

**Mr. Speaker:** I said that the hon. members could speak at that time.

The question is:

"That Clauses 1 to 4, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The next item is Statutory Resolution.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** The Supplementary Demands for Grants . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Resolution should be taken up first according to the agenda. The Minister is absent.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** On behalf of Shri Manubhai Shah . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I rise on a point of order. Under Rule 76, if my memory serves me right.

**Mr. Speaker:** Nobody is going out to bring the Minister.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** You held against us when we said that we were not prepared . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** Not against.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Anyway, I hope this Rule 76 applies *mutatis mutandis* to Resolution also. When a Bill stands or when a Resolution stands in the name of a particular Minister, unless cogent reasons are given to the House for his absence, another Minister cannot be permitted to move that motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shall we take up the half-an-hour discussion?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Yes; that may be taken.

16.50 hrs.

#### HELP TO MIZO AND NAGA HOS- TILES\* BY PAKISTAN AND CHINA

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Hem Barua:

**Shri Hem Barua:** (Gauhati): A section of the Naga people and a section of the Mizo people are in open revolt against the Government of India which is, in a legal and constitutional sense, their own Government also. There are people in this country who suffer from myopic vision and at the same time suffer from an expert-mania and who offer all sorts of arguments for this open revolt. To say that these people are economically backward and they are in the backyard of civilisation and that is why they have revolted against the Indian Government is only a half-truth. True it is that the British held the hills of Assam for about 70 years, and it is also true that the British did not do anything substantial towards the economic uplift of these people or towards creating a comprehensive Indian mind so far as these people are concerned. They remained separate, isolated from the broad current of life in the rest of India. The British power went to the hills with the sword in one hand and *The Bible* in the other. For reasons best known to them, the hills were isolated from the plains and maintained as close preserves of those alien rulers, and the hills people were sought to be preserved only as museum pieces by those rulers. But, unfortunately, during these nineteen years of freedom also, the Government of free India have done nothing substantial to destroy and demolish these barriers artificially imposed by the alien rulers between different sections of the Indian community.

We must not forget that these hills people are the bone of our bones and the flesh of our flesh. The fact that an Indian of the plains willing to visit Nagaland or the Mizo Hills has to obtain permission from the appropriate

\*Half an hour discussion.

Government authorities is an anachronism, I would say, against time. On the other hand, what happens is that the rebel Nagas and the rebel Mizos are given a free access to go to East Pakistan, collect arms and ammunition from there and at the same time to have guerilla training, so far as the volunteers are concerned, in the camps jointly managed by China and East Pakistan. My question is: Why is it that you have not succeeded so far during these nineteen years of freedom to seal the border. Is it because of the fact that our Government are a bunch of impotent people? The unfortunate result of this policy pursued by the Government of free India *vis-a-vis* the hills of Assam is an approval given to the isolationist psychology built up, created, nourished and fostered, preserved and promoted by the British rulers. That comprehensive Indian outlook without which no political integration is possible is yet to be created and yet to be promoted by the Government of free India. Because of this and because of the separatist psychology fostered by the alien rulers, the hills people who want separation from India have based their argument on one reason namely that they are not Indians because they are Mongoloids. This argument is based on the Peking theory propounded by Mao Tse-tung according to which the basis of a State should be an ethnic group, and an ethnic group must constitute into an integrated State, the people belonging to that group. This is the Peking theory propounded by Mao Tse-tung and it is on the basis of this theory that these people advance the argument that they are not Indians and that they want a separate State, a sovereign State and an independent State outside the Indian Union. But this Peking theory propounded by Mao Tse-tung also is an anachronism against the fundamentals that constitute the structural basis of modern States. Since the rebel sections of the Nagas and the Mizos have openly repudiated their allegiance to the Indian Union, they have tried to interna-

nationalise their demand for independence and by now, particularly the Naga hostiles have succeeded in focusing their demand for an independent State into the international stage and into international spotlight.

Now, so far as the Mizos are concerned, they have also succeeded, in a large measure, in drawing international attention to their problem. The letter written by Mr. Laldenga, the President of the Mizo National Front, to the Indonesian President seeking his active help and support in their rebellion for a separate independent State is an instance in point. Besides that, the very fact that the Mizos are also collecting, like the Naga hostiles, arms and ammunition from East Pakistan also establishes my contention that the Mizo hostiles have succeeded in internationalising their demand for a separate independent sovereign state. Besides this, news has come today that the Mizo hostiles, particularly the Mizo National Front, have sent their volunteers to East-Pakistan for training in centres that are jointly manned and run by China and Pakistan. For what? For guerilla tactics, for training in guerilla warfare. And what about the guerillas? They depend on deception for their success. Deception is the basic technique of the guerillas.

And what about the rebel Nagas? The rebel Nagas have been doing the same thing. They have been most effectively collecting arms and ammunition from Pakistan during the last few years.

I remember when on the floor of the House the question of their obtaining arms and ammunition cropped up, the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, used to say that these arms and ammunition must be the leftovers of World War II, Japanese arms and ammunition. But ultimately it was brought to our notice that this was not the case, that these are brand new arms and ammunition from East Pakistan procured by the Naga hostiles.

And what about the Naga hostiles? They have also an argument, a very interesting argument.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** Is he not damaging the cause we have all at heart when the round of talks are proceeding to a successful conclusion, when they are giving up their demand for independence? It is unstatesman-like on the part of the hon. Member to belittle all that and say what he has said.

**Shri Hem Barua:** If people choose to ignore facts, if people, like Shri Joachim Alva, develop a myopic vision and lived in a fool's paradise, I cannot help it. I am sorry for people like him. I know them more intimately than Shri Alva does, and if I may be permitted to make a prophesy, these talks are going to flounder on the rock of Naga intransigence.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** A bad prophet.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Whatever that may be, their argument is this. A Naga underground leader happened to meet me in Gauhati and he offered an argument. He said that 'if India can procure arms and ammunition from friendly countries for the defence of her security and freedom, why can't we procure arms and ammunition to safeguard the interest of our country against Indian aggression?' This is the argument offered by the underground Naga leaders. They have done it.

Both the Nagas and the Mizos have constituted their own governments. Recently, while coming to meet the Prime Minister, a Naga underground leader said that the Government of India had already recognised the rebel government of the Nagas, that is, the Naga Federal Government. The hostile Nagas have established their own government as early as 22nd March 1956. And what about the hostile Mizos? They have also disclosed that they have also constituted a rebel government. The disclosure is to be found in the letter written by Mr. Laldenga, President of the MNF to the Indonesian President in January 1966.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** That is all past history now.

**Shri Hem Barua:** They have repercussions today also.

The rebel Naga and Mizo leaders have been collecting arms and ammunition from Pakistan all these years. They are openly collaborating with our enemies, China and Pakistan. I am sorry to tell you that our Government have done nothing to stop with a firm hand these anti-Indian activities indulged in by a section of the Indian people, which the Mizos and the the Nagas invariably are. And that is my trouble.

17.00 hrs.

My own submission is this. Every Indian has a basic right to voice his aspirations, but no Indian should ever be allowed to go counter to the Indian Union and to demand breaking away from the Indian Union, from this country, demand a separate, sovereign, independent State. It is a treasonable act, I say. I say Nagas are as much Indians as we are, Mizos are as much Indians as we are.

The Nagas, we must know, have been collecting arms and ammunition from Pakistan on innumerable occasions, but it was only on three occasions that our security forces succeeded in detecting them. This was told to me by the Naga underground leader who met me in Gauhati.

What did our Government do after detection? Did our Government try to demolish the arms and ammunitions so collected by these Naga hostiles from East Pakistan, or did our Government take any measures against these Indians, these Nagas who have been indulging in this treasonable act against this country? No, nothing was done.

In 1964, Mr. Lal Denga, President of the Mizo National Front, was arrested with a convoy of arms from Pakistan as he crossed into India, but what happened to him, what step was taken against him for this treasonable act? Nothing. Why? Simply because he

wrote a letter to the Chief Minister of Assam assuring good conduct in future; he was let off simply on the basis of this letter. But when one fine morning in 1966, Mr. Lal Denga rose in armed revolt against the Government of India and declared the Mizo Hills a sovereign, independent State, Mr. Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam, bemoaned like a woman in the Assam Assembly. He said: "Oh, the Mizos have betrayed me."

It is because of such a weak-kneed policy pursued by the Government of Assam, and particularly the Chief Minister of Assam, that the Mizo nationalist leaders wrote to our Prime Minister in June 1966 thus:

"He (meaning Mr. Chaliha) is responsible for all the disturbed situation in fair and peaceful Mizo Hills; it is his and only his creation."

At present both the Nagas and Mizo hostiles are in active collusion. They want to establish terror from Aijal to Kohima via Imphal, further up to Shillong and further up to the north-east end of NEFA touching the border of China.

On the eve of their departure for Delhi in April, 1966, the hostile Naga leaders circulated a document known as the "Nagaland Declaration of Peace" to the Governments of Burma, Pakistan and China. It is reported that they circulated this document to the Government of USA and USSR also, through "some friends of the Federal Government" as they say. The letter of Mr. Lal Denga to the Indonesian President establishes the fact that the Mizo hostiles are following the same pat as the Naga hostiles have been following, in order to internationalise their demand for freedom.

Apart from Pakistan's open complicity in the affairs of Nagaland as also the complicity of the Rev. Michael Scott, whom Indian public opinion has succeeded in getting expelled from this country, there is a powerful Anglo-American organisation with

headquarters in London and branches in Chittagong, Cox's Bazaar and Dacca in East Pakistan. This organisation is financing Naga hostiles. They are helping them with funds and all these things, and this organisation has the blessings of the Baptist Mission as also the blessings of a couple of Anglo-American religious missions. Mr. Phizo and his associates are paid by this organisation in London. It has also paid agents in certain strategic areas of India and Pakistan. The *Observer* and the *Guardian* group of newspapers are closely associated with this organisation. Thus an international conspiracy has been successfully built up by these Indian rebels through the active help and support of Pakistan. I will conclude in half a minute, Sir. By acts of subversion, sabotage and violence with the help of foreign arms both the Naga and Mizo rebels are out to demoralise the local citizens. If this conspiracy is allowed to develop and ripen, I am afraid the entire strip of land on our eastern frontier upto the Chinese territory would be hostile to us with obvious consequences. With the Chinese fraternising with the Pakistanis, the sinister hand of China in the affairs of rebel Nagas is all too visible.

**Shri N. R. Laskar** (Karimganj): It must be admitted that in spite of strong action against Mizo rebels things are not still well there and peace has not come to Mizo Hills. Moreover because of recent floods even road communications leading upto Sitchan from Aijal and Shillong are dislocated. I do not know whether the Government is making any attempt to restore at least the road communications to the vital plain district of Cachar, with Hill areas, so that it may help mobility. It is not good simply saying that we are looking into it; action must follow.

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs** (Shri Vidya Charan Shukla): A few new points have been raised by the hon. Member Shri Hem Barua. Most of the

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other points that he mentioned have been raised in this House many times and they have also been answered here. The most important point that has been raised by the hon. Member is about the alleged complicity of Pakistan and China in these attempts of some of the tribal people of India to gain independence. The Home Minister has several times stated here that we have found definite evidence of arms supply by Pakistan to the Mizos and also to the Nagas. But it was not correct to say that our efforts to prevent this kind of supply, to prevent gangs of armed rebels going over to Pakistan to get training and arms and ammunition have not succeeded. In the last three years we have foiled many more attempts of these people to go over to Pakistan and get training than we had done in earlier years. Mizo Hills have a long common border with Pakistan. Because of the terrain there it has been very difficult, to begin with, to prevent these people from crossing over to Pakistan. That was also a little complicated because Mizos are also living on the Pakistan side. That is to say Mizo tribals are found on the Pakistan side and Pakistani Mizos and Indian Mizos look alike and there are all kinds of complications. But with the border security forces taking over control and increased number of border security check posts on the border, we have been able to do a good deal in this matter. I must also compliment the Government of Burma in giving us splendid co-operation in this matter. It is now almost impossible for any of these rebels to go over to Pakistan through the territory of Burma. We have been having very good co-operation from them and our success in that area because of the co-operation of the Burmese Government has to a little extent helped us to divert our forces from that frontier where we had to put our forces and guard against people going to Burma. Now, we have been able to divert our forces and deploy them to

prevent hostile Nagas and Mizos from going over to Pakistan. The ammunition and arms that we have been capturing from the hostile Nagas and Mizos, have shown interesting trends. As the hon. Member was mentioning, to begin with, in the earlier years of Naga rebellion, it was the second world war things that were left over that were being used. Later on, when Pakistan began to help the rebel Nagas, the Pakistani arms came into the picture. Now, most weapons that were captured from the rebel tribals have no markings at all. Some of them have Indian markings, and it is open to guess whether the Indian markings are deliberately put by the Pakistanis on those weapons or whether they are the weapons lost by some of our security forces during the encounters. But weapons with Indian markings have been very few. However, we have not been able to establish properly whether these are the Pakistan arms or not. But most of the arms, as I said earlier, which have been captured from the rebel tribals did originate from Pakistan.

**Shri Joachim Alva** Are the weapons seized today much less in quantity than before?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** We have been able to seize many more weapons now than before.

Several things have been said about the development of the area and about the so-called British plot to isolate the tribal areas from India. It is a well-known thing that the British did try to isolate the tribals from India. But after Independence, the House knows that very strenuous efforts have been made to assimilate the tribal culture with our own culture and to give the tribals a feeling of being Indians, and a tremendous amount of money, if you take it *per capita*, has been spent in these hill areas of Assam, to develop those areas and to bring about the emotional integration with the rest of India. But, Shri Hem Barua himself knows that this is an extremely com-

plicated situation and both the plains Assamese and the tribals are extremely sensitive about these attempts to integrate them emotionally and otherwise. Because of these complicated sentimental problems between the hill tribals and the plain Assamese, these measures have been complicated a good deal. But I am sure Shri Hem Barua will bear me out when I say that honest and sincere attempts have been made to see that the tribals in these hill areas do get a feeling of intergration and belonging.

**Shri Ranga** (Chittoor): The hon. hon. Minister does not even take note of the hint that I have given; kindly address them as tribal people and not as tribals, because they do not like the word "tribal". (*Interruption*).

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla**: Then, Shri Hem Barua also mentioned about training camps run jointly by Pakistan and China. Training camps, as has been said in this House, have been run by Pakistan. We have some reports of Chinese personnel in these camps, but we are not yet sure of the extent to which the Chinese have collaborated in these training camps, for, our rebel tribals who go over to....

**Shri Ranga**: He is repeating the same word again. (*Interruption*).

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta Central): If members from those regions were Members of this House and if he referred to us in that manner, it would have hurt us like hell. (*Interruption*).

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla**: Then, Shri Hem Barua also said that to hold talks with underground Nagas would tantamount to recognizing their Naga federal government. It has been denied in this House and I again want to deny that holding talks with derground, so-called federal government amount to recognizing their underground, so-called federal government.

**Shri Hem Barua**: They themselves have said like that.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla**: Then, the points which have been raised have been covered. So, I will now give some new information to the House about the action that we have taken to strengthen the civil administration and also to increase the security measures in our borders. In the Mizo hills, the situation has been particularly difficult because of the terrain and because of the common frontier with Pakistan. There, as the House knows, the difficulty lies also in the matter of transport. There has been only one major road, and so we have made efforts to open up more areas in the Mizo district so that not only the security forces but also the civilians who administer the area could contact other people living in the interior of the district.

As I said, road transport in that district is not satisfactory, but we are trying to improve the road communications there. We are opening up more and more administrative centres. That would also be manned by security policemen.

**Shri Basumatari** (Goalpara): Is it not a fact that only since the atrocities took place in Nagaland and Mizo Hills, then only the Government at the Centre seems to know the difficulties of those areas? Otherwise, there is a complaint from the Assam Government that the Government of India were neglecting those areas and did not give enough money to the extent required for developing communications and for other developmental purposes in those areas?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla**: As I said, a good deal of money has been spent in that area for developmental purposes. It is another matter whether sufficient money was spent or not. I would say sufficient money has not been spent for development in any part of the country, because our needs are so tremendous that it is not possible to meet them. But if you see the per capita expenditure for developmental purposes in these

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hill districts of Assam, you would not say that these areas have been neglected.

Before I sit down, I would like to inform the House about one new development. Pakistan has now started recruiting the Garo tribals and other tribal people who are on the Pakistan side into their army. This is a new thing we have noticed and we are watching the situation carefully. I would like to assure the House that we are very careful and vigilant on the border and we are doing our best to see that the situation which was bad improves. I am quite sure in the coming years, we shall be able to establish peace in these areas and integrate them properly with the rest of the country.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** The Minister said that the Mizo tribals have got their counterparts or relations on the other side. The same position also arises where the Pakistanis are concerned, this way or that way. May I know whether the Government is not adopting the same stern and strict measures in the case of the crossing over of tribals as they adopt in the case of Pakistanis crossing over this way or that way, so that these lapses do not recur?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** We are adopting stern measures to see that these illegal crossings do not take place.

**श्री विजय बिहारी मेहरोत्रा (बिल्हौर) :**  
यह नागाओं से जो शांति वार्ता चल रही है क्या आप समझते हैं कि उस का जारी रखना जरूरी है ?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** We are not handling the peace talks with the Nagas.

**Shri Ranga:** Would the Government consider the possibility of pursuing the same line that the Pakistanis are pursuing? When they are recruiting Mizos into their army, can we not also try to do the same so far as our people are concerned?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Prof. Ranga knows that we have a very large number of Mizos in our armed forces. As a matter of fact, in Mizo district, there is a sizeable number of ex-servicemen.

**Shri Parashar (Shivpuri):** May I know on what status does the Government talk with the underground Nagas? Does the Government bring that status to their notice before entering into talks with them?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** As I said, we are not handling this matter.

17.20 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, August 17, 1966|Sravana 26, 1888 (Saka).*