

[Sh Madan Lal Khurana]

12.25 hrs.

Legislative Assembly in Delhi and to holding of election there to as per the assurance given by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House last week. These items may please be included in the next week's agenda.

SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE (Aurangabad) Mr Speaker, Sir, I request that the following item may be included in the next week's agenda by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs

Paithan (Maharashtra) should be developed properly as a tourist spot

SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA (Ujjain) Mr Speaker, Sir, I request that the following two items may be included in the next week's agenda

(i) An amount of Rs 220 crore should be given urgently to the Madhya Pradesh Government to provide relief to the people affected by natural calamities and drought in Madhya Pradesh

(ii) The Central Government should provide necessary assistance to Madhya Pradesh for supply of power

12.24 hrs.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR
GRANTS (GENERAL) 1991-92

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI
SHANTARAM POTDUKHE) Sir, I beg to
present a statement (Hindi and English
versions) showing the Supplementary
Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget
(General) for 1991-92 [Placed in Library
See No LT 985/91]

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

(i) **RE. General Deterioration in Law and Order Situation in Various Parts of the Country with Reference to Recent Spurt in Incidents of Terrorism, Secessionism and Kidnappings -Contd**

[English]

MR SPEAKER Now, the Home Minister will reply to the discussion regarding general deterioration in law and order, raised by Shri Indrajit Gupta on 10th December, 1991

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S B CHAVAN) Mr Speaker, Sir, I must take this opportunity for expressing my gratitude to all the hon Members who discussed this issue of terrorism and extremism for almost three days, for two days I could be present in the House, but yesterday because of my discussion with the Punjab representatives, I am sorry I could not be present in the House. However I have got the notes from my colleagues

Sir, at the outset, I must say the debate was very useful and we have got very frank and very clear views about some of the issues which the hon Members wanted to focus before the House. Again, I appeal to most of the hon Members to treat this as an issue which we should look from a totally different point of view and when I say a national issue, it does not necessarily mean that we are going to take over the responsibilities of the State Governments. Whatever be the party outlook, I am requesting all sections of the House to kindly treat this as a national issue and we should put our heads together in order to find out as to how best we will succeed in finding solutions to this very intricate and complicated issue. There are three facets of this issue which we have to understand. First is the internal situation as it is prevailing and the external situation which, in fact, is trying to accelerate the already prevailing situation in the country.

Sir, there is no denying the fact that there are several factors which, in fact, are responsible for creating a kind of unrest, instability and a kind of cynicism in the minds of the people and the basic framework of the institution through which we are functioning, somehow is getting eroded. There is no contradiction of this fact that large scale rigging of the elections takes place and money and muscle power are being used in a big way. They are having some kind of a domination over the kind of results that they would like to have; criminalisation of politics is getting some kind of respectability, criminals are getting elected and they occupy important positions and communal and caste factors are also emerging in a very big way. This is also one of the factors for creating unrest amongst different sections of the people. I must add that the vested interests are also deliberately trying to frustrate the socio-economic programmes, land reforms and all other poverty alleviation programmes which, in fact, have been prepared for the alleviation of poverty and to give the benefits of these programmes to the poorest of the poor. In an area of naxalite activities, this happens to be one of the reasons and I have also said this before the meeting of the Chief Ministers. That is why, I cannot possibly contradict this kind of a statement when the hon. Members make it on the floor of the House. It is a fact of life and we will have to evolve methods by which we should be able to implement the programme. Otherwise it is going to lead to totally different kind of situation. At least, I have no doubt in my mind about it. This is just a passing reference I am making because I have to finish my speech within the stipulated time.

Another very important factor which every one of us is aware of in creating this feeling of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, in Punjab, in Assam is our neighbour. There is no denying the fact that our neighbour, Pakistan is fully involved. ISI, their intelligence agency are actually monitoring the way their supporters or to whom they have given these fire arms, latest equipment, funds and all other things. in a private conversation or even at the diplomatic channel it is done and whatever be the views are being expressed

by responsible representatives of the Pakistan Government. We have enough evidence at our disposal to show that they are deeply involved into it and they are carrying on a disinformation campaign not only in our country but in the international community as well. So, it is a kind of hysteria which is being created by these people, by distorting the facts, giving all kinds of wrong information.

It will not be out of place, if I have to mention about Amnesty International and if I am allowed to say so, their local unit P.U.C.L. and the way they are functioning. I must say, for amnesty International, they had prepared a report and a copy of the report was given to our High Commissioner in London. They wanted the Government to react to some of the allegations that they had made in the report. Normally our reply was not so promptly sent. But somehow in this case, within the stipulated time, we could send the reply. But before they could get the reply, they sought to it that the report had been published PUCL has made a number of allegations. We requested the Press Council of India to nominate their representatives, send them to Jammu and Kashmir to go into the allegations which have been made. Surprisingly, for the first time, even the Army also subjected itself to the kind of this scrutiny of the representatives of the Press Council of India. Whatever was stated was clearly contradicted. A published book by them is available and every allegation which the Amnesty International has made against us—so many atrocities have been committed and nothing seems to be enquired into—everything has been proved totally wrong.

In this context, I have to mention of the visit of Mr. Kaufman who has specially come to India. Thereafter a delegation of Economic Community of Europe had come officially, with its leader, Mr. Stevenson. These two reports might have been submitted. One report to the Labour Party and another might be to the European Economic Community. In both these reports, I had a long discussion with Mr. Stenvenson also in which I have given him the reasons as to why though we

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allow them to go to Jammu, it will not be possible for us to allow them to go to the Valley because they have been printing all kinds of reports. That is why, we wanted to be on the safe side.

That is why, I thought that there should not be distortion prevailing in that area.

I must bring this to the notice of the House. It is very unfortunate but these things have to be understood in the proper perspective. This labour representative had a very large electorate belonging to Kashmir area. Even in Mr. Stevenson's Constituency also, I could get the information that he is also having a large number of Kashmiris in that area. I am surprised that if the Labour Party view is to be decided on the basis of the number of constituents belonging to a particular area, at least I do not think that this can be a very responsible method of dealing with the subject. In fact, they should have talked to us before submitting their report as to what they feel about it. But somehow this is the position and, that is why, this is one of the main factors which we have to consider.

Pakistan is trying to encourage the terrorists in a very big way. Fortunately for us, in spite of the fact that there has been a very vigorous kind of movement which has been going on in Jammu & Kashmir area, slowly with the help of para-military forces and the security forces, we could turn the corner and flush out some of the terrorists from Srinagar and other urban areas so that a feeling of free expression, a feeling of confidence, is to be created in the people. I must say without any fear of contradiction because I had a long dialogue with a number of people and everybody is at least giving me this information which, in fact, I am going to corroborate after I have my sixth visit to Jammu & Kashmir and, specially, I am thinking of going to Ladakh where the problem is getting accentuated between the Buddhists and the Muslims in that area. There was never such a kind of ill-will between the two communities but unfortunately in the name of getting some kind of either Union Territory

status or autonomous Hill Council status, there has been some kind of a clash between these two communities. In fact, I cannot possibly deny that this area has been, in fact, neglected and, that is why, some special provision will have to be made for the development of the area but, at the same time, the kind of harmony which was existing in that area should not be allowed to be damaged. That is primary view that we have in the matter and we are going to look into it.

But now we are faced with a situation where the Mujahideen had been, in fact, leading the movement for merger of the valley into Pakistan. Now there is a total disillusionment in the people and they have come to the conclusion that we cannot possibly think in terms of merging with Pakistan. That is a definite conclusion and now there is an open confrontation going on between JKLF and Hizbul Mujahideen. In the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir area also, there is a kind of disillusionment among major sections of the community, that even independence of Kashmir also under the circumstances seems to be almost an impossibility. This is the kind of negative attitude that we are finding. Now we have to convert that into a positive plan of action. I am aware of the fact that unfortunately those who were sent there, somehow created a feeling of alienation among the local people. The administration was at a standstill. A large number of vacancies were also available in the High Court. They were not filled in. The witnesses are not coming forth to give evidence in the court.

That is why the whole judicial system also is almost at a standstill. That is the position where we are in that area. That is why a concerted effort is being made to win over the people and give them a feeling of confidence that they are part and parcel of the decision-making machinery and you need not have any kind of misapprehension in your mind that we are not being trusted. We are, in fact, being considered as untouchables; we are not being taken into confidence for taking a decision. Ultimately, whatever be the decision, that decision has to be implemented through the same

bureaucracy. I can well understand that a few of them might be blacksheep because of the fear of the gun and also might be because of even some personal convictions also. It is quite possible that some of them may not share the same kind of view as others might be having. But this can be worked out. I cannot possibly visualise the kind of situation where the entire machinery is to be replaced. If we have to consider that it is not trustworthy, not reliable, nothing can be done through those people, then, of course, we cannot possibly think in terms of complete replacement of the entire bureaucracy in that area. I am sure that this kind of confidence is slowly gaining ground, not at a very great pace but at the same time they are now getting the feeling. But we are getting the kind of confidence that we wanted and slowly if this machinery becomes active, matters will improve. I am sure there will be the involvement of the local people as on the same basis as this experiment is being tried in Punjab.

In Punjab, the Governor goes round and conducts *Khula Darbar*. A large number of people can come with their grievances to the *Khula Darbar* and give expression to it. If possible, he takes a decision on-the-spot. Or, if he does not have the necessary information, he asks the officers to collect the information and quickly the decisions are being taken. That kind of a system will have to be introduced. Otherwise, it is going to be very difficult. At the District-level, at the State-level, we have created the Advisory Council. The Advisory Council Members, once they have this kind of confidence amongst them, can do much better. I am sure the people will be able to come forward to express their views and express their grievances.

In this context, it becomes very important for me also to refer to the new dimension which is perhaps added. That is about some kind of a special treatment which the Jammu & Kashmir area has been getting. A systematic campaign is now being carried out and some people are trying that. This is the time that this is being done. That is the unfortunate part of it. Regarding special

concession there is a time and occasion where we can possibly consider as to whether these are called for, whether the local people can be taken into confidence; whether they can be considered as a kind of temporary measures for overcoming certain difficulties. I can understand that it cannot be perpetuated for all times to come.

Then, the vilification campaign is going on the part of Pakistan. Total disinformation is being spread by them. If we are going to talk of this one more factor—that is about Article 370 - I am sure, instead of improving the conditions, things are going to be much worse. That is why I do not think that this is a time when we can possibly think in terms of abrogation of Article 370. Abrogation of Article 370 is a matter which we can possibly consider at an appropriate time, at an appropriate stage. But on no account at this stage, it is possible to consider. If any kind of a campaign of this nature is resorted to, I do not think that it is going to be possible for the Government, at this stage, to take any action which will aid to the disinformation campaign which is already prevailing in that area.

I would then like to pass on to Punjab. I must bring to the notice of the House that yesterday I had a very useful meeting with all the political parties in Punjab. But unfortunately, only a few of the parties could not attend the meeting for reasons best known to them. We could get a resolution unanimously passed through all the political parties. I must say that even the members of the All-India Sikh Students Federation have also passed it. They could express their views very clearly on certain issues. We could make an appeal to all the political parties who have the democratic orientation, that they should participate in the elections and see that they get a representative Government in Punjab.

I was asked by some people, "Is there any sanctity about the date? Why is it that you considered 15th of February as sacrosanct date? There are a number of things which we should do. When your period is upto May 1992, why is it that you are sticking the

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February 15?" I told them that already our credibility in that area has gone down and let me not add to that kind of a situation and that is why I said that whatever date had been announced on the floor of the House, we are certainly going to stick to it.

Before 15th of February, the date which has to be fixed, will have to be done by the Chief Election Commissioner. The Government does not come into the picture. We can merely tell them that within this date, if it is possible, certainly try to fix the date. So, they will be able to fix the date on that basis and elections can be held. We want to create an atmosphere wherein tension will have to be considerably reduced. I am trying my level best to see that we carry on the dialogue with the local people. We also try to take a very firm action against the terrorists, who, in fact, are trying to create conditions in which elections should not be possible in that area. I am aware of the instructions that these terrorists have been given and that is to somehow create conditions in which it should not be possible for Government of India to hold elections in that area. But we are also equally determined to see that the elections are held and to the extent possible try to provide a kind of security which in fact is sought for. I am not aware as to whether it is going to be possible for the Law Ministry to bring forth that Bill wherein, if the independent candidate or non-serious candidate, were to die, whether we can possibly reverse the possibility of countermanding the elections. It is a matter about which I cannot possibly express here any view, at this stage. It is for the Law Ministry to take a decision and see as to what needs to be done in that area. I am sure that something will definitely emerge and we should be able to weed out such people who in fact are not very material. But at the same time if they contest the elections, they get all the security that is evolved. And, thereafter, if by any chance, either somebody is killed or he dies a natural death, he deserves countermanding of the elections. This kind of a situation will have to be avoided. A number of things were also stated about Assam.

We have to send the army to Assam because the ULFA activists have created a situation in Assam wherein huge extortion of money was indulged into. A large number of people were kidnapped expecting some kind of ransom for freeing the hostages. And that is why, when the State Government, in consultation with the different political parties, requested the Central Government to deploy the army in that area for the assistance of the civil administration, we had to deploy the army in that area and most of the ULFA activists have been either apprehended or they surrendered themselves. But I must also say for the information of the House that the Chief persons who are responsible or the brain behind the entire ULFA activities are still spread at large. There are four or five people who in fact are the top leadership of ULFA. Fortunately this morning I got the news that they have freed all the hostages. There were six people who had been held as hostages. Unilaterally they have freed all these six people. They have also conveyed to the Government that they are unilaterally prepared to the ceasefire. This is the promise which has been given by the top leadership of the ULFA. We will have to consider as to how far this is going to be honoured by them and everything will be known to us within about a week's time.

I am aware that ULFA seems to be talking of a similar kind of campaign against the army personnel. A large number of people have been sent to different political parties, to Members of Parliament and to different Ministries that they are now in a position to surrender themselves and the Government should start some kind of a dialogue. There is no difficulty about starting of a dialogue. But deployment of the army on the one hand and having a dialogue on the other, these two things cannot be carried out simultaneously. We will have to wait for some time. If we could possibly succeed in creating a situation wherein the ULFA activists will give an undertaking to the Government that they will stop their violent activities, they believe in the Indian constitution and also free the hostages which they have done now; if these conditions are fulfilled, then a ground may be prepared

wherein we can have some kind of negotiations. But at this stage it will be rather too early for me to give any definite opinion as to at what time we will be able to start the kind of dialogue that the ULFA activists like to have.

A view was expressed that terrorist problem will have to be solved in a coordinated and integrated manner. I fully agree with that point of view. Though the Governor of Punjab had called a meeting of all the officers concerned and give necessary instructions, at the Home Ministry's level also we could get the representatives of different Ministries and talk to them. I am going to call a meeting of the Chief Ministers of these States. The kind of sophisticated weaponry that is required, I am sure we will have to provide them either the AK-47 or some other latest weapons which in fact are badly required by the State Government.

To some extent I cannot possibly deny that the follow-up of the deployment of the army in Punjab has been that some of their second rank or third rank leaders have gone over and spread in other areas. They have gone to Tara area in UP, Madhya Pradesh, may be to Rajasthan and sometimes even joining hands with the naxalite elements. So, we will have to have a coordinated action plan and take a decision on similar lines as we have done in the case of naxalite activity.

In the naxalite areas we have a coordination plan. All the Chief Secretaries of the respective States have come together and we could chalk out a programme of action wherein both the things are involved. One is the implementation of the poverty alleviation programme, land reform measures, Benami transaction in the property transactions how best we could possibly curb this kind of tendency-etc. and another will be to take concerted action in a coordinated manner, so that they should not be allowed to run away from one State to the other and create problems in the adjoining States.

The crash programme has been considered for naxalite area and a similar

kind of programme, for arresting the kind of terrorist and extremist activity in other areas also. We have to take a view about it - call the meeting of all the Chief Ministers, prepare the plan of action and try to implement the same. That is the idea that we have in view. Since it is 13th of December, it is very difficult to call the meeting of the Chief Ministers before the end of the year; but we have to take the earliest opportunity to call the meeting of all the Chief Ministers and discuss all the details with them. In consultation with them, whatever steps are called for, certainly we will have to take them.

I am also of the view that our police force and paramilitary force are fighting in a very difficult situation. A large number of them have been killed. Unfortunately, somehow, some of the concessions which were available to them in the shape of Public Provident Fund and the kind of premia which were being paid by the Government - it so happened that - have been withdrawn. I will see to it that they are provided the kind of insurance which in fact, is very badly required in those terrorist affected areas. We have to increase the strength of the police force because the population has increased almost by double. On hundred per cent increase in population is there in certain areas. That is why, on the basis of the population and the kind of incidents that are taking place in different areas, we have to increase the strength of the paramilitary force. I am also going to request all the State Governments for this. They themselves should also take action in increasing their own force so that we are able to tackle this problem of terrorism and extremism in certain areas.

Special force will have to be created and in fact which have to be given special training so that they are able to effectively deal with this kind of problem.

I think these are some of the issues on which the Government is thinking of taking further action in the matter. I do not think that I will be able to cover all the points that hon. Members raised.

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Sir, you will excuse me, I am having a very bad throat and this is also coming as a kind of constraint in explaining the entire position to the House.

I will take care of all the points which have been made by the hon. Members. But, if there are general points - not concerning specific law and order issues of the State Governments where of course, I cannot possibly replay on behalf of the State Governments - and general policy issues are involved, I will try to answer to all the hon. Members who raise those issues.

I do not think that I should say anything more. I am again expressing my thanks to all the hon. Members for participating in the debate.

[*Translation*]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): The intelligence agencies cannot give us information in time. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs did not say anything about strengthening it. He should tell us the steps being taken by the Government in this regard.

[*English*]

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: In fact, we are collecting the information about the intelligence agencies from some of the countries where they have been facing that problem for the last almost two decades or so. In UK and other countries this problem is very much there international terrorism or that kind of organisation exists. So, we are getting the information from them. If any updating or the training of the intelligence force is required, certainly we will undertake it.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have to raise only one issue. Day before yesterday when the debate was going on and when the

hon. Home Minister was also present here, we raised the issue of Tibetians.

MR. SPEAKER: No, not in this way.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Please listen to me for a moment. Clippings from newspapers of the whole world are here. What is going on in India and in Delhi is published in the newspapers of the world.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: I will talk to you about it.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: There should be something about it. Mr. Speaker Sir, I am ready to assure the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that if all those arrested people are released, they will not protest. I am ready to bear its responsibility.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: Nobody understands the delicacy and the intricacy of this issue than you can, Shri George Fernandes.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker Sir, what will happen then?

(ii) Cauvery Water Dispute

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up discussion under Rule 193 regarding Cauvery Water Dispute.

The time allotted is two hours. I would, request the Members to be very very pertinent to the subject. I would also request the Members to see that nothing is repeated. Certainly, we would be happy to create a condition and a climate in the House also which will help us to solve this problem. Shri V. Dhananjaya Kumar...