



**PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH SESSION (FOURTEENTH ASSEMBLY) OF THE NAGALAND
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ASSEMBLED UNDER THE SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.**

**THE HOUSE ASSEMBLED AT THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, KOHIMA AT 9:30 A.M. ON
THURSDAY,**

THE 29TH AUGUST, 2024

WITH HON'BLE SPEAKER SHRI SHARINGAIN IN CHAIR.

MR. SPEAKER: A very good morning, Hon'ble Members I now call the House to order. We shall start the business listed for today. The list of business as you are well aware is uploaded to your system. We have quite a number of pertinent issues for discussion and several Government businesses to discuss today, and so we start with Item No. 1 Questions. Starred question No. 12, Shri Achumbemo Kikon may take the time.

STARRED QUESTION NO. 12

FOUR LANE ROAD FROM DIMAPUR TO KOHIMA

SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF)	SHRI T.R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER AND MINISTER-IN- CHARGE OF PWD (NATIONAL HIGHWAYS)
Will the Minister-in-charge of P.W.D (National Highways) be pleased to state:	
1. a) The duration for the completion of the construction of four lane road from Dimapur to Kohima.	The duration for completion of the construction of four lane road from Dimapur to Kohima as per Contract Agreement are as under: i) Dimapur-Kohima Road, PKG-I: likely date of completion-31.12.2024. ii) Dimapur-Kohima Road, PKG-II: Project completed on 10.06.2023. iii) Dimapur-Kohima Road, PKG_III (Road Works): 2 years from the declaration of appointment Date, scheduled competition date 28.09.2025.

<p>b) The reason for delay in completing the Project.</p>	<p>i) Delay in providing encumbrance and hindrance free site.</p> <p>ii) Unseasonal and Seasonal Rainfall.</p> <p>iii) Strikes, bandhs leading to adverse law and order problems.</p> <p>iv) Delay in utility shifting</p> <p>v) Working constraints due to frequent landslides, local customs and religious sentiments sliding in pagalapahar area, etc.</p> <p>vi) Delay due to COVID-19 Pandemic</p> <p>vii) Delay due to stoppage of work by locals.</p> <p>viii) Delay due to EPC Contractor's default, Improper Planning, Inadequate Manpower.</p> <p>ix) Delay due to termination of 02 Nos EPC Contractor for slow progress of work and default of EPC Contractor in Dimapur- Kohima Road (PKG-III).</p> <p>(Source: As per Implementation Agency (NHIDCL))</p>
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SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF): Thank you, Speaker, Sir, I must put on record my appreciation to Mr. Imkong Imchen the day before yesterday, in the first day of the session he gave a notice for half an hour discussion on this very issue. But I have put up this question for more clarity since it concerns all of us on the Dimapur- Kohima National Highway. I remember Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I was President NSF, 2003 as mentioned in our discussion the day before yesterday as well as our former Hon'ble Prime Minister of India Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee came and there were many commitments given especially two commitments one is the four lanes National Highway of Kohima-Dimapur Road, so 2003 to 2024 that means it is already 21 years. Another one is the launching of BSNL, even in Nagaland you see the functioning of the BSNL especially the Network has been already overtaken by private companies like Airtel, Aircel and Vodafone. So, these are the two important gifts given to us by former Prime Minister Shri Vajpayee. At that time, I was the President of NSF therefore, I was also given the BSNL number, I also remember that the first batch was given to the VIPs only, and so I was so happy that I was given in that VIP category in the BSNL distribution of number but it is also still dysfunctional same with this National Highway. Now the question I have raised to the Hon'ble Deputy Chief Minister Minister-in-charge of National Highway, the duration for completion of this Dimapur- Kohima Road, is already 20 years of course the work started a little later than the

commitment, but if you see the progress of the road as we have discussed the other day, I am not convinced with the answer to my question. Deputy Chief Minister has stated the likely date of completion for the Dimapur-Kohima Road Pkg-I, what do you mean by 'likely'? The likely date of completion is 31st December 2024, there are many English words to be used but the word 'likely' I think I need more explanation from the Minister, I cannot take this for granted. There has to be a timeline/time period for the completion of the project. Now another question is for the Pkg- II the reply to my question is project was completed on the 10th of June 2023, but where is the completion? We have been shuttling from Kohima to Dimapur almost every day there is no semblance of completing the road even for a stretch of 10-20 feet forget about the kilometer, Speaker Sir, even 10-20 feet there is no proper completion so how can they say or reply to me that it is already completed. Who has given the certificate of completion? Is it the National Highway Department or the Minister-in-charge, who is responsible for this? I am told that the completion certificate has been given for the Pkg-II; all of us have seen since we are shuttling between Kohima-Dimapur. Where is the semblance of completion and how can a certificate be given for the completion? Another one is NHIDCL, I have information that it seems they have appointed two contractors in one portion of the mudslide area, one for slope safety measures to control the mudslide portion, and another contractor for road construction. So how can they execute it in one go Mr. Speaker Sir, how can this portion of work at the mudslide area be given to two contractors? How will they coordinate and work, especially in this rainy season? So, these are a few questions where I need an elaborate answer from the Hon'ble Deputy Chief Minister Shri T.R. Zeliang.

MR. SPEAKER: Secretary-in-Charge to note the question pertaining to the present discussion is to be corrected as Starred Question No.12.

SHRI T.R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, PLANNING & TRANSFORMATION, NATIONAL HIGHWAY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the reply to this supplementary question No. 1. Why we have mentioned this 'likely date of completion of project for Pkg-I' is because as per specification in the contract agreement, the work has been completed 99.81% physical progress, and financial progress 98.86%. As per the contract agreement the work has been completed in Pkg-I. But unfortunately, before issuing this completion certificate the rockfall started and mudslides started here and there. That is how the law of contract works, the contractor had been made responsible to clear all this. Later on, they added some additional work like crust barrier and rock sliding protection works. So, unless both these two additional works are completed the main road cannot be completed and they cannot issue this completion certificate. That is why there appears to be uncertainty that is the reason why they

have mentioned 'likely date of completion is 31st December 2024', and that is the reason given 'Likely'. Otherwise as per the contract agreement and as per the revised contract agreement completion date was supposed to be 30th November, 2022 i.e. answer to supplementary question No.1. Supplementary question No. 2 regarding Pkg-II, yes, the completion certificate was issued by NHIDCL for which we are not satisfied with the report. That is why we had a meeting at the Chief Minister level, the Chief Minister has called the meeting and we have invited ED (Executive Director) and other officials from NHIDCL, and we questioned them on how and why they have issued Completion Certificate. Whereas in some portions near Piphema, coming up from Dimapur before reaching Piphema, even road divider works are not executed about 150 to 200 metres and in some portion of the package, the bridge retaining walls are not completed. So, how can you issue Completion Certificate? They could not give satisfactory reply in the meeting. However, we had directed the NHIDCL that henceforth, there should be a joint verification involving Chief Engineer (National Highway), DC of the respective District and some important Public Organization in that locality thereafter only Completion Certificate should be issued and I was made to understand that they will do the needful in future, that is reply to supplementary question No. 2. No.3. On our visit to the spot yesterday, I along with Smti Salhoutuonuo Kruse, Hon'ble Minister, we met both the consultant. One is consultant for slope mud sliding from the source and the other consultant group is for road clearing. So, in course of our discussion with these two consultants in presence of the ED (NHIDCL), Engineer-in-Chief (PWD), Chief Engineer (National Highway), Chief Engineer (Roads & Bridges) we questioned them. Study can be done during this season but execution of work, how can they execute at this point of time in this kind of season? So, we agreed that expertise specialist group from IIT, some have come from Bombay and some from Guwahati as the Committee was constituted by the State Government. The study is okay on the ground but how can they work parallel, road construction and the protection on mud sliding from this slope. So, we have instructed both the group to study the natural gravity in this particular area that is Zubza-Sechu area on the ground in consultation with the local leaders because the local people know better how it used to happen during summer. We also instructed them to complete the study during this rainy season. The work should have been started by November-December last year so that permanent safety measures can be created during the dry season but at this season since they are still studying on the ground, they are helpless. Some people working on top and some on the road also collided and misunderstanding came up and we are also given to understand that the contractor did not comply as directed by the NHIDCL. And the NHIDCL directed that sufficient machinery should be deployed from both end so that the mudslide down to the road could be cleared up within 2/3 days but initially contractor refuse to work. So, the last 2 days when there was no rain, there was no machinery working on the spot.

So, we have instructed ED (NHIDCL) that he should issue notice to the contractor, if he does not comply then intend to terminate the contract should be issued. So, ED had replied us that he has already issued notice to the contractor. Because any hindrance created in the particular package, it is the responsibility of the contractor to clear the road, not by anybody so that is already incorporated in the contract agreement as well as in the guideline of National Highway. So, the two-groups working on the ground was made clear and we have already directed to clear the road first then permanent safety work can be started only by November-December that was our instruction.

SHRI KUZHOLUZO NIENU (NPF): Speaker Sir, a point of contention. In the first instance, we are happy to see that the notice served to ED by the Commissioner & Secretary, Works and Housing on 26th for landslide clearance at National Highway-29, so also, I am happy that some sensible citizens and contractors has taken the NHIDCL to court. A court order had come out yesterday. But Mr. Speaker Sir, yesterday in the discussion I raised a question. The lack of seriousness in the NHIDCL department for the past 2 assemblies, there is no question for PWD, Roads & Bridges. All the question is aimed at NHIDCL so, yesterday I stated that all the NHIDCL work in the State is in total mess and this question justify my statement No.1. No. 2. My Unstarred Question and my friend, Achumbemo's Starred Question is similar in nature, everything is similar but the dates given in my Unstarred Question is different and here it is different again. In my Unstarred Question, completion of date they have given appointed dated was on 3rd of August 2016 and Completion date 2nd of August 2016. Yes, we have to forgive them that must be a printing mistake but how can they have cross violation on the answers. That answer is different, this answer is different, which answers to take? Not only their work, Mr. Speaker Sir, their answers itself is also criminal in nature that is why I was saying those people has gone to court but that is not enough. The criminal case should be registered on NHIDCL or even the cabinet should take it up with the CBI for enquiry on all the NHIDCL projects. This is what I want to say, Sir.

SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF): Mr. Speaker Sir, I am not satisfied with the reply. I would like to give time through your chair to the Hon'ble Minister, Deputy Chief Minister to please talk to the NHIDCL after lunch and give me an assurance that the word 'likely' has to be replaced by 'it shall be' completed by this year, December. Our Deputy Chief Minister Sir has highlighted that the actual completion should take place on 30th of November 2022 that is what I heard from you but now it has been extended for another 2 years. How can they still tell me that it will be likely, 'No', I will not accept this one. Therefore, please give him time till lunch and talk to the NHIDCL. I need a concrete assurance here, Speaker Sir. There is a little confusion here.

Speaker Sir, it is like our Government functioning, we have an Advisor who holds a portfolio but who is not answerable so also the NHIDCL who are actually the hands-off affairs, constructing, running and drawing the money but our hon'ble Deputy Chief Minister is assigned to answer. Actually, he is designated as Minister in-Charge of Highway, I do not know if he has or has no control over the National Highway, how do we function? He is only conveying the message to me through the NHIDCL. And therefore, I want a concrete assurance and even the completion certificate is issued without the knowledge of the Government, it is within the parameter, within the jurisdiction of Nagaland Government even if the contract is being tendered/bided in New Delhi or somewhere, it is working within our State, without the knowledge of the State Government how can they issue completion certificate, that also has to be re-examined. There is one more question where I also want some more enlightenment. We have discussed little bit the other day, Niuland to Zhadima was actually sanctioned as capital by-pass which means to say that since this is the only existing National Highway connecting the one and only commercial city for the Nagaland State and the capital city Kohima. So, Government has put another idea that they will another bypass this road also we have already debated yesterday little bit, but I need little more enlightenment on this.

And as far as the second portion of my question, the reason for delay in completing the project, there are so many funny statements here, working constraints due to frequent landslide. Speaker Sir, we cannot always blame the nature, yes, nature has its own fury to attack the human beings when we are not very kind to the nature, that is also a universal truth. But, as far as the work on the ground is concerned, there is no planning at all. I do not know what kind of company we have engaged. We have travelled almost all over India, where highways are constructed in terrain like ours only, specially Uttarakhand terrain all this portions when they can construct a world class highway, why not a small portion about 70Kms I wanted to recall what Shri. Vajpayee have said, when he came to Dimapur, he has to be taken up to Kohima by this road through vehicle, so our officers must have told him that this is the best road and he was shocked it seems, if this is the best road you can imagine the rest of the roads in Nagaland. So, the best road 20 years back has actually become a nightmare for us, it is very scary to travel in our National Highway. How can they still give us reply like this, giving us reasons like working constraints due to frequent landslides, local customs and religious sentiments, what are these answers? Speaker Sir, sliding in Pakala Pahar area, delayed due to COVID-19 pandemic, ok, that we can understand a little bit, delayed due to stoppage of work by locals. I need little clarity from the hon'ble Minister, who has actually disturbed them? What are the hindrances? Local people have been cooperating and everyone is talking of completing the road at the earliest. Delayed due to EBC contractors' default, improper planning, inadequate manpower,

who is admitting this improper planning, that is how it is sinking every day, we cannot only blame the nature because there is no proper planning. How can you always blame the nature when there is inadequate manpower, I myself have seen on the 14th August this month, I was on my way to Bhandari to attend the 15th August program. I started little early but I had to stop because the whole portion sank down that previous night and they were clearing the road with one JCB on the spot. Speaker Sir, I have seen with my naked eyes, I am telling you, only one JCB was available there. Only two days back Minister in-Charge of National Highway has told us that 72 hours have been given. Infact, this notice it was too little too late. That would have been given long before, after ten days giving them 72 hours to complete, no, that is not the way we should be controlling this people. Only one machine was available, there are lots of discrepancies and we cannot let this people go like this, therefore I need some more answers on these questions, Speaker Sir.

SHRI IMKONG L. IMCHEN (BJP) ADVISOR, SOIL & WATER CONSERVATION, IPR :

Speaker Sir, before the hon'ble Minister reply I want to put a supplementary question. Whether the Department of National Highway acknowledges that there is a slackness complacency on the part of NHIDCL in executing the contract work of National Highway-29. If the Department acknowledges, what kind of action you are contemplating to take under National Highway law?

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER : Speaker Sir, allow me to intervene. As mentioned, the then hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Vajpayeeji came to Nagaland in October, 2003 when I took over as Chief Minister. He was very kind and out of his thousand plus financial package four-lane from Dimapur to Kohima was committed. Unfortunately, the BJP Government led by Shri. Vajpayeeji lost the Lok Sabha election in 2004 and this National Highway declaration was kept in the cold storage when the UPA-1 and UPA-II came to power at the center. Also, the other commitments were also not sanctioned. Only when BJP led Government NDA came to power after UPA-1 and II, the commitment started around 2015-16. And very unfortunate that we faced these two blockages one with UPA-I & one with UPA-II and when this commitment started again, we were extremely happy that NHIDCL could come, they are the Government of India PSU, PSU is the agent of the central Government. We thought they will do a good job but the other day when I met the MoRTH Minister, Shri Nitin Gadkari, my coming, he summoned the NHIDCL people in his room and as I entered, I greeted him, 'Good morning, Sir', he said, 'Good morning' Rio, 'I am told that you had filed criminal case against my people', I said, 'yes, because they are doing horrible jobs', and then, his other sentence was, 'good, you file, issue warrant of arrest non-bailable', that is the comment of Union Home Minister and all the officials were there, then we start discussing and they admitted their

failures. And in Pagala Pahar area, exactly after one year of the completion the road was stopped, we were using only one-lane the whole year and exactly after one year another rock fall came and hit a car, unfortunately, life was not lost. So, the State Government after we had meeting with the Department, we decided that we will file a criminal case, FIR and we registered it and that is how the case is going on, it is very serious. And in other States also, the State is filing case against them because they have not done a good job, in that meeting with Union Minister Shri Nitin Gadkari in my last visit the NHIDCL said we could not foresee the soil condition, the nature of topography and the formation so we have decided to deploy a scientific consulting but this process will take one year now even in the present Phase-III mudslide is coming our land owners are extracting boulders wherever it is and all the rock formation at the basement is taken out and then in that another digging for expansion of road to four lane road it is done but we all have seen in that CC concrete retaining walls also they have not put a single MS rod and when the weight comes the concrete wall is just cracking and falling because there is nothing to hold, there is no base and the CC wall has no iron rods what technology what engineering so after our many meetings they started using MS rod for the concrete walls but I do not know how good is the base and whether they are putting the wings otherwise it cannot carry the load and they started all these again during the monsoon that is why it is a mess and human beings we have limitations to fight against the natural calamities, it is very unfortunate and Hon'ble Members rising Zero Hour question is highly appreciated. They have totally failed how many years the road to Zunheboto face the problem, earth cutting was done and then they did not build the road properly and so mud slides continued and even road to Mon even road to Longleng all these we had wasted 4-5 years somehow it has improved a little bit. Therefore, the NHIDCL they made commitment in front of MORTH Minister, we hope that NHIDCL will do scientific consulting as to how the road should be built. Meanwhile in Pagala Pahar the PWD Department they have made a bypass road from old Nichugaurd gate going up the hills and coming down in new Chumoukedima so by this season it will be pliable but up here it is a small stretch from Peduchato Zubza river on the other side up to National Highway-61 a two lane road, it is good and comfortably vehicles are plying and therefore I think National Highway Agencies and the State PWD should coordinate and where it is possible immediately it should be done so that people do not face such hazards and I hope this time NHIDCL will do but I fully agree if there is need to file another FIR case against them be NHIDCL or even the firms who are doing the work if they are lagging not admitting their failures in the Government reply and if they do not keep their commitment they have given commitment to me also a lot of time but they failed miserably and therefore it is a very bad situation for us. Now we are going to host international events in the coming months and we have our festivals coming we have Christmas season coming so let us not talk about the long term measures only but immediate measures

and long term measures these two should be adopted and they should keep the words, thank you.

SHRI T.R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, PLANNING AND TRANSFORMATION, NATIONAL HIGHWAY:

Mr. Speaker Sir, reply to clarification sought by Hon'ble MLA Azo that was in the Unstarred Question I had gone through but that was purely a clerical mistake so 2016 is to be read as 2019. In one month, they cannot appoint or they cannot complete the work so instead of 2016 it should be 2019. In regard to number 2 raised by Achumbemo of course it is outside the purview of this question but for information to the Members the concept of having Niuland to Zhadima road under Inter State Connectivity which falls under Road and Bridges (PWD) it was called Capital Bypass we know every year the commuter used to face problem during this monsoon season between Kohima and Dimapur not only this year but almost every year I should say so knowing fully well we have decided to construct bypass road from Niuland to Zhadima which is exactly 37 Km from Niuland to Zhadima and is much shorter than this National Highway-29. Unfortunately after the work was allotted in 2016, the work was allotted to MS Vilelie & Son Company but before the work was started as I have said all the land owners have issued NOC that they will not claim for any compensation and there is no provision for any compensation on this road in this kind of scheme ISC or ENI or CRIF as I mentioned the other day, but three villages in Niuland area they have stopped the contractor and they have threatened even to burn down all the machineries so the contractor has to withdraw all the machineries from that location and somehow the contractor managed to pay to some individuals from his pocket for the compensation so he was allowed to start the work, and then another group came and stopped the work again that was the kind of hindrances faced by the contractors. Therefore, the Hon'ble Member from that locality I think needs to talk with the land owners so that in future they should not create problem otherwise this road should have been completed in 2020. By now all the vehicles should have been moving on this road only, but unfortunately those land owners have been claiming land compensation, damage compensation even forest damage compensation, so we cannot totally blame the contractor nor the department as the hindrance was created by the 3 village land owners that was the problem and till today we cannot solve this issue as a result of which we could see no progress this is the position about package-1, but package 2&3 they have completed the work 2 years back till Zhadima, and we are using the but package -1 that hindrance needs to be cleared with the help of our elected Members and civil societies to convince the land owners not to create anymore problem.

Speaker Sir, let me clarify one issue regarding their replies to the Starred Question on NPWD, National Highway, all the questions pertain to projects being implemented by NHIDCL. There

was only one question raised by Hon'ble Member, Shri Nuklutoshi that NH-02 passing through Doyang to Mokokchung road that is implemented by National Highway PWD, the rest all the questions pertain to NHIDCL. For information of the Members, since NHIDCL is the implementing agency as mentioned by Hon'ble Chief Minister, appointed by Ministry of Road Transport & National Highway (MoRTH) and National Highway Authority (NHA), all the facts and records have been furnished by the department in their replies as submitted by them because we want them to own to the replies they have submitted, there are matters on record so if there are any further queries and observations, the department will facilitate in getting those information's or send the concerns and observations of this august House to NHIDCL. Nevertheless, Speaker Sir, the department has been taking up all these issues on several occasions as I have mentioned; as many as 20 times we have had consultation meetings with NHIDCL. In the monthly review meetings and other special meetings under my Chairmanship or sometimes under the Chairmanship of our Hon'ble Chief Minister that numerous meetings, series of meetings has taken place. But implementing is done by NHIDCL, work order is issued by NHIDCL, payment is made by NHIDCL, so we have no role to play in their internal matters but as rightly mentioned by Shri Achumbemo Kikon, the road belongs to us and it is inside the State so we have our serious concern that is why we are coordinating every month and quarterly. As far as package-1 is concerned the matter has already been taken up by State Cabinet, State has already engaged IIT Guwahati through a notification on 31st January 2024 to assess and also suggest measures. Whatever observations are pointed out, we will ask NHIDCL to execute until such compliance are met, State will object to issuance of completion certificate. In fact let me apprise the House that the Hon'ble Chief Minister has written to the Union Minister MoRTH Shri Nitin Gadkariji to even initiate enquiry into the rock fall incident to take appropriate action against the concerned agency as mentioned by Hon'ble Chief Minister. Regarding package-2, this also State Government has taken up with NHIDCL as I have mentioned; NHIDCL headquarter on 23rd April 2024 asking to explain why and how completion certificate has been issued without the information of the State Government. We will continue to pursue this matter further. As far as package-3 is concerned, now the complain that we are facing, NHIDCL has appointed 3 contractors, first contractor has been terminated because of not following the changes and the deadline issued by NHIDCL and again second contractor was appointed, the same problem they have faced so they have terminated the second contractor, now the third contractor has come in so we will see how the work will be implemented successfully by the third contractor. So it is not that NHIDCL people are not facing problem, they are also facing problem because of delay from the side of the contractor. So one of the major reason for the undue delay in completing the project is because of reasons such as these: their lack of knowledge of the terrain and poor pre-construction studies of the geological

aspect of the region and poor planning. These are the reasons that NHIDCL has failed in implementing the project in our State. The Hon'ble Chief Minister has also written to Union Minister MoRTH in this regard dated 14th October 2022 and again raised the issue with the Union Minister recently in Delhi in the month of July 2024. The State Government does not agree with the reason stated by NHIDCL and we will take up with that strongly. Lastly, Hon'ble Member Shri Achumbemo Kikon wants to get the assurance from us that it should be completed within 30th December 2024 which we cannot assure on the floor of this august House but we will discuss. Now long-term safety measures, they have to study on the ground and prepare the new estimates, new DPR and then the question of RoW comes in again, the previous RoW, existing RoW they cannot work. So they had to extend the RoW so that land compensation issue also will come and then after settling all this, long term safety measures can take place. So we cannot assure which month or which date we can complete this project. Thank you.

SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF) : Speaker Sir, time is running out, question hour time is getting over. I would also request you to kindly extend because today is the last day of this Session.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon'ble Member, we have exceeded the number of supplementary questions on this question so we will move on to the next question. Starred Question No.13, Hon'ble Member Shri Nuklutoshi may take the floor.

STARRED QUESTION NO. 13

GUIDELINE TO BE FOLLOWED BY CONTRACTOR ON NATIONAL HIGHWAY WORKS.

<p>SHRI NUKLUTOSHI (NPP)</p> <p>Will the Hon'ble Deputy Chief Minister, in-charge of PWD (National Highways) be pleased to state:</p> <p>1. Whether the Department of National Highways has any guidelines to be followed</p>	<p>SHRI T.R. ZELIANG (NDPP), DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER AND MINISTER-IN-CHARGE OF PWD (NATIONAL HIGHWAYS).</p>
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<p>by the contractors regarding expansion of National Highways for public awareness, general safety and for the smooth movement of vehicles when the work is in progress</p>	<p>1. Yes.</p>
<p>1. Please furnish the necessary guideline if any.</p>	<p>2. The Ministry of Road Transport and Highways (MoRTH) guideline/circular on safety in Construction Zones in National Highway Project dated 16th March 2023 is enclosed.</p>

SHRI NUKLUTOSHI (NPP): Thank you, Mr. Speaker Sir. I have a small query. This guideline was issued by the Ministry of Road Transport on 16th March, 2023. So, I would like to know whether the Work Order issued to the Contractor was before this guideline came into force and whether it is applicable to all the contractors.

SHRI T. R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, PLANNING AND TRANSFORMATION, NATIONAL HIGHWAY: Mr. Speaker Sir, yes, as desired by the Hon'ble Member to lay on the table, this guideline is applicable to the whole of India and to any Contractor.

SHRI NUKLUTOSHI (NPP): Mr. Speaker Sir, this guideline was not there while awarding work to the contractor. There must be some other guidelines. Department should furnish that guideline also because while awarding the contract, this guideline was not there that is why I am asking. I would like the Department to furnish the old guideline to me personally at the earliest. Basing on that guideline, I wanted to ask some supplementary questions.

SHRI T. R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, PLANNING AND TRANSFORMATION, NATIONAL HIGHWAY: Mr. Speaker Sir, there is a guideline which was established in 1956 and it is very bulky, but this guideline dated 16th March, 2023 was issued pertaining to the contract available. The original guideline was established in 1956 and this guideline dated 16th March, 2023 is extracted from that guideline.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, we have consumed a lot of time on Starred Question No. 12. Now, the time for Question Hour is over. However, I have received a Notice from Shri. Achumbemo Kikon to move the Zero Hour which is followed right after the Question Hour. So, I

now give time to him to initiate the discussion.

SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF): Mr. Speaker Sir, before the Hon'ble Minister for Home answers, I am extremely concerned of the uprising of the recent incidents where a lot of illegal immigrants are likely to cross the border to India. And the most vulnerable areas are the North Eastern states like Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura which are immediately bordering with Bangladesh. We are aware that the maximum inflow and influx of illegal immigrants come from Bangladesh. When we say illegal immigrants, we need to distinguish between the original citizens of India and the people coming from outside India. This issue has been raised a number of times by various Hon'ble Members. Recently, the Naga Students' Federation had also issued a statement asking the Government, what steps have been initiated. I also wish to know what kind of measures have been taken by the Government of the day to curtail the influx of illegal immigrants in the course of this uprising because lakhs of people are now in despair to move out of Bangladesh. More situations are likely to unfold. Therefore, I want to hear a proper statement, the measures that they have taken so far, and what are the steps required in this regard. Thank you.

SHRI YANTHUNGO PATTON (BJP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, HOME, BORDER AFFAIRS: Mr. Speaker Sir, I rise to give a Statement under Chapter IX-B Rule 49 (1) **on the 'Issue of illegal immigrants in the wake of recent crisis in Bangladesh'** raised by Shri. Achumbemo Kikon, Hon'ble MLA.

Mr. Speaker Sir, India shares 4,096 Km long border with Bangladesh, the longest of this being the State of West Bengal to the tune of 2,217 Km and the shortest with the State of Assam with a length of 262 Km. Apart from these two States, three other States, namely Mizoram, Meghalaya and Tripura share borders with Bangladesh. Mr. Speaker Sir, our State does not share border with Bangladesh. Hence, the possible route for any potential immigrants as the initiator of the debate has mentioned, will be mostly via our neighbouring State of Assam. However, we are not letting our guards down. Government is really aware of the possible impact of any unnatural inflow of the people in the wake of the crisis and has been closely monitoring the situation. Intelligence reports are that it is highly unlikely that our State will witness an influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, the most effected section of people in the present crisis. It does not have a sensible presence in Nagaland. Additionally, the economic structure of our State is not tuned to the economic needs of the provincial immigrants.

Speaker Sir, to ensure that the political crisis in Bangladesh does not lead to an unnatural result of migrants and pose demographic imbalances in our State, we have taken quite a few

steps to apprise the House on this regard, so as to remove any anxiety that our people may be having in this regard. Speaker Sir, you would appreciate that the law-and-order machinery at the district level is the first respondent for any eventualities. Hence, the Deputy Commissioners, Superintendent of Police, Commissioner of Police, Dimapur and all the Districts have been instructed to have immediate meeting of the District Level Security Co-ordination Committee Meeting. This Committee includes the Para Military Security Agencies such as CRPF, Assam Rifles and Central Armed Police Forces. I am happy to inform the House that the Deputy Commissioners have reported that the District Level Security Coordination meetings were conducted and the issue was discussed at length and took adequate measures which are specific to each district have been initiated to check and report the presence of inflow of any illegal migrants from Bangladesh. Speaker Sir, you are aware that 8 (eight) districts of our State shares a border with different districts of Assam. Deputy Commissioners of all these districts have been instructed to activate their channels of communications with the Assamese counterparts. I am happy to inform this House that our DCs have received utmost cooperation in this regard from their Assam counterparts with seamless information sharing between the districts heads. Speaker Sir, the Deputy Commissioners have been directed to intensify ILP checking along with the respective Police counterparts and to submit regular reports on such checking. They have also been directed closely to monitor all inter-state check post and to disseminate necessary circular information to all the Village Councils within their respective districts and especially those villages falling at inter-state, inter-district boundaries.

Speaker Sir, to avert any illegal immigrants in Nagaland, the Nagaland Police have been directed to be on a high alert all along the inter-State borders. The Police Officer deployed at the 13 inter-State check gates and all Entry points have been instructed to be vigilant round the clock. Senior Police Officers have been directed to brief the troops on ground to remove any complacency, police will be aiming to prevent any attempt for infiltration while patrolling and checking during mobile vehicle check post and at the inter-state check gate and border areas. Intensified checking have been initiated at all the 13 inter-state check gates.

Speaker Sir, in addition to the above, the Police and Intelligence Agencies have identified areas such as place of religious worship where there is a possibility of presence of the illegal immigrants. This will help isolate an unnatural increase in the presence and help the Government take the necessary steps. Speaker Sir, I am happy to report that till date, there has been no report on influx of illegal Bangladesh migrants. This is specially in the aftermath of the recent crises in Bangladesh.

Speaker Sir, through you I would like to assure the people of our State that the Government will

take all steps to prevent any influx of illegal immigrants to our States. Our State Government led by the District Administration and Police are alive to the unfolding situations with the help of our robust Village Administration, Civil Society Organizations. We are all well prepared to deal with any situation that may arise. Thank you, Speaker Sir.

SHRI K. TOKUGHA SUKHALU (NDPP), ADVISOR, FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES, LEGAL METROLOGY: Speaker Sir, may I give little comment?

MR. SPEAKER: The Rule does not permit for discussion here.

SHRI K. TOKUGHA SUKHALU (NDPP), ADVISOR, FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLY, LEGAL METROLOGY: Speaker Sir, I just want to thank our Home Minister for clarifying regarding the Bangladesh illegal immigrants. But from my own personal experience as a Border Magistrate of homeland Uriamghat those younger days. Now there is a move in Assam regarding the illegal settlers and I think many are being sent out, I don't know where they are being sent. We all read in the newspapers, these are the ones who may enter Nagaland because I have seen those days when electoral summary revision was going on, I found many of these immigrants whose names were included in the village electoral roll list. I asked them to submit the valid documents that they are Indian citizens. The Administration in Sarupathar issued a lot of certificates and on the stamp paper, I rejected everything. This people from Bangladesh, we may not face immediate threat, but I feel from Assam, where will they go? our borders are very close as mentioned by the Hon'ble Deputy Chief Minister, and the Police, I am sure will be aware of it but this also should be taken into consideration. Thank you Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. With that Hon'ble Members, we have come to the end of the Zero Hour. Now, it is time to take a small break, after which, we will be coming to Item No. 2. So I adjourn the House for 20 minutes.

(The House adjourned at 10:45 A.M)

(The House Re-assembled at 11:25 A.M with Hon'ble Deputy Speaker in Chair)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, let us resume our business with Item No. 2, calling attention to matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-54. I have received a notice from Shri. Kuzholuzo Nienu, Hon'ble Member calling the attention of this august House on the matters of Urgent Public Importance pertaining to Ceasefire and Law and Order situation in the State Under Rule-54. Hon'ble Member may take the time.

SHRI. KUZHOLUZO NIENU (NPF): First of all, I want to congratulate you for your maiden

first sitting as the Deputy Speaker. I want to also thank the Speaker for admitting my notice calling the attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance on matters pertaining to Ceasefire and Law and order situation in the State. While thanking you also Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I want to also express my displeasure on the time allotted for the questioning hour. We have no other business at least question hour time should be extended so that we relieve our sorrows our pains and we relieve with the answers because we are not doing this in our own interest. We are putting every question in the interest of the general public if we continue this there will be a total uprising among the public also. So, in future, I want to request you to be more generous in the time allotment because today you see, Starred questions we have only 19 questions so far, out of 19 only 7 were entertained the rest 12 were lapse. Yes, if it is lapsed also, we can take it up to the next day because the provision allows the new amendment 2023, Rules and procedure of business it allows but still then every question has its own time. Therefore, it will be good in future if you give such time and one more thing, I want to appraise the Leader of the House and the speakers during Assemblies, it will be very good if you give notice to all those Ministers to be in station so that they answer the questions given to them. I agree with our Forest Minister we feel sorry for him, we wish him the fastest recovery but due to his non-availability being sick taking treatment I had to withdraw my one very important question that is based on Areca Nuts and Timber and along with the Burma teaks which is one very important question I had to keep it as temporarily withdrawn. Therefore, the Speaker to give strict instructions to all those Ministers who are not sick to attend Assembly and entertain the questions. I asked for time because yesterday my Starred question No.8 pertaining to home department was lapsed and while taking these chances, I wanted to give a brief statement on Ceasefire.

Now, why did I ask this question Mr. Deputy Speaker is in the backdrop of what has happen in Manipur this should be a wake-up call to us. Looking at the recent incidences if we don't take corrective measures and start upon then we will be in a big problem, if we don't start preparing now it will have far reaching consequence. The ethnic clashes that happened in Manipur it's been one year four months already till now it is never ending how did it happen, why did it happen are very important things to study. Ethnic clashes within the Kuki-Zo and Meitei happened it is out of control and it has been happening for more than one year four months now and it will continue. It has taken nearly 300 lives and may be in few days from now it may even cross but the astonishing thing is more than 400 automatic weapons along with ammonization have been stolen and till now the State of Manipur is under recovery but they cannot recover. They have recovered nearly may be 3000 weapons but no ammunition.

Today, if we don't do a tribal composition in the posting and transfer strength of DES and police

personal in our State if there is a mutiny God forbid but if there is an ethnic clashes what will happen to us later it will be worse than Manipur. I appreciate the Chief Minister, the Leader of the House he has admitted that Nagas have gone beyond control individualism, groupism, tribalism so and so forth. Now when I look at the answer No.2 the reply was Nagaland Police department does not have a compressive transfer policy covering the constabulary non commission officers, non-gazetted officers and gazetted officers. When I sow this answer, I was shocked I was surprised. Seventy-eight years of statehood we have the best officers, IPS officers, the most learned officers in our State and till today they could not bring out a comprehensive transfer and posting policy in the State. Therefore, I want to request the Deputy Chief Minister under his leadership to bring out a comprehensive transfer and posting policy for the State.

Now in the annexure when we go as per the strength of the DES it's quite shocking, this is why I wanted to appraise the home department that they should start doing some exercise so that in case I said God forbid ethnic clashes happen, the situation would not go out of control but today if you go in this manner, I can give you in written Nagaland may be up in flames and will be finishing the state it will go worse than the Manipur state. Now for example, let me go to my own district headquarters the strength of DEF in Phek district headquarter is 425 where in Chakhesang along are 269, I have calculated the percentage 64% of the police personals in Phek is Chakhesang. Now how to you think, if something happens, will Chakhesang be able to control the situation like Manipur. In Manipur 92% of the Meitei officers were posted in the valley area, 95% of the tribal officers Kuki-Zo they were posted in the hill areas that's why they could not control anything. They had to favor their own thing their own man so here also Phek 64%, Mokokchung has 849 strengths out of which 661 are Ao's that is they occupied 74% of the strength, Zunheboto strength is 705 where as our Sumi brothers they have 573 that means they occupied 82% of the strength. Coming to Wokha, Wokha has 563 out of which our Lotha brothers are 508 that is 91% plus are Lotha's. Now how do we control the situation I don't know how the officers are going there and controlling things. If he is supposed to go to Wokha an officer will start shivering in his pant knowing that the whole police force are Lotha people only. He will not be able to have the guts to administer, this is why I was calling the attention of this House and the Home Department to do some exercises as far as the strength and transfer and postings are concerned.

Now coming to Ceasefire Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I want to give a small statement, yes, constructive criticisms as well as constructive suggestion whether the Department takes or not it's upto them but to me, I believe, time has come for us to ponder seriously on the benefit of Ceasefire. I believe Ceasefire is being imposed to bring peace and tranquility in the State but it

has done more bad than good. Ceasefire has become counter-productive over and above I always give this statement; Ceasefire has become a license to threat and intimidation, a license to extort multiple taxations, a license to ransom and kidnapping, above all a license to killing as well. Every day you see in the paper one faction or the other, harassing publics, beating up the public even to the extent of pastors being harassed badly under the guise of Ceasefire and under the umbrella of Ceasefire today how much faction do we have. Yesterday, our Hon'ble Home Minister gave a statement that we have 25 to 26 factions, precisely in his paper it is 26 factions I don't know but it may be more or it may be less, the Home Department knows best. Therefore, I feel that all these nefarious activities popping up like mushrooms is all happening under the guise of ceasefire. So therefore, my opinion is, does the State really need extension of ceasefire. Yes, if it needs ceasefire don't you think it is high time the ground rules are to be changed, it is time for the State to seriously ponder as whether the ceasefire should be extended or not. If it is to be extended the ceasefire ground rules need to be reviewed immediately so that the current ground situation and the measures to control the violation can be incorporated and rule of law to be enforced. Now my suggestions are: 1) The Ceasefire agreement signed with the five groups as of now do not have any sustenance allowances or any other mechanism for compensation to the armed civil cadres of these groups. So therefore, the Government of India should provide a minimum monthly sustenance allowance to the members of the group which are in ceasefire along with monthly ration, so that these cadres do not go around extorting from general public and creating law and order problem every day.

2) Instead of having just one person as the Chairman of the Ceasefire Monitoring group or Board, it should comprise of three regular committee members, Commission comprising of army, police and a civilian person. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, for the benefit of the House and the audience here we don't need retired army officers, we don't need retired police officers. We have present smart army and police officers, those retired are redundant they have no power or they cannot do anything. The other day I went through the statement of ceasefire monitoring group, he was confused, he was beating around the bush, he did not know exactly what his powers were and trying to blame the ground rules only. Ceasefire monitoring cell should also be within the control of the State Government since it is above the State Government, Government has no control over them that is what I see, I am subjected to correction of course.

3) To immediately remove all individual Ceasefire Officers from Dimapur and instead have a single building structure ideally based at Kohima should be created for proper and smooth functioning, wherein the ceasefire Chairman Committee and all his staff, all can be grouped or housed in one area. This would also help in better coordination and quick disposal of Ceasefire violations. The security to this building structure can be provided by Nagaland Police, Assam

Rifles and logistical expenditure can be borne by the Government of India under security related expenditure, a scheme under MHA. All such groups which are not in ceasefire agreement with Government of India needs to be dealt strictly. I repeat this very important point Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, all such groups which are not in any ceasefire agreement with Government of India needs to be dealt strictly as per the law of the land and such outfits needs to be banned also.

5. Members of all such groups which are not in any ceasefire agreement should not be a part of NNPG groups or any other groups. The Government needs to give strict directive.

6. The Government needs to give strict directives to all the other 24, 25 or 26 factions to stop issuing parallel orders and directives to the general public immediately or the public are confused which order to follow. We have a mandated Government headed by our dynamic Chief Minister, so I think orders should be given by this Government and no other Government. Last but not the least the role of the State Government should be crystal clear, as of now it is full of contradictions, paradoxes and last but not the least rule of law need to be enforced. Thank you, Deputy Speaker Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon'ble Member, Minister-in-charge would like to give a statement now.

SHRI YANTHUNGO PATTON (BJP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, HOME, BORDER AFFAIRS:

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, before I give my statement on this Ceasefire and law and order situation in the State. I want to clarify on Starred Question No. 8 which our Hon'ble Member has raised. Deputy Speaker, yes, till date there is no policy for transfer and posting but we'll take note of that. In regard to this transfer & posting in the districts, I would like to request all the Members not to request for your jawans or officers to take to your own district. For the last five or six years we are trying our best, our DGP is doing his best, but we cannot implement this. Chakhesangs, all chakhesangs wants to stay in Phek district, Lothas, all lothas wants to stay in Wokha district, so also every personnel in their respective districts. Today I am requesting you all not to approach for transfer and posting, I am not going to entertain so please don't bring, it is our own creation. And we have also tried our best that those officers or jawans who have stayed more than three years in one posting place, we thought of doing that exercise but that also could not be done it is good that our Hon'ble Member have raised this issue. So from today I will not entertain, please don't mind and whatever you have given suggestion the department have taken note of that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I rise to give statement on the calling attention to Matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-54 pertaining to, "Ceasefire and Law and Order situation in the

State."

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I would like to inform the august House that despite the increase in instances of civil society actions such as the shutter down in Dimapur in April 2024, the threat issued by the NSCN-K (Khango) group to a local contractor, our law and order machinery have been active, making regular arrests and ensuring law enforcement. I would like to inform this august House that Government has written to the Chairman, Cease Fire Monitoring Group and Ceasefire Supervisory Board, this month highlighting the instances of ceasefire violations and seeking action on the same.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I would like to report that our Police force has been making regular arrests in respect of extortion cases by the factions. Between January and June 2024, 32 extortion cases have been registered and 35 persons have been arrested. 21 persons have been arrested in Dimapur, 5 in Chumoukedima and 3 in Tuensang

Of the 35 arrested for extortion, figures are shown below. The rest belongs to other factions.

1. 8 belong to NNC (FGN),
2. 7 belong to NSCN (IM),
3. 6 belong to NSCN-K (Khango),
4. 4 belong to NSCN-K (Nikki)

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I would like to report that the number of persons belonging to different factions arrested by the Police and the Security Forces combined stood at 106 as on 28th August, 2024 from January 2024. Till date, 25 persons belonging to different factions were arrested under 11 cases for abduction/kidnapping. Till date, 26 persons belonging to different factions were arrested in relation to 20 cases for violations of Arms Act.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, during this calendar year, Nagaland Government has accorded sanction for 17 persons to be detained under the National Security Act, 1980.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, crime situation in the State is under control with our police registering a good number of cases under different sections of the law.

1. Between January to June 2024, a total of 724 cases were filed by the Police.
2. During the calendar year of 2023, more than 2,486 cases were filed by the Police.
3. Under Arms Act, the police registered 41 cases till June 2024 of this calendar year

compared to 73 in 2023;154 cases under NLTP Act, this year compared to 370 cases in 2023; 116 drugs related cases compared to 357 cases in 2023.

4. During this calendar year drugs worth more than Rs.12 cr as per NCB (Narcotics Control Bureau) have been seized.

Mr. Deputy Speaker sir, in respect to extension of ceasefire, I would to like remind the august House the following :

1. For the NSCN-R, NSCN-KN, NSCN-K (Khango) & NSCN-K (Nikki) factions:
Government of India, extended the ceasefire of NSCN-R and NSCN-KN for a period of 1 (one) year w.e.f. 28th April, 2024 till 27th April, 2025. Out of these 26 factions in Nagaland we have 5 groups has ceasefire agreement with Government of India, 21 are yet to get cease fire.
2. Ceasefire review meetings are held periodically in the state- the last one being the CFMG/CFSB meeting dated 27th March, 2024 to highlight and keep in check any violation to the agreed Ceasefire Ground Rules (CGR).

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, in our State certain pockets have been declared as 'Disturbed Area' under Section 3 of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958 for a period of 6 (Six) months w.e.f. 1st April, 2024:

- a. Eight districts namely Dimapur, Niuland, Chümoukedima, Mon, Kiphire, Noklak, Phek and Peren districts in Nagaland.
- b. Police Stations:
 - (i). Khuzama, Kohima North, Kohima South, Zubza and Kezocha Police Stations in Kohima district,
 - (ii). Mangkolemba, Mokokchung-1, Longtho, Tuli, Longchem and Anaki-C Police Stations in Mokokchung district,
 - (iii). Yanglok Police Station in Longleng district,
 - (iv). Bhandari, Champang and Ralan Police Stations in Wokha district and
 - (v). Ghatashi, Pughoboto, Satakha, Suruhuto, Zunheboto and Aghunato Police Stations in Zunheboto district

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, we have fifteen designated camps for different groups. A summary of designated camps may be seen as under:

Sl.No.	Name of faction	Number
1	NSCN -IM	9
2	NSCN-KN	3
3	NSCN -R	1
4	NSCN (Nikki)	1
5	NSCN-K (Khango)	1
	Total	15

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, we assure the members of this august House that our police force is leaving no stone unturned to ensure the maintenance of law and order in our State. Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, let us now come to item no.3 discussion on matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-50, I have received a notice from Shri Kuzholuzo Neinu, Hon'ble Member and supported by Hon'ble Members Shri Nuklutoshi and Dr. Sukhato A. Sema for discussion on matter of Urgent Public Importance pertaining to Naga Political Issue, under Rule-50. I have admitted it to be taken up today.

Hon'ble Member, in this connection I have received a list of Members who wishes to speak, I request all Hon'ble Members to be brief in the participations and contributions to ensure efficient use of time as put forward by our Hon'ble Member, Shri Kuzholuzo Neinu, even in question hour what is observed is that, we must always understand that there are other subsequent important questions but it is observed that even one question consume more than one hour. We run this esteemed House under the Rule of Procedure and Conduct of Business. In this case also this Matter of Public Urgent Importance there are numerous speakers so please understand that there are also more Speakers behind you.

SHRI KUZHOLUZO NIENU (NPF): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, and thank you for cautioning also, I will be very brief. I have prepared a paper presentation, yes, time is limited but these are important issues we have to consider and understand. At the same time, I will take hardly 15 minutes but always remember it has always been a tradition that the initiator gets a little extra time. The day before yesterday, we were discussing that many of us do not know the background and the Naga Political Issue history only a few of our seniors like our Chief Minister, Dy. Chief Minister including Shri Kaito and our Parliamentary Affairs Minister Shri K.G. Kenye might know something, whereas others like me are quite new to this. So, it is very important that we know the Naga political history, now the next generation after our generation

is almost all point blank. So, I want to appeal to the Leader of the House that in order to keep our Naga political history and aspiration alive we have to inculcate and make this Naga political history a compulsory subject from Nursery itself or Class I till Class-VIII or something like that, so that history will continue. I can also assure you that out of the 100% so-called National workers, 95% will not know Naga Political history. I will give you a brief background and go to the important events with dates, years and figures therefore I have to read a little bit. Mr. Deputy Speaker as stated in the early days Nagas never organized themselves into groups or tribes in the past, therefore, Nagas were a unique group of people. People say and take our history to be unique. Organizing ourselves into regions and tribes is a modern phenomenon. Our primary identities were the clan identity and the village identity. The clan identity normally is the bloodline while the village identity is the socio-political identity. Interestingly, our clans never lived together in groups like clans or tribes of other ethnic groups. Clans scattered themselves in different villages. Now intermitting warfare and the practice of war head-hunting was for show of power and strength primarily or to avoid being occupied or dominated, we practiced such things. In short, Nagas loved their independence and desired to be left alone in peace.

In the Anglo-Burmese War of 1826, the British colonial Raj gained control of a significant part of North East India including Naga Hills. Despite their external control of the region, the Nagas in general enjoyed their traditional autonomy till the 20th Century without undue interference. The British Colonial left the Indian sub-Indian continent without making any administrative link with many Naga groups (free Nagas or unadministered Nagas). It may be noted that the Indo-Myanmar International boundary was only drawn in 1967. The Naga's desire not to be ruled or governed was understood and recognized by the British Colonial rulers following a series of wars, notably the Khonoma Angami village war, and the Kikruma, Chakhesang village war, which was made officially documented in 1851 by Lord Dalhousie following stiff resistance by the Nagas and the same was formalized in the Government of India Act of 1853.

If Nagas loved their village life independence without a collective identity or any of that sort how did their independence movement come about? This is a big question and the answer is a divine miracle story. A few important factors and causes may be highlighted:

Introduction of Christianity by the American Missionaries in the mid-19th Century and the subsequent conversion of the Nagas from their ancestral animistic religion to Christianity. The gospel of love found in Christianity made them reach out to their fellow Nagas. A point to be noted: it may be noted that the American Missionaries were not known to have encouraged the Naga

1. Movement for Independence despite the suspicions and allegations of the Indian State. For their alleged role, the American missionaries were forced to leave the country by the 1960s.

As noted above, the resistant spirit existed before the Nagas embraced Christianity. Nagas were not known to have any interest in joining any neighbouring states/kingdoms; for instance like Manipuri kingdom or the Ahom kingdom or the Burmese kingdom. Instead, they fought them to retain their independence though some tried to maintain good relations with them. Had we been conquered, had we been under any kingdom, today we will be under Manipur, Assam or Burmese kingdom but we never wanted to be there.

1. The introduction of modern education through mission schools gave them the ability to communicate with different Naga groups. Schools also gave them the platform to meet.
2. Opportunity to be in the service of the British Colonial Raj and the experience of the two World Wars both in our own homeland and outside the Naga homeland.

It may be noted that Naga Club was the first organization of the Nagas formed by the Nagas who went to Europe as part of the British Labour Corps during the First World War. It was this same Naga Club which submitted the memorandum to the British Simon Commission in 1929 with a slogan to 'leave the Nagas alone' to determine their own way of life as in the ancient times.

The phrase "Leave us Alone" (a direct quote from the memorandum) is powerful enough. This imagery clearly expresses the desire of the Nagas to be in a village, not to be a part of a state. Overall, the memorandum is a request to the colonial British not to leave the Nagas in the hands of any other power/state if they decide to end their relationship with the Nagas and not to subject the Nagas to any reform schemes.

The above factors forged a sense of unity among the Nagas and helped us to articulate our modern Naga identity. It was the desire to be 'left alone' to determine our own life and future that gave birth to modern Naga identity and Naga nationalism. This Naga Club slogan of 1929 got its formal recognition in the Government of India Act of 1935, after this only the Naga Hills were an "Excluded Area". However, even before this formal representation was made to the British India Government, the Angami Naga Gaon Buras met the Viceroy during the latter's visit to Imphal in 1901, many of our historians used to mistake this date but it is very important, and declared that Nagas were not subjected to anyone except their own village before the British took control of the Naga areas. This can be found in Government of Nagaland File No.445-13. Tour Diary of Lt. W.M. Kennedy, ISC, Officiating DC Naga Hills from July 1900-1901.

Christianity and the Naga freedom movement is also an important factor. The historical fact of the Naga Gaon Buras asserting the rights of the Nagas in 1901 provides a good piece of evidence that the desire of the Nagas to be left alone (left free) was not the result of the American missionary influence. As I stated earlier people suspected American missionaries that they influenced us to separate or to resist their neighbor. The Christian population in Nagaland was less than 1% at that time. As a matter of fact, history shows, rapid conversion to Christianity took place at the peak of Indian military occupation in the 1950s and 1960s. Till the 1940s, the percentage was below 140 that means till 1940s the percentage of Christianity was below 15% even after 100 years of American Missionary working with us. But it jumped to 46 % in 1950, 52% in 1960 and kept increasing till date. Therefore, now when we do research, this strongly suggested that the atrocities of Indian State forces against the Nagas somehow had something to do with the Naga's conversion into Christianity. Not because of American missionaries coming to our land but our atrocities gave troublesome like death and rape and we do not have other ways so, many Nagas converted into Christianity for our safety.

Now coming to the most important events of Naga Political history, how it was made, who contributed, what group contributed the most? You will find it here. There may be some mistakes, my research may not be 100% right but I think I have at least 80% right figures here. Perhaps, the origin of the Naga freedom struggle may be traced back to the Treaty of Yandaboo signed in 1826 between Burma and the British. Although our country was not defined in the Treaty, it got engulfed and tangled as the Treaty divided the Naga territory between India and Burma now known as Myanmar with the knowledge and consent of the Nagas. Mr. Deputy Speaker, look at the way they treated the Nagas at that time. Without our consent and consultation, they even divided our land.

Following the arrival of the British into our Naga territory in 1832 and the violent resistant attitude shown by the Nagas, the British adopted a policy of non-interference in the year 1851 and 1853 policies.

In order to protect the unique culture and lifestyle of the Naga tribes including many Northeast tribes, the British Parliament introduced and implemented the Inner Line Permit (ILP). Inner Line Permit (ILP) was born at that time, Bill as part of the famous Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act, 1873. The bill restricted citizens of India to enter our land until and unless they obtain a permit, that permit is Inner Line Permit (ILP). At present the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation 1873 continues to apply in present day Arunachal, Mizoram and Nagaland.

By 1879, the British took control of some parts of the Naga territory and called the administered

area as “Naga Hill” and the inhabitants, the Naga subjects. The Nagas outside this area were called “Free Naga”, unadministered area.

Then came First World War, one of the most important events. Wherein some 2000 Nagas were recruited and sent to France to fight alongside the British force as Naga Labour Corps. Though they were not meant to fight at the frontlines, the martial nature of the Nagas took the better of them and many of them fought bravely at the frontline. One can still see the memorials erected in Europe to honor those brave Naga warriors. Many historians are of the view that the war veterans on their return to their homeland established the Naga Club in 1918. Perhaps, in a sense of mutual trust and friendship among the people and solidarity developed during their exposure to the outside world. However, based on the 1901 voice of the Nagas, it is clearly evident that the desire of the Nagas was to be left alone. Nagas had no desire to become a part of any State. Becoming a part of any State would be anti-thetical to our culture and tradition which gave our ancestors so much freedom.

In the year 1929, 10th January, the ‘British Naga Subjects’ called ‘Naga Club’ demanded independence when the Indian Statutory Commission headed by Sir John Simon visited Kohima to get the opinion of the Nagas whether they would join the coming ‘New Reform’ which afterwards became the Government of India Act, 1935. In the year 1935, the Naga Hills were kept outside the purview of the Government of India Act, 1935 as an ‘Excluded Area’. In the following year 1936, Naga Hills were allowed to remain Excluded Area, outside the Indian Constitution Act, 1935.

The Naga Club transformed into a formal political organization, first as Naga Hills. NNC did not come first. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir. Naga Hills Tribal Council established in 1945 came first then they renamed it to NNC in 1946. NNC became the first and only people’s movement for self-determination till splinter group was formed in 31st January, 1980. Mr. T. Aliba Imti was the first President for one year, 1946-1947. Mr. Mhondamo Kithan was the second President from 1947-1948. He was succeeded by Visar, who was there for two years 1948-1950. Then came Mr. A. Z. Phizo, the fourth President in 1950. He became the undisputed leader and retained the position till his death in 1990. Miss. Adinno, Phizo’s daughter assumed the Presidentship from 1st May 1990 till date.

In 1946, when the British Cabinet Mission was sent to India, the NNC informed the Mission that Naga future would not be bound by any arbitrary decision of the British Government and that Nagas would not accept any recommendation without consultation.

A point to be noted: Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, in one of Nehru's letters when he was in jail, he stated that a stretch/portion of land between India and Burma does not belong to Burma or India. He gave a clear statement that means we, Nagas are free but the fate of the Naga Political Movement took a new U-turn when Nehru became the Prime Minister. Nehru perceived the Nagas aspiration differently. He wrote in a letter to the NNC, 'it is obvious that the Naga territory in Eastern Assam is too small to stand by itself politically and economically. It lies between the two countries India and China, and a part of it consist of rather backward people who require considerable help. Eventually some part of the Naga homeland became part of independent India while some became Myanmar that time Burma.'

In 1947, the controversial Akbar Hydari Accord also known as the 9 Point Agreement was signed between the Governor of Assam and the NNC after deliberation for three days, they deliberated for three days June 26th -27th in 1947. However, due to different interpretations from both the parties, it became a Dead Agreement. The difference is the Governor of Assam as the Agent of the Government of the Indian Union will have a special responsibility for 10 years to ensure the observance of the agreement, at the end of this period the Naga Council shall be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of Naga people arrived at. The interpretation of the Nagas Mr. Deputy Speaker is that after 10 years, Nagas can choose to become a Free nation that was our interpretation. The Government of India's interpretation was different. Their interpretation was India will decide the fate of the Naga people after 10 years of this agreement. With that difference, this agreement became a dead log. The tribe that represented on this agreement and signed the agreement were Eastern Angamis, Western Angamis, Kukis, Kacha Naga, Rengmas, Semas, Lothas, Aos, Sangtams and Changs.

In the year 1947, Naga delegation met Mahatma Gandhi in July 19 in New Delhi at Bhangi Colony and informed him of the decision of the Nagas to be independent. Gandhi approved the Naga independence. Gandhi's statement, I will read it out. "*Nagas have every right to be independent. We did not want to live under the dominance of the British and they are leaving us now. I want you to feel that India is yours. I feel the Naga Hill are mine just as much as they are yours, but if you say, 'It is mine' then the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man but I do not believe in force or forced union. If you do not wish to join the union of India, nobody can force you to do that*". That was his statement.

In 1947 on 14th August, very important date for the Nagas, Nagas declared our independence. The government of India and the United Nation were informed through cable subsequently. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, Nagas must remember we have declared our independence before India

declared their independence. Therefore, the world must recognise this, had we declared our independence after Indian independence they can term us as hostile, traitor, rebellion or called our problem as insurgency related problem, they can call us that. But today they can never call us in such a manner. History has clearly shown.

In the year 1949, November 28, eleven members of the Naga delegation met with the Governor General to free ourselves from India Shri Ram Gopala Chari in Shillong, His excellency, he also said the same thing. Nagas are at full liberty to become independent if they feel it. Then in the year 1950, January 19, 4 (four) delegations of NNC went to Delhi to meet the Governor General of India.

In the year 1949, November 28th eleven members of Naga delegation went to meet the Governor General to free ourselves from India, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, in Shillong. His Excellency said, "Nagas are at full liberty to become independent if they fell it. Then in the year 9th January, 1950, 4 delegations of NNC went to Delhi to meet the Governor General of India and interviewed was refused by External Ministry and the delegation was advised to meet the Governor of Assam. In 1950, the same year 14th January, as advised by the External Ministry the delegation went to Shillong to meet the Governor of Assam, Shri. Prakasa. Again, there he also stated that Indian Constitution cannot bind the Nagas.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon'ble Member, please conclude.

SHRI KUZHOLUZO NIENU (NPF) : Yes, it will take hardly two minutes now. Then came the Naga Plebiscite, the most important event conducted in 1951. The Government of India was informed in January regarding the plan to conduct the Naga voluntary Plebiscite and that letter was sent to the President of India for sending their representatives for observing the occasion, Nagas did nothing in hidden. So, finally in 11th April, the plebiscite was announced to start on 16th May, 1951. So, on 16th May, 1951 the Naga Voluntary Plebiscite was successfully conducted with 99.9% voting in favour of Sovereign Naga Nation. In the same year 1951, on 19th December, a 23 member Naga delegation went to Shillong and asked the Governor of Assam, Shri. Jairamdas Daulatram to forward the result of the Naga Voluntary Plebiscite to the Government of India, New Delhi but he refused to the proposal. Then again came 1956 on 22nd March, Nagaland became a Republic with the merger of Honking Government representing the 'free Nagas' and the NNC representing the Naga Hills. The then Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) was formed. Honking Government is more or less the Eastern Naga National council. Eastern Naga NNC and our NNC combined formed the FGN. On 26th July 1960, the

controversial 16-Point Agreement between the Government of India and Naga Peoples Convention (NPC) was signed (A participation of only overground and not undergrounds). February 1961 saw the renaming of Naga Hills Tuensang Area to 'Nagaland'. After much negotiation and deliberation, Nagaland became the 16th State of India on 1st December, 1963. So, it is crystal clear that our State was carved out of the 16-Point Agreement. The first ceasefire was signed between the Nagas and the Government of India in 1964 through the initiative by the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC). December 1973 saw new births of Districts, Zunheboto and Wokha being carved out of Mokokchung District, Phek from Kohima District and Mon out of Tuensang.

Now, Shillong Accord. On 11th November, 1975 this is where things went wrong. 6 (six) persons attended it and Mr. Venyi Rhakho was the only person among six member who refused to sign the agreement. This accord sowed the seed of discord among the NNC members. A reminder to the Nagas and Government of India is that in the same year dated 25th November, 1975 published in the London Times by Late A. Z. Phizo is denouncing the signing and his participation in the Shillong Accord and stating that he has nothing to do with this Shillong Accord, his only desire is that any solution should be honorable and acceptable.

Then in the year 1980, 31st January, after a gap of 34 years of its existence, the NNC finally split into two groups, namely, NNC and National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). Following this split, the Nagas movement has witnessed several splits. Today, we are talking about 25/26 groups. There are many NNCs and NSCN factions today.

On 1st August, 1997 a ceasefire was signed between the Government of India and NSCN(IM). It is still operational. During this agreement, several rounds of political talks between the Government of India and the NSCN have been taken place within and outside India.

Then came Framework Agreement. Now, I am coming to the ending. Framework Agreement was signed between the Government of India and NSCN(IM) on 3rd August, 2015. Then after a gap of two years Agreed Position was signed between the Government of India and the Naga National Political Groups (NNGP) on 17th November, 2017. Then to our surprise on 31st October, 2019 Shri. R. N. Ravi, the then Governor of Nagaland, 31 of us are present here, in his speech declared that the talks were concluded. To me after much thought, Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the word concluded without any positive outcome may mean that both the Agreement has been rejected by Government of India. If so, we may have to go back to our original demand.

Today, I can see your impatience Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I have only two more paras. Today, Nagas having 25/26 factions who call themselves as national workers is not something which we can be proud, for me this is something we should be ashamed of. For 34 years there has been an undivided NNC and this was the true mandate of the Nagas. Therefore, what we need now is another undivided NNC to take forward our Naga Political Issue till such time we achieve our aspiration if the two agreements are not honoured.

Hon'ble Members, as leaders we must speak the truth and stand up for the truth, let us call upon all National Workers to come under 1 (one) umbrella and to create another undivided NNC in order to achieve our long-desired goal, that is sovereignty and nothing besides sovereignty.

Last suggestion, I would like to repeat again. As we have observed over the years all talks and negotiations have miserably failed due to non-participation of both overgrounds and undergrounds together, so in order to make the talks successful. I would like to suggest that both the parties take part in the talks. And so therefore, as I stated yesterday, I want to repeat again, legislators should not be only playing the role of facilitator but should be a part of the negotiation to wind up and bring this peace process to a logical conclusion. Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Thank you Hon'ble Member. Now, I give time to Shri. Nuklutoshi.

SHRI NUKLUTOSHI (NPP) : Thank you, Deputy Speaker Sir, for allowing the discussion on matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-50, on Naga Political Issue. This Naga Political Issue there is no issue more important than this issue for Naga people.

Deputy Speaker Sir, Naga people were unoccupied, un-administered and independent people before the British era. Today also, Naga people desires to be free from Indian occupation without any condition, not to talk about Flag and Constitution. Deputy Speaker Sir, if we go back and see from the day Naga people's desire with such determination like Angami Goan Buras submitting representation to the British Government in 1901 which is now 121 years ago. Formation of Naga Club, 1918 which is 106 years ago and submission of memorandum to Simon Commission 1929 which is 95 years ago. Naga people desires for freedom and self-determination, what I wanted to say is more than 100 years now and the talks never comes into conclusion. Naga people and Government of India have signed so many agreements but without understanding and consulting with the people that is why all the agreement is a failure because Naga people did not accept 100%. Naga people and Government of India have signed so many agreements but without understanding and consulting with the people, that is

why all the agreement is a failure because Naga people did not accept 100 percent that is one, lastly now Framework Agreement was signed by NSCN (IM), Agreed Position signed with the 7 NNPGs, the NNPGs brought the contents of Agreed Position to the public domain whereas unfortunately NSCN (IM) did not bring the contents of the Framework Agreement to the public domain till today. Is the Framework Agreement not for the Naga people? They must show it to the Naga people if it is for Naga people. After signing the Framework Agreement and Agreed Position the NNPGs said we have done what we have to do, we have talked with the Government of India and the talks have also concluded. In the Framework Agreement NSCN (IM) is claiming Flag and Constitution but what are the Naga people looking at. Leaving this aside we have reached election and we all ran after election, actually we should talk about these two agreements rather than going for election. But what happened today, why have we gone, the reason for going after election is love for money, instead of finding a solution for our Naga political struggle we went after money. Now, after election 60 MLAs of this august House we are hardly breathing maybe because of spiritual magic otherwise only the skeleton's are remaining, all the fleshes are gone. Weeks back there was MP election, here State Government starting from our honourable Leader of the House did not use money in this MP election, it was a clean election. What has happened, telling that we were in the ruling government and going on the spiritual side all the people gave their votes to Congress Party, we did not use money. Again ULB election came and in this ULB election NDPP and BJP came as majority because they used money, this is it. What is happening today among the Naga people we are complaining to the undergrounds for asking tax etc. why are we complaining they are simply saying give us the election money, the underground also have families to feed, they cannot survive only with oxygen and water but to solve this problem Naga public did not take it seriously and we are facing difficulties that is what is happening because of the love of money.

Deputy Speaker Sir, today we are saying Government of India why are we saying Government of India, Framework Agreement is signed and Agreed Position is signed their job is over they have done their job, we do not have to blame Government of India now and decide what is possible and what is not possible they have already uttered from their mouth from the Government of India, it is very clear, they said what is possible is possible and what is not possible is not possible. What do Naga people need other than this? Why are we saying no, why are we blaming Government of India. As facilitators we have also supported the Framework Agreement and we also supported the Agreed Position as facilitators, and Government of India along with the respective factions they have signed, I will speak in short as there are still so many speakers who are going to speak. Government of India is hearing what Naga people are saying they are waiting for our decision so the need of the hour for the Naga people is another referendum like

1951 Plebiscite, the contents of the Framework Agreement and Agreed Positions have to be brought to the public domain and let the public decide and let the Naga people decide whether they want solution or sovereignty, let them decide we as a government we will only facilitate, we will support let them decide, the duty of the government as a facilitator we must provide platform and financial support to the people. Naga people must be invited from all walks of life like all the village councils from 1280 recognized villages in Nagaland, all Tribal Hoho's with range leaders like Mokokchung district not only Ao Sanden but we have 6 range, we have to invite all the leaders from these 6 range, church leaders from all the denominations, NSF, ENSF and all tribal student bodies, all tribal youth organizations, Naga Hoho, ENPO, NBCC, CNTC, Tenyimia Union and all Naga intellectuals should be invited especially Naga officers. The formation of Naga Club was formed with the help of Naga officers, even today we need intellectual people like them, there is nothing more important than Naga Political Issue that is why we have to invite them, Naga Mother's Association, All Tribal Women Organisation has to be invited, all the Naga GB's federation, all 60 MLAs including 2 MPs let us take days and months and decide the fate of people once and for all.

Deputy Speaker Sir, that is why our government needs to take the initiative and open this platform immediately so that all Nagas can participate. Therefore we must take a decision on this. Lastly, the father of the Nation to us Nagas is Shri A.Z.Phizo, now our factions are 26 in number, the letters in the alphabet are also 26. We must not allow the number of factions to increase any further. We must bring a full stop on this and for the sake of the Nagas help bring a final solution to the problem of increasing factions. Thank you Deputy Speaker Sir.

(Original text in Nagamese)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Before we go to lunch I give time to the last speaker Dr. Sukhato A.Sema, Hon'ble Member.

Dr. SUKHATO A. SEMA (LJP (RV)) : Praise the lord for this opportunity Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, I would like to draw the attention of this august House towards 11 resolutions made, out of which 6 were made within this House and 5 outside this House and also the declaration of commitment at Chiangmai VI on 23rd September 2009, September Summit at Dimapur 18th September 2010, then the Statement dated 22nd August 2011, Naga Concordant dated 26th August 2011, a journey of common hope signed on 20th August 2011 and also to the Report No. 213 in the Parliament by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs relating to the Naga Political Issue which was presented to the Rajya Sabha on 19th July 2018 and laid on the table of the Lok Sabha on 19th July 2018 and also the statement of the then

Governor Shri R.N.Ravi at the 5th Budget Session of the 13th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, and draw the attention of this House to think while we are seated here in this august House what is going on, on the ground reality how many of our educated youths are going where. We have said we have 26 different factions in 15 different designated camps. In the last 3 months and 2 days in one faction alone 318 young graduates had joined that particular faction, that particular group and what is the ultimate aim of 318 young graduates joining this faction. Is it for constructive purpose or for the good of the society or what is the ultimate aim, we need to ponder over this very seriously. And I also want to draw the attention of this House towards the resolution made by the LJP (Ram Vilas) Nagaland Unit Party during its Political Affairs Consultative Meeting held on 18th July 2024 at Dimapur where we adopted 4 policies, 4 resolutions.

1. The meeting placed on record its sincere appreciation and congratulation to Shri Narendra Modi, Hon'ble Prime Minister for coming back to power for the third consecutive term and wishing him good health and a very successful tenure.
2. The party is of the strong opinion that solution will be one and therefore urge upon the Government of India to bring about Naga political solution which is inclusive, honorable and acceptable at the earliest.
3. The meeting noted that creation of many factions which has come to 26 now and recognizing the same by the Government of India is not helping at all to resolve its complexed Naga political issue and therefore urge upon the Government of India and the Naga negotiating groups to focus on resolving the Naga political issue at the earliest and not on creating or expounding more factions.
4. The meeting urged upon the Government of Nagaland under the able leadership of our Hon'ble Chief Minister, Shri Neiphiu Rio, and the Political Affairs Committee on Naga political issue to vigorously facilitate, if the word facilitate is not enough then even play the role of the stakeholders to the Government of India for early solution of Naga political issue which is the ultimate desire of the people and the purpose of all 60 elected Members coming together to solve this long pending Naga political issue.

I also would like to draw the attention of this House to the telegraph dated 11th October 2012 where it was stated that in 2012 the statement of the then Home Minister was: Nagaland Political solution will be done next year, that means 2013 I quote "Shinde talks to Ibobi, Tuki" and it says here in the telegraph, New Delhi 10th October 2012. The Centre is talking to Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur Chief Ministers for a consensus before it reaches the final settlement with the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah). A solution is likely therefore March next

year, Union Home Minister Sushil Kumar Shinde indicated on Wednesday. I have been talking to the Chief Ministers of both Arunachal and Manipur and we are trying to reach a consensus on this, he told reporters today in a reply to a question on the progress of Naga talks. Shinde's statement comes a day after he held talks with the Manipur Chief Minister Okram Ibobi Singh here. Talks with the NSCN (IM) concerns the states neighboring Nagaland as the outfit has demanded an integrated homeland for the Nagas. There are Naga tribes in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur as well as in Myanmar. Although the Centre has turned down the demand for carving out Naga inhabited areas from other States and bringing it under a single administrative arrangement, an alternative way to appease tribal sentiments in these areas is being explored. Consultation with Manipur is a priority for the Centre as the population especially in Imphal valley is sensitive to any suggestion of the Naga inhabited areas being taken away from the state's territory. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had visited the State last year, that was 2011 to iterate that Manipur's territorial integrity would be protected. In Arunachal Pradesh, the NSCN (IM) lays claim to Tirap, Changlang and the newly created Longding district. Shinde's statement today is significant in the light of the approaching Assembly election in Nagaland around March next year that was 2013. "I hope there will be a solution before elections" Shinde said on the sidelines of a news conference. For the Congress, even a proposed solution could be beneficial as the party has been out of power for a decade in the North-Eastern State ever since Shri S.C.Jamir lost to the Regional Naga People's Front. The Home Minister however did not specify whether the Chief Ministers were agreeable to the Centre's proposal of a special body to look into the welfare of the hill tribes in Manipur and other States. Recently, Nagaland Chief Minister Shri Neiphiu Rio and 59 MLAs had offered to step down to pave the way for an alternative arrangement in the State. That offer, Shinde said was not possible under the Constitution. NSCN (IM) General Secretary, Thuingaleng Muivah and Isak Chishi Swu are camping in New Delhi and have been holding consultations with their second-rung leaders and NGOs on a proposed solution. Negotiation with the Naga rebel outfit completed 15 years this July, 2012 but the outcome or progress of the talks is a closely guarded secret, apparently because there has been little progress. Over the years, interlocutors have changed and the tenacity of the group's demands has seen a mellowing. Time and again, the Government has said that unless all groups come together a solution would be difficult to arrive at. I repeat these unless all groups come together a solution would be difficult to arrive at. However, a reconciliation process in Nagaland has proved difficult. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) has held several meetings with rebel leaders from different factions at Chiang Mai in Thailand and at Dimapur in Nagaland but differences based on past experiences remain.

And so now, today I would like to draw the attention of this august House towards the

signing of all those different Political Resolution and also the various commitment made and this were all signed by the leaders in the National party. All signed by Isak Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah, S.S Khaplang, Zopra Mero, Wungting Naga, Kitovi Zhimomi, and also signed by most of the leaders of this House including our present Hon'ble Chief Minister, the Deputy Chief Minister and others.

Now, I also would also like to draw the attention of this House to report 2013 dated 19th July, 2018 relating to the Parliamentary standing Committee on the Home Affairs relating to the Naga Political Issue and particularly, draw the attention of this House to Governor's Address during the Budget Session on 17th January, 2020 para 2 which reads as we embark on another year, we cannot but reflect with immense sense of happiness at the significant achievement and developments in the years gone by. The people's Democratic Alliance Government has always considered the early settlement of the Naga Political Issue as its most important agenda, and it gives me a great pleasure to share with you that we could be now very close to it. The negotiation which were going on for the past many years between the Government of India and the Naga Political Groups have been successfully concluded following the "Framework Agreement" dated 3rd August, 2013 and the "Agreed Position" dated 17th November, 2017. And the Governor went on saying; my Government conveys its deepest appreciation to all the stack holders for exhibiting outmost sincerity, farsightedness and a spirit of understanding in helping create a conducive atmosphere for conclusion of the talks, in a positive manner. Our appreciation goes to Shri Narendra Modi, Hon'ble Prime Minister, and Shri Amit Shah, Hon'ble Home Minister for the unwavering commitment. Also the Governor's Address dated 17th January, 2020 during the Budget Session approved by the Cabinet, laid in the Assembly for motion of thanks — discussed and passed by the House and therefore, what I would like to appeal to this august House is get the endorsement of the Naga Civil Society and the public of the "Framework Agreement" signed dated 3rd August, 2015 and the "Agreed Position" dated 17th November, 2017. And we also know the stand of the Government of India, where they had said "Remaining Unresolved issue will continue to be pursued after solution and present the demand of the public to the Government of India for inking the Naga Political Solution because we very well know the statement of the Hon'ble Home Minister even the House of the Parliament where he had said "India shall continue to avail a Sovereign Country with only one Prime Minister, with only one President, with only one Flag, with only one Constitution, with only one Currency". And so, when the provision of remaining unresolved issues will be pursued after solution, I think, there is hope for us if we take it sincerely and prayer fully, I am sure God is going to help us to achieve this. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, we shall continue the discussion on matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rule — 50 pertaining to Naga Political Issue after lunch. I invite you all to the lunch which I am pleased to host, let us call it a celebratory lunch for my maiden chairing of this august House. I invite all the Hon'ble Members including the Ex-Parliamentarians, the AHODs, HODs, and Media persons to kindly join, let us proceed to the Legislator Home. The House will adjourn and reassemble at 02:00 PM.

(The House Adjourned for Lunch Break at 12:55 P.M.)

(The House Re-assembled at 2:15 P.M)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, I shall now call the House to order. We will continue with the Discussion on Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-50 pertaining to Naga Political Issue. Now, I will give time to Shri. G. Kaito Aye Hon'ble Minister.

SHRI G. KAITO AYE (NDPP), MINISTER, ROADS & BRIDGES: Deputy Speaker Sir, thank you for the time. Well, I have not much to talk about the issue because the issue has been continuing for long years and whatever we talk, it is almost repetition only but to refresh our mind in the absence of permanent solution, I think it is our duty to raise the issue and discuss and call upon the stakeholders to address the public interest to whatever extent the solution could be made for the Nagas. We have a long history about the Nagas, we have a history that is why this issue has been continuing lingering around Nagas but after having lots of struggle, I won't mind spelling out people dying under the excuse of Nagas sovereignty, Nagas rights. Lots of leaders not only from underground but many Naga intellectuals in the 40/50s even upto 60s, many leaders have been assassinated both from the underground and over grounds. I would feel that the negotiators should realize what has happened in those times and the soul of those dead leaders is almost about to recall and to revisit. Because it has taken a pretty long time, the innocents are being massacred for years together since 40/50s, early 60s. I think the Nagas have had enough share of casualties waiting for the solution, waiting for the permanent solution. I will not linger too much, but I would request the Hon'ble Deputy Speaker and the Government to pursue with the Government of India and the negotiating party to abide by the Framework Agreement and also the Agreed Position. Because they have already signed and what is the differences between them in announcing the solution and what cannot be agreed, I think it should be hammered out because growing/mushrooming of faction also as far as I am concerned I am not bothered about those factions, but we are concerned with the negotiators those who have entered into Ceasefire Agreement where they are to abide by the Ceasefire Ground Rules, Ground Rules are also not maintained. I would blame the Ground Rules

Monitoring Cell, why they are so lenient and why they have left the negotiators, the parties affected to this negotiation are made free and random taxation, kidnaping incidences are happening. Only few days back a pastor, an innocent citizen was also beaten and threatened and these are all unwanted elements and offences in the society we cannot bear any longer.

Therefore, the Ground Rules also should strictly be monitored and the Government of India also should keep their word and give us solution based on the Framework Agreement and also Agreed Position. We have many stories to tell but I would request my honorable friends not to talk about the past or history, history is already recorded, now negotiation is going on, telling the story does not mean anything, our story is already recorded, whatever uniqueness that is due to Nagas we must get. So, I feel that we should pressurize them to give us early solution because people's anger and limitations seems to be already exhausted, think about those leaders who have sacrificed both underground and overground, for want of solution people are still silent and there is no reaction from those families, those clans, those communities. But the negotiators, the stakeholders also cannot feel that, they are free from everything. There are certain people who may react to those things also but before people comes to that extent, I think the negotiators should see that, it is high time that Naga solution be brought in. If they count from 1918 it is 100 years or more. Any conflict, there should be a resolution, conflict without resolution means they should be very clear to the Naga people and allow the citizens to decide what step we should take. It is good that they are negotiating for the rights of the Nagas but we also have our limitations be it Government of India, be it the Naga group, they should also come to a certain understanding and give a passage for a permanent solution. Many have said about the Prime Minister's comment, about the 80%, 20% yes, so kind on the part of the Prime Minister pronouncing to that extent. We may not be fulfilling your aspirations at this time but to this extent, I think, I am ready to offer to the Nagas and the remaining can be pursued in the future course of time. Now, because of this mushrooming of the factions, friends may take it otherwise and they are sheltering all this outfits, if they all come out, I think we will face the consequences also. So, here the honorable responsible leaders, all of us should ponder our heads together forget about your political affiliations, but we should jointly pursue with the stakeholders, the NGOs, the Churches, I think they have also had enough contravention for want of peace and solution. Therefore, I would urge the Deputy Speaker on the Chair and the Government to write to the negotiating party also and even urge to the Government of India to take up the issue with seriousness and give solution to Nagas under whatever limit that they could solve. I will not dwell too long and not necessary to narrate all the stories either so with this few words, I will conclude my speech. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Member, Shri Imkong L. Imchen.

SHRI IMKONG L. IMCHEN (BJP) ADVISOR, INFORMATION & PUBLIC RELATION, SOIL & WATER CONSERVATION:

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, thank you for allowing me to take the floor to participate on this Naga Political Issue even today. I have been here in this House for the last 5 consecutive terms in every House and almost in every session this Naga Political Issue was discussed. We have adopted several resolutions we have even had separate session to discuss on this particular issue and yet till today our efforts, discussions has not produced the desired results. I mean to say that the negotiators are not in a position to listen to us.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, we are living in a democratic society, sixty of us here we have taken oath under Article 188 oath of Allegiance/Affirmation to the constitution of India. I have said even in the last budget also, I have taken oath in the name of God that I will bear true faith to the constitution of India and therefore, as a bonafide citizen of India, a bonafide member of this Assembly, I want to speak out some negative words thinking that such negative contribution attributes will also contribute in the positive outcome. We sixty of us are Nagas of Nagaland, we are bound within the boundary of 16th point agreement under the 16th State of the Indian Union and we are the members of the House elected by the people and we have the mandate of the people and this is the highest jurisdiction of the people to make laws for them and to take decision in there interest and therefore, even today also, I am standing here to take few minutes to repeat what I have been speaking in this House over the last 5 consecutive terms.

We all know that Naga political issue started in 1951, plebiscite. A Plebiscite was conducted by the Nagas of Nagaland, there is a historical landmark as far as Naga Political Issue is concern, I always give credit to the leadership of Angami Zapu Phizo. Before that we may talk so many things but as a matter of fact there was no Nagas as such, there were only tribes and villages as an entity but credit goes to the leadership of Mr. Angami Zapu Phizo for uniting the different tribes and making it into one entity called Nagas and it was through his initiative the genesis that plebiscite was conducted. At that point of time Tuensang area was under NEFA, it was unadministered territory and therefore in that area plebiscite could not be taken. It was confined to the districts of Kohima and sub-division of Mokokchung. At that time Zunheboto and Wokha were part of Mokokchung sub-division. Anyway, Plebiscite was taken with the knowledge of the government of India, with the knowledge of united nation and therefore a political landmark was set in 1951. Over the years in the process of politicking the leadership of the Naga National Council somewhat ignored the educated section of the Nagas. Most of the NNC workers were not educated so this so call educated section they took advantage.

Sir, I want to come back a little before I go to that angle. When Angami Zapu Phizo called the Naga Village, Elders, Congress in 1951 here in Kohima, the delegates were one thousand two hundred something it was a very very big crowd. The Indian Intelligence Bureau led by B.N Mullik were caught unprepared that such a huge crowd should turn out by the organisational scale of Zapu Phizo. So, in order to supersede that 1951 Kohima Session of the Naga Elders Conference they wanted to organise another convention and for that purpose they penetrated into Naga student studying in different institutions mostly in Calcutta, Allahabad, Delhi, Bombay and Bangalore. Those students who were studying there were penetrated by Jawaharlal Nehru and they got mobilization to call another convention, which should be bigger than the Zapu Phizo's convention at Kohima that was the target. The Intelligence community under the direction of the Prime Minister, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru were put into full swing and mobilized the crowd in Kohima that is called Naga People's First Convention. The first draft of the 16th Point Memorandum was in fact drafted in DC's residence then Second Convention was held at Ungma, third was at Mokokchung that was the final session was that they were advised to claim for the statehood and therefore Naga People's Convention they staked claim for the Statehood of the Nagas at that time we were only a Sub-division in Assam autonomous district. Nagas were granted statehood because we were asked to demand for the statehood, this are all matter of fact and therefore Statehood was granted. As a result of which all of us here today sitting as MLA's a Statehood the 16th State of the Indian union, from then onward all this MLA's who were elected or rather nominated took oath under the constitution of India called oath of Affirmation under Article 188, Members of Parliament are taken under Article 97 I think but our Assembly Members used to take under Article 188. So, we are bonafide Indian citizens and we protect and defend the constitution of India today. We can't be double standard but we have to be honest and our integrity should not be made questionable by any others. When NNC started splitting, NNC has to be splited because 1966 in the sixth-round of discussion the evils of tribalism crept into the leadership of the NNC and therefore our talks proved failure and after that formation of revolutionary Government came into being and so many others. Today we can't count it accurately Sir, how many factions are there in the NNC, how many factions are there in the NSCN, hon'ble Members were saying that it is 26 but there is much scope that it will go beyond 30 upto 40. Nagas are fighting for factions but not for our freedom anymore not any longer. The NSCN (IM) leadership has signed into ceasefire agreement with the Government of India in 1997. Nearly hundred rounds of talks they have conducted but still no sign of a solution and in the meantime this House has also passed resolution with three conditions, that it should be honourable, acceptable and inclusive. We are also putting three conditions to the negotiating parties even though we have not defined on any occasion, what is the meaning of honourable, what is the meaning of acceptable and what is

the meaning of inclusive.

For me I don't understand, I only understand that Nagaland Assembly Members are also putting three conditions right from the beginning till today. We are also supporting the talk with three conditions I don't know how to define what is called honourable, what is called acceptable and what do we mean by inclusive. The movement which Angami Zapu Phizo has started is already lost in thin air, today, nobody is talking about Naga freedom, nobody is talking about plebiscite, nobody is talking about Naga political issue but everybody is talking about faction, my leadership, your leadership and his leadership or in other words your faction, my faction, his faction or anybody's faction, or many factions, factions after factions. Now, here I wanted to supplement to the Ceasefire Monitoring Cell, ceasefire monitoring cell came into being somewhere in 2008 or 2009 I don't remember exactly and ceasefire Special Operating Procedure (SOP). In 2008 to 2013, I was assigned as a Home Minister by the Hon'ble Chief Minister, right from the beginning I was objecting to the SOP because the Chairman has to be a retired army officer. A retired army officer naturally he is in the habit of applying army laws, they call it marshal laws, but he is a retired person and moreover in the Special Operating Procedure nothing as such was incorporated. Today, Naga society is talking about extortion, somebody called it taxation and in the SOP I was objecting right from the beginning there was a line about the sustenance of the underground set up. After ceasefire, these underground factions they have to be camped in their designated camps and therefore how to feed them the question of sustenance comes. The underground factions, they refused to take the sustenance from the Government of India and when they refused to the Government of India, State Government is part of the Government of India, so it speaks the same thing. When they refuse the sustenance allowances, naturally they have to resort to extortion, they call it taxation and we call it extortion. Why it is extortion because their movement is not in the form of 1950s so we call it extortion. It was only Naga National Council in the beginning and this particular Naga National Council has the mandate of the people 1951 plebiscite, no others except that NNC under the leadership of Angami Zapu Phizo. Sir, I am talking about the matter-of-fact, no other faction has got the mandate of the Naga people except Naga National Council. Anyway, that mandate has been subjugated and surrendered by the Shillong Accord, the infamous Shillong Accord. I was doing my college here in Kohima college and that Shillong Accord came over in the public domain, I was going through between the lines over the years and in the Shillong Accord, the word Naga political is not there. Naga political, the word Naga, the word political is not there in the Shillong Accord. In the third clause they had mentioned other issues, I don't know what is that other issues but all the signatories of the Shillong Accord were original bonafide NNC members and therefore the mandate given in 1951 was ceased in 1975 by the Shillong Accord.

According to me Sir, no underground factions today are having the mandate of the Naga people as good as the then NNC. Supposing the Government of India doesn't love the Nagas any longer, they will give us independence. Total sovereignty will be given to us, then there will be a battlefield here in Nagaland, one tribe will go in the morning, the other tribe will go at noon and another tribe will go in the evening, so in one day there will be massive bloodshed and this taxation will also come into legality. Naga independence succession will come, no country can stop it because it is internal affairs of the country. At that point of time, I imagine Naga people we may like to go to Government of India and say *"Sir, please take away our independence which you have given to us"* at that time Government of India will tell you *"No, we don't interfere in other country internal affairs since you asked for independence, we have given now it is your internal affairs"* then Nagas will go to hell. Today we are talking about small time taxations but tomorrow taxation, tribalism, bloodshed will also be legal. Even though I am talking today here the NSCN or for that matter Naga factional leaders will never listen to us, will never acknowledge what we are talking today but as a Member sent by my people to this august House, I am only representing their voice. Thank you Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, before I give time to the next speaker, I request all the Hon'ble Members to confine your speech to the present context on Naga Political Issue and please don't narrate the history. Next speaker, Hon'ble Member Shri Achumbemo Kikon.

SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF): Thank you Deputy Speaker Sir, I rise to participate in the discussion on the Naga Political Issue. Well, this is a very important topic, if we are given very short span of time, I am afraid we will make mistake while narrating our point of contention. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, I will come straight to the point, it is said what brings Nagas today is pork, Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, pork curry also bring Nagas together but another very important issue that brings the Nagas together is Naga Political Issue, therefore on this basis today, we all have come together although elected from different political parties but keeping the Naga Political Issue in mind with all seriousness, we all have extended our support to this present government under the leadership of our Hon'ble Chief Minister, Shri Neiphiu Rio and therefore it is befitting that we discuss this issue seriously but of course our role on this Naga Political Issue is very limited. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, we are elected Members from within the Indian constitution and therefore we can express, debate but as far as practical involvement in the process is concerned our role is absolutely limited. Many of our seniors would grumble but without going back a little to our history it is very difficult to connect Naga political issue to the present context. From 1944, I will not go back to the 18th Century, I will come back to the 19th Century Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, when Nehru was in jail he has written in his

“The Discovery of India” you will find at page 545 where he was talking about the Tribals within the Indian subcontinent and he has recorded that an exercise be made, a period of 10 years be given to express their minds as to whether they would wish all these people to be a part of India and he was particularly referring to Nagas, because we have made our point from 1929 onwards, the record was clear although he was in jail in 1944 Nehru was in the know of Naga political imbroglio and therefore he has recorded in his book. I have the book with me and on that basis that was 1944 record then in 1947 the 9-Point Agreement came, so, 10 years provision was there I have stated this in the last House, in the debate on this political issue, that there was a variation of interpretations between the NNC and Government of India because in the provision of 9-Point Agreement after 10 years, the NNC would be given an option whether they will wish to be a part of India or they would wish to settle a freedom for the Naga people. So, the interpretation was that the NNC the Naga people took it “Yes” after 10 years we will decide on our own,

on the part of Government of India they started interpreting that “No” after 10 years they should amalgamate or merge within the union of Indian. So, that variation the conflict of interest in the interpretation came in. Now, if we come back to present context as far as the 17th November, 2017 agreement is concerned, that is Agreed Position between Government of India and the NNPGs, they have umpteen times told us that they are ready to sign, it is all agreed upon because the word itself is already Agreed Position and they have stated this on numerous occasions. But where does the point of contention come in from the NSCN-IM their Framework Agreement with the Government of India. Now, the interpretation comes in here to the minds of NSCN-IM, they keep saying that we have never surrendered our rights or sovereignty because in the Framework Agreement itself if we go through thoroughly in the middle portion of the agreement you will find sharing of sovereign power. Hon’ble Deputy Speaker, where does the word sovereign comes in? And that is what we are talking, so in their interpretation they are telling the world that look we have not surrendered the sovereign power of the Naga people. Now, the Government of India is trying to interpret in such a way that there is a State list, Union list and Concurrent list in this 7th Schedule of Indian constitution. Well, I am afraid, if we start interpreting from that context it will be wrong because the NSCN-IM’S understanding is that, this Framework Agreement is outside the Indian Constitution and this is where like that of the 9 Point Agreement, the present Framework Agreement has reached that kind of deadlock in the interpretation. What role can we play? As I said our role is very limited, we have been announcing expounding that we are playing the role of only facilitators we have adjectivated with active facilitator, that is correct and we will continue to do that. I think, we cannot go beyond that if we try to interfere beyond that we will land up like that of the 1960s

Agreement where had interim period for three years after that, from 1st December, 1963 onward the statehood was given. Who has signed that, Deputy Speaker? The mediators they go in between and turned into signatories, there everything went wrong. The NNC said “no” we are not a part of this, so the struggle and conflict continues because the main contenders were not a part of the signatories so this is where the struggle continues, and even after the creation of statehood with the signing of 16 Point Agreement from 1960 onwards, Nehru although he was the one want who kept saying “whether heavens fall and India goes into pieces and blood runs red in the country Nagas will never become Independence”. He kept saying like that but if you see the records he was very anxious because some of the scholars says, Hon’ble Deputy Speaker Sir, that Nehru died out of heart attack, one reason is ofcourse the Chinese aggression in 1962 towards Arunachal side but another reason was on the Naga political movement, that is what some of the scholars says so. How I will corporate that to you Hon’ble Deputy Speaker sir, there is a possibility because although the ceasefire between the NSCN(FGN) came into being on the 6th of September in 1964, the preparation and everything was done by 19th May, 1964, official declaration took place only on 6th of September but in the latter part of May Nehru died. According to Rev. Michael Scott’s record, “the search for peace”, he died after two days right after signing of the Ceasefire. Nehru was worried probably, extremely worried about Naga political issue. Now, why he should be worried when the State was already created in 1960 and the movement intensified after creation of the State in 1963. Let us say 1960 because 1960-63 was an Interim Government so we will say 1960, so after four years also he was engaged with the Naga Political issue in his mind and he was engaged with people such as Jay Prakash Narayan, Rev. Michael Scott and B.P. Chaliha, these were the three people who were engaged to take on the Naga people. Now in that record, Jawaharlal Nehru was anxious, and according to Rev. Michael Scott what he was trying to say was when the cease-fire was first mooted, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had promised that ‘if cessation of operation could be arranged, he would preside at the talks himself’, he was saying that even if blood runs like red river throughout India, he would not give Independence to the Naga people. In 1964, he said that and he told Rev. Michael Scott that if cessation of operation could be arranged, he would preside at the talks himself. Hon’ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, he had also expressed, ‘He’ means Rev. Michael Scott referring to Jawaharlal Nehru, he had also expressed interest in the suggestions ‘I had made’ means Rev. Michael Scott have told him ‘a mixed Indo Naga Commission which would be qualified to deal with many aspects of the Naga problem constitutional, sociological, anthropological and the political aspects vis-a-vis Naga politics and Indian Union politics.’ So, all these words encompassed what we were looking for, and Nehru was interested in tackling the Naga Political Issue by himself even after creating the Statehood.

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, now that the conflict of interest has come in, how many Prime Ministers have handled this issue so far? I will not go into Indira Gandhi's time or Nehru, but now I will come back to the present one, Mr. Rajesh Pilot was the Minister-in-charge of the Internal Security Affairs during the Congress Regime, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao was then the Prime Minister, he had personally entrusted Shri Rajesh Pilot to talk with the NSCN (IM) leadership. He was looking for them because they were not in India, looking for dialogue. I have also experienced myself prior to 1997 the present cease-fire came in w.e.f 1st August 1997, prior to that I was in various organizations, we encountered a lot of factional clashes, killings within Naga families, and the worst was fighting with the Indian Para Military Forces with the Naga National groups. We used to go searching and picking up dead bodies and faced lots of situations but after the onset of the cease-fire of course we are enjoying a little bit of peace, now I know we all are frustrated with the mushrooming of the factions but if we moot an idea for an elected Members like us saying okay we go without the cease-fire then I think the situation will be very grave. And therefore, to my mind, we will play a very active role as a facilitator but not as a participant to the ongoing dialogue.

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to insist as far as our role is concerned, what more can we do and I have stated this in the past Assemblies also. Under Article 3 of the Indian Constitution, it is permissible for us to integrate the Naga areas because State boundaries can be altered, it can be decreased or it can be increased, these are within the bounds of our discussion, our domain where we can adopt a resolution. Therefore, even today, Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, I am appealing to your chair that out of this discussion, we must reiterate our earlier resolutions i.e. six resolutions that we have adopted in 1960, 1970, 1994, 2003 2015 and 2018. After the 2023 election we have not reiterated our resolutions, and I feel guilty to our people and therefore, I will insist to our Leader of the House, Hon'ble Chief Minister and to you that we must reiterate and adopt the resolution again. We are all aware of our ENPO demand which is also one part of the disintegration of the Naga areas, and therefore, taking all this and encompassing all this we must reiterate, this House must reiterate the integration of the Naga contiguous areas which is permissible within the purview of our House. Now, I am just concluding with what Shri Imkong Imchen has slightly mentioned on how the present factions have come up. Indian intelligence was actively involved after the 1951 plebiscite Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is the book compilation "My Years with Nehru" by B.N. Mullik, he was an Intelligence Chief very close to Pandit Nehru. Just one sentence, "After the 1951 plebiscite they tried their level best to negate 1951 plebiscite, how history will prove, this is written by him in 'My Years with Nehru', it is not my words, how they have played. Though we have advocated Military measures in Tuensang where there was no administration previously

because they were a part of NEFA (North-East Frontier Agency) an un-administered area which was not officially under the Naga National Council (NNC), it was apparent to us that something in the nature of a political settlement was necessary in the Naga Hills district. It was planned that the resolution on the plebiscite, without evidence I will not speak Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, these are the evidences which the All-Tribal Conference of the NNC passed in Kohima in 1951, could only be undone by another resolution passed by an equally representative conference of all the tribal's of the Naga Hills districts, and unless this was done, the tribal's would be bound by the original resolution and it would be difficult to shake them off from it. Mr. S.M. Dutt was the Intelligence Chief based in Kohima, and S.M. Dutt conceived the brilliant idea, see to them it was a brilliant idea, of mobilizing those members of the NNC Executive Council who had broken away from Phizo. They tried to divide the NNC after the 1951 plebiscite, and these are the evidences they have recorded. Broken away from Phizo and those who had been kept in the background by him and Imkongmeren Ao, and convening an All-Tribal Conference of the Nagas with their help that was fully supported by us in this move, and I personally kept the Prime Minister and the Home Minister informed and they were also quite taken up with this idea and wanted this to be done. This Conference was planned to be held at Jakhama, in the Naga Hills district at the beginning of March 1956, it was also planned that the conference would depose Phizo from the Presidentship of NNC, and denounce the Federal Government, and the violent method started by him. So, the record will show this, these are the things, the same methodology, the same modus operandi is being applied even today by Indian intelligence to divide the Naga people further east and west, north and south and even within the factions. So therefore, in my humble submission Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, I think we cannot go beyond the role that we can play. Yes, we all want an early immediate solution but I think our leaders have sacrificed a lot for this cause, so we cannot just rush and conclude. Let me conclude with what Phizo said in an interview, just three sentences in 1985, in the United Kingdom what Phizo has said in one of his interviews. He was asked "What was the outcome after meeting with Jawaharlal Nehru?" since he had also met Nehru, he replied, "Nehru offered me many times honourable Public Offices in India, but I refused many times and he offered me a blank- political cheque but I refused. In 1947, Nehru asked me to become the Governor of Assam since Nagaland was then known as the Naga Hills district of Assam but I refused, he even asked me to become Chief Minister of Assam but I refused.

And again in 1952, Nehru asked me to become the President of India but I flatly refused. I told Nehru a number of times to treat the Nagas as equals among the free nations of the world, then said on March 20, 1952. So, I think, a lot of offers have been made to our leadership. Even today, we never know such kind of offers may be going on but the leadership knows better,

how to bring an honourable solution for our Naga people. We can only play a limited role of an active facilitator. I think, we must confine to that while putting across our point of views on this issue. Thank you for the time given, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Member, Shri Y. Lima Onen Chang.

SHRI Y. LIMA ONEN CHANG (RPI-A): Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, thank you for giving me the time to discuss on Urgent Public Importance. I may deviate from the views and points shared by my former speakers because I like to speak my mind basing on the present context. I will not take much time. To begin with, I want to do retrospection and comparative studies in 2/3 lines. During the days of undivided, very strong, unified and NNC days, we were told and I also have heard and have seen our villagers going to the fields and jungles carrying food items to feed our freedom fighters. It is very clear those days our innocent villagers understood that they are struggling and suffering for the cause of me and our village. But now Sir, the irony here is today, as per the records of the Home Department, it seems we have 26 Naga Political Factions in Nagaland. In that given perspective any human being, can we guarantee that these organisations that 26 or may be more can have mass-based support? Before I joined politics, I was working in one NGO called Elytrous Christian Society based in Tuensang. During my association with that organization, I have travelled the length and breadth of the entire Tuensang especially my Chang villages. During one of my visits to a village called Yungphaang, while chit chatting with the villagers, I was told by the villagers about the place where A. Z. Phizo stayed. It got my attention so I requested the villagers to take me to that spot. The highly tensed place because that time there was no road connection, it was a virgin forest and that is too far away from that village but they took me there. After seeing the fire place, I was emotionally touched and I immediately conceptualized that this place should be protected and preserved as National Heritage.

But Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, as I said I am coming back, now looking at the present given situation, I do not think that I will also see the light of solution during my life time. This is the irony of Naga political situation. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, it is not always good to recite the stories and take the example of others, but I thought it also relates and if need be that can also be helpful for our Naga people especially those who are working for the Naga cause. Libya, Gaddafi, at the young age of 24, he took over the administration of his country, Togo. From 1969 to 2011, he ruled his country for 42 years and Libyans called him a hero, a revolutionary hero but as the years went by, as his type of administration working system turned into a dictatorship. Slowly he continued to lose the confidence of his people. He could not run away. He had dozens of his private jets, forget about his government's properties, all exits and entrance to

Libya was completely shut down. He could not fly off. And we all know in 2011, he could not find even a place to hide so he went inside a tunnel and his enemies, the rebellions found him there, humiliated him and he was shot dead there. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, through this platform I want to put across my humble a fervent appeal to our national workers. Is it you or is it someone from outside or external influence that we are dividing into fragments? If that is so, how come you draw the moral responsibility to own that you are fighting for Nagas? Or if not, is it because of your individual interest? If that is the case or if it is the misunderstanding between the leaders, why don't you come sit across the table and hammer out the differences, if you genuinely feel that you need to bail out your own people. I want to submit this irrespective of the factions and leadership you belong to, this is my humble request and I fervently appeal. With these few words, I conclude my speech. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Member, Ar. Jwenga Seb.

Ar. JWENGA SEB (JD-U) : Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, for granting me the opportunity to address this august House on the matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rul-50, specifically the Naga Political Issue. I rise today not to recount the history of the Naga's struggle for freedom but rather to chart a path forward by sharing my views on how we can collectively navigate this complex issue. However, it will be unjust on my part as a JD(U) legislator if I do not mention the noble contribution of one of the founding member of JD(U) on the floor of the Assembly. The Janata Dal (United)/(JD-U) deeply influenced by the ideology of its founding member Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan about whom our hon'ble Member and a friend Mr. Achumbemo was mentioning, continuous to honour his legacy and work. Narayan also known as JP or Lok Nayak, i.e., 'people's leader', devoted his life to fostering an egalitarian society in India. His notable contributions include his role in the peace mission alongside Rev. Michael Scott and Chaliha which led to a ceasefire in 1964 by gaining the trust and confidence of the Naga people. Furthermore, Deputy Speaker Sir, he established the Naga Peace Centre in 1971. The JD(U)s commitment to JP's legacy particularly concerning the Naga issue is evident through actions such as JD(U) Supremo, Shri. Nitish Kumarji's visit to Dimapur on 11th October, 2022 to celebrate JP's 120th birth anniversary, where he declared, 'I will follow JP till my last breath'. Additionally, Deputy Speaker Sir, JD(U) is the only political party from one of the few political parties from mainland India whose top leadership has physically acknowledged the Naga Political struggle by visiting Late A. Z. Phizo's grave in 2022. In light of the current Naga National Political Issue, the Political Consultative Committee of JD(U) Nagaland, convened a meeting on 23rd August in Kohima and arrived at the following statement and suggestions. Here I quote the statement that PCC, JD(U) has arrived at, 'the Janata Dal

(United) Nagaland stands committed to the objective of the opposition less Government which is to facilitate solution to the prolong Naga Political imbroglio. In this regard, the JD(U) feels that, the Government undertake proactive steps in various activities and measures to make itself a meaningful and actively a vibrant facilitator in the peace process. The JD(U) also suggest for an all-Party delegation once again beside the legislators to Delhi and urge the central Government to expedite the ongoing Indo-Naga Political talks and bring it to a logical conclusion. Also, to impress upon the central Government to be honest and serious about resolving the Naga Political Issue. In this regard, it should cease encouraging divisions among the Nagas and instead work towards consolidating Naga Political leadership to achieve an inclusive and lasting settlement. The Nagaland opposition-less Government should also in cooperation with the central agencies take action and discourage the random proliferation of factions whose sole intention is perhaps to extort and harass the people. The Naga national groups must also exhibit rationality in their approach towards solving the Indo-Naga problem, in this regard the issue resulting in deadlock must be kept either officially or silently pending for further resolutions, and thereby, accept an honorable solution acceptable by the Naga populace. The Framework Agreement and agreed position must be disseminated to the general public through the tribal Hohos and responsible civil societies for wider transparency.’ Unquote.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, first and foremost I fully agree with the statement of the fact more often than not also as stated by our leaders that the Naga community is thoroughly divided both overground and underground. I would like to briefly share with my limited knowledge of the genesis of the Nagas struggle for freedom as a young leader of today. As far as I know, the first and the only group that had started the Nagas fight for freedom or sovereignty under the patriotic leadership of Late Shri A. Z. Phizo was NNC and it continued for more than 30 years. The first Naga National Flag that is our

identity was manually woven by the Rengma ladies and it was hoisted on 22nd March, 1956 for the first time in the Rengma land at Parashen which is under Tseminyu District and now it is considered by the people as the most revered site of historic importance. This could be so because of the fact that Late Whenha Rengma was closely associated with Late A.Z. Phizo, popularly known as the Father of the Naga Nation and that he had married a Rengma lady. Deputy Speaker Sir, the Rengma's had to face the wrath of the Indian Army for hoisting the Naga National Flag. You all know, what had followed after that about 34 years. About the factions this started proliferation of factions into 2/3 groups and now we are talking about 26 groups, we have 23 groups now. Deputy Speaker Sir, this fragmentation has been a significant impediment to our progress, therefore, the initial and most crucial step we as facilitator must undertake is to unify ourselves. We must clean our kitchen before we can effectively engage

with other external entities, unity is not just a desirable goal, it is an absolute necessity for any meaningful progress to achieve this unity, Deputy Speaker Sir, I strongly advocate for the consolidation of the major civil society organizations, i.e., Tenyimia Union of Nagaland (TUN), Central Nagaland Tribes Council (CNTC) and Eastern Nagaland Peoples Organization (ENPO) into a single Naga Apex body. This unified body would serve as the primary platform for discussing the contents of the Framework Agreement also the Agreed Position. Deputy Speaker Sir, this consolidation is not merely symbolic, it is the first tangible steps towards fulfilling the objective of an opposition-less Government that can act as an effective facilitator in the peace process. Once having been established a single Naga Apex body our role as facilitators will be significantly enhanced is what I believe.

Deputy Speaker Sir, while we must appreciate the efforts put in by the Naga reconciliation in consolidating various Naga Political Groups, it is now incumbent upon us to bring together the fragmented Naga civil societies under one banner. This unified civil society will provide a robust platform for discourse and decision making. Deputy Speaker Sir, with a united Naga civil society our next step.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon'ble Member, please conclude your speech.

Ar. JWENGA SEB (JD-U) : Just one more minute, Sir, this discourse should be inclusive, transparent and aimed at reaching a consensus that reflects the collective will of the Nagas. It is essential that this process is not rush out but rather given the time and space it needs to ensure that all voices are heard and considered. After achieving internal unity and engaging in thorough discourse, we have to be faced with a critical decision whether to accept a partial solution often referred to as 80% solution or to hold on for a complete 100% solution this decision need not be taken likely, it requires careful consideration of the long term implications to our people. With my limited wisdom Deputy Speaker Sir, I see better formula than to weigh the pros and cons of each options meticulously and make decisions that best serves the interest of the Naga community. The path forward for resolving the Naga Political Issue lies in our ability to unite internally, establish a single Naga apex body and engage in inclusive and transparent discourse. Only then we can make an informed decision on whether to accept a partial solution or strive for a complete one. This approach I belief Deputy Speaker Sir, will pave the way for a sustainable and lasting solution to the Naga Political Issue. I remain optimistic that through unity, dialogue and careful deliberation we can achieve a solution that honours the aspirations and rights of the Naga people. Thank you Deputy Speaker Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Member Dr. Neisatuo Mero.

Dr. NEISATUO MERO (IND): Deputy Speaker Sir, thank you for giving the time to participate in the discussion on Urgent Public Importance in regard to Naga Political Solution. Since the formation of the Naga National Council in the year 1946 which was a long struggle, in my observation years between 1946 and 1980 after 34 years of formation of NSCN and now it has mushroomed to 26 factions so, by 2046 with another 22 years not far away from century, God forbid but we might have more factions at this rate of growth into groupism. We are all proud of our various Naga tribes being described as land of festivals, traditions, warriors, pioneers etc. but one day we may be called as the land of so and so that I leave it to the public and the time will tell. Therefore, before anything untoward comes we need to take remedial measures to control from all these happenings. We appreciate the previous governments for their initiatives, for the present government this is the right time to put our heads together in facilitating the talks of Indo Naga Political Solution. I want to mention few episodes of Naga movements. The reaffirmation of complete independence by observation of Plebiscite day on 16th May, 1951 a sign of resentment by boycotting India's first and second general elections in the year 1952 and 1957 respectively, showing dismay or condemnation of 1975 Shillong Accord therefore led to the formation of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in the year 1980, and after more than a decade that Indo Naga Political Talk was initiated with the Government of India and so on. Many several agreements and ceasefire made with the Government of India, I will not repeat what is said by the former speakers but the two recent historic agreements on which we are focusing, 2015 the Framework Agreement signed between Government of India and NSCN (IM) recognized the Indo Political Issue as political conflict, it was also recognized as foundation of sovereignty and unique history, 2017-Agreed Position between Government of India and NNPGs with all the several episodes of Naga movements, hard talks between various organization, history and agreements takes years and years to achieve all those which are supposed to be taken up with sincerity and seriousness.

However, the Government of India is not totally dormant on these issues or kept unattended but taking time to contemplate the Framework Agreement. Though the unique history and foundation of sovereignty was recognized, yet the Government of India had not accepted the Flag and the Constitution, for these reasons it is in a standstill and also the agreement made between the NNPGs and Government of India, it is being kept at the table of Government of India. I also want to remind us of the slogan during 2018 election 'Election for solution' and 14th NLA in letter and in spirit, being oppositionless government all the 60 MLAs came together to facilitate the Indo Naga Political talk. The State Legislators formed the Political Affairs Committee (PAC) a privilege where we should sincerely pressurize the NDA Government under the leadership of the Hon'ble Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi and the stakeholders. Some of

my thoughts I would like to share, Government of India should not sit upon or put in a cold storage the vexed Naga Political Issue but with outmost sincerity in another level of talk should resume to find out an acceptable and amicable solution with the stakeholders. We should also have serious consultative meetings with all the various Naga National Organisations, CSOs and even the religious leaders and listen to the views for more effective public participations. Meantime extortion, taxation and public threatening should be ceased. The PAC should discuss with the central level leaders and express our unanimous support for early solution. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have received a request from some of our Hon'ble Members a short notice, I do not wish to deprive them of speaking however, we are running behind schedule so I will be gracious enough just to give you 5 minutes each. Hon'ble Member, Shri. Nyusietho Nyuthe.

SHRI Z. NYUSIETHO NYUTHE (NDPP) ADVISOR, NEW & RENEWAL ENERGY, NSDMA : Thank you Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, for giving me time for discussion on Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule — 50 pertaining to Naga Political Issue. Well, I am going to speak my mind so whatever I speak, if hurt anyone, I want to apologise beforehand.

I use to visualize that before the Britishers, the concept of nation-state was not there in the context of the Naga. Every village is known by its own setup, Khonoma and Kikruma village have put up a strong resistance against the advancement of the Britishers, yet they did not fight under one common king/chief but fought separately when the Britishers advance in their village.

The idea of Nationalism was brought in by the Labor Corps of the Nagas who went and participated in the First World War in Europe. NNC was form in the year 1946 and propagated the idea of nationalism and carried out the great Naga Plebiscite in 1951 under the leadership of A.Z.Phizo, and brought Naga under one umbrella. Hence, the idea of nation state was born out of the NNC.

The nascent Naga nation has prematurely taken up arms confrontation with the mighty Indian army. This is clearly seen at Thuda War in 1960 where the Naga Army has attacked Assam Rifles camp from 24th to 27th August. As per the firsthand information, on the 2nd day i.e. on 25th , one Indian army was shot dead and in retaliation the Indian Army shot dead one Naga army. On the third day, the Naga army have ran out of ammunitions, and they could not withstand the bombing and firing of two-inch mortars from a jet fighter, and thereby abandoned the attack on the Assam Rifles camp. This clearly indicates that at that time Nagas were not

equipped with the necessary arms and ammunitions to fight against the enemies. The reign of terror was unleashed in Pochury area following the attack of the Assam Rifles leading to murder of 6 public leaders of Phor village, a father and son from Mokie village, one from Laruri village was buried alive, one each from Yisi and Kiizatii was beaten to death, two from Meluri village head were chopped off and at last nine precious lives of Matikhrii village were tortured and beheaded.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon'ble Member, please bring a point on this, I gave you just five minutes only.

SHRI Z. NYUSIETHO NYUTHE (NDPP) ADVISOR, NEW & RENEWAL ENERGY, NSDMA

: Coming back to the point, Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the Naga people has taken extreme path too early and this has created a lot of hardship leading to mistrust among ourselves. We cannot blame to anyone for the present affairs of the state because we live in the cocoon of -ism. For sometimes, we patronize our own tribe/own supporters even in the set-up and this has led to mistrust with each other, even the general public doesn't trust our own Naga people to do business as the Naga people prefer to buy things from the non-Nagas shop or prefer to engage non-Naga labours rather than Nagas.

Deputy Speaker Sir, I am of the view that this 14th Nagaland Legislative Assembly under the visionary leadership of Shri Neiphiu Rio, Hon'ble Chief Minister has taken up with heart and soul to solve the Naga issue by advocating constant broad-based consultations with the civil societies, churches and all stakeholders of the State.

Deputy Speaker Sir, my humble submission to this august House is to take up this issue in our own respective tribal level, discuss extensively and come up with a concrete suggestion and resolutions from each tribe. Presently, we have two significant agreements: the Framework Agreement signed by NSCN (IM) with the Government of India and the Agreed Position signed by the NNPGs with the Government of India. I fervently appeal that these two agreements be brought in the public domain and thrash out what is best for the Nagas before it is too late for us. As we are all aware, Nagas have agitated against the 33% Women Reservation in Urban Local Bodies election leading to loss of precious lives. However, with the consultation of the public, the ULB election was successfully held and it has exceeded beyond the reservation. The present affair of Naga movement is too fragile and God knows if something happens a catastrophe is inevitable, which may lead to the destruction of the Nation nationalism ethos. We have been given the mandate by the public and we cannot be only a facilitator yet we need to take active role in the talk with the Government of India and also sit with the national workers,

general public and hear their views and come out what is best for the Nagas.

Thank you Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir!

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon'ble Member Shri Naiba Konyak. Five minutes.

SHRI NAIBA KONYAK (LJP(RV) : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to participate in discussion on Naga Political Issue. Don't worry Deputy Speaker Sir, I will take only one minute. Here if Konyak and Sema tribes do not participate then it would be like a curry without seasonings that is the reason why I've stood up. We have been hearing and talking about Naga political issue from the village level to the highest body i.e. Nagaland Legislative Assembly. When we talk about the Naga political issue I learnt from the dictionary the five words, one is angry, one is crying, one is laughing, one is silence and last is unity. Naga political issue started during the midst of head hunting with the less educated and less learned living in the jungle, completely isolated from one another. The movement has united our Nagas into one family with the marshal power, at the same time many Nagas lives were lost at the cost of this movement also specially in Assam, Arunachal & Myanmar, when we started this national movement. In 1954 the NNC peace camp took place in my village. In the beginning the NNC has taken inclusive policy are among their policy is that all our lands taken by the Assam government must be returned back to us.

Sir, many of our lands are being occupied by the Assamese people therefore, the NNC gave direction that those lands belonging to us should be returned to us and they gave direction that each tribe must go and occupy those land. Dimapur was to be occupied by the Angamis, the Chakhasangs and the Sumis, Merapani by the Lothas, Mariani and Tuli by the Aos, Nagainimora and Tizit by the Konyaks. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, let me narrate one incident that happened in one of the place called Sontok near Nagainimora. This place belonged to us but since the Assamese people were occupying the land, our Konyak people went down in order to chase away those Assamese settlers, but on reaching the place they saw a shop may be a big shop with things they haven't seen in their life, mind you Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, it was in the year 1956 to 57, they were carried away by the things in the shop that they forgot their mission. They started looting the abandoned shop each one taking as much as they can carry. One of my uncles who was more greedy than the others took so much that he could not carry the sack had to leave it there and returned to the village empty handed while the rest of the people who took only few things reached the village with whatever items they took. This incident relates to our present situation. We Nagas especially the Konyaks are very greedy people we want to take everything in one go which is not possible all the time. We may have to return empty the way my

uncle did. Another incident I feel relevant to share is, once there was a violent attack among the underground council for example said that the council cannot intervene in this matter because the fight is between the same tribe and that they must settle it from amongst themselves. He gave an example; take a glass filled with sugar and another glass filled with water when you mix it together it will turn into water only. Giving that example he said the council will not intervene. Sir, our national workers have so much philosophy, so much wisdom and so much vision, but when it comes to unifying the factions they refuse to do so, Despite so much wisdom the vision if cannot unite for the cause of the Nagas what is the benefit of having wisdom and where are they going to apply their philosophy. Therefore, we must continue to appeal to our national workers that they must leave their differences aside and come together for the cause of the Nagas for permanent solution. Unless they come together under one agenda our struggle for political solution will be a waste. In one of my Tobu constituency a candidate went to a particular village for campaigning. The whole night he tried to convince the villager to support him in the general elections but at last in the morning that villager told the candidate that I cannot give my support. So the night that he spent talking to him became useless. Let us not invite that kind of situation in our struggle for peace and political solution. Thank you Sir, for the time given.

(Original Text in Nagamese)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Member, Shri A. Nyamnyei Konyak.

SHRI A. NYAMNYEI KONYAK (NPP): Thank you, Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir. I rise to participate to discuss on Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule — 50. Every Session we have been discussing about Naga Political Issue for a good number of years and even though there is talk after talks for solution we don't see any break through or we are confused I don't know. Therefore, to clear my doubt I had asked the time and thank you Deputy Speaker for giving me the time to discuss on the issue

Deputy Speaker Sir, there is no one among us who doesn't know about the Naga Political Issue, and all Nagas are involved. It is time we focus and come to the point on how the present Political Solution should workout and not dig out the history time and again, history can be for preserving only so let us come together for one solution.

Sir, Underground Frame Work Agreement between IM and NNPGs has been done. After that there will be a solution was the talk, they went for a solution where ceasefire was brought in after ceasefire, they thought that to bring solution will be easy but till now there is no solution and after bringing ceasefire we are noticing lots of factions coming up and we the public have

been blaming the Government of India but where is the Government? Nagaland, State Government is said to be the facilitator only and not a part of the talk, we are said to be only facilitator then who is the real one, which one to choose in the political dialogue. We have to approach the Government of India as one Naga as a whole, be it State Government, political leaders or NGOs for the Naga Issue. We should not only blame the State Government, nor the Government of India but we should stand together as one Naga.

The signing of the Framework Agreement between the NSCN(IM) and the Government of India had taken place, the other NNPGs have signed the Agreed Position, now Mon district is left out of every Agreement. I am saying this because we the people are not living in peace. There is always factional killing and kidnapping and abductions taking place in my district. Just last month two civilians were kidnapped by the Angmai party. The villagers and the family had to intervene and only after they paid a penalty the two were released. Again in another incident a Mohori who was looking after the border road construction in Moka was kidnapped and was kept in their underground camp. There again, the public leaders of Moka protested with dire consequences for his release only then he was released. Sir, the problem still persists; we have lots of unwanted incidents happening day and night in our district, as a result of this you are aware Sir, many of our educated unemployed youths are joining the underground factions and this is the situation we are in. In Tizit two youths were shot dead in a broad day light for reasons best known to them. These fights and killings are between the underground factions so I can say that this is also related to political solution. Therefore, we as Naga leaders and Naga public should and must find a way as how to unite all these Naga Political groups. We should work on how to hammer out their differences, how to accommodate those whom they call as Jawans, Sergeants, Lieutenants, Majors and Corporals and bring them under one umbrella and work together for the cause of the Nagas. Only then we will be able to work on bringing permanent solution to the vexed Naga Political Issue. With this few words I thank you Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir for giving me the time.

(Original Text in Nagamese)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think, all the Hon'ble Members have participated in this matter of Urgent Public Importance. Hon'ble Members, before Hon'ble Chief Minister give his concluding remarks, let us have a short break. The House will re-assemble after 15 minutes.

(The House Adjourned at 03:55 P.M.)

(The House Re-assembled at 4:25 P.M.)

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, I now call the House to order. We shall resume with our business but before resuming our business, I would like to thank Hon'ble Deputy Speaker for smoothly conducting the House. Also, in continuation with the items listed for today, I would like to take the sense of the House if we can continue since its already 4:30 pm now so that we can finish the rest of the business listed for today. Thank you. So as agreed by the House we shall continue with item No.3 continuation of the discussion, concluding remarks from hon'ble Leader of the House.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker Sir, I rise to make my concluding comments on the Naga Political Issue which we had discussed but before I go into my remarks, I would like to draw the attention of the House. When we are discussing on calling attention to matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-54, our Hon'ble Member Mr. Kuzholuzo Nienu, made some remarks which I was not very comfortable and since he was in tempo, did not disturb him. I must appreciate that in his comments he had given a lot of good examples and also suggestions which is taken very well but because question hour was not exerted, he expressed his displeasure to the Speaker. So, I think that is unparliamentary or if not, also we cannot, we can only make request because after question hour usually even in Parliament not even 1-2 minutes also are extended the mikes are automatically put off. So, I think it is up to the wisdom of the Speaker to extend or not but if he had already taken decision any Hon'ble Members should not express their displeasure. They can only request because rules are very clear, conduct of business rules are very clear so if that can be corrected and if Hon'ble member, Kuzholuzo also agree on that it will be very good. Well, this discussion today under the Rule 50, discussion on Urgent Public Importance on Naga Political Issue, I am extremely happy that all the speakers had spoken with a very good intention and with clarity they had enlightened us with historical facts and also their experiences. It has attributed a lot of highlighting and events and also give us guidance how to deal with our Naga Political Issue. Here Mr. Kuzholuzo Nienu, Nuklutoshi, Dr.Sukhato, G.Kaito Aye, Imkong L.Imchen, Achumbemo Kikon, Y. Lima Onen Chang, Ar. Jwenga Seb, Dr. Neisatuo Mero, Nyusietho, Naiba Konyak and Nyamnyei Konyak, my happiness and my appreciation to all of them. We are all aware of the history of the Naga Political Movement and most of you had touched upon the very pertinent issues and also the sequence of our Naga history and its Political Movement. We are aware, we are Naga Hills when the Britishers first came to the Naga Hills way back in 1832-33, we resisted the encroachments to our territory and we had no kingdom or even tribes organised but our villages and the neighbouring friendships they combined helped one another and fought. When the East India Company came to India that was before the British government the king who had the authority, when they came to in India, India was never a

nation it was a sub-continent having I believe as many as 562 princely states and very few resisted, some kings they fought very furiously but lost and most of them they had surrendered their kingdom to the British but for Nagas though we were not organized, we fought with them till 1889 the last fight was the Khonoma battle. So, as we understand that the first Naga Hill administrative Centre was set up at Asalu in 1855. Then they shifted to Samaguting, we call it Nechu Guard gate these days in Chumoukedima Hill section 1866 then from there they went to Wokha in 1875 and came back to Kohima in 1879 and in 1879 the Sub-Division outpost was also taken to Mokokchung from Wokha. So in this about 50 years, the Naga warriors with their daos and spears or whatever weapon they could collect they fought. Many Naga leaders, warriors they were killed. They fought in different villages like Kohima, Kikruma and even in Lotha area furious fighting's took place and their British Political Officers were also killed. It was Mr. Henry Damant, the British Political Officer who led the British troops in the battle, his memorial stone is still erected and for that we Nagas, we were recognized, that we are a people, we are different of our culture, tradition and our customary laws, though they came and ruled our Naga country they did not interfere into the local administration. In fact, they gave protection to the Hill tribals and that is how in 1873 Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act was passed. The plains people are prohibited to come to Naga Hills. They cannot come and buy land, house or any immovable properties.

The valuable items of ancestors if they buy and carried also they will be imposed fine and also jailed. So they had protected us and that British legacy when Naga got Statehood in 1960 under the 16 Point Agreement, the British legacy of Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act, 1873 was introduced in 16 Point Agreement Clause 16, that is why today we are enjoying that legacy. Now many had expressed themselves very well and enlightened the history, I will not go back to all those things. That is why as an elected representative of our people we are concerned and from the beginning of the Assembly, though the 16 Point Agreement was signed, as Shri. Achumbemo has stated, the Naga groups call NPC as messengers, signing should have been done by the NNC, like how it was done in 9 Point agreement with NNC, but maybe they could not convince them and our people were suffering that is how it might have signed and though we like it or not till today, it has sustained our society and today we are in this Assembly under the Constitution of India taking oaths and as a facilitator, as mentioned we have a very limited role to play. In fact, after or before much have been done, even the 16 Point Agreement of Integration of Naga Contiguous area, also the House of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly had passed resolution on 6 (six) occasions and all the 6 resolutions on integration it was unanimous, not even a single Member opposed and today that integration of Naga contiguous area is also under the competencies being discussed. And that is how even when I took over

the Government as the Chief Minister, we had formed the Joint Legislators Forum (JLF) since 2009 and we have taken a significant step towards achieving our objective of peaceful solution to the Naga protracted political issue and even this ceasefire and dialogue has taken some positive steps because we have seen that signing of Frame Work Agreement on 3rd August, 2015 with NSCN (IM) and the Agreed Position with the NNPGs on 17th November, 2017 has raised hope of lasting peace in our State and we acknowledge the hard work and relentless efforts of the leaders of the tribal bodies, civil societies and church organizations, the State Government and all of us the legislators from the Treasury bench or the Opposition both forming this Joint Legislators Forum. Even on the eve of 58th State Day of Nagaland while extending greetings to the people of the State, the then Governor R.N Ravi in his message mentioned that the people of Nagaland are anxiously waiting for the new dawn with the reaching of common understanding on all issues on the table and conclusion of talks on 31st October, 2019. This has given us hope and we were extremely happy but till today, though we have taken a lot of consultations to find solution with the tribal Hohos, civil societies, senior citizens, church leaders, all concern and I am informed that 6 (six) times inside this House we passed our resolution on the Naga political Issue and outside the House 5 times, total 9 times, and in the discussion, the people, the voice and the resolutions are very clear. Even this time the 5th Session of the 14th Assembly as we have constituted the Political Affairs Committee and the Political Consultative Committee which meeting we held yesterday the 28th August 2024, 60 Members along with the two MPs. Yesterday also we had a very good discussion and as mentioned which should come together as an opposition-less government that means 60 Members in the Government from different political parties to be precise about nine parties, INC don't have MLA so in the house is nine political parties running opposition-less government and in the Political Consultative meeting and Lok Sabha MP from Congress they are fully participating in this as I have mentioned and other Speakers also had mentioned, we may say many things but the Naga groups they even call us as unmandated government because the Naga movement is another issue but for today under the constitution of India we are elected Members we have every right to voice and to speak out the voice of the public. Therefore, we already had several meetings of Political Affairs Committee, we had meetings with the Political Parties Consultative Committee and therefore the next meeting will be a joint meeting with the civil societies, tribal hohos, churches and senior citizens concerned people. Here, in all these nine resolutions passed inside and outside and also on integration six times, I think in almost all the resolutions with civil societies we always mentioned a political solution that is inclusive, honorable and acceptable to the Nagas. So, on this complicated Naga political issue we ourselves are giving a kind of condition on how to make it inclusive, honorable and acceptable

to the Naga people. You are aware, our motto in the State logo is one simplest universal and most needed word “unity” so, when Nagas can come together like today we are having an opposition-less government Naga groups have 26 groups but they should also come together as opposition-less on the table of negotiation and take a decision because unless we come together and unite how our solution will have inclusiveness and if there is no inclusiveness then how that agreement will be honorable and if we don't get honorable how it will be acceptable to the Naga people. Therefore, I think when we meet the civil societies, tribal leaders, churches and a concern citizens we have to emphasize time and again about passing a resolution, a political solution that is inclusive, honorable and acceptable that should be thoroughly discussed. And as an elected Member, taken oath under the constitution of India we cannot do much because we are not negotiating but we are carrying the voice of the people so if Naga groups also, if they are mandated people then they should listen to the voice of the people. I got a letter from one of the group's chairman, addressing to Amit Shah, Union Home Minister Government of India and in their letter written to him a copy is given to all concerned, I will just quote only one sentence, they mentioned “ *at the outset the NSCN since its inception has sustained by a willful meager contribution mandated by the Nagas to exert our acknowledged political rights*” that means, they are mandated and that they can get any taxation by will or by force and if anybody challenging the NSCN could invite capital punishment as enshrined in NSCN Yehzabo. So, if they are working for the people and they claim that they have mandate to ask for their sustenance but if the innocent public cannot give or do not give, capital punishment will be given as enshrined in the NSCN Yehzabo very dangerous. Is that the voice or the mandate they got that they can make a Yehzabo and give any capital punishment? We are in a very difficult and dangerous situation that is why while dealing with them civil societies or our ourselves should politely have serious discussion on these issues.

Another point is, as mentioned we are elected, taken oath under constitution of India and we are functioning in that, we are not negotiating party. So, we will be very careful and will deal only on what they agreed, Framework Agreement 3rd August, 2015 and Agreed Position 17th November, 2017. And in the Lok Sabha election the Congress has come out and mentioned that they will solve Naga political issue on the basis of the agreement signed during 2013-2014, so I asked them Framework Agreements, Agreed Position and that agreement from the Congress which was mentioned in the 2024 Lok Sabha election. So, with these things we will educate our civil societies and we are requesting NSCN (IM), NNPGs in their framework and agreed position what are they discussing? What are their contentious issues? And what are the competencies, the competencies that they are discussing. What is it that the INC agreed during 2013-14? And NNPG, of course, they have said that we have agreed and we are ready

to sign. So, it is a good sign and so we will work on this and the competencies. Many of us and many people in the market are discussing about the flag, the constitution, the indication and then in the passport recognizing Nagas, the word Naga should be there, there are many competencies. We will study and we will also have consultations with them before we meet the civil societies, and tribal leaders therefore our role will be limited but we represent the people, we carry the voice of the people and we should convince the Naga groups. As the Prime Minister mentioned 80% agreed, let us take settlement, 20% which is not being understood or cannot be negotiated, let us keep it for further discussion. Otherwise, if we don't have a settlement now and they should not say 'no' because they have signed but we not the ones who signed therefore, they should come and then we should try to find solution. Otherwise, 26 groups though only 5 groups signed the agreement with 10/15 designated camps all collecting tax and willful meager for their sustenance contributions. It is no more collection for their sustenance, and the public cannot survive on this. As Home Minister Shri Y. Patton was saying this morning on law and order, the business community or the Government servants or any farmers because of taxation and collection they cannot sustain particularly the non-Nagas who are doing business. Why today in Nagaland there is not one Industry, there is no manufacturing centre and those who are doing it are already going away, in this condition no investors will come and on our own if we do business we don't know how to do, we will not progress, and there will be more and more quarrels among us. We want to chase away all others but because of people coming like doing construction works, doing all the technical jobs we are surviving well, and once we learn we are in a position to do then if they are unemployed if they cannot run a business, they themselves will go away we don't have to chase them out. But first, we have to learn the skills of trading and develop certain traits, but some Nagas when they are taking out their savings investing outside the state then what will become of the common man. And therefore, it is definitely time, unless we take a settlement what our negotiators have agreed and public also voiced, public will be the pressure group. I think Naga people have been longing for genuine peace and they look earnestly for a solution that will pave the way for all-round progress and development of the state. On behalf of our 60 Members the House again appeals to all the Naga political groups and all stakeholders to be sensitive to the deep yearning of the people and continue with their sincere efforts to ensure that the solution is reached without any further delay. A political solution that is inclusive, honourable and acceptable to the Naga people will usher in an era of faster economic growth, and greater investment and bring greater employment opportunities for our youth an all-round development and progress to our people. I am extremely happy just not in the name of Opposition less Government but all are very firm to resolve the Naga issue I can see from our discussion yesterday and today. So, God help us, today we are not going to pass any resolution but

highlighting our concern and with this unity we will go and have meeting with the civil societies and the NGOs. Thank you, God bless.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon'ble Leader of the House, for your concluding remarks. With that we have come to the end of Item No. 3 which is discussion on Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule 50. Hon'ble Members, let us now come to Item No. 4 Consideration and Passing of Government Bills. As you are all aware the Bills listed in Item No.4 under Sl.(a) to (f) were introduced in the House on 27th August, 2024 and is scheduled for consideration and passing today. Also, since there are four Bills which is to be moved by our Hon'ble Chief Minister if convenient, may I request Hon'ble Chief Minister if he can move all the four Bills together for consideration. That includes Item No. 4 (a) The Nagaland Goods and Services Tax (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2024 (b) The Nagaland Work-charged and Casual Employees Regulation (First Amendment) Bill, 2024. (d) The Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 2024. (e) Disqualification on Ground of Defection in Urban Local Bodies Bill, 2024.

Now, the Hon'ble Leader of the House, Shri Neiphiu Rio may move for consideration of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker Sir, I beg to move that The Nagaland Goods and Service Tax (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2024 be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members I had announced for Amendments to be submitted by 8:30 P.M. till yesterday, the 27th August, 2024. Though I have not received any notice for amendment, however Hon'ble Members may seek clarification, if there is any.

Hon'ble Chief Minister may now move for passing of the Bill

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, the motion moved is that "The Nagaland Goods and Services Tax (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2024," be passed.

Those who are in favour of the motion may say "Aye"

Those against may say "No"

The Ayes" have it, the "Ayes" have it.

The Bill is passed.

Item No.4 (b) The Nagaland Work-Charged and Casual Employees Regulation (First Amendment) Bill, 2024. Hon'ble Members are aware that this Bill was also introduced in the House on 27th August, 2024 and is scheduled for consideration and passing today. Now Shri Neiphiu Rio, Hon'ble Chief Minister may move for consideration of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Amendments, if any, was sought from the Hon'ble Members to be submitted by 8:30 P.M. till yesterday, the 27th August, 2024. I have not received any amendment on this Bill, however Hon'ble Members may seek clarification, if there is any.

Hon'ble Chief Minister may now move for passing of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion moved is that "The Nagaland Work-Charged and Casual Employees Regulation (First Amendment) Bill, 2024" be passed.

Those who are in favour of the motion may say "Aye"

Those against may say "No"

The Ayes" have it, the "Ayes" have it.

The Bill is passed.

Item No.4 (d) The Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 2024. Hon'ble Members are aware that this Bill was also introduced in the House on 27th August, 2024 and is scheduled for consideration and passing today. Now Shri Neiphiu Rio, Hon'ble Chief Minister may move for consideration of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Amendments, if any, was sought from the Hon'ble Members to be submitted by 8:30 P.M. till yesterday, the 27th August, 2024. I have not received any amendment on this Bill, however Hon'ble Members may seek clarification, if there is any.

Hon'ble Chief Minister may now move for passing of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion moved is that "The Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 2024" be passed.

Those who are in favour of the motion may say "Aye"

Those against may say "No"

The Ayes" have it, the "Ayes" have it.

The Bill is passed.

Item No.4 (e) Disqualification on Ground of Defection in Urban Local Bodies Bill, 2024. Hon'ble Members, again you are aware that this Bill was also introduced in the House on 27th August, 2024 and is scheduled for consideration and passing today. Now, Shri Neiphiu Rio, Hon'ble Chief Minister may move for consideration of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Amendments, if any, was sought from the Hon'ble Members to be submitted by 8:30 P.M. till yesterday, the 27th August, 2024. I have not received any amendment on this Bill, however Hon'ble Members may seek clarification, if there is any.

Hon'ble Chief Minister may now move for passing of the Bill.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion moved is that "Disqualification on Ground of Defection in Urban Local Bodies Bill, 2024", be passed.

Those who are in favour of the motion may say "Aye"

Those against may say "No"

The Ayes" have it, the "Ayes" have it.

The Bill is passed.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, I had announced for amendments to be submitted by 8:30 PM till yesterday the 27th of August 2024, but I have not received any notice for amendment. However, Hon'ble Member may seek clarification if any.

Hon'ble Chief Minister may now move the Bills Item No. 4 (a) The Nagaland Goods and Services Tax (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2024, item no. 4(b) The Nagaland Work-Charged and Casual Employees Regulation (First Amendment) Bill, 2024, item no. 4(d) The Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 2024 and item no. 4(e) Disqualification on Ground of Defection in Urban Local Bodies Bill, 2024 for passing.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker Sir, I beg to move that item no. 4(a) The Nagaland Goods and Services Tax (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2024, item no. 4(b) The Nagaland Work-Charged and Casual Employees Regulation (First Amendment) Bill, 2024, item no. 4(d) The Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 2024 and item no. 4(e) Disqualification on Ground of Defection in Urban Local Bodies Bill, 2024 be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, the motion moved is that The Nagaland Goods and Services Tax (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2024, The Nagaland Work-Charged and Casual Employees Regulation (First Amendment) Bill, 2024, The Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 2024, Disqualification on Ground of Defection in Urban Local Bodies Bill, 2024 be passed.

Those who are in favour of the motion may say "Aye"

Those against may say "No"

The "Ayes" have it, the "Ayes" have it.

The Bills as read out is passed.

Let us now come to item no. 4(c) The Nagaland Road Safety Authority (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024. Once again, this Bill was introduced in the House on 27th of August, 2024 and scheduled for consideration and passing today. May I request Shri T. R. Zeliang, Deputy Chief Minister to now move for consideration of the Bill.

SHRI T. R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, PLANNING & TRANSFORMATION, NATIONAL HIGHWAY: Mr. Speaker Sir, I beg to move that The Nagaland Road Safety Authority (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024 be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Once again, Hon'ble Members, amendments were sought to be submitted by 8:30PM yesterday the 27th of August 2024. However once again, I have not received any notice for amendments on this Bill. However, Hon'ble Members may seek clarification, if any.

If there are none, Hon'ble Deputy Chief Minister may now move for passing of the Bill.

SHRI T. R. ZELIANG (NDPP) DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER, PLANNING & TRANSFORMATION, NATIONAL HIGHWAY: Mr, Speaker Sir, I beg to move that The Nagaland Road Safety Authority (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024 be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion moved is that The Nagaland Road Safety Authority (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024 be passed.

Those who are in favour of the Motion may say "Aye"

Those against may say "No"

The "Ayes" have it, the "Ayes" have it.

The Bill is passed.

Let us now come to item No. 4(f) The Global Open University Nagaland (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024. Once again, Hon'ble Member are aware, this Bill was introduced in the House on 27th of August, 2024 and scheduled for consideration and passing. Hon'ble Minister, Hon'ble Shri Temjen Imna Along, may now move for consideration of the Bill.

SHRI TEMJEN IMNA ALONG (BJP) MINISTER, TOURISM, HIGHER EDUCATION: Hon'ble Speaker Sir, I beg to move that The Global Open University Nagaland (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024 be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Once again, I have not received any amendments on this Bill till 8:30 PM yesterday. However, Hon'ble Members may seek clarification if any. If there are none, Hon'ble Minister may now move for passing of the Bill.

SHRI TEMJEN IMNA ALONG (BJP) MINISTER, TOURISM, HIGHER EDUCATION: Hon'ble Speaker Sir, I beg that The Global Open University Nagaland (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024 be passed.

MR. SPEAKER: The Motion moved is that The Global Open University Nagaland (Second Amendment) Bill, 2024 be passed.

Those who are in favour of the Motion may say “Aye”

Those against may say “No”

The “Ayes” have it, the “Ayes” have it.

The Bill is passed.

Let us now come to item No. 5 Discussion on Matters of Urgent Public Importance Under Rule-50. Once again, Hon’ble Members, I have received a notice from Hon’ble Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Power, Shri K. G. Kenye and supported by Hon’ble Members, Shri Nuklutoshi and Er. Picto Shohe for discussion on Matters of Urgent Public Importance pertaining to “Power Sector Reforms by Reviewing Communitisation of Electricity Management in Urban and Rural Areas under the Nagaland Communitisation of Public Institution & Services Act 2002 (Act No. 2 of 2002)- Sensitization and Awareness thereof” under Rule-50 and I have admitted it to be taking up today. I have also along with it received a list of participants to participate in this discussion and so now I request Hon’ble Minister Shri K. G. Kenye to initiate the discussion.

SHRI K. G. KENYE (NDPP) MINISTER, PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, POWER: Hon’ble Speaker Sir, thank you so much for admitting this Matter of Urgent Public Importance. The Nagaland Communitisation of Public Institution and Services Act, 2002 was enacted and ever since then the Government of Nagaland placing our hopes and trust in the people of Nagaland has been trying to execute this new Act by mobilising the people especially the rural people’s participation in this program. It was a new concept conceived by the Department and the bureaucracy at that time having faith in the honesty and the integrity of our people. Nowhere in the country such a program was initiated and after having enacted this Act in 2002, the State had received a lot of appreciation from the neighbouring States and also the Centre. It took off with much fanfare and with so much dream envisioning a community partnership with the State in such an important Sector of our society. But unfortunately, over a period of more than two decades today, we are in a position where I must say that the Government has been let down by the people and have not lived up to the initial trust that we reposed in them. There has been no reciprocation from the people that the Government and the Department has taken such a great step risking the failure of the State’s economy at that time. And over the years with more enlightenment in the society, the Department was hoping that the attitude would change and that the people will co-operate and be a faithful and loyal partner in trying to achieve the desired goal to portray our people’s integrity to the world. Unfortunately, it is a story of failure

which has caused immense financial hardship on the State Exchequer and so much so that a resource crunch State like ours cannot help it but to review and reconsider this Act bringing it to the forum like this seeking the peoples and hon'ble Members views on this.

In a nutshell Sir, allow me to cite the reasons why it has come to this stage. One reason which stands out as to why we have outsourced the duties of our department at the grassroot level was the shortage of manpower resources. Right from the beginning, shortage of meter readers was one, we have only 305 numbers of meter readers existing against a bare requirement of 691 to cover the total consumers of 3.17 lakhs. Then we also face acute shortage of operation and maintenance staff, there is only 3808 number existing against a requirement of 6186 numbers as per the norms of operation and maintenance. So, these leads to prolonged restoration of faults and is a symptom of the lack of operation and maintenance staff. We do not have even a single labor or jugali staff in 615 villages in our State as of today, this is the shortage we have. Then while trying to collect revenues because of this Communitization Policy, we have a single point metering system installed in all the villages. Unfortunately, due to erroneous bills tempering of meters, it starts to give erroneous readings digitally so, the department is compelled to make a fixed bill on an average with a minimum of about 50% of the 100% which have been consumed against the bills of those villages so it always goes by this, it is on an average and minimum basis. So, the question of reading the meters does not arise anymore.

Here, single point metering without meters and consumers are billed on the basis of useful points as consumer metering is non-existent in all villages. Then we have another problem, a glaring problem is power theft by way of direct hooking, by-passing the meters, meter tempering again that leads us to unaccounted revenue losses and damages the machineries like transformers. Transformers are installed according to a certain number of capacities that they can withhold but when we have direct hookers then we have excess consumers posing the transformers to breakdown with overload.

From the total State energy consumption of 804.57 million units this year, the rural villages consume nearly 25% i.e., 201.14 million units of electricity. With proper single point metering and consumers, the department should be billing Rs. 112.64 crores approximately. Whereas, the total bills units in 1408 villages is only 58 million units. Due to deficiencies in single point metering and minimum household billing, the single point metering billing was only Rs. 30 crores incurring a commotion loss to the tune of Rs. 82.50 crores annually. Out of the 1408 communitize villages, 16 villages are in high degree of urbanization and over lapping of high tension and low-tension lines of villages and in towns, households are built on useful points methodology or minimum as per norms, all consumer should be metered and billed according to

the units consumed. Generally, most of the Village Electricity Management Boards (VEMBs) are weak as they function directly under the authority of the Village Councils. In many VEMBs misappropriation of revenue funds have been detected by the department. This is one of the key factors while the village level Electricity Boards are not performing thereby revenue collection suffers. In many larger villages there is not much distinction in lifestyle and usage of energy intensive appliances in comparison with urban areas. If the present trend of increase power demand and consumption continues on a year-to-year basis, the rural sector will be one critical area responsible for huge accumulated losses to the State in terms of revenue. With single point metering billing system existing in all the villages under the Communitization Act, it would not be possible to implement the Smart Metering System under the RDSS as two different systems of billing cannot exist. Here, as a service provider, Government with all Government service sectors the citizens tend to consider it as a welfare-oriented policy while we provide them electricity. Post communitization revenue collection from the SPM villages has become static, not corresponding to the quantum of annual energy consumption, villages are still paying minimum irrespective of whether meters exist or not as they refuse to pay beyond monthly minimum average. During the initial conceptualization of the Single Point Metering under communitization, billing to the consumers was formulated on a useful point methodology. Billing to the consumers was formulated as energy meters were mostly non-existent, nonfunctional and would require more than one lakh meters to be replaced tallying huge financial implication. Therefore, as an interim measure till meters are replaced the useful point was adopted for the purpose of consumer billing by the Village Electricity Boards.

Speaker Sir, we have stiff resistance to the installation of Smart Metering's from non-other but the Gaon Buras Unions, the wards, colony councils in Urban and Sub-Urban areas. Dimapur with the largest concentration of population and electricity consumers 70,000 in one town itself is one area attributing nearly 35 percent of the state's energy consumption causing 50 percent loss of revenue on account of poor billing and meter reading deficiencies. During 2020-21, 2021-22 an amount of Rs.10 Cr was allocated by the State Government under the Special Assistance Fund for installation of Capax 10,000 Smart Prepaid Meters in Dimapur. Implementation was initiated during 2022-23 but up to date only 4889 number of smart meters could be installed in Dimapur the commercial hub due to resistance from various public NGOs, GBs Union and Chairmen of wards and colonies. To expedite closure of the scheme, the 10,000 smart meters were reallocated to different parts of the State like Kohima, Dimapur and Chumoukedima, so out of the total number of 10 thousand smart meters commissioned are only 8149 and nearly 2000 remains uncommissioned and uninstalled till date. Prior to the smart meters under the Integrated Power Development Scheme the department installed and commissioned 19,000

stand-alone prepaid meters 10,000 in Dimapur town, 9000 in Kohima town under very difficult circumstances and challenges as stated above. Installation of prepaid meter is now mandatory as per the Central Government Notification No. 23/05/2020 Part-I Government of India Ministry of Power dated the 26th of February, 2021. The biggest challenges now arises for the 100 percent smart metering coverage across the State under the RDSS Scheme which is mandatory. Although the State cabinet has approved the RDSS action plan in totality implementing it under the present challenging circumstances would not be viable. The smart prepaid metering being conditional for release of funds for infrastructure under the RDSS, hence installation of smart prepaid meters is imperative to avail the much needed Central Government funds for the development of the States power sector. The Gaon Buras, Chairmen of Wards, colonies and Village Councils are part of the Government and District Administration machinery to assist the district administration, police and state government departments in delivering public services and the implementation of various government schemes. However, opposing or resisting a government program scheme by ward authorities is highly inappropriate particularly for the GBs hence the government may act on the following steps. Therefore, we have suggestions that the following policy changes and the frameworks be changed to enable smart metering in all urban and rural areas as per the regulation of the Government of India as mandated under the Electricity Act 2003 and Amendments thereof.

We recommend the repeal in totality the communitisation of Electricity management in Urban areas and the model rules and the addition and condition of supply for Urban Electricity Management Board (UEMB) 2004. We propose that amendments be made to the Nagaland Communitisation of Electricity Management in villages by Village Councils Rules 2002, though the amendment of Rule No. 7 the Nagaland Communitisation of Electricity Management in Villages No.7 Metering and Bill 7(1) 7(2) 7(3) and 7(4) and also amendments be made in Chapter-2 in Rule No. 4 Sub Cluse A, Sub Cluse 2 A, Sub Cluse 2 B, then amendments in Rule-7 of Chapter-3 and the insertion of Rule-12 Part-IV after Rule-11of Part-IV. We have a close-up snapshot of the latest financial losses which we have lost in the last financial year 2023-24. Cost of total power purchase was 772.26Cr and with all the other maintenance, expenses it comes to 764.28 Cr that is a gross purchase from the grid at our own meager generation which comes to about 1004.35 Cr, here we have after recovery the revenue gaps with regards to power purchase stands at 328.7 which comparatively in the last three years is the lowest but it is still very high because total AT & C losses accumulates to more than 50.78 percent all together which is very high. In conclusion Speaker Sir, the power sector is one of the main backbones of the state's economy and functions as a commercial organization and department of the state for delivering electricity as an essential public service. Whereas, unlike

other service sectors such as Medical, Education, Health Engineering etc. it is paramount and its operating cost and expenditure from its consumers to ensure a stable and quality affordable electricity and energy security so as to leverage all-round socio-economic growth and infrastructural developmental activities. Hence as a Matter of Public Importance the proposed reforms measures are hereby tabled before the House for sensitization and awareness of the Members of the House and the public at large and the Civil Societies of the proposed changes and amendments in the communitisation of electricity management model rules and review the roles of GBs, Wards, Colony Councils to ushering a positive growth in the State, thank you, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you Hon'ble Minister for initiating the discussion. I now call upon Hon'ble Shri Achumbemo Kikon to participate.

SHRI ACHUMBEMO KIKON (NPF) : Speaker Sir, actually I am participating in almost all the topics but our Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Power expressed his desire that I also must express my opinion, because in the last Budget Session it was actually my proposal that we must re-visit this communitisation Act. Otherwise, I only know politics, I do not know engineering so I think the expert people should rather speak. Now, I raised that concern because while presenting the budget this year our Hon'ble Chief Minister was mentioning the loss incurred from the Power Sector procuring by about Rs 600 crore gaining about Rs 300 crore which means 50% loss, even if we are a welfare State I think that amount is too much and therefore I was expressing my concern that we must re-visit this communitisation. Yes, as Hon'ble Minister in-charge of Power has highlighted, it has also brought its benefits out of this communitisation, but over the years, our people have proven irresponsible and therefore it is timely that we review this one. On behalf of our party Naga People's Front (NPF), I would like to endorse the idea of reviewing this and amending the provisions which he has read out. I don't need to repeat those terms, I only would like to suggest that which he has mentioned. I was talking in the last House that non-traditional village should be done away with which means villages established in the urban areas, this are also coming within the communitised villages and since now we are proposing for smart metering, hopefully people will become responsible, in fact, it is not only the shortage of staff but there are lots of lacunae in the act itself, the people of course all of us are responsible. I have read some of the news columns in Assam where the Chief Minister Shri Himanta Biswa Sarma was mentioning that all the government buildings starting from him will also pay electricity bill. I think starting from the Chief Minister, down to the villages all of us we must be responsible in our attitude as far as this power sector is concerned. I have been repeating this again and again that we don't realize the importance of power sector. If the light goes off now all of us will feel the importance of power but so long as the light is here we don't feel its presence. So therefore, it is a very important one, while

proposing, while supporting the move which the Minister has already highlighted, even in the education sector the whole Communitisation Act has to be re-visited. The irresponsibility of the teacher is such that because of this communitisation the salaries of the teachers go straight to their account, previously it was managed by the Village Education Committee, without their certification the teachers' salaries are not being released. Therefore, in the next Assembly I would suggest to the Education Department also that you must re-visit because the teacher salary going straight to the teachers is also creating a havoc. They don't go to duty but the moment the month comes to an end, the salary is already credited to their bank account. Therefore, that also has to be re-examined, not only in power sector. I am going a little out of the way but even the direct beneficiary transfer DBT mode, I don't know, yes, it is all mostly Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) in many of the States in India it is relevant but I think in States like Nagaland, direct beneficiary transfer, I don't see it as a very sound idea. So, if the government can also take up this issue, I think it will also help us. Anyway, thank you for the time given. And I am again repeating myself supporting the move. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you Hon'ble Member. Now I call upon Hon'ble Shri Nuklutoshi.

SHRI NUKLUTOSHI (NPP) : Thank you Speaker Sir, I rise to discuss on Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule 50 pertaining to Power Reforms. By reviewing communitisation of electricity management in urban and rural areas under Nagaland communitisation of public institution & services Act 2002, Speaker Sir, I would like to supplement and suggest on the matter that power/electricity is a very essential constituent of the infrastructure effecting economic growth and welfare of the State. Years of mounting losses and operational in efficiency have adversely affected the financial health of the State which is currently amounting in humongous outstanding debts. First of all, we the consumers should have a conscious mind, secondly in order to overcome this problem we should do away with that Naga concept that everything comes free when it comes to government our loans from banks. Thirdly, why is there a deficit in the power sector? It is because of the wrong system that the department fixed the power tariff in the rural areas. Dimapur with the largest concentration of population and electricity consumers is one area attributing nearly 25% in our State's energy consumption and 50% loss of revenue on account of poor billing and meter reading deficiency. This set back is not only faced by Dimapur but the whole of Nagaland at large due to poor implementation of the above mentioned more over there is the issue of misuse of power whereby meter by-pass and meter tempering leads to unaccounted revenue loss and damaged values. Speaker Sir, machineries like transformers to mentioned of the problem face by the power department, the only viable solution and the way out is the implementation of smart metering, though implementations are already underway in major districts like Kohima,

Dimapur and Chumukedima, it hasn't been implemented fully. Communitisation of electricity management was not successful due to various factors such as loss of revenue due to excess consumption of electricity by the consumer with low billing system. For example, in most of the rural areas people are now having access to basic home appliances such as smart TV, refrigerator, water heater, rice cooker, etc leading to high consumption of electricity resulting to loss of revenue. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt 100% smart prepaid metering in all areas. Only then the beneficiaries will know the importance and the usages of electricity leading to lower expenditure of Power purchase as well as lower expenditure by the consumers. Lesser usage of man power and infrastructure for bill collection, improvement over all revenue, no more estimated billing, no problems of unsettled bills, no more meter readings, energy conservation and carbon emission reduction. You pay for what you use. At present in my opinion, it should be installed phase wise, first in urban areas, then in rural areas in order to eliminate all the setbacks the Power Department has been facing over the years. There is also the strong need to push for wider scale implementation of public-private partnership modules. A more supportive environment from civil society bodies such as wards unions and councils, GBs will help in cleaning the energy deficit of the State. Therefore, Speaker Sir, the government must effectively replace and modernize all inefficient plans and lines to achieve the electricity production and demand target. Considering the mindset of our Naga brothers and sisters, adoption of pre-paid system instead of post-paid is the step in the right direction for the end of justice for all. It is my prayer and hope that it will benefit the Government and particularly the public at large. Thank you, Speaker Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Now, I call upon Hon'ble MLA, Er. Picto Shohe.

Er. PICTO SHOHE (NCP): Hon'ble Speaker Sir, I rise to participate to state few points in regard to the Reviewing Communitization of Electricity Management in Urban and Rural Areas in our State. The State Power Sector is one of the major distribution sectors in our State which needs more attention from the Government. The department strives to lighten every nook and corner of our State irrespective of the localities to achieve uninterrupted power supply to all the household and streets. The mechanism to drive these activities will lead to generate revenue for the department. Hon'ble Speaker Sir, there are various factors that are leading to the low revenue collection and also hindrance faced by the department. To state a few, it is learnt that there is a shortage of manpower to overlook the work progress therefore, recruitment process should be initiated. In spite, of all law enforcement agencies inspection it is learnt that there are power thefts across the State through direct hooking meters bypass and meter tempering which is leading to the huge unaccounted loss to the department and the Government as well. Therefore, Speaker Sir, strict measures should be reviewed to take action against the culprits.

Hon'ble Speaker Sir, hence this august House may initiate action to review the communitization of electricity and implementation of smart pre-paid metering especially in urban areas in consultation with the Stakeholder, the Municipal Council, Town Council, and the Village Council and in accordance with the regulation of the Government of India mandated under the Electricity Act. Therefore, Hon'ble Speaker Sir, I call upon the attention of this august House for the improvement in revenue generation and delivery of better public service in the power sector within our State. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Now, I call upon Hon'ble Shri Sethrongkyu.

SHRI SETHRONGKYU (BJP) ADVISOR, INFORMATION TECHENOLGY & COMMUNICATION, ECONOMICS & STATISTICS, EVALUATION: Thank you, Speaker Sir, for allowing me to participate in the discussion on the matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rule — 50, issue pertaining to Power Sector Reforms by reviewing the communitization of electricity management in urban and rural areas under Nagaland communitization of public institution and services Act No. 2, 2002 — sensitization and awareness thereof. Speaker Sir, the Act provided for the empowerment of the community and the delegation of powers and functions of the State Government to the local authorities by way of participation of the community in matters connected with the management of local public utilities, public services and the activities of the State Government connected with education, water supply, roads, power other welfare and development schemes. Thus, through this Act the Department of Power transferred the responsibilities of the electricity management in the villages to the village councils, under this process; the villagers have the discretion to fix power tariff within their respective villages. The difference of amount between what is payable to the department and what is realized as electricity charges from consumers can be retained by the villages. In order to facilitate this a single point metering and billing system was put in place. Unfortunately, Speaker Sir, there is a general perception that it is the obligation of the Government to provide free or otherwise subsidized power tariff and in many cases it is simply stolen. Speaker Sir, all the Hon'ble Members present in this august House should know that the power Department unlike any other Government establishment is a revenue earning department. The electrical energy which is supplied to the consumers is to be sold like any other essential commodity available in the market and the Department is to realize the cost from every consumer, it should be realized that it is not free either for the Government or for the consumers. Speaker Sir, it must be explained here that the Government has to buy the power to provide to the consumers but as stated by our Hon'ble Minister of Power, Sir K.G. Kenyu, with the communitization of electricity in Nagaland, about 90% of the villages covered under the Act are being billed an average monthly charges, and in some cases even monthly minimum charges rather than as

per the actual consumption and about 10% are being billed as per the actual consumption or meter reading. Speaker Sir, it may be noted that in some villages with high delay of urbanization such as Naga united or new Showba or old Showba to name a few where there is a mixed consumers of both domestic as well as commercial and industrial category are being billed on minimum charges under the umbrella of this communitization. Whereas, the consumption of electricity in those areas villages are at par with urban towns like Dimapur and Kohima. This will for sure contribute to the revenue loss to a great extent. In view of the above, repealing of the communitization of electricity atleast in those villages with high degree of urbanization is deem fit to be economically viable to the State. And also Speaker Sir, the 100% metering as our Hon'ble Minister has already highlighted in compliance to the direction on Ministry of Power, Government of India for successful implementation of the Government of India Flagship Scheme, RDSS (Revamp Distribution Sector Scheme) will not be possible as long as the single point metering billing system is existing in the villages because two types of billing is not possible. So therefore Speaker Sir, I will like to humbly suggest for Review of the Communitization of the Electricity Management in Rural and Urban Areas under this Act. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you Hon'ble Member. Now I would like to call upon Hon'ble Smt. Hekani Jakhalu Kense.

SMT. HEKANI JAKHALU (NDPP), ADVISOR, INDUSTRIES & COMMERCE: Hon'ble Speaker Sir, thank you for giving me the time to take part in the discussion on Matter of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-50 pertaining to Power Sector Reforms by Reviewing Communitisation of Electricity Management in Urban and Rural Areas under the Nagaland Communitisation & Public Institution & Services Act 2002 (Act No. 2 of 2022) Sensitization and Awareness thereof.

Speaker Sir, this is a very technical subject but of great interest to me because I have been assigned to assist the Hon'ble Chief Minister on affairs of Industries and Commerce in the State. Industry and power is totally inter connected and I always say, there is no industry if there is no power. I would like to start with mentioning few facts and figures, our Hon'ble Minister, Power has already mentioned in detail but just to put my sharing in perspective, I would like to start with some facts and figures and I would like to beg apology if I am repeating but I feel this is important to mention. In the Financial year, 2023-24 the cost of power purchase was Rs. 572.26, the total revenue was Rs.244.19 thereby incurring a loss of Rs. 328.07 Cr. Now when we look at the past 4 Financial years, from 2020-21, 2021-22, 2022-23, 2023-24, we can see that the cost of power purchase was Rs. 2036.70 Cr, total revenue collected was Rs. 824.47 Cr for 4 years thereby, in 4 years incurring a loss of Rs. 1212.23 Cr. The AT&C loss for

2023-24 is 50.76 % and for the last 4 financial years is 55.11 %. This number is very important for all of us to understand why power reform is necessary.

Coming to Communitisation, I would also again like to repeat some number and figures which our Hon'ble Minister have mention in 2023-24 out of 804.57 MU, in electricity terms because many of us here are layman so in electricity term that is called Million Unit. Rural villages consume about approximately 201 MU of electricity which is about 25% of the energy power consumed by the entire state with Single Point Metering. Now for the communitisation, the department uses Single Point Metering, so this is for the comminitisation. With single point metering, the department would bill only 58 MU which in actual, the department should have billed Rs. 112.64 Cr approximately whereas due to minimum household billing and various issues of Single Point Metering like defects or tampering the SPM, billing was only Rs. 30.1 Cr incurring a loss to the tune of Rs. 82.54 Cr in one year, last year. When you look at the national level AT&C losses was 22.3 % and it come down to 16.4% in 2021-22, that's an average national average AT&C losses whereas in Nagaland, I have already read out it is 50.76%. We have heard from other Hon'ble Members, in Nagaland, as part of the Power Sector Reform process, the Department of Power launched the Communitisation programme in 2003 for decentralization of electricity management through community empowerment. The objective of the initiative were:

- to improve service delivery
- to reduce technical and commercial losses in the rural areas
- to involve village community to work as business partners with the Department of power in the management and improvement of electricity revenue
- to entrust the responsibility to Village Electricity Management Board (VEMB) to check theft of power in the villages.
- to address short term shortage of energy meters and manpower

Now, Studies done by various agencies over 2 decades have found that,

1. After communitisation, non-payment and arrears from rural consumers were reduced as the VEMBs are directly responsible for such collections
2. It had become much more convenient for rural consumers to avail new service connections
3. However, there has not been any perceptible improvement in power supply
4. Many villages are paying a fixed amount for years ignoring the increase in consumption

5. Revenue collected by VEMBs have often been misappropriated and there are many other reasons as well.

I want to come back to another data, as per 2024 data from the Department of Power, Dimapur and Kohima Divisions have the least percentage of Single Point Metering points. Dimapur has 3%, Kohima has 17 % but when we look at Dimapur the AT & C losses stands at 55% approximately. Kohima AT & C losses is 46.96% approximately. If you look at Phek and Zunheboto which has the highest percentage of SPM metering. Phek has 66 % of SPM metering and Zunheboto has 59% of SPM metering but if you look at AT & C losses, you will see that even under this the losses for Phek is 55.07 % and for Zunheboto is 69.89% respectively. This comparative study clearly indicates that communitisation has not improved the revenue collection in the state. And this is where I want to bring in a very simple logic for all consumers to understand why reforms are important especially again from my perspective, from the perspective of Industry. And when I say consumers, not just the public but it involves all the 60 Hon'ble Members and others whoever is sitting here this evening inside the Assembly Hall.

Today, it is a known fact that we are all concerned about the livelihood and employment of our children and our youth. We all agree that our economy has to improve, our economy will improve only if our enterprises and our industries flourish which in turn will generate employment and absorb our unemployed youth. This, our people have to understand. Our Hon'ble Minister has talked about a lot of resistance from the public and I have also personally come across many communities in the village in the rural areas and also urban areas who are resisting to certain changes that the Department is trying to bring about. Our people have to understand that by refusing to pay few hundred rupees for the power that you are consuming that is addressing to the rural people and may be some few thousands, if you are refusing to pay the few thousands for the power that you are consuming that is addressed to the Urban consumers, it is indirectly affecting the future of your children, their livelihood and their gainful employment. Now obviously when the government is undergoing such a huge loss it does not have enough fund to be investing or to be purchasing more power that's what I believe especially after I have joined the government and I have seen the other side of life.

There I will pick up two examples, I know the tea factory in Nuiland district, every month that factory purchases diesel for about thirty lakh rupees. I know of small self-help group in Chumukedima area where the self-help group are trying to do banana extraction fiber. They have to buy a generator and the little profit that they project to make is gone towards buying diesel for the little generator to help them run the machine. I was also speaking with some Hon'ble Members from eastern side they have different factories and I am told that they also

buy up to 1000 liter of diesel per day and under this circumstances it is just impossible for industries or economy to flourish.

1. Now, if we have enough energy, if energy sector is developed the state can support efforts for the sustained development of various enterprises.
2. Once there is increase availability of reliable power mechanization of farming activity will take place which, in turn, will lead to improvements in harvesting, storage and processing of agriculture produce thus generating employment.
3. Adequate power supply can support Micro Small Medium Enterprises to develop and thrive.
4. Our state is pushing and promoting Made in Nagaland products which can be successful if only our entrepreneurs and enterprises are supported with adequate and uninterrupted power supply.
5. Today the biggest employment is generated through Technology and IT sector which our Naga youth are also good at but how can we expect them to make money for themselves and for the state if we are not putting the eco-system in place.
6. With the power boost that our enterprise receives, it will automatically improve the employment scenario as a natural progression.

With advancements in technology, we now have options of adopting interventions such as Prepaid meters and Smart metering in homes, transformers and Substations which can effectively address the challenges of manpower shortage, inaccurate billing and revenue collection while providing accurate real-time information to the Department to provide better power supply, better load management and better response to faults in the system.

It is a fact that many states that have improved their AT & C losses due to various policy intervention and reforms. I would like to mention our neighbouring state Manipur. With due respect they are going through difficult times now but Manipur was one of the first states in the North East that started adopting reforms in the power sector. So, that was a transformation of the sector by 2014, under the electricity Act of 2003, many reforms were made by the Manipur government and by 2014, they had Manipur State Power Company Limited (MSPCL) for transmission and Manipur State Power Distribution Company Limited (MSPDCL) for distribution, there prepaid metering started in 2011 and today, Manipur AT & C losses is only 23.62 and I bring back to our figure ours is 50.765.

As long as the government is a service provider the public are going to think that this is a welfare scheme and so the government should not be averse or be resistant to reforms. Our hon'ble Power Minister has mentioned about some reforms that the department has taken in 2013 the Prepaid metering the pilot project started in Dimapur 2013 where about 1000 meters has been installed followed by about 19,000 meter under IPDS (Integrated Power Development Scheme) in 2017-18 for smart metering and now the mandatory RDSS (Rewamp Distribution Sector Scheme) and I am made to believe that the department is struggling because of the resistance of our people headed by the Gaonboras wards the councils etc. It is human nature for people to resist change and that should be nothing very shocking for our department, department of Power. People are prone it is natural that we resist change and we fear change and here though it is little out of context just to again bring home the point, we all know in the past many decades our people were resistant to change, our people could not believe that women can be in the decision making body but things change in 2023, two women were elected, after a year the ULB elections were conducted to 33% reservation out of 278 members, 102 were women councillors, which is more than the national target of 33% reservations and this women were supported by men, by their brothers, by their husbands, by their fathers. So, if something as serious as this people adopt once they adopt it becomes easier. Now I want to also assure the department that all the 60 members here are also duty bound to our constituents in whatever way you want us, we will be more than happy to also sensitize our constituents. The Government has to do what the government has to do but after deep studying after doing a deep analysis after doing your sensitization programmes because all this is for the people and for the common good. Thank you very much Speaker Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you Hon'ble Member. It is impolite to stop a woman while she is talking so I gave her some extra minutes. Let us now come to the last Speaker, Hon'ble Advisor Shri Tovihoto Ayemi.

SHRI H. TOVIHOTO AYEMI (BJP) ADVISOR, TRIBAL AFFAIRS & ELECTION: Hon'ble Speaker Sir, I want to thank you for giving me the time to participate on the Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule 50. A very important issue pertaining to the Power Sector Reforms. Sir, I am also aware of the three consecutive hectic days for all of us and therefore, I will not take much time but to contribute one or two points with the other speakers. Sir, I had the privilege to serve the Power Department as an Advisor under our Hon'ble Chief Minister and just had a little experience of the entire power sector and the power scenario in Nagaland. Hon'ble Chief Minister has been very kind and very supportive and extended every possible help for the improvement of power sector in Nagaland. I hope he will continue to do so and even today as we discuss on the power reforms sector in Nagaland, Hon'ble Minister for Power

Shri. K.G. Kenye has comprehensively elaborated his contention in his statement and so I am very convinced. Sir, the Power Department is very complex in nature and also very technical subject which many of us may not understand even to remember all the units in the electricity. Now most of the former speakers have touched upon the expenditure and the income. This department looks after the distribution and revenue and there is another sector called transmission and generation. So distribution and revenue looks after the distribution of power supply, sufficient power supply, and quality power supply also the commercial aspect which means the revenue collection. So all the data have been provided to all of us what must be or what is the power purchase amount, it is very huge Rs. 575 crores for the year 2023-2024 and the revenue collection is merely Rs. 244 crores. Many of us look on that also but that is very important, why it is important because as explained, a resource crunch State like us Nagaland spending this huge amount affecting the exchequer of the State, it has become a burden. So now how to improve, there were lot of steps or for that matter Nagaland Government has initiated several power reforms in the past also. Establishment of Nagaland Electricity Regulatory Commission in 2005, Nagaland Power Department recognized to improve efficiency, there is a Nagaland Transmission Corporation limited established to manage the transmission structure and so and so forth, Village Electricity Committee all this. Now many of us will not understand what Madam Hekani was saying also, AT&C loses, one of the highest in the country where we have to reduce it. In the past the State Government had spent lot of money on the power purchase. So in the infrastructural development the Government could not put more additional money and so the department has to rely on the schemes available. One very interesting schemes that was launched in the year 2017-2018, it's called Saubhagya that is Bijli Har Ghar Yojana. This scheme is to give free connections to all unelectrified households till the last mile connection and this scheme was very successful, 99% successful across the country and even Nagaland we could achieve the target. The State government on our own started this Pilot project, smart metering, and smart pre-paid metering at Marwari Patti Dimapur which was also very successful. There were lots of schemes called DDUGJY, IPDS Intergraded Power Development Scheme where we could install about 19,000 pre-paid metering, though the Department had a very tough time those are the advancements or achievements of the Department. Our Hon'ble Chief Minister was very kind enough to provide in 2018 under the special assistance for the State for 10,000 prepaid metering, where for various reasons we could not completely do it in Dimapur so we have to break it up in three places in Kohima, Dimapur and Chumoukedima. Now the present schemes under the Ministry of Power, we have this RDSS, Revamp Distribution Sector Schemes which our Hon'ble Minister has announced that now the Ministry has made it mandatory to implement smart pre-paid metering to all consumers and there is a resistance. In any transition time, people will like it, people will

understand, people will don't understand, people may say yes, people may not say yes, but it has become a very challenging task for the Department. Hon'ble Members of this august House all of us should participate, all of us should give time in educating our people that you see energy is one commodity where we have to pay the amount of the energy that we consumed.

It is more like a phone bill or home dish channel or wi-fi payment, if we are consuming we have to pay. Now we are talking about to review or to revisit or to repeal the Act that we have. The Village Electricity Management Boards and Urban Electricity Management Board about 1400 villages consumes 25% as per the data, then the others 75% consumers must be the people in the urban areas where Dimapur is one of the highest about 35% the total energy consumed is in Dimapur and revenue is one very important concern for all us we have to improve, which means we have to follow the system. This is very new to Nagaland, this may be new to Nagaland but the other States across India they have been installing this pre-paid metering, smart pre-paid metering and we cannot be left behind like that or we have to really face these challenges. In this connection, whether the Government decides to repeal the Act, to re-amend or to review, all of us should agree on that, at the same time Madam Hekani was mentioning about the corporatization. There are only three States in the whole country, Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal and I think half part of Meghalaya also these are all managed by the Power Department of particular States but the rest of the country is already being corporatized, it has become a distributing company, corporation. So, when there is a corporation yes there are advantages and disadvantages but Government of India Ministry has already sent multiple times, to the State Government to start exercising to corporatize your department, so that is also one aspect that we have to look at but as I have said, I will not take much time, I fully endorse with the motion moved the statement made by Hon'ble Minister in regard to power sector reforms. I once again urge all the Hon'ble Members of this august House also to kindly have concern for the department to grow because this is the backbone of the State power sector and power Department because and when we have a stable power then our economy grows and we progress so with these few words, I once again thank you for the time. Thank you Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon'ble Member, with that we have taken all the names listed for participating in the discussion, now I would like to request our Hon'ble leader of the House if you want to make concluding remarks.

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Speaker Sir, I rise to make my comments on this very important subject matter. The Minister-in-charge of the Power Department had at length expressed about the Reformation of the Department and also the participants had

elaborately explained their opinions, also their anxieties of the Power Department and I appreciate their participations, suggestions and contributions to improve the Power Department in our State, for distribution and also for the consumers. Why reform is required? Government of India, Power Ministry time to time they gave a lot of reforms and also innovations of the Department, still we have not improved that is the sad part and to start with, the department is still incurring annual revenue loss of about 50% precisely 50.7% which had been explained to us and also the deficiencies of the department, shortage of manpower like metering readers and shortage of O&M staff, lack of reading leads to under-billing, nearly 50% of monthly billing are based on minimum average, communitisation of electricity management in villages on single-point metering as consumer metering is non-existent in all villages based on minimum average bills plus power theft and pilferages. So, in many areas in our State we have not come out of our problems say for e.g. our census is still in controversy, we have a growth rate of 65 to 70% whereas the national average is about 20%. Then another year census 2011 decadal growth was negative that is after 10 years Nagaland population become less. The journalists, writers they have studied and written about the wonders of our census. Then we had NLTP issue, Nagaland has total prohibition but those who drink they continue to drink without any hesitation and after total liquor prohibition, more shops have come up and that also spurious, illicit liquor. Another issue is, in the national study of BPL and per capita income, Nagaland State is one of the worst because we listed too much Below Poverty Line, we are not honest, you feel that you can get little benefit if you record yourself under below poverty line so our State rating is one of the worse. Same thing with power therefore as mentioned we are one of the worst performing State in power losses and revenue collection. In Delhi, I still occupy the bungalow which was allotted to me when I was MP, the bungalow rent is nominal, it is a single digit but every month I have to pay power bill, water supply and maintenance and I pay more than one lakh every month because house guards are there and there are people managing the house. Our State, I think we have to mend our ways and improve upon not only in power sectors but in many sectors. Therefore, there is an urgent need to revisit communitisation of electricity management, due to faster urbanisation there is not much difference in life style and usage of energy initiative appliances between urban people and rural people. In the past villages single bulb was enough to the people who are living below poverty line but today most of the people living in the villages are also using all electrical appliances and if they don't have electrical appliances, they have solar support like how in urban we have generator supports. So, it is interesting if the present trend of increased power demand consumers continue, the communized villages will be major contributors for huge accumulated losses to the State in terms of revenue

SHRI NEIPHIU RIO (NDPP) CHIEF MINISTER: Sir, the proposed reform measures are much needed in supplying quality and uninterrupted power supply to the domestic and industrial consumers as explained by Hon'ble Advisor Smt. Hekhani. As pointed out by the Minister-in-charge of the Power Department, desired progress could not be made in the installation of smart meters in Dimapur, the so-called commercial hub due to resistance from various public NGOs, Unions, and Chairmen of wards/colonies. I would like to highlight that this installation of prepaid meter is now mandatory, as per the Central Government notification, dated 26 February 2021. The biggest challenge now arises for 100% smart metering coverage across the state under the RDSS (Revamped Distribution Sector Scheme). Although the State Cabinet has approved the RDSS, the action plan in totality implementation of smart metering is becoming a challenge to the Department due to the resistance by the various CSO organizations. Smart prepaid metering being conditional for the release of funds for infrastructure under RDSS, hence installation of smart prepaid meters is imperative to avail the much-needed Central Government funds for the development of State Power Sector. Fortunately, today the urban areas you have the Municipality and Town Council elected Councilors, and now they have taken charge. So, the Government agencies plus the Municipal and Town Council should go into action in support with the Department. The Councils are part of the government administration machinery to assist the district administration, police and the State Government Department in delivering public services and implementation of various government schemes. However, opposing or resisting the government programme schemes by ward authorities is inappropriate. Therefore, we should take action or in subordination to the Government should be punished. We should have a serious discussion on this Government agency with the ULBs and ward bodies. To start with this reformation the State Cabinet had already decided that the urban areas and the surrounding villages which are adjacent, you cannot identify the difference of urban living or village rural living, because we all use the same gadgets and have the same need in fact in some village areas there are more better palatial buildings and kingdoms. That is why this compulsory metering should be introduced or if they don't cooperate then the connection should be cut off. It's not that they don't have money, they have, but they don't want to pay for the service rendered by the government. For the rural areas we had put on hold about the communitization and we hope we will be able to handle them and make them understand. I feel in this, as a Christian majority state we should involve the Churches and use the Church platform to also disseminate the responsibilities and whatever is given to you, you have to pay for the service. In their Church or their colonies; they should have a serious discussion and educate them. The Cabinet decision was not only about the urban living but all the elected members, the VIPs from Chief Minister, from Governor's to all the senior officers and lower Government servants living in the government quarters have to pay

the power bills, and if they don't pay particularly politicians, if they don't have their clearance certificate from the Power Department when you file your nomination to go for election you will face disqualification or if government officials servants default than they will be dealt with according to the law.

Mr. Speaker Sir, the Power Sector is one of the major defaulting departments in revenue generation as everybody has stated. It contributes to the growth of the state's economy and functions as a commercial organization and department of the state for delivering electricity as an essential public service. It is important to help this department to recoup its operating costs expenditure from its consumers to ensure a stable quality, affordable power supply so as to leverage all round economic growth and infrastructure developmental activities. Here, I also appeal to the Power Department to provide quality service to the consumers particularly during the events or VVIP visits, functions or in the hotels where tourists and outside guests come. Those visiting places there should not only be one generator but a standby generator should be kept side by side. Therefore, as the government is supporting, we also appeal to the public to comply and support the department so that they will also give quality power supply to the consumers. I hope today's discussion the message will go to the people and the functionaries, government agencies should all come in support of the Power Department to see that you pay for what you use. So, I hope the people will change their ways to be more cooperative and honest with one another so that the reform proposals will bring change for the betterment of our society. Thank you, Speaker Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon'ble Leader of the House. With that we have come to the end of item No. 5 Discussion on Matters of Urgent Public Importance under Rule-50.

Let us now start with item No. 6 Laying of Reports and Rules. Shri K. G. Kenye, Hon'ble Minister for Power to present to the House a copy of rules as listed.

SHRI K. G. KENYE (NDPP) MINISTER, PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, POWER: Hon'ble Speaker Sir, I rise to present to the House a copy each of the following:

- i. Notification on the amendment of the "Nagaland Communitisation of Electricity Management in Villages by Village Councils Rules, 2002."
- ii. Notification on the amendment of the "Additional Condition of Supply of Electricity to Villages, 2002".
- iii. Notification on the repeal of the "Nagaland Communitisation of Electricity

(Management in Urban Areas by Urban Electricity Management Board) Rules, 2004.”

Thank you, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Item No. 7. Presentation of Assembly Committee Reports. Item No. 7(a) Shri Imkong L. Imchen, Chairman of the Committee on Public Undertakings (2024-2025) to present a copy of the Report.

i. 145th Report on the Examination of the Audit Paragraphs that appeared in the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2019-2020 relating to the Nagaland Handloom & Handicraft Development Corporation (NHHDC) under the Department of Industries and Commerce.

ii. 146th Report on the Examination of the Audit Paragraphs that appeared in the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-2019 pertaining to the Nagaland State Mineral Development Corporation Ltd. (NSMDC) under the Department of Geology and Mining, Government of Nagaland.

iii. 147th Report on the Examination of the Audit Paragraphs that appeared in the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2019-2020 pertaining to the Nagaland State Mineral Development Corporation Ltd. (NSMDC) under the Department of Geology and Mining, Government of Nagaland.

iv. 148th Report on Action taken by the Government on the Observations and Recommendations contained in the 134th Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings on the Examination of the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the Year 2017-18 pertaining to the Nagaland Industrial Development Corporation (NIDC) under the Department of Industries & Commerce, Government of Nagaland.

SHRI IMKONG L. IMCHEN (BJP) ADVISOR, INFORMATION & PUBLIC RELATIONS, SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION: Speaker Sir, I, Shri Imkong L. Imchen, Chairman of the Committee on Public Undertakings (2024-2025) having being authorized by the Committee to present the Report on its behalf do hereby present a copy each of the following reports:

i) 145th Report on the Examination of the Audit Paragraphs that appeared in the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2019-2020 relating to the Nagaland Handloom & Handicraft Development Corporation (NHHDC) under the Department of Industries and Commerce.

ii) 146th Report on the Examination of the Audit Paragraphs that appeared in the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-2019 pertaining to the Nagaland State Mineral Development Corporation Ltd. (NSMDC) under the Department of Geology and Mining, Government of Nagaland.

iii) 147th Report on the Examination of the Audit Paragraphs that appeared in the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2019-2020 pertaining to the Nagaland State Mineral Development Corporation Ltd. (NSMDC) under the Department of Geology and Mining, Government of Nagaland.

iv) 148th Report on Action taken by the Government on the Observations and Recommendations contained in the 134th Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings on the Examination of the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the Year 2017-18 pertaining to the Nagaland Industrial Development Corporation (NIDC) under the Department of Industries & Commerce, Government of Nagaland.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Item No. 7(b) Shri Mhathung Yanthan, Chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) to present a copy of the Reports.

i. 131st Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) Action Taken by the Government on the Observations/Recommendations contained in the 125th Report of the Committee on the C & AG Report of India for the year 2016-2017.

ii. 132nd Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2023-2024) on the examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2017-18 on the State Finances Audit Report.

iii. 133rd Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) Examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2017-18 on Social, Economic, Revenue and General Sectors.

iv. 134th Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) on the examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-19 on the State Finances Audit Report.

v. 135th Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) on the examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-19 on

(General, Economic and Revenue) Sectors.

vi. 136th Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) Examination of the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-19 on the Performance Audit of Select District Hospitals in Nagaland.

SHRI MHATHUNG YANTHAN (NDPP) ADVISOR, AGRICULTURE: Hon'ble Speaker Sir, esteemed members, I Shri Mhathung Yanthan, Chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) having being authorized by the Committee is pleased to present the following Reports of the Public Accounts Committee to the House:

i. 131st Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) Action Taken by the Government on the Observations/Recommendations contained in the 125th Report of the Committee on the C & AG Report of India for the year 2016-2017.

ii. 132nd Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2023-2024) on the examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2017-18 on the State Finances Audit Report.

iii. 133rd Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) Examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2017-18 on Social, Economic, Revenue and General Sectors.

iv. 134th Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) on the examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-19 on the State Finances Audit Report.

v. 135th Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) on the examination of the Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-19 on (General, Economic and Revenue) Sectors.

vi. 136th Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (2024-2025) Examination of the Report of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India for the year 2018-19 on the Performance Audit of Select District Hospitals in Nagaland.

These Reports are the result of the eventual findings of the Committee on the outcome of the meticulous scrutiny and analysis of the written replies received from the Departments and the Oral Evidences tendered to the Committee. The Committee has made several

recommendations to improve transparency, accountability and efficiency in governance. I, therefore, urge the Government Departments to promptly response to the recommendations and indicate their acceptance within the stipulated time. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon'ble Members for presenting your reports. The copies have been uploaded in your system for your reference and you can avail the copies of it from the Secretariat.

Item No. 8. We have no unfinished business. So, before I adjourn the House I would like to make my concluding statement.

As we have come to the end of the 5th Session of the 14th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Hon'ble Members, starting 27th of August, 2024 we have had two days of sitting. Though it was a brief sitting, we have had a very fruitful and meaningful deliberations on topics of vital interest to our State. Hon'ble Members may be pleased to know that besides other important businesses, we could pass 6 (six) Government Bills. We have had 7 (seven) subjects of paramount and pertinent importance for discussion under Rule-48, Rule-50 and Rule-54 respectively. Altogether, 28 Members had participated by allocating 09 hours and 25 minutes in the entire discourse.

It is also encouraging to see all the Hon'ble Members using the medium of Zero Hour to highlight the pertinent and emergent issues concerning the welfare of our people. I also thank the Hon'ble Members for your reference to the Rules of Procedure and I strongly urge your participation and contribution in the future as well.

Before I adjourn the House, I would also like to express my profound gratitude to all sections of the House in particular to the Hon'ble Leader of the House and the Hon'ble Deputy Chief Ministers. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Hon'ble Deputy Speaker and across the party lines to all the Hon'ble Members for your active participation and cooperation extended to me and to Hon'ble Deputy Speaker for smooth conduct of the business in this august House and maintaining highest level of dignity and decorum.

May I also remind this august House that this year is the 60th year of Nagaland Assembly since its inception. It took us 60 long years to reach where we are. Where we are is a question? I kindly urge all the Hon'ble Members to ponder upon in today's context. It is only a universal human trait to recognize the failures, mistakes and sometimes face criticisms on many issues. But while counting our failures, mistakes and indecisiveness, let us not forget to cherish and encourage our many significant successes and progress which we all have achieved together

through policy, rules, laws and discussions. This august House has always remained as a beacon of hope in all forms for our people and I, therefore, urge all the Hon'ble Members of this august House to continue your efforts through participation and contribution for a vibrant and progressive democracy in building our future. Unity in the face of challenges, unity above all.

Once again, on behalf of Hon'ble Deputy Speaker and on my own behalf, I extend my gratitude to the Chief Secretary, the Director General of Police and his team, the Health and Family Welfare Department and their Medical team, the Parliamentary Affairs Department for all your assistance in ensuring the smooth conduct of the Session. I also sincerely express my thanks to the members of the Media fraternity for your role in keeping the public informed about the proceeding and discourse of this august House. Last but not the least, I am deeply grateful to my officers and staff for your dedication and efforts in ensuring smooth conduct of the Session.

Hon'ble Members, as there is no unfinished business before us now, I adjourn the House **Sine die**.

(The House adjourned Sine die at 06:55 P.M.)