

कक्ष में प्रवेश करने की अनुमति मिलती, अपने मताधिकार का प्रयोग करने की अनुमति मिलती तो आज मणिपुर का रुख दूसरा होता, मणिपुर का माहौल दूसरा होता, वहां पर एक सरकार होती और हम इस सदन में इस चर्चा के लिए उपस्थित नहीं होते। इन चीजों को आपके सामने रखते हुए मैं स्वराष्ट्र मंत्री द्वारा परिणियत संकल्प का समर्थन करता हूँ और माथुर साहब के द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : About less than two minutes are left. I think we adjourn for lunch now. We will continue the discussion on the Resolution.

The House is adjourned for lunch till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-nine minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirtytwo minutes past two of the clock,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA) in the Chair.

#### THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS), 1992-93

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MALLIKARJUN): Sir, I lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1992-93 , in respect of Railways.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: (West Bengal) Last time it was promised that the Government will take a decision on the reinstatement of the Railway employees. May I know from the Railway Minister what steps they have taken to implement their assurance given on the floor of the Parliament?

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: (Uttar Pradesh) Is it a correct time to make the statement? What is the position? The Minister should clarify the position. It affects the interests of so many workers.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It was decision by the previous Government and on a number of occasions in the past and during the last year even when the last Railway Budget was placed, the Government had promised that they would take it up and the Government will make an announcement, but the whole year has elapsed.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I support him on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The Minister is here. I think he is taking note of it. If he wants to react now or later on, he can do that.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: He should promise as to when he is going to make a statement on this. Is he making the statement tomorrow or when? It is essential.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार): महोदय, बिहार के कुछ गांवों में नक्सल सौदा-आग, में मास किलिंग हुई। इसके अलावा भी एक गांव में हरिजनों की किलिंग हुई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार की ओर से, गृह मंत्री की ओर से स्टेटमेंट इस सदन में आए जिस पर पूरा सदन विचार करे। इसलिए मैं आप के ज़रिए यह अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ गृह मंत्री से कि वे कोई मोशन लायें तो अच्छा है। चूंकि वे यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, स्टेट होम मिनिस्टर वहां पर गए थे तो लोगों ने वहां पर उन्हें जाने नहीं दिया।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Mishra, I think the Minister has already told the morning session that he would make a statement on this issue. In time he will make his statement.

Now, we take up the Statutory Resolution on Manipur.

#### STATUTORY RESOLUTION APPROVING PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 IN RELATION TO MAMPUR AND MOTION SEEKING REVOCATION OF PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION—

*Contd.*

SHRI RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI (Kerala): I oppose the Resolution as it does not demand the dissolution of the Assembly and holding of fresh elections.

The Union Government is misusing the provisions of the Constitution to suit its narrow and partisan interests. Whatever be the limitations of the Constitution, it embodies the Democratic aspirations of the people. It carries forward the great traditions and heritage of our country. Instead of strengthening it, the Congress (I), the Union

[Shri Ramachandran Ptilai]

Government is trying to weaken it-subvert it to suit their narrow partisan interests. The concept of democracy does not stand for the perpetuation of one party rule. The federal polity further strengthens and takes into consideration the realities of diversities in our country. The Union Government is keeping the Assembly in a state of suspended animation. We all witnessed the sordid drama enacted there. In the present situation, it is absolutely impossible to have a stable Ministry there. Why does the Central Government keep the Assembly in a state of suspended animation? I fear that is for political horse-trading. The Union Government/it is intending to impose by dubious means their own Ministry there. Such actions will create a very difficult situation in that sensitive State. We now in India are witnessing such happenings results of such narrow partisan actions of the Central Government. The Congress (I) party has alienated a considerable section of the people in Kashmir and in Punjab. So such narrow partisan actions will definitely endanger the unity and integrity of our country. That is why I demand immediate dissolution of the Assembly and fresh elections as requested by the Chief Minister on the 5th January. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. John Fernandes. He is not here, Mr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY:

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is usual that the Congress party has got scant respect for democracy. It has been proved umpteen times. Before the present Government came into power, elections were to be held in Punjab. As soon as they came into power, within 24 hours, elections to Punjab were postponed. Now there is a swearing in ceremony of a Cabinet elected by three-fourths majority with nine per cent votes. This is the tragedy. We demanded on the floor of the House that a package should be announced for the people of Punjab as a pledge of the Parliament, of the Indian people. But no package was announced. I have to state that the then Chief Minister of Manipur convened his Cabinet and asked for elections.

It was the bounden duty of the Government, the Central Government, to agree with that proposal. But, the Governor comes in between and the Governor's opinion is being taken. I do not know why. There was one Ramlal in Andhra Pradesh. He made the majority into a minority and overthrew our Government. Another Government was sworn in. And after thirty days, it was proved that the Government that was sworn in did not have the requisite majority and we came back to power. True to the sentiments of the people and our loyalty to democracy, we resigned, we went to the people and we came back with two-thirds majority. If the same thing is practised in Manipur today, if elections are held, the United Front will come back with two-thirds majority. What is it that this Government is doing for the people to vote for it?

Take the case of rise in prices. In 100 days prices will be brought down everywhere. That was the pledge. But another Rs. 1000 crores is being levied on the people by the Railway Ministry. If we go into the matter, the Congress party is at its last wicket in Manipur also. And now, stating that the Assembly will be in suspended animation has no relevance at all. When they pulled down the Karnataka Government, they said that there was horse-trading. But today, what is going on in Manipur? What is the expectation of the Congress Government except horse-trading? By hook or crook, they will come to power like in Meghalaya and Tripura. We had been to Tripura. And afterwards also, we had been receiving reports that the Tribal people were dying of starvation. No ration was being issued to them and thousands of houses were burnt. The tribal people were being driven into desperation. Under such conditions, the Government falls. Is it not right? After so many atrocities, it was for the Congress party to agree to go for the polls. But it refuses. It makes another manipulation and gets another gentleman to take over. Internal party matters bring down Governments. To do this, misuse of Article 356 is indulged in. This has been said by Sarkaria Commission. In most of the cases, in almost fifty per cent of the cases, Article 356 has been

misused in your own States. You know Vice-Chairman, Sir that your Government has been pulled down. For what purpose? To bring a Congress Government. In the same way, you have the Kashmir problem. So many Government were pulled down. In the same way-you have the Punjab problem. In the President's Address it was said that the Barnala Government was doing very well in Punjab. They appreciated him. They said that they had given unqualified support to Mr. Barnala. But before the ink was dry, before the President's Address spread to the masses, the Barnala Government was pulled down. And a whimsical charge of corruption had been put in there! And now they are stating that terrorism is one of the reasons why there cannot be elections in Manipur. When you can hold elections in Punjab, what could prevent you from having elections in Manipur?

There is no such atmosphere at all in Manipur. We are not reading in the press. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: There is no necessity to hold elections there.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY. That is all right for you. And have indirect elections for local bodies just like in Andhra Pradesh. For a single-window election you get two people nominated. You take away, you steal away, Members keeping them in camps. Give them liquor, give them everything and finally come out and say that you are practising democracy. In Andhra Pradesh, the Government wants only indirect elections. They can never face a direct election. If they face direct elections, they will be defeated. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Who defeated the ... (*Interruptions*).

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: That is indirect election.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Narayanasamy, please don't interrupt. Let him complete.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: You are always for indirect elections. Today, two camps are being run in Manipur. (*Interruptions*). This is the way they are functioning. The Congress (I) party will never learn it. That is the tragedy. In the new atmosphere, the

Congress (I) party may react better. But the tragedy of the matter is that it refuses to learn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: As far as Manipur is concerned, the people of Manipur have to decide the fate of the State and not anybody else. That is why I oppose the Statutory Resolution.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa): Thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman. I rise to support the proclamation issued by the President on 7th of January, 1992, suspending the Assembly of Manipur. It was a right step for the President to keep the Assembly in suspended animation because the State Cabinet passed a resolution on 4th of January saying that the State Assembly should be dissolved. No Government in its proper senses, if it enjoys the majority of the MLAs, will recommend such a dissolution. Therefore, it was as foregone conclusion that that Government of the day had lost majority in the House. I say the President has taken a right decision because by not dissolving the Assembly, the President has kept up the democratic values of this nation. It is this Government, the Congress Government that passed the Anti-Defection Act in 1985 and it is not the motive of this Government to see that defection is encouraged in any part of the country or in any corner of the country. The latest example is the restoration of a popular Government in Punjab. This morning, we have seen a very popular Government with the mandate of the people has been restored. In Punjab. This is only possible because of the democratic values the Congress party and the Congress Governments are upholding.

Sir, if we analyse the election result of Manipur, six political parties came together to form the ULF Government and they got only 34 seats. If we divide the seats, I think hardly each party got five-and-a-half seat. That shows that there was instability in that State right from the day of its inception. On the contrary, the Congress (I) party got the majority seats. It became the largest major group in that Assembly by winning

[Shri John F. Fernandes]

26 seats out of 60 seats. It was mentioned by my colleague from Manipur in the morning that the malady of defection is the prerogative of north-eastern States. I may say here that this defection was engineered by none other than the then Union Railway Minister of the National Front Government. This malady was not only in the north-eastern region, but this particular Minister also came to Goa. He dislodged a popular Congress (I) Government there. So it is not proper for the Opposition to filling charges at the Treasury Benches that it is the Congress party which is advocating defection. In case we wanted to install the Government, on the day the Assembly was dissolved, we could have done it. The Congress (I) party had a majority. We had about 34 seats out of 60 seats and we could have well installed a Congress (I) Government in that State. But we did not want to precipitate things because this State is a disturbed State. It is a border State, having a common border with other foreign countries and insurgency is the order of the day. It is not the intention of the Congress Government at the Centre to see that defector Governments are installed day in and day out. The very fact that we have kept the Assembly in suspended animation is an indicator to that effect. I feel with the proper alignment of democratic and political forces in Manipur, a popular Government will be installed very soon as it has been done in Goa.

With these few words, I support the proclamation issued by the President. Thank you.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार):** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब वर्तमान प्रधानमंत्री प्रधानमंत्री बने तो उन्होंने कुछ ऐसा आश्वासन देश को दिया कि वह कांग्रेस के पुराने तरीकों से या जोड़-तोड़ और पार्टीजिन की राजनीति से नहीं चलेंगे। लेकिन हम को ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे कुत्ते की दुम सीधी नहीं हो सकती है वैसे ही कांग्रेस पार्टी भी बिना जोड़-तोड़ के नहीं चल सकती है। दोनों का यही हाल है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक पुरानी कहानी है। एक चोर था। उसने सोचा कि मैं चोरी छोड़ दूँ और वह साधु बन गया। रोज रात को चोरी करने के वक्त उसकी नींद टूट जाती थी। जब रात को सब साधु सो रहे होते थे तो वह इसका तुम्बा वहाँ कर देता था और उसका तुम्बा यहाँ कर देता था। सवेरे साधुओं में मार-पीट होती थी। बाद में जब वह पकड़ा गया तो

उसने बताया कि पहले वह एक चोर था और उसकी चोरी की आदत अभी तक नहीं छूटी थी। उसने बताया कि इसलिए हम इस तरह का काम करते हैं।  
(व्यवधान)

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम:** हेरा-फेरी करते हैं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र:** तुम्बा-फेरी करते हैं। इसलिए हम को लगता है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी में कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जिनकी तुम्बा-फेरी की आदत नहीं छूट रही है।  
(व्यवधान)

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह (बिहार):** कांग्रेस की तुलना आपने कुत्ते की दुम से की (व्यवधान)

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** तुलना काहे को कर रहे हैं। हमने कहा है कि वैसी ही है। हमने यह नहीं कहा कि वही है। आप तो ऐसी बात करते हैं। हमारी जो शिक्कायत है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप यह तुम्बाफेरी बिहार में कीजिये, यूपी में कीजिये (व्यवधान) हम यह कह रहे हैं कि बिहार में कीजिये। मध्य प्रदेश में भी कर रहे हैं तो कीजिये। हमारा कहना है कि बार्डर स्टेट में जहाँ आर्म्ड स्ट्रगल होता है, जहाँ कई हथियारबंद जत्थे बन गये हैं, वह विदेशों से हथियार लेते हैं, मणिपुर के बारे में अखबारों में आ चुका है जहाँ म्यानमार से ट्रेंड कुछ ऐसे दस्ते बन चुके हैं जो इस तरह का काम करते हैं। इनको इण्डियन काबिन आर्मी से भी यह हथियार मिलते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक डायन होती है जो बच्चों-बच्चों को मारती है, वह भी एक घर छोड़ देती है। तो कांग्रेस डायन से हम को यह कहना है कि कम से कम बार्डर स्टेट को तो छोड़ दो जहाँ हथियारबंद लड़ाई होती है। इतना तो आप कम से कम कीजिये। इतनी बात भी आप नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम को तो यह लगता है कि सत्ता में आने के लिए तार टपक रही है। वह कोई समझ में आने वाली बात नहीं है। इस तरह से तो देश को नहीं चलाया जा सकता है। हमारी पार्टी भी उस सरकार में थी लेकिन जो घटनाएं घट रही थीं हम उसके ज्यादा समर्थक नहीं हैं। यह भी हम बात दें कि जिस तरह से सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने रूलिंग दी और स्पेकर उसको नहीं मानते हैं, बहुत तरह की बातें आई हैं जिनको कहने के लिए समय नहीं है लेकिन हम उन बातों को पसंद नहीं करते हैं। यह बहुत खराब बात है। चाहे कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से हों या जो हमारे मित्र बंधु हैं श्री जयपाल रेड्डी जी की पार्टी की तरफ से हों। इनकी पार्टी में एक बड़ा गुण है कि कब कबन किधर जाता है हमको पता ही नहीं लगता है और बीच में हम लोग मारे जाते हैं। यह हम लोगों की दिक्कत है। हम आपसे कहना चाहेंगे कि जब आप लोग अपनी पार्टी का टिकट देते हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी से भी कहते हैं, अपने मित्रों से भी कहते हैं कि आप यह जांच क्यों नहीं कर लेते हैं तो यह फर्म

आदमी है और हमारे साथ ही रहेगा। आप हम को बता दीजिये सारे देश में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का, मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का, फारवर्ड ब्लाक का या अर-एस-पी का कोई मैम्बर क्यों नहीं इधर से उधर जाता है (व्यवधान)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम: बी०जे०पी० का भी नाम लीजिये।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: बी०जे०पी० का हुआ है। (व्यवधान) इनके पार्टनर का भी हुआ है। इस तरह ही एक श्रीमतीजी इधर से उधर हुई थीं (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने आज सुबह ज़ीरो-आवर में यह सवाल उठाया था (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम किसी का नाम नहीं लेंगे (व्यवधान)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक गुस्ताखी करना चाहूंगा। वह वहां से ही निकली हुयी है—मैं एक शेर अर्ज करता हूँ।

गो अब नहीं ये वहां से निकले हुये तो हैं।

कब से इन बुतों को मोहब्बत है दूर की।

वह तो कांग्रेस से आई थी और वहीं चली गई।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: हम सब लोग जिस किसी ने भी आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लिया है वह सब कांग्रेस से आए हैं। जिन्होंने किसी आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा नहीं लिया वे अलग बैठे हैं। हम आपसे कह रहे हैं कि हम कांग्रेस के मेम्बर नहीं थे। लेकिन सन् 1942 के अंग्रेजों भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन में भाग लिया था। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: आप उसका तो जिक्र नहीं कर रहे हैं जिन्होंने कांग्रेस की लड़ाई में रुकवट डाली...

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: हम तो जेल में भी गये आप तो कभी गये नहीं। आप बराबर हमको याद दिलाते हैं कि आप रुकवट डाल रहे थे। आपने कभी कुछ किया नहीं तो रुकवट क्या डालेंगे। आप शुरू से पांच पकड़ कर कांग्रेस का, आजादी के आंदोलन का खींच रहे थे तो आप लोग कैसे बोलते हैं ... (व्यवधान) आप तो छत्र आन्दोलन में हमारे साथी थे भागकर उधर गये हैं। जब ज़िधर कुछ देखा तो उधर ही चिपट जाते थे। तो हमारा कहना है कि पोलिटिकल पार्टीज it is high time that we consider this serious question. उनको पार्टी का टिकट नहीं दीजिए जो अनरिलायबल है और उनको तोड़ जोड़कर मिनिस्टर बना देते हैं, या कुछ कर देते हैं। इससे सारा देश चौपट होता जा रहा है।

अब मणिपुर के संदर्भ में बात लीजिए जो हम कहना चाह रहे हैं। थोड़ी देर के लिए मान लीजिए हम स्वीकार

करते हैं कि वह सरकार मेजरिटी में नहीं रह गयी थी, हमको ऐतराज नहीं है मानने में तो उसकी नेचुरल डेथ क्यों नहीं होने दी। कहते कि जाकर असेम्बली में प्रूव करो, अपने आप खत्म हो जाती। आप अपने ऊपर क्यों बदनामी ले रहे हैं? जब कोई रोगी मर ही रहा है तो उसको आप क्यों मार देते हैं? यही बात सरकारीय कमीशन ने भी कही थी। उसकी भी कुछ लाज रखते और कहते कि हाउस में प्रूव करो और नहीं प्रूव करोगे तो चले जाओ। खत्म बात।

श्री रजनी रंजन साहू: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN. (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You will have your say when your turn comes. Let him have his say.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He has yielded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Are you yielding?

श्री रजनी रंजन साहू (बिहार): हम फैक्ट बता दें कि असेम्बली बुलाने के लिए जब वहां के विधायकों ने रिविजनीशन किया तो स्पीकर ने, जो यू.एल.एफ. गवर्नमेंट द्वारा चुने गये हैं, असेम्बली बुलाकर, समय निर्धारित करके फिर कैबिनेट कर दिया। उसके बाद स्पीकर महोदय, सस्पेंशन करोबार में लग गये। इसलिए यह मत कहिए कि क्यों नहीं बुलायी।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि स्पीकर रात में आपके साथ रहते थे और दिन में उधर रहते थे। उन्होंने आपकी पार्टी को भी डिफेक्शन में ला दिया और उधर उनको भी ला दिया। इसीलिए वह सब हमको मत सिखलाइये। मैं खुद वहां गया था। मैं इम्पत्रल में था। मैं एक पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी में गया था। पुलिस अधिकारियों ने अन्नकर कहा कि शाम हो गयी है बाहर मत जाइये। घर में बैठे रहिए। यही प्रेजिडेंशियल रूल में भी है। आप वहां ट्रेवल नहीं कर सकते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) हम कहाँ कह रहे हैं कि पहले सुनहला राज बना हुआ था। हमने कभी कहा। जहाँ जहाँ आपके चरण गये वहाँ कभी शांति रह सकती है? जहाँ जहाँ कांग्रेस का चरण गया वहाँ कहीं शांति नहीं रह सकती है।

“जो पद चरण देई हनुमन्ता सो घंस गयी पाताल तुरन्ता।

वह तो होने ही वाला है। लेकिन मैं एक ही बात आपसे कहूंगा कि अभी भी बाज आइये। जब ऐसे मैम्बर वहाँ हैं कि रात में इधर, सुबह में उधर, दिन में उधर तो फिर सरकार क्यों बना रहे हैं ऐसे लोगों के साथ। इस मुल्क को बचाएं। फिर इलेक्शन करवा दें। फिर नये लोग आएंगे, करेंगे : हम जानते हैं कि पंजाब में आपको कम

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

बोट मिले हैं। हमको मालूम है। फिर आप ही सरकार में आ रहे हैं। आइये। एक प्रोसेस तो शुरू हुआ है। हम आपके एडमिशन नहीं हैं लेकिन जब पंजाब में कुछ नहीं था वहाँ आप गये हैं। इस समय तो कुछ नहीं कहेंगे लेकिन थोड़े दिन के बाद कहेंगे जब आप गड़बड़ाने लगेंगे। इसीलिए हम आपसे कहना चाहेंगे कि यहाँ देश के हित में है कि आप मणिपुर में प्रेश इलेक्शन करवा दीजिए। इस कलंक से आप भी बच जाइये हम लोग भी बच जाएंगे। जीत जाइये आप गड़बड़ करके तो आप ही चले जाइयेगा। हम आपको थोड़े ही रोक सकते हैं। इसलिए हमारा यही कहना है कि इस नियम का, आर्टिकल 356 का दुरुपयोग मत कीजिये। इस तरह से मिसयूज जो रहा है उससे इस देश को बचाइये। इसलिए मैं इस सदन से अनुरोध करूँगा कि इस प्रस्ताव को रिजेक्ट करें और इसकी निंदा करें।

श्री राजनी राजन साहू: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस प्रोक्लामेशन का समर्थन करता हूँ और साथ ही अपने मित्र चतुरानन मिश्र जी ने जो कहा है उस पर थोड़ा स्पष्टीकरण करते हुए उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि मणिपुर की स्थिति के बारे में बयान करने के पूर्व वहाँ के सम्पूर्ण राजनैतिक परिवेश को उन्हें देखना चाहिए था। इसके लिए उनको मैं याद कराना चाहूँगा कि 300 P.M. विगत चुनाव में वहाँ जो पार्टी की स्थिति थी और किस तरह वहाँ केन्द्र सरकार के समर्थन से बनाई गयी। केन्द्र सरकार के दो वरिष्ठ मंत्रियों ने वहाँ जाकर गवर्नर पर दबाव डाल कर वहाँ छह पार्टियों की विश्वसनीय सरकार बनाई थी। उन छह पार्टियों की स्थिति इस प्रकार थी।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: जो सवाल है, आप उसका जवाब दीजिए। हम काहे की करते हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री राजनी राजन साहू: आप घबराये नहीं, मैं उसी पर ही आ रहा हूँ। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: हम काहे को घबरायेंगे। हमारे खाल में तो ... (व्यवधान)

श्री राजनी राजन साहू: आप घबराये नहीं, मैं कुछ तथ्यों को, कुछ बातों को खोलकर सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इसी सदन के एक सदस्य वरिष्ठ मंत्री थे। मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहूँगा और एक उस सदन के मंत्री जाकर, जिस पार्टी में करीब 11 सदस्य एम०पी०पी० के थे, जनता दल के 11 सदस्य थे, कांग्रेस (एस) के छह सदस्य थे, के०एन०ए० के दो सदस्य थे, एन०टी०पी० के एक सदस्य थे और सी०पी०आई० के तीन सदस्य थे। उनकी सरकार बनी थी। इसलिए उनको तकलीफ हो रही है क्योंकि अब उनकी सरकार चली गई है।

इनकी पार्टी के लोगों ने डिफैक्ट ही नहीं किया है, लेकिन यह 34 आर्टिकल को मिला कर छह पार्टियों की सरकार जबरदस्ती बनाई गई, जबकि गवर्नर साहब को

चाहिए था कि जो सब से बड़ी पार्टी है, कांग्रेस को 26 सीट मिले हुए थे, पहले उसको बुला कर पूछना चाहिए था। यह नियम है कि पहले जो लाजेंस पार्टी है, उसे बुला कर पूछा जाए। जब वह इंकार करे, तब छोटी-छोटी पार्टी को बुला कर पूछा जाता है। लेकिन यह मौक़ा कांग्रेस पार्टी को नहीं दिया गया उस जमाने में, क्योंकि केन्द्र में जनता दल की सरकार थी और यह 34 आर्टिकल की सरकार बनी। उसमें से धीरे-धीरे—22 महीने तक यह रह गई, यह ही बहुत बड़ी बात है। 22 महीने तक इस तरह की सरकार का रह जाना, यह बहुत बड़ी बात है, जिसके लिए इनको खुद समझना चाहिए, हमारे मित्र श्री चतुरानन मिश्र जी को कि इतने दिनों तक रज कर लिया यही बहुत बड़ी बात है।

आज स्थिति यह है कि 11 एम०पी०पी० में से यह सिर्फ एम०पी०पी० की जो सरकार है, यू०एल०एफ० की जो सरकार थी, उसमें 11 के 11 हैं, जनता दल में से सिर्फ चार रहे गये हैं और सात छोड़ कर चले गये हैं, जनता दल में भी डिफैक्शन हो गया है। कांग्रेस (एस) के छह में से तीन चले गये, उसमें भी डिफैक्शन हो गया, के०एन०ए० के दो में से एक चले गये और उसमें भी डिफैक्शन हो गया है और एम०पी०पी० के एक के एक चले गये, उसमें भी डिफैक्शन हो गया है। एक सम्बुत पार्टी बची हुई है सी०पी०आई० की सरकार, बाकी पार्टियों का वहाँ सत्यानाश हो गया, सबों का पर्दाफाश हो गया।

अब ऐसी स्थिति में वहाँ इन 22 महीनों में क्या हुआ? इन 22 महीनों में उस प्रदेश में ला एंड आर्डर नाम की कोई चीज नहीं रह गई है। बर्मा बार्डर से जो लगा हुआ प्रदेश है, उसमें ऐसा आने जाने का सिलसिला चालू हो गया है, जैसे कोई किसी को पूछने वाला ही नहीं है। जब मैं वहाँ गया था और रणबीर की सरकार थी, तो शाम को पाँच बजे के बाद उस समय कोई आदमी घर से बाहर नहीं निकल सकता था।

ऐसी परिस्थिति में जहाँ की सरकार में आलरेडी डिफैक्शन हो चुका है, वैसी परिस्थिति में क्या किया जाए, यह विचारणीय प्रश्न था। गवर्नर साहब ने बड़ी सूझबूझ के बाद, यद्यपि इस बीच में स्पीकर ने जो खेल-तमाशा किया है, यह अखबारों में आया है कि किस तरह से प्रजातंत्र को और जो स्पीकर का एक इस्टीमेशन है, उसको उसने मिसयूज किया है, उसको किस तरह से बार-बार एक पार्टी के लोगों को डिफैक्ट करते थे, उनको वह सस्पेंड कर देता था। यहाँ तक की सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जब उसको आर्डर दिया, उसकी अवहेलना करते हुए उसे कन्टेम्प्ट फेस करना पड़ रहा है। आज उसके कंटेम्प्ट की तारीख सुप्रीम कोर्ट में लगी हुई है, जिसका जजमेंट होने वाला है।

इस तरह से वहाँ आज इस स्थिति में स्पीकर और रणबीर सरकार मिल कर वहाँ के प्रजातंत्र को इस तरह

से सफाया किया है कि आम जनता, वहाँ के लोग, वहाँ का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, सारा तबाह हो गया। ऐसी स्थिति में गवर्नर के पास उपाय यही था कि वहाँ 356 प्रोक्लामेशन की जाए। गवर्नर ने किया, उसका औचित्य है।

अब हमारे मित्र ने कहा कि वहाँ चुनाव क्यों नहीं करा दिया जाए? शायद उनको पता नहीं है कि जिस तरह से वहाँ लैम्बेज के इश्यू को लेकर एंजिटीशन चल रहा है, जिस तरह से आर्म्स आ रहा है, आज वह प्रदेश चुनाव की स्थिति में नहीं है और वास्तविकता यह है कि आज चुनाव हो तो वहाँ खून-खराबे के अल्लावा और कुछ नहीं होगा। इतने दिनों के बाद, आज पंजाब का सोल्यूशन हुआ है। हम लोगों ने समय देखा कर चुनाव कराया और इस सदन के सभा पटल पर हमारे माननीय प्रधान मंत्री, गृह मंत्री ने कई बार अल्लखन दिया और उसके बाद उस अल्लखन को पूरा किया, आम चुनाव वहाँ पर हुआ। इस तरह से कांग्रेस की सरकार कभी भी कोई गलत ढंग से और गलत तरह से काम नहीं करती है, यह आपको जानना चाहिए। विरोधी पार्टी या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग जो भी चाहें कह सकते हैं। प्रजातंत्र में नंबर की बात आती है तो आज स्थिति यह है कि नंबर में अगर वहाँ गिनती की जाए और अगर सरकार बनाई जाए तो कांग्रेस के साथ स्पष्ट रूप से बहुमत है। 38 सदस्य कांग्रेस के हैं। 6 सदस्यों को मान्यता मिलने वाली है। मान्यता सुप्रीम कोर्ट में लंबित है। उसको भी अगर माइनस कर दिया जाए तो 32 का स्पष्ट बहुमत है। 26 सदस्य कांग्रेस के हैं। उसके अलावा के०एन०ए०, ए०पी०पी० के एक सदस्य थे वह आ गए के०एन०ए० के दो सदस्य उस कांग्रेस के साथ आ गए, कांग्रेस (एस) के 3 सदस्य आ गए और जनता दल के जो सदस्य चार निकाले गये हैं वह कांग्रेस का साथ दे रहे हैं। हम यह नहीं कहते हैं कि सब लोगों के साथ मिली-जुली सरकार बननी चाहिए। लेकिन बहुमत कांग्रेस का 26 का जो है वह इंटैक्ट है। उसके साथ जो भी सहयोग से सरकार बनाने में मदद दे रहे हैं उसका सहयोग कांग्रेस पार्टी लेगी और वहाँ एक स्थायी सरकार बनाई जा सकती है। लेकिन अभी जो रणबीर की सरकार थी उसका खोखलापन जाहिर हो चुका था, इसलिए गवर्नर ने एनीमेटेड संसर्पेशन की सिफारिश किया। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से इस बात का निवेदन करूंगा कि गवर्नर से आज की ताजा रिपोर्ट मांगे तो गवर्नर इस बात की रिपोर्ट देंगे कि कांग्रेस के साथ 32 लोग हैं। कांग्रेस की सरकार बनने के बाद ही वहाँ स्थायी सरकार हो सकती है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक मिनट और लूंगा। रिजनल पार्टियाँ जहाँ-जहाँ हुई हैं अगर बार्डर स्टेट्स में भी वही हुआ और हम सच्ची के साथ भजबूत सरकार, भजबूत पार्टी की सरकार वहाँ नहीं बनाये तो देश को

आज भुगतना पड़ेगा। पंजाब में, काश्मीर में रिजनल पार्टियाँ रूल करती रहीं हैं, वहाँ की स्थिति क्या हो गई? आज फिर कांग्रेस की सरकार आई है, आप देखेंगे, सदन के सभी सदस्य देखेंगे वहाँ कितनी भजबूती के साथ कांग्रेस सरकार चलायेगी। जहाँ-जहाँ रिजनल पार्टियाँ बार्डर स्टेट में रही हैं, देश कमजोर हुआ है। मैं यह बात दावे के साथ कर सकता हूँ कि बार्डर स्टेट्स में कहीं भी रिजनल पार्टियाँ उस प्रांत को नहीं चला सकती हैं और वह प्रांत हमेशा कमजोर होता जाएगा। इसलिए कांग्रेस की भजबूत सरकार वहाँ बनाई जाए।

इन शब्दों के साथ, मैं इस प्रोक्लामेशन का समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: You have encouraged regional parties and terrorism in Kashmir, in Kerala, in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere. You have aligned with regional parties and formed Governments with them. You are contradicting your own doings.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the question before us is something like this. It is very difficult to find merit either on this or on the other side. The account that was placed before the House by the Member from Manipur makes really dismal reading and dismal hearing. Defectors for four times of such and such number, three times of such and such number and two times of such and such number. Their number is like this. Manipur is a very beautiful State. At the same time, it is a border State bordering Myanmar or Burma and having all types of devious activities from the side of Burma. This is known to everybody. At the same time, there are extremists who do not like to be within the Indian Union. Now, politicising in this manner in a very sensitive State like Manipur is nothing short of acting against the national interest. And this is what has been done in Manipur and we can say that such thing has been done in Punjab also. Facts would reveal that manipulated elections cannot bring about democracy and peace. In Manipur, it is not a question of merit on the part of Shri Ranbir Singh or Shri Dorendra Singh. The question is why the Assembly in Manipur has been kept under suspended animation? With such a dismal record of its majority, what is there to expect out of it? These questions should be

[Prof. Saurin Bhattacharya] fanswered by our good friends, Shri M.M. Jacob, who is now an itinerant Ambassador of the Home Department. He must answer as to why obvious scope for manipulations has been given to the party which is also the Central ruling party. Shri Dorendra Singh is an old hand in this case. Perhaps relying on his efficiency, the Government of India has kept the Assembly under suspended animation. It is an immoral act. Don't compound this immoral act by prolonging it. So far as President's Rule is concerned, it is all right. But so far as the other part is concerned, that is, keeping the Assembly under suspended animation, it is something which can be changed. I think the position of this Government will really improve if they agree to dissolve this Assembly forthwith and prepare ground for elections and come to power through an open election and not by clandestine things. Thank you.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRA VARTY: We are discussing a very unwise, unjustified and an immature decision of a mature Government in this House. Everybody knows that Manipur is a border State placed in the remotest corner of the country, that is, the eastern-most part of the country. It is also a very sensitive area bordering Burma which is the cockpit of all the extremist and terrorist agencies. It has access to China also. The decision of the Central Government to impose President's Rule and to keep the Assembly under suspended animation is a sort of an enigma which cannot solve any of the problems of the border States. The Cabinet decision of the Manipur Government was for the dissolution of the Assembly. Why has it not been dissolved? That is a question to which probably we can never get an answer. By keeping the Assembly in animated suspension what purpose the Congress-I Government is going to achieve is best known to all. I am putting this question, through you, to the House. This has been done by the Government for buying time so that the Congress-I Government here or the Congress Party may do horsetrading, a thing to which it is accustomed. And we

have seen what this Government has done in Meghalaya and in Assam also. Elections are held under the cover of military and under the cover of different black laws. And the result of a recently concluded election in Punjab speaks volumes as to how the Congress-I there came to power. According to the report of the Governor, some of the political leaders have had talks with the extremists. If that be so, can the Centre wipe out all the extremists, all the terrorists, in Manipur by keeping the Assembly in animated suspension? Did the Central Government achieve anything in Punjab or in Kashmir?

Presently the United Legislative Front in Manipur has 26 Members in the present House of 53; 7 have already been disqualified and the Congress-I has got only 13 Members. May I know from the honourable Minister—a repeat of Meghalaya—how many 'Ayarams' are going to join the Congress-I and when so that the Congress-I may form a plus or minus Ministry there? If that happens, it will be a farce of the biggest democracy in the world. What is the reason behind not dissolving the Assembly? I demand, through you, the holding of fresh elections there as early as possible. That is the aspiration of the people of that State, because I know some of the people there. If the Congress-I forms a Ministry there with 'Ayarams and Gayarams', such Government can never satisfy the people there. The people there are restless. There is bound to be unrest in that State. The Congress-I may run the administration there but that type of Government can never win the hearts of the people. I, therefore, urge this Government, through you, to hold elections as early as possible because I feel that this is the only right step to be taken at this juncture in order to save democracy. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Ram Awadesh Singh. Not here. Now Shri Shankar Dayal Singh.

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका अधिक वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। इसमें सभी बातें आई हैं और लगभग सभी लोगों ने जो कुछ भी कहा है उससे यह साफ जाहिर होता है कि मणिपुर में चुनाव होना चाहिए। इस तरह की प्रवृत्ति, जिससे



लोकतंत्र कलंकित होता हो और संविधान की मर्यादाएं टूटती हों, उससे कार्य नहीं करना चाहिए।

महोदय, मैं केवल एक बात पर ही आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और इसलिए एक मिनट का समय लूंगा और वह यह है कि मणिपुर में मणिपुरी भाषा को लेकर वहाँ के लोगों में काफी जागृति है और यह मांग की जा रही है कि आठवीं अनुसूची में मणिपुरी भाषा को भी स्थान मिलना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह उनकी उचित मांग है। भारत की जितनी भी भाषाएँ हैं, सभी राष्ट्रभाषाएँ हैं और संपर्क भाषा के रूप में हिंदी काम में लाई जाती है, जिसे राजभाषा भी कहते हैं। सभी भाषाओं को सम्मान दर्जा प्राप्त है। इसीलिए मेरी मांग यह है कि वहाँ लोगों में जो एक जागृति है और जो उनकी जाग्रत मांग है कि मणिपुरी भाषा को संविधान की आठवीं अनुसूची में स्वीकृति प्रदान की जाय, मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इसकी घोषणा इसी सदन में करेगी। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Now the Home Minister to reply.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Sir, I am grateful to the Members who have participated in this debate. I do not wish to make a very lengthy speech in reply because many of the Members are showing restlessness going out for one reason or the other. But, Sir, at the same time, many Members, Shri Mathur, Shri Narayansamy, Shri Kulabidhu Singh, Shri Ahluwalia, Shri Ramachandran Pillai, Shri John Fernandes, Shri Chaturanan Mishra, Shri Rajni Ranjan Sahu, Shri Souren Bhattacharya, Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarty and Shri Shankar Dayal Singh participated in the discussion.

One thing that I could see from the trend of the discussion is that everybody agreed that instability in the North-East is not a desirable thing at all and that, to ensure the safety and security of the country, we should maintain discipline and unity in our country. What happened in Manipur is not a very healthy thing and I need not repeat that and I also do not want to explain chronologically as to what they did, who defected from which side to which side and so on. But, looking at the scenario, when the election was taking place last time, the General Election in that State, the party position was that the Congress-I was having 26 and the MPP 11. The MPP is a regional party and this party with eleven Members was able to form a Government subse-

quently bypassing the party of 26! Nothing can be stranger than this. But it is because of the very hard work of my friends like Shri Jaipal Reddy and the intelligent work done during the General Election by them.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Yes. Mr. Jaipal Reddy, I think you are not listening to him.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: It is because of the disinformation campaign which went on at that time in our country that our party lost the majority. That is the only political event that happened at that time in India. Nothing else happened. The political event was that because of some disinformation campaign or whatever it is, we lost, the Congress-I lost, the power. Suddenly, the scenario changed and a party with 26 goes to the Opposition and a party with 11 becomes the ruling party!

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Thanks to Mr. George Fernandes.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Since then you started witnessing unhealthy scenes in a beautiful State like Manipur and Manipur is a State where the people are traditionally peaceful and where the people have always wanted to remain in India at any cost. They were not secessionists, they were not separatists, and they wanted to be in India, strongly with India. But, during the last one or two years, a trend has been noticed, and it is that there are extremists, there are NSCN extremists coming and operating in some of the border areas in that State, and some of them have had even training in Bangladesh and in the neighbouring country, Myanmar. They have been getting training in insurgency and coming back here and infiltrating there. Thituk God, they could not succeed because of the Manipur people who were not prepared to accept the trend of separatism or terrorism. The people of Manipur were ready to resist it, irrespective of whatever party they belonged to. I congratulate the people of Manipur. But still the danger is increasing every day. So, it is at such a time that we find the political turmoil going to uncertain limits. Sir, the Speaker

[Shri M.M. Jabcob]

isqualified seven Members. I know he has got the right. But the strength got reduced. Then he disqualified three Members. Again it got reduced. Finally, after the disqualification and all that, they went to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court had given a verdict that the disqualification was wrong and illegal and that they had to be made eligible to become Members of the Assembly. In spite of this verdict, the Speaker refused to abide by it. The arguments may be many in this connection. Why the Speaker did what he did is the Speaker's concern and I am not going to criticise the Speaker. But the Speaker took refuge under the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution, the anti-defection law, saying that he was the ultimate authority to decide. I do not question that. But there is another point here. We are living in a country called India and in India, there is a Constitution and that Constitution has created certain institutions like Speaker, institutions like the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is a creation of the Constitution and the Speaker is a creation of the Constitution. So there certain things our Constitution has guaranteed to this country. It is up to us to ponder over to find out whether we are acting in good faith to the Constitution of India. Then, if that is so, the Supreme Court verdict should be understood by all of us, including the Speaker, in the correct perspective and the Speaker should take the lead. All the speakers must take the lead. I am not going to comment on any conduct of the Speaker, because it is not my jurisdiction. Sir, I leave it there. But after all that we find one day the Governor sends his report here that political instability is mounting up, that the administrative machinery is also not in good shape and any continuance of the Government here looks like adding on to the instability of the State.

Sir, two or three months back I went to Manipur when Mr. Ranbir Singh was the Chief Minister. I had good discussions with him. Sir, on that day, unfortunately, an Indian Airlines plane had crashed in Imphal and many people lost their lives. Sir, my own experience I can narrate here. Mr. Madhavrao Scindia, the Civil Aviation Minister, flew

to Imphal had to call on him when I was in the Raj Bhavan to provide him some help to collect the dead bodies of the people from the hilltop to the mortuary or to the city. The City Police was not able to go; they were not going. I enquired: where is the District Collector? The District Collector is not to be found. I asked the Chief Minister: when a calamity like this happens, when many lives are lost on the hilltops, you don't have anybody to go and collect the dead bodies even? What is happening in the State? The BSF Jawans and the CRPF Jawans were provided by us on the spot. I called the Director-General and the I.Gs of both, summoned them to the Raj Bhawan. It was very late in the night. I said: in the night you have to go and collect the dead bodies and in the morning the dead bodies must be here in the city. Sir the dead bodies were brought, with the help of BSF Jawans and others who were helping us and paramilitary forces. I am not undermining the Manipur police. The Manipur police is one of the best police in the north-east. I know their quality, their ability. But somehow it was missing, the organizational type, because there was some failure. Then I came here. I wrote a very strong letter to the Chief Minister, asking him: you are slipping out of control and something has to be done about it and you have to rectify the mistake and see that the administration is perfectly maintained, otherwise we will find ourselves in difficulty in this country. Sir, it was human consideration and it was not political consideration. These people included all the parties, and not party people, and some people from Nagaland also who died. Sir, this is the situation that made us alarming. Even then we did not do anything with the Government. We did not ask the Government to do anything. We only wanted to tone up the administration. It was the right of the Central Government to ask for toning up the administration. We asked for the toning up of the administration. I know Fotedarii says: we are in a hurry...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Will you yield for a moment? I find that in some States due to regionalism or other things our people are alienated and it should be our aim to win over these

people. When I visited Manipur I found that they are very much agitated about the question of inclusion of the Manipuri language in the 8th Schedule of the constitution. So I would like to know, what is your view about that?

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Thank you, Mishraji. There are burning questions which are agitating the minds of the people of Manipur—not this political scenario of jumping this side or that side. They are really concerned about certain things like the autonomous District Council for the Tribal Areas, like the Manipuri language to be given a status, and all these things are there. Sir, I am aware of that. This Government is trying to take a very positive view of these things, and I hope we will be able to take\* a very encouraging step in this direction very shortly. I am not able to comment anything at this stage.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION/(SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY): Mr. Minister, we have been told by you and others that the Governor recommended President's rule and placing the Assembly under suspended animation.

I would like to know whether it is not a fact that the Governor, in addition to this, has also in his report told the Government of India to consider dissolution of the Assembly. If so, why has this latter part of the Governor's recommendation not been favourably considered by the Central Government?

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Sir, this is a point on which there seems to be some confusion. The confusion is that the Governor advised immediate dissolution of the House. Sir, the Governor's report is on the Table of the House. The Governor has said that the Chief Minister has advised on the 5th for the dissolution of the House. But, Sir, before that, the CLP leader of the Congress has already gone to the Governor showing a list of about 33 Members and proving majority for his Party and staking claim for forming the Government. The Chief Minister voluntarily said that he convened a Cabinet meeting and advised dissolution of the House. By the time he advised dissolution of the House, in reality he did not have the majority. So,

in any State, when a Chief Minister advises for the dissolution of the House, unless he is enjoying majority by public understanding, it is very embarrassing for a Governor to recommend for the dissolution. So, Sir...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: No, no. Mr. Home Minister...

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Let me complete. So, the Governor says this is the Governor's second report which is on the Table of the House—"Accordingly, the Chief Minister Ranbir Singh, in a letter submitted to me today advised me for dissolving the Manipur Legislative Assembly under article 174 (2B) of the Constitution. I am not acting on this as I have already reported on the situation..." Already reported means, there is instability, Assembly is in suspended animation. So, 'let me watch for some days and see whether stability can be brought about, and then it can be revived.'

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: No. The point is this. On the day the Chief Minister recommended dissolution, the Chief Minister had the majority. Even if the seven people, whose membership was restored by the Supreme Court were to be counted against the Chief Minister, the Chief Minister had a majority. And later on, after the Cabinet recommended dissolution, some Members of the Chief Minister's camp defected, reducing him to a minority. On the day he recommended dissolution, he was in majority.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Mr. Jaipal Reddy, even in your own Janata Dal party, you had 11 Members there, and 7 of them went out to form another Janata Dal and declared their support to the Congress Party.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I am not disagreeing with you there. But the point is: When did they do that? I made this point earlier. When did they do that? It was after the Chief Minister recommended dissolution of the Assembly. On the day, on the night when he recommended dissolution, he had the majority. And that recommendation was binding on the Governor. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M.M. JACOB: All of them had gone to the Congress camp. Many of these people had already gone to the Congress camp, according to our information, and even the 6 Congress(s) Members, including the Minister... *(Interruptions)* The Governor was convinced.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: In this situation, the hon. Minister should appreciate, the only honest and logical solution is a fresh election. Why are you running away from a fresh election?

SHRI M.M. JACOB: We are not running away from elections.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Why are you afraid of a fresh election? Maybe, you will win.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Do you think we will ever run away from elections in this country? Do you think a party that has the courage to hold elections in Punjab will run away from elections? . SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: You ran away from Punjab elections earlier. You boycotted the elections earlier. You are known for your cowardice; you are known for your opportunistic electoral cowardice...*(Interruptions)* The point I am trying to make is this. Why don't you dissolve the Assembly now? Why do you want to prolong the agony... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI M.M. JACOB: You listen to me for a moment. The Governor recommended President's Rule on the 2nd of January, the Chief Minister comes with the statement, "pleased dissolve the House." That is on the 5th of January.

AN HON. MEMBER: 4th of January.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: What is the recommendation first? President's rule was recommended by the Governor on 2nd January and the Chief Minister claims majority...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: How did the Governor recommend on the 2nd? In that case the Governor was wrong. Majority of the Chief Minister should have been put to test on the floor of the House.

S.HRI M.M. JACOB: It is not me; it was the Governor.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Obviously, the Governor was only instructed by you.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): What did you do in Karnataka? You directed the Governor ...*(In terruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I want to tell you that all the parties on this side are of one view on this question; there is a consensus that the present Assembly in Manipur does not represent or reflect the popular will of the people there. It needs to be dissolved instantly. We are not opposed to President's rule. We do not want another Congress-I Ministry to be foisted there.... *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please don't stand up; let the Minister reply.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: We want an assurance from you.

SHRI M.M. JACOB: I would like to conclude by appreciating the points mentioned by Mr. Jaipal Reddy and also drawing your kind attention s, to the Governor's two reports in which he said that it is no time for any elections and that political stability has to be ensured, that what is going on is something fishy and that let us wait and watch for some more time. Because of this, animated suspension is there.

So I strongly recommend to the House to support the Resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Mathur. He is not here.

I shall now put the Statutory Resolution moved by the Home Minister to vote. The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 7th January, 1992, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Manipur."

*The motion was adopted.*

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION APP  
ROVING CONTINUANCE OF  
PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION IN  
RELATION TO JAMMU AND  
KASHMIR**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): We now take up Statutory Resolution in relation to the