

Approval of Proclamation in relation business towns along the two sides of the line. This is the only line which links these areas with Assam and Katihar. It has been a long standing demand of the people of the area to convert this metre-gauge line to broad-gauge line. This conversion is also essential to revive the importance of Siliguri and Alipurduar junction along with other railway stations in between.

I urge upon the Central Government to take necessary important steps in this regard so that the gauge conversion between Siliguri junction and Alipurduar may be undertaken at an early date.

I also request to include this conversion in this year's Railway Budget.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we shall take up item No. 9 regarding Statutory Resolution.

12.39 hrs

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE:
APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION
IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF
MANIPUR

[English]

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

"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 situation in Manipur had been steadily deteriorating in the recent past.

There had been serious acts of violence insurgents even in Imphal, the capital town. The Governor of Manipur in recent reports sent to the President had given his assessment of the law and order situation in the State. The Governor had reported that the law and order situation in the state was grave and had the potential of getting out of the control, both due the activities of the insurgents and the on-going Naga-Kuki conflict.

This conflict, which almost certainly is an extension of the NSCN (I) design for domination, through ethnic cleansing, had been further accentuated by the support it received from political leaders of both the communities in furtherance of their narrow political ends.

The Governor further reported that due to the ineptitude and infighting in the Government, the NSCN (I) had doubled its cadre strength during 1993 with two more groups infiltrating in January and June, 1993, with approximately 200 sophisticated weapons. The NSCN (I) had further strengthened its links with the Metal extremists, ULFA, HPC and the Myanmar insurgents. They have also had active support from the intelligence agencies from across the boarder.

The Governor had come to the conclusion that the function-ridden political parties and groups, infiltration of insurgents into political parties, ethnic conflicts and infighting, and the inept leadership had contributed to the creation of a situation making it necessary to impose President's Rule in the State. Accordingly, The Governor had recommended that a Proclamation might be issued dismissing the Ministry and keeping the State Legislative Assembly under suspended animation. According to the Governor, a period of cooling off would not only minimise the influence of political leaders

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with questionable antecedents, but could also help in encouraging and alternative and better leadership to emerge.

The Union Government had been regularly monitoring the situation in Manipur and addition Central paramilitary forces were deployed and the Army also inducted.

The Union Government considered the reports of the Governor and the situation in Manipur and decided to recommend to the President of India to issue a Proclamation under Article 356 of the constitution and keep the Legislative Assembly under suspended animation. The Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution was issued by the President on 31st December, 1993.

In view of the circumstances, which I have just explained, I commend, Sir, that the Proclamation issued on 31st December, 1993 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Manipur be approved by this august house.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"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."

MR.. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The time allotted for this is one-and-a-half hours. Shri Jaswant Singh may speak now.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will be very very brief. My esteemed colleague hon. Shri Kabindra Purkayastha from the North East

is also to intervene in the discussion and I do not wish to take too much time to say what I have to say.

I will not dwell on the selectivity of the approach of this Government in the employment or-misemployment of Article 356. The present discussion is not a discussion on the merits and demerits of the manner in which Article 356 is employed or mis-employed.

Sir, today we are considering the Proclamation by the President of the imposition of the President's Rule in the State of Manipur and yet again the use of article 356. In so far as the proclamation of President's Rule in the State of Manipur under article 356 is concerned and so far as the approval of this House to that proclamation is concerned, I believe that what we are engaged in is but a formality of granting approval of this House to a step that, I believe, goes only half the distance and has come too late.

I consider it my duty, Sir, to share my very great concern and apprehension about the situation that is prevailing in the whole of the North East India. I treat this as an opportunity to share these apprehension with hon. the Home minister and hon. The Minister of State for home, both of whom I have no doubt- are not just fully aware of the gravity of the situation but are applying themselves to the best extent that they can to tackle it.

I hold that the situation in the North East of India today is far more grim than is realised in this capital city or is reported by the press. I treat this neglect of the North East of India on account of the factor of distance. The distance of the North East of India from the seat of the Capital of the country is a factor that conveys a misimpression about the reality of what is

Approval of Proclamation in relation prevailing in the North East. I consider it my duty to caution the Government that this graphical distance between the North East of India and the rest of the country has now become a kind of an emotional distance and unless we address ourselves purpose fully to the root of that emotional distancing between the North East of India and the rest of the country, We will not be treating the main ailment of the region. All other aspects are superficial aspects.

Sir, there are two other points that wish to make for the consideration of the Government and I shall make them with great brevity. I leave the second point as a thought with this House and with the Government. We have witnessed in the North East a process of political and social splintering. That process was first started by the breaking up—no doubt, it was well thought out and no doubt, it well intentioned—of the former State of Assam and that breaking up of the former state of Assam into various State of the North East has created in its wake, a social and political momentum that now needs to be seriously addressed to. What we are witnessing is the splintering effect in the North East in which every tiny segment of the society there is wanting to preserve itself through recognition only in political terms. I think this trend has to be reversed and this manifestation has to be addressed to. Perhaps, a manner and method of correcting this splintering effect in the whole of the North East is by the strengthening of the North East Economic Council. The council is really there only for the purpose of development and progress of the North East. But I believe, Sir, that in the instrumentality of that Council, Perhaps the Union Government has an agency. If it is properly empowered and sufficiently strengthened, we might be taking one of the necessary first steps towards rectifying the

overall wrong that is prevailing in that entire region.

The third point that I wish to address myself to and leave as a thought with the Government is the rampant corruption, the all pervasive corruption in all the states of the North East. The amount of money that goes by way of developmental assistance to North East states is a substantial sum of money. I so not, for a moment, suggest, Sir that the Government of India is so poor that it cannot afford that. I thank the Government of India can afford that and multiples of that sum of money. But I believe that out of every hundred rupees that goes there for developmental expenditure, only Rs. 15/- reaches there and gets spent on actual development. This is far too serious a matter for us to take lightly, because, I believe that, Part of the reason for the unrest in the North East is his all pervasive corruption. No doubt, the union Government is aware of this. But we would benefit if the hon. Home Minister shares with us some of the ideas that he has in attempting to sir this right.

On the specific aspect of Manipur when I say that it is half it is a formality, it is a step that only goes half the distance and that has come a little too late. I take strength from what the Governor himself has reported and I will quote only two out of the many pages of report that he has submitted to the president of India. I read the quotations of the Governor's report very reluctantly because it indicts the political leadership, not just in the Northeast, not just in the state of Manipur but it certainly is a telling commentary on the political leadership in Delhi also.

The hon. Governor of Manipur has said:

"Shn Rishang Kelashing has precipitated the Nago Kukis conflict and has given it the colour of ethnic conflict."

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[Sh. Jaswant Singh]

The next sentence is very serious. The Governor of Manipur has reported:

"That the Chief Minister himself has suspected of aiding a faction of Meitais' extremists and he is definitely supporting Shri C. Doungel. Finance minister from congress (s) and a Kuki, to counter Shri Rishang and thereby providing tacit support to the Kukis."

Shri Jaichandra Singh has also come out openly against the CLP and party leadership for their failure to take action against minister and legislators for their alleged links with the under ground elements.

This whole report is a very severe indictment of the continued inaction of the union Government to address itself to the problems of Manipur or the entire North East. The Governor himself says:

"Overall implications of the current situation in Manipur and Nagaland in the short term are, that areas of violent conflict and unrest have widened to the entire hill areas of Manipur, With fall out in Imphal Valley and in Nagaland to Central, Southern Nagaland and Western Nagaland bordering Manipur in the South. In the long term, it will escalate Nag-Kuki conflict and has possibility of Multi-Tribal conflict in Manipur and inter-tribal conflicts in Nagaland."

There is one concluding sentence, He say:

"The above state of intense insurgency and internal disorder is due

to lack of political stability and will, lack of an overall perception and monitoring of the worsening situation by the State Government and security forces etc."

I consider it my duty to point out what the Governor has not stated, It is my duty to state that if this was the situation prevailing in the State of Manipur, it did not occur overnight. It was prevailing for the last at least three or four years. In the last three of four years, the Union Government stands has permitted that situation to deteriorate and the Union Government stands squarely charged with its responsibility for permitting the state of Manipur to go to that situation.

I have not covered the aspects of ISI operations or of the involvement of Bangladesh, involvement of Myanmar, Government of weapons from Thailand. All these aspect will be covered by my colleague. I will not take the time of the House in saying that. But I consider it necessary for me to stand up on my party and to share these few thoughts about the totality of the situation in the North East.

But about the specificity of the prevailing situation in Manipur, Please mark my words, What Manipur is demonstrating today is only an aspect of the over-all ills that have afflicted the entire North-East and unless the Government and this House take seriously what is happening in that part of the world, we will be causing a very grave loss to the national unity.

PROF. M. KAMSON (Outer Manipur) :
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you for going me the opportunity to spread, The report of the Governor covers all the facts. The situation in Manipur is very bad. I appreciate the idea of the hon. Member who has just spoken that situation in Manipur is indicative

Approval of Proclamation in relation of the ills and ailments that they have suffered in the North-East.

The imposition of President's rule in Manipur was very much justified by the very consequences that we have seen in the last few weeks because it was imposed on 1st January, 1994. The situation is so bad that we cannot say that a single factor is responsible for that. But it is the cumulative factors that have worked here.

The situation prevailing before President's rule was, first of all, the law and order situation was very bad and was deteriorating. Killings, kidnapping for ransom, bomb-blasts, extortion of money by the extremists, all these led to this situation; and we have read in news papers about these incidents. Over and above that, we have witnessed a very new situation in Manipur. We have seen the communal flare-up and rivalry between melitis Muslims on 3rd May, 1993. That type of riot never took place in Manipur. That was the first time and it was of a very serious nature. Within a brief span of time of three hours perhaps from 2.30 PM to 5.30 PM on 3rd May, 1993 more than 100 people were killed. And that was followed by continuous fights and feuds between Nagas and Kukis. These three factors are quite sufficient to impose President's rule which was done to control the situation.

President's rule is not liked by the people. I share the feelings of the people of Manipur that they do not like President's rule. They want popular government. However, in spite of the dislike of the people, we have to swallow the bitter pill because of the element that they were suffering at that time. Therefore, the justification lies there. We have seen from 1st January up to this day, the situation has calmed down though I do not think that it is completely eradicated. The superficial fighting between tribes and

communities has come down. This itself is a justification for imposition of President's rule.

Secondly, after this, we should not be complacent that the situation is safe. It has deeper meaning. The killing of Kukis and Nagas is not just a flare-up or an evil of certain fighting because of certain sentiments. It is not that. The newspaper carries the news that it is because of tax-collection by Nagas on the Kukis and other tribes. I do not think that such a small thing will create a big thing like this. I would like to explain, to some extent, why it has come up, so far as my knowledge goes.

13.00 hrs

Everybody knows that Nagas have been fighting there. This insurgency came up with the armed clashes in 1956. There have been continued fighting for more than 30 years. So, on the other hand, recently the Kuki National Organisation base in Maymar, in the business territory, have stated demanding a separate Kuki Independent State. And its army wing KNA could not have their field of activities there because of the military system, military junta in Burma where there is no democratic form of Government. Under the activists of Kuki National Organisation (KNO). The Kuki National Army (KNA) could not have their field of activities there in the Burmese territory. So, they have extended to the Manipur territory which is contiguous to that area. The whole territory comes under Manipur sector where Kukis are inhabiting. Therefore, the basic issue is between the Naga's Movement for independence which has been there for more than 30 years. Actually, Naga Movement in 1927 during the British time. Still then, I take up the history of post-independence period. So for the last forty years, Nagas have been fighting for independence.

[Prof. M. Kamson]

And similarly, Kukis have come up during 1990-91 under the banner of Kuki National Organisation to have another Kuki State in the Burmese territory which extends the activities, as I have pointed out, to the Indian sector, that is, Manipur territory where Kukis are inhabiting. Therefore, Nagas thought that was a clash against their interest and Kukis also thought that it was against their interest to do so. So, that is basic philosophy, political philosophy, political ideology, political field of activities between the two. Therefore, the solution does not lie only just in having some sort of quarrel here and there. It is a basic point. Therefore, I agree with, to some extent, the report of the Governor when he says that some of the big leaders are involved. I do not say that the names of all the leaders, whose names he mentioned, are quite correct. I am not sharing that view. But I must tell definitely to this House that this is not a fighting between some mad people, some young people, some young people between Nagas and Kukis. The basic issue lies in some sort of political movement. So we have to look into that matter and find out some solution that is in the interest of the nation. This is the situation.

Again I also would like to take up some of the points which are there in the Governor's Report regarding the activities that have come up in that area, for example, Pakistan's ISI. And also with the help of insurgents, whether Nagas or Kukis or whoever may be, they are having their arms, inspiration, help and everything from the neighboring State including Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan. And also we are told that these insurgents of the North-East have the connection with other insurgents of the country like that of Kashmir, the Punjab and the LTTE. Therefore, this new

development of connection between these insurgents should be taken care of properly. Moreover, I must also draw the attention of the House that the members of the NSCN who have secured the membership of the UNPO, that is, the Unrepresented Nations Peoples' Organization based at the huge, which is supposed to be a mini UN organisation by those nations who consider themselves to be the members of the Unrepresented organisation. This membership of the NSCN in UNPO has given a new fillip to the insurgent's feeling. Therefore, in 1993 January, when this membership was given to the NSCN, new interest, a new feeling has come to the Nagas who have been keeping a low key for some time or low profile for some years. Therefore, this revitalization so to say of the Nagas and the new creation of Kuki movement in the Myanmar has created a conflict and field of activity in the sector of Manipur. I would like to inform that all this happened in my constituency. My constituency comprises of five hill districts of Manipur.

It comprises about 90 percent of the total territory of Manipur. We have always been facing this problem and we would like to draw the attention of the Central Government to this matter and request them to do something more, in whatever form it is necessary. Military action is not the solution. Of course, military is necessary to control the situation, but military action is the only solution. If military action would have been the solution, then it would have been solved long back through so many military operations, through some many security actions. But it is no so.

Therefore, a political solution is to be found. I know that the Government of India have tried, so many times, for a solution. In 1964, it brought peace in Nagaland and in 1973, the Naga agreement was arrived at

Approval of Proclamation in relation with certain factions of the underground. In 1975, on the 11th of November, the Shillong Accord was arrived at. Still, some active factions are left out. Therefore, I request the Government, through you, to take the initiative to bring them to the table of negotiation and settle the matter for all times to come because the Naga problem is important, in the sense that it has been the primary and the first movement of insurgency in the North-East. Ant still, it is the source of inspiration for all the movements that are coming up in Mizoram, Tripura, Assam and then in the Manipur Valley itself. All these are sprouting up like anything. So long as the root is there, so long as the source of inspiration is there, you cannot solve the problem piece-wise and in a piece-meal. You have to look comprehensively at the whole problem.

I request, again, that the Government should take some special care to settle this matter.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party and myself, I rise to support the imposition of President's rule in Manipur but at the same time I would also like to express regrets that in order to fulfil its own political interests, the Government of India and particularly the Congress Party has brought these states to such a bad situation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Governor had given his report on the situation in the State on the 5th October, but action was taken in December only. Thus, the Government continued to sleep on the report for three months. Action was taken only after murder of hundreds of people had taken place and terrorist activities had increased.

I hold the home Minister and the Government of India responsible for all this.

In 1982, the then Governor of State, Shri K.V. Krishana Rao had given a report about this chief Minister there people are helping terrorists and arms were also seized there house. What was the justification of making him the Chief Minister again? It was done just to add one more Congress Chief Minister in the State. With the help of 13 MLAs, the earlier Government was dismissed and the Congress Government was installed. The report given by the Governor in this regard is startling. From this report, the people of this country will come to know that the Government is itself responsible for increase in terrorist activities. It clearly states that some Ministers and other allies of the Congress Party in the Government were all involved in providing arms and financial help to the terrorist group of their own communities. The report also states that Shri Rishang Keishing was openly opposin the chief Minister. The government had a meeting with him in September 1993 and he had proposed to form an alternative Government. Not only the Chief Minister was unable to discipline him, but he also expressed his mobility to do so. He provided opportunities to Rishang Keishing for helping and encouraging NSTN demoralising the official machinery and the police and to fulfil all his bad ambition. What did the Chief Minister do to suppress his own Minister? He helped another group which was opposing Shri Keishing. Neither the Government nor the Chief Minister did take any initiative to resolve the tension between Nagas and Kukis or to gather public opinion in this regard. This has created the feeling of total political inertia and uncertainty among the people there.

I would like to submit that even after such a serious report, the Government of

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[Sh. Mohan Singh]

India continued to ignore it for 3 months more, who is responsible for it? Last year, more than 550 persons were killed by the terrorists in Manipur and in between the period when the Central Government received the Governor's report and imposed President's Rule in the State, 150 persons were killed. The Home Minister should be held responsible for tis. A meeting of the Chief Minister of Eastern States who belong to the Congress Party was held in Delhi. It was decided that a new Government under the leadership of the State Party president should be formed. This fact was revealed by the Press. The Vice-President of the Congress Party was arrested and put in custody for 20 days. A large cache of arms was recovered from his house. So, such highly placed people of the Congress Party which ruled the centre as well as the state, are helping the terrorists by keeping illegal arms. What can be more disgusting than the fact that the office bearer of this party keep illegal arms and the Government takes no action.

We have our border with Bangladesh. Training camps have been set up there for training the terrorists. Training camps are there in Myanmar also where weapons are also being provided to the terrorists. Not only these weapon are Pakistan make, but ISI is also involved in it. It has been stated in the report of the Governor how ISI is actively spreading its activities in the western region of our country. It is a regreatable thing for our country. Manipur is quite far from Pakistan Pakistan do not have cordial relation with Bangladesh. Training Centres of terrorist organisations are being operated from Bangladesh also and they are given training there. Weapons of Chinese make have been recovered from these terrorists. From where did they get these weapons? I have doubts that not only ISI, but China is also

involved in this. Its for the Government of India to say as the extent to which China is involved in these activities. I also doubt that the Government is knowingly hiding some facts from the people of this country. The situation in the eastern part of our country is very grave. All the political group with whom the Congress Party has to keep coordination for running its Government there, are responsible for this situation. The State Ministers are helping the terrorists organisations, which belong to the respective tribes.

The BJP leader, Shri Jaswant Singh has indicated that as the States are being made smaller, the local tribes there have started fighting to save their own cultures and communities in order to maintain their separate identity. The Government of India has also shown interest in this regard. An autonomous council was setup in Bengal. In Assam also, the Government reached an accord with the Bodo people through some extremist organisation. This has given encouragement to small tribes to fight for their identity. The Government of India has created a wrong precedent. The Government should reconsider it and should try to take a political initiative to eliminate the terrorist outfits. The Government should make a firm resolve in this regard.

It is regretful that whereas the ex-Prime Ministers Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi used to visit Nagaland and Manipur once a year, the present Prime Minister has no time to do so. He has time to go to Davos to meet the foreign capitalists and industrialists and to invite them to set up industries in our country, but has no time to go to Manipur and Nagaland to give a feeling of belongingness to the tribals there. I charge to the Government for not displaying political will to generate this sort of feeling for the last two three years.

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[English]

I would like to submit that deployment of Army to possibly wipe out terrorism from the entire country will be a permanent solution. In this regard political initiatives should be taken. In farflung areas of the country, foreign countries are aiding and abetting terrorism, which could only be tackled through initiatives at the political level and with a political will. I would like to urge the Congress party and the Centre to stop meddling into the affairs of border States for furthering their own political interests. The Government has meddled into the affairs of Kashmir for narrow partisan interests. Similarly political interference has created disturbances in the North-East.

I would like to urge that Manipur Assembly should be dissolved instead of keeping it in suspended animation. I apprehend that behind suspension of the Assembly the motive is to again instal Congress Government. With these works, I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The next speaker will be Mr. Uddhab Barman. Now, the House stands adjourned Lunch to meet at 2.20 P.M..

13.20. hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty minutes past Fourteen of the clock.

14.30. hrs.

(The Lok Sabha then re-assembled after Lunch at Thirty minutes past Fourteen of the Clock)

(MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

SHRI UDDHAB BARMAN (Barpeta) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the proclamation of President's Rule in Manipur has been made and the Assembly has been put under suspended animation. The Government considers this as a way to solve the problems faced by the people of Manipur. I would rather say that this situation may be utilized for horse-trading, corruption and other such things. I demand that the Assembly be dissolved and a political process should be started to ensure a popular government in Manipur.

Manipur is a very small boarded State and it is inhabited by people belonging to different ethnic communities. It may be seen that not only Manipur but other States of North-Eastern region are affected by the insurgency. What is most surprising is, as stated by the governor of that state, some of the Ministers are having links with the insurgent groups. It appears from the report of the governor that the Congress party is acting as a disintegrating force and greatly helping the forces of disintegration there. As a result of this the Government is not able to solve this problem. This link of ministers with the extremist forces there has demoralised the already weak administration that is there and people are feeling very insecure. This situation is being fully utilized by the extremists and there are large number of killings, kidnappings and extortions etc. All this has created a very dangerous situation in the State.

Besides this insurgency problem - which is spreading to other States also - Manipur has also witnessed in recent past the ethnic

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[Sh. Uddhan Barman]

clashes. There were clashes between Kukis and Nagas. This is because the NSCN wants to dominate over the routes from where drug trafficking, mainly of heroin, is taking place. From this area heroin is sent to other States of North-Eastern region. Apart from drugs the people of this area are also affected by danger of AIDS. So, a dangerous situation has developed in Manipur. In recent past, communal clashes also took place in Manipur. A Pangal Meter clash is being utilized by the anti-social and extremist forces. This has created a situation in which the minority people, particularly the portals, are feeling very much insecure and this sense of insecurity is being sought to be exploited by the anti-national forces there.

So, all these indicates a very grim situation in Manipur and Sir, particularly the Leadership of the coalition Ministry headed by the congress is helping in creating a suffocating situation there. The State Government have miserably failed in controlling the entire situation. The Central Government also cannot avoid responsibility as far as the situation in Manipur concerned.

The Governor of the State had sent a report on October 5, 1993, but, the Central Government is sitting tight over it by allowing the situation to drift further and also by allowing the anti national forces to gather strength. So the entire situation is bubbled not only by the state Government but also by the Central Government. So what I feel is that, by putting the State under the president's rule and keeping the Assembly under suspended animation will not solve the problem. The political process should be started, the Assembly should be dissolved and election should be held so that the social economic problem faced by the people of Manipur could be attended to.

In the Report sent by the Governor, it is mentioned and I quote:

"The above state of intense insurgency and internal disorder is due to lack of political stability and will, lack of over all perception and monitoring of the worsening situating by the state Government and security Forces over a prolonged period and finally absence of effective economic and social measures which has alienated the people. It has also seriously affected the ability of the administration and the police to protect and profile for the people and give them a secure and healthy environment to live in."

You cannot solve the problem there by resorting to military action only. So, political process should be initiated in order to see that the people of Manipur can feel secure. A concerted effort should be made to isolate extremist forces.

I once again demand that the Assembly which is placed under suspended animation should be dissolved. There should not be any opportunity given for horse-trading which is affecting the very fundamentals of our democracy.

SHRI KABINDRA PURKAYASTHA (Silchar): Hon. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the Proclamation of President's rule in Manipur. In that regard I must say that after the riot that occurred from 3rd to 7th May, 1993, the situation in Manipur has very much deteriorated. Since then practically, there is no law and order in Manipur. Because of that the Government was forced to promulgate President's rule which was to be done much earlier than it was done.

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 Sir, practically speaking, the situation in Manipur is very peculiar.

The ministers are involved in creating a tangle; in the name of ethnic trouble, the Ministers have engaged themselves totally in creating such a trouble. As the report of the Governor of Manipur, it was very much evident that almost all the Ministers are responsible for it, all the political parties are responsible for this, particularly those political parties with whom or with the support of those political parties this coalition government was formed in Manipur.

Just after the riots broke out in the month of May, I had an opportunity to visit Manipur; I had been to many villages where people belonging to different religious faiths live. That time, fortunately, I met one MLA belonging to the ruling party whose version was that the government had no will to act. So, it seems that the Government is solely responsible for whatever is being happened in Manipur. This is the first of its kind that has happened in Manipur. Practically, there were no communal riots in Manipur; but this was the creation of the ruling party, of the Ministers; otherwise, that could not have happened in Manipur: it never happened earlier.

In Manipur, there are other troubles. As I see is practically no Law and order in Manipur. The desecration of idols in Manipur is a great problem; and this is very unfortunate. When desecration of idols is continuously going on, people from Manipur through Dharma Raksha Committees several memoranda, representations to the Government of India (Home Department) but up till now, as per my information- I had also an opportunity to write a letter to the hon. Home Minister regarding this - no action has been taken; I want to know whether any action has taken regarding this.

Extortion of money has now become a problem in Manipur. There is a parallel government in Manipur. Whether the Central Government is aware that a parallel government is running in Manipur? Actually, the Manipur government has no control over the hill districts, extremists, insurgents are running a separate government; in those areas, the government machinery cannot work. This is the situation in Manipur.

Then smuggling is a normal thing in Manipur. This smuggling is going on and the government is taking no action. You know that AID has become a very great threat to Manipur. A good number of people are affected by AID; and this has come from outside and this is there because there is check on the border and the Government is not taking any action. This is the situation prevailing in Manipur.

Now I must say another thing not only of Manipur but also of the whole north eastern region. The extremist activities have become a problem and are becoming a problem to the security and intergrade of the country; and this is so unfortunate that all the insurgent groups have their in Bangladesh; the Bangladesh is giving them all sorts of help; they are getting train in Bangladesh. Once in the parliament the hon. Home Minister also it. Now another thing has become very much evident.

The ULFA who once fought for outstaying or deporting the infiltrators from Assam, now you will find a change in that. They are saying that the Bangladeshi infiltrators should not be deported. Why that change has in them? This is only because now they have taken shelter in Bangladesh and that too as per these the will of the Bangladesh Government.

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[Sh. Kabindra Purkayastha]

Now the Bangladesh Government restricts them to say anything against Bangladesh's who are living in Assam. They are warned that they would say anything against them then definitely they have to go out of their country. That is why these ULFA extremists have changed their views. This is also very much unfortunate.

Sir, there is another thing which is very much evident in the North East. You will find in almost all the States in the North Eastern Region the question of local residents. This is a great problem. Very often you will see that the people who have gone from outside the State and settled for decades together, doing business and working for the upliftment of the States are treated as outsiders. They are being told that they have no right to stay there. They have to go out.

Recently, I must say, something happened that on the Assam-Mizoram Border one truck driver was killed and out of that there was a tussle like situation. The Governments of Assam and Mizoram had to join hands with the central Government to solve this issue. This is only because there is no sense oneness. All these problems mixed together to create a very serious condition in the whole North East and Manipur is a very glaring example of all these activities.

So in that respect, I must say that the problem of Manipur is not simply a problem of imposition of President's Rule or to be off from that. We must go and see how this problem can be solved.

I have gone through the report of the hon. Government of Manipur and I have been rather amused when I read that report. In my opinion, for the conditions prevailing in

Manipur at present, the real issue is not of the change in the leadership or of alternative but to find an end the periodic manipulations for power by different groups or individuals. This has resulted in lack of political direction to the Government and guidance to the administration." This is one thing .

In the report there is another thing and it says;

"The above states of intense insurgency and internal disorder is due to lack of political stability and will, lack of an overall perception and monitoring of the worsening situation by the State Governments and security forces."

After saying this, the Governor was pleased to say;

"The present Assembly was in February 1990 and it has a residual life of 16 months, suspension of the democratic process at the earliest possible opportunity."

Sir, the Government himself says that situation in Manipur is such that only the change of leadership is not the solution and that the horse-trading aspect should also be dealt with firmly.

But the Government, in spite of the situation prevailing in Manipur suggested that the Assembly should be suspended and not to be dissolved.

We feel that in this situation the Assembly should be dissolved and it should kept under animated suspension. If it is left as it is what is doing on now, the process of horse trading, will go on and will create a further complication in Manipur . Therefore,

I demand that this animated suspension of Assembly should not go on, the Assembly should be dissolved and a fresh process should be conducted so that in future all that is happening in Manipur is finished a new fresh and peaceful life is created.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this motion to approve the Proclamation of President's rule in the State of Manipur.

It is no pleasure to put an elected Assembly under animated suspension or to dissolve the Assembly and to promulgate's President's rule under article 356 of the Constitution. But sometimes the situation so demands that there is no other alternative. The case of Manipur is a glaring instance of that. While there has been unanimous support to this proclamation there has some criticism voiced by the hon. Members from the other side, that it should have been done earlier firstly, and secondly that instead of keeping the Assembly under animated suspension, it should have been dissolved.

We are conveniently quoting from his Excellency the Governor's Report. Some hon. Members who are critical about the Assembly not being dissolved, have only referred to the other portions of the Governor's Report. But the Governor after making his analysis had come to the conclusion that he was in favour of animated suspension. He has not recommended dissolution of the Assembly and the Government has accepted his report in its entirety.

The question about delay is also there. It is true that this report is dated the 5th October. After that senior officers from the Government of India and even the Minister of State in the Ministry

of Home Affairs, Shri Rajesh Pilot, who is in the charge of internal security, had visited the State and there had been obviously an attempt by appealing to the political parties there who were part and parcel of the State Government to rise to the occasion, to see that good sense prevails among them. When we criticize the State Government there we should remember one thing. It was not a one party Government. It was a coalition Government of five to six parties, a coalition Government headed by the Congress. It is true that the Congress led the six party coalition Government. Who were there in the coalition Government? Janta Dal, Congress (S), MPP the representatives of MPP are also here and some local parties were there in the coalition Government. The representative of MP and some parties were very much there in the Cabinet. when we say that it is no doubt the failure of the constitutional machinery in the State and when we talk about this failure, it is a failure of all the political parties.

Sir, where the Congress used to be at the helm of affairs exclusively in Manipur, the situation was different. the situation was definitely much better. To day the Government is chaired by many parties. And they were unfortunately having competition amongst themselves to woo different sections of people, that means, the insurgent groups also. And is how, the situation got aggravated. Rise in insurgency was there. The killings, murders, dacoity, looting, arson and all these things are very much on the increase and even threaten to some extent the intergrade. It is a very sensitive State. Sir, as you know, North East is a border State. And these activities, insurgency, etc. undoubtedly were abated, added to, by the foreign agencies from across the border. There is no denial of this fact. So, this is a very sensitive issue.

[Sh. Sri Ballav Panigrahi]

15.00 hrs.

I had also gone through the Governor's I had underlined several relevant portions. I am not going to quote the Report. But I would rely upon the reference made to this report by my previous speaker. What does it indicate? Is it not a challenge to the entire political system of the country? Is it not a challenge to all the responsible political parties having shared power there, were vying with each other and thereby aggravating the insurgent activity. The State's interests, leave part the national interest, was brushed aside. And they have only got group interest, individual interest to come to power, to gain more power, to gain some vantage position, etc. What were they doing? So let us not blame each other here. Let us analyse the situation. Let us take an adequate lesson from it. Let us have heart searching in our political parties. This is a very sensitive issue. And collective endeavour to bring those people to the mainstream is called for. Six hundred lives were lost in the course of one year's insurgency. A large number of houses were razed to the ground. And many people are helplessly moving about without shelter also.

Of course, I thank the Government of India for having sanctioned money immediately for the purpose of rehabilitation of those people, who were affected. That program should be speeded up; that programme should be properly implemented. And in that way, Sir, I would say that the hon. Members belonging to that locality, area, region, had given their analysis, the genesis of the problem, how old it is, the demand for homeland, etc. for Kukis, a sort of Nagaland in the southern State, and the clash between them. All these things were responsible for such a very unfortunate situation.

Now, what should be done about it? There was no other alternative. It was an elected Assembly. The elections were held in 1990. The elections are due one year after, around January-february, 1995.

While speaking about it, I am reminded of the Jammu and Kashmir situation. There also the Assembly was under suspended animation probably from 1989-90. Then, it was dismissed. After that, we had discussed it here for the revival of the assembly several times. I do not know whether it was possible under the law to revive the Assembly. That was also discussed here. That is why in respect of suspended animation, we should not see anything wrong in that. Now, it is time that different political parties should actively try to build up a conducive atmosphere there. In any case, the elections are due there after about nine or ten months. Let not a situation continue there wherein free and fair elections will not be possible. Therefore, the need is to re-establish rule of law in an effective manner without any interference from anybody. As we know, the Governor is not a political Governor and all support should be given to him. Of course, the government of India is conscious of it. They should further review the situation and strengthen the law and order machinery there. Whatever is needed should be done so that normalcy is restored there. We should aim for normalcy to be restored as early as possible, wherein free and fair elections could be possible there.

Again, for bringing about amity, we have to ensure co-existence. There is no way out other than this. The two main communities, Nagas and Kukis, have been staying peacefully in co-existence for centuries there. They get encouragement from the political parties and this aggravates the

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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