

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Sir, you have to take note of this that the Attorney-General suggested that ten days should be provided.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do you expect a decision from me ?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : We expect a direction from you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, the Government has listened to everything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Listened to what ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Government will consider it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Under the rules I beg of you...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Government should seriously consider it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Government will consider it. Do you think that when three of you are standing up, the Government will not consider it seriously ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no. I request you, Sir. Apart from being the Chairman and a jurist, I am sure you have got the point much more effectively than we have made it. One thing is quite clear. We have brought to the notice of the House something on the basis of what the Government itself has said before the Supreme Court through its Attorney General.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are repeating, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. I think this is enough. I cannot give any direction like this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You condemn it I beg of you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not saying anything. I cannot do that.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : One thing is very clear. The statement that has been made in the Court is that a law is going to be passed. Let the Government at least admit or deny that they have an intention of bringing that law in Parliament. How does the Attorney-General know that Parliament is going to pass the law ? Let them at least say something.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN (Tamil Nadu) : That is the minimum which should be done.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do you wish to say anything.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT) : Sir, I have too much respect for the House to make any off-the-cuff statement on important issues. I had no notice and the full facts are not with me. I am sure everyone will appreciate that I cannot be expected to make any off-the-cuff statement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I agree, but let it be done before the House adjourns today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, the Resolution.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]  
**GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF MANIPUR**

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

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 28th March, 1973, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Manipur."

As the House would recall, following a vote of no confidence passed on the 24th September, 1969 against the Ministry led by Shri M. Koirang Singh, the former Union territory of Manipur was brought under the direct control of the President from the 16th October, 1969, as provided in the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963. This position continued till the 21st January, 1972 when the new State of Manipur was formed. Since the administration of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution until the General Elections were held and the Legislative Assembly came into being, the President issued a Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution and took over the administration of the State of Manipur from 21st January, 1972.

Following the General Elections held in March 1972, although no party emerged with a clear majority, a Ministry headed by Shri Alimuddin was formed on 20th March, 1972 under the aegis of 'United Legislature Party' which comprised the Manipur Peoples' Party, the Socialist Party, the United Naga Integration Committee, the Congress (O) and some independents.

The report of the Governor, Manipur, has already been laid on the Table of the House. The Governor has described at length the political events of the State which culminated in the need for the issue of Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution.

Given the circumstances that were obtaining in the State there was no alternative to a spell of President's rule in Manipur. The fact that the realities of the political situation were such that an alternative stable Government was not possible was accentuated by the budgetary dead-line. So, it was decided that recourse should be had to article 356. The next question that arose was whether the Legislative Assembly should be suspended or dissolved. The Governor did express the view that the Assembly should be kept suspended for the present. Such a view could, perhaps, be justified on the basis of a hope of the possibility of the political parties in Manipur sorting out, given some time, their own internal adjustments leading to an alternative Ministry. But the political background, set out in the Governor's own report, did not sustain such a hope. In fact, the Governor himself had not ruled out the possibility of his being compelled to recommend the dissolution of the Assembly and the holding of fresh elections.

On the positive side there were other valid reasons which argued in favour of the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly. It cannot be denied that any Government formed either by the Progressive Democratic Alliance or the United Legislature Party would be dependent on the support of a large number of defectors. As the Governor himself has pointed out there were several members in either group who had changed the party loyalties more than once. It is only reasonable to conclude

that a Government based on such undependable support can hardly provide a stable administration which is of paramount importance to this young State throbbing with aspirations and expectations. It is most unfortunate that ever since the State came into being there have been defections and re-defections. If this murky political situation is to be cleared, if the State is to devote itself single-mindedly to the tasks of social and economic advancement, it is of the utmost importance that the political parties should go back to the people and obtain an unequivocal mandate.

Sir, I have no doubt that this august House will fully appreciate the soundness and constitutional propriety of the course of action adopted in respect of the State of Manipur and wholeheartedly approved the Proclamation issued by the President on the 28th March, 1973.

*The question was proposed.*

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH** (West Bengal) Sir, I take this occasion again to ram home certain important things which are again and again coming up before the House, viz, the action of the Centre and the Governor. I would like to make the point again that the entire procedure, the entire behaviour of the Central Government is subversive of democracy. It is a fundamental fact of life that the States people have some elected bodies like the elected Assembly. So the pertinent question that arises is, whether that is the body which should decide on those questions of vital fundamental importance to the State or it is the Centre which just sees things differently according to its whims and fights for its interests. That is the moot question. If this is the way the Centre is behaving in regard to the States, than abolish the States of India, abolish the State Assemblies, set up a completely unitary government. You face the music. That can be understood. But this bluff, this hoax of having State Assemblies and State Governments and of the State people having the right to elect members and your denying them those rights, this is something extraordinary, something of duplicity, *par excellence*. If there is defection and re-

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

defection, let those parties, those members, discredit themselves by their behaviour as much as they like. It is left to them. And people have not forgotten it. And the Congress has masterminded defections from all parties except perhaps our party. They could not. From Cong(O), from the BKD, from the Muslim League and what not. So, let them not talk of defection and redefection and say that this Assembly cannot be expected to do anything. If the Assemblies cannot be expected to do anything, there should not be any State Assemblies anywhere in Indian, and you should rule from the Centre. In practice it has come to such a pass that the State Governments are some glorified municipal corporations, nothing more, nothing less. Even after there was defection and redefection, the Governor should have called the Assembly and the Assembly should have decided whether it can form the Government, a stable Government or an unstable Government, or whether the Assembly wants that there should be a fresh election and when to hold that election. All these questions should be decided by the State Assembly which is the elected body and not by the Governor who has been imposed by the grace of the Centre for running those offices which have no relationship with the Centre.

Whatever traditions we have developed we have inherited from the British Government. So these centres of nepotism, partisanship, political corruption and office of imposter should go, they should be abolished. Can anybody think that the King of England would decide whether Parliament can form a government or not, whether Parliament should be dissolved or not or whether the elections should be held or not? It is a wonderful thing. It is the Parliament or the parties that decide, and the King abides by their advice. That is the position. So I would like to say that Mr. B. K. Nehru particularly should be sacked. He has worked in a partisan manner and he has allowed the Assembly to be kept in suspense. Why? Does he hope that the Congress will be able to have some defections so that they will form a stable Ministry? After the fall

of the Alimuddin Ministry, if they had the majority, the Assembly should have been called and a coalition Ministry should have been formed immediately. I would have no objection even if the Congress then came to power. Now it is a partisan thing. It is the Assembly which should decide, not Mr. K. C. Pant, Mr. V. V. Giri or the Prime Minister and her Cabinet or the Governor. They should have no power to make a recommendation. The entire thing has become a slur on the democracy of India and it is time that a halt is called to such a thing. By your actions you are exposing yourself more and more to the people. Let the people see the thing in its true perspective so that you provoke a rebellion in the States. Let them feel that their sovereign and fundamental rights are taken away, smashed, usurped, trampled under foot, that they are nobody. I welcome it so that there is some time a rebellion from three, four, five or six States. Then you will face the music at the Centre.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): Sir, soon after Orissa we are now discussing about Manipur. Luckily the year is out today; otherwise we would have been discussing some more States. But we do not know what will happen when we come back after adjourning.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER :  
What about Kerala?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON :  
It is same thing everywhere. We are passing through a very dangerous period of governments getting dissolved and the President taking over the entire administration in the States. This is because we know there is a good deal of discontent among the people. They are not satisfied over the manner things are going on. The result is they want change.

Certain parties try to keep the *status quo* but they find it difficult. Then the other parties are trying to win over people by defections. Though we have been promised several times that this defection Bill would be brought forward but it was not done. Now there is the

gala day for everybody to go from party to party, to create maximum unrest in the State. This could have been very well avoided if we had taken certain steps earlier which was not done. Now at least the Central Government was clever enough to see that it did not accept the recommendations of the Governor. If it had done so, certainly the people would have come forward and said, "Here is a partisan stand which you have taken."

In Orissa when there was a sort of majority for the defectors, you were not prepared to accept a Government there. Now if you had accepted it here in Manipur, you would have been charged with having taken sides. You were clever enough in seeing that and you have escaped that criticism. I congratulate you on that political sense which you have. But the Governor should not have given such a report. The Governor has said that the Assembly could be kept in suspended animation so that you can have sufficient number of people on your side to form a Government. This suggestion for suspended animation was intended only to help certain parties to get the maximum support so that they could form their own Government. That is, to encourage defections, this would have been the best thing. I am sorry such a report should have been sent. It required immediate dissolution of the Assembly, if the situation was so bad. The people are tired of President's rule in Manipur. They had suffered even previously. The people are discontented, but then there was no other way for the Government. I congratulate the Government on having taken a very same step in this matter. But I am sorry that the Governor's report was really not very helpful. In such cases, the Governors should send very objective reports. What happened was, it was tried to help the Congress to get defectors, if there was a chance of keeping the House in suspended animation. Such a report is dangerous and such politically motivated reports should not be sent by the Governors. The Governors should give objective reports. They should see that no defection is allowed. If they find that defections are there, the best course would

be to recommend dissolution of the Assembly and not to wait for a better time to come so that the defectors can form a Government of their own. Such should be the stand. Directions or instructions to that effect to the Governors should be there, so that reports are sent in such a way. That is all I have to say.

**श्री मान सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**

उपसभापति जी, इस विधेयक पर मैं समझता हूँ बहुत सीमित वाग कहने की आवश्यकता है और मुझे भी संक्षेप में यह निवेदन करना है कि समय-समय पर इस प्रकार के प्रोक्लामेशनस इस सदन के समक्ष आते ही रहते हैं जिनके द्वारा राज्यों की विधान सभाएं भंग की जाती हैं तथा राष्ट्रपति शासन कहां पर स्थापित कर दिया जाता है।

श्रीमान्, हमारा एक बहुत बड़ा प्रजा-तांत्रिक राष्ट्र है, यदि मैं यह कहूं कि संसार में सब से बड़ा प्रजातांत्रिक राष्ट्र है, तो इसमें कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी, लेकिन यहां पर प्रजातंत्र की जड़े जितनी मजबूत हो जानी चाहिये थीं कि दूसरे देश वाले उसको मॉडल समझ सकें, ऐसा नहीं हो सका। इसलिए मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज तक हम स्वस्थ परम्पराएँ प्रजातंत्र के सामने नहीं ला सके और यही कारण है कि प्रजातंत्र का विकृत रूप आज हमारे ऊपर आ रहा है। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि समय-समय पर इतनी जल्दी विधान सभाओं को भंग करने की आवश्यकता क्यों पड़ती है? इसके सम्बन्ध में मेरे सभी मित्रों ने बातें कही हैं और इशारा किया है कि इसका सब से बड़ा कारण है दल-बदल। जहां-जहां पर भी, जिस प्रकार की आइसेस उत्पन्न हुई थी, वहां पर इसका आधार दल-बदल रहा है, मैं भी पांच वर्ष से यहां पर हूँ। पांच वर्ष से बराबर इस बात को सुन रहा हूँ कि इस दल-बदल की प्रक्रिया को रोकने के लिए सरकार विधेयक ला रही है, परन्तु वह विधेयक अभी तक सामने नहीं आया। जिस प्रकार का इलाज बताया जा रहा है दल-बदल को रोकने का मैं समझता हूँ कि वह स्वस्थता नहीं ला

## [श्री मान सिंह वर्मा]

सकेगा। जब तक दल-बदल के लिए व्यक्ति को अपना स्थान छाड़ना न पड़े तब तक यह दल-बदल कभी रुक नहीं सकता और जब तक (Interruptions) इसके प्रवर्तक आप हैं, आप तो बोलेंगे। तो, श्रीमन्, मैं यह कह रहा था कि जब तक दल-बदल बन्द नहीं होगा तब तक विधान सभाओं का इस प्रकार भग होना बन्द नहीं हो सकता और जब इस प्रकार विधान सभा भग होती रहेगी और राष्ट्रपति का शासन जल्दी-जल्दी कायम होता रहेगा तो आप स्वयं अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि यह किस प्रकार की डेमोक्रेसी होगी, किस प्रकार का प्रजातन्त्र होगा। तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा माननीय मंत्री जी से कि डिफेक्शन का बिल वे जल्दी से जल्दी लाने का प्रयत्न करें और इस क्लाइ को अवश्य डालें कि जो दल-बदल करेगा उसको त्यागपत्र देना होगा, अपनी सीट छोड़नी होगी।

अभी यह कहा गया कि राष्ट्रपति शासन हो गया तो जल्दी से जल्दी इलेक्शन कराना चाहिए। श्रीमन्, जिस प्रकार से इलेक्शन हमारे देश में हो रहे हैं विगत तीन-चार वर्ष से उनको देखते हुए—मुझे क्षमा करें—मैं पूछना चाहूंगा कि क्या इस प्रकार के चुनाव हमारे प्रजातन्त्र को सुन्दर बनाने में सहायक हैं? क्या हम कह सकते हैं कि जो इलेक्शन हो रहे हैं वे ठीक हो रहे हैं।

अभी सदन में इस बात की चर्चा हुई कि लोकसभा के किसी सदस्य ने यह कहा कि यह पर अपर हाउस में लोग बैक डोर से आते हैं, नाना प्रकार के भ्रष्टाचार के द्वारा आते हैं। उन्होंने क्या कहा क्या नहीं कहा, वह विषय माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय को सौंप दिया गया है कि वे उसे देखें, किन्तु मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो चुनाव जीतकर आते हैं क्या वे अपने हृदय पर हाथ रख कर कह सकते हैं कि वे भ्रष्टाचार से दूर हैं। चुनाव की प्रणाली इस प्रकार से दूषित हो गई है, इस प्रकार से भ्रष्ट हो गई है कि यदि इसी प्रकार से चलता

रहा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह समय दूर नहीं है जब प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को यह कहना पड़ेगा कि ऐसी डेमोक्रेसी की हमें आवश्यकता नहीं है। श्रीमन्, क चु व के ऊपर एक-एक करोड़ रुपया खर्च हो जाता है, नाना प्रकार की बातें की जाती हैं जो मानवीयता के विरुद्ध होती हैं, कहीं शराब का प्रयोग हो रहा है, कहीं रूप का प्रयोग हो रहा है, कहीं और प्रकार की बातें की जाती हैं। इस प्रकार की बातों को आधार बना कर एक आदमी चुन कर आता है और फिर कहता है कि मैं तो चुन कर आया हूँ। यही कारण है कि इलेक्शन कराने के बाद भी सरकार स्टेबिल रह जायगी स्थायी रह जायगी यह सम्भव नहीं हो पाता क्योंकि प्रजातन्त्र का जो वास्तविक रूप था, प्रजातांत्रिक चरित्र का बनाना, डेमोक्रेटिक करेक्टर का बनाना वह हम नहीं कर सकेंगे और इस में नहीं कर सके क्योंकि हमने उस प्रकार की स्वस्थ परम्परा अपने देश में नहीं डाली। आज एक साधारण व्यक्ति, जो समाज में उच्च चरित्रवान कहलाता है, जिसकी समाज में मान्यता है, जिधर वह जाता है लोग उसे पूजते हैं क्या ऐसा व्यक्ति बिना पैसे के चुनाव में विजयी होकर आ सकता है? नहीं हो सकता। यहाँ तो आयेगा जो तिकडमी होगा। तिकडमी होना चाहिए, पैसे वाला होना चाहिए किसी ऐसी सस्था के पास होना चाहिए जिसके पास करोड़ों रुपया है, जो हर प्रकार के साधन दे सकती है, तब जाकर वह दिन नसीब हो सकेगा कि वह पार्लियामेंट या ऐसेम्बली में जा सके। जब इस प्रकार की परंपरा हमारे देश में चल रही है तो क्या प्रजातन्त्र हमारे देश में जिन्दा रह जाएगा? उसका दूषित रूप जो हम आज देख रहे हैं वह जब हमारे सामने आयेगा तो वह तानाशाही की प्रवृत्तियाँ पैदा होगी, तब लोग परेशान होकर यह कहेंगे कि इस प्रकार का जो तन्त्र है वह ठीक नहीं है जहाँ भ्रष्टाचार, दुराचार, अनाचार दिन प्रतिदिन फैलते जा रहे हैं। जहाँ से डेमोक्रेसी का पहला कार्य शुरू होता है वही से भ्रष्टाचार शुरू हो जाता

है और अंत समय तक वह भ्रष्टाचार चलता रहता है। इस भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए, दल-बदल को रोकने के लिए, इस प्रकार से राष्ट्रपति का शापन बार-बार न लागू करना पड़े, विधान सभायें भंग न करनी पड़े, मैं समझता हूँ इस पर गंभीर चिन्तन की आवश्यकता है। मैं तो यह निवेदन करूंगा श्रीमन्, कि सरकार को और जितने भी हमारे देश के उच्च कोटि के विशिष्ट राजनीतिज्ञ हैं, नेता-गण हैं, सबको मिलकर, बैठकर इस पर चिन्तन करने की आवश्यकता है कि देश में हम अपने प्रजातंत्र को ठीक ढंग में, अच्छे रूप में किस प्रकार से चला सकते हैं। यदि वर्तमान प्रणाली चुनाव की ऐसी है जिसको बदलने की आवश्यकता है तो उसे बदलना चाहिए। हो सकता है अनेक इस प्रकार के सुझाव आ सकते हैं। केवल मिबल फाइट करे, किसी व्यक्ति को फाइट करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। चुनाव का सारा खर्चा सरकार की तरफ से हो सकता है, किसी पार्टी को चुनाव का खर्चा करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, एक ही प्लेटफार्म पर आकर अपनी-अपनी आइडियोलोजी के विषय में लोग बताये, इस प्रकार के अनेक सुझाव हो सकते हैं जिस से अनेक प्रकार की चुनाव प्रणालियाँ सामने आ सकती हैं और इस प्रकार से जनतंत्र हमारे देश में आ सकता है। मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

**SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, the President's Proclamation regarding the dissolution of the Assembly in Manipur is before us. It is really very surprising to note that State after State is coming under the President's rule. Why? Some power-mongers, opportunists, selfish people, treacherous people, and people who are not true to their Party on whose tickets they were returned to the Assembly began to change sides and change colours like chameleons. . . .

**SHRI K. C. PANT:** It sounded like Tamilians.

**SHRI G. A. APPAN:** Not Tamilians, but Chameleons,

You know that Government of India have been professing for some time that they would soon bring forward a Bill or enactment to forbid defection. Why it has not been done so far is a matter for consideration for the whole nation. Of late, defections have been happening in the Congress circles. Why? There are people who would like to come to the forefront and who would like to capture power with their mouths oozing saliva all the time. They would like to do anything, right or wrong, to capture power. They would do it in a malicious way, in a surreptitious way. It is really unfortunate that Congress people try to defect like others defect from their respective Parties. By doing so they only betray the interests of the people in whose name and with whose support they have come to power.

No wonder. Sir, power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. After tasting power, nobody would like to part with power unless and until they are thrown out like rotten cabbages or like rotten addled eggs. No wonder. That was why I had been telling the House for a long time that we should follow the policy of weighted suffrage. Some time back when I was speaking about weighted suffrage on the floor of the House, the Law Minister, the former Law Minister, who is no more, asked me what is meant by weighted suffrage.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Why no more?

**SHRI G. A. APPAN:** I am talking about Mr. Menon. He asked: "What is weighted suffrage?" How can people in charge of Law, in charge of Home, in charge of politics, in charge of Parliamentary Affairs, be there without knowing the various procedures and systems of voting, the systems of suffrage. If the policy of weighted suffrage is adopted in our country, we cannot see such constant, frequent and undesirable defections as we have been seeing now. That is why the DMK people, the Government of Tamil

[Shri G. A. Appan]

Nadu, have been advocating State autonomy. Any State administration can be answerable to the State Legislature only and they cannot be dispensed with or thrown out at the whims and fancies of those in power. Here a question has come : A number of Chief Ministers have been selected, appointed, rather than elected. That is why, you know, that people in power and authority are being suspected. The natural rule of law of election for the Chief Ministership should be only that of direct election and only the House rather than that he should be appointed by the party chief in power. Further, Sir, in all good faith, we supported during the last election the ruling party, the Congress party. Unfortunately, we have misplaced our sympathy in the hope, in the false hope, that they will be true to the law.

.. SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : Mr. Appan, it is not a fact that in your State of Tamil Nadu, the Congress party which the DMK had supported is in league with the Anna DMK now?

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Let us not worry about all the parties, but only about one party and not all. I do not like to club people and mix up matters. Let me be frank and let me tell what I want to say. I speak on the floor of the House in the interest of the nation, in the interest of the correct morals which the people, elected people, should be able to follow in the larger interest of the nation and in the larger interests of the community which should be served rather than the selfish interests of individuals and party people. But, unfortunately, we supported in the last general election, about nine Members of Parliament. ...

AN HON. MEMBER : Including Mr. Subramaniam.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Unfortunately, some of them have become not very happy people or people who deserve ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : They are quite happy.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Anyway, Sir, they should not be. Sir, there is a Tamil proverb :

"Uppittavarai ullavarai ninai."

It means that if somebody gives even a pinch of salt, you should remember him and you should be grateful to them throughout your life. Some members like Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam and Mr. Subramaniam said that unless Mr. Karunanidhi comes to their constituency, they won't stand. I offer my success at the feet of Karunanidhi. Having said like that, they are trying to create some rift between the Prime Minister here and our Chief Minister there and between the Congress Party here and the D.M.K. Party there. They are Tamilians and they forget that the interest of the Tamilians will be jeopardised by their narrow-minded policies. All these things should not happen as have happened in Manipur. Mr. Gopal who was just a young man from our Party says : appoint a Commission. Mr. Menon says : appoint a Commission. Everybody says; appoint a Commission. The administration of any State can be answerable only to the State Legislature and to nobody else. They have completely forgotten that when the Governor has advised the Government to keep the Assembly for some more time, the Government of India has decided or chosen to dissolve the Assembly. Our Home Minister has given some reasons for the resolution now before us... (Interruption)... May be dissolution is correct. Where was the need for a small State like Manipur? We are trying a policy of muddling and meddling. Why do you create small States? Andhra people are giving trouble. They were giving trouble some time back. Here are Manipur and Orissa. I do not know what is going to happen in Kerala and Mysore. The state of the poor Chief Minister of Manipur is very very disheartening. When the Government said that the question of river dispute of Kaveri should be settled amicably between the States of Mysore, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, he is making a statement that he is obstructing the waters. Therefore, we should have state autonomy in the larger interest as we have in the U.S.A.

If we have the presidential form of Government in India, that will also be advantageous to our country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, you wind up.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have to point out to the hon. Minister that we should have sufficient finances to run a State. We are unnecessarily taxing our people. We do not know how the people of Manipur are breaking under the yoke of heavy taxation. Most of the poor people in our country are groaning under the yoke of heavy taxation. We are being spoiled by the overflow of paper currency. This is nothing more than the token coins which we used to have in our infant classes in order to teach us rupees, annas and pies calculations. Let the Government decide its fiscal, financial and development policies. Let us have a promise that nothing like Manipur, Andhra and such other things will take place

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think we can sit through till about two O'clock and finish the business because there are not many speakers and because if the House sits through and finishes the business then we do not have to come back again after lunch.

HON. MEMBERS : Yes, yes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mrs. Purabi Mukhopadhyay.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Sir, I rise to support the Proclamation. Many hon. speakers have told the House about the maladies of defection. In the case of Manipur we have to consider the case on a different footing—it was not a case of defection alone. The persons belonging to the ruling party, that is, the Manipur People's Party had, in the last election, only fifteen seats and the Congress had seventeen seats. The Congress refused to form a Government there with the assorted strength of others who were elected on different tickets. When we refused as the largest majority party, the Manipur People's Party,

with their assorted strength formed a Government there and Mr. Alimuddin became the Chief Minister. Just within a few months after the Manipur People's Party had started its regime, the administration became famous for the corruption that even the Ministers and persons of high position belonging to the Manipur People's Party were indulging in. The Ministers were amassing wealth. The people of Manipur resented this kind of administration in Manipur. After eight or nine months of rule some of the Minister belonging to the Manipur People's Party—even the General Secretary of the Manipur People's Party, a bright young man—revolted against it. Some of the persons who were elected as independents and who were taken into the Cabinet as Cabinet Ministers and also as members of the Council of Ministers resented it and protested against it but it was of no use. Then they threatened to resign and ultimately they resigned. The Deputy Speaker of the Assembly also tendered his resignation; the Cabinet Minister in charge of the Development Department also tendered his resignation; the Minister of State for Industrial Development who himself is the leader of the Kukis also resigned from the Council of Ministers. The Congress had no hand in it. It was due to their own deeds and their own mistakes that their own Ministers had resigned.

We call it a defection when somebody elected on a particular party's ticket changes sides and goes over to other parties. In the case of Manipur most of the people who resigned from the ruling coalition Government were people who were elected as independents and as independents they shared power for some time but when they thought that by sharing power they will only be sharing the bad reputation of a corrupt Government and Ministry, they tendered their resignations.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Manipur is a very difficult place. It is a beautiful place and if you go to Manipur you will find its landscape very picturesque. The whole State comprises of 8,650 square miles in area and out of that 8,000



[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

1 P.M.

catch them, sometimes when they infiltrate into other borders, as you very much know it, it is very difficult to catch them at that level. But the amount of support this overground organisation under the leadership of Mr. Saiza received under the Minister-ship of Mr. Aleemuddin is amazing. An organisation which is banned by the Government of India, running an over-ground organisation with the same anti-national, anti-Indian hostile Naga elements, was receiving all the financial assistance from the erstwhile Govern-ment. Then there is another organisa-tion in the valleys. This organisation is known as Panmyl, Pan-Manipur Youth League. What is this organisa-tion? The Speaker of the outgoing Assembly is the leader of Panmyl. Panmyl is an overground organisation whose main slogan is, cut out Manipur and integrate it with other countries which are not friendly to India. When all these anti-national, anti-Indian ele-ments are so much active in Manipur, the Government of India has to take a serious view of Manipur State.

Sir, I now come to the Report of the Governor. It is a very interesting Report. I know most of the facts about Manipur because that is one of the places which I very often visit on behalf of my organisation, namely, the Indian National Congress. Now in the Governor's Report you will find in the third paragraph the strength of the Congress is shown as 17 after the elections. Then on page 2 towards the end the Governor says' ... Congress, which by then had 18 members as the net result of assorted floor crossing...' If 17 is the figure of persons directly elected by the people on Congress ticket how can the figure of 18 be shown on page 2 as the strength of the Congress through assorted floor crossing? This is something—I have no doubt about the capabilities of the Governor—which is contradictory to what he says in paragraph 2. As far as the Congress Party is concerned, we are not interested in toppling any Government whatsoever. It is the prerogative of the Opposition. Look at Orissa; was it our effort that the Government was toppled there? We are not interested in toppling any

Government. Our DMK friend from Tamil Nadu, Mr. Appan, said that Congress is always doing this.

AN HON. MEMBER : He said so many things.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : It is better to ignore whatever he said. He was telling something about DMK and the ADMK. Sir, if we were interested in that, the situation in Tamil Nadu would have been just the opposite of what it is today. Their own comrades are trying to topple the Government there and why should we lend our support directly or indirectly to it? We have our Governments throughout the country and it does not just matter if we do not have it here or there in one or two places. If we want to come into power it is with the blessings and support of the people not through indirect or backdoor methods. Their own members there formed a Progressive Independent Group. They came to us and they wanted us to form the Government. We said we were not interested in forming a Government in Manipur only for the sake of coming to power. But it is equally true that we are very much concerned about what happens in Manipur. Manipur is situated in a strategic position and we cannot just simply ignore the problems of Manipur, and the anti-national and anti-Indian activities of a section of the people of Manipur. Among the others is the largest loyal section under the erstwhile name of the Naga Integration Council. They have all merged in the Congress. The Kuki National Assembly have approached the Congress. They want to be associated with us. There is no reason why all these nationalists people of Manipur under different banners and different heads should not combine to fight against the anti-Indian and anti-national activities of the people who are there in different names, whether it is underground or over-ground, doing harmful things against the whole solidarity of the country, integrity of the country and security of the country. With this aspect in view the Government of India took a right decision in not having a Government there which

may not be—I do not mean stable—well-equipped and strong enough to fight the anti-national and anti-Indian forces and the foreign agencies which are functioning there. That is why the President's rule has been clamped on Manipur. I whole-heartedly support the measure. I would only appeal to the Minister of State for Home affairs, Mr. K. C. Pant, who has personal knowledge of Manipur and the whole Eastern region, to have a soft corner for the people of Manipur and for the people of the under-developed areas who just live on the mountains looking to us for their help and succour.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I find that there is really no need for me to reply to the debate because except for one hon. Member, the others have not criticised in any manner the action of the Governor—I would say, two hon. Members, one for one reason and the other for another. So, I do not want to repeat what I said earlier in my opening statement.

I find that the criticism came mainly from Shri Niren Ghosh. He is not here now. And all I can say is that I admire his capacity to work up strong indignation without any basis. (*Inter-ruption*) It has little effect because there is no basis. He worked himself into a rage and even on this occasion he repeated parrot-like the whole charge that the Centre is furthering its partisan interest in Manipur. The facts speak for themselves. The Congress could have formed a Government. Even the Governor did not suggest the dissolution of the Assembly. And all the facts pointed to the possibility, as I said in my opening statement, of the Congress being able to form a Government. In spite of that, for the reasons which I explained, the Congress chose not to form a government in Manipur and the Assembly has been dissolved. Now, under these circumstances, the charge that the Centre is advancing its partisan interest does not need to be rejected, it stands rejected by the very facts of the case.

Sir, he mentioned that even if there were defections and re-defections that

[Shri K. C. Pant]

was not the remedy. That I cannot agree with, and I would only refer you to the history of the previous year ever since the formation of the Government. In fact, if you look at the circumstances attending the formation of the Government in the first place after the general elections in Manipur—the facts have been referred to by Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay in a very knowledgeable speech—if you make a reference to those facts, you will find that right at the beginning when the Government was formed after the general elections when the Congress had come out as the party with the largest number of members but declined to form the Government and after that when the Manipur Peoples Party formed the Government in the first place—on page 2 of the Governor's Report—among the 32 MLAs who started it, one was a Congress defector. In other words, it was born in defection, this Government, and thereafter, if you look at the history of the last one year, then you will find that instability progressively. On the 4th August, the Naga Integration Council merged itself with the Congress. On the 10th October some Manipur Peoples Party members announced the formation of a lobby inside the ULP (United Legislature Party). Then on 16th November, 3 members, Shri Raj Mohan Singh, Shri Lakshman Singh and Shri O. Tomba, members of the Manipuri Peoples Party which had formed the ULP in October resigned from the party. So, ultimately, two of the Ministers alongwith seven MLAs who had formed a separate group resigned. I do not want to go into the whole history of the previous year except to point out that there was progressive instability. It was not just a sudden defection of nine members, which is to be noted. But the fact is that all throughout the year there was no stability in Manipur of the kind which you and I would have liked to see there which is necessary for that State for its development and because it is a sensitive border State.

So, all these facts have to be kept in mind and in deciding about the for-

mation of a new Government, one has to consider whether the repetition of such an experiment with only 17 or 18 members in the Congress, 5 members perhaps in the CPI and other 9 members having come from outside is right and desirable for solving the ills of Manipur. This is the problem and it is in that light that we have to see this question.

Shri Niren Ghosh offered various comments. I do not want to take up much time of the House on those points. He said that the Assembly should decide. Here, in fact, the Assembly did decide in the sense that a no-confidence motion against the Ministry was being discussed in the Assembly. Thirty-two members were sitting on the opposite side and I think 24 members were sitting with the Government, two were absent, and there was one seat vacant. That is, in a House of 60, there were 59, one was the Speaker. Out of the rest, it was very clear that the Government lost its majority and the Government resigned, and it was on the floor of the House. So, there is no question of the Assembly having been bypassed.

Now, Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh surprisingly enough quoted the practice in England to fortify his argument, an quoted it all wrong, if I may say so, in the sense that he said, "Can the King decide who is to form the Government?" Actually the King does invite the leader of the majority party and asks him to form the government. That is the practice there also. But that he should have looked to England for an example is indicative of his frame of mind these days. The Governor has given very sound reasons for that.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : Why did he not refer to some Communist countries where there is no practice of inviting anybody ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is true that there is perhaps no practice. But I am not sure even if he wanted to which Communist countries he would refer to these days. That is his problem.

Sir, the Governor has said that because of the time factor alone "I have no hesitation in recommending that you should immediately take over the Government of Manipur under article 356 of the Constitution". He was referring to the need to pass the Budget because it may take some time and the Budget may not be passed before the 31st March. On that ground also he has made out a case for the immediate imposition of the President's Rule. I need not dwell on that further.

Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh said that the Governor had not acted correctly in imposing the President's Rule, and very generously he said that he would not mind even if the Congress formed the Government. Suppose the Congress had formed the Government. I can well anticipate what his speech would have been. But I do not think I need trouble the House with that at this stage but the point to be remembered is that in this case both the Chief Minister and the Manipur People's Party President and the President of the Socialist Party, all three recommended that the President's Rule should be imposed. It is interesting to note that the President of the Manipur People's Party recommended that the Assembly should be suspended. The Chief Minister recommended that the House should be dissolved and the Governor has accepted or made a suggestion which corresponded to the suggestion made by the President of the main party in power. This is an interesting sidelight and I think the House would be interested in knowing this.

Shri Balachandra Menon and some other friends referred to the Defection Bill. Varmaji referred to it also. I do not want to go into the history of the formation of the Defection Bill based on the Committee which was formed earlier. The discussions with the Opposition leaders in Parliament are known to all friends. Therefore, they also know the reasons for the delay in bringing forward this Bill. But now I am glad to say that the Bill is in the final stages and, as far as we are concerned, we are very anxious that we

should be able to bring this Bill forward very early, if possible, in the present session itself.

**SHRI SUNDAR MANI PATEL** (Orissa) : Are you bringing this Bill during this session ?

**SHRI K. C. PANT** : That is what I said, namely, we are very anxious that we should be able to do it. But I would ask Mr. Verma not to anticipate the provisions of the Bill. He said he would be disappointed by the provisions of the Bill because they should provide for a Member having resigned his seat in case of defection. All I can say is that he should not anticipate what the Bill contains. May be it will meet with his opinion in the matter. But at this stage he should not anticipate that it is on the pattern of the early Bill which we had discussed with the Opposition leaders. There have been changes.

**श्री मान सिंह वर्मा** : मेरा केवल सुझाव यह था कि अगर यह क्लोज अभी तक नहीं है तो कृपा कर के इस पर विचार कर लीजिये ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त** : विचार कर के जो बनाना था वह बना चुके । आगे विचार की आवश्यकता इस स्टेज पर उतनी नहीं है । व्यवधान ! आप स्पेकुलेशन क्यों करते हैं ।

Shri Balachandra Menon objected to the Governor's report, and he said that it should be objective, but the Governor was trying to be helpful to the Congress. I do not think that this was at all fair because the Governor has spelt out the reasons for making this recommendation. He has pointed to the peculiar circumstances of Manipur, to the fact that Manipur has had long spells of President's rule, to the fragmentation of its society, to his expectation that even later elections may not produce a kind of stable Government, and so on. I need not go into them. But above all, if the Governor feels that in a State like Manipur, it would be better to have a popular Government that is not a sentiment which we should really object to. It is because of other factors that in the balance, we have chosen to dissolve the

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Assembly. If the Governor has given due weight to the other side of the argument, I do not think we should object to it. And in any case, the Governor in the last sentence of his report has said that he may well be compelled to advocate dissolution of the Assembly to the President under certain circumstances. So, he has also envisaged that possibility.

Sir, Varmaji referred to other questions which were of a more general nature. I do not think I should get involved in arguing general questions, questions concerning the state of our democracy and so on. My hon. friend, Shri Appan, who always makes a refreshingly original speech, referred to various points which covered Tamil Nadu and other things. But he gave the final solution to the problem of Manipur : he said, why Manipur at all ? That is a kind of radical solution which might appeal to him but which I find very impractical at this stage.

Sir, the other thing he said was that the Mysore Chief Minister has made some statement that he would obstruct water from going to some other State...

SHRI G. A. APPAN : He has obstructed, not "going to obstruct".

SHRI K. C. PANT : I do not know whether he has done it or not. But having said that, he pleaded for State autonomy. If any argument can be advanced to contain this fad of "State autonomy", he has advanced the argument. He has given the final argument why the States should not have too much autonomy. Then he talked about the D.M.K., helping some Congress members to be elected to Parliament. I hope he has not forgotten the fact that the D.M.K. was at that time fighting the elections along with the Congress and it has perhaps helped the D.M.K. also.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : We cannot forget it. The only thing is we should continue that and never try to fritter it away.

SHRI K. C. PANT : If he has not forgotten it, I will not pursue the matter further.

Sir, Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee has referred to the situation in Manipur not merely in the context of the President's rule, but she has taken a long-term view of the problems of Manipur, at least some of them. I am grateful to her for the speech she has made. I am very grateful to her for the interest she takes in Manipur and I wish that there were more friends in the House who take this kind of deep interest in Manipur and other parts of North eastern India which require to be studied in depth and whose problems are in many ways peculiar, the problems of a region which is cut off from the rest of the country in many ways, which is a border region and which has been neglected for a long time. It is a beautiful area. Manipur certainly is a beautiful State. It has rich cultural traditions, its dance, its art, and I can assure her—she wanted me to have sympathy for the development of Manipur—that I certainly have every sympathy for the development of Manipur. She said that the Government of India should be very careful about certain elements in Manipur which were anti-national. I have found that, of late, in the last few months, the situation in Manipur is fairly stable and normal. And I am glad to say that the sentiment in Manipur has moved away from a sense of alienation. The sections are not large. They are very small sections. Even amongst them the sentiment has moved away from a feeling of alienation towards a feeling of involvement in the democratic process that has been started with the formation of a State of Manipur. This is one of the important reasons why this State was formed and I hope Shri Appan will appreciate that. I would submit that the present instance, in which the Congress Party could have formed a Government but did not, for good reasons, would help in showing these elements also that our democracy functions in a very vigorous manner, does not always function in a narrow partisan way. We keep before us

larger considerations of the stability of the Governments, the interests of the people of certain areas and of the whole country, and where party interests may not coincide with the larger interests, we prefer the larger interests to party interests. And I think it is this fact and the fact that the Congress as such is not interested in toppling Governments. The Central Government is not interested in toppling Governments, and is very willing to let Opposition parties wherever they formed Governments to continue with those Governments as long as they can, it is these facts which I hope will persuade even these few friends there to see the virtues of the democratic system as it is practised in our country and will attract them towards it and will help to involve them in the whole process of the development of that region and our whole country through the process of democracy and towards the goals which we have set ourselves. These are the points which were made in the debate, and, Sir, I do not want to go outside, stray outside the narrow confines of the subject before us.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The question is

‘That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 28th March, 1973, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Manipur’

*The motion was adopted*

#### THE BUDGET (MANIPUR) 1973-74 GENERAL DISCUSSION

SHRI N G GORAY (Maharashtra). Sir, it is unfortunate that State after State is being thrown in the lap of Parliament and I am afraid the President is getting turned into a babysitter with so many howling babies to control. So far as Manipur is concerned

SHRI K C PANT My colleague is better suited to do babysitting.

SHRI N G GORAY: Quite correct, the roles are to be reversed.

Sir, I have not much to say on this subject because it is expected that this will be only for a shortwhile, and the Governor has expressed the hope this is going to be only for a brief interval. So far as the report of the Governor is concerned, many Members have expressed their opinion. I would only say that I found that this report was a little self-contradictory in the sense that he had recommended a brief spell of Presidential rule in the hope that matters will get straightened out, but I find on page 8 of his report he has stated that there is a great deal of fragmentation of society, loyalties to groups and individuals are often stronger than loyalty to party, rivalries between individuals within the same party are strong and corruption, which is the main cause of defection, is unfortunately even more rampant in Manipur political system than elsewhere.” I do not know if all these charges are true how this brief spell of Presidential rule is going to mend matters.

The narrow loyalties will be there, the tendency to be influenced by money etc. will be there, the groups and all sorts of things will be there. Really I am afraid, when I think of Manipur, that it may not be possible in a short period to eradicate all these anti-social tendencies. Manipur becomes a very difficult subject indeed, not because the various groups are not finding it easy to adjust themselves, but because it happens to be a very sensitive area. What Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay said is very well taken. It is on an international border and there are various influences working there. The only saving grace is that Bangla Desh is on our side. They are not likely to encourage any anti-Indian or anti-national tendencies to grow. On the other side we have Burma which is also a friendly country. Therefore all those countries which want to sort of fish in troubled waters will not get any opportunity which they would have got had Bangla Desh not been liberated in time.

The other things are there. I do not know to what pass Manipur affairs have come, because so far as the report