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situation. Clashes between them and riots are taking place. Therefore, we have to ensure the political existence. The church has a role to play there. The services of the leaders of churches could be utilised to bring about social amity etc. Again, rehabilitation and other programmes, as in other parts of the North East, should be taken up. In the State of Manipur, unemployment is also on the increase. I talked to some of the representatives of that area. I also came to know that most of the insurgents are educated unemployed youths. So, this is the problem. The Government should give a serious thought to this aspect Viz. about launching of some effective economic programme. Economic and social measures will go a long way in improving the situation which will give employment to these educated unemployed youths who are sitting idle.

Wherever there is any trouble, they get involved in that.

15.05 hrs

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

With these words, I support the Proclamation issued by the President under article 356 of the Constitution. At the same time, the political parties at the State level and here also, can give their suggestions. Looking at the sensitivity of the area and the seriousness of the problem, collective efforts are needed. No political party should make any attempt to take any political mileage out of it because that will be at the cost of the national interest and the national integrity. There can be a dialogue started by the Government of India with all concerned to put an end to insurgency in that part of the country and also to see that the atmosphere in the State improves, elections are held and an elected government comes back to

take charge of the State as quickly as possible.

15.06 hrs

ARREST OF A MEMBER

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the House that the hon. Speaker has received the following telex message dated 19 February, 1994, from the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Udumalepet Sub-Division, Coimbatore:-

"Shri B. Raja Ravi Verma, Member of Lok Sabha, has been arrested on 19 February, 1994, at 10.30 a.m. along with 115 workers belonging to AIADMK who attempted to picket in front of Head Post Office, Udumalepet. A case in Udumalepet police Station Crime No.90/94 under Section 151 Cr.P.C. was registered and is under investigation."

15.07 hrs

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF MANIPUR- *CONTD.*

[*Translation*]

SHRI VISHWANATH SHASTRI (Gazipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, there was no other option but to impose President's rule in Manipur under the prevailing situation. President's rule in the State was imposed after a

gap of three months of the submission of the report by the State Governor in October as is evident from the Governor's report. It seems that the Government is accustomed to lackadaisical approach as was also seen in case of Punjab and Kashmir. The Government unnecessarily watched for long the situation in Manipur even though many militant organisations surfaced earlier in Nagaland and Mizoram with the assistance of foreign powers.

Situation in Manipur came to such a pass that there was likelihood of outbreak of communal disturbances. I think this sort of lackadaisical approach is dangerous for the unity and integrity of the country. Definitely, the Government did not pay required attention. The Government should have taken a serious view of the report of the Governor which specifically mentioned that the people in power and responsible for security and development in the State, were giving patronage to elements which are out to disturb harmony and peace. I would like to submit that if the Government does not take a serious view of the situation prevailing in Manipur and the North-East the consequences could be disastrous.

I would like to urge that the tribes of Manipur cannot definitely be suppressed as they have their own cultural identities their sentiments must be respected. Hon. Members made a mention of the situation prevailing in Manipur and in view of their submission all out efforts should be made to implement development schemes in a time bound manner, so that increasing frustration among the youth could be checked.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, not only the development schemes should be given impetus but there is a need to take effective steps against

the aforementioned political forces indulging in underground activities. All possible steps should be taken to expose such forces.

Similarly, permit area system in force in the prohibited areas should be done away with by the Government. In order to make the federal structure effective in Manipur and create a sense of confidence among the people the police set up must be revamped. More and more people should be recruited as Home Guards.

In addition, suspension of the State Assembly is no solution. Therefore, I would urge to dissolve the State Assembly and restart political process in the State by holding democratic elections. I doubt the effectiveness and prudence of solving the problem with the assistance of the police and the Army. Indiscriminate enforcement of TADA, NSA and the Punjab Police Act will make the matters worse instead of solving them. Therefore, I urge immediate implementation of schemes and to improve drinking water facility and irrigation system in Manipur. Please conduct elections in Manipur after dissolving the State Assembly and hand over the reins to the new Government.

With these I conclude.

(English)

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir the general feeling of the people in Manipur is in favour of the Central rule in Manipur at present. We have to respect their feelings and we are bound to accept what the people welcome it. So we share it.

But it is quite unusual in Manipur, it is unprecedented. Because the people there are against the rule of the President or what we call President's Rule. Because the people there consider that they must not be ruled in

that style and there must only be administration of the representatives of the people. As you know, Manipur was merged into the Indian Union in 1949. Before that it was a sovereign State and her own ruler. So the people feel that any rule or President's Rule is taken as a rule by the outsiders.

They do not like it. They do not prefer it. They are always after a popular Ministry, that is, they want to be ruled by their own representatives. That is their motto and they always stand for it. So, the imposition of the President's rule is not preferable to the people of the State. However, in the context of the present prevailing situation in the State, they accepted it as a temporary measure. The President's rule was imposed in the State of Manipur on 31st December, 1993 and more than one-and-a-half months have passed now. Now the people resent the president's rule, because the Advisors to the governor function as if they have to rule the State and so, the people do not like the style of functioning of the Advisors to the Governor. While touring the State, they go with a chain of cars and jeeps as if they are the Maharajas of the State. And that is why, the people do not like the President's rule. But in the context of the prevailing situation they accepted it for the time being and I do not think that it will continue for a long period.

Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of this House as to how the Governor's report is misleading and misinformed. I need not go into the details of the report. But I would only like to mention that the Manipur people's party was a partner in the coalition Government. While our party agreed to form the Government, it was in the interest of the people, in the interest of the State and in the interest of the nation and not in the interest of sharing power. Earlier also, when Shri Panigrahi was the Governor there was a

proposal for the imposition of the president's rule, but we resented it, because at that time it was not suitable. So, in the interest of the people we agreed to share power and to form the Government and not for the sake of power. It is very clear.

The proclamation of the president's rule was made on the 31st December, 1993. But the report of the Governor was presented on 5th October, 1993. So, there was a long gap in between the submission of the Governor's report and the imposition of the president's rule. While submitting the report, the Governor says that there has been a split in the Manipur people's party of which I am the president. I challenge it. The Governor does not know what is the split, because he is not a political person. The Manipur people's party was very much intact on 5th October, 1993 and is intact even today also. So, how can the Governor say that there has been a split between myself, Shri R.K. Ranbir Singh and the Speaker Shri Bora Babu Singh? It is a concocted or a misinformed report.

So, if action is taken on the basis of this report, then it is very unfortunate. Mr. Ranbir Singh, my colleague offered to the high command of the Congress party that he would not accept any office, in the coalition Government. Even then, why has such a report been given by the Governor? Since there is not much time, I shall be brief. He says that the present coalition Government is only superficial, entirely motivated by the common interest to stay in power. It is quite unfortunate. It is not our consideration at all. It is not the consideration of the M.P.P. though I do not know about other party. We agreed to be partners in the Government only because of maintaining peace, law and order and in the interest of the people. I think, the House is misled in such a way by this report.

Another para says about the communal riots. it is the creation of certain elements. The Manipur people's party, the Congress party and the coalition government took action to contain those riots. It was carried out by insurgents or by other anti-social elements. Manipur people's party took active part and tried our best to bring about normalcy in the State. The report is so ungrateful to the party, it did not acknowledge the role played by the Manipur People's Party which commands 11 seats in the House of 60 members.

In short, I would say that the report is not dependable. if the Central Government has taken action on this report, then why has the House not been dissolved? Why has it been put under animated suspension? Again in the report, it is mentioned clearly:

"The Chief Minister himself is suspected of aiding a faction of the Meitei extremists."

He says that the Chief Minister has not only failed to discipline Shri Rishang Keishing but by his inaction left the field free for Shri Rishang to carry out his evil design of aiding and abetting the NSCN (I) and subvert the Government machinery and police. To some extent, it is a fact. I may apprise the House that Kukis and Nagas have been staying in Manipur since time immemorial very happily and harmoniously in the State. But this ethnic conflict came only when Rishang Keshing was in the Government. He came into the politics and organised his Naga Integration Council. He tried to identify Nagas against Kukis. Since then, it has been happening like this. Otherwise, even now, they are living very much as brothers.

But they took interest in their affairs only

for getting political power. That is the problem. It is very correct, as the House knows, Mr, Rishang Keishing has been supporting openly the NSCN. It was during the period of the late lamented Shri Rajiv Gandhi's Prime Ministership that he was forced to resign. Shri Buta Singh, the then Home Minister, was sent and personally who called Mr. Rishang Keishing before the Governor and asked him to resign instantly.

Therefore, it is for the Congress party to look after it. I leave it to them. I do not like to venture myself to defend others. I am speaking on behalf of my Party.

Up to the month of November, it is officially known to me that more than 317 people were killed out of which 268 were Kukis and 49 were Nagas. Of the 3,151 house burnt, 1,000 as against 1,853 belong to the Kukis and 1,298 belong to the Nagas. Many innocent children and women were butchered and killed. It happened because of political instigations while trying to show that they were very powerful. In that, the leader happens to be the Deputy Chief Minister in the Government and the Governor also mentioned it in his report.

Therefore, if the report is to be accepted totally, then it would be better if the House is dissolved instead of putting it under animated suspension.

The President's rule was imposed because of this law and order situation which prevailed in the State. As mentioned now, the spirit of domination should not be there over the people of Manipur. The advisers to the Governor should be restrained from functioning as dictators. That is the wish of the people.

I would like to bring to the notice of the Home Minister that he has to look into this so

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that the people may not be easily offended by their attitude and by their style of functioning. The Governor and advisers should not be vindictive towards the other Parties.

What has happened is that as soon as the President's rule was imposed, the security guards provided to the MLAs of my Party were withdrawn. They cannot move freely now. One Mr. O. Joy and Mr. Manihar have been exposing in the Assembly certain corruption cases or some scandals.

And they are very much offending the insurgents. The then Government provided them personal security at their residence. But that has been withdrawn. I consider that it is a vindictive motive in the context that the Governor has given his report. So, there is no communal riot and that will never happen again. They are very much like brothers and sisters and only in name they are Pangal, . Pangal means Muslims. There may not be any apprehension on this count. And no such report should be made in the context of that.

In conclusion, I would like to urge the Government that let the terror of President's rule be removed. Otherwise, the people will feel that they are going to be ruled by imposition. Let there be popular Ministry..If the present Assembly is not desirable, let us have an election soon and let us have the mandate of the people afresh or at least have a Ministry in the interest of the people to serve the will of the people. That is my submission.

PROF. M. KAMSON : Sir, I request to make only one point mainly to put the record straight regarding the speech made by hon. Member Shri Yaima Singh Yumnam. I am not going to give any observation on his speech on whatever he has said. But I would like to put the record straight because two

three names have been mentioned in the report of the Governor about Shri Rishang Keising, Shri R.K. Dorendra, Shri R.k. Ranbir Singh Shri Dungel Kuki and so many people. I deliberately did not touch them in my speech made earlier today. But I did not touch on these people because I did not like to have any observation on that. But since one particular name has been mentioned by the hon. Member of Shri Rishang Keising, I just like to put the record straight because I know him. Shri Rishang was ruling from 1980-88 for seven complete years or nearly eight years. During this period, he suppressed the NSCN activities very nicely and put them under control. He was attempted on his life three, four or five times in ambushed bomb blast and in so many ways. Therefore, I do not agree with the point that Shri Rishang it was connected with NSCN at that time.

Secondly, at the present point of time, whether Shri Rishang has encouraged the NSCN activity, that also I cannot agree because I have got personal experience on this. This time, 12 MLAs belonging to Nagas were given notice by the NSCN to resign immediately to support their side against the Government of India. Shri Rishang was one who disagreed to this. I also received that type of notice from the NSCN threatening my life two times. I showed that to the Prime Minister for his personal for his personal knowledge. I did not try to bring this matter to publicity. I just kept quiet. Today since it has been raised, I consider it proper to mention this on the floor of the House that 12 MLAs belonging to Nagas and MP myself received notice from the NSCN to resign immediately during the month of December last. We disagreed. Shri Rishang was taking interest to counter that by saying them that they should not press like that. We are not part of NSCN. That much I know because I was there and I had meetings. Therefore, the

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[Sh. Prof. M. Kamson]

allegation against Shri Rishang is not proper in this context. Beyond that, I do not know. That is the point I wanted to make to put the record straight.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Sir, it was not my personal allegation. It was based on the Report of the Governor.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Muzaffarpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Manipur issue is not a new one, and if only Manipur is made the focal point while discussing the matter, I don't feel that we would be able to succeed in protecting the country from such a situation as is prevailing in Poorvanchal at present.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are a number of factors responsible for what is happening in Manipur at present and they are not confined to Manipur alone but extend to the entire Poorvanchal. Mr. Chairman, Sir, what we all understand as an emergency is not something new, it is a situation that has been prevailing for a long time. After all, why should we ignore the fact that Phizo movement started in the pre-independence era and Mahatma Gandhi was the man who took the initiative in this regard. He had promised Phizo that if injustice was done to the latter he would stand by him for the freedom movement he talked of. But first he should accept unity with India. Mahatma is no more today, but the practice of breaking the promises which started on the very first day, still continues.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): What was the promise?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:

Mahatma Gandhi had said that no justice would be done to Phizo.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Did Phizo accept Mahatma Gandhi's proposal?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: He accepted it in the sense that he did not proceed further the battle he was fighting. Even Mahatma Gandhi did not expect more than that from him. Mahatma Gandhi knew very well as to what was the way of thinking of people in Poorvanchal, what was their previous record and why and how the discontentment prevailed among them. Just as has been pointed out by one of our colleagues from Manipur that Kukis and Nagas have very cordial relations, at the same time it has also been pointed out that though they have cordial relations is it not a fact that Britishers used kukip against the Nagas. As per their strategy in Poorvanchal the Britishers suppressed the Nagas and instigated the Kukis against them. Therefore, the discussion about all is not like the bus strike in Delhi or strike against increasing fares or the matters regarding maintaining a good relationship between the owner and the labourer. It has a long history at its back. My friend Shri Mohan Singh referred to negligence shown towards the Poorvanchal. However, that negligence was shown not only by the Government but also by the country as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, who is no more, was arrested in this connection. He had warned the Government that through deploying military and police force in Poorvanchal the Government would not be able to retain it in the country, rather it is preventing that region to remain integrated with the country. But Dr. Lohia was prevented from going to Poorvanchal, and arrested. Dr. Lohia loved not only Poorvanchal but also the entire

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country. He had said that Kashmir had its importance, but Poorvanchal it was the future of the country and we would have to fight our last battle there. This was the opinion of Dr. Lohia and he always inspired his associates to remain alert towards the region.

Why should we say that it is the biggest attack on India. It is an attack with a political background of 45 years. Therefore, the hon. Minister should not be angry with us today.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Why should I be angry with you.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I am pointing out the fault and not merely making a charge, I am doing so because the prevailing situation in Poorvanchal is being taken very lightly. With regard to Kashmir you may say that it was child's play. However, the matter regarding Poorvanchal is somewhat different. Did not Shri George Apang—the Chief Minister give a public statement and urged the Government not to take the matter so lightly? He has also pointed out the specific demands and said that if those demands were not fulfilled they would have their own option. I have given in writing to the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. But I have not done so on party lines. If they are in power everything goes well, otherwise they revolt. The Governor in his report has mostly pointed out the names of underground groups which follow the dictates of various regional leaders there. This is the prevailing situation in Nagaland and the Governor has pointed out that similar situation prevails in Mizoram and Manipur where underground groups play at the tune of political leaders. Everything was used at the time of elections in Nagaland. Does not the hon. Minister of Home Affairs have the report that was conveyed by the election officer as to how these elements were used during the elections. The Governor has pointed out that NSCN belongs to a particular group? Has it not been used there? The entire group has now revolted,

Did not the hon. Minister of Home Affairs get any proof to this effect earlier. We have received the information in writing that 10 percent of the total amount of salary per month is collected and provided to the underground groups through the highest officer of the concerned department. Has no complaint or clue to this effect been received so far? I am not blaming them. Government money is being misused to spread insurgency, but I do not blame the Government employees for this. We are the members of State Assemblies or Parliament and we do have our approach to the prime Minister or the Chief Minister due to which we can manage to get protection, but what will a poor employee do? Politics has been playing a major role therefore the last 45 years, and it has ruined everything. It has been mentioned in the report that the political leaders indulge in wrong practices. Corruption prevails everywhere there. In this context, I would like to submit to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that a resident of the State came to me and told me that there was a leading trade of foodgrains who belonged neither to Naga nor to Kuki tribes. I would not like to disclose his caste. Underground people want to him. It happened in the month of October. They demanded a ransom of Rs. 1 crore from the trader, who gave the money without seeking any clarification in that regard. It happened so because the trader is indulging in selling the foodgrains in black market. He is in league with the Government employees. They neither purchase foodgrains nor to sell the same through fair price shops. Neither they receive money from the Government. They sell from the foodgrains in the black market. The underground people are very well aware of this fact and that is why when they ask for money, he give it to them. The government should inquire into the matter. Shri Rajesh Pilot is present here. He goes there frequently. He should investigate the matter. Anybody can be asked. Trees along the entire forest are felled. About Rs. 10,000 are paid to the underground group for each truck carrying wood. No truck can

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pass without paying this amount. The vehicle stops at police station and then money is extracted immediately. The Government Officers and employees also have their share in it.

Corruption is all prevalent in politics, money transaction takes place through suitcases in Poorvanchal. This practice may perhaps be for here but it has been prevailing there for a long time. You may look at the election procedure in Poorvanchal. Election means only money transaction through suitcase and nothing else. Is the hon. Minister unaware of the fact as to how much money is required for elections in a single Assembly Constituency? We know each and every thing. The meaning of election itself is money and lavish parties. It may sound unpleasant but it will have to be considered in the light these facts. Otherwise, no purpose would be served there. Historical distortions if any will also have to be set right. Our mistakes should also be set right. Just now one of the hon. Members said that they all should do this collectively. It is not proper that they will divide and we will unite. They have broken our party totally, because the law says that it is alright if the defections take place on a large scale but defection of one or two hon. Member is not permissible. In other words defections as a whole are cheaper than defection of one or two members. The entire party has been made to defect. I am ashamed not because all the members of my party have defected but the Governor, who is a retired General Lieutenant writes:-

[English]

In the present ruling congress(I) led coalition Government in Manipur, the party position is, Congress(I) - 13; Manipur People's Party-11; Janata Dal (Defected) - 10; Congress(S) - 3; Congress(S) (defected)-3;

[Translation]

How the Government could be formed there ? Politics has been degraded so much. I admit that it was manipulated deliberately.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): How did you make in 1990?

SHRI GEORGE FERNADES : I am not referring to a particular party. Politics has become a mockery in the eyes of the public today. This has created some sort of distrust in the minds of people. Politics today turns the youth of our country into militants who become a problem one day, they are shot dead when become terrorists. My submission is that the Government will have to think over the question as to how politics should be cleansed in Poorvanchal. The same thing happened in Nagaland. The ruling party enjoyed majority there yet the Government was dislodged. The governor was honest in presenting the report. But he was removed. One of our hon. friends was saying here just now that he was an a political Governor. It implies that he admits the fact that certain persons are also sent as Governors who are political persons. This Governor will not give the same report as we wish. He is not a sort of person who believes in what we call a "Freudian slip." He is a different type of person. The Government rather the Governors usually present reports which serve the purpose of the Government. Therefore, this Governor is different. Shri Panigrahi said this one of you M.P.s said this. He was not an M.P. of the M.P.P. but an M.P. of the Congress Party [Interruptions]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, one more issue is also linked with it. The Government could have solved this problem had it wished so.

But the Government does not want to do so. The issue is about the economic development of the State. Now the question is as to what is being done in the name of economic development there? I would like to put forth two or three official figures before you. Till March, 1992 Rs.86,319 crores were given as loans by the All India Term Lending Financial Institutions of the Central Government all over the country. Out of this amount Rs. 36 crore was sanctioned for Manipur. Out of the amount of Rs.58,586

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crores disbursed for the whole country only Rs. 29 crore was disbursed for Manipur. These financial institutions were set up during the post - Independence period in our country, Manipur or Purvanchal has been completely ignored as if no development is needed there.

Now I would like to cite other figures. The area is neglected too much. There is severe problem of unemployment in Manipur. As of today the population of Manipur is 19 lakh. But the people living in hill areas not get their names registered in the employment exchanges there. Only people living in plain areas get their names registered. Upto March 1993 their number was nearly 2,15,500. Perhaps there is only one employment exchange.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you might be surprised like me that throughout Manipur, excluding the Government employees numbering about 53 thousand only 1950 persons have been employed in the industrial sector in Manipur. In my opinion, the number of employees working in our Parliament House is higher than this. More than 2,000 employees work in the Secretariat of our Parliaments. Whereas only 1950 persons are new working in the industrial sector in Manipur. they are employment in development work, manufacturing and mining work. In such a situation, where should the youth go to set jobs? But the Government could not find any solution for them. They are addicted to drugs and are indulging in drug trafficking. I am stating it with great distress. Although I do not have sound evidence, yet I apprehend that it has been impressed upon people to ruin the people living in hill areas every way. It pains me to say so, but I have seen them with my own eyes. I have been visiting Poorvanchal Nagaland, Mizoram and Manipur.

Before breathing his last Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had also suggested that vigil should be kept in that area. But we are not far-sighted. We have very limited power. Yet we visit that area. Today one has to identify persons who are still not addicted to drugs. Manipur is also marching in the same direction. Now who will resolve this crisis. I

would like to say this very candidly. The Government is not taking any measures to resolve this crisis. Now the question is as to what measures should be taken by the Government to prevent the people from taking drugs. Today it is well known to the world that the largest number of patients suffering from AIDS in the country. No arrangement has been made in this region having the largest number of AIDS infected persons. We are knowingly or unknowingly concerned with the problem of drugs and AIDS which are going to ruin the entire country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would not like to take much time. But I would like to put forth two or three questions. It is not for the first time that I am speaking on this issue. Whenever I had an opportunity to raise question regarding Poorvanchal. I had time and again cautioned the Government not to neglect it. I, therefore, would like to urge the hon. Minister of Home Affairs who is also the Chairman of the North Eastern Council that some thing concrete should be done for development there.

Last time, the Governors' meeting was convened just few months ago. The then Governor of Arunachal Pradesh Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedi had made a complaint in writing that the amount granted that time was equal to the amount granted during previous years i.e. Rs. 200 crore and nothing more. Whereas there has been a considerable devaluation of rupee now. So, had complained that there was no money for further development. The hon Minister of Home Affairs is well aware of the fact that development work of this area needs to be undertaken urgently.

Educated youth are indulging in insurgency there. What else the unemployed youth can do except taking drugs, and indulging in other wrongful things. They are compelled to indulge in insurgency because they have no other option. Can anybody reply to this question? I, therefore, would like to submit that immediate attention should be paid to words if and the problem should be resolved there immediately.

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Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are two or three minor issues. First, it is wrong to presume that the army would solve the entire problem. It is beyond the capability of the army to resolve the entire crisis. Had it been so, the Kashmir issue and the problem of the Poorvanchal would have been resolved now. The government had handed over many villages in Nagaland to the Army to stamp out terrorism there. but what is its outcome? How far the N.A.C.L. has been checked? Unless the genesis of the problem is checked, no purpose would be served. We also had looked into the problem of Kashmir and every military General appointed in Kashmir used to say that only political solution can solve Kashmir problem. The Army is well aware of the fact that ultimately the Kashmir issue will have to be solved at the political level and political activities must be initiated to start the political processes. Today there is no political activity in Kashmir.

15.59 hrs.

(SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*)

Political activities cannot be initiated by resorting to military or police measures only. Moreover, the situation in Manipur is not different from the situation in Kashmir today. After all some political parties are still in Manipur. Some of them are active. But it would be wrong to assume that the problems in Manipur would be resolved after handing over Manipur to security forces. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to urge the Government to avoid the use of police, military and para-military forces. They will rather complicate the problem.

[*Translation*]

Do you know about the incidents that

occurred in Manipur and Nagaland on account of security forces. The Minister of Home Affairs is fully aware of the alienation that has been caused due to these incidents. I will not go into its detail. But I would request the Government that it should proceed further only after taking consideration all the points raised by me otherwise nothing worthwhile will be possible.

16.00hrs

We would request the Government to provide immediate relief in regard to one or two matters. Last years in May there were large scale riots violence and massacre of people. The Government has himself written therein as to how people were killed there. In his opinion, this kind or incident had never occurred there before.

[*English*]

"The Pangal (Manipuri Muslims) - Meitei communal riots in May, 1993, in which 97 people were killed, of which 94 were Pangals, were totally out of character of the Imphal Valley."

[*Translation*]

It is his view that this is totally out of character. We know the politics of this place. We assert that it was a Muslim majority area. Meitei who are Vaishnavities today were converted into Hinduism during the 16th century. But today they are not sticking to their religion. Today they are again in search of their old roots. A number of blunders are being committed. The people who had adopted a religion 300-350 years ago are wandering in search of a new religion. They have forsaken their religion. Our colleagues Shri Shahabuddin has said just now that it was a massacre. Shri Rajesh

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Pilot is sitting here. I would like to say that these people are still residing in camps. They are not returning to their homes. They are not provided any relief. In the beginning perhaps Rs. 10000-20000/- were provided to them. An assurance was given to them by the government to provides relief to them as is given in such cases. But no relief was provided. We would like to request the Minister of Home Affairs to release funds immediately to resolve the impasse, otherwise more problems would arise.

I would like to cite a few words of page 3 of the Report of the Governor in which he says:

"In my opinion, in the conditions prevailing in Manipur at present, the real issue is not of the change in leadership or of alternatives but to find an end to periodic manipulations for power by different groups or individuals, as this has resulted in lack of political direction to the Government and guidance to the administration. It has also given opportunity to unscrupulous amongst them on the behest of insurgents to use the Government machinery and administration as an extensions of their political authority, thereby strengthening anti-national sentiments."

[*Translation*]

We should try to seek information from the Governor about the persons who are involved in anti-national activities. If a petty Government servant is found guilty of transferring a file from here and there, he is charge sheeted and harassed throughtout his life. Here, it is the question which relates to security of the entire country. The Governor has remarked that political leaders, retired people, ambitions people have manipulated

power. The Government should identify the sicne it is the biggest treason.

[*English*]

This is teason . If this is not teason, then what is teason?

[*Translation*]

When we fought against dictatorship during emergency , we were charges of treason. But some people while in the Government do cause harm to the territory of the country for serving their selfish and political ends. You have yourself taken action on the basis of the report. The action is that you have kept the Assembly under suspend animation. But the Government is not going to take action against these people and identify those who are traitors and who have caused damage to the sovereignty of the country. The people of eastern region are generous. They have swet mutual relations. They have their own method of looking after each other. They are broadminded people like the people of the hill areas. Today, the Government has pushed them to such a juncture where their future at least in the Eastern region has become bleak. This types of news have been apearing in the newspapers for the last 5-7 days.

[*English*]

ULFA rises again; ULFA has come to light again. When did they die?

[*Translation*]

This type of news items appear in newspaper when did ULFA die? After every three months, the Government starts uttering that the situation in Kashmir has improved. Only the process needs to be started. Then the situation starts becoming wrose

*Approval of Proclamation in relation
[Sh. George Fernandes]*

as per your statement. How long will you play this politics with the country? It is not merely politics but a betrayal with the country. Therefore, I request the Minister of Home Affairs not to play party politics the Eastern region. The Home Minister always expresses his anguish at me. It is his prerogative. I have no objection to it. I do speak loudly. His annoyance is justified. But, today, I request the Government not to look at the Eastern region from the party angle. On this issue, the Government should take steps immediately. Do not prolog the matter by arguing the matter in the House but try to takes special initiatives in this regard.

The Eastern region has not gone out of control. But much time has been lost. The Government can avail of the opportunity. I would like to say one thing that it is the fault of every party including my party. We have never podered over Eastern region since there are few seats from that region. One seat has no significance. When it is the question of bargaining in politics. Every party thinks the same. No one has cared about this part of the country and kept it in mind. These people have worsened the situation. You should ponder over the Eastern region seriously. If you will not ponder over, the day is not far when headlines that appear about Kasmir will start appearing about this regions also. We pass the resolution here unanimously in protest against the role of Pakistan in Kashmir. But Pakistan is not in the Eastern region. There may be ISI. It might be operating there and it will operate wherever it gets and opportunity. There are many groups which create problem for us. But there is no such power in our neighbourhood which can ruin our country. That power is America which is situated thousands of miles away form here. You should not overlook that power. When the

situation in Eastern Region becomes out of control, it will be very difficult to handle it. All these things about number of rifles, its routes and the manner in which these are brought, have been mentioned in the report. The Government has every relevant information with it. In front of the burning question of the Eastern region, the problem of Kashmir will appear to be a child's play.

Dr. Lohia had made several prophecies. These have been proved true one after another. It was the biggest apprenesion in his mind that if the eastern region is not taken care by us it can do immense harm to our country any day. So keeping in mind the hint given by Dr. Lohia who had warned us earlier. I would like to urge the Minister of Home Affairs to take initiative to pave a way. We will suport him in this matter.

SHRI KRIP CHALIHA (Guwahati): Mr. Chairman, Sir, coming from North East, when discussion o the insurgency situationnin North East takes place and people like Shri Geore Fernades offer their comments emotional at times, practical or maybe hyperbocal at times or whatever it is, I must say you become really conscious of the situation.

But I must put certain facts on record. Even in very sympathetic speeches on the North East, I feel personally as a person coming from North East as one who is an ethnic Assamese but is more Indian than anyone else in this country because the people in North East have kept the Indian flag high and will keep the Indian flag high in spite of the provocation, on that, I have no doubt whatsoever.

For year, as it is said, provocations are many points to criticise are many, distortions are many. But it is a fact that in spite of the strongest provocations, inspite of the

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tricks of the British they have to identify themselves with the rest of the country not as a younger brother but as an equal citizen of this country. That have strong reason to feel endangered in this dual context. In view of newer conspiracies taking place and in view of the fact that today in international conspiracies are no longer a dream they are basic truths of life, one simple mistake may lead to all kinds of hazardous eventualities.

The opposition must also appreciate the fact that when dealing with the North you have to have a very unified and a patriotic outlook of the situation. Give the devil its due. The imposition of the President's Rule in Manipur, you must accept, was not out of partisan consideration. A congress Government was in power and it has been dismissed. There was deterioration in the law and order situation. At least for that you must give its due credit the Congress Government, you must give due credit to the Home Minister and to the Government. It is not flattery, it is a basic truth that should be the approach.

In North East, sensitive developments are taking place which may endanger the security of this country. Various facets of insurgent situation, various causes leading to alienation have not been with properly is also a fact. It is also a fact that the Indian press, the media, the intelligentsia and even the Parliament does not have time to think about this.

Hence we have to be very cautious when we pause to mention the situation in the North East. The only silver lining that remains is the basic fact that the North East has always been in the forefront of national struggle for independence. North East people were very much part of it. The Manipuri culture, the Manipuri religious idealism very much in the forefront of the Indian main-

stream. In many respects, these people are far ahead of the rest of the Indians as far as social transformation is concerned.

We get amused when we hear people from UP and other Northern and Southern States, who claim to be elder brothers of North-East, talking about castes -this caste that caste and conflicts like that coming up. They do not even know the history of North East. In North East, we have almost overcome the caste barrier. My mother belonged to a lower caste family, my father belonged to an upper caste family and I am a product of I do not know which caste. In our place it is not only caste assimilation but even and Aryan Mongolian assimilation. All kinds of assimilations are taking place. That shows that the future of the country that a message that the unity of the country will survive only through a process of assimilation and not through disintegration. That is precisely not happening else where in the country.

Unfortunately, experts who go from Delhi, experts who visits Assam or North Eastern States try to put in the main land Indian experiment there.

Balkanisation in the name of tackling insurgency has become the rule of the day. We can take resort to all kinds of short term measures. Well, demands for some kind of autonomy are there. We have to be sympathetic to those demands. Give them autonomy. Give some incentive to this side and that side so that we can project ourselves as a great humanitarian race, lover of all communities, although what we are teaching or doing there is not being followed in your own State. This is also a sentiment which we cannot ignore. Anyway, these are basic facts. Last time various members including Shri George Fernandes have suggested that there should be a detailed analysis and

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[Sh. Krip Chaliha]

discussion on the North -East situation. I welcome it, but he has mentioned two or three basic facts to which I also as a member of the ruling party and a Member coming from the North - East would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister and the Minister of State.

The question of drugs is there. Drug trafficking and insurgency are fundamentally related. The money that flows from drugs and the money that comes from illegal arms smuggling are one. And hence a situation develops when that money becomes the determining factor for political power. If a part of that money is shared by the police machine and governmental machinery then what happens?

Sir, these are not mere conjectures that I am making. These are basic facts about which I have drawn the attention of so many people. I do not know with what results, even till now. Drugs have become a menace in the North-East. Everybody knows that drugs come from outside the country, via Manipur, to Guwahati, from Guwahati to Delhi, Bombay and go up to U.S.A. There is a big lobby. Has any concerted efforts up till now been to stop this drugs traffic? You will be shocked to know that boys carrying brown sugar move around openly Guwahati. They were moving around openly. These are known and accepted facts. But I have not seen any anti-narcotics operation taking place there till now. I have see people manipulating, police go on manipulating people creating a situation to see that the drug traffic goes on unabated. There is no problem because everyone gets their cuts. I have myself accused people by saying that the drug money is being shared by so and so and so police officials; instead of that I also become a victim as they alleged that I was

also demanding a cut! An idealistic politician, an idealistic youth who has got no means to get the cut, who has got no means of corruption, is not going to survive in the North-East, I must tell you. And we must take a strong note of it. It is not important whether I survive politically or not. But the fact is that the North-Eastern people have got the tenacity and the courage to fight the mence on all fronts. And it is a fact that some amount of response from your side, some amount of help from your side, some amount of initiative from the Government will be a highly welcoming factor. I must appeal to you and I must tell you so that you can understand the sentiments.

Secondly, yes, insurgency is the result of -- as you say-- historical neglect, disparities and all that. It is a fact that disparities are there, discriminations are there. But we also appreciate the difficulties, the geographical problems and the historical divisions. One has to be attentive to our problems. that is also a fact. But you must also be very cautious to see that we ourselves do not magnify this insurgency situation to exploit the fact, to draw some amount of attention from you to keep this insurgency alive all through, so that we can get some attention from you. I am hinting at a very strong point. In fact, I have mentioned about it already. If we say tomorrow that there is an insurgency situation, "do not quote this part ;quote this part only" because after all, insurgency has been a part of that situation. Insurgency has been there for such a long time in Nagaland-it has taken such a long time to wipe it out and so, let us not do anything in a hurry. Let us go slow on the whole thing. Let it go on for some more time. So that we can go on exploiting you, because, fight against extremists means extra police power, fight against exteremists means extra money power. If I say that corruption and manipulations are allowed

because insurgency survives in a State, and that way it has a political advantage then you have to take note of that basic aspect also.

You must see that I am not becoming the breeding ground of extremism tomorrow.

I am amazed and in fact I am shocked and ashamed to know that—Maybe the Governor is a big Lieutenant General. I have got a lot of respects for him. May be he is a Military man—a man can say so and so politician, be it of my Party or be it of your party, has got a link with the extremists and terrorists and it becomes a report and nothing follows. It is a dangerous trend. Either I have suffered from complexes or there must be a plausible reason for not exercising my authority to a logical end. But for me, an extremist is an extremist; an anti-national is an anti-national; and a murderer is a murderer. And there cannot be two set of laws for them.

When there is a negotiation, when there is a discussion for peace and when such and such insurgent groups would like to come out and join the mainstream, well accept them. If one set or group comes we give them all the benefits to them, then another group will keep waiting. And if we excuse them for everything, then that also becomes a breeding ground for future terrorism.

Shri Fernandes was referring to ULFA. When was ULFA down? I think, if I am not mistaken, according to our theory, according to my Party's theory, ULFA has almost got finished because most of the people had surrendered and we had given two lakhs of rupees to them. A lot of incentives had been given to those youth who surrendered. Murderers had been excused. Lootings had been excused. Everything had been forgotten. What about those who had been killed

holding the national flag? Have we looked after them? I can say with full confidence that if I am shot dead by an extremist, my family will not get any protection whatsoever from anybody. My family will go on fighting and we do not have any complaint for that. As Indians we had faced it and we are going to face it again. But the point is, how long will you allow this kind of things to happen? How long will you allow incentives to the terrorists? Suppose, tomorrow somebody accuses me that you yourself is the creator of future terrorism, then what should I answer? There are many points. I was in the youth Congress. As a congressman, we are fighting for nationalism. There is one youth, who asked me, "Mr. Chaliha, you told us to fight for nationalism and you told us to stick to nationalism. We fought and many of us died. After that, we moved heaven and earth to get a job. But if I had killed a man and if I had come back and surrendered with a gun, I would have been given two lakhs of rupees by the Government, a plum post in Government service and what not." I think, we have to think about this point also. Simply saying strategic policy and all those other slogans really do not yield long term results. It can give benefits to some of the politicians to survive for some time. But the survival of me or of Shri Rajesh Pilot or Shri Fernandes is not important when the survival of the country is in danger.

I have drawn the attention of the hon. Home Minister and also the Minister of State for Home to most of the problems. I am very sure that at their personal level, they appreciate these problems and they understand these problems. But unfortunately, there is something, which we, as young Members, do not understand why the end situation does not develop according to their expectations or according to our expectations. Anyhow, we have our own compulsions. As is said, a man is born free but everywhere

[Sh. Krip Chaliha]

with chains. Hope, the chains will clear; decisive action shall come; and the political will that is being asserted in Manipur will be asserted not only in North East but in any other place, where there is insurgency situation.

Sir, last but not least, putting Manipur under President's Rule and under Lieutenant Governor and such authorities will not solve the problem. Shri Rajesh Pilot very well knows about it. Shri Chavan knows far better because he has been dealing with it for a long time.

Insurgency in the North East has to be tackled as one. The insurgents are operating as one. If you think that you can contain something in Manipur because everything is okay in Nagaland today and everything is okay in Assam today, then I am sorry to say that you will get nothing in the long run.

So, I would request you to evolve a general policy. Time and again, I have been appealing to you, have a full-fledged policy; a tan gifte policy; a result-oriented policy. Let it succeed or fail, but atleast for 3-4 months, assert your political will and do not go for smaller political considerations. Otherwise, as a North-East Indian I may die tomorrow. But, even agter my death if my children see the dream of Shri George Fernandes is coming true, it will really be sad occasion for me; for my country and for everyone concerned.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMASHRAV PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak on this issue. Several hon. members have expressed different views on the issue of imposition of

president's Rule in Manipur. The central Government has been given a power under the constitution of India to impose President's Rule in State where the law and order situation is not under control. But it does not mean that provision is made to protect the self-interest of a political party or to harm the democratic system in the country. The Constitution was adopted to protect the interests of people and the country and not for protecting any political party. Some new trends have developed in and outside this House that nobody utters the word patriotism even though it existed in every body's heart. All talk about corruption and it has become a universal phenomena but who is responsible for it has to be found out. All talk about it, but no one says about the person responsible for it and about its reasons. The Congeress Party has been in power since long but it has not succeeded in inculcating a feeling of patritism in people and, therefore, comparatively less work has been done in the coutry's interest. for example, Kashmir was ruled by Shri Farooq Abdullah, but after his departure, the Congress Party said that he was removed for lack of patriotism and his involvement in helping people in getting training form Pakistan. But when the Congress Party contested the elections in Kashmir in alliance with Farooq Abdullah's party it said that he was a patriot. There is a lot of difference in preaching and practice of this party. The report about the situation in Manipur was sent on 5th of October. Then why 150 persons were allowed to be killed there. The government is imposing President's Rule and running the administration in such a manner that the situation deteriorates day by day. When you have been given a power then why immediate action is not taken in such a situation. Now all this is being done to stay in power. Some big leaders contest elections on the symbol of one political party but lust for power lead them to defection ...(*Interruption*).. A big

leader from Janta Dal defected from the party to become the Prime Minister. Such activities will certainly change the meaning of strong public opinion and people's power in the eyes of small political parties. Certain persons who adopt wrong methods to grab power not have patriotism. If in reality we become patriots there will be no other country is the world to challenge the economic development and strength of India. But today there is no patriotism left in us we crave for power and this is the reason that we are unable to protect the country even after getting power. Today everyone in the country including the babies in arms are being affected by such activities. So, I request to the Government to change its attitude and create a feeling of patriotism among people.

We all hear about corruption but who is accountable for it, at least this House should tell us. Officers have been spoiled by the spread of corruption. I am saying all this to those in power. The Rajiv - Longowal Accord on Punjab has not been implemented even today even after the recommendations of the Chief Minister. Then what is the meaning of the accord. One thing should be clear in mind that all the decision should be implemented firmly whether the party which took the decision is in power or not. There should be a clear policy and will of the Government in this regard.

[English]

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Sir, to begin with, I join my hon. and esteemed friend George Fernandes and the young Member representing some constituency in Asam, in making the plea that the North-Eastern region should receive special consideration from the Government. This has become all more urgent because of the recent development within the country and

across the border and because of certain ominous trends that are witnessed today in the North-Eastern region. I want remind the Government that only two years ago, on October 15, 1992, there was a call for Manipur bandh on the demand that the merger of Manipur State into India should be annulled. Mr. Home Minister, I think this is a very very ominous protest. Earlier there was no objection, there was no voice of protest, there was nothing of the sort against the merger of the Manipur State into India now that sense is also creeping among the young men of Manipur, among a section of the people of Manipur, that the merger of Manipur, into India should be annulled. This should be taken as a signal of the things which are likely to be faced by us.

In Manipur, even today the divide between the Maiti-speaking people and other tribal people is widened.

This also should receive proper attention from the Government. It has also been witnessed about the communal flare-up only few months ago-about which there is a mention in the Governor's report. Manipur has all along been a part of the mainstream politics in our country. Unfortunayely, today as the situation is developing, the forces of disintegration, the forces of secessioninism are also growing there. We must go in depth into the reason for it. The main reason is that they have started feeling the sense of alienation. Manipur young men have been disillusioned. They have been disgruntled and they feel that they are being ignored. I think the Government should take proper steps to remove this sense of alienation among the Manipuri people. Otherwise there will be a Kashmir-like situation which will develop in the the North East region. I will come to that point in just a few minutes.

I think the Home Ministry knows that

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

Pakistan has got some game-plan in the North Eastern region also. It is reported that Bangladesh is collaborating with I.S.I. in providing shelter, in providing training, in providing money and in providing assistance so that there can be another front opened in the North East for Pakistan's subversive activities. The entire region - as has been amply made clear - is very much in a vulnerable situation.

All the insurgent groups are going to be under one umbrella control, under one umbrella leadership. It is reported that NSCN is extending support, training and all the facilities for all the insurgent groups in the North East. They are extending support to MNF, they are extending support to DNV, they are extending support to ULFA and they are extending support to PLA and other organisation also. One apex organisation has come up to coordinate the activities of all these insurgent groups operating in almost all the places of the North East region. Therefore, unless there is a comprehensive, integrated, well-orchestrated plan to meet these insurgents, I think a Kashmir-like will develop very soon.

So far as meeting the problem of insurgents is concerned, it is not the Army, it is not the B.S.F. it is not the trigger-happy policeman that can meet the problem of insurgents. Insurgency is born out of social problem. Insurgency is born out of a sense of alienation. This is an ideological perception also. It is not only the police, the Army or the security forces which can meet the danger arising out of insurgency.

Therefore, when I appeal for taking orchestrated and comprehensive policy measure to meet insurgency, I do not want to simply send Army. Our experiences have

proven otherwise. Therefore, while on the question of determining the rise or growth of insurgency in the North East, a comprehensive policy decision is to be taken so that this insurgency can also be from ideological plane also.

Lastly, I want to mention only one point. I am reported that the I.S.I. of Pakistan has instigated ethnic clashes between Nagas and Kukis.

They have a strategic objective in this matter. They want to have a direct route from Myanmar to Chittagong hills in order to coordinate all the activities of the insurgent groups. Therefore, it has also become an international phenomenon. It is not the question of increasing the security personnel or increasing the activities of the Army or taking it as a mere law and order question. It involves an international question also, so far as insurgency is increased.

Even today, we should remember that Nagas and Kukis are not always enemies so far as their tribal origin is concerned. They lived there and they co-existed there. Even during the freedom struggle of our country, both the Nagas and Kukis fought together against the British domination. I am proud that when the Azad Hind Force entered into Manipur, both the Nagas and Kukis had unitedly fought against the British imperialism under the leadership of the Indian National Army. It was there in Manipur for several months. It occupied that area. It liberated that area and established their rule. If the theory that the Nagas and Kukis are always enemies is stated to be correct, then I think we are distorting the history, distorting the culture and the distinctive features of tribal life. The tribal society is not a society which divides itself. The tribal culture and tribal society unify the people. If we have the position that the Nagas and

Kukis should always be kept fighting among themselves in order to gain political mileage, then it is not correct. So far as ethnic clashes in Manipur are concerned, they are the attempts by certain interested political leaders to permanently divide the Nagas and Kukis to fulfill their own partisan or individual political interests.

Therefore, the Government should take a special interest to see that the Kukis and Nagas are made to live together peacefully and harmony is restored. I congratulate the MLAs belonging to Kuki community and Naga community for initiating the move to bring back peace in Manipur. When I was there in Imphal recently for a rally, it was announced that the Nagas and Kukis will work together for the development and prosperity of the State of Manipur as a whole. They are also willing to fight against the insurgent elements. I think it is the duty of the Government to see that those forces of unity get strengthened further and peace among the Nagas and Kukis is restored at the earliest possible time.

With these few words, I want that the Government of India should be alert about the emerging situation in the North East and implement special programmes so that the insurgency can be fought, so that there is social and economic development, so that India's unity and integrity are preserved and our frontiers are further strengthened.

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: One hour and thirty minutes were allotted for this subject. But 2 hours and 56 minutes have already been spent on this discussion. Now I would request the hon. Members who want to speak on this subject to conclude their speech in two minutes each.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: (Madhubani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Keeping in view the availability of time and not repeating the views which have already been experienced by my friends, I would like to say one thing that my friends have shown only the dark side of the history but I would say that we have to keep in mind its bright side also. It is correct that Phizo remained separated from us during the last days of freedom struggle. Later while in England he declared to build a separate Nation and the British Government granted him British citizenship. The law and order situation of Nagaland as improved. Previously Manipur was facing some difficulties but it has a glorious past. During the freedom struggle they fought against the British Imperialism. Its heroic tradition owes its origin to Iravat Singh who formed the Communist Party there and during hard days the Communist Party of Manipur provided a silver lining to the masses living a miserable life. There were no defects in Manipur. I think that in the prevailing situation in Manipur, it is essential to take stringent steps for unity. There is President's rule in Manipur and therefore efforts must be made to provide more opportunities of employment so that every person earns something.

The Governor had sent a report on the recommendation of the Chief Minister on the 5th October for imposing President's Rule there so that the situation might improve. The Government waited hopelessly for results. It expected a change through the Legislative Assembly? I have no hope for that. Very few people in the council of Ministers might be good. There are many drawbacks in democracy but its remedy lies in democracy only and not in its elimination. Therefore let us get ready for fresh elections and ask the people to follow suit speed up development works and encourage the spirit

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

of unity in diversity. Giving expressions of difference of opinion is the hall mark of democracy and Manipur is no exception. The Government of India of India should make efforts to reduce the conflicts and bring the people of the state to the mainstream and engage them in development. Besides, it should make an appeal to people to create an atmosphere where fresh elections could be held. It will prove disastrous if the Government touches to form a Government by defection with these words I conclude.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (AJMER): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Manipur is an integral part of the North East and our country. Strategically it is a very important state. On one side there is Mynamar and on the other side there is Bangladesh. Foreign powers are engaged in disintegrating the country. This is the main reason that Bangladeshis come to Assam and different states of North-East in large numbers and settle there. During the British Days Indians were prohibited to enter this state. Only people belonging to a particular religion were allowed to go there and were free to propagate their ideology. They educated the tribal people and gave them facilities. They converted them to a particular religion. As a result of this separatist views come into existence and they were encouraged by the foreign powers.

It was rightly mentioned earlier that at the instances of Priest Scot, Michael Phizo who had settled in London continued movement in Manipur. I do not want to go into the details. The Government had formed smaller states to solve this problem. The States of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Manipur thus came into existence. Later issue like Bodoland

cropped up. Separatist tendencies are spreading there. They are endangering the unity of the country.

After independence, had the people who come into power, tried to inculcate a sense of nationalism and tried to bring the people of the state into the mainstream separatist feelings would not have developed there.

Only few days back President's rule was imposed in Manipur and there was a struggle between the Kuki and Naga tribes. Law and order situation in different states have deteriorated and the ruling Party is primarily responsible for it. Whichever party has come to power they play the game of defection to remain in power. They changed the sides to serve their own petty interests. To appease the groups they tried to settle issues with different groups. When this did not succeed the conflicts escalated. Therefore please forget the differences among them and keeping in view the interest of the country hold elections properly. Please reinstate the elected Government in the State. Only few days back the Legislative Assembly was suspended for few days. If the Congress Government is reinstated in Manipur it would create discontentment among the people.

ISI, the intelligence Agency of Pakistan, is keeping a close watch in areas where the situation is volatile and plans to create disturbances there. ISI is instrumental in engineering riots and social struggle by encouraging communalism, terrorist activities and treason. Unfortunately, our Government is not as vigilant and alert against the dangers of ISI as it ought to be. In order to counter and expose the danger posed by ISI and to give a befitting reply to Pakistan at the International level and to let the people who talk about human rights, the Govern-

ment of India has not been able to take up this matter at the diplomatic level. As a result of this Pakistan's pressure increasing. Many militants run away and cross over to Pakistan. We have to check them and on security forces should be given all powers to check them. The security forces will have to be vested with more powers. We should not have a dialogue with people who are indulging in terrorist activities or engaged in sabotage. If there are any differences, it is the duty of the Government to solve the problem by calling upon their leaders and head of the party and resolve the issues. If they want to share power they should be allowed to do so. If there is unemployment problem they should try to solve it.

The regional problems of that area must be solved and stern action should be taken against those, who are creating disturbance after getting training from foreign countries or at the instance of I.S.I. There should be some check on the Bangladeshi infiltrators in the North East who have become the residents of that area and have managed to get their names included in the voters list. The students of Assam had started an agitation on this issue. This issue has not been resolved till date. Keeping in view the national interest, the Government will have to solve the problem of the North East. I would like to say that policy of appeasement should not be adopted to protect the selfish interests of the ruling party. Today the hon. Home Minister has moved a motion that the situation in Manipur were such that imposition of President's Rule there, was inevitable in order to maintain law and order in the state. Imposing President's Rule is not a good thing in democracy as it has been grossly misused. The Governors had been functioning arbitrarily. Various States had to face its consequences during the last few years but the situation in Manipur was such that imposition of President's Rule was use

vitable. I would like to say that peace should be restored at the earliest so that an elected Government could be formed there. The assembly has been kept in suspended animation. It should be seen that the defectors are not included in the Government, otherwise the Government formed by manipulation will not last long.

Sir, I shall submit one more point and conclude. On this land, be it Nagaland or Manipur, during British Rule Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had addressed the Azad Hind Fauj thus:

*"Kadam Se Kadam Badhaye Ja, Khushi Ke Geet Gaye Ja,
Yeh Zindgi Hai Kaum Ki, Tu Kaum Pe Lutaye Ja."*

After infusing a fervour of patriotism, he had hoisted the Tricolour on the soil of Kohima and the people of Manipur too had supported him. The Tricolour was hoisted in Imphal too. How are the traitors getting shield in such a patriotic State or how did the thought of separation come to their minds? An effort should be made by the sociologists, psychologists and specialists to peep into the problems of the tribes there and find out some solution.

The security forces should be given full freedom so that the terrorists could be eliminated and peace could be restored there. At times atrocities are committed against the security forces and when the latter takes some action, they are accused of committing excesses.

The Christian Missionaries which run on foreign money also indulge in international terrorist activities.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much time will you take? You had told that you would

[Prof. Rasa Singh Rawat]

speak for 2 minutes but you have already taken 10 minutes.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT: Their activities should also be taken care of, if they are receiving funds from the international Church. I think that foundation of trouble was laid when the State was named 'Naga Land' which sounds like England and Switzerland etc. Had this place been named as Nag Bhoomi, Nag Pradesh or Nag Lok etc. it would have been far better on lines of Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Mizoram and are very good name. It is my personal opinion that had it been named as Nag Bhoomi or Naglok instead of Nagaland, the feeling of secession would not have come to their mind.

I would like to say that there is a need to check the secessionist elements if they are active through missionary or the Church. It should also be found out as to how foreign aid is being misappropriated or whether it is being used for service or education.

Our relations with Bangladesh are also not cordial and it is also helping the rebels indirectly. Therefore Bangladesh should also be cautioned.

With these words, I would like to repeat that peace should be restored in Manipur at the earliest in the national interest. Law and order situation should return to normal and an elected Government should be installed there.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): Mr Chairman, Sir, I have to express my gratitude to all the hon.

Members who have participated in the discussion. Barring one or two points which had a direct bearing on Manipur rest of the discussion was on the North-Eastern States.

Only two points were raised. One was raised by hon. Member Shri Yaima Singh about security which the MLAs were enjoying in that area. It seems that it has been withdrawn. If they are facing any security threat, we can assure him that the same security will definitely be restored to them. There should be no problem on this count at all.

The second point which was raised was about some kind of a communal clash which took place. According to the information that I have with me, this communal clash as a result of the anti-national and smuggling activity. That is my information.

17.00 hrs

Since the hon. Member, Shri George Fernandes, raised this issue, I am again prepared to look into this matter and I will try to find out if it was really a communal clash and whether some members of a particular community have been put to loss. If they have suffered, we will certainly try to help them out. There is no difficulty on that count at all.

Hon. Member Sri George Fernandes said that I would never agree with him. Let me remove his apprehension. He talked as if I am upset and that I am totally opposed to whatever he says. That is his method of putting things. I know how things are distorted, how emphasis is given on a particular issue. His method of putting things on the floor of the House is different from that of others. So, that does not necessarily mean that I am upset about the whole thing. But the point is that the facts are being distorted.

That is the point on which, in fact, I wish to remind him that what he has said about Phizo is not borne out of the facts. He said that there was some kind of an understanding between Gandhi ji and Phizo and after Gandhiji's death, everybody seems to have forgotten about it. That is not borne out of the facts. That is the only thing I do not like because of the way in which he puts the whole thing.

Sir, most of the hon. Members have been saying that such a thing is happening in the North-East and if we do not do such and such a thing, then the Kashmir situation is going to be repeated. If that is being said in order to give emphasis, I have no objection. They are saying that the Kashmir situation is going to be repeated for every discontentment. They are threatening the Government by saying that there is so much of unemployment, so many educated youth are not getting the kind of employment that they would like to have and so what else they can do. The question that has been put is: Other than insurgency, what is the option that is left for them? If that is the justification for every kind of terrorist activity or for every kind of insurgency, I am sorry to say that I cannot agree with that view point at all.

I can well understand that North-East has a historical background. These are the States which have been created because of certain political compulsions. They have no resource base. But that does not mean that we can afford to neglect that area. I can assure the hon. Members and this House that, in fact, money is not going to be the consideration hereafter. Whatever is required for bringing that area on par with the rest of the country, every effort will be made by the Government to see that area is brought on par. Let there be no feeling of neglect or alienation.

Hon. Member, Shri George Fernandes, has mentioned about a particular trader. Is he not aware that trader was there when he was the Minister? The trader was there. The hon. Members know the system and how it works in that area. I am also aware as to how things are happening in that area.

This time, at Shillong, we had a meeting of the economic ministries in that area; we also had a meeting of the North-Eastern Council and we also had meetings with the Governor and the Chief Ministers. Individually, I have discussed with almost all of them. I asked them what were their problems about which they would like the Government of India to immediately attend to. Hon. Members will be surprised to know that there are certain schemes which have been started in the Fifth Plan, Sixth Plan and in the Seventh Plan, and which are still not completed. The spillover is a huge amount of money. I was interested in giving additional money to that area. I just wanted to find out from them as to what are the projects which they consider and which can be completed within a period of say two years.

Some roads have been started with a few crores having been allotted to them. If the roads can be completed, let us have those roads. A few hydroelectricity projects have been started in that area if by spending a little amount of money on those projects of the projects can be complete and the benefits are available to the local people, let us have them. There is abundance of hydel power in that area. In the rest of the areas we have coal based power stations. But this is an area where the nature has been bountiful and we have tremendous amount of hydel power available there. We should try to utilise the same.

But sometimes in our enthusiasm we

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start a large numbers of schemes and leave almost every scheme incomplete. It is not going to help us all. So the emphasis should be to complete one hydroelectricity project. If Rs.400 or Rs. 500 crores are required, I promised them that I am prepared to give them that amount of money.

Their entire structure of assistance, which is in fact unfortunate, has been that they were getting in the belonging 30 per cent and 70 per cent loan which was later converted into 90 per cent grant and 10 per cent loan. The accumulated recoveries which they have to pay back to the Government of India became such a huge amount that very little was left for developmental expenditure. Added to that another difficulty which I could come across was about both plan and non-plan expenditures. We use to have a particular formula in the beginning and that was changed later on. With regard to the non-plan expenditure the Finance Commission is in fact responsible. The Finance Commission should recommend in such a manner that all those small States which do not have any resources base, but the non-plan expenditure is inevitable and they cannot avoid it, if it is required a special dispensation will have to be given to such small States. We are looking into the matter. The Finance Minister was fortunately present and we could get a decision that till the Finance Commission takes a final view all these recoveries will be stopped. No amount of recovery will be and the previous formula of having expenditure both under plan and non-plan will also be part of the assistance which the Government of India gives. We have made just a beginning and I have promised them that we are going to have sectorial meeting in that area. This was the overall view that we undertook. We are going to set up a small cell wherein the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Finance

Ministry and the Planning Commission will be coming together and on a quarterly basis we are going to have a review of not only all the financial expenditure, but also the physical achievements that they are able to achieve during the course of the year.

17.09 hrs

[SHRI TARA SINGH *in the Chair*]

If this is followed properly and if sectorial meetings are also held, I am sure that will be able to show concrete and definite results at the end of the plan period and also at the end of the annual plan. So this is the kind of attitude that we have adopted. If this is practically followed, at least I feel quite confident that there should be no scope for any kind of misunderstanding that we are not going to give sufficient attention in this area.

In fact that feeling of neglect has to be totally given up. We would like to see that representatives of all economic ministers and the Ministries concerned visit their area and see things for themselves, satisfy themselves that whatever is required in that area is definitely being done. It is not only the roads, Railways are also equally important. All means of communication will have to be created in such a manner that the local people should get a feeling that they are part and parcel of India and they are not isolated from the rest of the country. This is the kind of situation which in fact we would like to create. If possible, we would like to prepare a plan of this nature.

We will try to implement the same within a definite timeframe also so that we are able to achieve what exactly is being contemplated by all of us.

One point which, in fact, had been

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 raised was about the NSCN getting the membership of UNPO. I do not exactly remember. I believe, hon. Member, Prof. Kamson had raised this point. In fact, one of the conditions for membership of UNPO is that they should not have any violent activity to their credit. Maybe because of the fall, they succeeded in getting the membership. Certainly, this issue will be taken up. The representative of Government of India, who is on the Committee, will certainly look into the matter and see that they are dismissed. Any insurgent group which carries on this kind of insurgent activity cannot become a member of UNPO, that is my feeling.

Another issue which I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. House is about the entire approach that we propose to have in the matter. I agree with most of the hon. Members. It is neither the police nor the paramilitary forces nor the Army which ultimately is going to deliver. There is no doubt it. But at the same time, we will have to make a clear distinction between what we call the secessionist movement and other kind of the people linked with some kind of agitation for achieving the kind of demands that they might be having in view. These two will have to be treated on a separate footing altogether.

Even about the first group also, let us not assume that they are secessionist. Of course, the history has been against them. The history clearly indicates that they have been indulging in secessionist activity. But in spite of that, certainly, there is no harm in giving one more opportunity satisfying ourselves that they will give up this path of violence, they will try to be within the constitutional framework and negotiate things with us and see that by peaceful methods, they are able to solve their problems. After doing this and after giving them some kind of a socio-economic deal, which the hon. Mem-

ber have been talking about, of course the opportunity comes. Thereafter some of the groups might carry on their activity. That has been the history. One group agrees. Another group does not surrender. Most of the people surrender. But there is one small group which ultimately was having the sophisticated weapons with them. And with the assistance of our neighbours and the kind of secessionist movement that they have been carrying on, they were able to again reassemble and form a small group. ULFA is doing the same thing. Nagas are doing the same thing. One group of Nagas accepted the agreement while others remained outside and they carry on their activities. This is their history. There is no doubt it. That is why we will have to be very cautious especially when our people, who are inimical to our country, who are trying to exploit discontentment about having their own country. Nagas were thinking in terms of having independent Nagaland. If I mistake not, even Kukis are also having some kind of affiliation with some kind of a revolutionary group in Myanmar. So, these are the groups who are having such ambitions. If in their hearts of hearts, they were to abstain, I have no objection. But they might come out and carry out this kind of a movement which ultimately leads to any kind of secessionist activity. After completing all socio-economic measures which we have to give to them, if we find that they are incorrigible, there is hardly any change in them, and the whole process has become irreversible, then, of course, what else can we expect? I do not think that we can afford this kind of a secessionist movement in our country. They will have to be dealt with in a firm manner and there can be no escape from this kind of our approach. So, this is the kind of approach that we have to adopt in that area. The hearts and confidence of local people will have to be won over. If we commit any mistake, we will have to admit the mistake and see that we

[Sh. S.B. Chavan]

succeed in getting the confidence of the local people. I agree with some of the hon. Members that the people there are pure and good in their hearts and by nature, they are cooperative. In fact, there is no reason to disbelieve them but some of the leaders definitely mislead them. They are emotional type of people and as they are being misled, it takes considerable time for them to come back to the original position. This is the whole difficulty in that area. Still I feel quite confident that if this approach is being adopted, if we concentrate on the development of that area and give them the feeling that what they wanted to achieve by some other method can be done by peaceful method, then we can succeed in getting most of the things that we are asking for. There is no reason as to why these people should adopt insurgency that they have been using so far. I can say this without any fear or contradiction. We are prepared to give them more money provided we are satisfied that the money is purely utilised and that is why, I am going to ask the Finance Ministry to send a special team, have the audit and financial discipline enforced in that area. There is rampant corruption because there are officers and others who have been indulging in some kind of indiscipline and undesirable methods. I am sorry that I cannot possibly deny when charges are made that there is rampant corruption because my information is also that there is rampant corruption and we have to see that we succeed in creating conditions in which we should be in a position to take actions against those who have been, in fact, indulging in corrupt practices.

Sir, I do not think that I should dwell on all other points. I have tried my best to explain most of the important issues raised by hon. Members. I must thank them all and I request the House to support this Resolution.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: The names of the people who are working against the national interests have been mentioned clearly in the Governor's report...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already mentioned all these things.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Why action is not being taken against them?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: There is no need to raise this issue in the House. If we are satisfied, action will be taken.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The questions:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 31st December, 1993 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Manipur.

The motion was adopted.

17.20 hrs

RESOLUTION RE: DISAPPROVAL OF THE AIR CORPORATIONS (TRANSFER OF UNDERTAKING AND REPEAL) ORDINANCES AND AIR CORPORATIONS (TRANSFER OF UNDERTAKINGS AND REPEAL) BILL

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will now take up item Nos. 10 and 11 together, namely, disapproval of the Air Corporation