

**THE MANIPUR STATE LEGISLATURE
(DELEGATION OF POWERS)
BILL, 1973**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Pant.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE (Uttar Pradesh): I have no objection if you take this up but it is already 5.30.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We usually sit up to six.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: But sometimes we also sit up to 7.30.

SOMF HON. MEMBERS: Let us finish this.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT): Sir, I move—

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Manipur to make laws, be taken into consideration."

The question was proposed.

श्री नवल किशोर: उप सभापति जी, इस विधेयक को बहुत ही नान-सीरियली यानी हल्के तरीके से पंत जी ने मुँव किया। यह बात सही है कि जब उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध में कोई भाषण नहीं दिया, कुछ बतलाया नहीं, तो फिर इस बारे में ज्यादा कहना नहीं है। श्रीमान्, मैं आपका थोड़ा समय लूँगा और यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दो ढाई महीने के अन्दर यह तीसरी स्टेट है जहाँ पर पंत जी ने राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू किया है। मैं सब से पहले बिल में जो स्टेटमेंट आफ् आन्जैक्टम् एण्ड रीजन्स दिया हुआ है उसके सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ और उस चीज को आपकी आज्ञा से पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ।

"Under the Proclamation issued by the President on the 28th March, 1973, the powers of the Legislature of the State of Manipur are now exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament."

यह सही है। फिर लिखा है कि

"Such legislative measures as may be necessary for that State can be taken up by Parliament only by postponing its business; and even then, it is likely that Parliament may not have time to deal with all the legislative measures for the State. It is, therefore, proposed that Parliament should, in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (a) of clause (1) of article 357 of the Constitution, confer by law on the President the powers of the Legislature of the State of Manipur to make laws for the State."

श्रीमान्, मैं बड़े अदब में कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंत जी जब आइन्दा इस तरह का विधेयक लागू तो उसके एम्स एण्ड आन्जैक्टम् में से इस बात को निकाल दें। एक तरफ़ ये कन्डीशन है इस तरह की बड़ा राष्ट्रपति शासन हो जब राष्ट्रपति शासन हो जाता है और पापुलर गवर्नमेंट मर जाती है तब ये कहने हैं कि पार्लियामेंट के पास बक्त नहीं है और जब पार्लियामेंट के पास बक्त नहीं है तो प्रेसिडेंट को पावर दे दीजिए और प्रेसिडेंट को पावर देने का मतलब है कि पंत जी को पावर दे दीजिए कि जो चाहे कानून बनाएँ। मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में एक शिकायत है पंत जी से—वे बहुत अच्छी बात करत हैं, मीठी बात करत हैं—यह जो मनीपुर की स्टेट थी, नई स्टेट बनी थी, अच्छा होता अगर वहाँ पर रूलिंग कांग्रेस या शासक दल थोड़ी पेशेन्स, थोड़ी टालरेस दिखाता। इन्होंने जानबूझ कर वह डिफेक्शन्स को प्रोत्साहित किया इस नीयत से कि उनकी पार्टी की गवर्नमेंट बन जाये। यह चाज मेरा नहीं है, यह चाज बड़ा के मुख्य मंत्री का है। जब डिफेक्शन्स हो गए तो मैं जरूर इस बात की बधाई देता हूँ वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री का और गवर्नर को कि उन्होंने कांस्टीट्यूशन की स्पिरिट को मानते हुए फौरन अमेम्बली को बुलाया, जो उड़ीसा में नहीं हुआ, और असेम्बली को बुलाने के बाद चीफ मिनिस्टर का बहुमत नहीं रहा वह माइनरिटी में आ गया।

[श्री नवल किशोर]

इसके माने यह है कि जो शासकीय काग्रेस थी या जो अपोजीशन में थी उसकी मेजारिटी हो गई। जब मेजारिटी हो गई तो सरकार उनको बनानी चाहिए थी, लेकिन सरकार इसलिए नहीं बनाई क्योंकि उड़ीसा में दूसरी माइड का बहुमत होने के बावजूद इन्होंने असेम्बली को डिमाल्व कर दिया था। इसलिए उड़ीसा की बात को कायम रखने के लिए जानबूझकर मेजारिटी होते हुए भी इन्होंने सरकार नहीं बनाई। तो मुझको जो शिकायत उड़ीसा के बारे में थी वही शिकायत मुझको मनीपुर के बारे में है।

आखिरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ कन्वीनियन्ट होता है वहाँ आप गवर्नर की बात मान लेते हैं और जहाँ कन्वीनियन्ट नहीं होता वहाँ गवर्नर की बात नहीं मानते। कोई कन्वेन्शन नहीं है, इस तरह की और कोई ट्रेडिशन नहीं है।

श्री गणेशी सोल चौधरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) डबल स्टैंडर्ड हैं।

श्री नवल किशोर: पीछे से चौधरी साहब ने ठीक कहा कि डबल स्टैंडर्ड है।

श्री रणवीर सिंह: क्या बात कर रहे हो?

श्री नवल किशोर: चौधरी यह हरियाणा की बात नहीं है मनीपुर की बात है।

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा): समझ की बात करो।

श्री नवल किशोर: समझ में तो चौधरी साहब आपका कोई वास्ता नहीं है। मैं पन्त जी से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर उन्होंने गवर्नर की बात क्यों नहीं मानी? सिर्फ इसलिए नहीं मानी कि जो गलती उड़ीसा में हुई थी उस गलती को निभाना था, इसलिए आपने उसको नहीं माना। आपने जब एक गुनाह कर लिया तो उसके पोस्ट-मार्टम से क्या फायदा। अब हमको निभाना पड़ेगा और जब निभाना पड़ेगा तो इस विधेयक को पास भी करना पड़ेगा।

SHRI SALAM TOMBI (Manipur): Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, whether we like it or not we have to welcome the Manipur State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1973. At the outset we welcome the action of the Government of India because it is good not to allow any Government formed with defectors. The Assembly had been dissolved since the 28th March, 1973. There is a vacuum which has to be filled up. It is a necessity that the President should have power to make laws. It is a 'must'. There is no way out, whether we like it or not. I should like to make the following submission. The time of the President's rule should be the minimum possible, as it is a negation of democracy. The elected representatives of the people of Manipur are the fittest to make laws for the welfare of Manipur. President's rule will be a poor substitute. An early mid-term election is the only solution. In a small State like Manipur, the Consultative Committee may be of 5 Members, three from the Lok Sabha and two from the Rajya Sabha instead of 15. Lastly, I would like to request the Government of India to see that the people of Manipur may have a fair deal in food supply from the Centre. Manipur is a bottle-necked area and rice is selling at the highest price. People are suffering like anything. We have got no other work. The only source of livelihood is cultivation. When there is no harvest or when there is drought, then people are suffering like anything. We have got no factories also. So there is no other alternative of livelihood for them. The Government of India should know that Manipur is known for rice agitation since the British times—rice agitation.

To this another calamity has set in, water scarcity. Now, water is distributed by the CRP men. Government servants and many other people come into the picture. The Government of India should take special care to see that there is no further deterioration in food supply and water supply during the period of the President's rule in Manipur.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal) We are discussing here the Bill to confer the power of the Legislature of the State of Manipur on the President to make laws in consultation with a Committee of both Houses. At the fag end of the sitting, for the Minister to bring forward this Bill without even a speech, I think this has been considered very lightly. This Bill should be given sufficient importance, not as Manipur, but as a territorial unit now a state of the Indian Union.

Sir, I have got some observations to make for the Government to consider. I hope that a proper atmosphere will be created during the President's rule and some basic ground work would be done for a new social outlook and a political system in Manipur for its future growth and integrated development with social justice under a stable Government.

Formerly, Manipur was ruled by a king. After independence, when the party system came in democracy, groups, persons of vested class outlook, took advantage of the backwardness, sensitiveness and other difficult human problems in the life of Manipuris to secure their own class or individual interest. So chaos was created, anarchy was dominant in the situation. I think the Indian Government also did nothing to unite the people for the upliftment of the Manipuri people and for their social development. So, it was very easy for these reactionary persons to exploit the sensitiveness, the varying human problems and the very poor conditions of the working people of Manipur to have their own domination in Manipur by having a sort of defections.

The importance of Manipur is also very great. It is on our international border. But it is very much faction-ridden by the disintegrationists and other subversive elements who always seek help outside India. This sort of a troubled situation was wanted by some top bureaucrats there at Manipur as well as at Delhi.

Manipur is a land of rich heritage and glorious traditions of folk art and cultural achievements, which is a very significant factor in Indian culture. This aspect of Manipur's life should be nourished properly to create a healthy atmosphere of solidarity, which is not present there.

After the last elections, the Manipur State functioned with a Government of defectors from the very start. It is a very small State with a population of nearly 11 lakhs, it was infested and infected with political blot of non-ideological defectors. The people there wanted a stable Government. It is natural that they will want a stable Government for their own growth and development. But a instability was the aim of the defectors. People there wanted a stable Government but instability was the business of defectors. In this situation though the number of defectors may be very small in strength they could topple the Government for personal gain. Similar instances are there of Orissa and Andhra. If defection for personal interest is encouraged it acts as a boomerang. We have bitter experience of this stigma and disgrace in our national and political system. This should be removed by all political parties with all sincerity taking it as a common menace to our national growth and social advancement.

Sir, defection for broader ideological programme can take place. This would help polarisation.

Sir, Manipur is a small State with over a million population. It is a very backward State. It has got a population of nearly 11 lakhs. Its 9,31,000 people are agriculturists out of which 3,33,000 are rural workers and 38,000 are urban workers only. During the last 25 years the expectation of the Manipur people has been belied. The human problem of Manipur should have been taken into consideration to create a new political system in Manipur in accordance with the natural expectation of our national planning.

[Shri Sanat Kumar Raha.]

One-third of the Manipur population is tribal with all sensitiveness. There are divisions and sub-divisions amongst them. There are parties like integrationists and disintegrationists, parties like the Congress, the C.P.I., the Manipur People's Party, the U.L.P. etc. All these parties are so small in so small a State that one or two defections can decide the fate of Manipur. This cannot be tolerated. A broad, integrated democratic platform of people for their growth and advance can only help Manipur in this situation. The Presidential Rule will be judged and assessed on the basis of achievement towards this end of integrated solidarity of working people.

In this connection I would urge upon the Government to come forward with the proposed Anti-defection Bill as quickly as possible. This will help the process in the Manipur politics.

Sir, I would suggest some constructive proposals for the Consultative Committee under the President's Rule.

(1) The resources of Manipur both in hills and in plains should be fully tapped and utilised.

(2) Manipur should be developed as one of the selected beautiful spots for tourism which can earn foreign exchange which is so valuable to our nation.

(3) Railway infrastructure and other communication should be developed for development of integrationist idea and industry, commerce and trade.

(4) 'Inner-line' permit system should be relaxed for tourists. The town of Imphal should be expanded and developed.

(5) Industries like cement, paper-pulp, spinning, handicraft, silk, tasar, sericulture should be taken up for the development of Manipur as quickly as possible.

Manipur, now a State, should not be considered as a second class State. It should be taken as a new State, a growing State, and should be handled by the Centre accordingly.

Irrigation and vast electrification works should be started immediately. The working people should be organised for developmental works in Manipur at all levels.

For long, long years Manipur was a Union Territory. For more than two and a half years it was under President's rule. Again after a year of corrupt regime, it is under President's rule. The people of Manipur are extremely disgruntled with President's rule. This rule should be as short as possible and some basic work should be done for a stable Government free from any defections for petty ends and corruption as far as possible.

Lastly, Sir, from the papers I come to know some facts about Manipur. I want the Minister to go into them. I would like to know whether it is a fact that there is a real generation gap in Manipur, with the younger people completely frustrated and aggressively angry over the actions of their elders as well as the actions from the Centre. If so, the Union Government should grasp the real situation in Manipur. This younger generation nourishes the hope and expectation that they will build their State themselves. They are fed up with President's rule which has failed to attract them because the top bureaucracy in Delhi with the local bureaucracy in Manipur has dragged the situation to such an extent that some youngsters have even gone to the extent of organising a so-called revolutionary government cut off from India. The Government of India has failed to give a correct lead in this dangerous situation. When the Government appoints an Adviser to the Governor, I would suggest that all these sensitive and human problems of Manipur should be tackled. All these factors of "disintegrationism" should also be taken into serious consideration. Manipur today is a centre of black money

surely not of the monopolists of India only, it is also a centre of the new bureaucratic capital which is growing in Manipur. This should also be taken into consideration by the Government.

SHRI K. C. PANT Sir, when I moved the motion for taking the Bill into consideration I did not make a speech because many hon. friends said that I should not make a speech in order to save the time of the House. Secondly, I know that the hon. friends who spoke are so well-versed in what follows President's rule that they know the contents of this Bill without my having to spell them out. So I was not non-serious when I did not make a speech, I was only considerate.

Sir, President's rule had to be imposed in Manipur. I think Shri Salam Tombi, who is perhaps amongst us most familiar with the political situation in Manipur, knows fully well that so far as the Centre is concerned, it was keen that the popular Government in Manipur should continue and in the course of several months when ever there were discussions between the Manipur Government, the Government in which his party had a large share and the Central Government we always co-operated with the popular Government there.

And I would even go further and say that when we heard that attempts were being made to bring down the popular Government, we tried to prevent that Government from falling in our own way. And therefore it is not a happy occasion for me to come before the House in connection with a Bill relating to the imposition of President's rule in Manipur. I would much rather have seen the popular Government continue, particularly because I am aware of the fact that Manipur has been under President's rule for long stretches of time in the past and I can well understand the feelings of the people of Manipur who would prefer to have a popular Government. The Centre would certainly agree with that feeling; support that feeling; agree with the assess-

ment and would have preferred it. But it is not quite right of Nawal Kishoreji to say that President's rule had to be imposed in Manipur mainly to justify what happened in Orissa. I would rather say because he had no argument . . .

श्री नवल किशोर अमन मे सही बात तो यही है।

श्री के. सी. पन्त वैश जा बान आप चाह कह दीजिए लेकिन आपका पास कोई दलील नहीं थी तो आप उड़ीसा का न आये, यह भी सही बात है। आप देख ल कि जब एक मिचुएशन में जहाँ कि वायस की सरकार बन सकती थी उनका नहीं बना दिया तो ऐसे में बजाय—कुछ तारीफ करने की तो मैं नहीं कहूँगा लेकिन—उसका समर्थन करने के आपन उड़ीसा की दलील दी, वह महज दर्शाना था कि कुछ आलोचना करना था बना में जानना है कि दिल में समझते होंगे कि काम अच्छा किया है।

श्री नवल किशोर वही ठीक बात है।

श्री मनोशो लाल चौधरी नवल किशोर जी का दिल आप अच्छा पढ़ें नैन है।

SHRI K. C. PANT The other point he raised was that we did not always follow the Governor's advice and whether there was any convention in this regard. Normally we do accept the Governor's advice or the Governor's recommendation. But the Central Government does take the final decision in these matters and therefore we take the full responsibility for whatever we decide. It is in that light that yesterday in the other House also I referred to this matter because the Governors are coming perhaps for more criticism than they deserve, because the final decision is taken by us and we come to Parliament and Parliament has the final say in the matter. Shri Salam Tombi said that President's rule was a poor substitute for popular rule. I agree with him. But he himself stated that we did well not to allow a popular Government

[Shri K. C. Pant]

to be formed. This is somewhat contradictory. If he wanted popular rule and if his party wanted popular rule, then they could have advised us to allow a new Government to be formed. He is for popular rule but against popular rule by a party other than his own. This is not a consistent policy.

SHRI SALAM TOMBI Popular rule not with defectors.

SHRI K. C. PANT : That is what I say. If it is your Government, you say popular rule. If it is a Government by an other party, you say it is not. You have to be consistent in your approach. If you say they are defectors, how did they defect? They defected because you could not hold them together. In what ever way you look at it, I am afraid, the responsibility for President's rule you must accept. As I said, if anything, we reluctantly imposed President's rule under the circumstances prevailing there . . .

6 P.M.

श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) श्रीमन् एक प्रश्न मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ। क्योंकि मणिपुर में प्रेसिडेंट रूल डिफेक्शन की वजह से हुआ और कई दफा आप घोषणा भी कर चुके हैं कि एंटी डिफेक्शन बिल हम ला रहे हैं तो पार्लियामेंट का सेशन अब खत्म हो रहा है क्या अब लायेंगे या उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनाव देखने के बाद में आप एंटी डिफेक्शन बिल लायेंगे।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : आपको घबड़ाहट है क्या ?

श्री बनारसी दास घबड़ाहट आपकी बात से होती है। आपको अगर यकीन होता तो यह बिल पास हो जाता लेकिन पास नहीं किया ताकि गुजराईश फिर भी डिफेक्शन की हो।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : तो डिफेक्शन की आपकी घबड़ाहट है, यही तो मैंने पूछा।

श्री बनारसी दास : मैं तो डिफेक्शन को कट्टरी की पोलिटिक्स में एक कोढ़ समझता हूँ। चूँकि आपकी ओर से यहाँ कहा गया कि मणिपुर

में जा घटना हुई है वह डिफेक्शन की वजह से हुई—उड़ीसा में भी हुआ—ता क्या आपका इरादा है एंटी डिफेक्शन बिल लाने का ? बार-बार यह वायदा आप कर चुके हैं।

श्री के० सी० पन्त हमारा इरादा है उसको लाने का और जहाँ तक हो सके इसी मसल में लाने का है, मगर आपने चूँकि उत्तर प्रदेश की चर्चा की इसलिए मैंने पूछा कि घबड़ाहट की बात तो नहीं है।

श्री बनारसी दास घबड़ाहट तो आपको हाँ सकती है। हम तो अपोजीशन में हैं।

SHRI K. C. PANT : Shri Salam Tombi suggested that the Committee should consist of 5 members and not fifteen. I would request him to consider that this is a Committee of Parliament and it would not be correct for only Manipur members to be on it, but members from other parts of the country also should be on this Committee because they are as interested in the welfare of Manipur as the members from Manipur themselves. This is our uniform approach in the matter of constituting Consultative Committees for States which come under President's Rule.

SHRI SALAM TOMBI Manipur is a small State. It has got only three members—two in the Lok Sabha and one in Rajya Sabha.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Therefore, it is a small Consultative Committee of 15 members. Other Consultative Committees have 40 and sometimes 60 members. So, this is a deliberately small Consultative Committee, but it cannot be confined only to members from that State.

He talked of food supply and water scarcity. These are realities and I know that so far as food production is concerned, last year the kharif crop suffered rather badly—almost 50 per cent—because rains failed. During January to March also rainfall has been poor with the result that drought conditions of 1972-73 are

threatening new crop season for 1973-74. We are aware of this and we shall do whatever is necessary in this regard.

Scarcity of water is also there particularly in the hills and also in the plain. There has been failure of rains for almost one year. I know that water is being tapped from rivers in Imphal and Nampul. Drinking water is also a problem. I am aware of the facts. Unfortunately drought is such that I cannot give a ready answer. I can only hope that apart from all these measures, we will try to tap all resources available and we shall have to see whether we can supply rigs or there is any possibility of increasing water supply.

It is a question of drinking water, not only irrigation water.

Manipur is a border State. It is a sensitive area. It is a beautiful area.

AN HON MEMBER: And a tourist area.

SHRI K C PANT: It is not a tourist area. Shri Raha suggested that tourism should be developed there. It is true that tourism should be developed, and yet sometimes security reasons come in the way of our allowing very free traffic of foreigners in that area. But we are considering this matter. We have to take into account the security aspects as well as the benefits from tourism and balance the two. But economic development of Manipur is a must and we have been taking a lot of interest in the development of Manipur and other areas of North Eastern India. This is the main thrust of the North Eastern Council and the main object of the North Eastern Council.

It will see to it that during the Fifth Plan period steps are taken for the integrated growth of the whole region and funds will be provided by the Centre for

this purpose and I hope during the President's rule we shall be able to give an impetus to this growth particularly through the instrumentality of the North-Eastern Council.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: What about communications and railways?

SHRI K C PANT: Communications are important. Whether the railways are possible in Manipur or not is a thing to be considered. Sir, this covers most of the points that have been made.

Then, Sir, regarding the elections, all I can say is that a certain process has to be gone through after every census and now that we have the results of the census with us. There will have to be delimitation of the constituencies and so on and preparation and printing of the electoral rolls and all these things take time. While we would like to have early elections, I am afraid a certain minimum period has to elapse to allow all these and other preparatory steps to be taken. So, Sir, I cannot hold out any promise for a very early poll.

Lastly, Sir, Shri Raha referred to the younger generation and the generation gap which led to some secessionist movement amongst the young people. I do not want to talk of the generation gap that is a world wide phenomenon and it relates to something which is differently understood. In this context, secession cannot be justified as a part of the generation gap. Certain young people might have been misled and I think no attempt should be made to call it by a name which makes it respectable. I can only hope that these young persons will continue as they have been doing in the past few months to give up the futile path that they have been following earlier and I am happy to see that in the last so many months there has been very little activity on the part of any secessionist group in Manipur. This has been one of the happy features of the popular rule and I hope that this will

[SHRI K. C. PANT]

continue and wherever it is necessary to continue or establish a dialogue with these young men, whether it is the Manipur Peoples Party whether it is the CPI or whether it is the Congress or any other party all of us have to tackle this problem as a national issue although it looks small and it is rather small in its dimensions. But even those small dimensions have shrunk in the last few months and today, the problem hardly exists. I think it is necessary to see that economic development is carried out apace and there is full understanding among the young people of Manipur of what is happening in the rest of the country, of what the ideals of the country are, of the direction in which we are moving of how we are seeking to bring about socio-economic change and give a better life to the millions of our country and so on. We have to bring them to the mainstream and that is the surest guarantee of seeing that any wrong ideas that might have been planted in their minds at some stage by some elements, about whom I will not speak much at this time, are completely eliminated from their minds and they can participate fully in the development of Manipur and the country.

Sir, with these words, I once again commend the Bill to the House.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA Sir, I want to know whether the Defections Bill is coming up before the elections there.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN He has already said about it. He has already said that they are introducing it shortly.

SHRI K. C. PANT I thought you understood that much of Hindi. I said it in Hindi. I said that we would try to do it during this Session itself. What I said in Hindi probably escaped your attention.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The question is

‘That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Manipur to make laws be taken into consideration’

The motion was adopted

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

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

SHRI K. C. PANT Sir, I move:

‘That the Bill be passed’

The question was put and the motion was adopted

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at eleven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 9th May, 1973.