

821 *Statutory Res. Re: VAISAKHA 21, 1916 (SAKA) of the proclamation by 822
Approval of the Continuance in force the President in r/o Manipur*

"That the Enacting Formula, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

The Enacting Formula, as amended was added to the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is:

" That the long Title stands part of the Bill"

The motion was adopted.

The long Title was added to the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now the Minister may move that the Bill, as amended, be passed.

KUMARI SELJA: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed".

MR. DEPUTY -SPEAKER: The question is : " That the Bill, as amended, be passed".

The motion was moved.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: So, we shall now go to the next subject. The Statutory Resolution by Shri S.B. Chavan.

14.45 hrs

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: APPROVAL OF THE CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF THE PRODUCTION BY THE PRESIDENT IN RESPECT OF MANIPUR

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B.CHAVAN): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:-

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 31st December, 1993 in respect of Manipur issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 30th June, 1994".

As the House is aware, the President was pleased to issue a Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution imposing President's Rule in Manipur. The Legislative Assembly of the State is presently under suspended animation. The Proclamation was approved by both House of Parliament on 22.2.1994. The Proclamation shall cease to operate on the expiration of a period of six months from the date of issue of the Proclamation i.e. on 29.6.1994.

The Government of Manipur in a recent report has stated that overall law and order situation has stated that the overall law and order situation in the State has shown steady improvement for the last fourmonths. /the Naga Kuki conflict is firmly under control though it as yet delicately balanced in sensitive areas. This conflict is likely to resurface in case of any let up in security operations. The violent activities by the Mitel Extremists and Naga-Kuki insurgents continue to be and are likely to remain on a high level, for some more time to come.

The Governor has reported that on the development side, the reprioritization of essential schemes relating to roads, water supply, irrigation, medical and public health and education has been done and adequate funds have been allotted to the development departments. The public distribution system has also been streamlined, particularly in the hill areas.

The availability of rice, wheat and ker-

osene has augmented. While the efforts to contain extremists on the one hand and the revival of development activities on the other, have gathered momentum, the Governor is of the opinion that the improvement of overall security environment, neutralisation of parochial and vested interests, achieving tangible results in the developmental field and improving the moral period of another six months.

In the circumstances, the Governor has recommended that the Proclamation dated 31.12.1993 under article 356 of the Constitution may be extended for a further period of six months.

On its part, the Central Government, would continue to assist the State administration in containment of extremist activity as well as in its efforts to increase the pace of development. The situation in Manipur is being continuously and closely monitored by the Central Government.

Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the State and taking all the relevant factors into consideration, it is proposed that the President's Rule in Manipur may be continued for a further period of six months w.e.f. the 30th June, 1994. The Resolution has already been adopted by Rajya Sabha on 10th May, 1994.

In view of the position explained by me, I solicit the approval of this august House to the Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Motion moved:

" That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation, dated the 31st December, 1993 in respect of Manipur, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a future

period of six months with effect from the 30th June, 1994".

[Translation]

SHRI SUSHIL CHANDRA VERMA (Bhopal) : Mr. deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for granting me an opportunity to speak. The basis of whatever I express here would not only be documents but also the experiences I got in the various areas recently when I had a trip to Manipur.

First of all I would like to submit that a considerable time has already passed since when President's Rule was imposed there earlier. But what has been done during this period and what was the need to extend President's Rule time and again. I have a considerable experience regarding the affairs of Madhya Pradesh, I had been the Chief Secretary in the State Government and also Secretary in the Government of India. It is my firm opinion that President's Rule is no more an alternative to the democratic system through which people are given the opportunity to participate in administration. In 1950 when we were in IAS, improvement in the administration of all those states did occur whenever President's rule was imposed. But during the last 10-15 years, it has been noticed that President's Rule is not a good alternative to run the administration in any state. Imposition of President's rule restricts the freedom of state bureaucracy or the administration. It is the Central Government that directs them in administration the Governor is influenced. People expect him to be bold enough to provide justice and run the administration effectively but this motive is not realised. Rather the Secretary under the State Government works with the consent of the concerned state Minister or the Chief Minister in administration matters whereas in President's Rule there are obstructions even in

825 *Statutory Res. Re: VAISAKHA 21, 1916 (SAKA) of the proclamation by 826*
Approval of the Continuance in force the President in r/o Manipur
this way.

The administrative machinery is in a fix as to what procedure they should follow in order to copy with the said circumstances in which they are unable to work properly.

Wherever President's Rule was imposed we had a similar experience. In a way the work in the intire State comes to a stand still and there is no progress. important decisions can not be taken ; for , the officials are always uncertain about the attitude of the proposed to be elected representatives when they come in power. These are the factors which pressurise the Government servants. They are of the opinion that they have just to pass a specific period and that they are not to take any decision of some consequence which might be come controversial afterwards. Therefore, President's Rule is no alternative.

Sir, I am talking of both the sides. I being an administrative officer, have and experince of administration, I have work in that direction and also been fortunate to be elected as member of parliament. It is on the basis of my accumulative experience that the percidents Rule by no means kind be the proper medium to run good administration,

Sir, so far as the question of Mnipur is concerned there are a number of problems . When I find that despite our administration working there since long we have not been able to win the hearts of the people, I an really very astonished. Still that people in that region have an impression that Delhi is a separate State; and when we go there

call us Indians. Still, they are not ready to accept that Manipur is a part of India and that they are all the citizens of India. I am unable to understand why people have such an attitude. Be it Nagaland manipur are any other state in that region, people do not fellow feeling which they should have. A common man in that region is not convinced that he is and Indiasn like other citizen of the country. Why have been unable to develop such thinking in them even after so many so many years - is some thing very piquant. The result is that the Government fail to get the co-operation of people in maintaining law order. After holding the post of Distrate for 5-6 year I can say that as long as the administration does not get not get the cooperation of the Government, law and order cannot be restored. The police or the Army alone maintain peace and tranquility. This is what is happening everywhere today. Naxalites are active in the tribal areas of Bastar, similar situation prevails in Bihar. What I intend to say that as long as the administration does not get people's cooperation, they cannot restore law and order. The police armed forces alone cannot maintain peacd at their own.

Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, President's Rule was imposed in Manipur six months ago but during this period, there has not been any improvement in the situation. It is on this ground that a Statutory Resolution has been brought forward in this House to seek extension of President's rule there. Sir, under the provisions of the Contitution, President's rule cannot be extended more than two time , otherwise we would have continued to extend this period. I would like to submit that such a step is not going to solve the problem. A large area of Manipur touch-

es the border of Burma. It is this area of the State which is being used as a conduit for smuggling narcotics and arms on a large scale. The manufactured articles are smuggled away to Burma via this route. In this way, a newus has been established ther. The tentacles of this nexus are also seen in Jammu and Kashmir. When narcotics and arms smuggled into the country, there is a fear of rebellion and unrest. We will have to find the causes of all these problems. Today AIDS is posing a great threat to the population there but the people are inorant of it. A large number of people of the State have become victims of this state have become victims of this dreaded disease. It is apprehended that the entire population disease. In this regard, we shall have to create awareness among the people and take effective steps to control this disease. We shall also have to see how smuggling of narcotics and arms from burma could be checked. Mere deploiment of police force and erection of barbed wire along the border line will not prove effective, We would rather have to go into the root cause of the problem.

Mr. Dy. Speaker, Sir, I have myself observed that agriculture has not been given due priority in Manipur.

There, the land is fertile. A large reserve of underground water is available ther. Further, electricity is also produced. But despite all that, thewe have not been exploited. Fruitd and vegetables can be grown there in ample quantity by providing irrigation facility. But the Government has not paid any attention towards it so far. After returning from manipur I had written a letter to the Minister of water Resources, Shri Shuklaji in which I had centioned all these things. I had also requested him to undertake for the development of any reihion depends on its agricultural potential. Today,

example of Punjab is before all of us. Had there not been a gren revolution, the signs of happiness would not have been seen there. The nature has gifted Manipur with fertile land and other resources. But due to negligence on the part of the Government towards these aspects the development of this region could not be taken up. Where there is no development, there is poverty. Because of this the people of this region think that so far as development is concerned, they are being discriminated against. If 70-80 per cent area could be covered under irrigation in Punjab, why cannot it be done in Manipur? Why is this happening? Why do the people of the State think that they are being discriminated against? This is the main cause of unrest among the people. There are many other factors which lead to enmity among various tribes. We must see, why is this happening? Why cannot we inculcate a feeling of freternity among them? We should never let them fight amongst themselves. We do not want that there may be unrest and we may be forced to extend President's rule. If we try to find a solution to the problems of the tribes with political motivation, we shall not be able to achieve anything. Rather it would leave impact. So far as the problem of language was concerned, it has since been resolved and peace has descende on the State. We should do our best to avoid imposition of President's rule there. Let us hand -over the powersto the elected representative of the people se that they could work for the prosperity of the State.

[English]

SHRI LAETA LIMBREY (ARUNACHAL EAST): Mr. deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. I would like to say a few reasons due to which we have insurgent activities in Manipur and other partsof Manipur North Eastern Region.

Sir, first of all, the entire people of Manipur and the North Eastern Region. Sir, first of all, the entire people of Manipur and the North Eastern Region are ethnical and religious minorities. They speak different languages and they are linguistically minorities. These people have always a feeling and apprehension that their brothers and sisters belonging to the majority community may not give equal rights and status which they deserve and the rights that are enshrined in the Constitution of India.

Sir, when we have problems in the North Eastern Region, we are very much concerned because we come from that region. Though I come from a State which is one of the most peaceful States in the country today, still when we have problems in other parts of the Region, it affects us. It affects our socio-economic life also. The people of Manipur, these ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, are feeling that, probably, they are not going to get their political rights, is the right to reach to the top position.

They have a feeling that they may not get it just because they are from the minorities. Despite all these feelings, instead of consolidating them and solving the problems in order to bring these misled people back to the mainstream, our Central Government, right from independence, have enforced certain draconian laws; On application of these draconian laws, situation has deteriorated and many innocent people have been killed and are subjected to harassment.

Such laws have further complicated the situation there. The situation in Manipur and in the entire North-Eastern region has further deteriorated as insult and harassment are being perpetuated on them when they go out from their home State Region do not have sufficient number of technical

institutes, students from the region go out for higher and technical education they are subjected to harassment and insult. Not only the students are involved in it but also in some of the colleges and universities, we have got the information that teachers and the professors are also involved you can very well imagine when we have so much of unemployment problem in the whole region and our educated boys are without jobs, they are naturally attracted to the underground and insurgent people. That is how they take to arms and start revolting against the administration. When they go back and take arms in their hands, they talk of a feeling of alienation.

I would like to make a few suggestions. There may not be a permanent solution to problems but still we must try and make an attempt to find a permanent solution. But I am sorry to say that there has not been sincere effort on the part of the Central Government to find solution of the problem and effort to remove the feeling of alienation from the minds of the tribals of the region. I feel the problem can be solved by initiating a fresh process of political negotiation with all insurgent groups under the Constitution of India.

Secondly, there should be adequate participation of the ethnic minority people in the management of the affairs of the country.

Thirdly, new political and economic policies must be formulated for the region which must be implemented urgently on a war-footing.

The assurances given by the hon. Finance Minister in every Budget that a tax holiday would be given to North-Eastern region for five years will not solve the problem.

You know even after giving the tax exemption extended by the Finance Minister, the growth of the industry of the entire region has been zero or rather minus one because subsidies and other facilities which were already there in the region have been reduced. Subsidies have been accumulating for so many years but they are not being disbursed. It is so, how can you expect the people to come and invest their money? Therefore, I suggest that a new economic policy for the region should be announced and the Government should give importance for the infrastructure development of the region and also mobilise natural as human resources. I know, our hon. Home Minister is a dynamic person and his other junior colleagues are also dynamic ones and they have been trying their best. But our country is a great country and we have various problems. We have more serious problems in the North Eastern region. And the problems have been there from the very beginning. It is a problem which we have got right from the time of Independence. But unfortunately, we have not been able to get the earnestness and the attention that it deserves, from the Home Minister exclusively for the North Eastern region should be appointed and also preferably a man of good integrity. And the man appointed should be from the region who can coordinate with the people, Government, MPS and other affected persons, who can understand the I have suggested are taken, I am sure it will heal the wounds and will erase the feeling of negligence and dominance. I am sure, the entire North Eastern region particularly, Manipur will come back to the path peace and prosperity.

With these few words, I conclude.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI (KODARMA):
Mr. deputy - Speaker, Sir, this is a Statutory Resolution which has been brought forward

by the hon. Home Minister for the extension of the President's rule which was imposed in the State of Manipur on 31st December, 1993. He is seeking an extension of the President's rule. Whenever such a type of President's rule is imposed, the hon. Home Minister comes to House time and again seeks the approval for the extension of such a President's rule. But this is not the solution. There may be some sort of flimsy ground on which Article 356 of the Constitution may be invoked for the proclamation of the President's rule. I think, this sort of an action is not the solution to the batting problem which is obtaining in the different part of the country.

This is not a single case. In many parts of the country the provision of Article 356 have invoked by the hon. Home Minister on the ground of failure of constitutional machinery or on the grounds which are considered to be very much flimsy or on technical, political grounds which are going to serve the parochial and limited needs of the Congress Party. And that is why have serious objections and reservations on the imposition of President's Rule. This type of President's Rule should not be imposed on any State as this is not going to just improve the situation obtaining in any part of the State. We have many glaring examples. You must see the conditions which are obtaining in the Valley which is considered as a most sensitive part of the country, that is, Jammu and Kashmir.

Earlier also this sort of measure was taken by the Congress Party and the President's Rule was in Punjab. It is our experience in the past also that these steps were taken by the Central Government because it is not in power in different States of the country and that is why through back door, through indirect methods they are just going to use their political handle to serve their parochial and political ends. That

833 *Statutory Res. Re: VAISAKHA 21, 1916 (SAKA) of the proclamation by 834*
Approval of the Continuance in in force the President in r/o Manipur

is why, this sort of a thing is taking place. (Interruptions) Orissa is in a very good shape. We are again coming to power and you will be just defeated there. We shall be getting a thumping majority there. You just think about Kerala, Shri Charles, because there also you are going to be defeated. And there is no question of President's Rule there.

I would like to say that this sort of steps being take by the Central Government cannot be praiseworthy, cannot be encouraged, cannot be appreciated on any ground. Once the President's Rule is imposed on the ground of failure of constitutional machinery, it is the pristine duty, it is the pious duty and responsibility of the Central Government to restore democratic process because it is our experience and an established fact that without democratic process nothing is possible. Our hon. Home Minister has narrated about a number of measures which have taken place in Manipur to meet the developmental needs and he also narrated about the steps that have been taken in the field of public distribution about the steps that have taken in the field of public distribution system, in the field of education, in the field of health, hygiene and every other sphere; tremendous development and tremendous changes have taken place. I have every doubt and every reservation because without democratic process these things are not possible. This is our bitter experience in any other part if the State, wherever such type of President's Rule had been imposed. The conflict between Kukis and Nagas and all these disturbances are taking place and there is no brittle, there are no checks and balances over all these things. Similarly, communal riots have also taken place in the month of May 1993. What measures have been taken, what sort of solutions have been put forward by the hon. Home Minister? At least, 105 persons were killed during

those riots and uptill Inow no compensation has been paid to the next kin of these deceased persins. So far as I know, only an amount of Rs. 20,000 was paid whereas there was an announcement made by the hon. Prime Minister that Rs. 1 lakh would be paid to every kin of the deceased person who was killed during those riots. But what has happened to the lot of all these parsons? In Manipur, 105 persons were killed and wharever payment was made, it was only Rs. 20,000. It is a very trivial amount and this cannot be considerad as substantial. And still, there is another startling fact that thousands of families have been rendered homered homeless as a result of these communal riots, communal disturbances, but no measures have been undertaken by the Central Government for their relief and rehabilitation.

So, I would like to know from the hon. Minister, what steps are going to be taken in this regard. And similarly, various kinds of Acts are there in the hands of the Central Government to serve their own motives. For example, take TADA; all these Acts are there. In Karnataka, from where you hail, so many politicians, so many Members of Parliament also were just implicated under this TADA.

So, this is also an obnosious law. (Interruptions) Laloo is hale and hearty and the Government is also very strong. So, You cannot challenge Laloo; he is going to challenge the entire coutry one day, he will come to power here at the Centre also. So, you do not worry about Laloo. Laloo is in very good health; and the State is also in very good health.; Please do not try to make any sort of comparison beetween Kerala and Bihar. Bihar is the last citadel from where the revolution will statr and that will come ultimately to Delhi.

So, Sir, I was speaking about TADA and about all these obnoxious Acts which are considered to be highly objectional and obnoxious. These are in the hands of the Government and they are using all these obnoxious laws, obnoxious Acts; they are harassing all the politicians of the different cause and colours. They are harassing the opposition party Members; they are harassing, sometimes, the MLAs and the MPs also; they are harassing the honourable citizens of this country also. So, first of all, hon. Home Minister must withdraw all sorts of these obnoxious laws by which the innocent people are put to a lot of harassment.

So far as Manipur is concerned, earlier you restore the democratic process, the better it is because that process is the last and ultimate process which will fulfil the aspirations, desire and ambitions of the people. You are not going to govern the remote corner remote corner of the hilly State from here, from the Centre. You are not feeling the pulse of the people, the aspirations, the desires and the ambitions which are lurking in the hearts of those people in that hilly and far-flung State. You are ruling that tiny State from here; you are passing all rules and regulations from here; you are making budgetary provisions from here; and you are not knowing what is the exact thing, what is the exact desire and what is the exact pangs and pains of the people.

I will request the hon. Home Minister that this should be the last imposition and extension of the President's. One more sentence I want to say. That is, there must be some sort of an amendment to Article 356 of the Constitution. You cannot extend the President's Rule time and again at your own whims arbitrariness. Rather, there must be a ceiling that only two or three time that such President's Rule will be imposed. This is my

humble request to this august House that there must be some sort of an amendment which should be brought forward to Article 356; there should be a ciling; there should be a limitation; there should be an end to regular and endless extensions of President's Rule under Article 356. With these words, I conclude.

[Translation]

DR. LAXMINARAYAN (Mandsaur): Mr. Dy. Speaker, Sir, while speaking on the Statutory Resolution seeking extension of President's Rule in Manipur, I would like submit that even today, the situation is unchanged there. We understand the difficulty of the hon. Home Minister but it is also true that the pace with which political process should have been initiated there and the steps which should have been taken by the Government taken by the Government to resolve their problems were not taken up sincerely. In the recent past, discontent among the people has been observed there and now, it has taken a form of caste conflict and therefore we all should give a serious thought to it.

Sir, I would like to submit that the way a feeling of recessionism is developing in the Eastern part of this country, whether it is a problem of Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya or any other State of North-East region, we should ponder over it seriously. Again a demand for more autonomy and an feeling of keeping themselves a loof from the mainstream of the country is growing in all North-Eastern States. We shall have to look into it, otherwise we will have to face its serious repercussions. What we seen recently is indicative of the present state of affairs in that region. The people felt themselves isolated because of the caste and tribal conflicts which occurred there with the active involvement insurgents of Naga and

837 *Statutory Res. Re: VAISAKHA 21, 1916 (SAKA) of the proclamation by 838 Approval of the Continuance in in force the President in r/o Manipur*

thundereds of people were killed in these conflicts. I agree with what the hon. Home Minister has just said that the facilities are being given to the people there, whether it is through public distribution system or some other means. I fully agree that the facilities are being given but despite this, we should keep constant vigil over the prevailing situation there. As one hon. Member has just said, Article 356 is not the ultimate weapon left with us which may be used to bring about normalcy. Further, imposition of President's Rule will not solve all our problems. It is because of their poverty, illiteracy and superstition that a wave of proselytism is gaining ground. We must also look into this aspect. There have been instances where forcible proselytism was restored to.

Sir, a few days back, I got an opportunity to visit Meghalaya, Mizoram and Manipur. There, goods are openly brought into our country from across the Burma border and then sold in the markets. There is no restriction on the quantity of goods to be brought in. One can bring as much goods as possible, including arms and ammunitions. I think the local administration and the police also find themselves helpless there. In this respect, I would only submit that recently, in the case of Sikkim, a direct allegation has been levelled against the Government. I don't know how far it is true. However, I don't want to go into it. I would like to submit that why such an allegation has been levelled that this State would become another Punjab? What is the fault of the Government? One should not nurture such a feeling that if effective steps are not taken, it will become another Punjab.

15.27 hrs.

(SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*)

Sir, if such incidences are reported, it is

definitely a matter of concern for us. The Government should come out with a denial. It should make it clear that the situation does not warrant any action but the apprehensions should also be dispelled. Therefore, the political process should be started thereat the earliest. We should create such an atmosphere in which a duly elected Government could function and which would heal the wounds of the people. So far as bringing about normalcy and creating a sense of security among people is concerned, we are one on this issue. A spirit of national integrity and solidarity should be inculcated among the people. As I have submitted earlier, we have no other alternative but singularly one that we may extend this period and political process should be initiated during this extended period. If it is done, the hon. Home Minister will not find it necessary to come here again with such a Resolution. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI UDDHAB BARMAN (BARPETA):
Sir, we are today discussing that Statutory Resolution moved by the Home Minister regarding extension of President's Rule in the State of Manipur for another six months. I feel that extending President's Rule is not the solution to the Manipur problem. It has been mentioned that till the time the President's Rule will be the Assembly will be kept under suspended animation.

Last time, before a proclamation regarding the President's Rule in the State of Manipur was passed, the Governor of the State had submitted a Report on the State of affairs of Manipur. The clash between Kukis and Nagas is the main problem which is creating communal tension in the State. And the activities of the extremists are adding to this problem.

In the Report it was mentioned that some of the MLAs and Ministers were encouraging the extremists to indulge in such types of activities. In the report it was mentioned that Shri Ghishing, the Deputy Chief Minister was encouraging the extremists to fight against the Kukis.

Kuki extremists are encouraged by some MLAs so some people there in power are trying to help the extremists for their vested interest. At the same time, by taking advantage of the situation, the extremists are also influencing a section of the administration and creating a very difficult situation in that State. The people are misled by different slogans. They are being utilised because of the strong feeling of alienation prevailing in that area. Manipur is a small State. Manipur has a very small population. It has different ethnic group. But, The pace of development there is very slow. There is a lot of unemployment. No development work is taking place there. There are no developments as far as agriculture, irrigation, roads and education are concerned. People are going outside Manipur to go in for advanced studies. It is because of this situation, the people of Manipur, who were integrated with the Indian vaishnava culture, are forced to think that they are Indians. The Central Government should properly take decisions so that the economic and other developments of the State can be expedited.

There is also a problem of drug trafficking and insurgency. This problem was referred to by most of the hon. Members who spoke today. The problem of drug trafficking is linked with insurgency. In addition to this, there are a large number of AIDS cases there are also different ethnic groups. Behind each group, a section of extremists are working. Now a days, so many extremist

groups are coming from different States of the North-Eastern Region. These extremists group are taking advantage of the sentiments of the people who are living in this area. The Central Government has adopted discriminatory attitude towards the entire North-East. I think it is right time that we should properly take into account the feelings of the people of Manipur and of other North-Eastern States. So, proper steps should be taken in order to see that the feeling of isolation and deprivation is removed from the minds of the people who are living in Manipur. But, at the same time, I would like to say that President's Rule is not the only way of solving these problems. There are measures which can be adopted.

It was stated in the Governor's Report that the President's Rule is imposed in order to restore democratic process in the State. But what is seen is that practically no democratic process has been started. The Assembly is under suspended animation. This is done in order to indulge in horse trading. Naturally, this will create more problems. What I say is that, immediately, the Assembly should be dissolved and a proper atmosphere should be created in order to form a popular Government in the State. This should be done in order to see that the elected representatives can attend to the problems of the State. Not only this, they can also start taking steps for the development of roads, for the development of their agriculture and also for the development of their irrigation.

At the same time, I would urge that the military rule or the repression by the police will not do. There should be a process to isolate the extremists; for that, political initiative should be taken; without political initiative, the problem of not only Manipur but also other States of the northeastern region cannot be solved; for that proper steps should be taken.

841 *Statutory Res. Re: VAISAKHA 21, 1916 (SAKA) of the proclamation by 842 the President in r/o Manipur*
Approval of the Continuance in force
With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur) : Mr. Chairman, I do not oppose the Resolution, but at the same time, I cannot welcome it also. Why I do not oppose it because the prevailing situation in the State at the moment demands the President's Rule? Although it is considered as a necessary evil the spirit of the people of Manipur is that they would prefer to suffer or are suffering under their own Government established through the democratic process rather than to enjoy the fruits of the dictatorial or bureaucratic rule. This is the spirit of the people over there. The people there openly say that they do not like the President's Rule because the attitude of the bureaucrats, the officers of the Central Government including the Governor is quite against the people. But still, there are bullets from the insurgents, there are killings. So to face situation a necessity is there. So, we describe the President's Rule as a necessary evil.

The hon. Members of the august House will instantly come to know the spirit of the people why they do not like such rule. We call it the rule of the bureaucrats or the dictators. So, the people are against it. So, I cannot welcome it.

The situation in Manipur is becoming grave day by day. Only the deployment of security force or the armed force will not solve the problem because it is a force of secessionists who is going to prevail if we do not consider to solve the problem.

It is a very strategic border State bordering Burma, China and Bangladesh with a vast area of jungle. So, it may be taken as a strategic border State and the matter relating to this State may be taken up very

seriously by this House. Otherwise, it may become one day so acute that it may be very difficult to control it.

For instance, 15th October is observed, by these youths particularly by these insurgents and extremists, as a black day, as anti merger day. On that day the State was merged with the Indian Union. If on that day any hon. Member happens to be there he will be surprised to find that there is total bandh. Demonstrations are held and no objection is raised against them. Taking into account all these you may please consider how grave the situation is.

Another type of situation that is cropping up there is of Meiti Extremists. I shall analyse. One is the ethnic problem between the Nagas and Kukis. I am referring to the problem created by Meiti extremists. Now they have retreated, there is no doubt in that. Although, some problems are created here and there by them by throwing bombs, etc., at the moment they do not like to confront the security forces deployed by the Central Government under the President's Rule. So they have moved to the remote villages. But at the same time they not stop collection of ransom. They take money from all the employees, from primary school teachers to college teachers. They have to pay ransom fixed by these terrorist organisations like PLA or some other organisations.

They have fixed this ransom. A primary teacher has to be pay Rs.100; a teacher of collage has to pay Rs.200 and like that. If a teacher happens to be a member of the family of a police officer, for example, wife of a police inspector, even she has to pay she cannot deny it because it is fixed. The cashier is fixed to collect it for every month. If he does not collect it and does not pay to them then his life is in danger. If anyone refuses to pay, it is the duty of to that cashier

to give the name of that person this is the situation now.

What are doing now is that they are recruiting teenagers, including girls in their force. It is my information that hundreds and hundreds of youths have been recruited by them. It is a season of recruitment. Their brains have been washed. They have been told that they are not Indians, they are Meitis, that they have been trapped by their elders by merging Manipur with India. So they are being charged. This is the situation now a days. I need not elaborate it further. I think the hon. House can rely on these. These are the problems there.

To face these problems, it requires political and social activities to be taken up there, Otherwise merely by imposing President's Rule or by deploying army and security forces will not solve the problems. Let us think of some permanent device or a permanent solution.

That is why I am addressing this august House to think of this very seriously.

The present situation in regard to the ethnic clashes between the Kukis and the Nagas is to some extent put under control. Their problem was a man-made problem. It was created by some interested groups of leaders. I am now about 72 years old. For the past so many year's we have never had any occasion when there was any clash between these Kukis and Nagas. They have been living peacefully as brothers and sisters— one may be a big brother -but we have been living very happily peacefully. But suddenly it comes up now. It can be imagined. Some inter-

ested political people or some other interested persons created this. It is man-made problem. It artificial.

My point is that, if all the organisations — say the Naga insurgents or the Kuki armed forces — can be disarmed at any moment, these people will live together. This is our consideration. There will be no such problem again. Only the Meiteis, who from two-thirds of the population, they can play the role of a big brother. They can also be mace to live together as brothers and sisters, as has been since long time immemorial; and it will be. But only the armed militants are creating problems. These armed militants are being supported by political leaders or others. Otherwise there is no problem. So, I do not find it very difficult. It will be subsided, if there is will power to do so. First those militants must be disarmed by our armed forces or the security forces. If we are successful in that, there will be no ethnic clash in Manipur. Also I can say that there has not been communal riot in Manipur. Whether it is Meiteis or the Muslims, there are no clashes. They are living as big brothers as if they are all of the same religion.

Unfortunately some politicians or extremists turned politicians, stage managed to create the problems. Otherwise, there is no problem. So, we do not apprehend any trouble. There will be no riots and there have not been any riots in the State of Manipur. The only problem would be the thrust of the secessionists, who want to secede from India. That is the only problem, we have to face.

The hon., Minister while moving the

845 *Statutory Res. Re: VAISAKHA 21, 1916 (SAKA) of the proclamation by 846
Approval of the Continuance in in force the President in r/o Manipur*

Resolution mentioned that under the President's Rule the Government have taken up some items of works or did some things. He read out some of them. But it will not solve the problem. By repairing some roads, or by distributing some kerosene oil the problem cannot be solved. These youths who have discarded us now, have gone to very far remote a places. If the Government prepares to extend railway line, to that area it will be a consideration.

When I ask for a Central University, the hon. Minister is keeping mum. When I ask for an industry in my State, nobody has responded to that. When I request the Railway Minister to give us a railway line, nobody has responded to that. I understand that these things cannot be done overnight. But at least the Government can given as assurance. When Srinagar has been considered for connecting through a railway line, why cannot the Government at least express its desire to extend the railway line up to Imphal in Manipur. It is my opinion that distribution of kerosene oil and certain foodstuff by the present Government will not solve the problem. The people do not consider these things as important. I am not in favour of such a policy.

I would like to bring to the notice of this august House that under the President's Rule, some police officers have been transferred to some other place, outside Manipur. It again angered our youth. Why are they being transferred? Their services may be utilised by giving good instructions. Instead of that, they have been transferred to some other place, outside Manipur. We have a small number of IPS Officers. And three of them have been transferred during the President's Rule by the Advisers or by the Governor. Their services are very much necessary. If new Officers are brought there, they will not be able to apply their mind. So,

it is a mistake. And one day the Government will repent for this mistake. This measure will be taken very seriously and it will be to the advantage of the extremist organisations.

Sir, I need not speak much. My last point would be about imposition of the President's Rule on the basis of the report of the Governor. I do not like to refer it at the moment. But still, I would like to mention that in the Governor's Report, the name of the Speaker has been brought in I do not know, why? I do not like this. The name of the Speaker should not be brought in such reports, If the hon. Minister seeks this extension on the basis of these reports, there is no reason for keeping the Assembly suspended and it could have been dissolved. But I am not objecting to that. I am only making my point.

Sir, this Resolution can be passed and the President's Rule can be extended. But in the meantime, the democratic process for restoration of P.R must be taken up seriously in the larger interests of the country and this issue concerns not only with the State of Manipur but also concerns with the country as whole.

SHRIMATI DIL KUMARI BHANDARI (Sikkim): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the present Statutory Resolution seeks to extend the President's Rule in Manipur for a further period of six months with effect from 30th June, 1994.

Today, we have no option but to support the Resolution. The people who aspire and work for democracy would never like to support such initiatives where the elected popular Government is denied to function for the people who have elected them and power is given to one person who is the Governor and who at times is mere a puppet in the hands of the party or some parties or

the other. The Governors who do not belong to the regions cannot read the feeling of the people and they act in partisan with lines which alienate the people further.

As far as the economic reasons are concerned, I agree with the suggestions of our hon. friend from Arunachal Pradesh and they are very good and constructive suggestions. I only hope that here the Central Government would be a little pragmatic and serious enough in tackling these problems and not always use the provision of the Constitution, that is, Article 356 to solve their own partisan interests.

Sir, a lot of things have been said and done. But the Government should give a serious thought to solve the problem prevailing in Manipur. When we think of Manipur, we have in mind the whole of North-East, Bodo areas, Karbianglong and Naga-Kuki conflicts. And when we think of North-East, we also think of Sikkim has though it is not in the North-East Council where recently a political turmoil has been started. But who has started it is just a political guess which is being made. The political upheaval or instability which is prevailing in the North-East is playing a havoc.

Today I read in the newspapers about the statement made by our hon. Home Minister, Shri S.B. Chavan regarding the presence of ISI in North-East. This is a grave situation where the Government of India should really become serious.

15.58 hrs.

(SHRI P.C.CHACKO *in the chair*)

The extension of President's Rule is not the solution. Some of the hon. Members who have spoken till now they have also said that President's Rule is not the solution.

The involvement of the people is a must. Unless we convince the people by way of helping them for required infrastructure for development and make them self-reliant, let them live with self-respect. Instead the Government have always been either playing politics or extending inducements.

Sir, I would like to say that even after 46 years of independence, our central government is not able to read the hopes and aspirations of the people of these areas. It is not too late to start good things. So I would urge upon the Government to think afresh in their handling the situation of North-East.

16.00 hrs

I would urge the hon. Home Minister to start the democratic process that should install a popular Government in Manipur, which can fulfil the hopes and aspiration of the people.

With these words, I thank you for giving me the time.

SHRI PETER G. MARBANIANG (Shillong): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I apologise for not being here when you called my name because I had to attend some other meetings of the Parliament.

Sir, being a party man, I cannot help but support the proclamation of the President's Rule in Manipur because the Party discipline must be maintained. However, I would like to inform this hon. House that Manipur is one State of the North-East which is at the far flung of this great country of ours, bordering with Burma, and is a very sensitive area. It is true that a few months ago, there had been ethnic clashes leading to a breakdown in the law and order. But recently we have come to know that the law and order has been maintained, not so

much because of the Presidential rule prevailing in the State but because of the realisation by the common people, irrespective of the ethnic groups, that the time has come for a popular Government to be reinstalled in Manipur. This is the main factor which has brought back law and order. The common people themselves are now very eager to get a popular Government back and they have extended full cooperation to the authorities. I shall not give the credit for the normalcy of law and order to the Presidential rule because we have come to know that even on the economic front, nothing very substantial has place for the growth and development of the State. We know that before the Presidential proclamation, a few crores of rupees - about Rs. 25-30 crore - had been granted to the State by the Planning Commission. The popular Government that existed at that time, had, in fact, initiated different schemes for bringing about development in the State and the Head of the State, as it is today, has allowed only those schemes. Nothing new has come to Manipur. But the underground current against this unpopular Presidential rule in Manipur is very much there. We, who come from the North-East, love the democratic principles, love to see that this big institution of democracy is maintained right from the village level up to the State level, and now the people of Manipur are all demanding that a popular Government should be restored again in Manipur.

As we can understand, different political parties have more or less come to a settlement about the selection of the leaders of the Government to be installed there. I am sure that allowing a popular Government to come back in Manipur would help in maintaining the law and order situation more family than it is maintained and the people will be very happy to have a popular Government back there. So, I appeal to the

Government that this new idea which has come to Manipur should be respected. Although we allow the President's Rule to continue in Manipur for another six months, the Government of India should take some positive steps to bring back popular Government in Manipur.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the same situation prevails right from Kashmir up to Manipur and we were perplexed particularly when we listened to our friends from the North-East. Just now, the hon. Member from Meghalaya said here that he was supporting it for the sake of party discipline. The House should understand his predicament. The hon. Member from Sikkim made a mention of the State of affairs prevailing in their State. This clearly shows how this party and Government have succeeded in creating disturbances in the entire North-East where there was peace sometime. That is why I said that the situation is same right from Kashmir to North-East and the situation of Manipur is the worst as there is no excuse for imposition of President's Rule there. We may say that Muslims created trouble in Jammu and Kashmir, Sikhs in Punjab, the Christians in some North-Eastern States but in Manipur the people follow Vaishnavism for last 300 years. Today they are ready to abandon their religion and secede from the country. There is a need for introspection as to where do Manipur and the country stand today.

Sir, just now the hon. Minister of Home Affairs said that Pakistan and the ISI are active in the North-East but when we provide them an opportunity the subversive activities will not be confined to Pakistan's ISI alone but China may also create trouble as it has an easy access to North-Eastern region. China does not recognise Sikkim

and Arunachal Pradesh as parts of India as yet, whatsoever tall claims we may be making. We may be talking very much of establishing friendly relations with China but these factors should not be ignored. The fact is that China may, at this time, be interested in establishing friendly ties, for whatsoever reasons, with India but there are no clear-cut signs and gestures of friendship discernible on its part. China's efforts of constructing a road through Burma up to Rangoon port and its successful endeavour to position its navy in our territorial waters are not meant for its own security.

Mr., Chairman, sir, North-Eastern region is a trouble-torn area today. The Central Government has pushed it into the present state of affairs, then who will rescue it? There can be no solution to the problem by simply printing an accusing finger towards ISI, Pakistan or China. The centre did not allow the non-Congress Governments in may States of North-Eastern region to function. The Governments were dislodged. The Janata Dal Government in Mizoram was dislodged. The Central leadership might have counted the bringing down of Governments and breaking of parties from Delhi to North-east as its achievement but it should not be forgotten that tension is still smouldering in Mizoram, because the political parties which were split are composed of people. They were underground at one time and were called militants. Today they have come to the fore and are active in political and democratic work. But you are fond of complete subjugation of other people to you and this suits you. The same thing happened in Nagaland also. I would not like to go into allegations and counter-allegations but you are subverting the formation of an opposition in Nagaland. You try to cause split in all opposition parties or bring their members to your party fold by money power. This is what happened there also. I think

it is the greatness of the hon. Member if Manipur who during his speech did not even touch this topic here. Their was a coalition Government of the Manipur Peoples Party and the Janata Dal in Manipur. It was dislodged. When such a situation is created, we say that it is the handiwork of some foreign country. No development has taken place in this region. The work of Lokata electric project has not yet been completed even after 20 years. Employment is nil there. Politics is not confined to these aspects alone. Any leader chosen there is given money as much as he wants. I would urge you to at least visit North Eastern states once. An Assembly segment consists of barely a population of 10 to 15 thousand but during the election money spent on these small segments is much higher than that spent in other States. Elections have become an industry there. The people there make sufficient money during elections which could last for a period of 3-5 years until thye next elections are held. This is the situation there and I am pained to Speak about it. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not agree that the hon. Minister can claim within 6 months that the situation has become congenial because no steps ;are being taken in that direction. We are sending retired military or police officers like Director Generals as Governors there, as has been done in Kashmir. The army, the para military forces and the CRPF personnel maintain law and order there. The people are demoralised there. This is the reason of infighting between the Kuki and the Naga tribes. Have all the facts of this infighting come before the House? Is there any endeavour to stop or aggravate it? Is there any information as to where do the rebels get the arms? Some days ago, I received a letter from Rishang Kieshing of your party. There was a time when he was in our party. He had won Lok Sabha elections on Socialist Party ticket in 1952. He was very close to Dr. Lohia and a member of the National

Executive of our party. Rishang Keishing, in his letter, has stated that the Governor has submitted a wrong report. That report is lying with the Home Minister and could be scrutinised at any time. Did Rishang Keishing really encourage the militants to revolt against the unity and integrity of the country? He has been the Chief Minister and is the leader of your party there. If this is true then you must be doing something about it. It should not be so that since he belongs to your Party he is immune from all charges. In case it is not true, how can a Governor admonish a political leader there and how are you tolerating it? Construction of roads is no remedy to the problems of North - East. The problem is not confined to one aspect there. We are apprehensive of it and have been expressing our fears about it. I am afraid that the people of plains are not at all concerned for the problems of the people of North - East. Verma ji made a mention of AIDS and you talked of the drugs menace facing the region.

This is being discussed not only in India but all over the World. North - East has emerged as one of the world's major drug Centre and AIDS infested area. On a visit to Aizawl, Kohima and Imphal etc. commonly youth in the age group of 18-20 years could be seen loitering on the roads. Their gloomless countenances look like smeared with ash. After all they too are the children of our country and North-East is indeed a part of India. Future of these is jeopardised by drugs and AIDS. However, nobody cares all these? Reposing faith in Military and Paramilitary forces on one hand bureaucracy on the other with the hope that these will shape the future of that region is totally wrong on the part of the Parliament. I would like to submit that North - Eastern regional issues should not be looked at from partisan point of view; which party will come into power in that region is immaterial. I am sorry

to say that no political party cares for the North-East because that region sends only nine or ten Members to the Lok Sabha. Often in the House the figures of addicts and patients are stated to be fifty lakh - one crore. Nobody cares about the fact that which party has elected them. North-East is at the border of India. If North-Eastern borders are under threat then whole of the country will be in deep trouble. I am of the opinion that what has been done in Sikkim should not have been done. Rampant corruption is preventing any action. You enjoyed power in the past and it is still being by you. Power is to be utilised for streamlining things and for finding solutions. Discussion is held just for the sake of discussion and not to arrive at any conclusion. No steps are being taken to solve the basic problems. I would like to submit to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that today I.S.I. of Pakistan, tomorrow China and some other day U.S.A. will fish in our troubled waters and we should be prepared to tackle all this. We should not nourish any illusions about the US attitude towards India. Therefore, steps should be taken to hold these hounds at bay.

I would like to urge the veteran and experienced hon. Home Minister to deliberate with all the political parties on North-East region and also discuss the scenario with all the sections. We should not get bogged down by the thinking that our party should remain in power in North-East. Ruling party at the Centre was installed in office in Manipur and then was shunted out to directly govern the State. Therefore, instead of attaching any importance to this sort of thinking, discussions on North-East region should be held with all the sections. Security position of North-East is strategically crucial, but keeping in mind the interests of hoi-polloi of that region steps should be taken after this motion is adopted. I am of the opinion that if the collective wisdom of all prevails then

solution will be definitely found out and with that I conclude.

[English]

PROF. M. KAMSON (Outer Manipur) :

Sir, very recently, we have discussed in detail about Manipur and many Members have expressed very well about the problems of the North-east as a whole, that is, on February 22.

With regard to the situation in Manipur, our hon. Home Minister a little while ago, while he was placing the resolution for extension of the President's Rule in Manipur, has clearly stated that to some extent the situation has improved, particularly in regard to the ethnic conflict between Kukis and Nagas which was the main cause for the imposition of President's Rule in that State. As far as other aspects or what I should say as other reasons or grounds which are associated at that time or the general law and order situation prevailing for quite a long time are still there. But the immediate cause which has called for the imposition of President's Rule was the ethnic Kuki-Naga conflict. I agree with that.

The other aspect or other point, in fact, with is associated there is that there is some sort of infighting in the groups, in the party and in the Government which is related to the constitutional aspect or the failure of the constitutional machinery in that State. So, if the Home Minister is placing more emphasis on the failure of constitutional machinery and wants to extend it, I think there is some reason for him to do so. But if he is placing the emphasis based on Kuki-Naga conflict as the immediate cause for extension, I think the extension is not so much necessary. Therefore, a detailed explanation, assessment and analysis is required for this extension. I do not mean to say that it should

not be extended. What I mean to say is that it must be made clear to the House as to why it is being extended. Therefore, if we take the second point which I said, that is, the law and order situation I think the ground is not enough for extension.

This situation has been there for along time about which I have mentioned. For many years this movement has been there: Naga movement has been there for the last 40, 50 years; Meiti movement has been there for the last 10, 15 years and Kuki group has been there for the last one year. So, in this way, there are so many things. Still it is continuing and our attention is being drawn to that. Therefore, I just would like to say that the Home Minister may kindly see the constitutional aspect as to whether it is possible to bring back a popular Ministry out of the present situation of party composition and infighting. If, in the good wisdom of the Home Minister, he considers that it is good to bring back a popular Ministry in place of the former coalition Ministry which was dissolved, I would request him and say that is time to do it. But, if he thinks that there will be some problem, it is upto his wisdom; I do not want to touch that point more. This is my view in this regard; and it is a little mixed feeling, after analysing this matter and the House may kindly put the record straight.

The second point which I would like to refer here is regarding the sense and the feeling of alienation out of negligence which the people of North-East always think of and complain. Many Members have very rightly analyzed the historical background of how this negligence has come here and the insurgency has been encouraged. Some of the movements like Naga movement has been there even before the independence of India, we cannot attribute negligence to that problem. But, this has to be looked into from a different point of view, with their

thinking process as to how they are thinking about the nationalism, how they are thinking of themselves. We have to solve this problem through negotiations and political settlement.

Regarding the Meiteri problem, it is quite right; I agree with all the Members, that is out of negligence and a sense of frustration that it has cropped up there. Therefore, I would like to give two thought processes or rather, I should say, two processes of looking into it. One is that insurgency, extremism and the conflict which is going on in Kashmir, in Punjab, in the Valley of Assam and in the Impal Valley of Manipur, all these will go once they think that they are part and parcel of the national mainstream. When they have taken this process of secession, I would like to describe it, which I have once stated in this House about four or five years ago, as de-Indianisation. I will describe the process going on in Jammu and Kashmir, in Punjab, in Manipur, about the Meiti movement, the ULFA movement in Assam as de-Indiansation. Once they were Indians very much. But, now they are trying to go out of India. It is the process of de-Indiansation. I would like to suggest to the hon. Home Minister that this process has to be checked. The Nagas and other tribals have not felt themselves in their hearts as a part of India. We are trying to bring them back into India, which is the process of Indianisation. This, we must promote; we should put them back into the mainstream. That should be there. Our approach towards extremism should be quite different. This is my simple analysis about this matter which I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Home Minister. Therefore, simply saying that is negligence and it is alienation, that will not do. Sometimes Members say that it is because of geographical distance, lack of air service, lack of railways; of course, it is right; I have been demanding since 1985 in this House-

when I came to this House for the first time, when Shri Bansi Lal was the Railway Minister - that the Government of India and the Ministry of Railways should at least do some extension of railways to the North-East. I have been demanding this every session and every Budget Session. I have been demanding not only for Manipur -of course. I am from Manipur and I will ask for Manipur -but also for Arunachal Pradesh, for Nagaland, for Mizoram, for Tripura, for all these States, except Assam. There is no railway line or all these States. During the British time, upto 1947, they have extended the railway line upto Silchaz, the boarder of Manipur, they have extended upto Dimapur, the border of Nagaland.

They extended the Railway up to Dimapur the border of Nagaland but after independence this was stopped. So, in a lighter vein I used to say had India's independence come a later the extension of railways would have reached a little further. Sometimes we tend to think we are being neglected by the Center because whenever we ask for any help from the Centre we are being told that due to financial constraint are their and they will be therefore ever. There cannot be the flourishing money running like water .but, just like we pay more attention to a sick child at home, we should pay more attention to a State which needs to be developed. For the Railways, it may be a matter of another few crore of rupees if it extends the Railway line up to our place also. A city like Bombay can have an air-conditioned coach running from Bombay to Delhi but you cannot given ordinary passenger train either up to Kohima or up to imphal. How can you say to the people of that are that due to financial constraint you not able to provide this facility? So, it is natural that the people of that area feel neglected.

Regarding extension of President's rule

in the state of Manipur, I would like to say that the purpose for which the President's Rule was imposed has not been fulfilled because it has not helped much in restoration of peace. It has not helped to counter the insurgency in the State. On the contrary some unnecessary things, like the beautification of the city, has been undertaken by the Centre.

Sir, the Government has diverted the funds meant for the "Minimum Need-based Programme" for the hill and rural areas and used it for the beautification of the city which is already very beautiful. For example, a small bypass was to be constructed on the bank of river Numbul which runs across the city. For this they have cut down some 200 years old tribal settlements. These tribal people, who have settled there for more than 200 years are now being branded as the encroachers. British Annexation of Manipur came in 1891. After that the township developed. The Indian Government came into existence. These tribal people were there even before that and now they are being branded as the encroachers. In order to make this embankment they have cut down their house which they had built spending the earnings of their whole life. They evicted them without following the normal process of acquisition of land and without paying compensation. So the Centre is diverting all the money meant for restoration of peace to undertake such unnecessary activities. the Government in Manipur may be asked to stop such types of activities and take some such steps which will create confidence in the minds of people there.

The Numbul River Project is pending with the Government for a long time. It has been pending under the Manipur flood plain Zoning Act, 1978. I think the Government has misdirected the fund in this regard. I

request the Home Minister to do something in this regard.

Now I would like to say something about the distribution of essential commodities in my constituency, which includes about 90 percent of the total area including five hill districts.

They are, particularly, in Maring Naga area of Tengnoupal sub-Division of Chandel District. I have got a report a few days back that a family there, consisting of seven members is managing with one kilogram of rice for three days. They are on the verge of starvation death. Therefore, something should be done.

I appreciate that the Home Minister had written a letter when there was a conflict between Kukis and Nagas, as reply to may to the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to kindly release some money for their rehabilitation. The Red cross Society had given assistance by providing 100 lakhs of rupees. What we need today is that the Government should properly utilise that money instead of beautifying the State. Let this beautification be done once a popularly elected Government assumes office. Let them wash it with powder or cosmetic or do any other thing that they want. But I do not think that the Central rule is the only solution. It will affect the sentiments of the tribal people living there. I do not mean to say that the President's rule should not be extended but the power should not be misused. It must be properly directed to bring back to the normal situation which was prevailing last year. We must also see to it that a popular Ministry is restored there. I knew that in Manipur, no single party will be able to form a Government of its own. They have an Assembly of 60 Members. There, not even a single party has got more than 30 members. Still, if some parties come to-

gether and form a Government there, that will be in the interest of the people there. It is not a question of horse trading.

One of the hon. Members, if I am not mistaken, Mr. burman, was saying that extension of President's rule will just facilitate horse trading viz. the party which would form a Government there, will try to purchase MLAs. Normally such things do happen when different parties come together to form a Government. It does not arise at all here.

There are reports of the Governor alleging so many things against Mr. Rishang Keishing and some other leaders there. I thing I had also explained it on 22nd February that such reports are unfounded. As Mr. George Fernandes has mentioned, Mr. Rishang Keishing had been there since 1952, viz. When the first Lok Sabha of free India was formed. He was twice the member of this House. After several years, he become Chief Minister in Manipur from 1980 to 1988. During the period, Manipur was very peaceful. At that time, he was able to take control over the Naga movement.

So, if you look back to the history, you will know that his performance throughout was very good. If you take the history into account, I think whatever was stated in that report was not correct. I have already said this on a previous occasion but now that again and again this issue is being raised here, so I thought that let me clarify the position. I do not want to take the names of those people whose names have been mentioned in the Report. You should not be carried away with governor's report which is not based on facts. That is my point. Today it is not relevant. It is because we are discussing the extension of President's Rule.

Therefore, my request to the Home

Minister is that he may kindly take up very seriously the problem of north east, as our Members before me had already said many times, should be tackled in a comprehensive way, not in piecemeal: that means a total economic view and a comprehensive political approach must be taken up separately, Development is necessary.

As I had mentioned the other day, due to lack of development, frustration comes; and out of frustration insurgency is encouraged. It is just like a vicious circle. You have to find a point where you have to cut this circle. So, development must be there. We should not wait for peace. If we wait for peace for another 50 years, there may not be peace; then there will be no development for another 50 years; if there is no development, there will be frustration; and out of frustration, anger, insurgency and then turmoil will come. This goes on like this. So, it is a vicious circle. You cannot ignore it; you have to cut it from a point. Therefore, military action cannot bring a final solution to this problem; it is only a temporary measure to control a particular situation, so, the negotiations with the insurgents should be taken up.

Out of so many insurgent elements in the north-east, Naga problem is the root cause; it has given birth to all this offspring; it has given birth to Mizos in 1966; it has given birth to TNV in Tripura; it has given birth to ULFA in Assam; it has given birth to insurgency in Manipur. Though Nagas are in the hilly areas of Manipur also, Manipur valley was peaceful comparatively. My colleagues from Manipur have also told you about 200 or 300 years of religion, etc. They were very much in the national mainstream; they felt themselves to be first Indians; They celebrated India's Independence with high hopes and held their heads high. How have they converted these things? I have

just mention that it is a process of going back from the national mainstream. I call it de-Indianisation. Now we are pulling Nāgas and others who do not feel themselves as Indians. It is a process of Indianisation. So the process is different. Though outwardly, it is all insurgency, the process is different.

I request the Home Minister to take up political negotiation with different sections of insurgent groups in the north east. Only then the peace will come there.

PROF. SUSANTA CHAKRABORTY (Howrah) :The Government has come for the second time for the extension of the President's Rule in Manipur. I know that it is becoming imperative for the Government to seek this extension.

When the President's Rule was promulgated for the first time in Manipur, a few days earlier to that, I had been there. When I was there, was a law and order problem. I met a cross-section of the people, students and the teachers, the common people, the common Naga and Kukis and had some talk with the administration also. Then I met the Governor. I am here to express the feeling of the people of Manipur regarding the administration over there. What I feel is that the ordinary people of Manipur have lost full faith in the administration.

The Government has kept the Assembly under suspended animation in the hope that it may be revived. But from my talk with the cross-section of the people, I came to know that they believed that, a section of the people, influential people, who are in the administration, who are their representatives, a section of them are responsible for the state of affairs that was prevalent in Manipur.

So. Sir the question of reviving the

Assembly, at this stage, does not arise. The Home Ministers should give a serious thought over the matter.

Second thing is I met the students of universities and colleges and their allegation is regarding the development of Manipur's economy. The economy of Manipur is in a very backward stage. What they suggested is that at one time some efforts were taken to develop the paper industry, still there is some scope to develop it further. But the Government is not serious about it. So the youths and the students have become frustrated and out of the frustration some of them are keeping contacts with the terrorists with the hope that this will help them to earn certain amount of money. In order that these youths and their attitude may change, the Government should cater to their needs and to the need of development of industry.

Third thing is about the general problem of North Eastern States. The problem of Manipur is not confined to Manipur only. It associated with the general problem which is prevalent in the North East. It has got an international dimension too, so far as role of Pakistan and Burma is concerned. We all know that it is a part of the golden triangle. Unless and until, Mr. Home Minister, we tackle the problem of golden triangle, we cannot expect to restore normalcy in Manipur. These are some of the experiences that I would like to tell through you, Sir with all humility.

In principle, I am opposed to the imposition of President's Rule in a country. When the President's Rule was first extended the Government hoped that the situation will normalise. Now six months period is going to be passed, the situation has not normalised there. Law and order, of course, as the Government claims, has improved to

a little extent. But the question there is not only of law and order.

I have some half-an-hour talk with the *Rajyapa*. All in the administration, including the highest in the hierarchy think that the problem can be solved militarily. It can be solved by strengthening the administration there. But the question of political process, the question of involving the people, the question of alienating the extremists from the general Nagas and the Kukis is not sown so much in their minds. So the media, the newspapers and other media, should be used to inculcate those things in the minds of the people.

I was rather surprised to see, Sir, when Lumding was burning and people were being driven like cattle. Some military personnel were present there but they did not interfere in the matter. I enquired from the administration why they did not take any action. They said that they did not receive any information and they did not have any direction. That is the way, Manipur administration is being run. That position should be improved, Mr. Home Minister.

What I suggest is to improve the economic position there.

Some of my hon. friends have spoken about the public distribution system and regarding the industry.

The fourth point is a process of involvement of people. There should be some meetings of the political leaders of different parties with all the sections of the people to try to reach consensus there. Only then can peace be guaranteed in Manipur. Diplomatically we shall have to solve the problem of involvement of Pakistan and Burma and other forces of whom I am not so certain.

With these suggestions, I finish my speech with the hope that next time no Minister will come with a request to extend the President's Rule.

SHRI KRIP CHALIHA (Guwahati): I rise to support the Resolution on Manipur. We all know that the conditions under which Manipur was placed under the President's Rule. The very fact that it was Congress (I) Chief Minister who was ruling the state at that time and Congress (I) was the leading partner in the coalition Ministry and in spite having a Congress (I) Ministry we had to impose the President's Rule show that there was no political intention, whatsoever. There is no question of deriving any political benefit at least in putting the State under the President's Rule.

Our friends on that side of the House have been pointing out the history of neglect the ethnic diversity of the North East and pointing out to various complexities of the problem. They always try to put every blame on the Congress. But unfortunately they never see the real position in and around there.

But the point is, in one respect one should be unanimous that so far as imposition of the President's Rule was concerned, it was a necessity because the law and order situation had deteriorated there, because there were clashes among the tribes which were in the process of escalating to different regions. But the administration was not responsive to the situation and as a compulsion — more as a compulsion — the Central Government had to intervene and dismiss the Congress (I) Ministry. As such all this talk about getting political benefit should not be encouraged, at least not in this context. (*Interruptions*)

Definitely, the administration was not

considered to be responsive enough to control when the Naga- Kuki clash that took place. When allegations and counter allegations are made and when only symbolic lip service is paid to the North East tern people about our in security and our culture, we are also likely to be reminded about the greater dimensions of the problems of the North-East. Unfortunately, most of the Opposition parties have got no presence whatsoever in the North-East. It is mostly Congress or the regional parties or one or two CPI or one or two JD members there, just as we have some acher in a dinner. They do not count. They just visit that area for a day and come back here as experts to give sermons about the situation in the North-East. Everything in the North-East has been done by the Congress Government. And do not have any doubt that we shall have no other party ruling in the North-East except Congress like everything else in this country, it is the Congress Party alone which has done its best to see that the North-east comes to the mainstream of the country and it works strongly along with the people of the rest of the country.

MAJOR GENERAL (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal): I would like to ask you one thing. On the one hand you say that the Congress is the only party or authority which has done anything. But then who has to be blamed for the problems there then?

SHRI KRIP CHALIHA: That is because, it is a very difficult situation. The intricacies of the problems or the complexities of the problem there cannot be simply solved in a day and as Shri George Fernandes has said just now that by scoring debating points they cannot be solved. We all know, there are so many intricacies and delicacies in the situation there. At least the Congress Party has been trying to bring the nationalist forces

into the North-East. On this, I have no doubt, whatsoever. The most popular leaders in the North-East have been, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi.

We do not even know the names of any other national leaders. Many become Prime Ministers but they did not visit the North-East even nonce in their career. Anyway, I leave it for other occasions. However, I do admit that we have compulsions, we have shortcomings. We very strongly feel about the process of alienation, which is taking place in the North East, we feel very strongly about the neglect in various spheres concerning the activities in the North East. And on that there can be no two opinions. There should not be any politics involved in that for example, what is happening in Sikkim? There was no politics whatsoever in Sikkim. The Finance Minister has made this very clear time and again. Sir, when there is internal politics, when there are intra tribal clashes, the dangerous thing that is happening in the North east today is the escalation of bitterness among the various smaller tribes and the tribal conflicts are growing from strength to strength even in Sikkim. And madam Bhandari will agree with me. Even in Nagaland and Manipur, this is creating a lot of problems giving rise to a complex situation which has to be tackled with great amount of sagacity and with great amount of wisdom and restraint. Having said all that, I am not the one to hold the brief of the Government and justify the President's Rule for time immemorial to come. But the fact remains that before the imposition of the President's Rule, law and order had deteriorated in Manipur. It is a matter of fact. It is also a fact that after the President's Rule was imposed in Manipur, clashes subsided. And so far as administrative part is concerned, and so far peace efforts are concerned, those have been strengthened to a

very great extent. I want this process to continue for some more time. I must place it on record. There is some very difficult and very dangerous situation developing in the North East. Many of you have mentioned about narcotics, about the Golden Triangle. I am grateful that some of you are showing some amount of inclination to understand what the Golden Triangle is. But, do you know one thing? Today, there have been newspaper reports that today the North East has become one of the centres for smuggling of illegal arms to the Khalistani extremists. Do you know about it? Do you also know that Pakistan, after having failed to operate in the Punjab through Western sector, has started operating through the Eastern sector? Can you just ignore this fact?

I am not biased against the Army officers. There are many Army Officers, who have distinguished themselves in other fields like Major General Khanduri, who is doing very well as a Member of Parliament. (*Interruptions*)

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI :You have just praised the Governor there.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA: The Army officers are firm in observing discipline and they are little assertive in their behavior. We prefer to have, to control the delicate situation in the North East, a seasoned politician. In fact that has been the request from our side to the Home Minister and to the Prime Minister, which has been made time and again. When an Army man is sent there, it gives a handle to the secessionist forces also to say: "Look, an Army man is sent here. We are being placed under military rule. We are not a part of the country and all that."so, preferably, a seasoned politician is most welcome to handle this delicate

situation.

When you send the constitutional authorities, when you place a State under the President's Rule especially in a very delicate situation like Manipur, you should see that we isolate the extremists and extremists alone and we do not isolate the people as a whole. Only the day before yesterday, some of the senior politicians from Manipur have come and complained to me: "Chalihaji, you do not understand one thing. In the Republic Day function, ex-Ministers, ex-Chief Minister, are not being. Invited. When they go by themselves they are not given good seats and they are not allowed to sit". These are all very small matters, but, you know, in an emotionally surcharged atmosphere, these small things become big issues in the North East. I would request the hon. Home Minister to see if such allegations are true and whether such small aberrations are taking place in the State today.

17.00 hrs.

Sir, the hon. Home Minister must have observed from the speeches of the hon. Members in the House today that the President's Rule is not a very welcome proposition in the State either from the Congress angle or from the angle of the general public. Even the Congressmen are also feeling a little isolated because they are becoming respects through the controversial Governor's Report. I do not want to react to it now. This Report has not been widely welcomed. I am sure the hon. Home Minister knows the problems in the North-East very well. But, unfortunately, many a time he cannot act freely and many a time is bound by chairs in taking the right decision. I hope the hon. Minister will break the chairs one day and will start taking decisive actions.

As far as extremists problem is concerned, it should not be seen in isolation. It has to be a unified effort. In fact, I have been repeatedly telling in this House that extremists in the North-East cannot be tackled in isolation as a problem of one State. The extremists themselves are united and hence our counter effort should also be a unified action. Nobody has said that the President's Rule is the only solution to all the problems in the North - East or in Manipur. The President's Rule is the result of a difficult situation. I would urge upon the hon. Home Minister to see that this extension does not occur for the third time and before that, a democratic set-up comes into being in Manipur.

So far the political situation is concerned, the Assembly has been kept under animated suspension precisely because of that and there should not be any allegation of any political approach in that matter or political motives should not be imputed. The Assembly has been kept under suspension and this might lead to realignment of forces giving a stable Government in Manipur. The Opposition Parties should not try to fish in troubled waters. I think, for the natural development of the State, there should be a Congress Government in that State.

I would like to conclude by saying only one thing. All the speakers before me have referred to the menace of drugs and AIDS in Manipur. It is interesting that many of the young people and the youth organisations have formed voluntary organisations and non-governmental organisations are also coming up to fight this menace. But, unfortunately, the Government at various levels are not giving due encouragement to these youths in fighting these evils. It is they who alone can fight these evils and they should be encouraged. It is they who will take up the fight into the streets in a far better and

effective way. They should be encouraged.

With these words, I extend my support to the Statutory Resolution and hope that soon a popular Government — which will undoubtedly be a Congress Government — will come power in Manipur.

17.04 hrs.

STATEMENTS BY MINISTERS -
CONTD.

(iv) Sugar Prices

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD (SHRI KALP NATH RAI): During zero hour yesterday, Hon'ble Members had raised the issue of rise in sugar prices in the country. The position in this regard is as under :-

Sugar production which reached a record level of 134.11 lakh tonnes in 1991-92 season suffered a set-back in 1992-93 season and aggregated to 106.09 lakh tonnes. The due to sugar production during 1992-93 season was mainly due to the decrease in area under sugarcane and consequent fall in sugarcane production in most of the major sugar producing States. While making a *suo-motu* statements on the floor of this House on 15.3.1994, I had indicated that the sugar producing during the current 1993-94 season is expected to be about 104 lakh tonnes. However, the sugar production during the current 1993-94 sugar season upto 15.4.1994 aggregated to 90.51 lakh tonnes as against 99.01 lakh tonnes on the corresponding data last season, thus showing a decline of about 8.50 lakh tonnes. It is now estimated that the sugar production during the current 1993-94 season might even be less than 100 lakh tonnes. The main reason for the decline in sugar produc-