lakhs we can suppress their revolt. We have not been able to do it in Nagaland. No civilised nation can do it. We are a civilised nation. Therefore, we do not believe in genocide. Whatever might happen, we would not practise it. We cannot very well let loose our army in order to suppress and destroy these 3½ lakh people and then simply say 'there is peace'. Burma has not been able to do it with her own Chins. The Pakistanis have not been able to do it with the Pakhtoons. Nor can we do it, nor would we do it—because we are too civilised for that. We cannot also allow these people to become completely independent and establish themselves as another nation apart from us.

But let us take some lessons from the practice of the UN. Even



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Zanzibar, a small island with only a very small population, had declared itself independent. The UN accepted it as one of the independent members, equal in power and in constitution with India, a great nation of 450 million people. Similarly, within our own nation, let us make haste in order to offer to these people equal citizenship in an organised manner along with Andhra, Bengal, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and so on. They may be only 3½ lakhs, it does not matter. But let us make an experiment, let us take courage in both hands and invite these people.

You might ask; would it stop there? Would not the other tribal people in Assam also take the cue and demand similar status, state autonomy or provincial autonomy? Certainly. Suppose they do, if they care to do so, we should not hesitate. If Manipur could become an independent unit, if Goa could become an independent unit, why on earth should we shirk and hesitate in accepting the demand, legitimate as they think it is—and certainly not illegitimate within free India's concept and citizenship? Let us accept that demand, help them, invite them into equal citizenship in this comity not of independent nations but of autonomous States enjoying autonomous powers within the federal Constitution of India.

**Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxar):** Have we not conceded Nagaland?

**Shri Ranga:** I am coming to it. Let us not do these things when it is too late. Let us take time by its forelock. Everytime we have been found wanting in statesmanship and in reliance; everytime we have been found incapable of doing things just at the right moment. This Government has been following the same policy the British Government has been following, the same old practice of opening its eyes when it becomes too late, when people have lost their confidence. We made that mistake in the case of Nagaland. Let us take our lesson from our bitter experience in

Nagaland. Now we are parleying with whom? With those Naga rebels who have taken to arms, who have declared themselves in favour of complete independence from India, which we have considered to be an anathema so far as our constitution is concerned. Yet we are dealing with them. Are we going to wait until we are forced into some such predicament here also? Because we have banned all idea of military suppression of these people. Let us make it very clear even now from this forum, let the Prime Minister as well as other Ministers who are there advising them also make it clear that India is not at all intent on suppressing these tribal people just because they have taken courage in both hands, just because they have lost their faith in us. I say this because they have been patient for all these 19 years. I charge this Government with having failed in its statesmanship. Therefore, let us be patient with them; Let us invite them into our comradeship, into India's citizenship with the fullest possible autonomy.

What degree of autonomy? Not necessarily the same kind of autonomy enjoyed by Bombay, Gujarat or Bengal. There may be more, if need be. But then let us not forget also that Indian citizenship comprehends also the citizenship of the States and people of Bhutan and Sikkim and such other people.

Therefore, there are all these possibilities. But there must be a will. What is the will? We welcomed the gesture made by the Home Minister when he came and made those proposals in regard to Punjab. How many months have gone by? What is it that they are doing? What is it that they are going to do? Everything is writ in a big question mark. When such is the position, how is it possible for me to place my faith in this Government? Yet because it is the Government of the day, it is my duty to ask them to exercise the utmost possible patience

with these people and accept them within our comradeship and offer them all that they possibly can within India's citizenship, with only one limitation that we want them all to be part and parcel of our general circumference of Indian citizenship.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, it is a sorrowful thing that we have to discuss this Motion before the House this afternoon. It is a grievous thing that the follies and the faults of this Government create situations which mar the beauty of that structure of freedom which everybody wishes to build in this country.

I do not know if the Home Minister had occasion to read a beautiful book called *The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin*. The Prime Minister has had many an occasion at least to look at the book; I suppose she has read it too—a beautiful book in which we get some idea of the kind of contribution which these people whom we call tribals can make to the totality of Indian life.

And here is a case where, on account of the unspeakably egregious conduct of Government in postponing tasks which should have been done a long time ago a situation has developed where they have to come here before the House and say that the law and order situation has broken down, military assistance has to be requisitioned, the roads are impassable, guerilla fighting seems to be in the offing, and therefore we are in a very grave situation. Nobody wants this kind of grave situation, nobody in his senses wants any part of this country to secede from the totality of Indian life, nobody would countenance the idea of any part of our country thinking of a life apart from our country, but it is a cruel shame that from time to time we are confronted with such a situation.

Mr. Ranga has already said how even in regard to a certain area of our

country as the Punjab, where there is no such question of tribal complication involved, even in regard to that, this Government's continuous and consistent policy of doing very little and doing that little very late, might be creating even in an area like the Punjab, where the people have faultless courage and also perhaps a certain childlike quality, a situation even in the Punjab which the Home Minister from day to day is aggravating, and I say as a Member of the Punjabi Suba Committee that there might be a situation in the Punjab which would make the Government sit up if it does not wish to sit up in anticipation of the kind of thing which it is creating for the country.

There are the Mizos. Mr. Ranga and I were together in Nagaland last year in January, and we heard, even at that point of time, some Mizo representatives who came to us, talked to us about their grievances. They told us, I cannot vouch for its accuracy, that they had been to see the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, and they were utterly disappointed because they thought that in the country of Jawaharlal Nehru a better sense of understanding would prevail in regard to the attitude of mind towards the people whom we, in our misguided sense of superiority, call the tribal people. There was no understanding of this problem.

It is not yesterday that the Mizo demand for separation from this country, absurd and preposterous as it might be, came up. It has been there on the map for quite a long time and what have we been doing all this time? In this House, ever since I came, I have known of so many occasions when there was so much talk about the desirable amendments in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Even today those amendments have not been incorporated, and a Commission is going round. I do not want to reflect on the Commission which is composed of very estimable friends of ours and others extremely capable and understanding. I hope their understanding proves really and

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truly effective. I do not want to say anything about the Commission, but it is much too late to expect that the Commission would produce something which would really bring about a permanent solution of this problem, when the Government of this country has failed right from the beginning of those days when there was trouble, even to do such a simple thing as to amend the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Then, again the hill people's movement in Assam has been there for a very long time, and the Government of India knows very well what the strength of that movement is. It is only after the Nagas had been fighting and fighting away for years and years that the Government came forward with the idea of Nagaland. Perhaps if the idea had been offered to the Naga people with real generosity a couple of years earlier, the problem of Nagaland today would have been resolved, but this Government never knows when to act and how. And even today they are talking in terms of suppressing whatever has happened. Mr. Nanda, with his flair for a peculiar kind of statement, says, "We shall look into their grievances, if any, in regard to economic and other matters". If I was a tribal—and I feel as a Member of Parliament that I represent not only my own City of Calcutta, but that I represent the whole country, I represent the tribal population of this country and I try to put myself in the skin of the tribal people—and if Mr. Nanda says that their grievances, if any, in regard to economic development would be looked into, I would say, "Good bye to you, with the best of intentions, we cannot co-exist." That is a kind of thing which happened over and over again. In Jawaharlal Nehru's time also so many things have happened, so many delegations came; there were Naga delegations, there was Mr. Williamson Sengma or some person with some such name—I forget. Jawaharlal Nehru talked about the Scottish system of Autonomy. It was never

worked out or spelt out in detail. The Law Minister is there; a whole horde of people able to draft all kinds of statements that perambulate about things but never meaning anything effective or decipherable, they could never give content to the notion of the Scottish system of autonomy which would be applicable to areas which are so sensitive, where we find this kind of situation. What do we expect from these areas? We talk about fighting against China and even of liberating Tibet, of doing this and doing that for all kinds of places. Do we look after our population of NEFA? Why should a man who lives in NEFA area have a particular attachment towards India if all that he knows of India is the government of India's emissaries either in the shape of policemen or military forces or some footling little civilian officer who wishes to lord it over the place, who considers the inhabitants of these regions to be sub-human? Why should these areas really and truly feel attached to India? We want them to remain attached to India but we do not play our role; we do not go forward; we do not put forward our hand of friendship so that they may clasp them. These are simple-hearted and genuine people, not the likes of you and me who do not always say what we mean; we know the kind of people we are, a kind of sophistication has changed us into a sort of insincere type of people who do not mean business when we talk. But these are simple hearted genuine people who answer straight if you put a question. If you go forward and offer them your hand of friendship, they would grasp it. Did you do it? Our government never did it; occasionally Nehru did; he was the only person and everybody looked up to him and to him alone to say a few soothing words from time to time which would postpone the evil day. That alone is what has happened, nothing else—only postponement of these problems.

What are we going to do about the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan areas which we wish to be really and truly part of India? What is going to happen to this region? Are these areas going to remain attached to India on more or less the same conditions in which they used to be attached to the British Empire in India? Why should they? What is our new conception? What do we face China with when we talk about the Himalayan region? How do we go to Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and all these other areas and also our own tribal areas, sub montagne territory? What do we go and tell these people? Do we just say: you belong to us, I have a national integration committee operating in Delhi of which Mrs. Indira Gandhi is the Chairman and you have a seat there and one of you can fly up there and attend meetings and thus feel very flattered? Is that all you have to say? What is the point of it? There is no point in it. The Home Minister may come and say that we have got a law and order situation and I have got to tackle it. Of course, if there is a law and order situation, you have to tackle it, willy-nilly you have to tackle it. If your officers are in trouble, naturally you have to do something about it. We have to think of a long term solution for that purpose we have to make short term gestures, actual concrete gestures. What has the Assam Government been doing about it? I want very much to know. I know the Chief Minister, Mr. Chaliha is respected, very highly respected, by the tribal population. But I know for a fact how he is hindered in the prosecution of the imaginative and generous policies in regard to the tribal population. I know it for a fact and whoever contradicts me will not get away with it; I can vouch for it anywhere, I know this kind of thing has been happening. What has the Assam Government been doing all this time? Engineering all kinds of difficulties, talking about integration and in the name of integration putting your foot down whenever popular

movements make their appearance. If that is the idea of integration, independent minded people as the hilly people are—they are very much more so than we plans people—they are not going to tolerate that sort of thing. I heard Dr. Swell yesterday getting up—he' misunderstood our friend Mr. Himatsingka when he asked a question very innocently, he got up and protested against it because he felt hurt; it hurt his self-respect. That is the kind of people who are much better than we are and consider their self-respect worth a great deal more than we in our sophistication appear to think. What have we been doing all these years? We have been postponing problems just as in regard to Punjab problem they are postponing things and are black-guarding even the parliamentary committee which has the Speaker as its Chairman. And they would reap the whirlwind, because, if this is the kind of thing they do, they have to pay the price in regard to these areas for doing all these things all these years. We have to change our ways and have to pursue imaginative policies. Here is a woman Prime Minister who has the chance of her lifetime; let her come forward and do something about it. She has got a certain natural advantage; she is Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter; that is the principal advantage which she can capitalise and let her go and meet these people. She is going to Nagaland. I would expect her to go and see Mizo; it does not matter if there are only 260,000 people; let her go and talk to them as friends, as brothers; she can go and talk to them as sister; she would be an asset to the cause and because of her background she is likely to be able to do it. Let her do that kind of thing; let our Ministers also do that. One of them comes straight from Assam. I do not know what his responsibility has been in all the kinds of thing which have been going on so far. The Minister also should do something about it.

It is not a question of issuing orders from Delhi, getting the military into

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action, behaving in a *bara sahib* fashion, so that the native element can be suppressed. That is the approach which still continues. That is why, with all my disgust at the kind of thing which is happening, on account of the outbreak in the Mizo district, with all the abhorrence I feel for any section of our people demanding secession from India and for a separate existence, a State apart from India, I can not at all tolerate this sort of thing. Because I know Government action is driving them to that extremity which is a terrible danger to this country.

I know these are foreign elements operating in these areas. We have found in Nagaland how foreign-marked military weapons had been used by the Naga hostels. It is common knowledge. We have seen also how not every foreigner is like Mr. Verrier Elwin who had the grandeur of heart to become an Indian citizen because he fell in love with our wonderful country. Not every foreigner is like that. There is one foreigner, Michael Scott, who struts all over the place as if he owns it and hinders all efforts at solving the problem.

There are missionaries operating. I have nothing against missionaries; they do a great deal of work for education and medical treatment and such other things. Many of them are very wonderful people. But we have to be very careful about them: an amount of money, Rs. 10 crores or so, comes every year from abroad in order to finance these missionary expeditions in this country, and many of them are behind some of these separatist movements which continue. I know, at one time, I remember having heard of a person—whom I shall not name, and it is well-known to all of us here—who had stated that if Nagaland or other contiguous areas could be a sort of a neutral, non-Communist State like South Vietnam, that would not be such a very bad thing. I know that there is a plan not only in regard to Tibet, not only in

regard to Sikkim, but there is a plan in regard to all these areas contiguous to our borders where they want to put a sort of *cordon sanitaire* from Kashmir to Nagaland and Mizo, and where they can put up a puppet regime, propped up by American money and all that sort of thing—people who spend more than the total budget of the Indian Union and the State Governments together, for an escalation of the war in Vietnam; they can spend a great deal of money in order to prop up these footling little States from Kashmir right across the Himalayan region to Nagaland and the Burmese border.

Now that we have turned a new leaf, now that we have the Tashkent declaration, with Pakistan, and now that we have got friendly relations with Burma which will help Burma to give some assistance to us in so far as defeating the operations of many of these undesirable people is concerned, now, it is a wonderful opportunity. But if Government merely confines itself to police operations, I would say Government will have to rue that day Government will have to see a complete failure of all those plans, and that would be a disastrous day not only for the very few people who comprise the Government but it would be a disastrous day for the country. Which is why I am very keen that even so late, the Government wakes up to its responsibility. So far, it has shown only the Bourton quality; it learns nothing; it forgets nothing. For God's sake, let this Government try to learn from the past and try to act.

**Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar):** Sir, everybody, whether in the opposition or on this side of the House, shares the anxiety regarding the affairs happening in the Mizo hills district. My predecessors brought in several points, with which I would deal a little later. Before that, I think it will be my duty to state the background of the case. Prior to the partition of the country

there was a proposal according to which the hill areas of Assam should be separated from India and converted into a British colony.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** Whose proposal?

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** Mr. Coupland's proposal. It was left like that. In the meantime, we got independence and the country was divided. At that time, our communist party was very friendly with the British, on account of the fact that in the second world war, Soviets were allies with the British and Americans against Germany and Japan. At that time the Congress was behind the bars and people could not go to the hill districts of Assam without permission. But our communist party workers had admission to those areas and they planted the seed of self-determination. The word 'self-determination' was propagated among the people there and this created a little bit of disunity between the hills and the plains.

At that time the six hill districts of Assam demanded autonomy and autonomy was introduced in the sixth schedule of the Constitution. This autonomy was accepted by five hill districts, but the Nagas did not accept it. They started an agitation and as a result of political settlement, the Nagas got a separate State of Nagaland. But the extremist section of the Nagas did not accept that also. They went underground and they now want secession and complete independence for the Nagas. What happened in Nagaland after that, I need not take the time of the House in narrating; it is known to everybody.

The five autonomous hill districts were administering their districts by district councils manned by their own people and they were going on smoothly. But seeing that concession after concession was being given to the Nagas, the demand came from the hill districts that they should have a separate Hill State of the five districts. Of these five, two districts—

the Mikir Hills and North Cachar Hills—were not very enthusiastic about this demand; they wanted a little bit more of autonomy with which they would be satisfied. But of the remaining three hill districts—Garo Hills, Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Mizo Hills—the Mizo Hills did not want to be part of a Hill State with the other districts, but wanted a separate State for themselves. This is their demand.

In the meantime, the representatives of the Hill Districts saw our late revered Prime Minister and the Scottish pattern of administration was offered to them. As a result of that, a commission has been appointed,—the Hill Districts Commission—under the chairmanship of Mr. Pataskar. That commission is working now and their report is still awaited. When the Pataskar Commission went to Mizo hills the other day, the officers of two or three political organisations there were shot down and nobody met the commission.

The reason is this. Because in the terms of reference there is no mention of a separate Mizoland, they have dissociated with this commission. However, that was left like that. Then, when the Mizos found that the hostile Nagas or the Naga Federal Government, this Peace Mission for Nagaland, were coming to the limelight, were getting reception and other things from all sides including the Central Government, a section of them also came up and wanted a separate State. They wanted an independent State of the Mizos (*Interruption.*)

**Shri Swell (Assam-Autonomous Districts):** Are you jealous of the Nagas?

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** You will have your chance. I am only stating the facts. I am only giving the background of the case. There is no question of any jealousy.

These Mizos wanted that the adjoining areas of Pakistan and also

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Burma which are inhabited by Mizos should be joined and converted into a big Mizoland separate from India. This is their demand that is going on. This is the background of the case.

Now, the Assam Government has been accused of taking no action in the matter. Of course, I cannot absolve the Assam Government fully, because there has been a little bit of delay and that is my charge against them, but I must say that but for that little delay they are doing their utmost, whatever is possible for them to do. Two years ago, when there was so much of food shortage in that district, Rs. 2 crores worth of foodgrains were sent to that district. Again, Rs. 25 lakhs is spent every year in addition to the help that the district is getting from the State and the Centre. This is specially given for the development of that district. Therefore, that district receives special treatment.

Then, our friends have been saying that no security measures were adopted. One full battalion of Assam Rifles is stationed in that district. Recently their strength has been doubled and two battalions are now stationed there. The Mizos were opposed to this. The Mizos who wanted an independent separate State were opposed to our sending this second battalion. Therefore, it was very difficult for the second battalion to go there because the Mizos fought and opposed them. After all that, they have now been stationed there and they are taking all steps for the security of the country.

So far as the allegation that none of the ministers has gone there is concerned, I have just now been informed that one of the Union ministers is leaving tomorrow morning to Mizo Hills.

**Shri Swell:** Who is going there.

**Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa):** The ministers have to take orders from an Under Secretary.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Sir, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Under what rule?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Under Rule 41.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry, I cannot allow it. Rule 41 relates to Questions.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Sir, this is a very important matter. Kindly hear me.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No, Rule 41 relates to Questions and therefore it is not relevant now.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur):** He presumes that the Minister is going; what is the harm?

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** Sir, so far as the Central Government is concerned, they are doing their part. Only today morning the Home Minister made a statement saying that all necessary steps are being taken to deal with the situation in the Mizo Hills. He said that all necessary security measures are being taken in that part of the country. Therefore, I have nothing more to say as far as the Central Government is concerned.

I only want to say that the question of language, which is altogether irrelevant here, was brought in by the hon. Member, Professor Ranga. It has nothing to do with the language question in Assam. So far as the hills people are concerned, they are completely at liberty to have any language they like. With these words, I oppose the adjournment motion before resuming my seat.

**Shri Swell:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I think at the very beginning I must say that I participate in this discussion more in anguish than in anger. I am sorry that these things have overtaken that far-flung, distant,

beautiful district of our country, because it means innumerable, incalculable hardships to the people there, the men, women and their children. I am sorry that the Home Minister, for whom personally I have very great regard, should find himself in this predicament, in the midst of other problems which are occupying his mind and attention. I think the Home Minister still remembers the 20th of March, 1964 when he was persuaded to pay a visit to Shillong and meet the tribal people himself, when he was given a reception by about one lakh of people, men, women and children, braving the downpour at that time and giving him a reception which perhaps no other dignitary in this country, including the late beloved Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, had ever received. He knows the measure of the love and regard of the hill people for him, not only as Home Minister but as a representative of the Government of India, in whom the hill people had full faith and confidence.

I am sorry that he and I should be finding ourselves today in this position where I am driven to a position where I am to censure his Government for being responsible for this situation. I say this Government is entirely responsible for the present development in the Mizo Hills.

I know my time is limited. I will follow in the footsteps of my very able and illustrious friend, Shri P. C. Borooah, from the plains of Assam, in giving the background, for the benefit of this House and this Government, that has led to the present developments in the Mizo hills. My friend, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed has just come from Assam and I see that the Home Minister and the Prime Minister as well are anxious and earnest and keen to have the benefit of his advice at every stage during the discussion of this question yesterday and today. Shri Ahmed knows Assam, he knows the Hill people, and we the Hill people know Shri Ahmed. Perhaps he knows too that there is not much love lost between him and the Hill peo-

ple. And it would not be wrong if I make this submission to the Government of India that if they go by the advice of one particular person, however exalted in position he may be, they will be entirely wrong in their approach to this problem. If they are to deal with this problem it is with the Hill people and with the Hill people themselves that they are to deal.

Mention has been made of the Mizo National Front and the Mizo National Union, the two organisations that are mainly responsible for the present revolt in the Mizo hills.

17.00 hrs.

I may tell you that the Mizo National Front was nowhere in existence till the year 1960-61, that till the year 1960-61 the leader of the Mizo National Front, Mr. Laldanga, who was supposed to have broadcast from the pirate radio declaring that the whole of Mizoland is independent today, was a party to the deliberations of the all-party Hill Leaders' Conference whom I represent here in this honourable House. It was in the year 1960 that the All-Party Hill Leaders' Conference was born and it was born out of the misdeeds of the Assam Government of which Shri Ahmed happened to be an honourable member at that time.

This House knows very well, the country knows the tragedy through which Assam passed in 1959-60, when an orgy was let loose in that beautiful State because of the declaration by the Government of Assam and the Assam Assembly making Assamese the official language of Assam. In the teeth of all opposition, the entire united unequivocal opposition, of all the Hill people and the other non-Assamese-speaking people of Assam, Assamese was declared the official language of that State. The Hill people came together under the banner of the All-Party Hill Leaders' Conference to protest against this, to tell the Assamese, who are the majority in Assam, that if they wish to



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maintain the unity of the State of Assam they should not do this, that there were other things more important than language, that the declaration of Assamese as the official language there in that situation could mean only one thing that the majority community wanted to perpetuate its political prerogatives in that State.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** It is so in any State of the Union.

**Shri Swell:** In spite of all our protests the Assam Government went ahead and had the Assam Language Bill passed into law, in the absence of the representatives from the Hill areas from the Assam Assembly and against the protests of thousands and hundreds of thousands of the Hill people. The leaders of the Mizo National Front, who were with us at that time, and we also, felt that if this was the attitude of the Assam Government, if we were to exist in Assam only on the basis of being second class citizens, there was only one way out for us and that was to demand, to beg, to pray, to intercede with the Government of India that they may kindly take us out of Assam and put all the Hill people together and constitute them into a separate State for the Hill areas within the Union of India.

That was the position. Naturally, in every organisation there were differences of opinion as to the mode of approach, as to the *modus operandi*. One section wanted that a separate State could be achieved only through violent direct action. Rightly or wrongly, unfortunately, an impression has gone round in this country that if you plead or if you argue nobody hears you; it is only when you take the law into your own hands that all attention is paid to you.

**Shri Maurya (Aligarh):** You are cent. per cent. correct.

**Shri Swell:** That is the impression that has gone round in this country.

Naturally, a section wanted to achieve a separate State within India by violent direct action. There is another section, and I am not sorry to say that I subscribe to that opinion, that we are part and parcel of India and whatever we are to achieve we are to achieve through constitutional means. That was the beginning of the rift between the leaders of the Mizo National Front and ourselves. They thought that if we were not prepared to go with them, they would go their own way.

Then came the Chinese aggression in 1962. A section of the people there, rightly or wrongly, thought that was an opportune moment when we could press our viewpoint with the Government of India by going through a violent direct action. We deferred that. The Mizo National Front leaders went to the Mizo Hills and when they felt that the Government of India did not respond favourably to the demand for a separate State for all these areas, then they thought . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He may conclude now.

**Shri Swell:** Sir, I come from that area. I am directly involved and I feel that I must have my full say . . .

**Some hon. Members:** Yes, yes.

**An hon. Member:** He is going first-hand information.

**Shri Swell:** When the leaders of the Mizo National Front and a few other extremist elements in the hill areas felt that the Government of India, the Prime Minister himself, were not reacting favourably to that demand, a constitutional demand, then they concluded that they had no future even within India and that the only logical path was to go out of India. That was how the spirit of secession was born. That was how the Mizo National Front was born. That was how a few people who initiated that idea

started to catch the imagination of the Mizo people.

My friend Mr. P. C. Borooah, in his haphazard way, also mentioned about the Mizo Union. The Mizo Union is one of the two important organisations in the Mizo Hills today. It is the Union, the Party, that is controlling the District Council in the Mizo Hills today. It is comparatively a moderate organisation and its demand today as against the demand of the secession is for the constitution of a separate Mizo State within the Union of India.

Now, the Mizo Union felt that it was losing its hold in the Mizo hills and that it was to retain and maintain its political hold there it had to resort to some sort of a more extremist line that would approximate the demand of the Mizo National Front. That was how the demand for the Mizo State as a separate State within India was born. The Mizo Union are one with the Mizo National Front in one respect, namely, that they can achieve their demand only through a violent direct action. Unfortunately, that is the language that seems to be producing some results with this Government even today.

What I want to say is this—I do not want to dwell too much on this—that sometime after the Chinese aggression, at the beginning of 1963, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, after spending a lot of time thinking about this problem and meeting us, came forward with the offer of what he called full autonomy. It is a misnomer; it is a wrong thing to call it merely a Scottish pattern of administration. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had outlined his plan of what he called the offer of full autonomy. The idea was that these people in the hill areas would enjoy full autonomy and only the barest link should be continued with Assam for the better interest of the people of Assam and the people of north-eastern India. We spent sometime deliberating about this and knowing the

position where the country was and having been wedded to a constitutional path, it was in November, 1963 that the All-Party Hill Leaders Conference decided to give the offer of Shri Nehru a fair trial and it was expected soon after that the Government of India would appoint a commission to work out the details to implement this offer of the late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Unfortunately, for us, the circumstances delayed the appointment of this Commission during the life time of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The House would remember that soon after that he fell sick at Bhubaneswar and after that he was keeping indifferent health and to our great sorrow, he passed away in May, 1964. After May, 1964, when the Government of the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, was ushered in, we took up this question. I personally, as a Member of this House, made a number of visits both to the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and to the Home Minister. I persuaded the Home Minister to visit Shillong. But it was after a lot of discussion, a lot of visits and a lot of praying, that this Commission was appointed in April, 1965. I do not understand how it took one full year for the Government to make up its mind to appoint this Commission to implement something that it had solemnly assured. The result of all this was that the hill people started doubting the *bona fides* of this Government; they started thinking that the Government was playing for time; they started thinking that the Government was not sincere about what it talked. Now these are the kind of ammunition that could be fed into the propaganda machine of extremist elements like the Mizo National Front and they started increasing their strength, maintaining their hold and getting more following from the people in the Mizo Hills.

I may mention another thing today for the benefit of the Government of India. In my humble effort as Member of this House, I have always been

[Shri Swell]

trying to be constructive in my approach. I am not known to many members of this House, but I can say this that the few members who know me and who have had discussion with me have told me in my face that I have always been constructive and reasonable in my approach. One of the things that I thought should be done was to cater to the desire for higher education in that part of the country. Somebody has mentioned—and he is correct—that the Mizo Hills today have the highest literacy percentage in the whole of the country—45 to 50 per cent. They are an educated people, people with high education; they have a large number in the army; these are the kind of people who cannot remain contented merely with the little bit of education to make so many clerks or teachers in the primary schools. We wanted higher education. I put this question to the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and he understood it. He had a Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission and the Education Ministry. The Committee went into this question and on purely educational considerations it unambiguously recommended that this University must be established to cater to the special needs of the hill people for higher education. It is over a year now since the Committee submitted its report. The University Grants Commission has agreed even today in the report of the U.G.C.—if you care to look into it, they have made a reference to it there—to the establishment of this University. I go to the Education Minister; he says that they have accepted it; I go to everybody, they say that they have accepted. I had to wait for two hours in the office of the Deputy Adviser in the Ministry of Education just for a chance to have a discussion with him; I went even to that extent, but until today this University has not come into existence.

Yesterday the Home Minister made an announcement that the Pataskar

Commission's report would be out by the end of this month. I congratulate him for saying that. I may tell him this, however, that until today there has been no earnestness on the part of the Government of India that would go and convince the people that they mean to honour what they say. I tell him that today this Commission and its report have gone into the background. Nobody in the hills today—not in the Mizo Hills alone but also in the Khasi and Garo hills also—has even a bit of faith that you are going to implement the report of this Commission even when it comes out.

The law and order situation is there. It is for the Government to deal with it, but I put this question to them: are you going to deal with this problem merely from the law and order point of view; are you going to bomb and strafe and machine gun the people and tell the whole world that this is a Police State, this is a military State, and you can deal with the people only by bombing them, by strafing them, by shooting them, by killing men and women? Or do you want to go out and say, "here we are; we can meet the grievance of the people and set them to stand up on their own feet". If you are going to do that, it is not yet too late for you. But if you dilly-dally as you have done until now, I tell you that what is happening in the Mizo Hills today will happen in the Khasi and Garo Hills also. You have taught us to be independent; you have taught us to love freedom; we would prefer dying to living as slaves and unless and until you become rulers in the true sense that you are a free man and you treat everybody as a free man, you cannot expect peace in this land.

**Shri Hem Barua:** The most vital thing that should awake the conscience of the nation is the preservation of the Indian Union and the unity of different peoples and the experience of integrated living that the Indian Constitution has made possible. Any

attempt to disrupt this integrated living, the Indian Union or to reduce its size and dimension must be viewed with all the seriousness it deserves.

My objection is that our Government—I would not say this is a bunch of impotent men, but I would say only—this is vacillating all along in this direction. The Government should not vacillate.

I could not understand Shri Ranga's argument when he made mention of Zanzibar, of Zanzibar becoming free of Britain. Why should he forget that Zanzibar was a colony of Britain which neither Nagaland or the Mizo Hills District is of India? I do not understand these things. The Nagas and the Mizos are participants, I would say, in the broader stream of our national life. My objection is this; whatever might be said about the misdeeds of Government—I agree with all those who make a narration of those misdeeds—that does not justify that a part of India or a section of the Indian community should break away from the Indian Union and establish an independent and sovereign State.

The problem today, or the subject of discussion today on this adjournment motion is that a particular area of India has broken away from the Indian Union and has established a sovereign State.

**An hon. Member:** Who said so?

**Shri Hem Barua:** It was established only last evening. May I tell you that by last evening, the whole of the Mizo Hills District except Aijal, the headquarters town of that district fell into the hands of the Mizo National Front, and through a pirate radio broadcast they have declared to the world that Mizoland has become free and completely independent? This is the situation, and we have to look at this situation in that perspective. It says that the whole of the Mizoland had become free. When I came to know of that last

night, immediately I tried to contact the Prime Minister and convey this to her, but since she had retired to her bed very early I could not, but then I conveyed this to the Home Minister, and the Home Minister knew everything about it. Whatever that might be, this is a fact that the eastern frontier today is in ferment; it is in ferment not because of external aggression but because of the intransigence of a section of our own people.

The Nagas offer an argument and say 'Well, before the British State, we were free; the British came and conquered us by the force of superior arms; now that Britain has left India, we should be left to our original status.' That is their argument. I find quite a lot of logic in this argument. But if every part of India goes on offering this argument, I would say that very soon India would disintegrate piece-meal into fragments. If India dies, who lives? India must live.

How important the eastern sector of our country is from the point of view of strategy was demonstrated during the days of the Chinese aggression in 1962. If we forget this fact that the eastern region of our country must be a consolidated and comprehensive whole we forget it only at our peril. So, we must not forget this.

The Nagas were the first amongst the eastern Indian hill people to demand freedom and independence from India. In order to supplement and support the demand for freedom they have taken to hostile activities. The House knows fully well the details of these hostile activities, and so I must not narrate these things. My objection is this: our Government have been soft-peddalling the Naga issue, and it is this soft-peddalling of the Naga issue which has served as a spring-board to the aspirations of other sections of the community who want to break away from the Indian

[Shri Hem Barua]

Union and become what, independent. At the same time, Government are having useless parleys with the Nagas—Naga underground, I would say—unnecessary parleys. The Naga underground have also formed themselves into a independent government. That government is known as the 'Naga Federal Government'. During these discussions, the ceasefire and all that, because of this vacillating policy pursued by our Government, a psychology has been created and is spreading like wild fire from Nagaland via Manipur to Mizo Hills. Unfortunately, it is striking deep roots today, because here is a Government that can vacillate like this; so they say 'let us be free and at the opportune moment; this is the opportune moment'.

I can understand the Government negotiating with a section of the people, those who demand a Punjabi Suba or those who demand a Hill State, a Hill State comprising the Hills in Assam. I can understand Government negotiating with them because they are negotiating with them within the framework of the Indian Union. But there are a group of people, the Nagas, for instance, negotiating with the Government of India on the basis of sovereignty and independence. Why cannot Shrimati Indira Gandhi tell these people—Shri Shastri did not tell them, but Shrimati Indira Gandhi should tell them—that 'unless and until' you give up your demand for independence, there can be no talks with you'? She has told us that on the floor of the House, but she has not told that to the Naga underground leaders who met her, who came here for those talks.

And what are the conclusions of those talks? She has agreed to enlarge the observer team. And what is this observer team for? To see to the proper implementation of the ceasefire agreement with the Naga underground. Absolutely she has

agreed to an international proposition with certain people who are part of the Indian Union. They are a part of the India nation, yet she has agreed to that.

Do you remember a place called Tadoobi? It is in the Mao area of Manipur. On the 14th August, 1965, the 'Nagas Federal Government' of the rebels organised on a grand scale the independence day of their independent state. The flag was unfurled by the 'Prime Minister' of the 'Naga Federal Government'. The 'President' of the 'Naga Federal Government' was there and other 'Ministers' were also there. And Miss Marjorie Sykes, who is a member of this observer team, also attended. That is, a person who attended the independence celebrations of the rebels, their independence day celebrations, has been appointed as member of the enlarged observers' teams! I cannot understand these things.

All these wrong steps adopted by this Government in relation to the Nagas have given rise to the present grave and serious situation in Mizoland.

Do not forget another thing. People think that it is a bad situation and it has sprung up because of the Mizo National Front's bid for independence recently. Not that. In 1954, certain sections of the Mizos presented a small booklet to Shri Nehru detailing their demand for freedom. They said 'There are Mizos in the Chin Hills of Burma, there are Mizos in certain areas of Manipur and we are the Mizos here; we will form an independent State'. This was given to Mr. Nehru as far back as 1954. Therefore, those people who think that this demand sprung up all of a sudden, are absolutely wrong.

**Shri Ranga:** For 14 years we have been sleeping.

**Shri Hem Barua:** At present, what has happened? The Mizo National

Front, which wants secession from India has risen in open revolt against India. As I have already said, over a pirate radio it was said that Mizoland has become free. Where does this pirate radio exist? This pirate radio exists in East Pakistan. I do not think it is Dacca station. It is the Pakistani transmitter at Chittagong. This is the way Pakistan is behaving even after the Tashkent Declaration. Mr. Chavan should take note of this particularly. Pakistan's complicity in this matter is too well-known to be recounted.

The Home Minister only yesterday admitted on the floor of the House that Mizos had gone over to Pakistan to collect arms and to receive guerilla training. Therefore, I do not want to recount all these things. This very fact that certain Mizos were going to Pakistan and collaborating with Pakistan was brought to the notice of the Minister times without number by some well-meaning people, but unfortunately he did not pay attention to it. The very fact disclosed this morning that our troops are being rushed to that area in helicopters shows how grave the situation is.

There is the hand of Pakistan in this no doubt, but there is also the invisible hand of monstrous China, the sinister, invisible hand of China. China wanted to egg Pakistan to commit aggression on us, but since that failed, China is now busy creating turmoil inside our territory. It is China which has prompted Pakistan, and there is this Sino-Pakistan, collusion in this particular matter, as China has been doing in Viet Nam. In Viet Nam China has been encouraging a liberation front. Here, China is encouraging the Mizo National Front.

Our Government's intelligence is very sluggish, but I am confident that when these layers of sluggishness drop off, they would see the whole thing in its correct perspective. I would tell them that there can be no question of any part of the Indian Union being allowed to break away from the Indian Union. The Govern-

ment should take stern measures, all measures possible, because the vitality of the nation, the unity of the nation should be preserved, and anybody who sacrifices it does not deserve to be on the throne any more.

**Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Cachar):** While I rise to oppose the motion, I think it is my duty as a representative of part of Cachar and Mizo districts to say a few words in respect of the recent unhappy incident in the Mizo district by a section of the people of the Mizo National Front.

So far as my knowledge goes, from 1957 the Mizos had their complaints about lack of communications, lack of facilities for marketing of their horticultural and forest produce, that special attention was not given for their development programmes. Subsequent famine, as a result of rats destroying their crop, created great resentment among the Mizos. But from the Government side, all steps were taken to develop and to feed the Mizo district.

Of course for lack of communication food had to be airlifted and the same arrangement is still there particularly in lean months of the year. The political rivalry between Mizo union and Mizo national front led the extremist group of the front to start their movement for separation from India. Frustration, cheap popularity of slogan of separation and examples of the Naga hostiles gave these people impetus to join hands with our unfriendly neighbour adjacent to the Mizo district. From 1962 these people were pleading in the Press and platform about separation from India. Sometime in 1964 these overzealous sections created some disturbances against non-Mizos particularly in Lungleh sub-division. Subsequently an unfortunate officer perhaps of Border Roads organisation was killed. All these years these things are happening and the supply of arms and ammunitions are made to the Mizos and probably they are having underground military training. This is a

[Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda]

border district and happenings there are of great national concern.

Violence and lawlessness have got to be dealt with sternly and I am not very sure whether the re-inforcements reached Lungleh by now which is out of the way and communications had been cut off. Personally I feel that the Assam Rifles are not so very resourceful and the army should be kept there as a standby. With these words, I oppose the adjournment motion.

**The Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I had no intention of participating in today's debate but if I fail to place before the House certain information which would be relevant for taking the correct decision I shall be failing in my duty. This matter has been discussed from the point of view of the incidents which have taken place recently in the Mizo district. The incident which took place during the last two days are indeed of a very serious nature and I would beg of the House to consider these incidents in a very dispassionate and constructive manner. The area, the House should remember, where these incidents have taken place is a very sensitive area, both strategically and politically. It is also subject to influences and subversive activities from some of our so called friends beyond our international border.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Are they your friends.

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** I said some of our so called friends. I would beg of the hon. Members that if they think that a solution of the problem with which we are confronted is a simple one, that will not be the right course. In the course of the speeches which I have heard today, I have heard two kinds of arguments, two kinds of allegations which have been made against the government. Some Members have

stated that it was because of the weak-kneed policy, because of the absence of firm action in these areas that these disturbances have taken place. On the other hand some of the hon. Members have said that because of our functioning of more or less like a police State and not taking any action for the development of these areas, these incidents have taken place.

Sir, my hon. friend, Shri Swell has mentioned my name and I am very thankful to him. This is what I could expect of a young friend who was, till the other day, my colleague in the Congress organisation and he had to show us respect and I have tremendous respect for him. (*Interruption*). But, if hon. Members will consider his speech, they will find that for all the sound and fury in his speech, what was the sum total of that speech. It was nothing else but a support for a hill state for all the hill people in Assam. He was not concerned with what was happening in the Mizo district; nor was he concerned with giving us suggestions as to how to get over these difficulties.

**Shri Swell:** I suggested a hill State within India.

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** I would like the hon. Members to remember this: that it is not correct to say that since we attained Independence, we have not done anything in the Mizo district. The Mizo district is the largest district in the State of Assam, with an area of over 8,000 square miles and a population of 2,66,000. That is an area which from the north to the south, is full of hills and mountains. You cannot even get boulders and stones for the purpose of constructing roads. These are areas where food has to be taken from outside. It is only through the efforts of the Government of Assam and the Central Government that during the last few years it has been possible for us to encourage the people for going in for cash crops

like cardamom, cashewnuts and coffee, and they have done it very well. Now, it is only a question of finding markets for their produce.

Though I have not got the figures with me, what I remember is this: that the *per capita* expenditure in the State of Assam is about Rs. 161 to Rs. 162; the *per capita* expenditure in the Mizo district is over Rs. 342. That itself shows both the Government of Assam and the Central Government have not been neglecting the development in this particular area. To develop an area which was kept almost primitive without any roads, without any improvement during the British days, it is really difficult for any State Government within such a short time to provide all the latest amenities which the people want. But I would like hon. Members to realise that considering the facts that this district is our easternmost district, very close to the frontiers of Burma and Pakistan, the Government of Assam, with the co-operation of the Government of India, has been concentrating its energies to spend more funds and develop this area. During the last two years, apart from the normal provision provided in the budget, an additional amount of about Rs. 1 crore has been spent in that particular area. With a view to spending much more and remove many of the difficulties, the State Government invited a team of the Planning Commission; Mr. Tarlok Singh was there in that district on the last two occasions to see for himself what works of development can be undertaken in the next Plan, the fourth Five Year Plan, to develop these areas.

So far as the present trouble is concerned, there are two very important organisations: one is the Mizo Union which at one time, together with the association of my hon. friend, Shri Swell, the All-Party Hill Leaders' Conference, was agitating for a separate hill state, comprising all the hill areas of Assam. (Interruptions).

Shri Swell: Within the Indian Union.

Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed: For the past one or two years, an overwhelming number of those belonging to that organisation, have now been wanting a separate hill state for their own area. (Interruption). They do not want a separate State along with other hill areas, but they want a separate hill State for their own area.

As the House knows, the Pataskar Commission has been constituted for the purpose of examining demand for a separate Hill State of what our late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, said. In the terms of reference, there is no term of reference for constituting a separate hill State in Mizo bills. It is for that reason that when the members of the commission visited Mizo hills, the members of the Mizo Union and others boycotted the commission, saying "we are not satisfied with your terms of reference, according to which you would be considering the constituting of a separate hill state for all the hill areas; we want a separate hill State for our own area; because there is no term of reference for you to consider that matter, we are boycotting you". So, they boycotted the Pataskar Commission when the commission went to that area only recently.

I would, therefore, request hon. members to realise that it is not because there is absence of desire on the part of either the Central Government or the State Government to develop that area or because no work of development is going on there that this incident has taken place. At the same time, it is also not correct to say that government were ill-informed or had no information and that these incidents have taken place all of a sudden. As hon. members are aware, in the Mizo hills, the ordinary law and order function is discharged by a full battalion of Assam Rifles which is stationed there



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for all time. Expect the work of intelligence branch, the entire law and order work is done by the Assam Rifles. When the Assam Government had information about certain activities of the Mizo National Front, that they were likely to indulge in these subversive activities, even though our position was tight in the month of September, another battalion of Assam Rifles was taken away from some other area and stationed in Mizo hills. It has been kept there because some trouble was apprehended.

I can say that no one is a greater friend of the hill people than Mr. Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam. Though he knew that there was this danger in not liquidating this party which was indulging in all kinds of subversive activities, he was all the time trying if this difficulty could be overcome or at least he may not have to take the initiative by using force in order to put down this trouble. So, he hesitated to take action against those people who were determined to take certain action. An incident took place in December when these people murdered one of their own men while he was travelling from one place to another. After that, so far as I know, Mr. Chaliha contacted the leaders and the leaders gave an assurance that they had nothing to do with this murder and they pledged to the Chief Minister that they would use all their activities for constructive work for which he was planning and they would abjure all violent activities. I know Mr. Laldanga at one time gave in writing that he would not indulge in these lawless activities. If there is breach of promise made by certain people and if the Chief Minister was interested in maintaining a friendly atmosphere among the people of that hill area as well as other areas, he cannot be blamed for not taking very firm action in order to put down this movement.

**Shri Tyagi:** Did he know that they were all armed?

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** He had some information. That is why, as I have pointed out, he did not want to take the initiative, because he did not want to give the impression to the general population that the Assam Government was keen and intent on killing each and every Mizo. In fact, I may inform the hon. Member that when this second battalion of Assam Rifles was taken there, it was one of the propaganda indulged in both by the Mizo Union people and the Mizo National Front people alleging that the Government of Assam was going to suppress the people by bringing in more police force and army there. It was one of the propaganda done against the Assam Government.

Then, a question was raised that the Superintendent of Police was removed from Mizo Hills. This is also not a fact. The Deputy Commissioner of Mizo District functions as the Superintendent of Police. As I pointed out, there is no police force. There is the battalion of the Assam Rifles whose Commandant in close co-operation and consultation with the Deputy Commissioner is responsible for law and order there. For some time, when the Deputy Commissioner had to do some other work, he took the assistance of a police officer who functioned as Additional Superintendent of Police. But this arrangement was not found practicable and he was asked to revert to the Assam Government. Therefore, there was no question of abolishing the post of the Superintendent of Police. As I have pointed out, for law and order it is the Assam Rifles which is responsible and the Commandant of the Assam Rifles functions in a close co-operation and consultation with the Deputy Commissioner of the Hill area.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** May I ask the Minister, Sir, whether he will still

combine the office of the Deputy Commissioner with the office of the Superintendent of Police? Why did he do that? It is not so elsewhere in India.

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** It is so because the law and order duty is performed by the Assam Rifles of which there is the Commandant.

Now, so far as the university is concerned, I may inform the House that both the Government of Assam and the Central Government are anxious to establish a university in the hill area. A question arose whether that university should be established under a Central statute or under a State statute, and the advice was that it will be desirable to have a Central Act for the purpose of constituting a university. Then, I may tell the House, that the Home Ministry took the advice of the Law Ministry, and the Law Ministry said that unless and until a resolution is passed in all the States where this university will be operating or have jurisdiction it will not be desirable to introduce a Bill. When this information was sent to us, the Assam Government passed a resolution on the Assam Assembly for giving authority to the Union Government to enact a provision. The State of Manipur has also given the necessary permission. I think they are now waiting for the permission to be obtained from the State of Nagaland. As soon as that permission is available, the Central Government will take necessary action for the purpose of introducing this Bill before the House, and when that Bill is passed and it becomes an Act there will be a university at Shillong for the hill areas. I may also tell the House that the Education Ministry has made a provision for such a university in the next financial year's budget. Therefore, there is no justification for the hon. Member to feel or to say that the university about which there has been a talk for the last two or three

years is being withheld from the Hill people of Assam.

One last word about the Assam Language Act. A wrong impression has been created that the Assam Language Act was intended to impose either Assamese or Bengali language on the people of the hill areas. If you go through the Act, you will find that the Assam Language Act provides for the use of English or Hindi together with the regional Assamese language at the State level. In areas where Assamese is spoken, the Assamese version of the Act and correspondence in Assamese will be sent; in areas where Bengali is spoken, only the Bengali version will be sent. So far as the hill areas are concerned, neither the Assamese nor the Bengali version will go. They will use the option to have such language as they like at the district level in addition to Hindi or English.

**Shri Swell:** There is difference of opinion about this Act. It is much better that a copy of this Act is laid on the Table of the House for the benefit of the Members....

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** I am not yielding.

This Act has been in existence for the last three or four years. Not a single member of the hill tribes can say that the Assamese or Bengali language has been imposed on the hill people. It is mere propaganda by interested parties. Now the people in the rural areas and also towns of the hills are realising that it was mere propaganda and the intention of the Government was not to impose Assamese or Bengali on these people.

**Shri Swell:** I contend this.

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** Therefore, I would submit to this House that the situation is really one for concern. It will be desirable that this situation should be considered and examined very dispassionately and in a constructive manner so that

[Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed]

It may be possible for us to maintain the integrity of our country and it is possible for us also to provide the kind of amenities for all our people, wherever they may live, whether in the plains or in the hill areas. That is the one, and only one, concern of the people and of the Members of this Parliament and of this Government. I think we will do very well if we can keep this in mind and give such constructive suggestions as may help the Government in overcoming this difficulty.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** What has the Assam Government done for the emotional integration of the hill people with the people of the rest of Assam?

**Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed:** We are doing as much as possible. We are increasing the centres of social work in those areas to bring the people together.

**डॉ० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री फ़ख़रुद्दीन अहमद जब बोल रहे थे, तब मुझे सिन्ध के अल्लाहबख़्श साहब की याद आई। उस कत्ल के बाद से ही सिन्ध में पाकिस्तान का बोल-बाला हो सका था। मिर्ज़ो इलाके में जब लाल यायना साहब का कत्ल हुआ—यही नाम है न? अगर इस नाम के उच्चारण में कोई ग़लती हो, तो श्री फ़ख़रुद्दीन अहमद मुझे बता दें,—जो मिर्ज़ो ज़िले के अच्छे नेता बनने जा रहे थे और जिनका इस देश के साथ दिली और गहरा ताल्लुक था, तब मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि और कोई सबब हो या न हो, सिर्फ़ इसी सबब से इस सरकार की यहाँ निन्दा होनी चाहिए। जिस तरह से अल्लाहबख़्श साहब के कत्ल के बाद सिन्ध में पाकिस्तान का बोल-बाला हुआ, उसी तरह से लाल यायना साहब के कत्ल के बाद मिर्ज़ो इलाके में इन घटनाओं को मज़बूती मिलती चली जा रही है। अल्लाहबख़्श साहब को कत्ल करने वाले शायद वे

लोग थे, जो उन की जान की रक्षा के लिए जिम्मेदार थे। तो क्या मैं समझूँ कि यहाँ भी वैसा ही मामला चल रहा है?

इस बहस में दो धुरियों को मिलाना ही अच्छा होगा—कम से कम वैसे नहीं करना होगगा, जैसे एक बच्चा दो इलाकों के बीच में झूले में पेंग मारता रहता है। असल में यह बहस है एक तरफ़ तो देश की एकता की और दूसरी तरफ़ लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता की। एकता और स्वतन्त्रता। जब मैं “स्वतन्त्रता” शब्द का इस्तेमाल करता हूँ, तो न सिर्फ़ स्वतन्त्रता, बल्कि स्वतन्त्रता की भावना को भी उस में ले आना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ बहुत से लोग हैं, जो स्वतन्त्र तो हैं, लेकिन उन के दिमाग़ में यह भ्रम घुसता जा रहा है कि वे इस भारत-संघ में स्वतन्त्र नहीं हैं। इसलिए यह बहस है ज़मीन की एकता और लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता के बारे में।

लेकिन इस बहस को करते वक्त आदमी के दिमाग़ में भी ये धुरियाँ अलग-अलग नहीं रखनी चाहिए, बल्कि उन दोनों को बराबर महत्व देना चाहिए और वे संतुलित ढंग से चलनी चाहिए। अभी मैंने एक माननीय सदस्य को बोलते सुना है। पहले तो उन्होंने यह कहा कि लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता की पूरी तरह से देख-भाल नहीं की गई है, उन में जूलम और दबाव की भावना पैदा कर दी गई है। वही हज़रत आख़िर में यह कह गए कि इस इलाके में विदेशी पादरी और दूसरे लोग यह कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि छोटी छोटी रियासते बन जायें, जहाँ बे अपना खेल करते चलें जायें।

इस तरह के दिमाग़ से काम नहीं चल सकता है। यही दिमाग़ है। जो भारत सरकार का पिछले अठारह बरस में सभी सीमाओं पर बसने वाले लोगों के लिए रहा है। कोई नीति नहीं रही है। बच्चे की तरह ये झूलते रहे हैं दोपैगों के बीच में। एक तरफ़ है ज़मीन

की एकता और दूसरी तरफ़ है लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता । जब इन्हें कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता की भावना मज़बूत हो, तब ये भूमि की एकता के काम में लग जाते हैं, जुम कराने लग जाते हैं । जब इन को हिन्दुस्तान की एकता को बनाए रख के लिए काम करना चाहिए, तब ये नाक रगड़ने लग जाते हैं । चहे की तरह भागते हैं । तो राज्य ऐसे नहीं चल सकता है कि छैः महीने तो चूहे बन जायें और भागें और छैः महीने भैंस, भैंसे या आसाम के गंडे की तरह सीधे चलते जायें, दायें बायें न देखें और मारते चले जायें । ऐसे राज्य नहीं चल सकता है ।

राज्य इस तरह से चलता है कि जो राज्य के चलाने वाले आदमी हैं, वे अपने दिमाग में एक तरफ़ तो जहाँ तक हो सके, स्वतंत्रता देने की भावना रखें और दूसरी तरफ़ इस ज़मीन की एकता को तोड़ने के लिए उपाय करने वाले जो भी लोग हैं, उन को बेकार बनाने का पूरा काम करते चलें जायें । दिमाग में ये दोनों बातें होंगी, तब काम चल पायेगा ।

यह कभी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि मिज़ो इलाके में जो कोई विद्रोही बच्चे हैं, वे भारत माता के बच्चे हैं; क्योंकि बच्चे सभी होते हैं, विद्रोही हों या भक्त । जब भारत माता अपने विद्रोही बच्चों को दण्ड देकर सही रास्ते पर लाना चाहे, अगर वह भारत माता है, तो लोग हमेशा उस के मन में रहेगा कि ये भी मेरे बच्चे हैं, दण्ड इन को देना पड़ रहा है, लेकिन अगर इन के मन में कोई भ्रम पैदा हो गया है, तो उस को दूर करना मेरा फ़र्ज है । लेकिन जब डंडा चलाने लग गए, तो समझ लिया कि ये परदेशी हैं, इनको मारो और जब शुकने लग गए, तो पूरी तरह से शुक गए, इस तरह से काम नहीं चलता है । मां शुकेंगी इस लिए कि बच्चे मन की बातों को समझ कर जिन बातों को देना चाहिए, उसे दे, लेकिन उस के साथ साथ बच्चे को सीधे रास्ते पर रखने के लिए उस को दण्ड का भी इस्ते-माल करना पड़ेगा ।

इसीलिए इस मिज़ो इलाने की सीमाओं की तरफ़ भी थोड़ा ध्यान देना चाहिए । उत्तर में है कचार के चाय-बागान के ग्रंजेज मालिक । पूर्व में है पाकिस्तानी इलाका अरकान और पश्चिम में है बर्मा । एक एक कर के शुरू करें । जो चाय-बागान के ग्रंजेज मालिक हैं, उन की पुरानी आदत चली आ रही है कि जैसे भी हो सके, इस देश को छिन्न-भिन्न, करो, खास तौर से सीमाओं पर छिन्न-भिन्न करो । क्या किया है इस सरकार ने पिछले अठारह बरस में इन चाय-बागान के ग्रंजेज मालिकों की करतूतों को रोकने के लिए ?

उसी तरह से पादरी है । जब मैं पादरी कहता हूँ, तो मेरा मतलब विदेशी पादरियों से है, देशी पादरियों से नहीं । उन्होंने और जो कुछ भी काम किये हों, लेकिन उन्होंने इस देश में इतिहास की पढ़ाई को बिल्कुल जहरीला बनाया है । कितना जहलीला बना दिया है, यह बताने के लिए मैं दिल्ली से निकलने वाले उस अख़बार का आज ही का सबसे पहला सम्पादकीय जूमला पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ, जो पहले किसी ज़माने में साफ़ ग्रंजेजों का अख़बार था और जो आज उन लोगों का हो गया है, जो हिन्दुस्तान में ग्रंजेजों के गद्दी-नशीन हैं ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कौन सा अख़बार है ?

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : जब मैं इतना कुछ बता चुका हूँ, तब भी नहीं समझे ? स्टेट्समैन के सिवा और कौन सा अख़बार हो सकता है ?

इस में लिखा है कि 1826 की यन्दावों सन्धि के बाद से बर्मा ने ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी को आसाम दिया । इनके लिये इतिहास 1826 से शुरू होता है और इस को पढ़ने वालों के दिमाग पर यह असर पड़ता है यह मीज़ो इलाका असल में कोई परदेशी इलाका

## [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

हैं और अंग्रेजों ने लड़ाई करते वक्त इस परदेसी इलाके को भारत में मिला लिया था। वास्तव में भारत से इस का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। अभी तक सिर्फ विदेशी पादरी इस भारत में पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं और इसी तरह के इतिहास को जानते हैं और चीजों इलाके और नागा इलाके के सम्बन्ध में यहां पर लोक सभा में जो बातें कही जाती हैं, वह इसी पृष्ठ-भूमि में कही जाती हैं कि भारत का इतिहास तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा अगर शुरू हुआ है तो मुगलों ने जब हमला किया था तब से है, लेकिन ज्यादा अच्छा यह है कि जब अंग्रेज आये थे तब से इतिहास शुरू हुआ। उसके पहले इतिहास था ही नहीं।

जब इस ढंग की बात होगी तो नतीजा क्या होगा, जैस वारियर एलिवन साहब ने इस सारे इलाके में जो नीति चलाई थी, वह अलगवाव की नीति थी। वास्तव में उन्होंने करघा ऐसा चलाना चाहा जो उस इलाके के लोग अभ्यस्त थे। अगर कोई नये ढंग का करघा चलता, तो उन में कुछ परिवर्तन आता। वहां तो जांगिया, जूता लोग न पहन पायें; यही प्रयत्न रहा। भारत की सीमाओं के जो इलाके हैं, उनकी काफी पुराने जमाने की सभ्यता एक तरह से वहां कायम रही, ताकि उन के अन्दर जागति छा न पाये। चीन ने अपनी नीति जो बनाई है सीमाओं के बारे में जो नीति उस ने अख्तियार की है, उस के अनुसार उसने अपने सभी इलाकों को आधुनिक बनाया, शक्तिशाली बनाया, सीमाओं के इलाकों को तो खास कर शक्तिशाली बनाया। इन लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह सरकार अपने सीमावर्ती इलाकों को आधुनिक और शक्तिशाली नहीं बनाती है तो यह अलगवाव की भावना में बढ़ती चली जायेगी। पहले तो इनको घमण्ड था कि ये हिमालय-वाल हमारी रक्षा करते चले जायेंगे, लेकिन जब पता लग गया है कि वहां कोई

नहीं बचा सकता, तब तो हमारी आंखें खुलनी चाहियें।

मैं आपसे एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि यहां दिल्ली में एक मसीही मण्डल है, उसकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना जरूरी है। जितने बड़े बड़े होटल है, उनके खाना बनाने वाले रसोइये और परोसनेवाले ज्यादातर ईसाई हैं। क्यों हैं ईसाई? दरअसल में वह ईसाई नहीं हैं, वह चमार और भंगी हैं। लेकिन भारत के हिन्दुओं का धर्म चमार, और भंगी के हाथों से खाना खाने से बिगड़ जाता है और ईसाईयों के हाथों से नहीं बिगड़ता है, इस लिये वे, बिजनौर और दूसरी जगहों के चमार और भंगी आते हैं मसीही मण्डल में जाकर वहां अपना नाम दर्ज करवाते हैं, ईसाई बनते हैं और तब ये जितने होटल हैं, वहां वे खाना परोसते हैं। यह हालत हमारे हब इलाकों में है। क्या खासी, क्या नागा इलाकों में, इन सब इलाकों में, अगर भारत की बहुसंख्यक हिन्दु जमायत अलगवाव रखेगी, यह खाना मत खाओ, उन के साथ मत बैठो, शादी-विवाह की मैं बात नहीं करता हूँ, लेकिन ऊंच-नीच का इतना अलगवाव दिमाग में रहेगा, तो फिर जमीन की एकता को कायम रखना अपने देश में बिल्कुल नामुमकिन है। इस लिये कबायलियों जातियों के इस प्रश्न पर हमें गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये।

ये सारे कबायली इलाके हैं, क्योंकि मैं आपसे बताऊँ, मैं वहां पर गिरफ्तार हो चुका हूँ। उस इलाके में जब गिरफ्तार किया गया तो भारत सरकार के नुमाइन्दों ने गिरफ्तार किया, लेकिन नागा इलाके का एक पुराना राजा था, वह खत्म हो गया, लेकिन नाम का राजा था, उसने अपने भाई भेज दिया था, यह बताने के लिये उन लोगों का गिरफ्तारी में कोई हाथ नहीं है। वे तो मेरा प्रतिनिधि की तरह स्वागत करते,

लेकिन क्या किया जाय, इस सरकार का प्राज इस तरह से शासन चलता है। वहां पुश्वोत्तम नाम का एक बहुत बड़ा नागा ह्रा चुका है। यह सारी चीज दबा दी जाती है क्योंकि यह समझा जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के साथ अगर कोई सम्बन्ध रखने वाली चीज होगी तो उनको उखाड़ने से यह विदेशी पादरी बिगड़ जायेंगे और फिर यूरोप और अमरीका के साथ इनके सम्बन्ध बिगड़ जायेंगे। इस लिये मैं बुनायादी तौर पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक शिक्षा का पूरा आधार नहीं बदलेगा, यह मामला ठीक नहीं हो सकेगा। इतिहास का आधार और साथ साथ ये दो धुरियाँ—जमीन की एकता और लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता, इन दोनों को धोलमेल कर, इन को सन्तुलित बनाकर जब तक नहीं चलेंगे तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, विद्रोही नागाओं के सम्बन्ध में बहुत से लोगों ने जो बात कही है, मैं भी उसके सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ। विद्रोही नागाओं के जो इतने हीसले बड़े, इस में प्रमुख हाथ हमारी सरकार का है .....

**एक भाषनीय सवस्य :** नागाओं के सम्बन्ध में नहीं है।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** नागाओं में में जो विद्रोह फैला हुआ है, उनका मांगों के लिये यह वार्ता टाक ढंग से हो सके, इसी उद्देश्य से यह शान्ति मिशन बना। लेकिन यह शान्ति मिशन कुछ भी नहीं करा पाया, नतीजा यह हुआ कि उन में विद्रोह की भावना ज्यादा बढ़ती गई।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस सम्बन्ध में श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण, चालिहा और पादरी माईकल स्काट—इनकी जो शान्ति कमेटी

बनी, इस में हमारे इस नागा प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री को शामिल नहीं किया गया। यह माईकल स्काट के मन में जो एक अलगवाव का भाव था कि अगर हम वहां की सरकार को बीच में रखेंगे तो हम अपनी इच्छा पूरी नहीं कर पायेंगे, इसलिये उनको इसके साथ नहीं रखा।

जहां तक युद्धबन्दी की बात है, युद्ध बन्दी हमने कायम की, नागा विद्रोही हम स मिले, लेकिन इससे उनको विद्रोह करने की भावना में काफी छूट मिली। पाकिस्तान में जाकर गुरिल्ला युद्ध सीखा, सनिक शिक्षा ली, इस बात को हमारी सरकार ने कुबूल किया। नागा क्षेत्र के पांच सब डिविजन हैं, इनमें से तीन सब-डिविजन के अन्दर युद्ध बन्दी कायम की लेकिन फिर भी उस क्षेत्र के अन्दर कितना आतंक मचाया गया, यह आप सब जानते हैं, वहां की गरीब जनता पर कितना बोझ डाला गया है, वहां के लोगों को विद्रोही नागाओं को डबल-डबल टैक्स देना पड़ता है, हर तरह से उनको मारा और धमकाया जा रहा है, इस और सरकार को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हमारे विद्रोही नागाओं का जो प्रतिनिध मण्डल आया है, उनकी मांग है कि नागा लोग स्वतन्त्र नागालैण्ड चाहते हैं। हम स्वतन्त्रता चाहते हैं। किस बात का स्वतन्त्रता चाहते हैं, कौन लोग उनको बहकाते हैं, जो गरीब और अशिक्षित लोग हैं, जो बिल्कुल इस बात को नहीं जानते हैं, उनको बहकाया जाता है कि हमारी जाति खत्म हो जायेगी, हमारा धर्म खत्म हो जायेगा, हमारा संस्कृति खत्म हो जायेगी, इस प्रचार भोले-भाले लोगों को बहका कर अपने हाथ में ले लेते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण ने तो इस शान्ति कमेटी से, इस शान्ति मिशन से, त्याग-पत्र दे दिया है, इन के साथ साथ माईकल स्काट को भी उस कमेटी से निकालना चाहिये और उन्हें उस प्रान्त के अन्दर से, अग्रस के बाहर कर देना चाहिये। उनको इस प्रान्त में आने की अनुमति नहीं देनी चाहिये, जिन्होंने यह सारा विद्रोह

## [श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय]

फैलाया है, जिन्होंने ऐसे विचार वहां बनाये हैं ।

शान्ति मिशन जो कायम हुई है, उसकी मान्यता को हमें समाप्त कर देना चाहिये . . . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** यह नागालैण्ड का प्रश्न नहीं है ।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** जो विद्रोह उस क्षेत्र में फैला है उसे समाप्त करने के लिये हमारी सरकार को कठोर कदम उठाना चाहिये । उन्हें किस प्रकार से दबाया जा सकता है, इसका मैं एक उदाहरण आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ । जब हम स्वतन्त्र हुए तो तेलंगाना के अन्दर साम्यवादियों ने अत्याचार करना शुरू कर दिया, वहां पर अतंक मचा दिया था । जिस प्रकार हमारी सरकार ने उनके इस विद्रोह को समाप्त किया उसी प्रकार से इस क्षेत्र में इसको समाप्त करना चाहिये । देशभक्त जो लोग हैं उनके साथ सरकार को सम्पर्क स्थापित करना चाहिये, उनका सहयोग प्राप्त करना चाहिये । इस बात की सरकार को खोज करनी चाहिये कि जो लोग हमारे साथ रहना चाहते हैं उनको किस तरह से साथ रखा जा सकता है उनका किस प्रकार से सहयोग प्राप्त किया जा सकता है । रानी गूडिल्यू हमारे साथ हैं और उनको हमें साथ लेकर चलना चाहिये । उनको हमें प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये । एक लाख बीस हजार ये जो लोग हमारे साथ हैं, इनका हमें फायदा उठाना चाहिये । साथ ही साथ नागालैण्ड की सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति का भी हमें ध्यान रखना चाहिये । उनके सामाजिक रीति रिवाजों में हमें दखल नहीं देना चाहिये । उनको हमें इसको बनाये रखने . . . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप तो नागालैण्ड के बारे में बोल रहे हैं ।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आदिम जाति के और पिछड़ी जाति संघ के लोगों को हमें उस क्षेत्र में भेज कर उनसे उस क्षेत्र को भलाई के लिये काम करवाने चाहिये । वहां के लोगों को शिक्षण इनके द्वारा दिलाना चाहिये ।

वहां बहुत सी चीजों की जरूरत है । बहुत सी वहां कमियां हैं । उस क्षेत्र का जिसका सरकार को विकास करना चाहिये था, सरकार ने नहीं किया है । उसने इस ओर पर्याप्त ध्यान नहीं दिया है । उसका सरकार को अधिक विकास करना चाहिये । जितनी उन लोगों को सहुलियतें पहुंचाई जा सकती हों पहुंचाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये । उनमें शिक्षा का प्रसार हो, इसके लिए हमें अधिक खर्च करना चाहिये । उस क्षेत्र पर हमें ज्यादा पैसा खर्च करने पर विचार करना चाहिये । आज जो वहां हम तन्ख्वाहों आदि पर खर्च करते हैं और जिन को हम तन्ख्वाहें देते हैं और इसके बावजूद भी जो लोग विद्रोहियों को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं, उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाना चाहिये । उन पर हमें ध्यान रखना चाहिये, ताकि वे ऐसी कारवाइयां न कर सकें ।

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda):** What the House has been discussing is an extremely deplorable situation. The hon. Member Shri H. N. Mukerjee made a reference to this and expressed his feeling of sorrow. This is the feeling of all of us. There is and must be an agreement among all sections of the House regarding this. I gave to the House yesterday some account of the happenings during the last two or three days, and I am sure all of us feel very much disturbed about this.

A number of things which have been brought up in the course of this discussion and to which an answer was due have been dealt with already by my colleague who is sitting here

beside me, namely Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed. He has the advantage of very intimate knowledge of the conditions in that part of our country, and, therefore, he was able to talk from that position of personal familiarity with the problems to which reference was made and the conditions in that area. That has made my task very much lighter.

I would, therefore, devote a little time to general questions which were raised. I am thinking at the moment of two or three hon. Members who dwell on that problem. Shri H. N. Mukerjee specially who does not happen to be here at the moment expended a lot of emotion and passion on whatever he said.

An hon. Member: As usual.

Shri Nanda: But that was what I was coming to. After listening to him one might feel as if that is the only overpowering emotion in his mind and that is something to which he attaches all the importance in the world. But anybody who hears him any time on little things or slight things or bigger things will find that it will be the same kind of emotion and the same kind of language and the same kind of passion. But as to what he said on this occasion, I would say this. I do not want to be little the value and significance of that, although I am at a loss to understand what exactly he was driving at. What was it that he was aiming at? Was it that what we had done, the policy which had been adopted by the Assam Government was wrong; or was it right? Was it the policy which the Chief Minister and his colleagues adopted that led to these consequences? Because the recipe he gave us, the prescription he gave, was exactly what the Assam Government have followed so far. That is, the Assam Government did not apply force, did not have recourse to coercive measures; they gave latitude, I believe rightly, because it is not simply a question of force.

It is a question, as was said by my hon. friend, Shri Ranga, of dealing with a special type of people, whose reactions, responses and background are different. Therefore, they have to be dealt with in a special way. Their mind has to be understood and appreciated. The Chief Minister, Shri Chaliha, knows that; nobody knows that better, as Shri Swell himself acknowledges (*Interruption*). Perhaps the hon. Member here knows it somewhat better—I do not know.

The point is that this Mizo National Front had at some stage enunciated a certain political line there which, of course, was wholly unacceptable. At the same time, they were following a constitutional course. They were taking part in the elections. They have been able to win elections in 143 out of 420 villages as against 227 by the Union. Also they have got a majority of seats in the Assembly. They were following a course, exactly what is being recommended to us, of their becoming part and parcel of the society and sharing in whatever opportunities were being provided there. That was what the bulk of the people have been doing. The Mizo Union, as has been explained by some Members, is, of course, not at all taking to any extreme line of that character. They have been asking for a State within the Union, but in this case a State of less than 3 lakh people. That is a different question; that is not any kind of separatist tendency, not at all.

The question for the Chief Minister and the Government was, at what time to apply force. He decided to give the fullest latitude to these people, the moderate elements, who were trying to keep the Mizos belonging to that party on the right track. At some stage, there was an assertion of a different kind of demand on the part of a certain section of that party, the younger section, feeling that this was not leading to independence which the others also were talking about. They were content to pursue these



[Shri Nanda]

normal courses. For some months past, this had been developing and growing. The Chief Minister and the Government, relying on the fact that they have been doing a number of things for the betterment of these people, hoping that they would be reconciled and would be assimilated more and more fully, were watching the situation. The whole system of intelligence was improved. Everything was known to us, even these people becoming a little more assertive that way . . .

**Shri Hem Barua:** Please do not use the word "assimilated"; please use the word 'integrated'.

**Shri Nanda:** Integrated. Thank you. That is better. That is a better word.

A few months ago, this thing was accentuated. Then, Government took certain steps. A hint of this has been given by my colleague. They brought in another battalion. It was found that some of those people were going over to Pakistan also. Hon. Members will know that this area has 180 miles border common with Pakistan and 250 with Burma, and the position there is that because of the terrain and all that, it is next to impossible to guard every point of the order. Therefore, there is facility of movement across the border.

It is known that something of that kind was happening and preparations were being made. Since it was learnt that some people had come trained, with arms, arms in the hands of private persons in the district were being traced. More border posts had been set up. And then, apart from this additional battalion, arrangements were made to bring in more force, Assam Rifles, and they were moving on to this area.

This was the stage where the people there belonging to this section felt that possibly now the forces of

the Government were going to be on them, and maybe they may find themselves incapable of any strong action. Therefore, they started doing certain things prematurely, so far as their own plans were concerned. What further action has been taken, hon. Members know.

There is another factor. Some of the Members have said about neglect of that area, not enough being done about that area, and how are we going to get the full loyalty, patriotism of those people, this and that. If we see things as they are now there, we find plenty of things which one does not like. There should be very much better, more roads, more of other things, that is true, but we are contending against the product of long decades of neglect, and a country which has to deal with problems all over. . . .

**Shri Ranga:** You have added two decades of neglect.

**Shri Nanda:** No, Sir. We have done much more in this period than was done over a century in that area, and much more is in hand, and I believe very quickly the face of that area is going to the different very much than before.

श्री रामसेवक यादव (बानारस) :  
जितनी जल्दी भ्रष्टाचार समाप्त हो गया है,  
उतनी ही जल्दी।

**Shri Nanda:** Hon. Members should have a little patience. It is forgotten that we have also to contend against certain difficulties which are inherent in that situation. Apart from the vast area, small population, difficulty of carrying roads to that area, because of the special character of the soil etc.—I do not want to bother the hon. House with those details. Therefore, it has taken a certain amount of time in coming to grips with those problems and making an impact.

I shall give more details as to what is being done. Some information was given by my hon. friend, as to how much more is being done for this area than for other parts of Assam. I come first to the approach which was suggested by hon. Member Shri Mukerjee. His approach and the remedies which he has suggested possibly apply everywhere. I do not know whether this country will accept the kind of recipes which they have for all kinds of problems, but in this particular case the fact is that there has been that sympathetic approach. He said the Chief Minister should have a certain feeling of sympathy and understanding for the hill people, but that somebody is coming in the way of his going ahead. I think it is not at all correct. He is doing things in his own way and with all the assistance and help from us.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Who gave them the radio station and where is it located? We want to know that.

**Shri Nanda:** If that is all that the hon. Member wants to know about the whole problem, I shall give him that information. After it had started, after that murder, there was emphasis and support for using the Defence of India Rules against all of them or many of them. We will have to do without the DIR in these and other conditions also. The Chief Minister did not do it because his philosophy was and is that if you start using force because some little thing is done, it will not be good. May I add that in that area so far as the Mizos are concerned, people of one group or another, there had been no incidents and very few or little violence, very little of that kind of activity expect what recently happened. If he had done that kind of thing, then the charge would have been: you just gone and made an onslaught on them for little things; you have provoked them and therefore there is an uprising and all this trouble has arisen? We gave them all the freedom to carry on in their

own way. But a point comes when toleration has to cease and that point came when it was known that these people are now engineering some kind of activity which we have to face. Therefore, arrangements were in progress and as more security forces came and were coming these people took thinks in their hands. There was another factor in this trouble and that was economic development itself. It was because more schemes for development were being implemented in that area and people were seeing certain things happening, something about drinking water, roads and other things. The extremist section felt that if this goes on people will get accustomed to all this normal peaceful way of development and therefore their idea of revolt would not possibly materialise. Therefore, they felt that they should act quickly. It was not lack of development; it was the progress of development itself in some way which precipitated the disturbance. I am talking from the reports of what has been happening.

I wish to give some information about development because hon. Member Prakash Vir Shastri referred to this. We had initiated a programme of development which has been growing. A member of the planning commission is there, right now, trying to formulate a bigger programme for that area. In the First Plan, the expenditure was Rs. 63 lakhs; in the Second Plan, 2.11 crores and in the Third Plan Rs. 5.62 crores. That has been the rate in which it has been stepped up because of administrative facilities which had been created; various other things needed, had to be done. The per capita expenditure upto the end of the Third Plan for the district was Rs. 314 as against Rs. 166 for the whole State. Nobody should grudge this to them because they had suffered neglect in the past; it has to be made up. Therefore, this larger expenditure is called for. But let it not be said that the special needs of the area not being attended to. The

[Shri Nanda]

*per capita* expenditure is Rs. 133 for the plains district and Rs. 493 for the hill districts of the State. In 1963-64, the Adviser to the Planning Commission toured the area and the programme was then formulated, which covered all these things: transport, water-supply and various other directions of development. There has been considerable progress; several provisions were made—Rs. 50 lakhs for the year at that time and a similar amount for the next two years. I do not want to burden the House.

**Shri S. N. Chaturvedi** (Firozabad): The charge of Shri Prakash Vir Shastri was that the amounts sanctioned for the development of these districts were being diverted to other places in Assam. We want to know whether there is any truth in it.

**Shri Nanda:** What I have given explain the position. Therefore, the relative position is there. There is so much more for these areas than for the others. Therefore, that charge cannot be sustained.

**Shri R. S. Pandey** (Guna): When it is said that the *per capita* expenditure there is Rs. 314, I want to know, whether these figures are known to them.

**Shri Nanda:** They know these figures in terms of drinking water supply, in terms, of other welfare activities, facilities and so on. (*Interruption*).

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

**Shri Nanda:** A few other points were made by hon. Members. I would like to refer to them. I am particularly thinking of my hon. friend, Shri Swell. He recalled to my mind the occasion, which was heart-warming and touching, when that large congregation was there. I still vividly remember that day in particular, and since then, and before that also, we were in close touch and he will remember how much the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, felt for them and

how much time he gave to their problems and how he tried to find a solution as near to their heart as possible, and how to translate that into practice. Later on, we worked hard together. It may be that it has taken sometime to finalise the terms of reference for this Commission, because the efforts were to see that that formula, those directions, were concretised and were given full shape—as full a shape as possible—and now, the question is, what should be done. As soon as we get the report of the Commission, I am sure with their help and co-operation, everything will be done in order to satisfy the aspirations of the people of that area to which the hon. Member belongs.

There was another view point which was urged. It was that we pampered the Nagas on the one side and we have not done enough on the other: that force should have been used earlier, and steps should have been taken in this direction. Since we do not minimise the seriousness of the threat, we certainly are bound to take the necessary action, and that action has been taken; it was being taken before. I might explain here that we are very sorry that it has to be so, namely, that the army has to be moved in, that it is moving in. It must have reached there—Aijal—now, or earlier possibly, and the road blocks, etc., must have been removed, the culverts were broken and repair work had to be done. Therefore, a little more time than possibly one would like does, and is taken, in these things.

Now, the question is about the future. What is going to be done for the future? While it is very clear to us, and that is what we have been doing—not relying on force and the use of the police and the use of the army so far—steps should be taken, hereafter. As some hon. Members there pointed out, there is the nation's interest, that is all parts of the country are as much part of the Union as any other part, and therefore there

can be no distinction made. Wherever there is any movement of a separatist character, certainly it has to be suppressed. But there, I would like to assure the hon. Members one thing. While there will be no toleration of any kind of revolt, which has to be dealt with, the human aspect will always be kept in view in future. So far as the present situation is concerned, it is being dealt with as it should be. I hope the problem will be solved in a short time.

Our programme of development will continue. I may further assure the hon. members that a large bulk of the population—the Mizo Union, for example, and others—have been there peacefully carrying on their activities. Therefore, it is not as if the whole of that area is in revolt. There is a section and that section has to be dealt with. Then, we will have to resume our developmental activity. Mr. Mukerjee referred to my statement "grievance, if any". What is the meaning? We know the grievances. We have been trying to do whatever is possible. If there is anything more, we will certainly do that also. There is so much common ground regarding the facts and regarding what has to be done. But all that does not constitute any justification for the motion of adjournment that has been brought forward.

**श्री प्रकाशचौर शास्त्री :** उपाध्यक्ष जी, भारत को स्वतन्त्र हुए 19 वर्ष के लगभग व्यतीत होने जा रहे हैं। 19 साल में यह अपने ढंग की पहली घटना मिजो पहाड़ियों में हुई है। जब देश के निवासी किन्हीं व्यक्तियों ने इस प्रकार का उपद्रव किया हो जिससे प्रशासन पूरी तरह से ठप हो जाये और उ. के लिए बागन के किमी देश ने या उन्होंने स्वयं अपने स्वतन्त्र देश होने की घोषणा की हो। आज अपेक्षा थी कि गृह मंत्री कम से कम जहाँ स्वीकार करते हैं कि वहाँ के लोग सीधे हैं, बड़े भावुक प्रकृति के हैं, आज कामरोको प्रस्ताव के उत्तर में भाषण देते हुए वह इतना अवश्य कह देते कि वहाँ के लोगों की समस्याओं

का अध्ययन करने के लिए मैं शीघ्र ही मिजो पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में जाऊंगा और जाकर के सारी स्थिति का अध्ययन करूंगा। . . . .  
(व्यवधान) . . . . भ्रच्छा, जायेंगे तो मुझे खुशी है। दूसरी बात जो मैं सुनना चाहता था वह यह है कि गृह मंत्री कम से कम इस बात को अवश्य कह देते कि अब तक मिजो पहाड़ियों की प्रगति के संबंध में या विकास के संबंध में जितनी भी भ्रर्थ की व्यवस्था होती रही और जिस आधार पर वह भ्रर्थ पूरा मिजो पहाड़ियों के विकास में न लग सका केन्द्रीय सरकार स्वयं अब इस बात की देख रेख करेगी कि उनके लिए जितना फंड एलाट होता है वह खर्च होता है या नहीं। श्री फखरुद्दीन अहमद साहब ने पता नहीं केन्द्रीय सरकार के सिचाई मंत्री होने के नाते केन्द्रीय सरकार का प्रतिनिधत्व करते हुए अपना वक्तव्य अभी दिया या अपनी पुरानी बातों की सफाई में अपना वक्तव्य दिया है। उन्होंने यह तो कहा है कि आसाम के और भागों में जहा प्रति व्यक्ति 160 रुपये व्यय हुआ है वहाँ मिजो पहाड़ियों के भ्रन्वर 350 रुपये व्यय हुआ है। लेकिन श्री फखरुद्दीन साहब इस बात को नहीं बता सके कि इतना सब कुछ होने के बाद भी क्या उन लोगों की जो प्रतिदिन की कठिनाईयाँ थीं जैसे उनके पीने के पानी की समस्या का समाधान हो गया? उनकी यातायात की समस्या का समाधान हो गया? उनके खाने की समस्या का पूरा समाधान हो गया? या कम से कम यही बता देते कि यह प्रति व्यक्ति 350 रुपये का व्यय जो उनके लिए हुआ है, जितना फंड उनके लिए आसाम की सरकार ने या केन्द्रीय सरकार ने एलाट किया था या वह पूरा का पूरा उन के ऊपर व्यय हो गया है या नहीं? एक बात उन्होंने और कही कि एस० पी० की पोस्ट एबालिश नहीं की गई बल्कि डिप्टी कमिश्नर ही एस० पी० का काम करता है। लेकिन श्री फखरुद्दीन साहब क्या इस बात को बतायेंगे कि डिप्टी कमिश्नर जो वहाँ एस० पी० का काम करता है, यह बीच में इस प्रकार का निर्णय लिया गया

[श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री]

जब एस० पी० को पोस्ट एनालिश की गई  
या . . . . .

श्री फखरुद्दीन ग्रहमद : फाम दि विगि-  
निग । शुरू से ।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : तो ठीक है,  
मैं उनकी बात को स्वीकार करता हूँ ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना  
चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आज की जो स्थिति  
है जैसा कि मैंने प्रारम्भ में कहा कि श्री नन्दा  
अगर इस बात की इस हाजस में सफाई कर पाते  
कि यह जो प्रशासन तंत्र पूरी तरह से वहाँ  
छिन्नभिन्न हो गया है और जिस प्रकार से वहाँ  
उन्होंने अपने स्वतन्त्र होने की घोषणा की है ।  
एक और पाकिस्तान जो तामकंद एरीमेंट की  
घाड़ में आकर जिस तरह से सरकार को  
मोड़ में डाले हुए है और दूसरी ओर मिचो  
पहाड़ियों के बारे में जिस प्रकार से ब्रह्मकास्ट  
कर रहा है या बी० बी० सी० रेडियो जिस  
प्रकार से ब्रह्मकास्ट कर रहा है . . .

इसके लिए अगर कोई संतोषजनक समा-  
धान इस सदन को दे पाते तो मैं सन्नतता हूँ  
कि मुझे काम रोको प्रस्ताव यहाँ प्रस्तुत करने  
की आवश्यकता ही नहीं होती । लेकिन  
श्री नन्दा के उत्तर से और श्री फखरुद्दीन ग्रहमद  
के उत्तर से न मुझे संतोष हुआ है और  
मेरा अनुमान है कि देश को ही संतोष होगा  
इसलिए मैं यहाँ चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को  
उपस्थित किया जाय और इस सरकार पर  
नन्दा के प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार किया जाय ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question  
is:

"That the House do now ad-  
journ".

Those in favour of the motion may  
please say "Aye".

Some hon. Members: "Ayes".

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Those against  
the motion may please say "No".

Several hon. Members: "No."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The "Noes"  
have it.

Some hon. Members: "Ayes" have  
it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the lob-  
bies be cleared. I shall again put the  
motion to the vote of the House. The  
question is:

"That the House do now ad-  
journ".

*The motion was negatived*

18.44.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have to  
inform the House that the hon. Spea-  
ker has received the following mes-  
sage dated the 2nd March, 1968, from  
the President:

"I have received with great sa-  
tisfaction the expression of thanks  
by the Members of the Lok Sa-  
bha for the Address I delivered  
to both the Houses of Parliament  
assembled together on the 14th  
February, 1968".

18.45 hrs.

RAILWAY BUDGET—GENERAL  
DISCUSSION—contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri A. T.  
Sarma may continue his speech.

Shri A. T. Sarma (Chatrapur): Mr.  
Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to bring  
to the notice of the hon. Minister for  
Railways some grievances of my  
State.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon.  
Member may continue tomorrow.

18.46 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till  
Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March  
4, 1968/Phalgun 13, 1887 (Saka).