

1422 hours

Title: Discussion on approval of Proclamation by President in relation to the state of Manipur (Concluded).

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI): I beg to move:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 2nd June, 2001 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Manipur."

Sir, even in the Constituent Assembly, when this particular provision was being made a part of the Constitution, there was a very sharp debate as to whether in a federal structure a radical provision of this kind, which empowers the Union Government to suspend a State Assembly and take over the powers of the State, should be there or should not be there. Replying to the debate, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had said, "Considering all aspects of the problem, particularly that we have just become independent, and there is need to ensure that on no account is the unity and integrity of the country threatened, and that the Constitution we have adopted is respected by all, and all States function as required by the Constitution, perhaps a provision of this kind is necessary. But I hope that it will be very sparingly used." He used the phrase, "I hope it will remain a dead letter".

Well, that has not happened. This provision has been used quite frequently as a result of which very often some of the political parties have been of the view that this should be repealed. Though, I have also seen the parties which have very strongly and forcefully advocated repeal of this article on occasions themselves face a situation in which they became keen that this be invoked. This has happened again and again. My party and I knew the fact that the principal opposition in this country, which has been in power for a long time at the Centre, both based on actual experience and on the basis of their assessment has been of the view that this is a necessary provision of the Constitution. But we have all agreed that it should be used sparingly. Our Government has been of that view.

Sir, this is the third time that this Government has brought this kind of a motion in this House. The first time when we brought it was in the case of Goa, and there was unanimity with which we adopted it. The second time, there was division in the House when we brought it in the case of Bihar. Now, this is the third time that I am moving this motion, and I hope that this time, it would be adopted unanimously.

In 1983, Shrimati Indira Gandhi thought that it was necessary to examine the entire gamut of the Centre-State Relations. She set up what is known today as the Sarkaria Commission. That Sarkaria Commission had dealt with this particular provision as with all emergency provisions of the Constitution at considerable length. They have held, and I quote:

"Article 356 should be used very sparingly in extreme cases, as a measure of last resort when all available alternatives fail to prevent or rectify a break-down of Constitutional machinery in the State. "

And then, it goes on to explain what can be regarded as break-down of Constitutional machinery. I quote again:

"A failure of Constitutional machinery may occur in a number of ways. Factors which contribute to such a situation are diverse and imponderable. It is, therefore, difficult to give an exhaustive catalogue of situations which would fall within the sweep of the phrase, 'the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.' Even so, some instances of what does and what does not constitute a Constitutional failure within the contemplation of this article may be grouped and discussed under following heads—"

They have gone elaborately to point out what can be regarded as Constitutional failure, what cannot be, and where invocation of this article would be improper.

Now, the first thing it has given is political crises, and the Sarkaria Commission defines political crises in the following words:

"A Constitutional break-down may be the outcome of a political crises or deadlock. This might occur where a Ministry resigns or is dismissed on loss of its majority support in the Assembly and no alternative Government commanding the confidence of the Assembly can be formed. "

Sir, I would submit to this House that the case of Manipur falls squarely within this definition. It is, in fact, a textbook case for justifying the imposition of President's Rule there.

Now, if I were to recount briefly the course of events in Manipur, insofar as this case is concerned, I would say that this present Legislative Assembly of Manipur was constituted on the 1st of March, 2000. After that, there have been several Governments and there has been continuing instability. Party loyalties seemed very fragile. There were defections and there were splits which went on and on. The last Government which had assumed Office was on the 15th February, 2001. It is remarkable that this Government had the support of 59 Members in a House of 60....(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): You started with threeâ€¦ (Interruptions)â€¦ Those 59 Members who came into being of your party started with three. (Interruptions)

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: It was not my party's Government. I am not using this occasion at all to pass any such remarks.

In the other House, I paid respects to that one single Congressman who preferred to remain in the Opposition. I have done it personally also when he met me. Only one Member was there. Even though he was one, I said, I respected him. He met me also. He was the first person to come to me to say that the situation in Manipur is of a nature where the numbers do not matter and that basically any Government comprised from this set of MLAs and from this Assembly would not be able to deal with the situation. He was the first to come to me. I have respected his viewpoint; and I did not dispute it.

Today I am only telling that this was the Government that had the support of 59 MLAs; it formed a Council of Ministers comprising 34 Ministers. That means, it had 34 Ministers from a House of 60 Members. Yet, it suddenly lost support. The Governor asked the Chief Minister to seek a vote of confidence of the Assembly. He gave a notice of Confidence Motion. On 21st May 2001, the Motion of Confidence was moved by the Chief Minister, which was defeated with 17 MLAs voting in favour and 39 MLAs voting against. That evening he went to the Governor and tendered his resignation. The Governor asked him to continue until alternative arrangements can be made. From the 21st of May till the 31st of May, for ten days, the Governor exerted hard to see that a Government is formed.

In his report, which has been already circulated to all the hon. Members, he says in paragraph 9 that:

"I have waited patiently all these days, since the 21st of May."

Earlier, he mentions all the names of the MLAs and party leaders who met him. He further mentions what they told him, that they are not in a position to form the Government and told him what should be done in that situation. Thereafter, he writes:

"I have waited patiently all these days, since the 21st of May and given ample time to all the political groups to come up with a credible alternative.

However, in spite of all my efforts to explore the possibility of the formation of a stable Ministry, no group or party has so far come up with a credible claim for the formation of a stable Ministry. As a committed believer in the value, validity and efficacy of the parliamentary system of democracy, it saddens me to come to the conclusion that the Constitutional machinery in the State has broken down. In view of almost unanimous demand from all the major political parties, I am constrained to recommend President's Rule under Article 356 of the Constitution of India.

Though there is a strong case for the dissolution of the Assembly and ordering of fresh elections, specially in view of the fact that many of the Members have changed sides more than once, in some cases as many as 4-5 times, within a short period of 15 months, I am not recommending it for two reasons."

He gave his own reasons, one of them is that elections cannot be held, etc. So far as our Government is concerned, when it got this recommendation for imposition of President's Rule, we took note of the observation that the Supreme Court had made in its judgement in Bommai case. The Supreme Court had said this and I quote:

"Though the power of dissolving a legislative assembly can be said to be implicit in clause 1 of Article 356, it must be held, having regard to the overall constitutional scheme that the President shall exercise it only after the Proclamation is approved by both the Houses of Parliament under clause 3 and not before. â€¦"

"Until such approval, the president can only suspend the Legislative Assembly by suspending the provisions of Constitution relating to the Legislative Assembly under sub-clause (c) of clause 1. The dissolution of Legislative Assembly is not a matter of course, it should be resorted to only where it is found necessary for achieving the purposes of proclamation."

Therefore, the Government decided that at this present point of time, it accepts the Governor's recommendation of invoking article 356 and putting the State under President's Rule but not dissolving the Assembly. The decision in respect of dissolution can be taken after the application of Bommai judgement only, after both the Houses have approved the proclamation.

In the other House when the matter was being discussed, Members pressed that the House should be dissolved. I said that the Government would respect the wishes of the House.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (SRIKAKULAM): In the other House did all the Members unanimously press for the dissolution?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: Nobody said that the present state should continue. Even those, who finally said 'No' to the Motion, their spokesmen also said that the House should be dissolved and elections held. So, there was unanimity on that.

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (CALCUTTA NORTH WEST): But it then differs from the Governor's recommendation.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: The Governor had not made a recommendation except to say that elections cannot be held immediately.

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (CALCUTTA NORTH WEST): He recommended for suspended animation.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: After the Supreme Court's judgement, that has practically become the general approach.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (BANKURA): How long will it remain under suspended animation?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: It cannot be for more than six months. That is the limit. But so far as we are concerned, we propose to do it as early as possible. I may share with you a feeling that the people or the MLAs, who are there and who have not been able to visit their constituencies, have been pleading not to do it immediately. They are asking for time to deal with the very precarious situation there. I have assured the House that there would be no attempt to form any fresh Government. This was the apprehension in the minds of some of the Members. I have assured them that there would be no attempt to form the Government and the House would be dissolved. I would expect the House to give me some kind of flexibility so that the situation there can be dealt with properly....(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (CANARA): If the BJP accepts Samata Party's ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: Since the matter was raised in the other House, I had an occasion to say, this was a case where even though my Party people were in a position to form the Government, I told that I would not favour any such thing. Certainly, I could not thrust my opinion on them. But I did advise my Party President that this should not be done. He advised them and they accepted it....(*Interruptions*) I am speaking either on behalf of the Government or to some extent on behalf of my Party....(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: This is not the reply but only the introductory remarks.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: I do not think I have anything more to add.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (BANKURA): What is the situation now?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: In the course of my reply, I will tell you. Otherwise, in the last two or three days, after the Prime Minister's meeting with the Chief Ministers of all the Northeastern States, the situation has become more and more normal. Things are becoming more and more normal, though we have to see that every section of the population is satisfied with the situation.

We would also have to see that no injustice is done to anyone so that the peace process that has been initiated in respect of NSCN (INA) or the NSCN(K) in Nagaland continues.

(ends)

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 2nd June, 2001 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Manipur."

1440 hours

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Home Minister while asking the House to give its consent to the imposition of President's Rule, has referred to the speech of our late lamented leader, Dr. Ambedkar, who is the father of the Constitution, in the Constituent Assembly. He also referred to the Sarkaria Commission. Though it is a sad day for me being from North Eastern region, yet I feel happy that at least your Party and you who criticised us for 45 years for imposing the President's Rule here and there for genuine reasons have come to believe today that it needs to be imposed at certain times and on certain occasions. I do agree with you that Manipur is a fit case for that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Home Minister and the Governor have very interestingly avoided the latest situation in Manipur *vis-à-vis* the political parties. I do agree that it is inconvenient for the hon. Home Minister. Yesterday also we had seen over TV that he is the second man in BJP. Shri Vajpayee was shown being garlanded. Then, there was some gap. After that, he came and he was also garlanded. You just now said that you did not know about your party.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: I do not say this.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): What did you say?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: I said that I speak on behalf of me and to some extent I speak on behalf of my party.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): I wanted to give you a left-handed compliment. It is because you are sitting in Delhi. You said that under no circumstances you would allow a Government there. You did not allow BJP to form a Government there. Do you dispute that? You did not and I appreciate that.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: I said that the BJP was, at one point, in a position to form a Government. But I advised them not to do so. But I did not say that I do not represent BJP.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): My point is that being a Home Minister why did you not do that when Shri Radhkrishan Koijam came there? He became a soldier from Samata Party and came here with so many MLAs from so many parties. Why did you not do that?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: It is because as the Home Minister I could not prevent Shri Koijam.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): You could prevent him. He is your NDA partner.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: Sir, this should be very clear that so far as my Party is concerned, in case a member from my Party says that he wants to form a Government in this manner, I can certainly tell my Party President that this is something that I would not advise. But as Home Minister, I could not prevent another Party member who says that he has got the majority. How can I prevent him? I cannot do that.

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (सम्भल) : जब आपका रिप्लाय हो तब आप जवाब दें। अभी इन्हें बोलने दीजिए।

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (SILCHAR): Mr. Home Minister I am saying that you could have done your duty as the Home Minister three months before. The Assembly would not have been burnt and the Chief Minister's house would not have been burnt. You say that the Governor has given a report. You tell me in Independent India when has a Governor fled away from his house in an Army helicopter and gone to an Army Camp? He went away leaving the whole Manipur down into a bay. The Governor's rule means the Central Rule. What is your rule there? Fifty-five thousand men and women came on the streets to demand that this Government should be banned. What more do you want? You complimented Shri Rishan Keishing. He is a Naga tribal.

But he has proved that discipline has to be maintained. What I am hinting at is that whereas you have said so many good things, you must also say something to condemn those political parties which have created this musical chair like situation in Manipur.

When this drama was going on, the cease-fire decision came suddenly. But the cease-fire created a fiery situation in Manipur. There was no cease-fire at all. It was a burning situation. This august House must know that in spite of all these agitations, there was no ethnic trouble there. For this, credit goes to student organisations like AMSU and AMUCO. Congress, CPI(M) and everybody else gave credit to them because they fought against the Government and not against each other.

Manipur is a State with thirteen districts. There are different ethnic groups like Manipuris, Nagas, Kukis and Manipuri Muslims. Even then there was no trouble whatsoever against each other. They did maintain harmony. I do not know whether the Intelligence Department has shown the Home Minister a picture which appeared in a newspaper depicting each and every bullet injury, when firing was done, above waist. I happened to be the Minister of State for Home Affairs for about two and a half years. At that time, instructions were always given to CRPF and BSF that their first duty was to warn people, then fire teargas and then only fire below the waist. But, in this case firing was done to kill people. The Government has to rise to the occasion to take a decision. The State is in a big mess. This has created a problem not only in Manipur but has spread all over the north-eastern region.

The day before yesterday we, the MPs belonging to the north-eastern region, met you Mr. Home Minister and congratulated you for the steps that you have taken. But, have you read the newspapers of today and yesterday? These outfits in Nagaland are saying that whatever the Prime Minister or the Home Minister says is not acceptable to them. There is some hidden agenda. Therefore, the Home Minister must tell us today in this House that there is no such hidden agenda as the Sixth Schedule giving autonomy to certain areas in Nagaland. You must know that we have got our Chief Ministers in Nagaland and also in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. They all came here and cooperated with you. Even the CPI(M) Chief Minister of Tripura came and cooperated with you. We would like to know from you who has created the present situation there. I squarely lay the blame on the NDA partners and others who have encouraged defections. It is good that my good friend Shri Chaoba Singh is a Minister at the Centre today.

I was just going through *The Hindustan Times* in which they had given the latest party position as NCP-2; Congress (I) - 1 (I support Shri Scindia because he has kept at least one); SFPM-2; BJP-26; and Samata Party-13. If you go to the beginning, you will see just the opposite. This sort of a system has been continuing in Manipur as the figure shows that in 29 years there have been 25 Chief Ministers! Can you imagine this kind of a situation in Andhra Pradesh? It cannot happen anywhere else. Therefore, it is not particularly my fault or your fault; it is the fault of the people who are the elected representatives.

Citing the decision of the Supreme Court in the Bommai case you have told us that you will consider the Resolution; but as per the Supreme Court judgment you cannot do it.

I agree with it. I do not disagree but I do not agree with you when you say you need about six months time. Just now, you said 'maximum six months'.

We want a specific time because the situation has gone to the worse and it cannot go further worse. We want people's representatives to be there. You know that out of 60 MLAs, 48 of them have changed sides minimum five times. That is the track record! Yesterday, I told to one of them, "Every time you come either for this party or that party. Why do people elect you? You are also creating a problem." In Manipur, they like us. They want us to revolt when there is injustice. Speaker is also a party to it.

Whatever be the time, whether it is six months or three months, the hon. Home Minister must have a special package for Manipur. Economy has been shattered for the last 16-17 months. Your Governor gave a report. You gave a report. You did not say that one of the Ministers of the Nipamacha Singh Ministry drew Rs.8 crore and gave Rs.6 crore to the underworld. That was one of the main reasons. We know it as we are from the North-East. Mr. Chaoba Singh is here; he knows it. He even went round and told people that this was very bad. This is Government's money. What is your Chief Secretary doing? What was the BJP's stand when *thanas* were attacked and ASLR and AK-47 guns were being taken away? This is the story of Manipur. One of the groups was going out of the *thanas* with all the arms. By mistake, they left out something. The SP called him and said, "You have left one, please do not come again. Take this gun also to be on the safe side." This is a country where 100 crore people are living! We have got an elected Government. We have gone and addressed. You are known as the second Sardar Patel...*(Interruptions)*

My point is, you have to give a message that under President's rule, we can bring back normalcy where all sorts of people, people of all castes and religions can live in a homogenous way and there is no fighting. In my constituency, people are there. They have all come out. Ladies have come before three months. People are saying that that the situation is bad. But you have to bring normalcy there. For this purpose, my party and even all other

parties will give their helping hand to you. We are there to help you. We want peace to come back. We want to know the packages that you are giving. You can do it because you are in charge of the North-Eastern Council also. There is ten per cent surplus for the North-Eastern States. Let us see that it comes from here and goes there.

I want to say something else. But I do not want to mention it because it is not ethical to do so. We should not say anything against a person who is not present in the House. But generally, when you appoint an Advisor to the Governor, you try to take his experience in that area, see whether he has served in the North-East, his track record and how he can convince people to create a good situation. Keeping such things in mind, you should review the appointment of advisors.

I have seen a report that the Governor is going to be changed. I do not want to say anything in favour of him. But immediate transfer of Governor will also send a wrong message. I know him. He has tried his best. He has worked with me when I was in-charge as Minister of State at the Centre. I know that he is not a bad officer. If he is changed immediately, then a wrong message will go and if you change at all, it must be for a better replacement. It cannot be for just one of those political leaders who will go and form a BJP Government there. No, it should not be like that.

Now, I will come to financial irregularities. Mr. Home Minister, I earnestly request you to send a team of officials from the Ministry and see, how the money that is being allotted by the Government of India is being squandered away. A product, which is available for Rs. 20, is being purchased for Rs. 150. This is very unfortunate. The people are suffering, but the money is being wasted. If you want to reshuffle, you must reshuffle the police. You have to think of it and see as to what can be done.

The situation that prevails in Manipur today is not a situation created in one day. We were also there. We know that of all the Governments, the best Government was that of Shri Rishang Keishing. Shri Dorendra Singh was also Chief Minister for some time. Shri Radhabinod was also a Minister in the Congress Government. All the condemned product had gone to the market and created this situation which is not congenial to have a good atmosphere in Manipur. We need to go to the public. All political parties must go and condemn those people. During our visit, the students said that this sort of people must not take the responsibility to work in such a sensitive State like Manipur, which is just near Burma. The border area is the market for arms and smugglers. It is known to all. Hence, I appeal to you that just giving our assent to President's Rule is not enough. It needs more.

I do not know the system that you follow. Generally, when there is the President's Rule and when the Assembly is kept in suspended animation, a Consultative Committee is appointed. Here, the Governor meets time and again and takes advice. That should be done. Some parties should be represented in it. The MPs from Manipur must also be included in this Consultative Committee, so that the whole matter is not left to the bureaucrats or the Governor. It has paid us rich dividends in Punjab. During Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao's tenure, we formed a Committee there and whenever complaints were received, they were redressed. That created a good atmosphere.

With all respect to you and to your Government, I would like to say that when you are in the Government and when you are in NDA, please do not allow your constituents to use the Government machinery to go there and create instability. What has happened today in Manipur is the result of the over ambition of our good friend, Shri George Fernandes. Having been thrown out from the Ministry, he wanted to have a Ministry in his pocket, which he could not. This has led to this situation. I know what you have said in the Ministry, but it was not heard. It should have been heard. We are your Indian fellow brothers. We call the North-Eastern States as seven sisters. Let our seven sisters get co-operation from the Government and from all political parties. And let us see that harmony is preserved in North-Eastern States. Nobody should try to fish in troubled waters. So many people have been killed in Manipur. Our boys, girls, mothers and sisters have come on the streets. We must appreciate their sentiments.

We get memorandum saying that we are being warned. Let peace be coming there. We shall take care of that. When there was an emotional upsurge in Assam, we had seen that nobody cared for bullet; nobody thought of ballot. So, in such a situation, people think of their mother-land. To save their mother-land, they can go to any extent. None of these boys has used any arms against any police officer or anybody. Yes, we do not approve of the burning of the Assembly, burning of the Chief Minister's house; burning of some other officials house or Minister's house; attacking my colleague Shri Th. Chaoba Singh's house. We condemn it. That thing should not have been done. But we want that normalcy must come back. Economic development must take place. We should weed out those corrupt officials from there and give good governance because, Mr. Minister, it will be under your control.

With these words, I convey my thanks with a pinch of salt. Let us believe your assurance that the imposition of President's rule will not be extended beyond six months. After August, the climate in the North-East is always very good. September, October, November and December are good months for doing any good thing. Let us hope that election will be held and the dissolution will not be made. Let us also hope that peace will come back.

With these words, I conclude. Thank you very much.

(ends)

1502 hours

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN (BALASORE): Sir, I rise to support the imposition of President's rule in Manipur. It is actually a classic case of availability of no alternative. The hon. Minister Advani ji has already explained in detail the situation which led to the imposition of President's rule. But I know that not only the political situation was not ripe for the formation of any alternative Government but also there was chaos in the State. Shri Advani did not explain the state of lawlessness in Manipur in those days. But the hon. Governor Shri Ved Marwah had already explained all those aspects. Let me just put it in brief. 40 people died because of underground-related activities. The increased extortion by the underground people created all-round insecurity in Manipur. Three catholic priests were killed for not meeting the demand of the extortionists. The catholic missionary schools had closed down for a few months which had jeopardised the education facilities for about 15000 students. So, the situation is like this. It led actually to the Proclamation of President's rule.

Before me, when Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev was speaking on this subject, he raised one or two points. One point is that the cease-fire has created fire in Manipur. Further, he accused the hon. Home Minister, the NDA Government of creating this situation in Manipur. I am very much confused about what he said. Did he mean to say that the imposition of President's rule has created chaos in Manipur? The creation of lawlessness in Manipur was because of a different reason. The reason is about the proclamation or declaration or extension of cease-fire beyond Manipur. But he said that because there was no Ministry, that created this problem. He said that the Congress Party would come forward to see that peace prevailed in the North-Eastern States.

(e2/1505/ksp/skb)

Sir, everybody knows that the Chief Ministers of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, who belong to Congress Party, came and met the hon. Home Minister. They said that they stubbornly oppose the extension of the Naga Ceasefire beyond Manipur. But now I have with me here the Resolution issued to everybody by the Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee. This has been distributed probably to most of the hon. Members of Parliament. In this, what has the Congress Party got to say? It says:

"The Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee fully supports the recent extension of the Ceasefire on 14th June, 2001 as a major step and prelude towards future peace embracing the entire North Eastern Region. The territorial coverage envisaged in the Ceasefire Agreement is not a new development. The 1964 Ceasefire also extended beyond Nagaland as in the present Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of India and the NSCN (IM). As a political party which functions in accordance with the arrangements enshrined in the 16-Point Agreement of 1960, we stand by Clause 13 of the Agreement which relates to integration of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas."

Sir, what does Clause 13 say? It says:

"The other Naga tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to the present Nagaland should be allowed to join the Nagaland, if they so desire."

1507 hours (Mr. Deputy-Speaker *in the Chair*)

This is the decision of the Congress Party of the State where a Chief Minister of the Congress Party is in office. If the Congress Party actually wants peace in that region, then how is it that the Chief Ministers belonging to the Congress Party from the North-Eastern region speak in different voices? One is supporting the imposition of the Ceasefire and another is opposing it. Then, how can the Congress Party say that they want peace? This is exactly the reason why Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev did not mention anything about the proposal sent to everybody by the Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (CANARA): The Resolution of the Executive of the B.J.P. is quite different from the statement of the Government in the House. Please refer to that also. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt him.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN (BALASORE): Sir, I have full respect for Shrimati Margaret Alva. She is one of the members of the Panel of Chairmen in the House. I am a junior Member. ...(*Interruptions*) For the sake of argument, if I say that we have committed a mistake, is it incumbent upon the Congress Party that because the NDA committed a mistake, they will also commit a similar type of mistake? Are they going to say this? ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Raghunath Jha, please do not interrupt.

...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do not interrupt him. You speak when you get your chance.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN (BALASORE): Sir, now there are two points of view. One is Naga point of view and another is non-Naga point of view.

(f2/1510/ss/bks)

Now, if the Naga point of view is that the other Naga tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to the present Nagaland should be allowed to join Nagaland, then my point is: how are we going to ascertain whether the Nagas inhabiting other contiguous States want to join Nagaland? Are we going to have a referendum in Manipur? Are we going to have a referendum in the Naga-inhabited areas of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh or Mizoram? Is it possible?

If you see the entire India, you can find that there are certain contiguous areas of Orissa where some Oriya-speaking people are also living, for example, in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. Many Telugu-speaking people are also living in Orissa. That means, there is the 'Parla Khemundi' in the Gajapathi district. The Hindi-speaking people also stay in Orissa. Oriya-speaking people also stay in Jharkhand areas or in Chhattisgarh. Then, what are we going to do? Are we going to face a violent agitation that all the Oriya-speaking areas should be in Orissa? Or are the Hindi-speaking people going to have a violent agitation, with guns in their hands, that all the Hindi-speaking areas should be amalgamated into their States? It is not possible. So, I appeal to all the Naga brethren who have told that in the Resolution of 1960, there are certain Naga-speaking areas in Myanmar, are we going to have a fight with Myanmar to bring all those Naga-speaking areas from Myanmar to amalgamate them into Nagaland? Practically, it is not possible.

On the other hand, I must appeal to the Manipuri brethren that they will have to stay with the Naga-speaking people of several districts, like Ukhrool, Taminlang and Senapathi, for all times to come. Now, this violent situation has created a lot of ill-will among the Naga people who remain in Manipur. It is also a very unfortunate development that that Tankhul Nagas, who are a majority faction in NSCN (Isac-Muivah), are from this area in Manipur. It is one of the most surprising things that the Manipuri areas, contiguous to Nagaland, are the heartland of NSCN movement. The headquarters of the NSCN movement are outside Nagaland. So, this very point will have to be understood by the Manipuris. I have heard that the people of Nagaland are also going on an agitation after the withdrawal of the ceasefire, and they are going to stop traffic on the National Highway leading to Imphal through this Nagaland area. The numbers of these National Highways are '39' and '53'. If this happens, the movement of commodities, goods and fuel to Manipur will also be jeopardised. So, I would appeal to all the Naga people and also to the non-Naga people of the North-East that they would have to see the ground realities. They will have to understand that there is no possibility of extension of any territory of any State.

I was also happy when the ceasefire was extended to other contiguous areas of Nagaland because, I thought, the Government took a very good decision at that time. You cannot have a ceasefire only in Nagaland. The ceasefire in Nagaland does not allow you to fight outside Nagaland also. So, the Government did a very good thing by just extending it to areas beyond Nagaland. But now it is just to respect the sentiments of the people of the North-East and because the other States have combined together. Even the militant outfits like the People's Liberation Army and the National Liberation Front from Manipur, who were earlier supporting the Nagaland militant groups, are also now opposing it.

(g2/1515/rs/hcb)

The ULFA, All Assam Students Union, Assam Jatiyatawadi Yuva Chhatra Parishad, North-East Students Organisation and all Manipur Students Organisation, all the student organisations of the North-Eastern States have combined together and have appealed to the Government of India just to revoke the extension of cease-fire beyond the Nagaland areas.

I think, respecting their sentiments, the Government has done it. But I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister just to give a very stern warning to the Naga militants that their demand for a Greater Nagaland cannot be met and it is not possible.

I would just read out one sentence of an interview of Shri V. Oram, Secretary, NSCN (Issac Muivah). He has been asked, "how will you react if the truce in Naga areas outside Nagaland is revoked? He said the NSCN(IM) is firm on its demand that the cease-fire should be applicable in all Naga-inhabited areas. If New Delhi revokes the truce, we will resume our battle against India." So, the feeling of other non-Naga States is that if NSCN(IM) is allowed extension of cease-fire beyond Nagaland, their very intention will be to demand for a Greater Nagaland in future. Sir, you see their intention. They say, "if we do not get it, we will wage a war against India". It proves their intention of expansionist ideas. Our Home Minister and our Government should categorically tell them that it is not possible.

Finally, I would just come to my point that the Manipur people will also have to be told that they will have to stay along with Naga people in the places, which are contiguous to Nagaland for all times to come. So, antagonising the Naga people, driving them out of Nagaland, not allowing their students to study in the schools and driving them out to Nagaland should also not be done because this is not in the interest of Manipur for all times to come.

With these words, I would appeal to all political parties in India not to take a very sectarian view. Specifically, the all-India parties should have a common idea. They should have a common resolution with regard to how they want to deal with the North-East problems, specifically the Naga and Manipur problem. So, if they have a firm resolution of their own, then only the problems will be solved. Otherwise, different types of resolutions in different States will lead to nowhere.

Thank you.

(ends)

1518 hours

SHRI BAJU BAN RIYAN (TRIPURA EAST): Thank you Sir. My party CPI(M) is always against the imposition of article 356. Only on one occasion, in the year 1992 when this question came after the demolition of Babri Masjid in UP, our party supported the imposition of article 356. But, now the question of imposition of article 356 has come in the case of Manipur and the tenure of Assembly is only one year and three months, whereas three years and nine months are still left.

After the elections, there was no single party or single group to form the Government. The first Government was formed by taking the support or by purchasing the Members from other parties and about four to five or nine Members changed parties. Within these 15 months we have seen two Governments there. In this way, the floor-crossing, split-up of their parties and changing their loyalties, have bound the Government to impose the President's rule there.

As a special case, our Party has no option except to support it.

Sir, after the imposition of the President's Rule, an agreement was reached on the extension of ceasefire between

the Union Government and NSCN extremist group. Earlier this ceasefire was limited only to Nagaland territory. This time, it was beyond Nagaland territorial limit. As per the agreement, the Naga people who are residing outside Nagaland have also been included in this ceasefire. After this ceasefire agreement in Bangkok, Manipur was burnt with fire. We, on behalf of Left Front Parties - six Left Front MPs including myself - visited the place on the 7th July. We had seen all the damaged places. We had also seen the cremation places and those who were injured on the 18th June. We met most of them in the Jain Hospital and also in the Regional Institute of Medical Sciences of Manipur. We had seen how much the damage was done there. Almost all the offices of the political parties were burnt down or were damaged or were ransacked. The houses of the political leaders, the houses of ex-Ministers, Speaker, MLAs and all the portfolio holders of many political parties were burnt to ashes. In this connection, our Party is interested to know as to how much damage had taken place. It must be worth crores of rupees. We would like to know as to how many crores of rupees worth property were damaged.

In the 18th June incident, 13 lives were lost. After a few days, one more, who was injured also lost his life. Including this, 14 lives were lost. Up-till now, the Government's stand was just to stop this popular democratic movement. All sections of the people in Manipur came out on streets and observed the popular democratic protest on the extension of this ceasefire. In this way, about 58 persons were injured. We had seen some of them in the hospital. Their legs got amputated and their lives had been spoiled in this way. During our visit, we also called on the hon. Governor. We got the news from him that the Government had declared one lakh of rupees to the family of those who had lost his life and also some amount to the injured persons towards compensation.

The injured persons and the kin of those who had died had refused to accept this amount. The demand of the people of Manipur is that the amount of compensation should be increased from the present amount of Rs.1 lakh. Some of them are telling in this way that this amount should be more than Rs.10 lakh. We demand that this compensation should be at least an adequate amount and they should be rehabilitated in a proper way.

During our visit there, we met some of the tribal organisations and some of the non-political organisations. Some organisations there claim themselves as non-political organisations. They repented and told us that during 1992, there was a clash between two tribes. One is Naga and the other one is Kuki. In this way, 885 lives had gone. The number of Kukis killed by NSCN was 885; the number of Kuki villagers burnt by NSCN was 350; and the number of Kuki people killed by the Indian security forces was 53. But it is a sorry state of affairs that not a single paise was given to those who were injured or killed, those whose houses were burnt and those who are living as refugees in other parts of Manipur and in various other parts as displaced persons. They are not provided with any single money for their rehabilitation. So, our Party demands that those Kukis who were displaced from their homeland and who were killed, also should be compensated and rehabilitated properly.

Now, after the meeting with the North-Eastern States' Chief Ministers, our Prime Minister has announced that this territorial extension will be reviewed and some words like territorial limit, which were entered into the agreement, will be dropped. It is a good move. I hope the people of Manipur stopped their movement and the people of Nagaland also agreed to that. It will depend upon how we, the political parties, will be taking a view.

I am from the State of Tripura. My State is also an extremist-prone area. We are fighting against the National Liberation Front of Tripura and the All Tripura Tiger Force. These groups are active there. The Union Government has declared them as unlawful extremist groups. We are fighting them. But, just as my predecessor, Shri Kharabela Swain has referred here, the attitude of the Congress Party in Nagaland towards NSCN is on one line and the attitude of the Congress Party in other parts of the country is another one. This should not be there. As political parties, our view should be one. We should always be against the terrorist movements. In Tripura, actually in the tribal areas and in areas where these extremists are moving and are very active, the usual development work of the Government cannot be implemented. It is very difficult to implement there.

Government officers and employees who are supposed to implement those schemes are not able to go there. In this way, the tribal people of Tripura, where the areas are extremist-prone, are suffering a lot. In this way, in the entire North-East where the extremist groups are active – sometimes in Mizoram, Assam and other places also – developmental works have suffered. In this way, the economic advancement of the North-East is far behind that of the other parts of the country. I hope, with the wisdom of this House and the wisdom of all political parties, the messages to these extremist groups would go that we are against them.

In India and outside India also, there is no single extremist group that can help any section of people or any section of its own community. Anywhere in the world, they can only damage the nation and stop developmental work. So, from my party, we are supporting this Resolution on imposition of article 356 in Manipur as a special case.

Thank you.

(ends)

1532 hours

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (SRIKAKULAM): Hon. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the State of Manipur is under President's Rule and the Assembly is in suspended animation.

From the beginning, my party has been opposing the imposition of article 356. We have the experience of imposition of article 356 in our State. The TDP was established in the year 1982. After nine months, we came to power. We were convening a TDP legislature party meeting. In the 294-Member House, we were having 159 Members from the TDP. While we were convening a legislature party meeting, we received a letter from the Governor stating that Shri N.T. Rama Rao was dismissed. We were in a majority. We were convening a meeting. The elected representatives were convening a meeting to discuss the people's problems and we received a letter saying that the Government was dismissed. So, we have the experience of imposition of article 356. On that day, we decided that this was a much misused article.

The spirit of the Constitution is different but for political mileage and to destabilise the Opposition at that time, the Governor Ramlal imposed article 356. That is why the TDP has been stating from the beginning, even in the Inter-State Council, that this article should be scrapped. After many meetings, there has been no unanimity. The majority of Chief Ministers have yet to give some options and safeguards. That is why we have now decided to continue having article 356 but very rarely use it only if the situation warrants.

Here, two issues are involved: the ceasefire issue is one and the imposition of article 356 is another. As far as the ceasefire extension is concerned, the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, after observing the sentiments of the people of Manipur have withdrawn a particular clause and they are very happy.

As far as imposition of Article 356 is concerned, the case of Manipur is the best example to have a re-look at the anti-defection law. What is the meaning of the Tenth Schedule? Can an hon. Member of Parliament, once elected from a particular party, change parties any number of times? What are we doing? This is the highest body in this country and we are not preventing it. It is a shame on democracy. That is why we have to have a re-look. Once a person is elected from one party, if he wants to change to another party, his membership should be cancelled. That is my party's stand. Otherwise, there is no meaning in democracy; there is no meaning in this House even if we are discussing this issue for hours together. That is why, there is political instability occurring in every State.

In this way we can prevent these '*Ayarams and Gayarams*' by giving a ruling under the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution. This is a clear-cut case.

Sir, there are two aspects – political instability and failure of constitutional machinery. These two aspects happened in Manipur. That is why my Party is supporting this Proclamation. There was no political party which showed their strength to form a popular Government there. Even regarding failure of constitutional machinery and the law and order situation, hon. Member Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev has explained in detail that 40 people were killed, catholic priests were killed, students are not going to schools, even there were extortions, etc. These are clear-cut examples to impose the President's rule. There is no doubt about that. That is why my Party is supporting this Proclamation by the President of India. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN (CHIRAYINKIL): It is in case of individual changes. What about the situation if there is a group? ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (SRIKAKULAM): There is no question. What is this individual thing? ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Radhakrishnan, please do not disturb. We are already short of time.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (SRIKAKULAM): Sir, this is our Party's view. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record except Shri Yerrannaaidu's speech.

(Interruptions) ... (Not recorded)

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (SRIKAKULAM): Sir, it is the version of CPI(M). India had these '*Ayarams and Gayarams*'. Once people give a mandate to you on one symbol, you have to stick to it. If one Member of a group of three Members quits under this one-third principle, it is not correct. It is without the interest of the people. That is not

correct. We have to have these electoral reforms. Then only democracy will survive and these 'Ayarams and Gayarams' will be stopped in this country. Otherwise the destability and everything will continue and for such things everybody will impose article 356. My Party will not agree to it. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN (CHIRAYINKIL): It cannot be for individual changes. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (SRIKAKULAM): In this context, we are agreeing to the imposition of article 356 for the North-Eastern States. Sir, I was the Minister of Rural Development. We wanted to have a re-look on the strengthening of the economy. There is no development at all. Even when Shri H.D. Deve Gowda was the Prime Minister, we had decided to give 10 per cent of the State's exchequer to them. But what has happened in the North-East? Ninety per cent of the money is going underground. That is the main issue to be resolved in this House. There should be a consensus among all the political parties. Different political parties take political mileage and different voices and different talks are there. That is why the insurgency is increasing in the North-Eastern States. Each political party will have to learn the lessons, after 53 years of our Independence. We have to discuss this thoroughly. One day we have to come to a consensus as to how to build the economy and how to develop the North-East. That is the foremost issue before all of us. That is my Party's opinion. We have to discuss for one or two days on that issue and we have to evolve a consensus.

We have to stop all these things. Thousands and lakhs and even crores of rupees were given to them. How many families are there in the North-Eastern States? There may be six lakhs or eight lakhs population there. You take the money that we have sent to the North-East since 1952. If you had given that money to each family, then each of those families would have become *crorepatis* by this time. You need not develop anything. Even if you had distributed the total money per family, each family would have got lakhs of rupees. Where is the poverty then? That is the main issue to achieve here. Then only every problem will be solved and by this discussion no problem will be settled.

That is why my Party's philosophy is, we have to discuss and we have to develop the North-Eastern States. My brother, the hon. Member here told about the 'Seven Sisters'. We have to give respect to our 'Seven Sisters'. For that a consensus is required. We have to adopt a resolution and beyond that resolution no political party will speak and we are in the mainstream of this country. Thank you.

(ends)

1539 बजे

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (सम्मल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने अभी मणिपुर में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के लिए 6 महीने की अवधि सदन से मांगी है। (व्यवधान)

श्री लालकृष्ण आडवाणी : नहीं, नहीं, मैंने यह कहा कि यह अवधि अधिक से अधिक 6 महीने रह सकती है जब तक अगर सदन फिर से तय करे तो मैक्सिमम एक साल है। लेकिन इस समय जो हम स्वीकार करेंगे, उसका मतलब है कि वह 6 महीने के लिए रहेगा। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Radhakrishnan, will you please stop this running commentary?

...(*Interruptions*)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (सम्मल) : हम चाहते थे, पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों, मणिपुर राज्य के बारे में, नागालैंड के बारे में और पूरे के पूरे पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के बारे में, वहां की स्थिति के बारे में ज्यादा जानकारी देनी चाहिए थी, जिससे हम लोगों को बात करने का मौका मिलता कि उसका समाधान कैसे निकले। यह बात हम इसलिए कह रहे हैं, क्योंकि सरकारी एजेंडे में काश्मीर का मुद्दा हमेशा छाया रहता है। मैंने पहले दिन भी कहा था और आज भी कह रहा हूँ कि आगरा शिखर सम्मेलन से पहले इस पर चर्चा होनी चाहिए थी। मीडिया के माध्यम से, अखबारों के माध्यम से, नेताओं के भाषणों से और उनके हस्तक्षेप से हर स्तर पर काश्मीर छाया रहता है, लेकिन पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की स्थिति ज्यादा भयावह है। आज हम इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं और यह हमारी राय है। मणिपुर की सीमा बर्मा से लगी हुई है, इसलिए सामरिक दृष्टि से और सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से बहुत जरूरी है, आप पाकिस्तान का नाम अच्छी तरह से ले देंगे, सब लोग ले देंगे, पूरा सदन ले देगा, लेकिन असल स्थिति यह है कि पूर्वोत्तर

राज्यों में एके-47 कहां से आती है और कहीं से इसकी ट्रेलिंग ली जा रही है। क्या थाईलैंड की राजधानी बैंकाक में ली जा रही है? इस तरफ भी विचार करके बतायेंगे, जब आप अपना उत्तर देंगे। इसके लिए सरकार का उपाय क्या है और बातचीत क्या है। अगर नागा विद्रोही थाईलैंड की राजधानी बैंकाक में है, जहां से एके-47, तमाम तस्करी और सारे हथियार और एके-47, चाइना की नव-निर्मित बनी हुई, सप्लाई होती है, जिसमें बर्मा का भी हाथ है, इस बात को बोलने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है। देश का सवाल है। देश में स्थिति खराब है, तो आईएसआई, रेल पलट गई तो आईएसआई, आग लग गई तो आईएसआई, बारूद में आग लगी तो आईएसआई, विश्वविद्यालय में कुछ हुआ तो आईएसआई, तो आईएसआई तो हर जगह है, लेकिन असली स्थिति पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की है। मैं आज भी कह रहा हूँ, हमारी फौज खड़ी है, काश्मीर को छीनने की पाकिस्तान कभी हिम्मत नहीं करेगा, न कभी कर सकता है। लेकिन ध्यान यहां पर देना चाहिए। यह हमारी राय है, हमारी समझ है।

जहां तक राष्ट्रपति शासन का सवाल है, यह तो समता पार्टी और आपके दल के बीच संघर्ष का परिणाम है। इसका जिक्र भी किया है और इशारा भी किया है। समता पार्टी और भारतीय जनता पार्टी के बीच का संघर्ष है। मदभेदों की वजह से ही वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ है और उसी की वजह से आप इसको बढ़ाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

दूसरी बात, हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि म्यानमार के पास काश्मीर का एक छोटा सा गांव है - मोरे, जो तस्करी का स्वर्ग द्वार है। इस पर आपको ध्यान देना होगा, यहां सबसे ज्यादा एके-47, जिस देश का मैंने नाम लिया, हथियार, सोना, अफीम, मामूली पत्थरों की तस्करी व्यापार के माध्यम से पूरे हिन्दुस्तान का सबसे बड़ा केंद्र बन गया है। इस पर आपको ध्यान देना होगा, इस बारे में जवाब देना होगा और इसको आपको गम्भीरता से लेना चाहिए। इसी तरह से राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग-39 की बात है। जब युद्ध विराम हो जाता है, उस वक्त सबसे ज्यादा मणिपुर को परेशानी उठानी पड़ती है। सामान रोक लिया जाता है, ट्रक लूट लिया जाता है, इस वजह से मणिपुर को हर स्तर पर तकलीफ होती है। वहां पर लोग सामान से वंचित रह जाते हैं। उनका आना-जाना बन्द रहता है। खाने-पीने तक के मामले में जनता को सबसे ज्यादा परेशानी हो जाती है। मणिपुर संकट में पड़ जाता है। चाहे नागालैंड हो, चाहे असम हो, चाहे अरुणाचल प्रदेश हो, चाहे त्रिपुरा हो या मणिपुर, सारा देश हमारा है। लेकिन वहां के लोगों में यह भावना धीरे-धीरे हो गई है कि दिल्ली हमारे लिए दूर है।

हमारी पार्टी वहां नहीं है। यह सही है कि डॉ. राम मनोहर लोहिया जी के जमाने में सबसे मजबूत समाजवादी पार्टी थी। आपके साथी जार्ज फर्नांडीज़ हमारे लोगों को छीन कर ले गए। यह बात सही है कि कभी वहां हमारी पार्टी थी और तब हमारी पार्टी में प्रस्ताव आता था कि समाजवादियों, कम से कम आप लोग आना-जाना जारी रखो। वह आना-जाना जार्ज साहब करते रहे - यह मानना पड़ेगा। उन्होंने एक काम अच्छा किया कि उनका दौरा पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में बराबर चलता रहा। हम लोगों ने ज्यादा दौरा नहीं किया लेकिन हम आपसे कह रहे हैं कि यह राजनैतिक सवाल और पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है। वहां हमारा कोई एमपी, एमएलए लड़े, संगठन बने या न बने, हम चाहते हैं कि सदन में जितने नेता बैठे हैं, सबसे बड़ी पार्टी कांग्रेस भी है, आपकी भारतीय जनता पार्टी है तथा और भी दल के लोग हैं, उन नेताओं का इन 5 देशों में बराबर आना-जाना रहना चाहिए। उन्हें यह रहे कि हमारा सम्पर्क पूरे देश से है और दिल्ली हमारे लिए दूर नहीं है। हमारे साथ सारे नेता हैं। अगर यह आप कर सकें तो वहां की स्थिति में सुधार आ सकता है। वहां के लोगों की जो भावना है वही सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक है कि दिल्ली हमारे लिए दूर है। इतनी जल्दी मणिपुर के लोग, सारे के सारे बच्चे और महिलाएं निकल आए। उन्होंने यह भी ऐलान कर दिया कि अगर 31 तारीख तक फ़ैसला नहीं होता है तो हम अपनी लोक सभा बना लेंगे। प्रधान मंत्री जी का बयान आया, उन्होंने यह आश्वासन दिया कि हम युद्ध विराम पर पुनः विचार करेंगे, यह उन्होंने अच्छी बात नहीं की। जिस दिन युद्ध विराम की आपने घोषणा की कि हम विचार करेंगे, अगर विचार करने के बाद उसी दिन निर्णय ले लिया जाता तो अच्छा था या यह बयान देश के सामने नहीं जाना चाहिए था। जब यह बयान गया कि हम युद्ध विराम पर विचार करेंगे तब वहां हिंसा बढ़ी।

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सकें तो वहां की स्थिति में सुधार आ सकता है। वहां के लोगों की जो भावना है वही सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक है कि दिल्ली हमारे लिए दूर है। इतनी जल्दी मणिपुर के लोग, सारे के सारे बच्चे और महिलाएं निकल आए। उन्होंने यह भी ऐलान कर दिया कि अगर 31 तारीख तक फैसला नहीं होता है तो हम अपनी लोक सभा बना लेंगे। प्रधान मंत्री जी का बयान आया, उन्होंने यह आश्वासन दिया कि हम युद्ध विराम पर पुनः विचार करेंगे, यह उन्होंने अच्छी बात नहीं की। जिस दिन युद्ध विराम की आपने घोषणा की कि हम विचार करेंगे, अगर विचार करने के बाद उसी दिन निर्णय ले लिया जाता तो अच्छा था या यह बयान देश के सामने नहीं जाना चाहिए था। जब यह बयान गया कि हम युद्ध विराम पर विचार करेंगे तब वहां हिंसा बढ़ी।

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आप पटेल के समान देश में इज्जत पा जाएं, लेकिन ये बीच में ही टोक रहे हैं। (व्यवधान) मिश्रा जी, गृह मंत्री जी को हम अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। बीच में ऐसा बोलने से वे आपको शपथ नहीं दिला देंगे। मिश्रा जी, हम आपको भी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं, आप हमारे पुराने मित्र हैं। हमारे लिए भी सभाओं में न जाने आप कितनी तारीफों के पुल बांध देते थे, न जाने क्या-क्या बना देते थे। आप बैठ जाइये और हमको बोलने दीजिए।

मणिपुर में हिंसा के 20 दिन बाद आपका प्रतिनिधि जाता है लेकिन तमिलनाडु में करुणानिधि जी की पुलिस के साथ कुछ खींचातानी हुई तो आपकी सरकार डोल गयी और आपकी सरकार के, गृहमंत्रालय के प्रतिनिधि और आपके नेता वहां शीघ्र पहुंच जाते हैं। हमने उस घटना की भी निंदा की है लेकिन साथ ही दो-तिहाई बहुमत से चुनी हुई सरकार को बर्खास्त करने का भी हमने विरोध किया है। जहां आग लगी, लोग मरे, वहां तो आपके प्रतिनिधि 20 दिन में पहुंचे और तमिलनाडु में 24 घंटे के अंदर पहुंच गये - ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। मणिपुर को क्या आप नौकरशाहों के हाथों में सुपुर्द कर देंगे। अगर राष्ट्रीय एकता परिषद का गठन अभी नहीं हुआ है तो वह होना चाहिए था और उसकी बैठक आप बुलाते और उसमें सारी पार्टियों के नेताओं की राय लेते और वहां पर हस्तक्षेप करते जिससे मणिपुर में इतनी गंभीर स्थिति पैदा न होती। करोड़ों-अरबों रुपयों की सम्पत्ति का नुकसान वहां हुआ है तथा वहां से जनप्रतिनिधियों का भागना - यह कोई अच्छा संकेत नहीं है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मणिपुर और नागालैंड में आपकी छवि अच्छी नहीं है। आपको यहां पर डरकर नहीं बैठना चाहिए था, वहां पर स्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिए जाना चाहिए था। आप वहां शीघ्र क्यों नहीं गये? तमिलनाडु में तो आप 24 घंटे के अंदर पहुंच जाते हैं और वहां पहुंचने में आपको 20 दिन लगते हैं - यह पैमाना गलत है। आपने वहां की स्थिति को नौकरशाहों के हाथों में छोड़ रखा है और तमिलनाडु में जब कोई स्थिति पैदा हुई तो गृह मंत्री जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी मिलकर उसको देखते हैं। आपको पूर्वोत्तर के राज्यों की स्थिति को भी गंभीरता के साथ ठीक नजरिये से देखना चाहिए।

जैसा माननीय संतो मोहन देव जी ने कहा और मेरी राय भी यही है कि आपको पूर्वोत्तर के राज्यों के लिए एक स्पेशल पैकेज की घोषणा करनी चाहिए। लेकिन केवल घोषणा ही नहीं उस पर अमल भी होना चाहिए क्योंकि सरकार घोषणाएं तो कर देती है लेकिन उन पर अमल नहीं होता है। इसलिए आप एक स्पेशल पैकेज की घोषणा के साथ-साथ उस पर तत्काल समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम बनाकर अमल करें जिससे पूर्वोत्तर के लोगों को लगे कि दिल्ली में हमारी ताकत बैठी है, लोग बैठे जो हमें मदद करने के लिए तैयार हैं। यह हमारी आपको राय है।

जहां तक चुनाव की बात है तो एक महीने, दो महीने, तीन महीने में जब स्थिति सामान्य हो जाए तो चुनाव कराएं - चुनाव के लिए 6 महीने का इंतजार न करें,

क्योंकि वहां 1972 से लेकर 24 मुख्यमंत्री हो चुके हैं और छः बार राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हो चुका है। सातवीं बार अब होने जा रहा है। मुख्यमंत्री 24 हों या 25 लेकिन इसी तरह वहां हो रहा है। मेरे ये कुछ सुझाव थे। मैं उन्हीं पर ज्यादा जोर देकर अपनी बात को दोहराना नहीं चाहता। संतो मोहन देव जी और हमारे त्रिपुरा के साथी ने सारे बातें कहीं। अच्छा हुआ उन्होंने उसे कह दिया क्योंकि मैं भी उन्हें कहना चाहता था। मैंने तीन-चार सुझाव आपको दिए हैं। सबसे ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि आप केवल नौकरशाहों पर इसे न छोड़िए। यह एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है। आप इसे गम्भीरता से देखें वरना देश में बिखराव और अलगाव पैदा हो जाएगा तथा देश की एकता को खतरा पहुंचेगा। वहां सबसे ज्यादा विध्वंसकारी घटनाएं हुई हैं और सम्पत्ति को बहुत अधिक नुकसान हुआ है। दूसरी जगहों में भी हुआ है। हम चाहते हैं कि केन्द्र सरकार पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के लिए एक स्पेशल पैकेज और समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम लागू करने की व्यवस्था करे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री राजीव प्रताप रूडी (छपरा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मणिपुर में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया। केन्द्र सरकार कभी भी अपने मन से राष्ट्रपति शासन नहीं लगाती है। भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेतृत्व में बनने वाली एनडीए की सरकार की कभी ऐसी मंशा नहीं रही कि किसी राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाए। यदि पिछले चार वॉ में इसका विश्लेषण किया जाए तो पाएंगे कि बहुत कम ऐसे अवसर और परिस्थितियां उत्पन्न हुईं जब कहीं राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाने की जरूरत महसूस हुई हो। आडवाणी जी ने बताया कि तीन बार ऐसा हुआ। एक बार बिहार के मामले में हुआ। राज्य सभा में कांग्रेस का समर्थन न मिलने के कारण हम इस बड़े अभियान में विफल रहे। शायद आज कांग्रेस पार्टी खुद इस बात को महसूस कर रही है। यदि वह इस अभियान में हमें समर्थन देती तो आज एक प्रान्त जो जल रहा है, उसे हम बचा सकते थे, लेकिन हम इसमें विफल हुए। ऐसे समय में इस सरकार ने अपना प्रस्ताव वापस ले लिया। आज मणिपुर के सवाल पर सब एकमत हैं। सब ने देखा, सब ने समझा, सब ने परखा और सब का समर्थन इस विषय में प्राप्त हुआ लेकिन जब किसी राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाया जाता है तो लोकतंत्र को चोट पहुंचती है क्योंकि उसे लगाने की इच्छा नहीं होती है। जिन छोटे-छोटे राज्यों की सरकारों को अपने राज्य में सरकार चलाने का अधिकार है, उन्हें स्वायत्तता मिलनी चाहिए। वहां सरकार के होने से उसे मजबूती मिलती है लेकिन मणिपुर में ऐसा नहीं हुआ। वहां पिछले तीन माह की गतिविधियों को दो बिन्दुओं पर अलग-अलग देख सकते हैं। वहां सरकार गठित करने के लिए विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों ने प्रयास किया, कई प्रकार के जोड़-तोड़ और गठबंधन किए, जन प्रतिनिधियों ने आपा-धापी मचाई लेकिन स्थिरता प्राप्त नहीं हुई। अंत में वहां केन्द्र सरकार को बाध्य होकर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पड़ा। गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट आई। उसका राजनीतिक रूप से विश्लेषण करने पर जो परिस्थितियां दिखाई दीं, उनसे स्पष्ट हो गया कि वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाने के अलावा कोई और उपाय नहीं है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मणिपुर में पिछले 3-4 महीनों से जिस दूसरी घटना की चर्चा होती आई है जिसमें नागा लोगों के लिये टैरीटोरियल लिमिट्स बढ़ाने के लिये एन.एस., सी.एन. के साथ समझौता करने का सवाल है, उसे मणिपुर की समस्याओं से जोड़ा जा सकता है। यह समझौता पिछले 3-4 माह के भीतर उत्पन्न हुआ जिसमें विस्तार के समझौते को जोड़ा गया। इसके कारण वहां उथल-पुथल का माहौल उत्पन्न हुआ। नागा समस्या इस देश में पिछले 50 सालों से है। इस समस्या के निदान के लिये हर सरकार अपने ढंग से प्रयत्नशील रही है। इसकी शुरुआत श्री नरसिंहराव के समय हुई, श्री देवेगोड़ा की सरकार ने प्रयास किया, स्वित्ज़रलैंड में जाकर एन.एस.सी.एन. के साथ एक समझौता किया और अंत में श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी के साथ, पेरिस में वार्ता का क्रम चला लेकिन उस वार्ता में कुछ विवाद उत्पन्न हुये।

नागा समस्या अपने आप में एक सैनसेशनल, सेंटिमेंटल सिचुएशन उत्पन्न करता है क्योंकि एक तरफ हमारे देश के वे लोग हैं जिनको ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उनकी उपेक्षा की जाती है। उनकी मांग सौवरिन स्टेट बने लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार, चाहे वह बी.जे.पी. नेतृत्व वाली एन.डी.ए. सरकार हो, या इसके अतिरिक्त कोई भी सरकार हो, वह सौवरिन स्टेट के मुद्दे पर कतई समझौता नहीं कर सकती। हम भी जानते हैं कि इस बात पर सभी सरकारें अडिग रही हैं और अपनी सरकार भी अडिग है। यदि देखा जाये तो मालूम होगा कि एक तरफ छोटे-छोटे नागा समुदाय हैं जो देश के पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में फैले हुये हैं तो दूसरी तरफ ऐसी जाति प्रवृत्ति के कुछ लोग दूसरे देश में भी हैं और उनकी तरफ से एक नया प्रान्त, अपनी स्वायत्तता पाने के लिये प्रयास जारी हैं। जब यह तय किया गया कि एन.एस., सी.एन. की टैरिटोरियल लिमिट्स को बढ़ाया जाये और ईसा मोवई समूह से बातचीत की गई तो मणिपुर में उथल-पुथल उत्पन्न हो गई। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि वहां गोलियां चलीं और स्थिति बदतर हुई। उस स्थिति पर काबू पाने के लिये केन्द्र सरकार को फिर से पहल करनी पड़ी। सरकार ने अपनी काबलियत के आधार पर, अपने तरीके से और कठोर परिस्थितियां होते हुये भी एक इनफॉर्मल समझौता किया जिसका परिणाम यह निकला कि पूरे पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में उथल-पुथल उत्पन्न हो गई। ऐसी परिस्थिति में इस सरकार ने एक बार फिर अपनी काबलियत के आधार पर एक इनफॉर्मल समझौता किया और जो टैरिटोरियल लिमिट्स की बात थी, उसे समाप्त किया गया। सरकार ने इनफॉर्मल सीज़ फायर का माहौल तैयार करने के लिये राजीनामा किया। आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे सामने एक समझौता उभरकर सामने आया है। हो सकता है कि किसी को यह दिखाई न देता हो लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार ने उसके भीतर से एक रास्ता निकालने का प्रयास किया है। इस के बीच में हमारे वरिष्ठ सांसद श्री संतो मोहन देव ने कहा कि ऐसी कौन सी घटना थी जिससे यह स्थिति बनी, लोगों पर गोलियां चलवाई गईं और राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाये जाने की नौबत आई। कई बार ऐसे वरिष्ठ सांसदों को देखते हुये हमारे जैसे लोग चुप होना चाहते हैं लेकिन कभी-कभी मजबूरी में हम चर्चा करना चाहते हैं।

इसी देश में कांग्रेस सरकार के समय दिल्ली में एक ऐसी घटना हुई कि सरकार होते हुये भी दिल्ली की सड़कों पर एक छोटे समुदाय के लोगों को जला-जलाकर और भून-भूनकर, मारकर रख दिया गया। उस समय किसकी सरकार थी? जब वे इस तरह का आरोप आज की सरकार पर लगाते हैं तो उन्हें पुराने इतिहास को देखना चाहिये जहां इन लोगों की सरकार के होते हुये ऐसी घटना यहां घटी। शायद इतिहास इन लोगों को माफ नहीं करेगा। जब आप एक उंगली उठाते हैं तो तीन उंगलियां आपकी तरफ देखती हैं (व्यवधान) .. इसलिये इन जैसे वरीय लोगों को आरोप लगाने से पहले सोचना चाहिये। आज मणिपुर की समस्या के समाधान के लिये यह समझौता उत्पन्न हुआ। इसमें सांझेदारी सबको दिखाई दे रही है क्योंकि वहां राजनैतिक हालात बिगड़ गये थे। सरकार द्वारा एन.एस.सी.एन. के साथ बात करने का प्रयास किया गया और मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को बहुत हद तक सफलता प्राप्त हुई है।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं राष्ट्रपति शासन के पक्ष में और पूरे सदन की तरफ से इस प्रकार के राजनैतिक सोच को उत्पन्न करने के लिये सरकार को बधाई देता हूँ कि उसने एक सांझेदारी उत्पन्न करके देश के अंदर उन मुद्दों को सुलझाने का प्रयत्न किया है। अगर सरकार की यह सोच, यह नीति और यही मंशा चलती रही तो इस देश को हमेशा एक अच्छा नेतृत्व मिलेगा और इस देश का भविष्य सुखद होगा।

धन्यवाद।

(इति)

1605 hours

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the present conflagration in Manipur is no accident. It is the consequence of three separate fires that have been lit over the recent months. These have joined together and caused the flames of discontent, to rise not only in Manipur, but all over the most sensitive region of India, the North-East.

These three separate fires relate respectively to (1) the political shenanigans that have been played in that State, (2) the stoking of communal tension, and (3) the extension of cease-fire to Manipur, which is now apparently and happily behind us.

I would like to take up each one of these separately. With regard to the political shenanigans, I begin with the results of the Manipur Legislative Assembly of February 2000. A perusal of these results shows that the BJP won in

six Assembly segments and these were: Singjemei, Yaiskul, Wanghei, Sekmai, Sugnoo and Ukhurul. A perusal of these results also shows that the Samata Party failed to win a single seat in the February 2000 elections. Yet, we in this suspended Assembly, which is waiting for dissolution, find ourselves in the curious position of the BJP having shot up from six seats to 26 seats and the Samata Party having shot up from zero seat to 13 seats. And so effective has been the combination of these two rising elements in the Manipur firmament that we find that between the two of them, they were at one stage able to have 59 out of the 60 MLAs supporting them. If you play games of this kind, then this is the kind of problem that is going to result.

Sir, I am a very dangerous person to talk to when the name of Shri George Fernandes comes up because it fires me. So, instead of referring to Shri George Fernandes in my own terms, I prefer to say what a journalist has to say.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please refrain yourself from doing it.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): Sir, I will not say a word from my side.

I just prefer to take up what Shri Shankar Shan Thakur, a well known journalist had to write in *The Indian Express*. Sir, please bear with me while I read this out. He says:

"So, when rumblings struck Manipur's fickle politics again last November, Fernandes grabbed the chance he had long been waiting for. As Defence Minister, he was quick to latch on to the crisis in the Manipur State Congress Party and use his old links to effect enough defections to bring down the Nipamacha Singh Government. Kojiam, the old Fernandes ally, led the rebels and, with substantial help from New Delhi, "€"

Sir, I underline this sentence.

"€ with substantial help from New Delhi, was able to form a Government in the State under the Samata Party nomenclature. Indeed, Fernandes beat his greater ally, the BJP, which too has been keen on securing a foothold in the North-East. "

Further, it says:

"As a senior Samata leader put it, "We may be junior allies in New Delhi, but we are the senior party in Manipur and that has to be recognised."

If this is the way in which the NDA partners who constitute the Central Government behave in the most sensitive region of India, the North-East, and that too in the State which is renowned for being the one where Subhash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army first planted the tricolour then, I think, it speaks for itself as to the irresponsibility with which these so-called responsible national parties have been dealing with a very very sensitive part of India.

The game has not ended. *The Hindu* of today, the 30th July 2001 has this to say:

"It is understood that the party's in-charge of the North-East affairs, Mr. Padmanabhacharya, was virtually put down during discussions by the Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani. The Home Minister reportedly charged him with being totally irresponsible and immature in his articulation of the Manipur situation which had portrayed the BJP as trying to get its Government installed in the State by engineering defections."

This is the situation that continues to prevail even at this stage. And, it is when national political party behaves with such utter irresponsibility that we get a situation in this very sensitive part of the country where the first of the three fires has got lit. I now come to the second fire, which is, stoking of the communal tension in that area.

I am sorry that in the usual manner of BJP backbenchers, and I wish to bring this to the Chair's attention, speeches are made and then the persons concerned disappear. Neither Shri Kharabela Swain nor Shri Rudy is here. This is not a part of the etiquette or decorum of the house. It happens over and over again. But whether he is here or not, his words are on record and it is that mindset which he displays of provoking the needless communal tension among the different communities that inhabit the State of Manipur. That is at the root of the second fire that has been lit in Manipur.

Sir, I have before me a number of representations made by various organisations in Manipur to the Government of India and to political parties that have visited that State. To give you an idea of how much communal harmony there is prevailing in that state, Sir, I would go so far as to say - and I plead with you to bear with me until I finish to validate the significance of what I am going to speak - that the principal secular jewel in our crown is not so much Jammu and Kashmir as the State of Manipur. To that extent, I would request the House to bear a few minutes with me in order to listen to the voice of Manipur which is rarely heard in the House. Firstly, I have a representation from the Lilong United Club Organisation, which for those who are familiar with Manipur, which is a leading Muslim minority organisation in the State. They describe Manipur as:

"Manipur is a mini India in which all the communities belonging to hills and valleys have been living together peacefully for the last two thousand years or more"

And, we have Shri Swain here giving Manipur lectures on how to live in communal harmony. Then Sir, I have a representation from All Manipur Students' Union and through the people's declaration of 26th June, 2001 which says:

"The people of Manipur realise the imperative need of strengthening the emotional and social bonds of all indigenous people of Manipur even stronger by respecting and protecting each other's economic, social and cultural rights and by realising the shared common destiny as one people with one political aspiration."

I have before me the Manipur Political Sufferers Association saying and I quote:

" Manipur is inhabited by more than 30 ethnic groups who have been living together harmoniously for ages. There can hardly be anything but committing communalism to create avoidable mistrust among different communities when all this happens leading to very undesirable and tragic consequences. "

Sir, I do not think we need to teach anybody in Manipur what it means to be a secular society. I have here All Manipur College Teachers Association saying:

"Demographically, the hill districts of Manipur are inhabited by different tribes. Since time immemorial, these tribes along with the Meiteis have had cultural, social and economic bond. Many ethnic groups are intermingled in Manipur like a well woven fabric."

Sir, I have the Manipur University Teachers Association saying:

"The extension of the cease-fire will definitely disturb the harmony of the pluralistic, multiethnic, multilingual and multireligious nature of the Manipuri Society".

And, finally I would share these words with you from the lowest forum:

"Many non-Nagas are residing in the areas to be covered by the cease-fire. Many groups in Manipur belonging to both the Nagas and non-Nagas have strongly opposed the extension of the boundary of the cease-fire agreement.

But some people to get political mileage and personal gain are trying hard to strike a wedge between people living in the hills and the valley of Manipur. "

But Sir, more powerful than all these voices, I think, is the voice of the gentleman who was elected on the BJP ticket from the constituency of Singjamei, a very distinguished army officer retired Col. H. Bhuban Singh. What I am going to now say, I owe entirely to him. First, he has pointed out that in every marriage of a Meitei girl a *leirum*, namely, a *Tangkhul* Naga shawl is a must as a part of the dowry. That at the *Lai Haraoba* festival, there must be some *Tangkhul* Naga dancers. That there is a ceremony called *Mera Thaomei Thamba* which is the lighting of a lamp high on the bamboo poll supposed to be a light signal between *Tangkhul* Nagas and the *Meiteis* that they are brothers.

This is a State which has been reduced to this dreadful condition of communal disharmony. It is Col. Bhuban Singh who has given me these statistics that I now wish to share with you with immense pride in Manipur as a part of India

and India as the country to which I belong. Sir, in Manipur while every two-third of the population belongs to the *Meitei* community and the *Tangkhul* Nagas as they are called, constitute a small minority and the only minority that could be considered even smaller are the Muslims of Manipur. Yet out of the 29 years and six months that Manipur has been in existence, the *Meitei* has given Chief Ministers for only nine years and ten months which is less than the number of years a single *Tangkhul*, Shri Rishan Keishing had just himself being the Chief Minister of Manipur.

Sir, this is a State which began its existence as a State in contemporary times under a Muslim Chief Minister, Md. Alimuddin. He was the first Chief Minister and he was in office from 20th March, 1972 till the 27th of March, 1973 and again from the 4th of March, 1974 to the 9th of July, 1974. Then, we had a *Tangkhul* Naga Chief Minister, Shri Y. Shaiza whose son is the BJP MLA in the suspended Assembly of Manipur. Shri Shaiza was twice the Chief Minister from 10th of July, 1974 to the 5th of December, 1974 and again for over two years from 29th June, 1977 to the 13th of November, 1979. For a period of 10 years and 7 months, they had Shri Rishan Keishing who is a *Tangkhul* Naga.

Sir, this is a State which has two Constituencies for Lok Sabha. One is the Inner Manipur Lok Sabha Constituency and the other is the Outer Manipur Lok Sabha constituency. The Outer Manipur is the one which is located in the hills around the valley and they are primarily inhabited by two sets of tribes – the Naga tribe and the Kukis tribe. Sir, they had nine MPs so far. Of the nine MPs, five have been *Tangkhul* Nagas and four have been Kukis. The five *Tangkhul* Nagas are Sarvashri Rishang Keishing, Yangmaso Shaiza, R. Suisa, Kolo Kaiho, Meijinglung Kamson. The four Kuki MPs from Outer Manipur have been Shri Paokai Haokip, Shri N. Gouzagin, Shrimati Kimneihing Gangte, and Shri Holkhomang Haokip.

Sir, here is a State which, in the valley, says that it is not necessary for the majority community to rule.

In the hills they say let us share the MPs between the two sets of tribes, that is, Nagas and Kukis. And lessons are being taught to them from here about how to live in communal harmony! Has there ever been in the last three decades the degree of communal tension which we have seen in the State in the last one and a half months?

The problem of the contiguous areas of Nagaland and Manipur is not yesterday's problem. It is a problem that has existed ever since the first agreement of 1960. Through all these years somehow or the other, by ability, by sensitivity and by deep dedication to the principles of secularism we have succeeded almost all the time in maintaining communal harmony inside Manipur. The total deterioration is the consequence of the new Sardar Patel bringing new principles of governance into this sensitive region of the country. I hold the Government of India, as constituted now, as being singularly responsible for setting the second fire up which has led to this conflagration.

The third contributory flame is the extension of the cease-fire to areas outside Nagaland. There I just would like to go into a little bit of history so that we can put it all into perspective.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Kindly be brief.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): Please give me the opportunity of presenting my case.

I am going into this history because I do not want to hear the Home Minister tell us later on that it came to them as a surprise that there should have been such a reaction to the 14th June Bangkok agreement. For this, I begin with 27th February 1997 when, as we were just told a few minutes ago, Prime Minister Deve Gowda met with Muivah. In consequence of the discussions from there, we had, on the 21st July 1997, an announcement made by this House by Prime Minister I.K. Gujral that there would be a cease-fire effective from 1st August 1997. Immediately doubts arose as to whether this cease-fire applies only to Nagaland or extends to the contiguous Naga inhabited areas. Because the issue was not properly resolved, there was a mass rally in Imphal at which a resolution was passed, the key phrase of which went as follows:

"The people of Manipur should stand firmly together for safeguarding by all means available with them the existing territorial integrity and boundaries of Manipur State against all odds and take all steps and measures necessary and expedient so as to strengthen the existing inter-community bonds and make ethnic harmony more meaningful and lasting."

This resolution was sent to the Government of India and is there in Shri Advani's files. Then we got the situation where on the 7th August 1997 this resolution was forwarded to the Prime Minister of India - and that too is there on his files - in which it says:

"Five lakh Manipuri people in a mass rally held on 4th August 1997 have urged upon your Government to

make an official and categorical statement on the floor of Parliament that as long as Manipur State remains in the Union of States in India, you are not taking any step whatsoever so as to disturb the territorial integrity of Manipur at any point of time."

It was quite clear that even on the 7th August 1997 there were grave doubts between the geographical extent of the cease-fire.

I am now referring to the Government that got formed in March 1998 when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee took over as the Prime Minister and thereafter had a meeting with the NSCN (IM) leadership which has been referred to by Shri Rajiv Pratap Rudy also. Then there was a statement made by the gentleman whom you had appointed to negotiate the cease-fire and its conditions with the NSCN (IM), Shri Swaraj Kaushal. Because Shri Swaraj Kaushal made some remarks that caused trouble immediately, the All Manipur United Clubs Organisation, AMUCO, which has been spearheading this agitation for years in Manipur wrote you a letter.

This is a letter addressed to Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee on the 13th November, 1998 saying that the territorial integrity of Manipur cannot be bartered away by any negotiating party including that of the Government of India. They went to say that it is very unfortunate that one Mr. Swaraj Kaushal, the Emissary appointed by the Government of India and his negotiating party have gone beyond their jurisdiction by hitting at the balkanisation of Manipur.

You were warned in 1997; you were warned in 1998 and then we come to the 23rd September, 2000 when Shri Padmanabhaiah came who had replaced Shri Swaraj Kaushal very possibly because of Manipur's objections to the comments that Shri Kaushal had made. You run such a non-transparent Government that we do not know why you changed Shri Swaraj Kaushal but we are a sufficiently intelligent lot to be able to make intelligent guesses about why you changed him. But they knew Shri Padmanabhaiah who came in by September, 2000. Sir, I am talking about the situation merely a year ago. It said that he started making some comments and AMUCO wrote to the Prime Minister of India which was reported in some dailies published in New Delhi and Kolkata that Shri Padmanabhaiah would consider extension of ceasefire between the security forces and NSCN (IM) to Naga inherited areas in parts of Manipur. They went on to say that reported statements by Shri Padmanabhaiah has caused an atmosphere of suspicion among different communities of Manipur raising tension in society. The extension of ceasefire to any part of Manipur has become a sensitive issue. The mind of the people has been disturbed by the said statement. One can imagine what could happen if a Government were to take steps towards extension of ceasefire. This was on 23rd September, 2000.

You stand warned by AMUCO that if you do what you eventually did, you are going to get into the kind of trouble which you eventually got into. And what did you do? As far as I can see, the Ministry of Home Affairs went to bed, slept and perhaps it was even worse. You desired to step on the toes of the people—*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): Sir, I will just continue as long as you will let me and after that, I will just sit down. But there are key questions that are being raised and as the General Secretary of the Congress Party in charge of the North-East, I would plead with you to let me place our case before the Home Minister.

After the 23rd September, a very curious thing happened. On the 28th September, the Prime Minister, instead of convening all the Chief Ministers of the North-Eastern States, for some reason, decided to hold a selective meeting with some Chief Ministers. Those present in that meeting apparently included Chief Ministers of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Manipur but did not include the Congress Chief Minister of Nagaland. We do not know what happened in that meeting but we have been given to understand and I seek confirmation from the hon. Home Minister that at the 28th September, 2000 meeting, all the four Chief Ministers present warned you against extending the ceasefire beyond Nagaland and told you that if you did so, you would be in trouble. You knew this on the 28th September and on 14th June, 2001, a good nine months later, you were still ready to step on the toes of everybody in the North-East living outside Nagaland.

In January, 2001, there was a move made by the hon. Home Minister to bring President's rule into Manipur because of the situation that has been caused by what Shri Shankar Shan Thakur has described as George Fernandes's meddling with bringing down the Nipamacha Singh Government. At that time, a formal approach was made to the Congress Party saying, "Shall we bring in President's rule?" And the Congress Party told the Home Minister that we do not want to carry the can for this. You are the Government; you please check with all the other parties as to whether they wish to see President's rule brought in and then come back to us. The Home Minister never came back to the Congress Party. Instead, games began. We first had the Radhabinod Kojiam Government and then we

had everybody defecting in one direction or another and finally, we had the BJP also playing its cards. We had a non-existent Samata Party fighting a non-existent BJP in a House that have not elected any Samata Party members and only a handful of BJP Members.

The consequence of that is that, political class as a whole stands completely condemned in the eyes of the people of Manipur. On 23rd May, once again the AMUCO wrote to the Prime Minister of India – I am saying this because we are now three weeks ahead of the 14th June, Bangkok agreement – stating that last year when there was a repeated move to extend the cease-fire to Manipur, lakhs and lakhs of people spontaneously came out on the streets on the 28th September, 2000 for a mass rally to say an unequivocal 'No' to the extension of cease-fire and 'No disturbance' to the unity and integrity of Manipur in any manner. The Manipur State Legislative Assembly resolved four times – First on 24th March, 1995, second on 14th March, 1997, third on 17th December, 1998 and finally on 22nd March, 2001 – to preserve the territorial integrity of Manipur. The Home Ministry knew all this. They knew everything of this. Many Members of this House may not have known this because, after all Manipur is a very remote State and it is a small State and there are many other problems that we have to deal with. But the Home Ministry knew this and knowing this one really finds it inexplicable that they sent Shri Padmanabaiah to negotiate the cease-fire extension which went beyond the boundaries of Nagaland and into contiguous Naga-inhabited areas of no less than three other States.

The consequence is that we have to ask ourselves as to what are the major questions raised by the cease-fire.

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, और भी कई माननीय सदस्य बोलने वाले हैं। **â€¦(व्यवधान)**

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आपको भी चांस मिलेगा।

â€¦(व्यवधान)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): Sir, Manipur International Youth Centre had sent an e-mail message to the Prime Minister raising the following constitutional points.

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक ही बात को चार बार रिपीट कर रहे हैं।

â€¦(व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Jha, I will give you a chance. Do not disturb like this.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): We are raising very valid points. *...(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Hon. Member, please do not disturb.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Aiyar, please conclude.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): These are the crucial questions that the Home Minister has to reply. (a) Without consulting the State Governments and getting their consent, how did you engineer a constitutional coup by signing Bangkok cease-fire agreement? Which provision of the Constitution empowered you to take over a State subject by taking such a unilateral decision? How do you justify your disturbance of the delicate federal relation even without taking recourse to article 263 of the Constitution?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, since you are keen quite clearly that I should end what I have to say, let me, in conclusion, say that we still do not know whether the agreement that has allegedly been made to delete those three words is valid or not. Even today's *The Hindu* has a report from a local senior representative of the NSCN (I-M) of Manipur denying that the NSCN (I-M) has accepted the deletion of three words, 'without territorial limits'. ...*(Interruptions)* I will just finish with one sentence.

Sir, we have no alternative but to accept that there must be President's Rule in Manipur. But we insist that the elections in Manipur must take place within the coming six months' period and not be postponed to beyond that six months' period. It is only with the consent of the people of Manipur that we can restore normalcy in that State. We cannot continue doing it by the awful system started in recent years of patronage being extended to civil servants to undertake jobs, which they are not qualified to do. Therefore, we in the Congress Party join the Chief Minister of Assam and the Chief Minister of Nagaland in demanding that Shri Padmanabhaiah's services be terminated forthwith and somebody who knows that area be sent to negotiate.

Thank you.

(ends)

SHRI ANANDRAO VITHOBA ADSUL (BULDANA): Hon. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 of the Constitution in Manipur. On behalf of my Party, the Shiva Sena, I am supporting it. But actually we are in opposition to the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 of the Constitution because our past experience is not good. Being a regional party, we have not got good experience in the past.

Coming to the subject, I would submit that there is no other alternative in Manipur but for the imposition of President's rule under Article 356. We have gone through the Report submitted by the Governor of Manipur. Right from the first day of the constitution of the Assembly on 1st March, 2000, he has given the day to day report about the development in the Assembly. The UF Government had resigned on 15th February, 2001. Afterwards, there is not any Government ruling there. The Governor has given all the opportunities and made all the efforts to honour democracy. He had given opportunity to form the Government in Manipur. But, unfortunately, he has not succeeded. There was no other alternative. Ultimately, keeping in mind the case law that the Assembly should not be dissolved directly, as stated by our hon. Home Minister, he has asked for the suspension of the Assembly there. After five-and-a-half months, no development has taken place. Nobody could come forward for the formation of the Government in Manipur. That is why, the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 of the Constitution was the only alternative.

Before me, all the speakers from all the parties agreed to the view that there is no alternative but for the imposition of President's rule under Article 356. In this connection, I will have to support one point made by Shri Yerrannaidu that some of the Members in the Assembly belonging to various parties signed the representation regarding formation of the Government not once, twice but four times. It is a serious matter. As Members of Parliament, we have to take a serious note of it. As demanded by everybody here, the Assembly should be dissolved but as early as possible elections should be held in Manipur. I also request the Government that normalcy should be restored and as early as possible elections should be held in the State of Manipur.

1639 hours (Mr. Speaker *in the Chair*)

Sir, with these words, I once again support the Resolution for approving the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 of the Constitution in Manipur. Thank you very much.

(ends)

1640 hours

SHRI P.H. PANDIYAN (TIRUNELVELI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of AIADMK party I oppose the imposition of the President's Rule in Manipur on the following grounds. In the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar, the architect of the Constitution, while participating in the debate, had said that Article 356 of the Constitution should remain as a dead letter. Why do they want to give life to this dead letter? So, to respect the sentiments and words of Dr. Ambedkar, I urge the Home Minister to withdraw this proclamation.

Sir, the imposition of the President's Rule is a vital alternative convenient to the Government at the Centre. Different political parties rule different States. Article 356 is a Damocles' Sword hanging over the head of all the Chief Ministers belonging to parties other than the Ruling Party at the Centre, whether it is the BJP or any other party. So, I would say that Article 356 is not in consonance with the spirit of the federal character of the Constitution. There should be independence for the States to govern. The subjects enunciated under the State List are guaranteed to them. The Centre need not and cannot encroach upon the State List, like police, law and order, finance etc.

So, the proclamation is not in agreement with the spirit of the federal character of the Constitution. The violent incidents had happened in Nagaland and Manipur after the imposition of the President's Rule in Manipur. There are a number of killings and that does not solve the problem. Prior to the imposition of the President's Rule in Manipur, from the month of May, we saw a different type of killings. The Central Government was not able to communicate, was not able to govern, and was not able to send any directive to that Government to take stern steps to curb insurgency there. They were talking to the Naga militants, the NSCN. But at the same time, the Central Government was not able to arrive at a proper understanding with that group. There were differences among that group. The Chief Minister, Shri Zamir, after he met the Prime Minister, had said that he had not come out with any solution to the problem. The proclamation of the President's Rule is not in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution. So, I urge the Home Minister, through you, and the Central Government to do away with Article 356 of the Constitution, at this present juncture.

Sir, I have seen a report in the newspapers – I have not seen that order or anything like that – that the Central Government directly transfers one officer to another State. Where is the provision of the law for doing that? I have been practising law for the last 30 years. There is no provision under any law to do that. So, when there is no constitutional provision, is it a constitutional exercise to transfer a top officer to another place so as to favour the Central Government?

Sir, the Prime Minister has taken oath that he would discharge his duties without fear or favour and would do right to all manner of people in accordance with the Constitution and the law.

You must treat all the States alike. You cannot single out one State to attack it with a particular provision. You cannot differentiate between one State and another while issuing this type of Proclamation. Where is the guideline? Mr. Home Minister, I have read the last paragraph of the judgment delivered in the Bommai case. Is there any provision under the Constitution when there is a breakdown of law and order? When there are killings in the heart of the city of Delhi, can you impose President's rule on this Government? There is no alternative to the Central Government. If you are not able to discharge your constitutional duties properly, probably, there is no viable alternative under the Constitution. It is the fate of this country. There is no alternative. The people ask you to leave or die. When there is no alternative available to you under the Constitution, why do you impose article 356 on this State alone? You find some alternative under the Constitution. The Assembly can meet once in six months. You adjourn it. Meet again after six months. Why do you want to impose the President's rule?

I am not on this side or that side. As a Constitution student, I would say that this provision is an intermediary provision for every Government. The RJD Government had been dismissed and re-installed. Do you want that type of treatment for any other State Government? So, this article 356 is not a constitutional exercise; it is an unconstitutional exercise. The Government should not carry out any unconstitutional exercise of power. The imposition of article 356 at this juncture should not be welcomed by anybody in principle on the question of federal character.

My friend, Shri Yerrannaidu said that they had experienced it in 1980. With 194 MLAs, they were sacked by article 356. There was a hue and cry from all political parties on the question of imposition of article 356. So, Mr. Home Minister, find out a constitutional or unconstitutional solution to get over this crisis. That is why, you put an analogy that the Central Government has no other alternative to govern.

It is a constitutionally elected Government. You enter into an agreement. You have also entered into the WTO. The people are penalised. It is a fate of the country. We cannot do anything. As a Member of Parliament, we were not able to do anything. It is a fate. You have to exercise your mind and brain constitutionally. When you are not exercising your thinking constitutionally, it is a fate of the people of India.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI P.H. PANDIYAN (TIRUNELVELI): The ringing of Bell has interrupted the flow of my thoughts. I will finish.

We have been observing the proceedings of Parliament on so many occasions and on so many matters. It talked of the motion of faith. We had said in the all-party meeting that we were with you. You had not consulted us even on that international issue. After the talks had failed, you consulted us to conduct the *post mortem* of those talks. So, it is a fate of the country. You must have taken us into confidence before meeting the Pakistani General. I was thinking on that day about the national issues. You convene your NDA meeting. You talk among yourselves. On international issues, consult everybody here. It is an international issue concerning our nation. It is not a party issue. So, in that way, do not think of imposing article 356 on party lines. Do not think of writing or issuing any directive, that is not provided under the Constitution, to any Government....(*Interruptions*)

Under the Constitution, it is the duty of the Central Government to protect the State. It is their provision and it is the duty of the Central Government to protect the State Government....(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Please do not disturb.

SHRI P.H. PANDIYAN (TIRUNELVELI): It is their duty not to go against the State Government. I will say, you can have the provisions of article 355. It says that it shall be their duty to protect the State Government and to ensure that the State is having a Government. Nobody has read the provision. They only read the number. What does article 355 mean? It means, it is the duty of the Central Government to protect the State. So, you have to protect every State and you cannot say that you will protect this State and that you will not protect that State. It is their duty. The Central Government is a common man's property, it is common political property and it is not an NDA's property alone. So, while debating on this provision of article 356, it is high time that all the political parties should be taken into confidence before issuing such a proclamation.

They have said that this is a different story and that the position here in Manipur and Nagaland is totally a different question that there were killings, law and order problems, foreigners issue, smuggling; and so many other issues were involved. So, I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister that the President's Rule

should not be imposed, hereafter, on any part of India. It should remain as a dead letter as is rightly said by Dr. Ambedkar. Otherwise, do not pay homage to Dr. Ambedkar and if you are paying homage to Dr. Ambedkar, then you must respect his sentiments also.

Thank you Sir.

(ends)

1652 hours

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (CALCUTTA NORTH WEST): Sir, I rise to support the imposition of article 356 in Manipur. The sentiments of Manipur vibrate with West Bengal because of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's performances, which Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar very categorically raised and paid tribute to him. We fully appreciate that INA Headquarters were there and our national flag was first hoisted in Imphal when India was not freed.

I had the opportunity to accompany Kumari Mamata Banerjee, who was the Guest-in-Chief when the Manipur State Congress Party headed by Nipamacha Singh as the Chief Minister held the first anniversary of their Government. That was a very enthusiastic mood throughout the Manipur State. People of Manipur were in a jovial mood and the first anniversary of their Government was appreciated from all corners. We all participated in that.

Many matters have been mentioned, which I do not want to repeat. What we feel is that let there be President's rule and good governance be restored, at least, for some time. After that only we can proceed for further elections. But so far as North-Eastern States are concerned, insurgency still exists.

I would like to have a reply from the hon. Home Minister. Would he kindly intimate us whether he is going to have a dialogue with those who are now underground? They are United National Liberation Front (UNLF), People's Liberation Army (PLA), PEPAK, KYK, etc. Without consulting the underground forces, as they have initiated

dialogue with NSCN(IM), whether any such dialogue is going to be initiated with those who are now totally underground and operating through insurgent operations?

Sir, though ceasefire in Nagaland and the President's Rule in Manipur are two different subjects, still they are related with each other. Though it was a late decision of removing the three words 'without territorial limits', we welcome it. After coming out from the meeting of the Chief Ministers of the North Eastern States, you have very categorically said that the ceasefire would be confined to Nagaland and would not be extended to other North Eastern States. The Government has correctly resolved the issue by deleting the three words 'without territorial limits'. We fully agree with the decision, which has been corrected. Actually, you have assessed the ground reality and you have to go back. Still, a few questions are arising out of it.

We would like to know that after this announcement, whether the Government is going to lose its credibility or being questioned in the estimation of the people's eyes of the North Eastern States; whether NSCN has agreed to the proposal which you have corrected at the second phase. Another very vital question is this. I received one publication from the people of Manipur, where they have published one map mentioning Nagalim, which NSCN (I-M) is proposing for a sovereign country. When they are proposing Nagalim as a separate sovereign country, we would like to know whether the people of India is taking it in a good sense of having a negotiation with NSCN (I-M).

Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar has mentioned about the role of Shri Padmanabhaiah. This has also been raised in the meeting by different Chief Ministers of the North Eastern States. After meeting with you, they held the Press Conference also and they said that he had to be withdrawn from the scenario. I think, the Government should be transparent enough and whatever decision the Government is to take in this regard, it should intimate it in the House very categorically. It may or may not be supported by many political parties. There have been certain comments uttered in the newspapers – whether it is a 'U' turn on the ceasefire extension, and whether this decision takes the Centre back to square one. We still believe that in the greater interest of the North Eastern States, the decision taken to delete the three words 'without territorial limits' was a correct one.

I fully appreciate and share the sentiment expressed by Shri Yerrannaidu that so far as anti defection law is concerned, many people take advantage of it. One person is suspended from one political party and he is encouraged for induction in the next Ministry. If these are the thoughts and ideas of any system, then that system cannot run for a long time.

So far as the decision of imposing the President's Rule in Manipur under article 356 is concerned, we had the impression that there was a package for all-round development of the North Eastern States, which the hon. Prime Minister produced on the floor of the House. Due to constraint of funds, the Master Plan, which was proposed to take shape in the North Eastern States, could not be implemented. We received the copies. Many good proposals with different ideas were produced on the floor of the House. There is a sense of feeling of insecurity in the minds of the people of the North Eastern States that they are not getting proper care and they are not being looked after properly. In each and every part of the North Eastern State, insurgency is emerging and they are feeling a sense of insecurity. We feel that the Union Government should take all care. You are doing the spot enquiry and you are going to the areas where trouble is taking place.

We fully appreciate it and we believe that by proper managerial efficiency and with your foresightedness, you should take all the care to see that these problems are sorted out. Insurgencies in the North-Eastern States are causing heavy damage to our Indian economy also. They should be given the indication that India is a united country and North-Eastern part is not out of it. They should not feel isolated. They are part and parcel of us. The common sentiment is to be reflected from this House that this Parliament, the highest body of this country, stands behind the North-Eastern States of this country. We appreciate the decision for the imposition of article 356 in Manipur.

(ends)

1701 hours

SHRI HOLKHOMANG HAOKIP (OUTER MANIPUR): Sir, I am a very much affected MP from the North-East, particularly from Manipur. Before coming to the points, I want to raise before you, in this august House, two things. One is, who will bell the cat? This august House can bell the cat. The cat is the Tenth Schedule. The Tenth Schedule is so weak and you blame all the MLAs of Manipur. You can blame all the MLAs of other States also. It is not the only State where this headache of *Ayaram* and *Gyaram* is there. Now, here, out of three MLAs, if one goes, it is very easy. Tenth Schedule has protected me. Or if out of 30 MLAs, 10 MLAs go, the Tenth Schedule has protected me....(Interruptions) This one part of our Constitution is very bad. It is very good for *Ayarams* and *Gyarams*. It should be strong. Therefore, I propose to solve this problem in the long term. We must scrap this Tenth Schedule and enact a stronger law. In that case, none of our Parties will be decreased and there will be no *Ayaram* and *Gyaram*. It will decrease. There will be a stable Government in the whole of India.

The second one is, we blame each other. We blame the present Government. It is particularly the creation of NDA partners, the Samata Party and the BJP. I do not want to name the persons. You allowed the Samata Party to form the Government with one MLA. He died. Then their strength had become 14. You allowed them to form a Government. Then again the BJP increased its strength from six to 26. You should not have allowed them because you should not be against a democratic Government. It should not be. Anyway, you have become undemocratic. You allow one and you do not allow another one. This is very bad. The Constitution should be supreme. However, I do not agree to any Party or anybody in the House forming a Government. When a majority of the MLAs in the House are not allowed to form the Government, are we doing justice to *Gayarams* and *Ayarams*? We can stoop to that level in the long run. Before making any effort, we are blaming too much because one Party is too easy as far as Tenth Schedule is concerned.

The third thing is regarding a small State with a very few number of MLAs. In Mizoram, it is 40; in Manipur, it is 60; in Meghalaya it is 60 and in Tripura, it is 60. The number is too few. If somebody moves out, then the Government goes. So, in these things, I want you to have a considered opinion about it, not person to person, not party to party because this will go on unless we stop it. So, the basic responsibility is with us, with the Parliament.

We are very unfortunate; Manipuris are very unfortunate.

On the other side, what is very important is that we have to limit the number of Ministers in the Council of Ministers. It should be ten per cent; it should not be above ten per cent. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs has said that it had become 39. There were 39 Members in the Council of Ministers out of sixty. All of them were Ministers and even then the Government was pulled down because of the weakness of the Tenth Schedule, '*ayaram, gayaram*'.

Unfortunate things happened in Manipur. The Government of India and all the parties have helped us to come back to normality. I am very happy that all the parties, including the Opposition parties, have helped Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya and partly Tripura.

My main point is, whether for good or bad reasons, Manipur has received lots of attention outside Parliament these days. However, a proper analysis of its problems is very much lacking. Sweeping conclusions and incorrect focussing of the problems have created confusions and sent wrong signals. So, I want a healing touch.

Manipur merged with India in 1949. Instead of getting development, it suffered due to neglect and discrimination. The Naga insurgency spilled over to Manipur and threatened its territorial integrity. To counter this, Meitei and Kuki insurgents sprang up. They took up arms in self-defence to protect their communities from paying heavy taxes and check other depredations. These led to the declaration of the entire State as a disturbed area, which is continuing since the last 25 years. ...(*Interruptions*)

Sir, I am from the affected State. Kindly allow me to speak for a few more minutes.

Black laws like the Special Armed Forces Power Act and the Terrorist Act are applied. These laws give power to the security forces to shoot anyone suspected to be an insurgent. It is not possible for the ordinary people to complain. So, they rather suffer than being tortured for complaining. Who knows if the people in Pakistan enjoy more freedom than the people of Manipur!

The imposition of President's rule while the people are reeling under these black laws has now given unfettered powers to bureaucrats and security forces who misuse their powers. I learn that there has been no improvement in the administration both in terms of efficiency and reducing corruption, during the President's rule. ...(*Interruptions*)

Sir, you are now allowing me to speak on. So, I will conclude shortly. I have spoken about the weakness of the Tenth Schedule. I want a healing touch. If you suddenly dissolve the Assembly, the bureaucrats would be in control of the State of Manipur. They have shown failure. From day one, they have started showing failure in this part of the North-East. I want the Central Government to send mature politicians, not DGPs and IPS officers who spoil the system completely, because worse come worse politicians are always better because there is a clash between the Meiteis and the Nagas. They have now started blocking National Highways No.39 and No.53. On Friday and Saturday, all the district headquarters' offices were closed by our Naga friends. It is going on like this. If you solve one problem, another problem comes up. It goes on and on. So, we have to think about this a hundred times. We have to think again and again and again and again and take the advice of learned and distinguished persons because for the last 45-50 years, the North-East has not got proper attention.

You do not want to know us. I request you to know us properly, know our culture and know our background. You send officers after proper training and do not send hanky-panky officers because they have spoiled it. They have spoiled a lot. The situation there needs a healing touch.

I request that these MLAs, these '*Ayarams and Gayarams*' under the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution be allowed

to work for some time and you see their performance and then you can take further action. The Governor of Manipur has not yet given his report for dissolution of the Assembly. How can the hon. Minister of Home Affairs give a commitment? I request you, through the hon. Speaker, not to give the commitment because it is to be done by the Cabinet and not the House. The House is not going to dissolve it.

I think that is enough. Thank you.

(ends)

1711 hours

SHRI P.R. KYNDIAH (SHILLONG): Mr. Speaker, Sir, speaking on the Resolution to approve the President's rule in Manipur, personally I feel that article 356 should not be used at all. This is my personal view. But we have a situation where the Sarkaria Commission had gone deeply into this question. Even Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had made a statement in the Constituent Assembly that this should not at all be made use of except in a very extreme situation. The Sarkaria Commission has mentioned it as a last resort. Today, in the case of Manipur, I would like to make a differentiation between a political crisis and a political deadlock. It is true because of the defections that are taking place in a very unusual way. There has been a deadlock for formation of the Government there. But I want to know whether that deadlock has reached a proportion to become a political crisis. That is the question.

I say this because during the debate in the Manipur Assembly, the former Chief Minister, Shri Nipamacha Singh had made a statement that any Proclamation of President's rule at this stage would look to be a precursor to the cease-fire agreement with the NSCN(IM). He has made a warning in the House. My question today is on the sense of timing of the President's rule. I want to know whether it was right to proclaim the President's rule on the 2nd of June because immediately after that, within days, we witnessed the signing of the Bangkok agreement between NSCN(IM) and the Government of India in which these three words "without territorial limits" have been inserted and this has led to a political outburst or a commotion there.

My question is whether the Government of India had made a special reference – not only to the Governor's report but through their own intelligence agencies - and whether they have foreseen the things that would happen? We have witnessed the failure of intelligence agencies everywhere.

The assessment of the situation was not done in depth. This is what the people are thinking in Manipur. I have been there along with Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar and other colleagues, and I could sense that the imposition of the President's rule was only a way in order to bring about the situation in Manipur in which Bangkok Agreement could be signed. It is a political misadventure based on bureaucratic bungling. Now, here is the institution of Parliament where the Home Minister will have to say and convince us that their stand and the timing are correct. There seems to be, to so many people and myself, that the Government of India's priority is not so much to solve the problem of Manipur, but it is to extend the ceasefire. That is why, the question has been raised by my colleague, Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar about the activities, about the work done by the emissary. I will not name him since he is not in the House. But I will raise another question.

I would like to know whether the interlocutor has gone beyond his mandate. Our information is that he has gone beyond his mandate. That is why, we on this side of the House want a replacement. Perhaps, the time has come when we may have a team because the classic example of Manipur has shown us one thing that they cannot solve the problem in isolation. Their focus was so much on Naga ceasefire and they forgot Manipur, they forgot Arunachal Pradesh, they forgot Assam, and my own State Meghalaya and the entire North-East. They cannot leave at all a problem to be solved in isolation.

Any agreement with the NSCN(IM) has to be with prior consultation and not post-consultation. What is happening in this case is that they have arrived at an agreement at Bangkok and they consult the Chief Ministers afterwards. This is my point. There has to be a clear understanding of the need of prior consultation and not the post-consultation. This is the problem with the North-East. That is why, when we met the Home Minister in Delhi, we had impressed upon him about a few things that needed to be done. I would like to say here that it is true that Manipur has had 25 Chief Ministers in the past 29 years, and seven spells of President's rule after becoming a State in 1972. It is true that so far, there is chronic political instability, but at the same time, we have a responsibility also.

Personally, I agree that Manipur is a land of beauty, a land of rich cultural diversity. The classical dance of Manipur is a recognised dance in India. Their drama, their music and their films are acclaimed internationally. The people of Manipur are there even in the field of sports and they are ahead of people of so many States. They are very talented people. Socially and politically, we have seen how secular Manipur is. The Muslim population is only about 3.5 per cent and yet, they had a Chief Minister. Thangul Nagas are only 15.5 per cent and yet they had a Chief Minister for so many years. Literacy rate is also very high in Manipur. It is a secular mini India.

It is something great. When we talk of political instability, we have to find out where the root-cause is. How do you diagnose the disease? Is it inherent or is it because of extraneous factors? I think, this is the point that the Home Minister will have to reply to us.

My question at this point of time is this. The other day, we met the Home Minister as North-East MPs' Forum. We have an eight-point programme. This programme is cutting across the party lines because we would like that the North-East should be treated on a non-partisan basis, if we have to solve the problems of the North-East. Whatever agreement you arrive at has to be transparent and accountable. That is why, we had impressed upon the Home Minister the other day, when we met him, that peace is the focal object of the entire North-East, and peace can be best achieved through bombardment of economic development and employment. We had missed to solve the problems of the North-East many times at a cost to the country. The problem of the North-East, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the problem of the educated unemployed, the problem of the frustrated young men who rush to the recruiting centres of the insurgent outfits. I have a great belief that peace will come to the North-East.

I would like to share a thought with you, Mr. Speaker, and with the Home Minister. We have had ceasefire in Nagaland since 1997. The General Secretary of NSCN came to Nagaland; the Issacs who came to Nagaland are free citizens. The question is, why do we have to go to Bangkok or to Amsterdam? What is this? They are free to come to Kohima, to Calcutta, to Shillong or anywhere they want. Why is this paranoia? Something is there. They go from Bangkok in South-East Asia to Europe. I mean, this is not the way. They are our own people. They have come overground. We allowed them. They met the people in Nagaland, in Manipur and, yet, we cannot talk to them. We have to send an emissary to Bangkok and Amsterdam. This is not right. I think, it is high time that we review this.

Now, I believe in the words of Mahatma Gandhi: "The past belongs to us, but we do not belong to the past. We belong to the present. We are makers of the future, but we do not belong to the future." I say that let us look at the North-East problem in a larger perspective. Let us consider North-East to be the land of resources. It has not only minerals, we used to pride ourselves in having tea, oil, and teak and, yet, today, we are impoverished. The partition dealt a body blow to the entire economy of the North-East. With partition, we are delinked from India. We are connected by only a small corridor -- the Chicken Neck. It is time that we look at the North-East differently now. It is time that you have to update your intelligence network. It has failed time and again. Even recently, so many *jawans* have been killed because of the failure of the intelligence reports. This time also we have failed in Imphal because we do not know what is underground. So, this is very important.

I would end with this that North-East region's economic development must be geared up through creation of infrastructure, communications network, investment, and generation of employment opportunities. Long pending issues of the North-East have been articulated from time to time. Those have to be taken up without any loss of time. We do not want the North-East to be another Kashmir. We have to take action today because time waits for no one.

(ends)

1725 बजे

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने मणिपुर में राष्ट्रपति शासन की स्वीकृति हेतु जो प्रस्ताव सदन में रखा है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं सर्वप्रथम येरननायडू जी द्वारा सुझाये गये उस सुझाव को गृह मंत्री जी से और इस सदन से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि एंटी-डिफैक्शन लॉ के बारे में जो आज यह परिस्थिति चाहे मणिपुर में हो या सारे देश में दूसरी जगहों पर क्यों हो रही है - सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता आज यह है कि उसमें परिवर्तन लाया जाये और कठोर कानून बनाया जाये तथा दसवें शैड्यूल को हटाया जाये जिससे कोई भी सदस्य अगर अपनी सदस्यता छोड़े तो उसकी सदस्यता समाप्त हो जाये और जिस दल में जाये, उसके चुनाव टिकट पर वह चुनकर आये। यह बात जब तक नहीं होगी, तब तक मणिपुर में जो हुआ और दूसरे राज्यों में या दूसरी जगहों पर जो हो रहा है, वह होता रहेगा। कांग्रेस पार्टी जो मुख्य विपक्षी दल है, हम चाहेंगे कि उनकी तरफ से खुलकर इसमें सहयोग का वचन इस सदन को होना चाहिए और अगर कोशिश की जाये तो एंटी-डिफैक्शन बिल में परिवर्तन करने के इस प्रस्ताव को इसी सदन में, इसी सत्र में लाया जाना चाहिए।

महोदय, आज 'आयाराम गयाराम' के बारे में जो हम सुन रहे हैं, लेकिन जो 'आयाराम गयाराम' के जनक लोग हैं, जिनके समय से यह 'आयाराम गयाराम' की कहानी शुरु हुई, उनसे जब हम उपदेश सुनते हैं तो मन को बड़ी कचोट लगती है और अच्छा नहीं लगता है। (व्यवधान)

श्री प्रियरंजन दासमुंशी (रायगंज) : जनक तो आप लोग ही हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री कांतिलाल भूरिया (झाबुआ) : जनक तो उधर से ही हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : आप जरा बैठिए। अभी तो शुरू ही किया है और जो लोग इस देश में व्यवहार को, आचरण को लाने के लिए प्रख्यात रहे हैं, उनकी तरफ से इस तरह की बात शोभा नहीं देती। जरा आइने में अपनी तस्वीर को झांकिये, आत्म-मंथन करिए, सोचिए और विचारिये और भविय में यह काम नहीं हो, इसके लिए जनता को, देश को वचन देने का काम करिए। मणि शंकर अय्यर जी कम्युनल हार्मनी की बात कर रहे थे, बड़ी अच्छी बात है। इस देश में कम्युनल हार्मनी रहनी चाहिए लेकिन यह है कहां और उसकी शुरुआत कहां से हो? माननीय इंदिरा गांधी जी की हत्या हो गई और हत्या होने के बाद इसी दिल्ली शहर में, जहां सारी फौज, सारे पदाधिकारी, प्रधानमंत्री जी सारे लोग रह रहे थे, कितने सिखों की हत्या हुई और उसका क्या रिपर्कसन सारे देश में हुआ, सारी दुनिया जानती है और इसके ज वाबदेह आदमी ने कहा कि 'जब बड़े वृक्ष गिरते हैं तो धरती हिलती है।' आज ईमानदारी से हमें और आपको इस सदन में अगर कम्युनल हार्मनी के बारे में विचार करना है तो उसके लिए कदम बढ़ाना चाहिए, काम करना चाहिए। बाबरी मस्जिद का ताला शुरू में किसने खुलवाया? किसने उसमें काम शुरू किया? इस देश में जितनी भी समस्या है, उनकी सबकी जड़ में आप लोग हैं और उसका निबटारा भी आपको ही करना पड़ेगा। **â€œ**(व्यवधान) लेकिन वह एनडीए के लोगों को करना पड़ रहा है। **â€œ**(व्यवधान) अगर आपने ताला नहीं खुलवाया होता तो यह समस्या नहीं होती। आज गिरने का दो इस पर नहीं आता। ताला खुलवाएं आप लोग, पूजा-पाठ कर वाएं आप लोग, सब काम आपने किया, **â€œ**(व्यवधान)

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : मस्जिद तुड़वाने का काम किसने किया? **â€œ**(व्यवधान)

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : आज हम प्रेसीडेंट रूल की बात कर रहे हैं।

1954-55 में स्वर्गीय जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी प्रधान मंत्री थे और स्वर्गीय इंदिरा जी कांग्रेस की प्रेजीडेंट थी। उस समय पथमथानू पिल्लै की चुनी हुई समाजवादी सरकार को आपने गिराने का काम किया। उस जमाने में शुरुआत आपने की। इस देश में सौ से भी ज्यादा बार राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है, तो 90 से ज्यादा आपने राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया है। आपने किसी भी सरकार को ठीक से काम करने का मौका नहीं दिया। किसी भी विपक्ष की सरकार को आपने चलने नहीं दिया। अभी बता रहे थे, किस तरह से एनटीआर की सरकार को आपने डिसमिस किया। अन्य किसी भी दल की सरकार को आपने बर्दाश्त नहीं किया। अस्थिरता को देश में आपने जन्म देने का काम किया है। आप इस सोच को बदलिए, लेकिन - कहीं पर निगाहें, कहीं पर निशाना - नहीं होना चाहिए। हम लोगों के यहां बिहार में एक कहा वत है - चलनी हसलन सूप के, जेकरा अपने सहतर को छेद। चलनी यानि जिसमें चाल जाता है और सूप जिसमें फटका जाता है। **â€œ**(व्यवधान)

श्री प्रियरंजन दासमुंशी (रायगंज) : आप हमारे मंत्रिमंडल में थे **â€œ**(व्यवधान)

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : दासमुंशी जी, आप पहले इस छेद को बन्द करिए। भविय में ऐसा मत करिए। **â€œ**(व्यवधान)

श्री प्रियरंजन दासमुंशी (रायगंज) : आप मंत्रिमंडल में थे और आज तक उसका प्रायश्चित कर रहे हैं। **â€œ**(व्यवधान)

श्री रघुनाथ झा (गोपालगंज) : आपने जो किया है, सारा देश उसका गवाह है। इसलिए हम आपसे आग्रह करते हैं कि आप दूसरों को उपदेश मत दीजिए। ईमानदारी से देश के सामने अपनी बात रखिए और विचार प्रस्तुत करिए। इस संकल्प को सपोर्ट कीजिए। हम इसको सपोर्ट करते हैं। लेकिन एक बात गृह मंत्रीजी से कहना चाहते हैं, इन लोगों से जरा सावधान रहिए। ये बार-बार कह रहे हैं कि एसेम्बली को डिजोल्ड कर दीजिए। जब वातावरण ठीक नहीं है और नेता, कार्यकर्ता, एमपी, एमएलए ठीक से मूव नहीं कर रहे हैं, तो उसमें डिजोल्ड करने की जरूरत क्या है **â€œ**(व्यवधान) शासन जनता के हाथों से आप अधिकारियों के हाथ हाथ में क्यों देना चाहते हैं। यह इन लोगों का ऍडयन्त्र है। इसी तरह से इन्होंने असम में उल्फा के बल पर सरकार बनाई। कोई काम इन्होंने नहीं किया है। **â€œ**(व्यवधान) उग्रवादियों को समर्थन कर जनता द्वारा चुनी हुई विधान सभा को, जिसकी अवधि तीन वा नौ माह बाकी है, उसे डिजोल्ड करना चाहते हैं, उसे डिजोल्ड नहीं करें। हम इस संकल्प का समर्थन करते हैं।

(इति)

1733 hours

DR. JAYANT RONGPI (AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT ASSAM): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to accuse the Government of inciting and provoking an unprecedented volatile situation in the North-East.

Peace has become a very rare commodity in the North-East. We have heard about insurgent outfits and militant organisations being responsible for breach of peace in the North-East. But, this is the first time in independent India when the Government itself has been responsible for breach of peace in the North-East.

Hon. Home Minister has said that prior to 2nd June certain developments occurred leading to Constitutional breakdown due to which President's Rule was imposed, and he came before Parliament for its ratification. If there was a Constitutional breakdown before 2nd June, what we have witnessed between 2nd June and 30th July was not just a breakdown of the Constitution, but it was a total disappearance of Constitutional machinery in Manipur. I want to ask the hon. Home Minister as to who he will blame for that.

The hon. Minister has said that they want to restore the rule of law there and that is why they had brought Manipur under the President's Rule. Now, during the President's Rule, the entire Constitution has disappeared. For this, should the Central Government be also dissolved? What is the solution?

Sir, we all know about the Agra Summit talks. There have been certain media reports again and again that there was no preparation, no good homework done by the Central Government to meet President Musharraf. But here, I have seen, even in managing the internal affairs of the country while discussing with NSCN(I-M), there was no home work done at all. I think, here a cue has been taken from the External Affairs Minister or the PMO because even the Home Minister has not done any homework while agreeing or not agreeing to the proposal of extending the cease-fire beyond Nagaland. Otherwise, he would have taken the opinion of the Manipur Government, Assam Government as well as the Arunchal Pradesh Government. But he failed to do so.

In the first instance, prior to 2nd June, there was political mismanagement by the NDA. Whatever we have witnessed in Manipur now, is the clear case of mismanagement on the part of the NDA. After the President's Rule was imposed on 2nd June, there has been mismanagement at the level of the Central Government. I must say that it was a very bad negotiation, whosoever has done it. I do not know. I have no information whether the interlocutor has cast his mandate or not. But what appears now is very obvious that it was a very bad negotiation, and there was a total lack of preparation on the part of the Central Government while talking to the NSCN(I-M).

Now, there is a 'U' turn. He has said that the three words – "without territorial limits" – are deleted. They have, on record, said that the NSCN(I-M) had also agreed to the deletion of these three words – "without territorial limits". That means, today, the cease-fire will be limited to Nagaland only. But in the newspaper reports, NSCN (I-M) has been quoted to have said that they have not agreed to limitation of cease-fire to Nagaland only. If that be the case, while trying to manage Manipur, they will be creating a volatile situation again in Nagaland.

Secondly, suppose the NSCN(I-M) has also agreed to limit the cease-fire within Nagaland. In that case, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister a very important point. We are all well-versed with the situation of the North-East. The area of operation of the NSCN(I-M) is extended more outside Nagaland. Their area of operation extends beyond Nagaland. Rather, their area of operation is more extended than the actual area of Nagaland. They are operating in the two hilly districts of Assam – Karbi Anglong and North Cochar Hills. They are operating in Tirap and Chamlang as also part of Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh. They are also operating in five hilly districts of Manipur. They are also operating in Meghalaya. They are operating in almost eight districts of Assam.

So, by limiting cease-fire to Nagaland, I want to know from the hon. Home Minister that are we given to understand that there will be military operations against the NSCN(I-M) in Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh? I want a categorical answer from him. By limiting the cease-fire in Nagaland means what? Should it be taken that the army operation, military operation and police operation will continue against the NSCN(I-M) in all other parts except Nagaland?

This position should be made clear by the hon. Home Minister. We have to learn a lesson from the Manipur episode. It has exposed the hollowness of our intelligence agency. From 2nd June, there was this President's Rule. They have extended the area of cease-fire on 14th. So, prior to extension of cease-fire, Manipur was under their direct control. The Governor was directly reporting to them. But then, they did not have any clue at all that there would be such a violent mass response against the 'Cease-fire Extension Agreement'. So, the entire intelligence system has failed.

Secondly, there is this serious matter, concerning not only Manipur, but also the entire country.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

DR. JAYANT RONGPI (AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT-ASSAM): This is for the first time that people have expressed their non-confidence in the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. During this period from 14th July till date, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister were again and again saying that though cease-fire has been extended, territorial integrity of Manipur would be preserved. That was told both by the hon. Home Minister and the hon. Prime Minister again and again. But unfortunately there were no takers for those statements in Manipur. Nobody believed that. That is a serious lack of confidence in the entire Government by the people of North-East because their words are not trustworthy. They have gone back on their words again and again, and they have not implemented a single accord. That is why, their words are not trustworthy for the people of North-East. Today they may have majority and they may ratify imposition of President's Rule, but they have lost the confidence of the people of North-East. This lesson has to be learnt.

MR. SPEAKER: Okay, please conclude. You have already taken ten minutes.

DR. JAYANT RONGPI (AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT-ASSAM): Sir, usually I do not take much time of the House; and I am very precise also. I will not take much time.

Since both the Congress Party and the BJP agreed to ratify imposition of President's Rule, it may be ratified. Maybe, after six months, there will be elections and the situation will not change.

I have very carefully listened to the speech made by Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar and other Congress leaders. I agree with them on many points. They may make very eloquent speeches, but they cannot hide the very fact that credit or discredit goes to Congress for giving 27 Chief Ministers in 25 years. They cannot shy away from this responsibility.

This lack of faith in the Central Government has not developed suddenly, within these one or two years. Congress is also equally responsible for this. Today, of course, I fully agree with what they have said, but then, they also should do some introspection. This is the fact of life. If today BJP is not there, then Congress will be there, on that

side. Just because the Congress lost the last elections, it is sitting in the Opposition. But that does not give them the moral right to advise them. There should be introspection in the Congress Party also.

In the beginning, there was only one militant organisation in the North-East, that is, Naga Insurgents. But during the last five decades, they have deployed Army; they have brought forward Assam-Manipur Special Armed Forces Act; they have brought forward Assam Disturbed Areas Act, etc. So, during the last five decades, there are five dozen insurgent groups in the North-East. So, the credit or discredit goes to the Congress also.

Sir, I want to conclude my speech now.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards the fact that by proclaiming the President's rule, holding elections and this way managing the affairs of the North-East, will not bring peace in this area. Instead, as has been mentioned by a number of speakers before, the Government should tackle the basic issues of unemployment, rapid growth and economic development.

Since the issue of Manipur has come up, I would like to tell those Members who have advocated for the territorial integrity of Manipur, that there are some aberrations in the boundaries of the North-East. North-East is the only part of the country where there are major disputes between the neighbouring States, be it between Assam and Manipur, Assam and Nagaland, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh or Assam and Mizoram. So, there is the boundary dispute in almost entire of the North-East. One should not compare the Telugu population of Orissa with the Orissa population of Chattisgarh. The situation in North-East is quite different. The political aspirations of five hill districts of Manipur must be taken into account.

I am neither holding brief for any Naga organisation nor I am talking on behalf of the Manipur organisation. But I would like to say that the Parliament must take an impartial view. While supporting the territorial integrity of Manipur, we should not overlook the political aspirations of the tribal people of Kukis or Thangkuls of the Manipur State. The hilly districts of Assam, Karbialong and North Kachchar Hills have a special provision in the form of article 244 (a)....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing should go on record.

(Interruptions) ... (Not recorded)

DR. JAYANT RONGPI (AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT-ASSAM): With these words I conclude my speech.

(ends)

1747. बजे

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी आज यहां मणिपुर में राष्ट्रपति शासन की मंजूरी का प्रस्ताव लेकर आए हैं। इसमें इन्होंने चालाकी जरूर बरती। उन्होंने इसे राज्य सभा से पहले पास करा लिया और इसके बाद लोक सभा में लाए। जब बिहार में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया था तो वह प्रस्ताव यहां पहले पास हुआ था लेकिन वहां के भय से बीच में वापस लेकर भाग खड़े हुए। इन्होंने इस बार सावधानी बरती और राज्य सभा से इसे पहले पास करा लिया। गृह मंत्री जी ने अपने स्पटीकरण में दावा किया कि दलबदल के चलते वहां राजनीतिक अस्थिरता पैदा हुई इसलिए प्रेजीडेंट रूल लागू करने के लिए लाचार होना पड़ा - मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या प्रेजीडेंट रूल दलबदल का इलाज है? टीडीपी के येरननायडू और समता पार्टी के रघुनाथ झा इनके सपोर्टर हैं। इन्होंने कहा कि 10वां शेड्यूल और 56वां संविधान संशोधन विधेयक - जो एंटी डिफेक्शन के संबंध में है, वह काफी नहीं है इसलिए इस संबंध में एक कॉम्प्रीहेंसिव बिल आना चाहिए जिससे दलबदल पर रोक लगाई जा सके। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि इससे इनकी मांग पूरी होने वाली नहीं है। मैं ऐसा क्यों कह रहा हूँ? इन्हें जब तक दल-बदल से लाभ होता रहेगा तब तक यह जानबूझ कर ऐसा कानून लेकर नहीं आएंगे। इन्होंने कड़ा कानून नहीं बनाया। इनके छः विधायक मणिपुर में जीते थे लेकिन एकदम 26 हो गए। इतनी भारी वृद्धि कैसे हो गई? वहां से समता पार्टी का एक विधायक जीता था लेकिन उनकी पार्टी का राजपाट हो गया। एनडीए के खिलाफ अजित सिंह जी ने चुनाव लड़ा था, उन्हें मंत्री पद दे दिया और वह उधर चले गए। आया राम, गया राम, जय श्रीराम। आखिर ऐसा कब तक चलता रहेगा? (व्यवधान)

इनकी पार्टी दल-बदल कराने के लिये कसूरवार है और दल-बदल कानून लाने की इन लोगों की हिम्मत नहीं है। ये दल-बदल का कड़ा कानून नहीं ला सकते। ये दल-बदल कराकर लाभ उठा रहे हैं और "आया राम गया राम" हो रहा है। क्योंकि टी.एम.सी. पहले उधर था, निकल गया और अब फिर वापस आने की सोच रहा है। इसी प्रकार श्री अजित सिंह की बात हुई है। उन्हें मंत्रीपद दिया गया है। पेट्रोल पम्प बांटे जा रहे हैं (व्यवधान) .. हम उनका भंडा फोड़ करेंगे क्योंकि श्री अजित सिंह तो आपके खिलाफ लड़े थे और आज ये उन्हे मंत्री बना रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह जी, यहां मणिपुर पर चर्चा हो रही है।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : इसलिये कहता हूँ कि पार्टी इन पॉवर कसूरवार है और मणिपुर में दल-बदल करा रही है। आज मणिपुर में भारी राजनैतिक अस्थिरता है, इनसरजेंसी की प्राब्लम है, गरीबी है, गैर-बराबरी है, अशान्ति है और मास-काट है। जब वहां राजनैतिक अस्थिरता है, आप जले पर नमक डाल रहे हैं। यह

बहुत ही पीड़ादायी, दुःखदायी है और यह सरकार कहती है कि हमारे पास राष्ट्रपति राज लागू करने के अलावा कोई इलाज नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : प्लीज डिस्टर्ब न करें।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, ये पार्टी दल-बदल करवाकर कसूरवार है और एन.डी.ए. में समता और बी.जे.पी. के चलते मणिपुर में गड़बड़ी हुई है और अब इस सदन में बतला रहे हैं कि इनके पास और कोई उपाय नहीं है। कांस्टीट्यूशनल क्राइसिस है, इसलिये राष्ट्रपति शासन की मंजूरी दी जाये। हम लोग कैसे इनको मंजूरी देंगे? इन्होंने होशियारी से राज्यसभा में पास करा लिया और यहां इन लोगों का बहुमत है तो आज कुछ ज्यादा ही उत्साहित नजर आ रहे हैं। इन्होंने कसूर किया है लेकिन फिर भी उत्साहित नजर आ रहे हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, एन.एस.सी.एन. के साथ जो समझौता हुआ, उसके बारे में यहां हमारे काबिल विद्वानों में श्री अय्यर साहब वगैरा ने कागज देखकर, पढ़कर, समझाकर बताया। लेकिन मणिपुर असेम्बली ने प्रस्ताव पास किया कि समझौते का नागालैंड के आगे विस्तार न किया जाये। उन्होंने बार-बार सावधान किया लेकिन वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर को कांफिडेंस में नहीं लिया गया। इन लोगो ने मणिपुर के साथ इस तरह का क्रिमिनल बिहेव किया जो बहुत ही खतरनाक बात है। इन लोगों ने अपराध किया है। वहां गोलियां चलीं, विधानसभा में आग लगाई गई, स्पीकर को चोट पहुंचाई गई। वहां अशान्ति के लिये गृह मंत्री और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया एक्यूज्ड है और सारा कसूर इन पर जाता है। बिना समझे इन्होंने यहां काम किया है। (व्यवधान)

श्री अशोक प्रधान (खुजा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, नौ सौ चूहे खाकर बिल्ली हज को चली।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस खुशामद से देश बरबाद हो रहा है। देश का कोना-कोना जल रहा है। क्या देश खुशामद के सहारे खड़ा होता है या देश खुशामद से खड़ा होने वाला है?

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सरकार ने जो गलत काम किया, देश में उसकी चर्चा हो रही है। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि इंडो-पाक समिति के समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर होने जा रहे थे कि किसी अदृश्य शक्ति ने रोक दिया। हम नहीं जानते लेकिन कल बतायेंगे कि इंडो-पाक समझौते पर क्या बातें लिखी गई थीं और किस शक्ति ने उसे रोका?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आगरा समिति पर कल चर्चा होगी, आज नहीं।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : एन.एस.सी.एन. के साथ जो समझौता हो रहा है (व्यवधान)

श्री लाल मुनी चौबे (बक्सर) : अध्यक्ष जी, आगरा में ताजमहल है लेकिन रघुवंश बाबू को दूसरे महल में भेज दीजिये।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : ये लोग खुशामद कर रहे थे। (व्यवधान)। देश भले ही गर्त में चला जाए, जब तक यह सरकार रहेगी, ऐसे ही लोगों के द्वारा शासन चलेगा। इससे देश का भला होने वाला नहीं है। मणिपुर और नॉर्थ ईस्ट सैन्सिटिव इलाके हैं, जहां इतनी समस्याएं हैं जिनका समाधान इस सरकार के हाथ में नहीं है। यह मामलों को बिगाड़ने वाली है और वहां आग लगाने वाली है। इसलिए वहां इतनी समस्याएं हैं। मणिपुर पर 1500 करोड़ रुपया केन्द्र सरकार का कर्जा है। वहां 24 लाख लोग बेरोजगार हैं। वहां अभी हाल में पुलिस विद्रोह हुआ था। वहां की वित्तीय स्थिति खराब है। वहां पंचम वेतन आयोग लागू हुआ, उसका पैसा केन्द्र सरकार ने नहीं दिया, इस वजह से वहां के विकास के पैसे से वेतन बांटना पड़ा। वहां की वित्तीय स्थिति बहुत खराब है और उसे खराब करने का जिम्मा इनका है। ये वहां प्रेसीडेंट रूल लागू करने के लिए यह प्रस्ताव लाये हैं। वहां बहुत सी समस्याएं हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी डा. रोंगपी बोल रहे थे कि वहां गैस की समस्या है। जब इतना मणिपुर जल गया तो इनकी आंख खुली। ये बैंकाक से एम्सटरडम गये और वहां से दस्ताखत कराकर लाये। ये खुश हो गये कि अब नगालैंड तक यह समझौता रहेगा। लेकिन अब वे वहां बोल रहे हैं कि यह गलत है। रामचरित मानस में कहा गया है - यदि सांप छछूंदर को पकड़ लेता है और उसे निगल जाता है तो वह सांप कोढ़ी हो जाता है और यदि पकड़े हुए छछूंदर को छोड़ देता है तो सांप अंधा हो जाता है। इनकी भी वही स्थिति है। अभी इन्होंने समझौता बढ़ा दिया, उस पर वहां आग लग गई, अब कहते हैं कि नगालैंड तक समझौता रहेगा। मुड़वा कहते हैं कि हम नहीं मानेंगे, नगालैंड के लोग कहते हैं कि हम नहीं मानेंगे। वहां फिर से दूसरा आन्दोलन शुरू होगा। इसलिए वहां जो बरबादी और गड़बड़ पैदा हुई है उसके कसूरवार गृह मंत्री हैं। इन्हें लोग पटेल-पटेल कहकर पटेल जैसे महापुरुष की फजीहत कर रहे हैं। यह भी एक खराब स्थिति है। सरदार पटेल की जीवनी को हम लोग भी जानते हैं, हम लोगों ने भी पढ़ा है, पुरखों से जानने की कोशिश की है। (व्यवधान)

श्री खारबेल स्वाई (बालासोर) : सर, यह किस ढंग से बात कर रहे हैं? (व्यवधान) यह सरदार पटेल का नाम किस तरह से ले रहे हैं Sir, he should not be allowed to use such words. You should stop him from speaking like this (Interruptions) आप इन्हें बैठाइये, इन्हें चुप कराइये।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : इन्होंने वहां आग लगवाने का काम किया। वहां शांति होने वाली नहीं है। इस सब के बाद भी वहां स्थिति खराब होने वाली है। (व्यवधान)

श्री खारबेल स्वाई (बालासोर) : सर, यह बहुत कुछ बोल चुके हैं, आप इन्हें चुप कराइये। (व्यवधान)

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : वहां मामला बहुत संवेदनशील है, वहां शांति होने वाली नहीं है। जब तक वहां के मामलों को इस हल्की तरह से, अज्ञानता से लिया जायेगा, तब तक समस्या का समाधान संभव नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप बैठ जाइये।

डॉ. रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह (वैशाली) : इसलिए हम सभी विपक्षियों से आग्रह करते हैं कि इसके लिए पार्टी इन पावर कसूरवार है। सरकार और उसके गृह मंत्री मणिपुर की समस्या के लिए कसूरवार हैं। इसलिए जब तक यह रहेंगे देश में समस्याएं सिर उठावेंगी। इसलिए हम प्रेसीडेंट रूल के खिलाफ हैं। हम कभी इसका समर्थन नहीं कर सकते हैं। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER: Now, the hon. Home Minister's reply.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (PONNANI): Sir, why are we deprived of placing our views before the House?

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Banatwalla, you may speak next time.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (PONNANI): You want Manipur situation to be repeated again and again so that we will get a chance to speak next time. It is wonderful, Sir!

MR. SPEAKER: You may speak on some other subject and not on Manipur

1800 बजे

गृह मंत्री (श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी) : अध्यक्ष जी, आज जितनी सरकार की आलोचना में भाग हुए, उनमें से एक प्रमुख भाग मेरे मित्र श्री मणि शंकर अय्यर का था और बाकी चीजों की आलोचना आज की परिस्थिति में स्वाभाविक है लेकिन उसमें से उन्होंने जो कुछ मणिपुर के बारे में कहा, मणिपुर की प्रकृति के बारे में कहा, वहां की जनता के बारे में कहा, वहां के सांप्रदायिक सौहार्द, सामाजिक सौहार्द, वहां की असाधारण मिलकर रहने की क्षमता जिसके कारण मैतेयी भले ही वहां सबसे प्रमुख होंगे, बहुत बड़ी संख्या में होंगे, लेकिन वहां पिछले सालों में मुख्य मंत्री में मुस्लिम भी रहे, नागा भी रहे और इस कारण उन्होंने उस संदर्भ में जो कुछ कहा, उसके एक-एक शब्द की मैं तार्किकता करता हूं। वास्तव में मणिपुर की इस प्रकृति के कारण ही जब वहां पर इतना रो उत्पन्न हुआ तो चाहे साधारणतः कोई सरकार कोई फैसला करती है और उसके आधार पर कोई ऐग्रीमेंट करती है तो वह अगर बदलेगी तो उसकी कितनी आलोचना होगी इसका अंदाज़ा कोई भी लगा सकता है लेकिन हमको लगा कि इसमें जिसको लोग यू टर्न कहते हैं, उसके बिना कोई तरीका नहीं है, वही उपयुक्त होगा। और मणिपुर के साथ साथ जो भावना पहले ही कुछ उत्तर पूर्वी राज्यों में विशेषकर असम और अरुणाचल में है, उसका आदर करने के लिए यू टर्न करना पड़े तो वह भी करना चाहिए, यह मानकर हमने किया, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है। इसलिए उस बारे में मैं कहूंगा कि चाहे उसका सीधा संबंध इससे नहीं था लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा, उस संदर्भ में मैं उनकी प्रशंसा करता हूं, उनका अनुमोदन करता हूं।

अब मैं इस बात पर आता हूं कि जिस आधार पर हम आज यह प्रस्ताव कर रहे हैं उसका संबंध सीज़फायर के बाद की स्थिति से नहीं है और यह सोचना कि छः महीने का राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने का प्रस्ताव सीज़फायर के लिए किया गया, यह जो बात किडिया जी ने कही और जो वहां पर भी कुछ लोग कहते हैं और आशंका कुछ लोगों के मन में है, वह सरासर निराधार है। सीज़फायर के संदर्भ में जो तीन शब्द जोड़े गए, 14 जून को, उस विय में चर्चा वहां के लोगों से हुई थी, ऐसा नहीं कि नहीं हुई थी। मुख्य मंत्रियों की बैठक का उल्लेख किया गया जो सन् 2000 में हुई थी। सही है कि उस बैठक में जो मुख्य मंत्री आए थे वे सहमत नहीं थे लेकिन फिर दूसरी बैठक हुई मार्च 2001 में। यह बात सही है कि कोई कांस्टीट्यूशनल ऑब्लिविगेशन नहीं है कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट अगर किसी से समझौता करती है तो उसके लिए उस प्रदेश के लोगों की सहमति ज़रूरी है। कांग्रेस पार्टी के समय के अनेक समझौते जो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने किये हैं, इस प्रकार की बातों में कभी भी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को विश्वास में नहीं लिया गया, उनसे सलाह भी नहीं की गई और यह कोई आवश्यक भी नहीं है। मैं ज़िक्र कर सकता हूं उनका भी, लेकिन इस केस में हम जानते थे कि जहां तक टैरिटरियल इंटीग्रिटी का सवाल है, मणिपुर तो विशेष रूप से लेकिन बाकी स्टेट्स को भी चिन्ता होती है कि कहीं जो पुरानी बात है कि नागा इनहेबिटेड एरियाज़ भी उसके साथ जोड़े जाएं, उसको कहीं सरकार क्रियान्वित न कर डाले, इसलिए हमारी तरफ से एनडीए के मैनीफैस्टो में भी लिखा गया कि सरकार की ओर से अधिकृत रूप से कई बार कहा गया जिसका ज़िक्र अभी रंगपी जी ने किया जिसके बाद भी उन पर विश्वास नहीं होता था, लेकिन सही बात है कि हमारी ओर से कहा गया और टैरिटरियल इंटीग्रिटी पर असर नहीं होगा और इसलिए जब कभी यह मांग की गई कि नागा इनहेबिटेड एरियाज़ को ऐक्सटेन्ड किया जाए तो हमने उसको नहीं माना।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने कहा कि नागा इनहेबिटेड एरियाज़ को ऐक्सटेन्ड करने की बात अगर हम करेंगे, तो उससे स्वाभाविक रूप से उनके मन में यह आशंका आएगी कि बाई इम्प्लीकेशन हम यह मान रहे हैं कि ग्रेटर नागालैंड या नागालिन बनेगा। इसीलिए नागा इनहेबिटेड शब्द का प्रयोग हमने कभी नहीं किया। तीन शब्द ये जरूर सूझे और वह निर्णय करने से पहले मुख्य मंत्रियों को फिर से बुलाया गया और मार्च की बैठक में मुख्य मंत्रियों ने स्वीकार किया कि हां, आप कर सकते हैं, इसमें कोई बात नहीं है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि और भी जितनी सारी संस्थाएं हैं, जितने मिलीटेंट आर्गनाइजेशन्स हैं, उनके साथ भी बढ़ाओ। इसीलिए 14 जून को किया गया।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब दुबारा मुख्य मंत्रियों को बुलाकर फिर से प्रधान मंत्री जी ने सलाह की, तो सभी मुख्य मंत्रियों ने एक स्वर से कहा, थोड़ा सा अपवाद था, नागालैंड के मुख्य मंत्री की राय भिन्न थी, लेकिन उन्होंने भी कहा कि यदि एनएससीएन (आईएम) के लोग मानते हैं, तो ये तीन शब्द हटा देने चाहिए और 14 जून के पूर्व की स्थिति को वापस लाना चाहिए। इस कारण प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उस दिन घोषणा की। अगर इस घोषणा में विलम्ब हुआ, तो उसका कारण था कि जो समझौता एनएससीएन (आईएम) से हुआ था, यदि उस समझौते को सरकार बदलना चाहती है, तो एनएससीएन (आईएम) से फिर बातचीत करना जरूरी है और इसीलिए दुबारा बातचीत की गई और जब उनकी सहमति हुई कि यह घोषणा की जाए कि ये तीन शब्द हटाए जाएं और उनकी अनुमति से ही घोषणा की गई। (व्यवधान)

SHRI ADHIR CHOWDHARY (BERHAMPORE, WEST BENGAL): Mr. Minister, you were being wise after the even!...(Interruptions)

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : हम आपके 50 साल के इतिहास से भी कुछ सीखे हैं और इसीलिए वाइजर होना अच्छा ही है, जरूरी भी है, इसमें कोई बात नहीं है।

SHRI ADHIR CHOWDHARY (BERHAMPORE, WEST BENGAL): Well, this is not an occasion for you to say this.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : मैं तो इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि मणिपुर में जो स्थिति पैदा हुई और बाकी क्षेत्रों में भी जो वातावरण पैदा हुआ, उसके निवारण के लिए, सरकार को लगा कि, चाहे इसके कारण आलोचना भी हो, यू टर्न लेना जरूरी है और हमने यू टर्न लिया। यू टर्न लेने से पहले एनएससीएन (आईएम) से चर्चा की और चर्चा करके हमने यू टर्न लिया। इसीलिए आज जो पूछा गया, मणि शंकर अय्यर जी ने पूछा कि क्या एनएससीएन (आईएम) से बात हुई, मैं उन्हें बताना चाहता हूं कि उनसे बात हुई और उनकी सहमति से ही ये तीन शब्द हटाकर पूर्व स्थिति लाने का निर्णय हुआ है।

श्री मणि शंकर अय्यर (मइलादुतुरई) : सर, मेरा सवाल वह नहीं था। मेरा सवाल यह था कि आपके बयान के पश्चात् क्या यह जरूरी नहीं है कि उनके नुमाइंदे

जो कि मणिपुर में हैं, उन्होंने इंकार किया है कि मुईवा साहब ने इसे स्वीकार किया था ?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में बहुत सारी चीजें छपती रहती हैं, लेकिन मैं आप से जो बात कह रहा हूँ वह सदन में कह रहा हूँ। अगर हम उनसे बात किए बिना करते, तो फिर शायद यह दिक्कत पैदा होती। विलम्ब अगर हुआ, तो उसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि हमको स्वयं यह लगा कि मणिपुर के लोगों से बातचीत की जाए, मुख्य मंत्रियों से भी बात करें, क्योंकि मुख्य मंत्रियों को प्रधान मंत्री जी ने घोणा कर के कहा था कि जो हमने रिव्यू की घोणा की है वह रिव्यू करने से पहले मैं मुख्य मंत्रियों से बात करना चाहूंगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, उन सबके दृष्टिकोण का हमें पता था। उन्होंने सार्वजनिक रूप से या लिख कर अपने विचार हमारे पास भेजे हुए थे और इसीलिए हमको लगा कि उनसे बातचीत करने से पहले अगर एनएससीएन (आईएम) से भी बातचीत हो जाए, तो ज्यादा उपयुक्त होगा। इसीलिए यह सारा विलम्ब हुआ, अन्यथा इतना विलम्ब नहीं होता। (व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar, you have also participated in the debate.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI): He has yielded the floor to me.

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से एक सवाल करना चाहता हूँ कि जो मार्च, 2001 को वे मुख्य मंत्रीगण से मिले, क्या मार्च 2001 और 14 जून, 2001 के बीच में दो परिवर्तन नहीं आए थे - एक असम में और एक मणिपुर में, और क्या आपने असम के जो नए मुख्य मंत्री जी हैं, उनसे बात की और जो मणिपुर के गवर्नर साहब हैं, उनसे राय-मशविरा किया ?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : आपका कहना सही है कि असम के मुख्य मंत्री ने भी इस बात का जिक्र किया था कि असम में चुनाव होने वाले हैं। इसलिए राजनीतिक परिवर्तन या कुछ होता है, तो उसको देख लीजिए,

लेकिन यह बात सही है कि जिस समय मार्च में बात हुई थी, तब असम के मुख्य मंत्री दूसरे थे और मणिपुर के मुख्य मंत्री वही थे जो बाद में भी रहे। यह स्थिति बनी रही, उसमें कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ। (व्यवधान) मैं इस बात को दोहराना चाहूंगा कि किसी भी समय मणिपुर या उत्तर पूर्वी राज्यों के लोग एन.एस.सी.एन.(आई.एम.) के साथ सीज़फायर के खिलाफ नहीं थे। आज कुछ ये बातें कही गईं और उनका भी मैं आदर करता हूँ कि यह क्या तरीका है कि आप एन.एस.सी.एन. (आई.एम.) से बात करने के लिए बैंकॉक जाते हैं, भारत के बाहर जाते हैं। मैं इस बात का आदर करता हूँ और मुझे खुशी होगी कि यह व्यवस्था बदले। लेकिन आपको इस बात को स्वीकार करना चाहिए कि यह निर्णय, कि उनसे बाहर बात करनी है, इस सरकार के समय में नहीं हुआ है। We inherited something और वह इनहेरिट करने के बाद हमारी स्थिति यह थी कि अगर हम उसके आधार पर कहें कि नहीं, हम बात नहीं करेंगे, बाहर किसी को नहीं भेजेंगे तो परिणाम यह होता कि वे घोणा करते कि इस आधार पर बात हुई थी, हम सीज़फायर कौंसिल करते हैं, हम सीज़फायर नहीं करेंगे। उसके कारण नागालैंड में ही नहीं लेकिन उत्तर पूर्व के बाकी राज्यों में भी लोग कहते कि यह क्या कर रहे हैं। इसलिए एक स्थिति जो हमने स्वीकार की, इनहेरिट की, उसे आगे बढ़ाते हुए हमने चलाया है। लेकिन आज भी हम चाहते हैं और बातचीत होते हुए भी हमने कभी-कभी प्रकट किया है कि अच्छा होगा कि आप यहां आकर बात करें और उसके लिए अगर आपको किसी भी प्रकार का इन्सुनिटी का आश्वासन चाहिए, वह देने में भी हमको कोई आपत्ति नहीं कि आपको इस कारण से नहीं पकड़ा जाएगा कि आपने सैडेशन किया या वह किया। उसमें भी हमको कोई दिक्कत नहीं है लेकिन मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूँ और मैं इस बात का आदर करता हूँ जो बात दो-तीन सदस्यों की ओर से कही गई और मुझे खुशी होगी जिस दिन श्री मुईवा भारत में आकर जो भी चर्चा करनी है, हमसे करें। लेकिन यह बात सही है कि अब तक यह नहीं हो सका है लेकिन आशा करता हूँ कि होगा। मैं चाहूंगा कि पीस प्रोसेस आगे बढ़े और उसमें केवल एन.एस.सी.एन. (आई.एम.) से नहीं एन.एस.सी.एन.(के) को भी जोड़ा गया है और अन्य मिलिटेंट और गैर-मिलिटेंट्स, जो नार्थ ईस्ट में हैं, उनमें से जिन-जिन को भी लाया जा सके, लाया जाए - हमें बहुत खुशी होगी।

पिछले दिनों सरकार के प्रतिनिधियों की ओर से असम के मुख्य मंत्री से भी बात हुई है और उनको भी कहा गया है कि बी.एल.टी. के साथ जिस प्रकार हमारी वार्ता चल रही है, वैसी चर्चा अगर उलफा के साथ हो सके तो बहुत अच्छा है। जब उन्हें ऐसा कहा गया तो उनको भी लगा कि हां, बात बहुत अच्छी होगी। यह एक दृष्टिकोण हमने देशभर के जितने लोग मिलिटेंसी के रास्ते पर हैं, उनके बारे में अपनाया हुआ है कि अगर वे हथियार छोड़ कर भारत के साथ आकर वार्ता करने को तैयार हैं तो भारत सरकार हमेशा उनके साथ बातचीत करने को तैयार रहेगा और यह नार्थ ईस्ट को भी ऐप्लाई करता है।

मैं रोंगपी जी की व्यथा पहचानता हूँ, समझता हूँ। उन्होंने सही कहा है कि पिछले पचास सालों में बहुत सारी चीजें ऐसी होती रही हैं जिनके कारण आज की स्थिति पैदा हुई है। हम बहुत बार विकास पर बल न देकर पोलिटिकल मैनेजमेंट में लगे रहे और कभी-कभी तो केवल पैसे के आधार पर पोलिटिकल मैनेजमेंट करते रहे, जिसके कारण बहुत नुकसान हुआ। मैं चाहूंगा कि अब इसके बाद पूरा का पूरा कन्सिडरेशन, जितना हो सके, वह हम डैवलपमेंट पर करें।

डैवलपमेंट पर चर्चा करें तो पिछले साल जब प्रधान मंत्री जी नार्थ ईस्ट की एक कौन्सिल ऐड्रेस करने के लिए शिलॉग गए थे, तब उन्होंने लगभग दस हजार करोड़ रुपये के पैकेज की घोणा की थी जिसमें मणिपुर के लिए भी बहुत कुछ है। उसकी मौनीटरिंग लगातार होती रहती है, पीरियोडीकली उसकी रिपोर्ट आती रहती है और पी.एम.ओ. की ओर से अधिकृत रूप से उसकी मौनीटरिंग होती रहती है कि कितनी प्रगति हुई, कितनी प्रगति नहीं हुई। किसी दिन यहां बैठ कर उसकी चर्चा भी कर सकते हैं लेकिन कुल मिला कर मैं मानता हूँ कि आज के प्रैज़ीडेंट रूल की स्थिति का संबंध ज्यादा पोलिटिकल स्थिति से है और उस पोलिटिकल स्थिति में भी कम से कम इस सरकार ने सही ऐप्रोच अपनाने की कोशिश की है।

उसके मैं विस्तार में नहीं जाऊंगा, क्योंकि फिर लोग कहेंगे कि बी.जे.पी. और समता पार्टी का मतभेद सामने आ गया। हमें जो ठीक लगा, वह हमने किया और उसके आधार पर ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हुई कि सारे राजनैतिक दलों ने निर्विवाद रूप से उसे माना। वहां बी.जे.पी. की स्थिति थी सरकार बनाने की, लेकिन उसने भी गवर्नर के पास जाकर कहा कि आज की स्थिति में Governor's rule or President's rule is the only right approach to resolve the situation. मैं इतना ही निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारी तरफ से हम वहां कोई दूसरी सरकार बनाने का इरादा नहीं रखते, लेकिन डिसोल्व्यूशन किस समय करेंगे, कितने दिन में करेंगे, इसके लिए मैं चाहूंगा कि मणिपुर की स्थिति सामान्य हो जाए, वहां के विधायक वहां ठीक प्रकार से जा सकें, इसमें थोड़ी सावधानी बरतने की आप मुझे अनुमति दीजिए।

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 2nd June, 2001 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Manipur."

The motion was adopted.

1817 hours

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock
on Tuesday, July 31, 2001/Sravana 9, 1923 (Saka)*