

[Shri Sawaisingh Sisodia]  
a copy each (in English and Hindi)  
of the Ministry of Finance (Depart-  
ment of Revenue) Notification Nos.  
70 to 72, Customs, dated 26th March,  
1981, together with an Explanatory  
Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Li-  
brary. See No. LT-2237/81]

**(I) STATUTORY RESOLUTION  
SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE  
PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY  
THE PRESIDENT ON THE 28TH  
FEBRUARY, 1981, UNDER ARTI-  
CLE 356 OF THE CONSTITU-  
TION IN RELATION TO THE  
STATE OF MANIPUR.**

**(II) THE BUDGET (MANIPUR),  
1981-82 (GENERAL DISCUS-  
SION)**

**(III) THE MANIPUR APPROPRIA-  
TION (VOTE ON ACCOUNT)  
BILL, 1981.**

**(IV) THE MANIPUR APPROPRIA-  
TION BILL, 1981**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN  
THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA):  
Sir, on behalf of my colleague, I beg  
to move the following Resolution:

"That this House approves the  
Proclamation issued by the Presi-  
dent on the 28th February, 1981,  
under article 356 of the Constitution  
in relation to the State of Manipur."

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bisham-  
bhar Nath Pande) in the Chair]

The election to the Manipur State  
Assembly was held with the election  
to the Lok Sabha in January, 1980.  
No party got an absolute majority in  
this election and, therefore, a coalition  
ministry was formed with the coali-  
tion of Congress (I), Congress (U)  
and the Manipur People's Party. This  
Coalition Government was headed  
by Shri R. K. Dourendra Singh, as the  
Chief Minister. Shri Dourendra Singh

resigned as Chief Minister on the 19th  
November, 1980. Thereafter, a new  
coalition ministry was sworn in, head-  
ed by Mr. Rishan Kishang. Some of  
the MLAs belonging to this coalition  
Ministry—ten of them—changed their  
party and crossed the floor. There-  
fore, Shri Rishan Kishang also resign-  
ed and the President submitted his re-  
port on the 27th February, 1981, for  
the President's rule in the State of  
Manipur. This report was placed on  
the tables of both the Houses of Par-  
liament.....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya  
Pradesh): President's report was laid  
on the Table?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:  
I did not say that. I said the procla-  
mation issued by the President was  
laid on the table. This proclamation  
will remain in force for two months  
unless it is ratified by both the Houses  
of Parliament. Therefore, I have come  
before the House so that this Resolu-  
tion is passed and the proclamation  
issued by the President is ratified.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN  
THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI  
SAWAISINGH SISODIA): Sir, I beg  
to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the  
withdrawal of certain sums from  
and out of the Consolidated Fund  
of the State of Manipur for the  
services of a part of the financial  
year 1981-82, as passed by the Lok  
Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of a sum of Rs.  
52.01 crores voted by the Lok Sabha  
on the 19th March, 1981 and Rs. 5.62  
crores charged on the Consolidated  
Fund of the State of Manipur as  
shown in the 'Vote-on-Account' pam-  
phlet circulated along with the budget  
papers on the 16th March, 1981. These  
amounts have been sought to enable  
the Government of Manipur to meet  
its essential expenditure during the

first five months of the next financial year (April to Augst, 1981) pending approval of the whole year's budget by the appropriate legislature. Full details of these provisions are given in the 'Vote-on-Account' pamphlet,

Sir, I also beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Manipur, for the services of the Financial Year 1980-81, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 6.90 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 19th March, 1981, and Rs. 2 lakhs charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Manipur.

These amounts have been sought to cover the additional requirements in the current financial year and the sum of nearly five crores is for meeting the additional expenditure on the Plan schemes relating to irrigation and water supply, agriculture, power, crash programmes for employment generation and industries. Full details of the provisions are available in the Supplementary Demands circulated to the Members.

*The questions were proposed.*

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Sir, we have just heard the Minister of State for Home Affairs who gave us in concrete form the recommendation of the Governor for keeping the Assembly in animated suspension and introducing President's Rule and we have also heard the Minister of State for Finance move both the Vote on Account Bill and the Appropriation Bill.

Sir, I want to make a few observations on the totality of the thing. Sir, why is this President's Rule in Manipur? This is not the first time. Manipur has come and has gone under the President's Rule off and on. There was no stability of Government there for the last five or six years in Manipur. For some reason or the other, money plays a big role in the party politics of Manipur. I am not discussing any individual party. But, in my experience in the past, for about six or seven years, I have seen and noticed, and notice with anguish, that the people there vote for a particular party's candidate and, disobeying the mandate of the people, that particular candidate, when he got elected with the people's mandate, people's verdict, changed sides and because of this kind of changing sides by the candidates through defection all the time, there has been insecurity for the existence of the Government there. And, Sir, this buying and selling could have been stopped if the original decision of the undivided Congress Party, as the ruling party, was accepted for passing the Anti-Defection Bill. That Bill was sent to a Joint Select Committee and then it did not see the light of the day. We had some public discussions in different forms in support of it or against it and it was found that it was a very sound principle that a person getting elected on a particular party's ticket must continue to be a member of that party which gave him the ticket and if he ceased, at any time of his life during the five years for which he has been elected, to have any connection with the party which he represented, if he defected or joined any other party, he should be debarred from the membership of the House and that he would have to ask for a fresh mandate. This is a very solid and sound principle for parliamentary democracy to flourish in this country. But, unfortunately, neither we as the ruling party of that time nor the Subsequent governments ever pursued the Anti-Defection Bill. This

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]  
is the only remedy for bringing about stability of Governments, especially in these far-flung areas.

Sir, an ambitious person, who wants to become the Chief Minister, or his party, goes on buying the MLAs, either by giving some money or through the allurements of minister-ship. And that is how it eats away the vitals of a healthy parliamentary democracy and politics of this country. It is specially more so in far-flung areas which are yet to come into the mainstream of the life of the nation which are not very much close because of the geographical reasons. The people who live in far-flung areas, in the States of Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and in other regions also always feel a sense of neglect. They always feel that the nation and the nation's Government the elected Government, are not taking that much of interest, that much of concern, for the local people as they deserve because nearer at home you are liable to draw more attention to yourself, Sir, if you are far away from the citadel of power, they seem to forget that you still exist. So, with this sense of neglect they wanted to solve their own problems, and while solving the problems some of them got misguided, some of them got under the influence of some foreign agents, some by countries which are not very friendly to us. So, insurgencies always occur. It is high time that we took a closer look on insurgency. Are they anti-national? I feel, not. Are they dissatisfied people by nature? No. I have intimate knowledge about these areas of Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram. All these people are highly sensitive people, highly decent people, highly simple people and highly educated people. Under the British regime, you know, Sir, in the North-Eastern Frontier they had a separate zone for army recruitment. All the time in NEFA and other places, the British Government used to tell them: You are not

the citizens of India; you are our friends and we are looking after you. So, what ultimately developed was antipathy for India and sympathy for the British Government. That is how they were treated from the very beginning.

Sir, you will be surprised that during one of my visits to one of these States—I do not want to mention the State I was addressed publicly as 'our friend from India.' And I was in tears. In a public meeting, I asked: What have we done to you that you call us as friends from India you do not say that I am your sister, you do not say that India belongs to you, you are an Indian? Then, in a private talk I came to understand that they felt that we do not stand for them, they felt that we never serve them loyally they felt that we have utterly neglected their basic problems—problems of poverty, problems of economic development, or having a sympathetic heart for them. I do not blame them. Some of them went under the influence of foreign agents and foreign agencies. If anybody is to be blamed we blame ourselves. We blame ourselves for this utter neglect. It is high time that we understood their sentiments. It is high time that we understood what they want from us, we understood what are the basic problems they are facing. Mainly it is economic, mainly it is emotional and it is also a sense of neglect and neglect all through. There is no rapprochement anywhere. There is no sentiment. As a result of that insurgency takes place on account of provocation by governments and countries inimical to India. They give all assistance training and resources to go against the Indian Government and against the people of India. So, insurgency has to be looked at from this point of view. There is a Governor sitting in Assam. How many States are under him? Four or five States. They are having Lt. Governors in some of the States with very limited powers now.

Excuse me for saying what I am saying because I am saying on the basis of my past experience. Take the case of Chief Secretary and other high officers. What were they when they were posted in these areas? What were their personal resources? And what is their personal asset when they leave that State and when they are there. I have seen and seen with conclusive proof that none of them was punished. On the other hand, they have been rewarded. Some of them have gone up to become the highest officers of the Government of India. Sir, at one point of time, there was a Chief Minister, not very long ago, who openly supported the people's Liberation Army in Manipur. This People's Liberation Army was an underground and overground army. Why do I call it an overground army. It is because if the Government knows about the existence of this underground organisation and if the Government cannot negotiate the reasons for their underground movement and if you promote one of them or reward one of them, it becomes overground. One particular individual who was getting all support and giving all support to the underground movement was getting all support from outside agencies. He is now an Ambassador. He had been with the Chinese insurgents through this P. L. A. and he was getting Chinese arms and ammunition. These insurgents were getting all support for the P. L. A. and this person connected with that movement and utilising his very high post and position in Manipur, ultimately got posted as an Ambassador. It was a reward for his anti-national activities. How long are you going to cover up your weakness in this way? This is not the way of rewarding one person. You can win over one person by rewarding him. But you are also showing the way to others indicating that this is the way that we understand and this is the way by which you will get our support. Go against us. If it is not en-

couragement by the Government of India, what else is it? I would like to know it. If I am incorrect, kindly correct me. But before you correct me, I want to tell the Treasury Benches through you, Sir, please find out the facts, the truth and nothing but truth. I am also in possession of the truth and nothing but truth. (Time bell rings I am the only speaker from my party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE):  
There are 8 speakers in the list.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: I will be very short. There are many people playing havoc. There is corruption and defection. As I have said, the Government is encouraging defection. The Ruling Party which has been encouraging defection all through has not allowed the opposition Members to form a Government. Instead, they have introduced President's rule. There are problems of Nagas, Kukris and the plain people and the economic rehabilitation of all these people will be the only solution. We find that there is only one central project, Loktak Project. Then, what is the employment potential? When the project is being implemented, there may be temporary appointment for the people.

4 P.M.

This will give hydroelectric power. This will help irrigation. So, this has to be constructed and completed as quickly as possible as this will serve some problem of irrigation, some problem of agriculture and some problem of electricity. Other than this project there is nothing else, neither a Government of India project nor a State project, to absorb the unemployed youths, to absorb the under-employed people, to absorb the agriculturists. Sir, economic backwardness is very acute in our Eastern region. Specially, as we are discussing Manipur today

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

I will concentrate on Manipur. As I have understood from Shri Sisodia, State Finance Minister, he is asking for Rs. 57 crores at the moment for five months, that means it will just be over Rs. 10 crores per month. Now please remember that they do not have such a capacity of local taxation, they do not have other resources to mobilise funds. They can live and sustain themselves only with the Central assistance and I am sure, you know it, Sir, that till today whatever Manipur earned locally the Government of India has given at least 100 times more than that. So, knowing fully well that the Government of India's assistance is necessary, I do not feel this is an adequate amount. On the contrary, it is too little as a help even for five month. Then he has said that Rs. 7 lakhs or something like that have been earmarked for employment. What employment potential can be created with that little amount and what is the employment potential? There is absolutely nothing. It is impossible to absorb unemployment locally. There must be Centrally-sponsored schemes. I do not think it is possible for them to undertake any Centrally-sponsored scheme within this budget amount of Rs. 10 crores per month. I feel that the Government of India under the President's rule has not done justice to Manipur. There is the acute problem of economic backwardness which is the main reason for backing if there is any question of law and order, or if there is any question of insurgency. You have to help them more so that they are brought into the mainstream of national life. They have full faith, implicit faith in the Government of India and also in the Indian nation as a whole and in themselves.

As the time given to me is too short, I would only like to say that the Government of India should change its attitude towards Manipur, allow them to have a stable Government

there and if you find there is no possibility of having a stable Government, pass the anti-defection Bill and then ask for fresh elections.

SHRI N. G. TOMPOK SINGH (Manipur): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support both the items under discussion, the Statutory Resolution and also the Appropriation Bill itself. I would largely dwell on the General Budget which is more important for a backward State like Manipur. Obviously, whatever may be the causes, the reality is that the President's rule is there in Manipur. On going through the recommendations of Mr. L. P. Singh, the then Governor, there is nothing much to doubt that in the existing situation prevailing then, it is incumbent on the part of the then Governor to recommend for the invocation of article 356 of the Constitution. He is perfectly right and justified in his recommendation. So there is nothing wrong technically; so we have to accept the reality.

Now, Sir, I would like to dwell largely on the Budget. I am sure the objectives in the context of which the hon'ble Finance Minister presented the General Budget have also been reflected in this Budget of Manipur. I expect that as and when the provisions of this Budget are implemented, naturally Manipur will grow economically with a certain optimum degree of stability and desired impact of social justice.

Today Manipur is in the midst of a colossal crisis. In every field or area, nothing is normal. So much so that the normal laws have become inadequate to meet the situation. As such the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act has been promulgated and army units have been deployed to assist the civil administration, thereby sandwiching the people of Manipur within the forces of the army on the one hand and the sponsors of the insurgent movement on the other. Just to present a clear and real picture of the shaps of things there, I quote from a press statement in the

Sunday of 8th March, which reveals the credibility or otherwise of the claims and counter-claims of the Government authorities and insurgents. Under the headlines, "Guns in one hand, photographs in other", it says:

"This is part of a new strategy adopted by the insurgents in this north-eastern region to restore confidence among their supporters; and release of the photographs has come at a time when the authorities have been claiming that the law and order situation has improved."

I further quote:

"The photographs reveal that the PLA leader Bisheswar Singh and his guerrillas are not far away from Imphal, although they have been claiming that their area of operation is the eastern region."

This is clear because the arrangement for taking photographs was made in Imphal:

"Apparently through this photographic propaganda Bisheswar wants to reassure his followers and sympathisers that the PLA still remains active, though two of its top leaders and a few rebels have been arrested. Sources close to the PLA mention that Bisheswar has instructed his 'boys' to intensify their guerrilla activities—planting mines, raids to collect money (apart from extortion) and throwing hand grenades to kill members of the security forces (termed counter-revolutionaries by the PLA) while mopping up operations by the Army and the police continue against the insurgents, it is significant to note, point out knowledgeable sources, that the authorities do not seem to have a clear picture of the strength or the number of the PLA.

"On 28 January the PLA organised an ambush on a group of four jawans of the Assam Rifles 17 kilometres from Imphal on the Ukhrul

road. One sepoy was injured and his gun was taken away. The PLA refers to this successful gun-snatching as the Yangangpokpi success. In the photograph (1) Bisheswar is seen congratulating his men for the successful ambush. The second photograph (2) shows the arms captured by the PLA from security forces. The third photograph (3) shows Bisheswar taking the salute of the 'boys' who 'successfully' ambushed a CRP vehicle near Natum hills and shot three CRP jawans dead."

Another incident was also reported on 16th March, 1981 in the *Hindustan Times* that a sum of Rs. 1.35 lakhs was snatched away from the Cashier of the Education Directorate at Imphal and from the Development Block Office at Jiribam. It has been taken away, at gunpoint maybe.

Therefore, Sir, the question for Manipur before this august House is basically not this Budget or this or that allocation of funds for this or that purpose. The basic issue is obviously political. So, until and unless political stability is established, this Budget will naturally fail to bring about the desired impact and, on the contrary, the possibility and likelihood of a major chunk of the provisions being pocketed by some unscrupulous middlemen or clever persons also cannot be ruled out. So, Sir, what I would like to urge the Government, through you, is that with this Budget let the people make a start with the right perspectives in the right direction. I say "in the right perspective" because every Plan scheme in this land-locked State appears to be lopsided, miscarried and misfired. To cite an instance, a reference may be made of the spinning mills in Manipur. Where is the raw material—cotton—for this mill? This was established during the sixties, if not earlier. But where is the production after two decades, if not more? This is a big question mark Sir, Another instance is the multi-purpose Loktak hydro-electric project, as

[Shri N. G. Tompok Singh]

mentioned by Mrs. Mukhopadhyay. This also was inaugurated during the third Five-Year Plan period. The target date for commissioning of this project had been postponed not less than three times, if not more. Even now also, another postponement for the commissioning of it is being awaited by the people whose patience is almost exhausted. What people require is not the explanation for the postponement but power, energy, irrigational water and so on and so forth. So, Sir, please imagine the life conditions of the people, 86 per cent of who live below the poverty line, with no drinking water, with no power even for lighting purposes, let alone power of industries. Sir, the water management there is practically nil in spite of the heavy rainfall of 50 to 60 inches a year. So, despite profuse and abundant rainfall and resultant streams and rivulets flowing all over the Valley area, there is no drinking water, there is no hydro-electric power for the State. Now the stark reality that remains is that in the rainy season soil erosion and inundation causing a heavy damage to the crops of the Valley area take place and soon after the rainy season there is the scarcity of drinking water and also paucity of irrigation. So, Manipur is suffering from scarcity amidst plenty.

Regarding mobilisation of the natural resources, while the nature is so kind to Manipur, the two items, namely, forest and agriculture are to be stressed upon in any scheme of things. In the pre-Independence days, Manipur was a surplus area in rice, vegetables and fish. These are the staple food items for the people of the state and it used to export rice to other adjoining areas like Nagaland, Mizoram and some parts of eastern Assam also. Now it has become a deficit area. My submission, therefore, is that, over and above the short and long-term micro planning in the areas of agriculture and forest, an immediate programme to bring about an economic break-through has become a must.

Likewise, regarding flora and fauna in the State, the nature is so kind that

the State abounds in numerous medicinal herbs and plants and rare species of animals, are available in the marshy areas of the southern portion of the Valley. There is one species of deer known as Brow anteloped deer which is internationally recognised. It was abundantly available some ten years back, but now the number can be counted on fingers and reduced to near extinction. So, my submission is that if a project for the protection and creation of environmental conditions for breeding this rare species is undertaken, there can be no two opinions that the project will earn foreign exchange. That fact is there.

Sir, as regards the minerals, the report is that only 5 per cent of the 8,000 sq. miles has been surveyed and the rest up till now has not been surveyed. Sources other than the Governmental ones report that there are symptoms of the existence of Plate junctions in the eastern regions of the State.

This small State with huge potentials has been long suffering from a protracted neglect over thirty years now. So, quite naturally, the outcome is the unrest in the youth community. If one undertakes an in-depth study of the situation there, one will find an economic derailment at the root, producing frustration and thereby creating law and order problems eruption of unusual incidents involving law and order problems of the worst type and magnitude. My submission, therefore, is, to bring about a de-fusion of the situation in Manipur and the other adjoining areas, a separate Ministry be set up exclusively in charge of the North-Eastern Zone, comprising Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Tripura; if not that, at least one cell in each Ministry be set up charged with the exclusive responsibility for the North-Eastern Area.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): Mr. Surendra Mohan is not there, Mr. Biswa Goswami.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I oppose the Resolution moved by the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs and the Budget that has been placed by the hon. Minister of State for Finance.

Sir, the proclamation under Article 356 in regard to Manipur, was yet another instance of how the ruling party at the Centre misused this provision. Sir, the Governor could have invited the leader of the PDF to form the government. The PDF was in majority, but instead of doing that the Assembly has been kept under animated suspension. I do not know why. The same Governor followed a different procedure in regard to Assam. He invited a minority party to form a government in Assam. That party, although it is a minority party, has been installed in power in Assam, but in regard to Manipur he is not prepared to invite the majority PDF party to form a government.

Sir, it is surprising that in the report of the Governor, he even did not hesitate to mention:

"It may be possible for one side or the other to gather, even from the present House, adequate support to be able to form a stable Ministry."

What is the meaning of this sentence? The Governor has indirectly indicated that the game of political horse-trading will be let lose in Manipur, which the Congress(I) is doing in the north-eastern region already. But at least we did not expect the Governor to say that and encourage political defections. He has mentioned this in his report.

Sir, Manipur, and for that matter the entire north-eastern region, is in turmoil. But, why is it so? The Manipur people are a fine set of people. You know that the Indian culture flourished in that corner of the country at a time when it was inaccessible. Why have those people who embraced the Indian culture, who embraced the Hindu religion, the Meities today revolted? Has

there been an analysis of this by those who are at the helm of affairs? Why have these people revolted today? Sir, the entire north-eastern region has been totally neglected. Manipur has also been totally neglected. There is no industry, nothing, no railway line. Not to speak of any big industry, not even a medium industry is there. The only solitary project which has been taken up, has not been completed, and God knows when it will be completed, that is, the Loktak Project. So, while economically Manipur has not developed, educationally Manipur has progressed very much. Every year thousands and thousands of students come out successful from the colleges and universities and they become unemployed. Sir, the population of Manipur is about 13 lakhs and out of that one lakh persons are educated unemployed. Their legitimate aspirations have not been met. There is no tendency in New Delhi to understand the problems of the north-eastern region, to be sympathetic to their legitimate aspirations. I am sorry to say that those who are at the helm of affairs in New Delhi have got no idea about the people, about the area of the north-eastern region. Sir, why the Manipuri language has not been recognised constitutionally, while Sindhi language can be recognised? That is also another reason why the youths have become frustrated. The Manipuri language can easily be recognised and included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Sindhi language has been recognised. Similarly there are other languages, Maithili and others, which can be recognised. Sir, this total neglect and apathetic attitude towards the legitimate aspirations of the people of that area have led to serious discontentment among the people. Sir, I may mention that the founding fathers of the Constitution of India envisaged a federal India, that is, a union of States. In the Constitution the word "State" has been mentioned in the place of province. They deliberately mentioned the word "State". Sir, if I may be allowed to say, the



[Shri Biswa Goswami]

main reason for this discontentment or insurgency is the fear, the apprehension in the minds of the people of that area that their identity will be lost. That is the main reason. But unfortunately here that is not realised. We have accepted the theory of a federal country and linguistic States. And by using the word "State", it has been admitted that these nationalities, the smaller nationalities will be allowed to flourish, there will be no attempt to dominate them and there will be no attempt to suppress them. But unfortunately, although the people of that area are under this apprehension, no attempt has been made to remove that apprehension and no attempt has been made to give a constitutional guarantee so that that apprehension is removed. Sir, I quote a few very important lines from an article by an eminent person, Prof. B. K. Roy Barman, a Professor of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. He has said:

'Obsession with the so-called mainstream of India, culture blurs vision. Local traditions and emerging cultural forms are looked upon as potential raw material to be moulded according to a so-called all-India tradition. The meaning of the structure of India as a federation consisting of States delineated primarily on the linguistic principle has not been seen to its logical end. It is natural that as a sequel to rapid economic development, the demograted composition of the States should change. But there is no provision in the Constitution guaranteeing that demographic shifts will not eroding special prerogatives of specific cultural and linguistic identities, historically associated with specific areas. In this matter the expenditure in the U.S.S.R. may be examined.'

Sir, this is the observation by an eminent scholar. So these apprehensions should be removed if we want to bring peace in that region. In

Russia they have solved it. In the Russian Constitution there is protection for the smaller nationalities. In the United States of America they have got provision for double citizenship. It is high time we pondered over this matter and evolved certain measures so that this discontent in the sensitive areas could be removed. What is going on in the north-eastern region, including Manipur? There has been a large-scale infiltration of foreign nationals into those small States. Lakhs and lakhs of foreign nationals have entered there. Although the people of Assam have been agitating for the last 1½ years, nothing has been done by the Central Government. The Central Government was only interested in suppressing the movement. Yes, they can suppress the movement for the time being. But it will generate further dissatisfaction; it will generate further discontentment it will lead to further serious consequences. This fact is not being realised by the authorities in Delhi. In Assam while the leaders of the movement were willing for a dialogue the Central Government is not willing to invite them. They have installed a minority Government in Assam while people were demanding deportation of foreign nationals. And do you know what the Government is doing there? And do you know what the *modus operandi* of the foreign nationals is? They enter into the region and encroach Government and forest land first, then they demand settlement. Mrs. Taimur's Government of Assam has already stopped eviction and has taken steps to settle Land with the encroachers. And the Government is going to allot land to them and it is going to regularise those foreign nationals in due course. After the installation of the present Government in Assam posters appeared in Bangladesh in which people were asked to enter Assam. "Assam chalo". "Let us go to Assam". This has given the encouragement to the infiltrators to infiltrate into Assam. Therefore, this

attitude of the Government must change. We must realise the legitimate aspirations of the people of Manipur, of the north-eastern region. We must take measures to remove their apprehensions. We should try to allocate more funds for the economic development of the region. In Manipur there is no railway line. Whatever transport is there, it is very meagre. The people of the region are handicapped by the lack of transport facilities. The Government, therefore, should take appropriate measures so that the region may be developed. So far as employment opportunities are concerned, unless industries are established, employment opportunities cannot be created. I hope that the Government will take massive measures in order to develop the area in the interests of the integrity of the country, in the interests of the nation.

Lastly I would like to say that the present situation in north-eastern region has posed a question whether Indian democracy will give protection to the smaller nationalities or not. That question has cropped up. It is time that those at the helm of affairs looked into this, studied this problem, and took measures to provide constitutional safeguards so that the linguistic and cultural identities of the smaller nationalities are not destroyed, so that they are preserved, because, after all, India is a multi-nationality country. This must not be forgotten. India is one and at the same time it is many. With these words I conclude.

**डा० भाई महावीर :** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मणिपुर हमारे देश के पूर्वोत्तर का एक छोटा किन्तु अत्यंत सुन्दर भाग है और इसका ऐतिहासिक महत्व इतना है कि हमारे लिये वह एक तीर्थ समान प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि आजाद हिन्द फौज की तरफ से भारत को स्वतंत्र कराने के लिये जो अभियान शुरू हुआ था वह कोहिमा में पहुंच कर अपनी तमना

को एक प्रतीक के रूप में कम से कम पूरा कर सका। परन्तु महोदय, ऐसे मणिपुर की चर्चा जहां आनन्द और श्रुति का विषय होना चाहिए, दुर्भाग्य से आज वह वाद-विवादों में उलझा करके रख दिया गया है। जहां तक मणिपुर के लोगों का संबंध है, उनकी यह शिकायत थी और उनके मुंह से पहले ये शब्द सुनाई दे जाते थे कि मणिपुर और इम्फाल से दिल्ली ढाका की अपेक्षा ज्यादा नजदीक नहीं मालूम देता है, वहां दिल्ली में बैठी हुई सरकार यदि मणिपुर के लोगों की भावनाओं और उनकी समस्याओं के प्रति उदासीन रहे, लापरवाह रहे और उनकी समस्याओं पर हमदर्दी से विचार न करे तो परिणामों की जो कल्पना की जा सकती है वही परिणाम वहां पर दिखाई दे रहे हैं। संसद को मणिपुर का बजट पास करने की जरूरत क्यों पड़ी? मणिपुर के अन्दर एसेम्बली है। सन् 1972 से मणिपुर को पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा मिला हुआ है। लेकिन सन् 1980 में जब चुनाव हुए तो उस चुनाव में कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी को केवल 13 सीटें मिलीं। ये 13 सीटें कुछ दिनों में बढ़कर 39 हो गईं। ये 26 दलबदल तैयार किये गये। कैसे तैयार किये गये, कौन से तरीके अपनाये गये और वे लोग कैसे कांग्रेस (आई) में शामिल हो गये, यह मैं अपनी तरफ से कहने की जरूरत नहीं समझता हूं। कौन से प्रलोभन दे कर लोगों को दल बदलने के लिए तैयार किया गया, यह हमारी राजनीति का एक अत्यन्त बेनाम पहलू हो गया है। यह कहा गया कि वहां पर कांग्रेस (आई) की मिनिसट्री बने। वह मिनिसट्री लगभग एक साल तक चली। उसके बाद आज पूरे लगभग एक महीने से वहां के मंत्रिमंडल के या सत्ता रूढ़ दल के 10 सदस्य अपनी पार्टी छोड़कर दूसरी पार्टी

[डा० भाई महावीर]

प्रोग्रेसिव डेमोक्रेटिक फ्रण्ट में चले गये हैं । एक मंत्री और चेयरमैन जैसे महत्वपूर्ण लोगों के हट जाने के बाद कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी वहां पर बहुमत में नहीं रही और नतीजा यह हुआ कि एसेम्बली में वह सरकार बहुमत नहीं रख सकी और इसलिए, उसको सत्ता में रहने का अधिकार भी नहीं रहा । ऐसी स्थिति में क्या होना चाहिए था ? लोकतंत्र की परम्परा क्या है ? हम लोगों ने यहां पर देखा कि जब श्री मोरारजी भाई की सरकार अल्पमत में आई तो राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने क्या किया ? उन्होंने श्री चन्हाण को बुलाया और श्री चरण सिंह को बुलाया । जिन पार्टियों की सदस्य संख्या 70-75 थी उनको भी बुला कर पूछा कि क्या आप सरकार बनाने की स्थिति में हैं ? यहां पर भी गवर्नर को स्वाभाविक रूप से यही करना चाहिए था । वहां पर जो विरोधी पक्ष है उसको बुला कर वे पूछते कि क्या आप सरकार बना सकते हैं ? लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया । हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार के नापने के गज अलग-अलग होते हैं । जहां इनका अपना हित होता है वहां इनके सोचने का तरीका एक होता है और जहां पर दूसरे दलों की सरकार होती है वहां पर ये दूसरा तरीका अपनाते हैं । इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि एनीमेटेड सस्पेंशन या सस्पेंडेड एनीमेशन में एसेम्बली को डाल दिया गया । इन शब्दों का वर्णन वे किस तरह से करते हैं, यह मैं नहीं जानता । लेकिन इस स्थिति में एसेम्बली को रख दिया गया ताकि विधायकों की खरीद-फरोक्त की जा सके, उनका क्रय-विक्रय हो सके और होर्स ट्रेडिंग हो सके और अन्त में कांग्रेस (आई) अपना बहुमत बना सके । आसाम में यही हुआ । कांग्रेस (आई) ने अपना बहुमत

बना कर अपनी सरकार बनाने का सपना देखा था । इसलिए केन्द्रीय सरकार ने उसको यह अवसर दिया । वहां की एसेम्बली को चालू रखा गया । चुनाव नहीं कराये गये । दिल्ली के अन्दर भी आप चुनाव नहीं करा रहे हैं । चूँकि अगर दिल्ली में चुनाव कराये जाते हैं तो शायद सत्ताधर दल का हित सर्व न हो, इसलिए चुनाव नहीं कराये जा रहे हैं । सत्ताधर पार्टी हर जगह अपना हित पहले देखती है । ऐसी स्थिति में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप इस प्रकार के कारनामों से देश के अन्दर स्वस्थ परम्पराएं अपना रहे हैं ? विरोधी पक्ष से कहा जाता है कि वह राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों पर आगे आकर विचार करे और एक मत बनाए । कितने ही राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न हैं जिन पर विचार करने की बात की जाती है । असम का प्रश्न है, गुजरात का प्रश्न है । दल बदल जो उस देश की बीमारी है और इस दल बदल पर रोक लगाने के लिए जब कांग्रेस पार्टी को कहा गया तो क्या विरोधी दल के लोगों की इस बात पर कांग्रेस (आई) के नेताओं ने विचार किया ? और अगर नहीं किया तो मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि इसका क्या कारण है ? आज उनको दिखाई देता है कि दल बदल होना उनके फायदे में है, इसलिए वे इस विषय पर बात करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । यह न तो विरोधी दल से सहयोग लेने का तरीका है और न देश के अन्दर स्वस्थ परम्पराएं स्थापित करने का तरीका है । महोदय, इसका परिणाम यह है कि आज वह स्टेट पूर्णतया उपद्रवग्रस्त स्टेट घोषित है, आज वहां पर इतनी आर्मी और इतनी पैरा मिलेटरी फोर्सें कायम हैं और उन लोगों का जीवन एक असुधारण स्थिति में गुजर रहा है 1972 से पहले, जब मणिपुर को पूरे-

राज्य का दर्जा नहीं मिला था उसके लिए उन्हें बहुत संघर्ष करना पड़ा । 1969 में जब इंदिरा गांधी वहां गईं तो उनके एक सार्वजनिक कार्यक्रम में कुछ गोलियां चलीं तो उन्होंने समझा कि आन्दोलन करने वाले गोलियां चला रहे हैं । उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने अंग्रेजों की गोलियां का सामना किया है, मुझे इससे कोई घबराहट नहीं होती और वहां से वापस आ गईं । उन्होंने हिमाचल प्रदेश को तो पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा दे दिया लेकिन मणिपुर की उपेक्षा की । कारण जो भी हों पर मणिपुर के लोगों ने कहा कि यह उनकी उपेक्षा हो रही है और उनकी उपेक्षा आप तब से लेकर आज तक भी करते आ रहे हैं । महोदय, जब महाराजा मणिपुर ने भारत के साथ सम्मिलित होने का करार किया था तो उसमें दो बातों का प्रावधान किया गया था कि मणिपुर के लोगों के लिए रोजगार की व्यवस्था की जायेगी और उनके रीति रिवाजों और उनके कानून और नियमों को बचाये रखने के लिए प्रवन्ध किया जायेगा । परन्तु जहां तक अनुसूचित जातियों या जनजातियों का सवाल है, उनके लिए तो कुछ व्यवस्था है लेकिन वहां के मैथी लोगों की शिकायत है कि उनका किसी तरह ध्यान नहीं रखा गया है और इसका परिणाम यह है कि मणिपुर की आबादी, मणिपुर का क्षेत्र बहुत उपेक्षित पड़ा हुआ है । वहां के आंकड़े चौंका देने वाले हैं । 1956 में वहां पर 960 किलोमीटर सड़कें थी और 1971-72 में वहां पर 1099 किलोमीटर हुईं यानी कि 130-136 किलोमीटर सड़कें वहां पर 15 वर्षों के अन्दर बनीं । इतना ही नहीं, लोगों के रोजगार सृजन की जहां तक बात है वहां पर 10 लाख आबादी में से 2 लाख करीब के लोग हैं जो काम काज करने के लायक, उम्र में हैं । लेकिन उनमें से 1 लाख के करीब लोग

ऐसे हैं जो रोजगार दफ्तरों, इम्प्लॉईमेंट एक्सचेंज में रजिस्टर्ड हैं । जिस क्षेत्र में हर दो व्यक्तियों में से एक व्यक्ति बेरोजगार हो तो वहां पर लोगों के अन्दर यदि अशांति नहीं होगी तो क्या होगा, इसका अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है । महोदय, जो नियुक्तियां हैं, जो नौकरियां हैं उनकी खुलेआम निलामी की जाती है । मेरी जानकारी यह है कि कालेजों के अन्दर जो पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थी हैं उनमें जो ज्यादा रिश्तत देने को तैयार है उसको नौकरी मिल जाती है । मेडिकल और इंजीनियरिंग कालेज के जो स्टुडेंट्स हैं उनमें कौन कौन ज्यादा दे सकता है, इसकी खुली बिक्री होती है । जो प्रोजेक्ट्स, जो परियोजनायें हैं, उनके टेंडर जानबूझकर बढ़ाकर रखे जाते हैं । वहां पर ठेकेदारों का एक ऐसा वर्ग पैदा हो गया है जो बढ़ाचढ़ाकर टेंडर देते हैं और उनके टेंडरों को मंजूर कर लिया जाता है और उसमें वहां के आफिसरों और वहां के नेताओं का हिस्सा रहता है । इसके लिए वहां खोम्पखो डाम जो है उसका उल्लेख किया जाता है कि 1 करोड़ 80 लाख का टेंडर वहां पर इस काम के लिए दिया गया जब कि कुल खर्चा सिर्फ एक करोड़ का था । पब्लिक फंड, सार्वजनिक पैसा जो भ्रष्टाचार द्वारा या गबन द्वारा खाया जाता है उसका एक सबूत यह था कि 1977 में जो कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से मुख्य मंत्री बने श्री आर० के० दोरेन्द्र-सिंह वह इस केस में गिरफ्तार हुए । यह वहां के सार्वजनिक धन की हालत है तो वहां के आम लोगों के जीवन की स्थिति कितनी दूभर होगी इससे इसका अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है । सेना और पैरा-मिलिटरी फोर्स होने के कारण वहां पर जीवन के लिए आवश्यक वस्तुओं की जो सीमित सप्लाई है उसका एक बड़ा हिस्सा इनके लिए चला जाता है । पर आम आदमियों के लिए . . . (समय की घंटी

[डा० भाई महावीर]

श्रीमन्, एक दो मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ।

वहाँ पर एक ईंट की कीमत एक रुपया और एक मछली का मूल्य 30 रुपया है। आलू एक किलो चार रुपये, छोटा सा गोभी का फूल तीन रुपये में मिलता है और इन सारे आंकड़ों की दृष्टि से अगर निचोड़ निकालना हो तो मणिपुर में प्रति व्यक्ति औसत आय राष्ट्रीय प्रति व्यक्ति की औसत आय से आधी है। महोदय, यह सारा इस स्थिति में जो हम देखते हैं स्वाभाविक रूप से मणिपुर में असंतोष है। यह असंतोष वहाँ के अरबन एरिया में, मैदानी इलाकों में, शहरी इलाकों में हाल ही में पैदा हुआ है। लेकिन इसके पहले यह ट्राइबल एरिया में था। वहाँ पर कई तरह के अंडरग्राउंड मूवमेंट चल रहे हैं। एक एम० विशेषरूपी० एल० ए० के हैं, आर० तुलाराम प्रिपाक के हैं। यह लोग लहासा में जाकर ट्रेनिंग लेकर आते रहते हैं और मारकाट से, लूटपाट से जो कि एक डंग बना है खासकर के शहरी हिस्से में काफी है वह यह है कि सेना के पुलिस के जवानों पर आक्रमण कर के उनके हथियार छीन लिए जाएं। दिल्ली में इसकी खबर तभी आती है जब वहाँ पर गोलियाँ चलती हैं और उनके धमाके की आवाज से सरकार की नीद में कुछ खलल पड़ता है। नहीं तो दिल्ली यूनीवर्सिटी की दीवारों पर जो नारे लगाए जाते हैं उनसे बड़ा भारी कोई परिणाम नहीं निकल सकता है। महोदय यह सारा जो हो रहा है उसमें आरोप लगाया जाता है एक कांगलापाक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेताओं ने आरोप लगाया है कि यह जो एक सेक्शन

है, बर्ग है, इस तरह के इनसर्जेंट्स का उनको श्री आर० के० दोरेन्द्र मिह और एक स्टेट मिनिस्टर की तरफ से आर्थिक महायत्ना भी मिलती है। मैं नहीं जानता हमारे मंत्री जी इन सारी बातों के बारे में जानकारी रखते हैं या नहीं। अगर रखने है तो उनको इस सदन को बता कर आश्वस्त करना चाहिए और अगर नहीं तो उनको प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि सारी जानकारी को प्राप्त करें। महोदय, 100 के करीब जानें जा चुकी है, लाखों रुपए का नुकसान हो चुका है, पिछले सात-डेढ़ साल में 80 राइफल्स छीनी जा चुकी हैं। इन सब के बाद भी हमारी सरकार के नेताओं को चिंता अगर कोई है तो वह यह है कि वहाँ पर वही मिनिस्ट्री बनी रहे जो उनकी पार्टी की हो। यह अत्यंत खेदजनक और दुख की बात है। वहाँ पर विदेशियों के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन चल रहा है। स्वाभाविक रूप से कहा जाता है कि 85 हजार नेपाली वहाँ पर है। जहाँ पर इतने सीमित रोजगार के साधन हैं, सड़कें नहीं, एक भी इंडस्ट्री नहीं, कहा जाता है कि पीने का पानी और बिजली वहाँ दुर्लभ वस्तुओं में गिने जाते हैं, ऐसी स्थिति में उनका बिरोध सारे देश भारत और दिल्ली से है। अभी हमारी बहन बता रही थी कि जो भी वहाँ जाता है तो यह कहा जाता है कि यह हमारे भारत से आए हुए हमारे मित्र है। इस तरह की भाषा बाली जाती है। हिन्दू धर्म के खिलाफ आन्दोलन चलता है। यह सारे अत्यंत चिन्ताजनक आसार है इनके ऊपर विचार करके केन्द्रीय सरकार को वहाँ के लोगों की भावनाओं की कद्र करके केवल अपने दलगत हितों पर विचार करना छोड़ कर वहाँ के लोग जिससे अपनी प्रगति कर सकें उनका ध्यान किया जाए अधिक साधन वहाँ पर दिए जाएं। आज जो वहाँ पर असेम्बली सस्पेंडेड एनीमेशन में है, या इसका जो भी मतलब

मकवाणा जो निकालते हों, इस स्थिति में से निकाल कर धरोध पक्ष को यह अन्तर दिया जाए कि यदि वे असेम्बली में बहुमत स्थापित कर सकते हैं तो सरकार बनाएँ। केन्द्रीय सरकार का पक्षपातपूर्ण रवैया अलग अलग राज्यों में नहीं रहना चाहिए, यह हमारे देश के मूलभूत लोकतांत्रिक नियमों या परम्पराओं में से है।

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रोक्लेमेशन का समर्थन करता हूँ। बजट जो माननीय वित्त मंत्री जो लाए हैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। आज सारा पूर्वांचल कुछ दिनों से अस्त-व्यस्त है। किसी न किसी प्रान्त में विद्रोह उठा रहता है। सर्वप्रथम नागालैंड में विद्रोह हुआ फिर त्रिपुरा में हुआ फिर मिजोरम में हुआ। हमारे आसाम में हुआ। यह मणिपुर पहले इस विद्रोह से अछूता था, वहाँ हलचल कम थी, वहाँ सरकार कुछ दिन तक चलती थी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आसाम में आंदोलन शुरू हुआ और उस आसाम के आंदोलन को अच्छे ढंग से टेकल न करने के कारण आज पूर्वांचल के सभी जो स्टेट हैं वहाँ अस्तव्यस्तता है, वहाँ किसी न किसी रूप में विद्रोह को ज्वाला भड़क रही है, जल रही है और बाहरी ताकतें और इन्टरनल सबवर्सिव ताकतें जो हमारी यूनिटी में खतरा पैदा करने वाली हैं और जो मिशनरी के रूप में काम कर रही हैं और सीमा पर आने वाले विदेशी देश हैं जो हमसे होस्टाइल है उनको एक मौका मिला है कि आज इस ज्वाला को और प्रज्वलित करें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मणिपुर लैण्ड लाफ्ड एरिया है यहाँ की आबादी, 14 लाख है और मैती जाति के लोग जो नैण्गाईट हैं सबसे अधिक संख्या में हैं,

उनमें पढ़े लिखे लोग भी हैं। ये मणिपुर के चासी या अपने सारे पूर्वांचल के लोग समझते हैं उनका आर्थिक विकास जितना होना चाहिए था स्वतंत्रता के बाद उतना नहीं हुआ है। जितना आर्थिक विकास होना चाहिए था और प्रांतों के समकक्ष उतना नहीं है। यह बात भी सही है कि जिस रूप में आज दूसरे प्रांत विकसित हुए हैं पूर्वांचल के ये प्रांत उतने विकसित नहीं हुए हैं। उनकी आर्थिक हालत सुधड़ नहीं हुई है और इस आंदोलन का प्रधान कारण आर्थिक है। आज आर्थिक हालत वहाँ के रहने वालों की अच्छी नहीं है जिसके कारण उनके अंदर असंतोष का भावना जल रही है। आज मणिपुर को ही ले लीजिए। मणिपुर में कोई एक ऐसी इंडस्ट्री नहीं है जिससे धूआ निकलना हो, रोड्स नहीं हैं, लार्ज स्केल और मीडियम स्केल इंडस्ट्री नहीं है, केवल स्मॉल स्केल या हैण्डलूम इंडस्ट्री वहाँ चलती है। वहाँ का मणिपुर कार्पेट सबसे मशहूर है लेकिन उसके लिए भी मारकेट खोजने की जरूरत पड़ती है। उस मणिपुर कार्पेट के लिए भी मारकेट नहीं मिलता है। लेकिन बनारस में, भादोही में जो कार्पेट बनता है उसके लिए मार्केट है, दूसरों के लिए है लेकिन मणिपुर में जो सबसे फाइन कार्पेट बनता है उसके लिए मारकेट नहीं है। हैडलूम के छोटे उद्योग धंधे उनके पास हैं लेकिन ठीक से उनको मारकेटिंग नहीं मिलती है।

अनइम्प्लायमेंट आप इसी बात से सोच सकते हैं कि 14 लाख की आबादी में एक लाख नौजवान पढ़े लिखे माइती ही नहीं बल्कि उस मणिपुर के अन्य निवासी भी बेकार बैठे हैं उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। नौकरी न मिलने से निश्चित रूप से उनमें असंतोष होगा। सरकार में उनका पार्टीसिपेशन नहीं हो पा रहा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय,

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

अफसोस की बात है कि चाहे जिस वजह से मणिपुर में सरकार न रहती हो थोड़े दिन के बाद गिर जाती हो जिससे अनस्टेबिलिटी आती हो लेकिन उस राज्य का विकास नहीं हो पाता है। यह भी एक कारण है कि आज वहां की सरकार में, वहां के नौजवानों का, वहां की जनता का फेथ नहीं रह गया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसा कि कि हमारे एक मित्र ने कहा है कि केवल एक बिजलीघर स्टार्ट हुआ। वह भी कितने दिन पहले और आज तक पूरा नहीं हुआ है। क्या कारण है? यह बात ठीक है कि यहां से आफिसरों का जब तबादला होता है तो वे किसी न किसी बहाने अपने तबादले को हकवा लेते हैं और यहीं रह जाते हैं, वहां जा नहीं पाते हैं। मैं ऐसा सोचता हूं कि चाहिए तो था कि ऐसी जगहों में, अदर प्रांत जो हमारे हैं, विकसित प्रांत इन प्रांतों का हिस्सा काटकर अधिक से अधिक रुपया उन पूर्वांचल के प्रांतों को दिया जाये, वहां हमारे इंजीनियर्स जायें, डाक्टर्स जायें, ट्रेनर्स जाएं, थिकर्स जायें, लोग बैठ कर विचार करें कि पूर्वांचल का कैसे समन्वय और विकास किया जाय, पूर्णरूपेण विकास किया जाय। अगर यह नहीं करेंगे तो मिलिटरी रूल से आप पूर्वांचल की समस्या को हल नहीं कर पायेंगे। यह कठिन समस्या है मुझे याद है कि जब नागालैण्ड का विद्रोह चल रहा था लोहिया जी वहां गये थे, उन्होंने दौरा किया, उन्होंने ट्रेनिंग ली और बताया कि मिलिटरी साल्यूशन नहीं हो सकता है। वहां के लिए साल्यूशन है इकानामिक। आज बाहर के लोग वहां जाकर बस गये हैं, जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा कि नेपाली काफी संख्या में वहां चले गये, इधर के लोग भी चले गये।

डा० भाई महावीर ने कन्ट्रिब्यूटर्स की बात की—सारे के सारे कन्ट्रिब्यूटर्स या तो बिहार के हैं, या बंगाल के, या इस साइड के लोग हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश के लोग हैं। यह लोग वहां जाकर सड़क भी बनायेंगे। वहां जाकर अपना घर भी बनायेंगे, लोकल लोगों को प्रश्रय नहीं दिया गया है, जिसके कारण उनकी आर्थिक हालत का विकास नहीं हो पाया, वे अपना जीविकोपार्जन नहीं कर पाते। वहां अनएम्प्लायमेंट है और यही कारण है कि वहां का नौजवान विद्रोह करने पर तुला हुआ है।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने, बड़ी खुशी की बात है—कि उन्होंने खुद निश्चय किया, इंट्रस्ट लिया और एक कमेटी का निर्माण किया है और वे स्वयं ही उसकी कनवीनर हैं और वह कमेटी पूर्वांचल के विकास के संबंध में चिन्तन कर रही है कि किस तरह से उसका विकास किया जाए।

अभी सिक्सथ फाइव इयर प्लान की एलोकेशन को देख लीजिए। मणिपुर के लिए केवल 200 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। आप जरा बताइये तो कि इस थोड़े से रुपये से इसका क्या विकास हो सकेगा। जहां सड़क 130 मील, जहां कोई बिजली घर आज तक नहीं, पानी पीने की व्यवस्था नहीं है, इरिगेशन वही पुराने जमाने का, जहां पानी सब से अधिक वर्षा होती हो और वह पानी सायल में बर्बाद हो जाता हो और जहां का मूलधन एग्रीकल्चर हो और उसके लिए पानी की आवश्यकता हो और उस पानी को रोक करके डैम बना करके नहीं रखा जाए, या चैनल बना करके, जिस तरह से काश्मीर में बना है, बर्फ से नहर निकाली गई है और वह पानी पिघल कर आता है और सिंचाई के काम आता है—क्या उस पहाड़ी के पानी को रोक

करके सिंचाई नहीं की जा सकती है? क्या कारण है? इसका कारण है कि एग्रीकल्चर पर भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। इण्डस्ट्री की तो बात छोड़ दीजिए। आप कह सकते हैं कि बहुत दूर हैं वहां बड़ी-बड़ी इण्डस्ट्री नहीं खड़ी हो सकती है। मैं मानता हूं। लेकिन स्माल स्केल इण्डस्ट्री तो खड़ी कर सकते हैं। क्यों नहीं घड़ी बनाने की इण्डस्ट्री वहां लगाते? या साईकल बनाने की छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्री—जैसे जापान में करते हैं—काटेज इण्डस्ट्री के रूप में साईकल की चेन कहीं, वील कहीं, टायर कहीं तथा दूसरी चीजें कहीं और बनती हैं और सब अकमुलेट होती हैं—वे ट्रांसफर होकर एक जगह आ जाती हैं और फिर असेम्बल की जाती हैं। तो छोटी-छोटी इण्डस्ट्री भी लगाइयेगा, तो मुजफरपुर में, बिहार में, उत्तर प्रदेश में—इस तरह से काम नहीं चलेगा।

अगर आप पूर्वांचल को चाहते हैं कि उनमें एकता हो, वह आपके साथ जुड़ा रहे, तो उनकी आर्थिक हालत की तरफ आपको ध्यान देना होगा। जब वे लोग देखते हैं कि आप अट्रालिकाएं बनाए हुए हैं और वे अपनी शोपड़ियों में रहते हैं, जब वे देखते हैं कि आप अपनी कार का भोंपू बजाते हुए चले जा रहे हैं और सैकड़ों हजारों मील आपकी सड़क है, तो उनके दिल में जलन होती ही है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुजकर्गी) पीठासीन हुए]

भले ही आप आई० ए० एस० अफसर को बिहार या उत्तर प्रदेश में बना कर रख दीजिए, उनकी समस्या हल नहीं

होगी। उनकी समस्या तब हल होगी जब उनको भरपेट खाने-पीने के लिए भोजन मिलेगा, वह देखेंगे कि उनके प्रांत में भी चिमनी जल रही है, वे देखेंगे कि उनके शहरों में भी बिजली है, वे देखेंगे कि उनके यहां अच्छे डाक्टर हैं तथा उनके यहां अच्छी यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं। पूर्वांचल के लोग तब फील करेंगे कि हां हमारा संबंध भारत से है।

आज अलगाव की सारी परिस्थितियां आपने खड़ी कर दी हैं। आप मिलिटरी भेज कर इस समस्या को हल करना चाहें, तो नहीं होगा। हमें खुशी है कि हमारी मिलिट्री वहां जाकर विनाश का काम नहीं करती, हमारी मिलिटरी रेस्ट्रेंड होकर के वह मैत्री भाव से जाती है वहां की समस्या हल करने के लिए। काफी दिनों तक मिलिटरी ने वहां रेस्ट्रेंड के साथ काम किया, लेकिन जब हिंसक रूप से महती विद्रोहियों ने काम शुरू किया, तो मिलिटरी को भी कुछ हिंसक प्रवृत्ति अपनानी पड़ी। यह जो पूर्वांचल है, चीन बंगलादेश और बर्मा की सरहद पर है, ईजिली वड़ी ही सुविधाजनक विदेशी शक्तियां हमारे यहां के लोगों को जो हमसे असंतुष्ट है, ले जा कर के उन्हें मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग देने हैं।

उनको बढ़ावा देते हैं, उनको तरह तरह 5 P. का सामान जल्दी से पहुंच जाता है बल्कि उनके कान्प्रिबेन्स से आप का एक्सप्लोसिव्ह तिब्बत चला जाता है, चीनी तिब्बत चला जाता है। क्या कारण है, इसको कभी आप ने सोचा है ताकि



[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

उनकी इस असंतोष की भावना को दूर कर सकें।

एक बात और है। वहाँ पर वाहर के जो मिशनरी हैं, बहुत पहले से ही ये मिशनरी अलगाव की प्रवृत्ति वहाँ के नौजवानों में, वहाँ के रहने वाले लोगों में बराबर भरते रहे हैं। यह बात ठीक है कि मिशनरियों ने उनकी शिक्षा दीक्षा में बहुत आगे बढ़ कर काम किया है लेकिन साथ-साथ उन के अन्दर एक अलगाव की जो मनोवृत्ति पैदा कर दी, यह बड़ी खराब बात है... (समय की घटी)... आज जो मिशनरी है उनको रहने देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। वहाँ फारेन एलिमेंट मिशनरियों के जो आकर रहते हैं और रह कर धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी) : रामानन्द जी अब खत्म कीजिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : चावल, आटा, चीनी, रुपया पैसा देकर।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) : तो अधिकार हैं उन को इसलिये धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं। क्यों नहीं करेंगे भई ? क्या कोई बंधन है इस देश में ?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : बैठिए, बैठिए, आप कहिएगा जब बारी आएगी। धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं। हां, धर्म परिवर्तन कर सकते हैं अगर कोई समझबूझ कर करता है। लेकिन धन आदि का प्रलोभन देकर नहीं करना चाहिए.....

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : उसी वास्ते कानून लायें कि 18 वर्ष की उम्र के बाद ही कोई अपना धर्म चुन सकता है, बाप का धर्म बेटे को नहीं मिले। ऐसा कानून लाओ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ऐसे लोगों को—मिशनरियों को फारेन एजेंट्स को—जो अलगाव की मनोवृत्ति पैदा करते हैं जिनका जुड़ाव दूसरे देशों से बन हुआ है उन को आप यहाँ से अलग कीजिए और मिशनरीज की एक्टिविटीज को रोकने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, भ्रष्टाचार वहाँ इतना फैला हुआ है कि वहाँ के पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० मिनिस्टर ने खुद स्टेटमेंट दिया कि यह जो मंत्री रिवोल्यूशनरीज हैं उनको सरकार सहायता करती है, मिनिस्ट्री में बैठे हुए लोग उन की मदद करते हैं और हमारी मिलिटरी ने, फौज ने, एक मंत्री के घर की सच की, यह अखबार में आया....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Please conclude now.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपका हुक्म मानता हूँ और एक मिनट में बैठ जाता हूँ। मैं मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ, क्या वहाँ के पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० मिनिस्टर ने यह आरोप लगाया है कि ये मंत्रिमण्डल के लोग इस आंदोलन को बैक कर रहे हैं, इन-सर्जेंट्स की मदद करते हैं, क्या यह बात सही है ? अगर सही है तो बड़े दुख की बात है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि—high-ups sitting somewhere else are pulling the string of the insurgents. तो इन बातों को सोचना चाहिए और अपना घर ठीक करना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करता हूँ कि पूर्वांचल में अगर दिल्ली में बैठ कर, यहाँ से फौज भेज कर चाहेंगे कंट्रोल करना तो कंट्रोल नहीं होगा। सही रास्ते के साथ आर्थिक विकास करके उनको जीतिए उन को अपने पास रखिए।

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं असल में एक बात से ज्यादा चिंतित हूँ और उस का उत्तर मैं जितना खोजने की कोशिश करता हूँ उतना दिमाग में उलझन होती है कि क्या वजह है जिस के साथ हिन्दुस्तान का तहजीबी रिश्ता, पौराणिक रिश्ता जुड़ा हुआ है आज उसी इलाके के हमारे भाई-बंध इस बात का फैसला करें कि हमें अलग रहना है। तो इस सवाल को खाली गोली और बंदूक से या ताकत से हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। मेरा जो निवेदन है वह यह है कि मणिपुर में आजादी की ललक मणिपुर की मिट्टी के साथ जुड़ी हुई है, उसका गाथाओं से जुड़ी हुई है, जहाँ आजादी, समानता, वर्ग-हीन समाज हो, जहाँ का समाज इतना ज्यादा विकसित रहा हो कि वह अपनी सारी जरूरत की चीजें खुद पैदा कर लेता है, सिवाए नमक के उस को दूसरी चीजों की जरूरत नहीं पड़ती है, जहाँ आपस में गुंथे हुए लोग रहते हैं, आज वहाँ इतना बड़ा असन्तोष क्यों है? और मैं उसका एक ही उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली में बैठे हुए लोग जो तीस पैंतीस वर्ष से इस देश का राज चला रहे हैं उस के कारण जानबूझकर एक ऐसी मानसिकता लेकर यहाँ से अफसर वहाँ जाते हैं। मुझे दो तीन बार मणीपुर जाने का मौका मिला, एक बार मनीपुर की जेल में भी रहा, इस वास्ते मैं कहता हूँ कि यहाँ से जो लोग दिल्ली वाले और बड़े अफसर जाते हैं उन के दिमाग में यही होता है कि जैसे अंगरेज दिल्ली में बैठा हुआ अपने को ऊंचा समझता था, वैसे ही ये अफसर मणिपुर में जाकर उन के साथ वैसा व्यवहार करते हैं। मैं ज्यादा विस्तार में नहीं जाता। मैं उदाहरण दे सकता हूँ कि किस

तरह उन की पवित्र भावनाओं को जिन के साथ उनका बहुत लगाव है जिन के लिए वे सब कुछ मिटा देने को तैयार हैं, दूषित और खंडित किया गया।

दूसरी चीज जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ—शायद आपको पता न हो—वह यह है कि सन् 72 तक एक भी महकम का मुखिया, जिसको निर्देशक कहिए, डायरेक्टर कहिए, एक भी ग्रन्डर सैक्रेटरी या छोटा सैक्रेटरी आफिस सुपरिन्टेन्डेंट के स्तर का भी कोई आदमी मणीपुरी नहीं होता था। इससे ज्यादा दुर्भाग्य क्या हो सकता है कि वहाँ कानूनी आगे पढ़ने के लिए अगर उस को उच्च शिक्षा लेनी है तो वह असम आये, गोहाटी आये, कलकत्ते आये या बनारस आये और यहाँ से पढ़कर जब वापस जाय तो उस के बाद उस को नौकरी नहीं मिले। ज्यादा से ज्यादा नौकरी मिल सकती है तो मुर्दारम या मास्टर की नौकरी मिल सकती है।

एक बात और। हिन्दुस्तान के रहनुमाओं ने तथा उस जमाने के प्रधान मंत्री ने 15 अगस्त 1947 को जश्ने आजादी मनाया। वह हमारा आजादी का दिन नहीं हो सकता, हमारा आजाद का दिन 9 अगस्त होना चाहिए था जिस दिन हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने ऐलान किया था कि हम गुलाम नहीं रहेंगे। 15 अगस्त 1947 को हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ, लेकिन एक बात मैं मकवाना साहब आप से कहूँगा जो उस इलाके की मिट्टी बोलती है। आप ने '47' में अपने को आजाद किया, उन्होंने '43' में मणीपुर को आजाद घोषित किया था। इम्फाल से चिफ

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

40 किलोमीटर दूर मोयरांग की एक बहुत बड़ी झील है जिस तक नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस आये थे। वहां लोगों ने फैसला किया। लोकपासिंग की पहाड़ियों पर जमकर लड़ाई हुई। आप समझते हैं कि हथियारों की कमी है। वही एक ऐसा इलाका है जहां हथियारों की कमी नहीं है। जितने हथियार शायद आपकी सेना के पास हों उतने हथियार वहां की पहाड़ियों और खन्दको में छिपे मिल सकते हैं। वहीं ऐसा इलाका है जहां तीन-तीन बार सरकारें अपने हथियार छोड़कर भागी। पहले अंग्रेज भागे, अपने हथियार छोड़कर भागे उस के बाद बर्मी आये, वह अपने हथियार छोड़कर भागे। उस के बाद अंग्रेज और अमरीकी साथ मिल कर वहां से बर्मियों को भगाने के लिए आये लेकिन वहां के आजादी-पसन्द लोगों ने उन को भी सहन नहीं किया। मेरा कहना है कि वहां हथियारों की कमी नहीं है। जंगल है, पहाड़ है, वहां कोई जाता नहीं है। वहां छोटे कबीले या जातियां हैं, चाहे अखरूल हों, अंगामी तो बहुत कम मिलते हैं, कूकी हो, उस इलाके में जाकर मैंने देखा है, जहां सड़कें भी नहीं हैं, लेकिन दफतर इतने अच्छे और खूबसूरत हैं और वह ऐसे बात करते हैं जैसे हम कोई परदेशी हैं। उन की बात भी सही है। वहां का हाई स्कूल का विद्यार्थी कहता है कि हम फुटबाल अच्छी खेलते हैं लेकिन अगर अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर चयन की बात होती है तो उस में भी मणीपुर कालडका नहीं, उस को खेल में भी जगह नहीं। सेना में उन को जगह नहीं। कितने मणीपुरी अफसर हैं जो सचिवालय के उत्तरी और दक्षिणी इलाकों में बैठे होंगे। सवाल यह है कि जब इस तरह की व्यवस्था बन जाती है तो लोगों का मन टूट जाता है। उन का सांस्कृतिक जीवन टूट गया है। एक ही इलाका ऐसा था जहां कोई जाति नहीं

थी। आप पहनावे में, बात चीत में, खान पान से किसी तरह आदमी-आदमी का फर्क नहीं पता लगा सकते। नागाแลนด์ में बहुत ईसाई हैं, लेकिन उखरूल नागाओं में से जिस को आप ने मुख्य मंत्री बनाने की कोशिश की हमारा मित्र था, हमारा साथी था, हम जानते हैं, उस आदमी में अपनी सारी नागा जाति को ईसाइयों में परिवर्तित होने से रोका।

वह इलाका देश के साथ जुड़ा रहे और जब तक उसकी सुरक्षा नहीं मिलेगी वह देश में क्यों रहेंगे। हमारे साथ ही उन का आर्थिक दोहन बाहर वाले कर रहे हैं। आज हालत यह है कि मणिपुर में 8 बजे के बाद दूकानें नहीं खुली रहती, चाहे वह पावना रोड की बात हो या कोई और बाजार हो, सब बंद हो जाती हैं। उनको कोई काम नहीं मिलता। आज हालत वहां यह है। आज एक आम रिवाज है वहां और एक बड़ा अच्छा सिस्टम है कि किसी लड़की की शादी तब तक नहीं हो सकती कि जब तक कि वह लड़की अपने हाथ में अपने लिये और अपने दूल्हे के लिये कपड़ा नहीं बना पाती और इस कारण ही वहां घर-घर में कराँचे हैं। लेकिन खैर, यह तो दूसरी बात है, उसके बाद भी अगर वह लोग मेहनत मजदूरी कर लेते हैं तो उनको वाजारों के लिये कोई सुरक्षा नहीं। वह सामान बेचने बीस बीस और तीस तीस मील दूर आते हैं। मणिपुर ही हिन्दुस्तान का शायद ऐसा इलाका है कि जहां हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे ज्यादा साइकिलें हैं, किसी भी राज्य में शायद इतनी पैरगाड़ियां नहीं होंगी जितनी अनुपात से वहां हैं इस लिये कि वहां का आदमी शहरी जीवन में रहना नहीं चाहता। उसको आधुनिकता से कोई मोहब्बत नहीं। वह अपने जीवन को, सांस्कृतिक जीवन को जो उसकी पुरानी मानसिकता है और जो उसका रिश्ता है

धरती के साथ उसके साथ जोड़े रखना चाहता है। आप अंदाजा लगाइये कि जो वहाँ उत्सव होते हैं तो उन में पौराणिक गाथाओं के आधार पर कार्यक्रम रखे जाते हैं कि किस तरह से भूमि हिडम्बा को ले गया था और वहाँ जा कर अर्जुन ने किस तरह से शादी की थी और किस तरह से कृष्ण ने जा कर उस इलाके को संवारा था, रचा था। आज हिन्दुस्तान के कितने लोग हैं कि जो यह जानते होंगे कि यह मोरंग का इलाका है कि जहाँ 1943 में आजादी का सबसे पहला झंडा लटकाया गया था। क्यों नहीं हम वहाँ जाकर उस स्थान को सलाम करते? क्यों नहीं वहाँ जाकर हम एक राष्ट्रीय स्मारक वहाँ पर बनाते। हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानियों ने बड़ी मेहनत की और वे सारे हिन्दुस्तान में भीख मांगते फिर लेकिन उन को 15 लाख रुपया भी उस स्मारक को बनाने के लिये नहीं मिला। उन्होंने अपनी मेहनत से वहाँ कुछ बनाया है। लेकिन कैसे वहाँ राष्ट्रीय भावना जगेगी? कैसे वह अपने को इस हिन्दुस्तान के साथ जोड़े रखेंगे? न उन की संस्कृति हम जानते हैं? न उन के खून से हमारा कोई रिश्ता है। हमारे पूर्वज कृष्ण उस इलाके से अपनी बीबी ला सकते थे, उनके साथ वे एक आध्यात्मिक रिश्ता बनाये रख सकते थे और जितने भी पौराणिक पुरुष रहे हैं उन्होंने उस इलाके से अपना संबंध बनाये रखा है लेकिन आज हम और आप यह नहीं कर सकते। अगर आज वहाँ जाकर कोई बसना चाहे तो आज आप उस की इजाजत उसे नहीं देंगे। आप ने उस इलाके को आज एक अजायब घर की तरह से बना रखा है। उस को हिन्दुस्तान की धरती से अलग रखा है। यहाँ तक कि उन को खुदमुह्तयानी के लिये भी आंदोलन करना पड़ा। इस से ज्यादा

दुख की बात और क्या हो सकती है। उन्होंने कभी आर्थिक बातों को लेकर कोई आंदोलन आदि नहीं किया लेकिन पिछले 30 सालों में जो योजनाएँ बनी हैं उन में कितना पैसा मणिपुर पर खर्च किया गया है इसके विस्तार में तो मैं नहीं जाऊंगा, लेकिन इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो मणिपुर के उद्योग हैं, जो उसकी मिट्टी के साथ जुड़े हुए हैं, जो उसका सांस्कृतिक मन है उस को ही आप माँज कर निखार दीजिए। क्या आज यह नहीं हो सकता कि वहाँ पर हिन्दुस्तान की एक सांस्कृतिक राजधानी बनायी जाय। इस देश के कलाकार वहाँ जायें और उन से घुले मिले, एक हों और उन को अपने साथ लें। मणिपुरी नृत्य हम यहाँ पर बैठ कर देखते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के अभिजात्य वर्ग के लोग इस तरह की माँज मर्ती ले सकते हैं, उस को यहाँ बैठ कर देख सकते हैं लेकिन वहाँ की धरती पर जा कर उसे देखें, वही उस का आनंद ले, उन्हीं के साथ जुड़ कर रहना हम को गवारा नहीं। वह इसी तरह से है। दिल्ली में रहने वाले लोग, हम लोग जो कुछ पैदायशी गुलाम है चली आ रही है एक परंपरा वही है हमारा पुराना सामंती मन और इस का मुझे बड़ा अपसोस है। आज कुछ बहने का मौका मिला है इसलिये कहे देता हूँ। वही सामंती मन मुझे राष्ट्र की इस बिल्डिंग में कुछ दिन पहले देखने को मिला। अभी कुछ दिन पहले हमारे माननीय सदस्यों के मनोरंजन के लिये सूचना विभाग की ओर से इसी संसद भवन के अंदर कच्चीली का अयोजन किया गया था और जिस तरह से लालकिले में राज-दरबारी गाया करते थे उस दिन वही समांथा मुहम्मद शाह रंगिले की जो परंपरा थी वही उस दिन यहाँ देखने को मिली और मुहम्मद शाह रंगिले की शबल में अक-तरित हुए थे हमारे साँठे साहब। इस इतने ज्यादा गिर जाएंगे यह सच भी नहीं था। इस पवित्र बिल्डिंग को इस

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

तरह से खराब करेंगे और इसे मनोरंजन का स्थल बना देंगे, यह सोचा नहीं था। अगर बाहर का कोई स्थान होता तो कोई बात नहीं थी, कहीं भी आप शामियाना लगा कर उस को कर सकते थे। उस में किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं होती, लेकिन यहां नाच गाना नहीं होना चाहिए था। यदि आप देश हित की किसी बात पर विचार करते, राष्ट्रीय एकता की बातें होती या किन्हीं दूसरी बातों पर हम चर्चा करते तो शायद अच्छा होता। आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कि मणिपुर के बारे में और सारे पूर्वांचल के विकास की ओर आपको ध्यान देना है तो दिल्ली में आपको एक स्पेशल मंत्रालय अलग से बनाना चाहिए। मुझे खुशी है कि मकवाणा साहब ने कई मतवा, जिसका जिक्र माननीय रामानन्द जी ने किया, पूर्वांचल के लिए एक सेल बनाया, लेकिन मैं यह जानता हूं कि सेल तो बनाया जाता है लेकिन काम नहीं होता आज भी कूकी और पाथेय को, आप सारी सेना उतार दोजिए, नहीं रोक सकते। जो बर्मा के साथ हुआ, उनको उसके लिए आंदोलन करना पड़ा। जब मिजो के साथ जुड़ी हुई धरती की बात आई तो उन्होंने कहा हमें लुशाई मत कहो। लुशाई पहाड़िया तो बर्मा की पहाड़ियों में है। हम इस देश की धरती के हैं। तो सारा मामला कुल मिलाकर गड़-बड़ाया हुआ है। इस सारे मामले को एक नया आयाम देने की आप कोशिश करें। वहां पर एक विश्वविद्यालय की मांग है। वह बनाना चाहिए। यह भी हो सकता है कि वहां औद्योगिक विकास के लिए आप इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर का अलग से एक ढांचा आप कायम करें जो वहां के पहाड़ों से, वहां की झीलों से, उनके पानी से, हर चीज से जुड़ा हुआ है। आज आप ऐसा सोच ही ही नहीं सकते। वहां आज भी 12-12 मील से 12-12 बांसों में पानी लोगों को लाना

पड़ता है। एक एक बास में दो-तीन गैलने पानी लाकर वह खिनाते हैं खाना अपने घर वालों को। खैर वह पीड़ा हमको हो हो नहीं सकती। अगर आप चाहते हो कि उनके खून के साथ हमारा रिश्ता बने तो ऐसा सेल बनाइये और हर साल वहां से 100-150 नौ जवानों को, नई पीढ़ी के जातियों के लोगों को बुलाइये, उन में से 100-150 लोगों को लाकर देश का दर्शन कराइये। इसी तरह से डेढ़ सौ लोगों को चुनकर वहां भेजिये और अपनी धरती में संस्कृति का आदान-प्रदान करने के लिए प्रबन्ध कीजिए। यह नहीं कि वहां के लोगों को नाटक दिखाने के लिए लंदन भेजें। इसकी जरूरत नहीं वहां के सांस्कृतिक मंडल विभिन्न राज्यों के सांस्कृतिक मंडलों को एक करने की कोशिश करें। इस वास्ते मैं कहूंगा कि यह बजट तभी सम्भव हो सकता है जब मणिपुर के लोगों का अंतर-भावनाओं को आप समझने की कोशिश करें। अगर गोली आपके पास रास्ता है तो मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि मणिपुर की धरती पर बमियों की गोली नहीं चली, अंग्रेजों की नहीं चली, अमरीकनों की नहीं चली आपकी भी नहीं चलेगी। इस वास्ते गोली का खेल न खेलकर बोली का खेल खेलें। इतना ही मैं कहना चाहता हूं।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): Sir, almost every one of the previous speaker, including the speakers from the ruling party, has spoken about the total neglect of the people of Manipur in particular and the entire north-east in general. Therefore, I do not want to dwell upon that. But the fact remains that the people who showed tremendous bravery and courage in facing the bullets of the British imperialists in fighting for India's Independence, who were part and parcel of the struggle, who were rubbing shoulders with us in the struggle against the British imperialists, are today alienated from the Indian people, from the rest of

the country. This is what we have done during the 30 years of our freedom. Even though Mr. Ramanand Yadav supported this Bill, the facts that he gave are a condemnation of the Government's policy.

This is what has happened. What is it that you have imported there? Here are the people who do not know and did not know what corruption is, who did not know what life is. They are simple people. This was the type of people there. What is the position today? Here is the Governor's report. This is what I am relying upon. Why does he want suspension of the Assembly? I will read out one paragraph. This is not what I am saying. This is what the Governor is saying.

"If the Assembly is suspended, there is a possibility of support being bought by money or through lure of office."

This is the only argument on the basis of which he wants the Assembly to be suspended. Allow people to be bought by money or through lure of office. It is stated in so many words. Allow members of the Assembly to be bought either by money or by lure of office and let them get a big majority and then have a Ministry.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Has he used this argument in favour of getting the Assembly suspended?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Yes. These are the alternatives I am reading from the statement. This is what he says.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Wonderful.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: This is the whole point. This is what he says:

"If the Assembly is only suspended, there is a possibility of support being bought by money or through lure of office. Dissolution, on the other hand, might have a chasten-

ing effect on the various political parties and the candidates."

You understand? Dissolution, on the other hand, might have a chastening effect on the candidates and the parties.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Therefore, it is not good.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Therefore, it is not good.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Ramamurti, you address me.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: That is all right. I am addressing you. I only turned that side. I am addressing you only. But I can turn any way in this House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Except that you don't show me your back.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I can't show my back to you. My back is not very beautiful to show you. I don't claim to have so beautiful a background. Don't bother.

Therefore, Sir, this is an open proclamation. It is a question of rivalry with regard to the purchase of people and therefore, what does the Congress (I) Party—which is in power at the Centre—rely upon? Previously you succeeded with only 13 members in the Assembly. You succeeded by lure of money, by purchasing people from other parties and making a majority of 49. Now also you say, give us time; we are the biggest party with the largest resources; therefore, we will be able to purchase people from the other parties and then make a majority; therefore, give us time. Therefore, this is the only consideration for this Government. This is what you have imported into those people, that is, purchasing people through corruption, purchasing through lure of office, purchasing by

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

money. This is the wonderful culture that you have today imported into those people who have been among the finest people in this country—who never knew anything about bribery, who never knew anything even about telling lies. It is such simple people whom you have corrupted during the last thirty years and now you want to corrupt them still more. This is what you are doing.

In spite of this open admission by the Governor, you are saying that it has to be suspended. In spite of that the Governor says "Suspend it" and you are accepting it. I can understand it: the Governor has given a command performance. He cannot do anything else. But I am glad that he has told the truth—that there is a possibility of people being purchased by money or lure of office. Lure of office also is money. You can make money by so many means—contracts and all that. They all said it but I don't want to do that. Therefore, the only consideration for this Government is how to establish its Government in that State; even though it may be in a minority, how to establish its Government in every State.

In Manipur if you can purchase people, purchase. In West Bengal you raise the slogans of law and order, university, this and that—non-existent slogans—as if in every other State the law and order situation is extremely good and as if in West Bengal it is very bad. It is our misfortune that there we do not have communal riots, it is our misfortune that we do not have caste riots, it is our misfortune that we do not have mass copying in the universities, it is our misfortune that we have not appointed a retired IG of Police as a Vice-Chancellor as you have done in Madhya Pradesh. These are the things and you frame any charge and try to dismiss that Government. This is your attitude: Somehow or other my Government must be there. In

Manipur if I am in minority, I will purchase people; give me the opportunity. Therefore, Sir, if this is the attitude with which the Government is functioning, I want to point out that the time is not far off when these people... After all, he says—and this I want to point out... (*Interruptions*) With regard to this, the previous sentence is: "it may be possible for one side or the other... and, third, going by past experience, one cannot reasonably hope that another election would result in the election of candidates with more stable party loyalties or better political ethics." Therefore, he is condemning the entire people. After all, they had had the experience. If they find that these people are the people who are time-servers, you condemn those people and reject those people and do not give the people of Manipur an opportunity to shift. You reject those people who have been shifting their loyalties and who have been purchased by one party or another, those bought by the richest party with the largest amount of resources. You do not give them the opportunity because, you know, if you are going to...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Who had purchased 10 Members from our party? Our Government fell because 10 Members left us. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: They were not Members of your party at all.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: We lost 10 Members and that is why our Government fell.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: The answer is that they did not get their proper share in the loot and, therefore, they fell out with you. What am I to do?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: So you use two arguments. On the one side, you say we purchased them and on the other you say our Members left us because they had no say in the Ministry. Do not have two tongues and follow one argument.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI:** I am following one argument. The only argument is that you purchased people and the number went up from 13 to 49. It was you who did it in the beginning. And you quarrelled amongst yourselves and you have been reduced to a minority. You are saying that you give them an opportunity to be purchased. The Governor has stated this and you have accepted it. Therefore, the criterion for this Government is how to purchase people, how to dismiss the non-Congress (I) Governments, how not to allow the non-Congress (I) Governments to function. Therefore, I oppose this and I also oppose the Budget.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, all the Members... (*Interruptions*)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** Yes, go ahead.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** Unless some order is restored,.....

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** Mr. Ramamurti, why are you going away like this?

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I heard Mr. Ramamurti when he opposed the minority Government in Manipur. But, may I remind him that he had supported in Assam the very same minority Government? It started with 7 Members and by defection the number went up to 49. The Congress (I) had 7 Members after the election and by defection the number went up to 49. Will you kindly listen to what I say, Mr. Ramamurti? Yesterday, you supported that Government of defectors. Today you talk in terms of anti-defection and of progressive forces. And Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's party supported that minority Government. You have no right, Mr. Ramamurti, to say that you do not encourage defection. You are a party to defection. You are talking double

standards all the time: the so called progressive joining hands with the reactionary forces. You talk in double terms to suit your own political ends. For Heaven's sake, after what you have shown in Assam, avoid this double standard. Show some morality in public life. It should be shown by all parties.

Sir, we have listened to speeches from all quarters about the beauty of the region, the neglect of the north-eastern region. I know, Sir, that some time past in this House, when we used to complain about the neglect of the north-eastern region, when we asked the Government to give us a refinery because this area is poor, we were told that we were parochial; we were chauvinistic; we were regionalist. At least one good result the Assam movement has achieved is that is that the Government are compelled to admit about the neglect of the north-eastern region. Now only on the foreigners issue the Government may call us regionalist and parochial. After some time, the Government will say that even on this issue we acted as nationalists. Let me leave that aside. I do not support this proclamation for the very reason that we have seen the conduct of the Legislators. As the Governor has reported, even after the election, there have been defections galore. Certain Members went away and defected from Congress(I). I do not like the defections taking place at any point of time. If there is a Congress(I) Ministry, that Ministry should remain; that should not fall because of defection. But when on account of defections that Ministry fell and when the Governor is aware of the fact that if the Assembly is suspended, there is a possibility of support being bought by money or through lure of office, he had no reason to advise the suspension of the Assembly. He ought to have advised dissolution. This is what he said: "If after watching the situation for some time, it appears that neither side is able to secure an adequate majority through legitimate means", I would



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ask for dissolution. May I ask the hon. Home Minister and the great Governor what legitimate means are available to the legislators to form a government which may be stable except by the art of defection? Does he mean that defections can be by legitimate means? There are two alternatives. If the Government feel that at the present moment election is not possible and that the Assembly should remain, then the Governor should have given an opportunity to the Opposition to form a government. If he feels that such type of giving an opportunity is not conducive to the healthy development of democracy because of the defection, he ought to have dissolved the Assembly. The fact that the Assembly has not been dissolved and only has been suspension goes to show that the Ruling Party here has kept options open to lure the legislators by money and other offers. You should know that trying to purchase legislators in this region, in this sensitive region, is extremely dangerous.

Here is the "NAGALAND NEWS REVIEW", a newspaper in which an allegation has been made by no less a person than the Chief Minister. It says that on 21st while addressing a Press Conference, when Pressmen asked him whether it was a fact that the ruling party had offered Rs. 2 lakhs to one of the Opposition Members to defect from the NNDP to the Congress (I) which he had rejected the Chief Minister said that he did not want to publicise such an incident as it does not give good reflection to the people. However, when the newsmen insisted on knowing whether it was a fact, the Chief Minister admitted that the Deputy Speaker was offered Rs. 2 lakhs to defect to the Congress (I), and that he had turned it down (*Interruptions*) He had the moral courage. This has come out in the newspaper. This was not something stated under the cover of privilege inside the precincts

of Assembly but stated openly in a newspaper in Nagaland. This statement has been made by the Chief Minister taking full responsibility of making the statement in the Paper that the ruling party had offered Rs. 2 lakhs to get a Member defected. These are the things which you are teaching to the people of that region politically. The Home Minister does not know what a dangerous game he is playing in that region.

Sir, I have indicated about what happened in Assam. In Assam a minority Government based on defection has survived, thanks to the progressive left. I do not want to say more about it.

The Governor's report says that there is tremendous insurgent activities in Manipur even now. May I point out that in Manipur at least—I am subject to correction—in the plains there was no insurgency? Manipur is a region where from historical times it has the closest link with India. Ancient scriptures reveal that Arjuna went there got married to Chitrangana and they had a son, Babruvahan. But why is it that the young people of this region have suddenly become rebellious against India? It has been stated that foreign powers have been playing their part. But we should ask ourselves how it is that a foreign power can draw our own people from the national mainstream. There must be some reason. I may point out that whether it is in Manipur, or in Nagaland, such acts have happened because of our own failures. Is it not a fact that you have arrested a number of students in Assam on the ground that they have indulged in secessionist activities. There are two possibilities. Firstly, the arrests are entirely wrong because they did not indulge in secessionist activities. If you are arresting somebody on the ground of secessionist activity when he does not indulge in it, you are doing the greatest disservice to the national

cause. But supposing that they have indulged in secessionist activities, why have then done so? It is because you have not created in them a sense of belonging to this country. The people of the north-eastern region are feeling that the power centre in Delhi is not prepared to appreciate and understand their agony, that the power centre in Delhi is only keen to have its own government there, that is it keen to impose its political standards there and that it is not prepared to understand their agony.

As has been said by many speakers the first battle of freedom was fought there, and one should not forget that this region has been the subject matter of external aggression times without number. I would like to point out to the Home Minister that the people, particularly the youth, of Assam are angry young men today. I am speaking about Assam because you cannot discuss any part of the north-eastern region without talking about it in totality. Therefore, after 30 years of independence if insurgency has crept in from Nagaland to Manipur, what is the reason? And let him not forget that there is a feeling today to give up the Vaishnavite culture in Manipur, a feeling which is extremely dangerous. Why is it that the Vaishnavite culture which is traditionally rooted in the minds of the Manipur people, which has become famous throughout the world because of Manipuri dances—after all, Manipuri dances depict primarily the love between Krishna and Radha—is sought to be given up? Why is it that the people have decided to give up their Vaishnavite culture? Why is it that suddenly they have got a feeling of anger towards the rest of the country? People do not get angry, people do not leave their homes and hearths, for nothing, unless there is some injustice done to those people. Therefore, one must very deeply ponder as to what has happened in the north-eastern region. And I will appeal to the Home Minister: your entire approach to the north-eastern region is wrong. You have

not tried to understand the psychology of that region, and I can tell you that this will have tremendously disastrous consequences.

Coming to the budgetary provisions, to the inequitable budgetary provisions, may I point out that even if you give thousands of crores of rupees to that region, it will mean nothing? What happens is that this money ultimately is utilised by certain unscrupulous persons who are doing business, commerce and industry. So it gets into the hands of a few persons. You must try to create an atmosphere of self-generating and self-sustaining economy in that region, and you must go in for creation of infrastructure in that region. Members have mentioned about power. According to a survey conducted by the Government of India, the highest potentiality of power, 33.3 per cent of the power potential of the entire country, lies in the north-eastern region. But today power production and consumption are the lowest there. I made a certain study and I found out that for the entire north-eastern region, consisting of the five States and two Union Territories, only Rs. 248 crores have been earmarked, whereas for one or the other regions more than Rs. 5,000 crores were earmarked. For agricultural refinance, only Rs. 5. crores were given to the north-eastern region, whereas for the northern and southern regions more than Rs. 3,000 crores were given. I do not mind more money being given to other regions. But there must be some balance amongst the regions. There is lack of communication in the region literally and otherwise. There is lack of communication in the mind of the people also. Therefore, I will submit that if you really want to develop this region, if you want to create a sense of oneness in this region, don't try to play the unhealthy part of national politics which you are trying to play there. I do not know how the heaven falls if the Congress (I) does not form a Government in Manipur and Nagaland.

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You have your Governments all round the country. Supposing you do not have your Government there, how do you suffer? This tendency of forming a Government by means which are unhealthy and undemocratic will definitely not help in the development of that region. So far as the people of the north-eastern region are concerned, so far as the people of Assam are concerned, I can tell you one point and I want to bring home that point to the Home Minister. Look here, in spite of the fact that in Assam an 18-month-long agitation has gone on, none of the Opposition parties has been given a foot-hold in the movement, in spite of the fact that many Opposition parties have tried to get a foot-hold. Why is it so? Because we have never tried to make it a prestige question between the Government of India and the Opposition. (*Time-bell rings*) I will finish. We have not tried to make it a prestige question between the Government of India and the Opposition. The people of Assam do not want that Mrs. Indira Gandhi should find her Waterloo on the issue of Assam. We want the problem to be solved because on the solution of the problem ultimately the entire integrity of the country and our survival depend. Therefore, for Heaven's sake, let us not play petty party politics in the north-eastern region. Let us at once realise that what we have done for 30 years was wrong and unless a departure from that is made, no development can take place. And may I say, for Heaven's sake, don't go by what your officials have stated about the north-eastern region. Have a new look, taking into confidence the people who know that region, people who know the psychology of that region, because even Mr. Stephen, the Minister of Communications three or four days back, in answer to a question, admitted that only people of lower calibre were posted in the north-eastern region. Sir, may I divulge a secret?

Once when I had some sort of an argument with Mr. D. P. Dhar, the then Planning Minister, I said, "Why don't you go in for development of the north-eastern region?" I still remember his words. He said, "All the junks and rejected things of the other areas are dumped into that region. How can you expect development of that region?" We do not want to play politics, we do not want to score debating points over your party. Therefore, don't play politics in this region. If your party ultimately survives in the north-eastern region, we will not grudge it. But the main question is you must take a comprehensive look at the problem, you must look at the problem in its totality, with sympathy and understanding and try to solve it. And if you do not do so, you alone will be responsible for the consequences. I come back to the last point about Assam we have stood for a negotiated settlement. The situation is ripe now for such a settlement. And when you go in for a settlement, go in for a comprehensive development of this region. Do not follow the normal political practices which you have followed in other parts of the country. And you will see the north-eastern region will be the greatest asset for you in the entire country. Thank you.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, the honourable Member has made a statement on behalf of the Nagaland Chief Minister. We would like to know if the Home Minister is in a position to contradict it or confirm it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): When he replies to the debate, he will take care of it.

Now Mr. Heerachand.

\*SHRI D. HEERACHAND (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Home Minister stated in Lok Sabha

\*English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

the reasons for keeping the Manipur State-Assembly in under suspended animation. Manipur is the State reflecting the culture of the people in the North-Eastern Region. Since there was no stability in the politics of Manipur I welcome this decision; but at the same time I request the Government to take steps for establishing a popular Government there. The provisions in the budget would encourage the major and cottage industries and give an opportunity for employment to the people there. The provisions for starting Starch and Glucose industries in the current year are really to be appreciated. The Budget provided Rs. 1.55 crores in the First five-year plan and Rs. 240 crores in the Sixth Five Year Plan which is also to be appreciated. I welcome the Plan for arranging the roads to the villages covering 1800 K.M. There are many good items in the budget which are, I point out, good features.

While appreciating the good points in the budget, some of us are naturally afraid that the powers delegated to the Union Government under Article 356 of the Constitution of India may be misused against the States. Perhaps, it may not be relevant point to mention now. But I feel, I would fail in my duty if the relations between the Centre and States are not mentioned at this time. The Government should not think it as my own view, many members have made the same point on a number of occasions both in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. There are some occasions when the Central Government threatens the State Governments when they do not agree with it. For instance, the Governments of Tamil Nadu and Kerala have appointed enquiry Commissions to probe into the illicit Arrack Scandal. When the scandal was brought to the notice of our revolutionary leader and the Hon'ble Chief Minister, he appointed at once Justice Kailasan, a retired Judge of the Supreme Court to enquire into it. But, some so-called

political leaders, who are not popular, are insisting upon the enquiry by the Central Government. The responsible Home Minister Mr. Makwana said in Lok Sabha that the Centre might appoint an enquiry commission; but the Hon'ble Minister Mr. Zail Singh said that the Commission would be appointed if the circumstances warranted. I would like to ask, Sir, would it not be unwarranted interference in the rights of the State Government? When the Union Government appointed a person as a Judge of the Supreme Court and when the same Judge is appointed to probe into a scandal, would you doubt his integrity? Moreover, to interfere with a Commission at the initial stage is a strange thing. Hence I request that Union Government should give up the idea of appointing a fresh commission. It may recommend to the State Government for starting the enquiry by the Commission from 1974 onwards. This recommendation would unveil the real faces of those persons who agitate for Central Inquiry Commission. Then many matters would come to light, which were there even without the knowledge of the Central Government. The persons who insist upon the enquiry, are really like tigers wearing cow's hide. We do not know, when the sword of Dharma Devata would fall on their heads? They appear to be gentlemen, but really they are the wholesale traders in the business of cheating.

Hence I request that the rights of State Government should be protected in the good hands of Smt. Indira Gandhi. Before I conclude I welcome all the good points in the Budget.

..[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Dinesh Goswami) in the Chair].

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the situation in the North Eastern region, of which Manipur forms a part, has been extensively discussed in this House and in various forms. Therefore, I do not want to

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repeat the facts and arguments placed before the House by various Members at different points of time.

Manipur, as you know and as everybody has said, is a beautiful place which has a long historical background. The civilisation of the MEITEIS forms an integral part of the Indian civilisation. This has been ably put forward by hon. Shri Dinesh Goswami just now. So, I do not repeat all that. But there are certain things which have disturbed us very much. The recent developments in Manipur have caused great disturbance to us—developments not only in Manipur, but in other parts of the North Eastern region also. Before I go into those disturbances and their causes, I must say that I welcome the President's rule there. Here, I will make one or two points.

Mr. Rishang Keishing, the former Chief Minister, belongs to my party. I do not know, how many among you know that person. Mr. Rishang Keishing came to politics at a very early age in his twenties along with us. As a matter of fact I was one of those who discovered him. In those days Nagaland was very much disturbed because of the movement led by Phizo for independence of Nagaland. That movement touched Tankul area also which is a Naga area of Manipur. The whole area was covered by this movement. Insurgent activities were carried on on a large scale and the police and the army had to go in a large scale. At that time there was one man, one Naga—I must emphasize this—one single young Naga, Rishang Keishing, who came forward to stand up and uphold the banner of Indian nationalism in the far-away corner of India. In my book "Naga Problem" I described Mr. Rishang Keishing as the Frontier Gandhi in the eastern corner. He was a man with a background ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): To which party did he belong at that time?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: At that time, he belonged to the Socialist Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Say that.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: That does not make any difference.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: About that I will say later.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, Mr. Rishang Keishing has that political career behind him. He is a man of very high integrity. Nobody up till now has been able to question his integrity. And, therefore, Sir, when his Government fell, I felt very sad and it was really a sad event for the State of Manipur. After a long time, Manipur had a very good and very able Chief Minister and he is a man of integrity and is a man of very proud background, nationalist background and he was out. Several times there were attempts on his life by the Naga insurgents. But he never compromised; never compromised! And, Sir, he stood up all through. His Government fell because ten members from his party defected to the other side. Now, they say: Why not give a chance to the Opposition party to form the Government there? Normally, I think, that is the procedure. But I also think that the Governor was satisfied that in the present situation, when the strength is 30—29 minus the Speaker, the situation in Manipur, in the Manipur Assembly, is not stable enough to convince him that he could allow the Opposition to form the Government there. But, more than that, there is something else.

Sir, recently we have seen an upsurge of the insurgent activities in Manipur. Why? It has also come out that a number of political leaders there are hands in glove with the insurgents and they have been encouraging them and giving money to them. Let me now tell you, let me tell you today, that when the Janata Party formed the Government

there in Manipur with Mr. Shaiza as the Chief Minister, I told two General Secretaries of the Janata Party: "By allowing your party to form the Government there in Manipur with Mr. Shaiza as the Chief Minister, you do not know what you are doing. You should know the antecedents of Mr. Shaiza and you should know the connections of Mr. Shaiza and you should know his past activities." Then, Sir, the two General Secretaries, who are my friends, told me: "Well, we shall take care of that." Today, Sir, I want to say that it was Mr. Shaiza and his Government, during the period of their rule, who encouraged the insurgent activities and they encouraged the youth to go in for insurgency in Manipur. There was not this kind of an insurgency before. There were only some sporadic troubles here and there, but not this kind of an insurgency. But this time it was on a massive scale and the whole thing was organised and trained and built up and financed under the inspiration of the then Chief Minister, Mr. Shaiza. I publicly say this. Can we now again hand over the Government to Mr. Shaiza?

**SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI:** What about Mr. Dorendra Singh?

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** I think Mr. Biswa Goswami knows who Mr. Dorendra Singh is and who Mr. Shaiza is. Mr. Dorendra Singh is his old comrade and Mr. Shaiza is his new comrade. You must know his antecedents. His antecedents should be known. Sir, I for one would never advise the Governor to hand over the administration again to Mr. Shaiza in the interest of national integrity, if not for anything else. Therefore, in the totality of the situation there in Manipur, I think the President's Rule is quite justified.

Sir, it has been said that the people are unhappy, discontented, and so on because there is no development. Quite true. The entire area has been

neglected for long, for 33 long years. The entire North-Eastern region has been neglected.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI:** Who did it?

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** The Government. It does not matter which Government did it. It is the State Government or the Central Government. I do not mince matters, because I represent my people here and my first loyalty is to the people. The entire area has been neglected and it has been admitted by all. Even the Prime Minister the other day herself admitted that nothing much has been done. There is no secret about it. So, do not bring in the question of which Government did it, and do not bring in the question of this Government or that Government. After all, the Marxist Party has no chance of forming the Government in that part of the country at all. Do not worry about it. Now, this development or lack of development has two aspects. If there is no development or development lags behind, people become unhappy and discontented, and take extremists advantage of it.

People become desperate. People fight. People struggle. This is one aspect. I hope the Minister sitting here will take note of that on the other hand, if there is development in these backward areas, naturally a large number of people from outside will go and take up jobs. Enough local people are not available for all the jobs. And then a new clash takes place. A cultural clash takes place. Conflicts arise on the economic front. To be very precise, when there is no development, people become unhappy and discontented, and that is taken advantage of by the extremists. When there is development, a new kind of conflict arises. And, therefore, the Government must be very careful. All possible steps should be taken to develop these areas in all fields. In the case of

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Manipur, it is a matter of regret that nothing has been done practically. One simple project, as Mr. Goswami has pointed out, the Loktak project—my Good Lord! how many years? I have forgotten myself when it was first started. Nothing has been done up till now. No progress at all. No progress... (Interruptions). I am pointing out, not enough has been done. Nothing practically has been done, so far as Manipur is concerned. Therefore, people have legitimate cause for grievance, genuine cause for resentment. But, at the same time, I will say that when the Government takes up measures for development in these areas, it should take enough care to see that simultaneously enough people are created to take up the jobs. (Time Bell rings). I am not talking of highly technical jobs. For highly technical jobs, certainly you have to get people from all over the country. It is a must. But Class III, Class II and Class IV jobs can go over to the local people. And if they are not there, the Government will have to create such people.

One argument I have heard. And it is this. As a man from Assam I have heard, and I have also heard in the lobbies and elsewhere, that people there are not hard-working; they are lazy and they are not competent. Is it a matter of pride? Are they not Indians? If they don't work, we have to make them work because they are part and parcel of our nation. If they are inefficient, we have to make them efficient because they are part and parcel of our nation. If one limb of the body becomes weak, should we not make it strong? If in any part of India—I am not talking of any particular part of India—if people in any part of India, are lazy and they are not efficient, it is Government's duty, it is the duty of the entire nation, the entire leadership, the Government, and every political party, to make them work, make them efficient and make them

come up to level of others. I am very proud of the Punjabis. They are hard-working people. They are efficient people. I would like the people in that part of India also to come up as the Punjabis have done. That should be the approach. Take some positive steps. The whole body is going to suffer if one limb is weak. (Time bell rings).

Sir, finally, since you have rung the bell already, I will make one more point and sit down. The 6 P.M. other factor in this region, including Manipur, is the fear of loss of identity. Yes, that is a genuine fear. Why did this massive movement take place in Assam? I did not support the movement. I must make it very clear. I did not like several aspects of the movement. I have said so on the floor of the House. But the cause of the people of Assam is genuine. The problem of foreign nationals is real. It must be solved. It is a matter of regret that it has not been solved so far and so long. I did not approve of the way the movement was conducted and of several aspects of it. But the problem must be solved. The movement is dead or is lying low. But the problem has to be solved and something has to be done. There is something common between Manipur and Assam. You all know that before the British came in 1826, the region was independent. No Indian king or emperor could ever acquire this area. Please take note of this fact of history. The Pathans and the Moghul emperors were defeated 17 times in the plains of Assam. Nobody could reach Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya. By 1874 when the Britishers conquered the whole area were here, they became a part of India politically. This whole area became an integral part of India. So far as culture and civilization is concerned, they were one with us. We have stories since the

Mahabharata era or since the last 3000 years showing that from the point of view of culture, they were part and parcel of the Indian nation. But politically, they were not. Therefore, there is so much common between the region of Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, etc. But there is something special between Assam and Manipur. Assam took part in the first war of independence in 1857 and two of our leaders, senior leaders and not minor leaders, were hanged by the British. Similarly, Manipur had also one of her supreme leader sacrificed at the hands of the British.

The national movement grew up in these two areas, i.e. the Brahmaputra Valley and the Imphal Valley. Other areas were segregated by the British policy of inner line regulations and we were not allowed to go there. The Indian National Congress Movement and the Freedom Struggle did not reach Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram, etc. But the people of Assam and the people of Manipur took full part in the freedom struggle. Therefore, these are the two bastions of Indian nationalism in that area—the Brahmaputra Valley and the Imphal Valley. These areas are now disturbed and that is my cause for loss of peace. You do not talk of party politics here. It is not a question of party politics. This is a question of Indian nationalism and Indian integrity. If these two bases of Indian nationalism, the Brahmaputra Valley and the Imphal Valley are disturbed and if insurgency takes over, then God help you so far as that area is concerned. The entire area will be in danger and this is the question before you and this is the question before everyone of us whether it is the ruling party or the opposition parties. This Indian nationalism must be preserved and if people are disturbed there, something has to be done to solve the problem. (Time bell rings) I am finishing. This is my last point and I am done. In Manipur Meiteis are the principal

community. I do not believe in caste or community and all that. But facts are facts. They are the standard bearers of Indian civilisation and Indian national movement. They constitute the base of Indian nationalism there. Similarly, the Assamese people in the Brahmaputra Valley are the base of Indian nationalism. They must not be weakened. They must not be made to feel frustrated. They must not be made to feel demoralised. If they took a wrong course, certainly action must be taken. We have to maintain law and order. But these problems must be tackled politically also. And these problems must be tackled politically in such a way that these two bases, these two communities do not feel frustrated, demoralised and lost. If that becomes so, then you will weaken the base of Indian nationalism. It does not matter whether the Meiteis are in a majority or in a minority in Manipur. It does not matter whether the Assamese are in a majority or in a minority in the Brahmaputra valley. What matters is that they have been historically the base of Indian nationalism and you should preserve that at all costs. Thank you.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Sir, I have heard two very interesting speeches and naturally informed speeches, insofar as the region is concerned. One by you and another ...

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** Not 'by you', but 'by Mr. Dinesh Goswami' in a different capacity.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Yes, in a different capacity.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Yes, only Deputy Chairman makes speeches from there.

I heard two speeches one by Shri Dinesh Goswami and another by Shri



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Bipinpal Das. Sir, I have been accustomed to such speeches, well-meaning, full of emotion and sentiments, with plentiful references to past history and glory and naturally we feel touched when the past is recalled about any section of our people, past that is glorious and a part of the heritage of our civilisation. But I was wondering why in Manipur, or, for that matter, in Assam or the North-Eastern region the people should still continue to suffer from the same denials, same neglect, same ills, same frustrations, same agonies and same sorrows after 33 years of independence, despite the plethora of sentiments and pious wishes that have been expressed in this and the other House. What is the answer to that? How long must we just spread our sentiments and voice them, which would not be matched by necessary action. I think the time has come not to spend too much time on those sentiments and emotions, excellent as they are, but to concentrate on why you have failed and where the corrections must be made, and what steps should be taken to overcome the backlog of our howling failure over three decades and more.

I will say a few words about Manipur. Sir, from another situation and place, you made an observation which calls for a little clarification by us. I know you did not mean ill of us. You said the C.P.I. and C.P.I.(M) supported the Congress (I) Government Ministry in Assam.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I did not say that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How can you say that? He said it. Shri Bipinpal Das. I can well understand, has reason to be a little cut-up about it, even misunderstands us. Friends do misunderstand us and it is not a very happy experience for us to differ on such points with so esteemed and dear a friend as our friend, Mr. Dinesh Goswami in this case. But I

only say that he made a little mistake. We did not support the Government. We remained neutral . . .

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE (West Bengal): Same thing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may rightly say that because of our neutrality, the present Assam Ministry did not fall. It is true if we had voted for the no-confidence motion, CPI-M, CPI, SUC and RCPI, who command 23 votes, that Government would have fallen straightaway; there is no doubt about it. The only thing that I would ask our friend, like Mr. Dinesh Goswami is to understand our position that we had to do so after taking into account all situations there and making an assessment of it. We did it for no love for the Congress-I regime there. We thought we should not get involved in the no-confidence motion, consequences of which will be like that. Rather, we should maintain independent stand and so the question of supporting the Congress-I Ministry, or the Taimur Ministry, whatever you call it, does not arise. We thought that we should remain neutral rather than vote along with other friends for the no-confidence motion. That is all that we did. Now, you may differ but we have our reasons. All the Left parties met together, discussed threadbare the pros and cons of the situation time and again and we left it to the local parties—I was myself involved in it. We also had national-level discussions, but we left it to them to do what they thought would be in the best interests of (1) the people of Assam, (2) left democratic movement, and (3) from the point of view of finding a solution to the problem that is haunting Assam today, the problem of foreigners, and also to take into account the interest of various linguistic, ethnic and other minorities and we left it to them to take all these things into account and come to a conclusion rather than play the usual type of party politics. They decided that way. Now, if you do not

appreciate, we can understand it but we do not have any grudge against those who differ or who criticise us for that kind of thing. I think in course of time they will understand, I might say that Congress-U had only three persons, Janata Party is the biggest party there in Assam in the Opposition and the moment Mr. Morarji Desai speaks of politics, you see we also take that into account for what we do. Not that the Congress-I is doing very well, nothing of the kind. So, we did not go into that. We left it to them for the time being. In any case, we decided it. Anyway, we are not meant to be Ministers in Assam, situation is not so there for us to form a Government. So, Sir, we did it. So, Sir, we did it and it is for you to judge and we leave it to the people of Assam to understand it and pronounce their judgement. May be, some of our friends who were very keen to topple that Government are annoyed with us. But we can forebear. We can bear with it. After all, sometimes, differences do arise.

Sir, now, coming to Manipur, I have been there many times. From the list, you may find that we are a small party. But we are not that small, I can tell you. Of course, we cannot produce many MLAs. It is true. Production of MLAs is one thing and viability and popular support and various other things is another thing. But none of our MLAs defected.

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** How can you distinguish between popular support and production of MLAs?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** You know how elections take place. Mr. Bipinpal Das, may I ask you, if elections were to take place in Assam today, will you win, will your party win? No. Other things have taken place. Temporarily, people fell under some spell. I do not blame them. Because of our weakness, your weakness and our weakness, we have seen people falling under communal spell,

casteist spell. I went to Ahmedabad. What has become of Gandhiji's Gujarat? I saw two Ahmedabads, the Harijan Ahmedabad and the caste-Hindu Ahmedabad.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the time is short. Let us avoid broad discussions.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** He asked me the question. Why did he ask me this question? He knows it very well how seats are won.

Now, Sir, as far as Manipur is concerned, our criticism is this. Yes. A lot of defections is there. But who has created defection as a roaring national trade? Which political party? I would like to know. If, today, defection is a roaring national trade, if, today, it has been developed into a master art and is being produced on a mass scale as if from a computerised factory, who is responsible for it, I would like to ask? Is it the CPI, is it the CPI(M), is it the people who sit on this side, or, is it Mr. Bipinpal Das and the party to which he has the unique honour to belong? Sir, as I said before, Congress(I) must have many achievements to its credit, according to you, not according to me, perhaps, but according to you. You can also take another achievement in organising defections. In the course of one year and a half, you have set an international record impossible to beat by any party which is there in any functioning Parliamentary democracy. I am paying this tribute to you. If you do not want to accept it, do not accept it. But then, the list of defectors is there. According to my calculation, you have organised over 250 defections over...

**SHRI BIPINPAL DAS:** Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, may I ask you, why you blocked the Defection Bill? Sir, it was Mr. Bhupesh Gupta who blocked the Defection Bill at the stage of consideration. Why did he do it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is a most uncharitable statement which comes from a dear friend...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: It is on record. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the tribute has been paid. We are on this side and you are on the other side. The tribute has been paid by the people of India.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Between the sister and my brother I have been very barricaded rather badly.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: You have to answer this question. When the Committee was formed and Mr. Chavan was its chairman, the proceeding of that Committee are available in which it is recorded that Shri Bhupesh Gupta ultimately blocked the passage of the anti-defection Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nothing could be a greater monumental falsehood than this. I would not say 'lie'. Bhupesh Gupta was a member of the Committee and Bhupesh Gupta fought for the anti-defection measure.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: You could not define 'defection'.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I fought for the measure against defection. (Interruptions). You ask a question but do not wait for the answer.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: You could not define 'defection'. You did not agree with the definition of 'defection'.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am giving you the answer, Mr. Bipinpal Das. All these records are there. We all agreed that defection should go. Even with the definition we all

agreed excepting that our idea of definition was a little different from theirs. (Interruptions).

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: That is it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Just a minute. This is not just the point. But your point was different.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Gupta, you are neglecting Manipur.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What can I do? What can I say about Manipur? I say, you read the two reports that are there. Our party submitted a memorandum, my note is there. On all points we agreed. Consensus was given. Only Mr. Chavan disagreed when he said that the Council of Ministers should not be more than 10 per cent of the lower House if it is a unicameral legislature, or 11 per cent of the two Houses if it were a bicameral legislature. That is all. Then what happened? The Defection Bill was sent to the Select Committee. When they drafted it, your side blocked the Bill. That Shri Morarji's Government did it, your Government did it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I think we should avoid it. (Interruptions) I am not prepared to permit any further discussion on this. (Interruptions). Leave it for some other occasion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I stand for a measure against defection, I stand for a measure against defection with retrospective effect.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: What would you say is Mr. Ramamurti a defector from the CPI? (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think we should come to Manipur. (Interruptions). You reply to him at some other time. (Interruptions). You address yourself to me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All I say is, split is not defection. Then Mrs. Indira Gandhi would have been the greatest defector in 1969.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, don't get diverted. Don't answer them at all. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI J. K. JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): Don't worry about Shrimati Indira Gandhi. You worry about yourself. (*Interruptions*). Your party will go to dogs. Take care of Mr. Dange first.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is very difficult with Mr. Jain (*Interruptions*). Have I said that Mrs. Indira Gandhi is a defector?

SHRI J. K. JAIN: What did you say?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All I can say is, Mr. Jain, you are in a state of perpetual excitement. I never said that Shrimati Indira Gandhi was a defector.

SHRI J. K. JAIN: I am not in a state of excitement. I am a young-man.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I say that split is not defection. Split of a party is not a defection.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Manipur has suffered from defection and here the discussion on Manipur is suffering from a discussion on defection.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Despite my friend, Mr. Jain. Mrs. Usha Malhotra and others who have been shipping at me all the time, I come back to the subject. Only I was a little upset when a knowledgeable person like him questioned it.

In Manipur, yes, defections took place; it is a problem. In fact, you go to Imphal and you will find

slogans: "Defectors are traitors". Very strong slogans are written against defectors. I can understand the feelings of the people of Manipur. But, then, the question arises: who had been the biggest organisers of defections? That also should be found out there. As I said, nobody can beat the Congress Party in Manipur in organising defections. As far as this is concerned, I can understand we do not like defections. But Rajya Sabha is not a picture of strong adherence to the principle of anti-defection.

As far as Manipur is concerned, it is so. What to do then? Tell me. As Mr. Ramamurti has pointed out, President's rule has been imposed to give time for organising defections. When this came, I said: "President's rule has been imposed; now black brief-cases will go" I always find whenever there is President's rule in comparable circumstances in a State, from Delhi flow some black, heavy brief-cases. What they contain . . .

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Now, Bhupesh Da it does not befit you to utter these words.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then who will after these words?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: With all respect, I tell you it does not befit you

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very glad. You have developed a kind of wrong respect for me. If I am respected it is precisely because I tell the home truths. And if I have not succeeded in getting your respect. I shall try to cultivate it also.

Anyway, Sir the Home Minister is here. Give the some security some day and allow me for two months to seize some black brief cases. I will seize these black brief cases and you discover what they contain.

Now that is the objection. Our objection was there.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Mr. Ramanand says; what about red boxes?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Seize them. I do not see red boxes very much in the planes.

Now, Sir, our complaint was that you should have given time to the Opposition as in the normal practice, to explore the possibility of forming a Government. It is a good convention. You may have the feeling, others may have the feeling we may have our calculations and hopes; that is a different matter. But when a Government resigns, it should be the normal duty of the Executive Head— whoever is there—not a figure head of this type—a Governor in this case—to call the Leader of the Opposition, whoever he thinks should be called, following certain ground rules of democracy, ask him to explore the possibility of forming a Government. That should have been done. But that process was by passed. We did not like that. Mind you, I am not saying beyond that I am not at all suggesting that the process would by itself have succeeded. We would have liked it to succeed. But at the moment I am not making any claim. But the process should have been followed. You know, Sir, when the Constitution was amended, we pressed—two of us, at least—for the abolition of article 356 of the Constitution which provides for president's rule. These are your principles and we thought that it should have been done. You have not done that. It is a wrong thing. (*Time Bell rings*) I am finishing, Sir. Why are we apprehensive? Sir, you have referred to Assam. And now don't ring the bell when I mention my State of West Bengal, because you will be guilty of discrimination.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I cannot say anything from here. I am here in a different capacity.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: About West Bengal we hear too much talk, about overthrowing the Government there. I am told, future Congress (I) Chief Ministers are being named as if naming of the Chief Minister will make one a Chief Minister. Some say it is Asoke Sen, some say it is Sankar Prasad Mitra and some say some other people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think you are going for beyond now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I had not gone beyond you, I thought. Now, Sir, I say that this should stop. That is why we are apprehensive. The Government should get up and give us an assurance that there is no such thing. Every day they say that the West Bengal Government should be tackled. Every day I read in the newspapers—I am not there—that they are in hunt for the Chief Minister and say who would be the next Chief Minister as if elections are going to be held even if they overthrow the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am concluding. Not only that. I am surprised that some people are inquiring as to what will happen if revenge is taken against the CPI (M). Dangerous inquiries are being made in Delhi. If revenge is taken against the CPI (M), in other words, if 1972 is repeated against the CPI (M), what will be the public reaction? Such things are being asked. I do not say that any or all of you are asking. Some people, with or without authority, are asking such things. And then, we have reason to be apprehensive about it. I do not know who is inspiring it, whether there is any truth in it. The Government should make it absolutely clear that a constitutionally formed Government should have full right to function the full term, that it shall

not have any interference in it and that it will be left to the people of West Bengal to decide at the next election, when it is due, whether such Government should be there—whether they like it or not. Now, many other things are said. (Time bell rings).

Do you know, Sir? You talked about culture. The West Bengal Government said that at the primary stage English should not be there. What is wrong there? English at primary stage also?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मेरा प्वाइंट आफ़ अर्डर है सर। हन लोग प्रोक्लेशन पर जो मणिपुर के संबन्ध में है उस पर डिस्कशन कर रहे हैं और उसके बजट पर डिस्कशन कर रहे हैं लेकिन हम देख रहे हैं कि दाल भात में ऊंट का जो कहावा है इसी तरह इसमें भूपेश बाबू बंगाल ला देते हैं और फिर सी पी आई (एम) गवर्नमेंट ला देते हैं। यह ऐसा लगता है कि अनर्गल बात है, इससे कोई संबंध नहीं है। इसलिए आप इस पर क्लिग दोजिए कि हम इसे बाहर जाकर बहस कर सकते हैं कि नहीं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I am very sorry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Kindly conclude, because we have another matter.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I only want to say that he kept quiet when on this Manipur question one Member of the House was speaking he was speaking nothing about Manipur except the spirit scandal in Tamil Nadu. He was talking only about that except for the words, "I support it." Then you did not bother about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): It is for the Chair to regulate the proceedings. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please conclude now because we have got another subject which we have to finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I do not want to strain him. The only thing I say in this context is that reports have started coming.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You have made your point. Now please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not view it as an isolated thing. As far as Manipur is concerned, you know very well that we are the victims there. One of our very prominent leaders, Mr. Bira Singh, ex-MLA and a candidate for MLAsip in the last election, was shot dead right in front of his house. He had been a very prominent leader. We have been victims there. And you are criticising. You know how we feel about it. One of our very dear comrades there was shot dead right at his doorstep by the people whom you call hostile and insurgents. We have been attacked there. We are of course, fighting them, but nothing has been done by the Manipur Government to apprehend the killer.

Similarly, you mentioned about the projects there. The Loktak project there is a very important project. Mr. Bipinpal Das has gone away—he mentioned it. Why could not the project be carried out even after so many years? We can build big steel plants and many other things. Why this simple project could not be built, I cannot understand.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Manipur has been completely neglected. Why? Explanation should be found. My explanation is this. The class policy of the present Government discounts totally the interests of the people of this backward region, industrially less developed region. They are looked upon as the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Assam has been looked upon like that. Manipur is

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

the victim now. Now an accumulated problem has come and you cannot have political stability in conditions of so much socio-economic instability and imbalance. Therefore, by all means, try for political stability. But the approach should be democratic, the approach should be one which helps the people of Manipur, which overcomes their backwardness and meets their legitimate demands for cultural expression, development, economic development and political aspirations also. Unless you do this thing, nothing much will happen.

Sir, as far as this report is concerned, there is only one line I point out: "The dissolution on the other hand might have . . ." See the bureaucratic language. "...a chastening effect on the various political parties, and the candidates. Weighing both sets on considerations. I feel on the whole, it would be preferable only to suspend the Legislative Assembly for the present." Now this is the approach. Is it a correct approach? Is it a political approach? How many times did Manipur have the President's Rule? Has there been any chastening effect? Have the defections been less? Has stability come about? I cannot understand this. So the whole thing is absolutely . . .

(Time bell rings)

Finally, I do not know what other things they are going to do. For goodness sake, I am making an appeal to you—not to you but to them—not to play the game of defection again. We would rather have the President's Rule. Let that continue. But don't try to cook up a majority by political corruption, financial backing and defection and all the rest of it, because that will make the situation in Manipur for worse than what it is and complicate it. A better approach and a better solution we need.

Therefore, once again, I demand from the Government an explanation as to why the culprits who are well

known to be responsible for the murder of comrade Bira Singh, a prominent public leader of Manipur could not be apprehended, prosecuted and punished.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Shiv Chandra Jha. The time for your party is already over. You can speak for four or five minutes and finish. But don't be long. I am giving you time out of turn, but only for four or five minutes.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मणिपुर और उत्तर पूर्व के इलाके मिश्मोरम, नागालैंड, मेघालय, त्रिपुरा अरुणाचल और आसाम भी, इन राज्यों की उपेक्षा होती है, अभी तक उपेक्षा होती रही है। पिछले 30-32 साल आजादी के बाद भी यह हाल है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में तो उन इलाकों की उपेक्षा होती ही थी लेकिन वह समझा जा सकता था क्योंकि उनकी नीति सारे भारत से उपेक्षा की थी, इसलिए कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। लेकिन आजादी के बाद और खास कर योजना आयोग के बनने के बाद जब सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था हमारी योजनाबद्ध हो रही है फिर भी वही दशा हो, वही हालात उन इलाकों की हो तो बहुत दुर्भाग्य की बात है। बुनियादी बात यह है कि उस इलाके में ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है, उसके दिवासे में जितना ध्यान देना चाहिए, पैसा देना चाहिए, जिस रूप में कार्यक्रम बनने चाहिए, वे सब काम नहीं होते हैं। मणिपुर और उत्तर-पूर्व के इलाके ऐसे हैं जहां, खास कर मणिपुर में, फुल इम्प्लायमेंट की नीति चला सकते हैं, जहां इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर बढ़ाने की गुंजाइश है। सड़कों के बारे में यहां कहा गया, यातायात के बारे में, और भी उद्योगों के बारे में इतने काम हैं जिसमें आपको इंटेंसिव कैपिटल की जरूरत पड़ी है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आपको याद होगा कि जयप्रकाश कमेटी ने सुझाव दिया कि

कुछ ऐसे अविकसित इलाके हैं जैसे मणिपुर है जहाँ हम फुल इम्प्लायमेंट की नीति, माँजूदा ढांचे में, मज से चला सकते हैं, कोई बड़ा परिवर्तन नहीं करना है जहाँ तक मणिपुर एरिया का संबंध है। परन्तु आर्थिक विकास वहाँ पर नहीं हो रहा है। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि वहाँ की दशा और बिगड़ती जा रही है। राजनैतिक तौर पर भी उपेक्षा हो रही है। यह जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया, जो दांव-पेच हो रहे हैं—असम्बली को सस्पेंड कर दिया है और जो कुछ और हो रहा है—यह अच्छी परंपरा वहाँ नहीं रखी जा रही है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि यह जो दृष्टिकोण है, 6 राज्यों में 2 गवर्नर, इसका मैं समर्थन नहीं करता हूँ। हर राज्य के लिए एक गवर्नर हो। इस में कंजूसी करने की जरूरत नहीं है। नतीजा इस से क्या होता है कि जितना अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए उन इलाकों पर उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है और परिस्थिति बिगड़ती ही जा रही है। यह भूचाल जो असम में आया उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, यह मत समझें वह हल हो गया है। वह जलजला कम है तो दूसरी जगहों में आने वाला है। असम हारबिजर है, वह आने वाली घटनाओं को बता रहा है—थिंग्स टु कम।

जहाँ तक इसके कल्चर की बात है, मणिपुर का कल्चर हमारे लिए गौरव की बात है। हिन्दुस्तान ही नहीं हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर भी मणिपुर नृत्य प्रसिद्ध है। जिस तरह से मयुरा आर्ट और गंधर्व आर्ट हमारे इतिहास में गौरव का विषय है वैसे ही मणिपुर नृत्य भी है। तो उनकी आइडेंटिटी भी मैनटेन हो, यह हम चाहते हैं। फूल सभी अच्छे लगता है जब हर पत्ते एक समान होते हुए भी भिन्न होते हैं, सबों को मिला कर फूल की शोभा बनती है। गुलदस्ते में हर तरह के फूल अच्छे लगते हैं। इसलिए उन राज्यों की जो अपनी खासियत है कल्चर की उसको

मैनटेन करना चाहिए। सरकार की गलत नीतियों से और खास कर योजनाओं के जरिए यह काम नहीं हो रहा है मेरा सुझाव है, जो कुछ भी आप करें योजना से करें। खास कर नार्थ ईस्टर्न रीजन में एक डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल आप बनाएं और उसके जरिए विशेष रूप से आर्थिक विकास की ओर ध्यान दें और अनुइम्प्लायमेंट दूर करें। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, झूम कल्टिवेशन असम में होता है, वह झूम कल्टिवेशन हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिटी कल्टिवेशन की एक परंपरा है। आने वाले दिनों में, समाजवादी युग में, आप को वही व्यवस्था करनी होगी सारे देश में। वह हमारा आदर्श हो। इसीलिए एक डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल उस के लिए बना दें और उस पर ज्यादा ध्यान दें, खास कर पैसे की दृष्टि से वहाँ की आर्थिक समस्याओं पर विशेष ध्यान दें।

इस परिस्थिति में आप राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू कर देते हैं, दांवपेच कर रहे हैं, गवर्नर का पद कर सुना दिया कि खरीद रहा है। ये बातें, ये परम्पराये अच्छी नहीं हैं। जो प्रोक्लेमेशन है उसका मैं विरोध करता हूँ—एप्रोप्रिएशन का जो बिल है उस के सम्बन्ध में भी यही बात है। जो सुझाव मैंने दिये हैं उनको आप रखें तो समर्थन मिल सकता है। इतना ही मुझे कहना है। आप का बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:

Sir, I am thankful to all the 12 Members who have participated in the debate. Most of the Members have touched the development aspect. I am very happy about it. But some of the Members have tried to touch the political aspect of it. Sir, some hon. Members have quoted the report of the Governor, but they have not quoted it fully. They have quoted it out of context and they have quoted only the portions which suit them. Sir, the Governor has given several arguments, for and against.



[Shri Yogendra Makwana]

He has weighed both sides and then he has arrived at the conclusion that it will be desirable to keep the Assembly in suspended animation. It is in his own wisdom that he reported that he is satisfied and the President has taken note of it and he has announced this proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution.

Sir, some of the Members have said that the north-eastern region is neglected and that there is a feeling among the people that they are totally neglected. Sir after the taking over by the Congress Government, two committees were established for the economic development of the entire north-eastern region; one is at the officers level and the other is on the Ministers level. Both the committees are working simultaneously and many projects are now planned for this region. But before I go to that aspect, the hon. Member Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and others have said that President's rule should not be imposed and the Opposition should be given a chance to form the Government, that is, the Progressive Democratic Front. Sir, if you look to the history of Manipur State, there was President's rule twice in that region, during 1972-73 and 1977-79 because of political instability and robbing of the floor by the members. In the present Assembly itself, if we examine the position, 24 members crossed the floor one, five members crossed the floor twice, five crossed the floor thrice, three crossed the floor four times and two members did it five times. Only 20 members were there who had not so far defected and remained in the same party. This is the history of the State. And because there has been large-scale defection at one point or the other, the Governor thought that it would be desirable to keep the Assembly in suspended animation for some time so that he can know whether there will be a stable Government or not.

Sir, now I will come to the economic aspect which most of the Members have touched upon . . .

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): Will the hon. Minister please tell us how this epidemic of defections spread from Haryana to Manipur?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: The hon. Member knows that it started in 1977 . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): We have had enough discussion in general. We will discuss it some other time in an appropriate manner.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: So I come to the development aspect. Some Members said that there is a large irrigation potential there but it is neglected. Sir, there are several projects taken up for irrigation. One is the Singda dam multi-purpose project. Its estimated cost is Rs. 7.93 crores and it will benefit 4,000 hectares. Another is the much-discussed project, the Loktak lift irrigation project. Its estimated cost is Rs. 16.21 crores.

Some of this project work has already started and during 1980-81 it will irrigate 5000 hectares. The total targeted is 30000 hectares. The third is Taubal multi-purpose project, estimate to cost Rs. 47.25 crores. And when completed in 1985 it will irrigate 34000 hectares. In addition, there are three medium schemes: Imphal, Kampum and Saikami which are on-going schemes scheduled to be completed by 1985. These will irrigate 15000 hectares. Three more projects, Uga, Iril and Chagpi are being taken up during the Sixth Plan and when completed, will also irrigate 53000 hectares.

In regard to industry, many Members have said that there is no industry in the region, that the region is totally neglected. Two medium industrial projects, starch, glucose and sugar distillery plants are being taken

up. A spinning mill with a capacity of 25,250 spindles has already been commissioned partially and nearly 6500 spindles, working since November 1980. A mini-cement factory with 100 tonnes per day capacity is being set up in the eastern district, Ukhmal. Members have said that there is no provision for drinking water. Particularly Mr. Goswami referred to it. There are 1280 problem villages and they are located at different places having a population of 7.1 lakhs. For rural water supply there is a scheme and the scheme will be completed by 1980. There are 155, villages with a population of approximately 1.35 lakhs. These villages will be provided with water supply facilities during 1980-81. Another 139 villages with a population of 1.05 lakhs will get water by 1981-82. There are, therefore, several schemes for that. It is not proper to say that the entire area is neglected. One honourable Member pointed out that there are no roads and that the Government has not taken any care to develop roads in this area resulting in the blocking of the economic development of this area. So far as roads are concerned, during the period 1978-80 surfaced roads in kilometres: 1433; anticipated during 1980-81 1508; in 1980-82 1645; unsurfaced in 1979-80 1700 kilometres, anticipated in 1980-81 1794, and projected for 1981-82 1979 . . .

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** मेरा प्वाइंट आफ ऑर्डर है। जब इस सेंसिटिव एरिया के बारे में आप बोलते हैं और आंकड़े दे कर जस्टीफाई करते हैं तो मैं आप के माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि 1857 में हिन्दुस्तान में जो परिस्थिति थी उस में और 1947 की परिस्थिति में कोई परिवर्तन हुआ या नहीं, दोनों वक्त अंग्रेजी राज था। तो आखिर आप इन आंकड़ों से क्या साबित करना चाहते हैं? यह देश के विकास का ओल्ड दृष्टिकोण है स्टैटिस्टिक्स टाइप्ड। तो आप बतलाये कि क्या क्वालिटेटिव परिवर्तन वहां हुआ है?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** There is no point of order in this. It is up to the Minister to reply in any manner he likes.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** So far as the raising of employment for the educated unemployed is concerned, there is a scheme with Rs. 95 lakhs outlay. It is to be implemented during 1980-81. Several schemes like starting of industries, poultry estates, social forestry, mushroom cultivation, consumer departmental stores, setting up of workshops, etc. and training programmes are taken up under this scheme.

Some Members pointed out about foreign missionary. I enquired and I can say that there is no foreign missionary working in this area.

One hon. Member has requested for inclusion of Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule. It is not necessary that a language should be included in the Eighth Schedule for its development. Without inclusion in the Eighth Schedule the language can be developed and the Government has taken all necessary steps for the development of the Manipuri language.

**SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI:** What is the bar for including it?

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** All the Communist Members were apprehensive about toppling of the West Bengal Government. It is not a point to be discussed during this debate. When they have touched upon this point, I can assure the hon. Members and this House that the Prime Minister has time and again said that we are not for toppling any Government.—be it West Bengal, Kerala or Tamil Nadu.

One hon. Member spoke about the statement of the Chief Minister of Nagaland. I can only say that it is a mischievous statement and it is highly condemnable. All I can say that it is far from truth. The Congress Party has never tried to purchase MLAs.

With these words, I request the hon. House to pass the Resolution which I have moved.

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA:  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Your task has been lightened by the Home Minister.

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA:  
Yes. Still I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude towards the hon. Members who have participated in the discussion, though I find that most of them have come and spoken and have gone. It is my duty to express my gratitude to them for giving their valuable suggestions.

I know that my esteemed friend, Mr. Makwana, has covered the political aspects arising out of the discussion as well as some of the economic aspects. I will not repeat whatever he has said. I find there are some points regarding which I must place the true position before the House.

The present Central Government is very much conscious of the feelings, sentiments and requirements of not only Manipur, but the whole of the North Eastern region of our country. In brief, I will like to mention a few relevant points.

Dr. Bhai Mahavir is not here. He said that the per capita income of Manipur is half of the national average of national income. This is not the correct position. The per capita income according to the 1975-76 price is 969 for the rest of India while the figure for Manipur is 904. This is the true position. As regards development of tribal area, I want to place one fact before this hon. House, namely, that in order to improve the position of Manipur, per capita Central assistance during the sixth plan

period of 1980-85 is 2,241 as against the all India average of 258. This is the true position.

7 P.M.

A few figures more and I will conclude. The approved Plan outlay for the Sixth Five Year Plan, that is, for 1980-85, is of the order of Rs. 240 crores. The outlay for the Sixth Plan is being met almost entirely from the Central assistance. The Annual Plan for 1980-81 provides for an outlay of Rs. 41.85 crores including a Central assistance of Rs. 36.75 crores. For 1981-82, the Plan outlay will be of the order of Rs. 43 crores which will be fully met from the Central assistance. The major outlays are as follows:

Agriculture and allied services including irrigation	Rs. 8.38 crore
Irrigation and flood control and power	10.60 "
Transport and communication	6.75 "
Sewerage and water supply	6.50 "
Education	3.14 "
Industry and minerals	2.65 "
Medical and public health	1.55 "

In addition, certain schemes, as has been mentioned by my friend, Shri Makwana, are also being implemented through the North-Eastern Council. The Central assistance for such schemes during 1981-82 will be of the order of Rs. 2.36 crores.

In the First Plan, Sir, it was of the order of Rs. 155 crores and now it is Rs. 240 crores in the revised Plan. Sir, I do not want to take more time of the House. I am thankful to the honourable Members and I commend that the Bill be taken into consideration.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I will first put the Resolution to vote.

The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 28th February, 1981, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Manipur."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, I will put the Manipur Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1981, to vote.

The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Manipur for the services of a part of the financial year 1981-82, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): We shall now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, I will put the Manipur Appropriation Bill, 1981, to vote.

The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Manipur, for the services of the financial year 1980-81, as passed by

the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): We shall now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted. . . . .*

# **MOTION FOR ANNULMENT OF THE NATIONAL HIGHWAYS (FEES FOR USE OF PERMANENT BRIDGES) AMENDMENT RULES, 1980.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now we take up the next item. Mr. Bhandari is not there. Mr. Khandelwal.

SHRI PYARELAL KHANDELWAL (Madhya Pradesh): I move.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please move and speak. But be brief considering the lateness of the hour.

श्री प्यारेलाल खंडेलवाल : श्रीमन, मैं यह प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करता हूँ कि "यह सभा संकल्प करती है कि राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग अधिनियम, 1956 की धारा 9 की उपधारा (3) के अन्वय में दिनांक 5 जनवरी, 1981 के भारत के राजपत्र में अधिसूचना कां० आ० सं० 11 (अ) द्वारा प्रकाशित किये गये तथा