

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI JANESHWAR MISHRA): It appears that you have not heard the Budget speech today.

SHRI RAM KRSHAN YADAV: Sir, I had submitted this notice in the morning itself.

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI (Rewa): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, since Shri Chavda is not present, my name is standing I may kindly be permitted to raise the matter under Rule 377.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You do it some other day.

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI: My name is there after him in the list.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Member whose name is there is the list himself has to make his point.

[English]

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan): I have come.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You cannot ask me to go back. I have passed on to the next item.

14.32 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.
PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT'S
RULE IN TAMIL NADU

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, we will take up Statutory Resolution regarding the proclamation issued by the President on the 30th January, 1991 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the state of Tamil Nadu, Shri Subodh Kant Sahay.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI SUBODH KANT SAHAY): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House approves the proclamation issued by the President on the 30th January, 1991 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Tamil Nadu."

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, copies of the proclamation have been laid on the Table. The law and order situation in the State of Tamil-Nadu has been reviewed from time to time. As per the information available, the recent incidents and the deteriorating law and order situation in the State had become a matter of concern for the Tamil people. Apart from the rising incidents of violence by the local criminals as well as by some others were creating turmoil and were indicative of the fact that the L.T.T.E. was working as an independent force beyond the purview of Law and it had made some hideouts which were beyond the control of the State Government. It was functioning as an independent Government in some pockets of Ramnathpuram, Thanjavur, Podukottai and Thiruchirapalli districts. As the State Government was hesitant to deal with the L.T.T.E. effectively, a very dangerous situation had developed due to latter's indulgence in violence and intimidating the coastal people and getting encouragement from the local administration.

Despite having detailed information about the surreptitious movement of boats at the coasts of Thanjavur, Podukottai and Ramnathpuram, the State police as well as the local officials were not able to check it. It was in the knowledge of the State Government that there were at least 40 hideouts of

the L.T.T.E. in the coastal areas. Neither vigilance was effectively kept in most of these areas nor there was any sign of the presence of the Government machinery. If there was any thing in these areas, it was the Government of the L.T.T.E. These activities of the L.T.T.E. were bound to have long term repercussions. Another important aspect was that they carried out their activities in close contact with the local people and accelerated their criminal activities. The L.T.T.E. as using both the H. F. and V.H.F. facilities under its well organised communication network. Besides, Tamil Nadu had turned into a transit camp for the movement of arms and ammunition and other explosives between Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu. Some arms and ammunitions were found being transported through underground routes from India. Besides, the L.T.T.E. cadres had developed close contacts in the political and business circles of the State. It resulted in black marketing of scarcity items viz. diesel, petrol and pharmaceuticals on a large scale and the state became a route for gold smuggling in to the country. Due to the activities of the L.T.T.E. in Tamil Nadu relations between India and Sri Lanka were also being affected adversely.

Such an environment in the State and in other parts of the country for the past some days was boosting the morale of the extremist and secessionists. There have been instances that having been encouraged by the activities of the L.T.T.E, the Pallali Makkal Kachi (P.M.K.), Tamil Nationalist Movement (T.N.M) and Tamil Mannawar Perawai (T.M.P.) and other such organisations started carrying out their activities fearlessly. These organisations openly advocated secessionist thus strengthened the representatives of secessionism. By taking advantage of such a situation the United Liberation Front of Assam was establishing its contact with the L.T.T.E in Tamil Nadu State either directly or through intermediaries. Recently some ULFA extremists used a hideout in Tamilnadu as a

base camp to establish their contacts with the L.T.T.E.

With the shutting of eyes by the State Government towards all these activities, the present situation could have deteriorated further. Also with the reported involvement of some prominent members of the party including some elected representatives in these activities, the situation had worsened further.

Sir, it had adversely affected the effectiveness of the administration. This weakness was more apparent in police administration. The way the L.T.T.E extremists assassinated the E.P.R.L.F Chief, Shri Padmanathan and 15 others and reached Sri Lanka from Tamilnadu evading the eyes of the police, is an extra-ordinary example of collapse of the State police system. On the basis of information received, the Central Government considered the law and order situation in Tamilnadu and came to the conclusion that the administration has collapsed to such an extent that it could not be run in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. There was no other way than to proclaim the dissolution of the State Legislative Assembly under Article-356 of the Constitution. Accordingly, a proclamation under Article -356 was issued by the President.

Sir, the action taken in last 10 days is an instance of its kind.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 70 extremists belonging to LTTE, have been arrested and it is for the first time that 17 of their local supporters have also been nabbed alongwith them. They have been detained under N.S.A. The number of extremists and their supports detained under the N.S.A. is 33. Six high-power wireless sets, two FAX machines, four cars, tractors, Motorcycles, a large number of fake number plates, 15 boats

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made of fibre glass, 15000 liters of petrol-diesel, foreign exchange with more than rupees one lakh and Indian currency worth rupees seven lakh were seized from their possession. Fake passports were also seized from their possession. As many as 3 to 4 passports in the name of one person were seized. They were indulging in violent politics openly by making the State of Tamil Nadu their base. Sir, a Madras based racket of LTTE which used to indulge in illegal transaction of money has been unearthed. Not only that, there is a possibility of receiving clues to a wide network which has been indulging in exchange of huge amounts of money. The team which used to supply essential commodities to LTTE in Sri Lanka has been finished. Investigations have revealed that this unit used to supply petrol, diesel, medicines and explosives too to LTTE.

Sir, this is for the first time that the Indian nationals supporting the activities of LTTE have been arrested. The Government was compelled to take this step to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country as also in view of the activities going on in the neighbouring country. The State Government was asked at every level to deal with these elements, but when it failed to check their activities, the President's Rule was imposed.

With these few words, I would request This august House to approve the proclamation issued by the President on 30th January, 1991 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Tamil Nadu.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the House approves the proclamation issued by the President on 30th

January, 1991 under Article 356 of the constitution in relation to the state of Tamil Nadu.

Now, Shri P. Chidambaram.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir,

SHRIJASWANT SINGH (Jodhpur): How can a member from the Government side speak simultaneously?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your chance comes afterwards.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : We are not Government.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: This is a departure from the established practice.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: They are not part of the Government; they are outside the Government.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Of course. But my submission is that the Leader of the major party is not the Leader of the Opposition. There is a designated Leader of the Opposition. In every debate, it is the BJP that is being asked to speak first. However, in this particular case, if you wish to do so, most certainly you can do so, but not by saying this is how the procedure is.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is a party which is supporting the Government. So, you can criticise the views of both the parties at the same time. Otherwise, you would not have that opportunity.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Procedurally, every time, after the Government speaks, it is the Opposition that is being asked to speak. But, there, by calling him, you are asking the Government to speak simultaneously; whereas it is the Opposition which has to speak.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What you say in a way is correct; this is not wrong. But, at the same time, the Speaker has the discretion to choose.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I abide by that.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In this case, it is not always necessary that the Ruling Party and the party supporting the Government would have identical views; and sometimes it is useful for the opposition, real Opposition to criticise both the points.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: In fact, this is something on which we agree.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It should be presently seen.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I agree on this. We agree with him and as we will show presently, we agree with him on this. (*Interruptions*) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise as a matter of painful duty to support this Proclamation promulgating President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

Two years ago, elections were held to the State. Owing to a peculiar political configuration the DMK which had lost every election for nearly 13 years, came back to power. Even then, we had cautioned the DMK that they should not proceed on the assumption that they had the support of the people of Tamil Nadu because they did not have the support. But they had come to power on a system of first-past-the post, when the other three political parties had not united in opposing the DMK. We told the DMK to proceed with caution, to rule with wisdom and not to go against the national interests.

Two years later, the Government of India has come to the conclusion that the Assembly has to be dissolved, the Govern-

ment dismissed, President's rule promulgated and fresh elections to be held. Whatever we may say here in this House, as a Member of Parliament elected from Tamil Nadu, it is my duty to bring to my honourable colleagues in this House the feelings of the people of Tamil Nadu.

For example, my honourable colleague Mr. Jaswant Singh, cannot echo a view here—I believe he cannot echo a view here—which is different from the view expressed by his party members in Tamil Nadu. I sincerely hope that he would not do so. The BJP, Small or big, with a small number of members, or a large number of members, was the first political party in Tamil Nadu to demand that the President's rule be imposed.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): They withdrew it when you demanded it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: And today, I hope, Mr. Jaswant Singh, speaking on behalf of his party will voice the demand and will support this Resolution.

There are four areas which I wish to deal with. When I do so, I would be constrained to make very serious allegations, very serious charges, and I would ask the honourable Members to bear with me. I do so with a full sense of responsibility. I take the responsibility for every statement which I make and at the end of it all, I will demand and I urge honourable members to join me in demanding that a high-powered inquiry should be instituted to find out all that has happened in Tamil Nadu in the last two years. I do not want my charges to remain as charges; I do not want my allegations to remain as allegations. Those charged must have an opportunity to defend themselves. Those of us who make a charge must have an opportunity to lead evidence in support of our charge and let the world know what happened in Tamil Nadu in the last two years.

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

There are four broad heads on which I wish to speak. Firstly is the subversion of the law and order machinery in Tamil Nadu to cater to the needs of the militants, particularly the LTTE.

Secondly is political nexus between the National Front leaders and Ministers on the one hand and the LTTE on the other.

Thirdly is the machinations of key civil servants to advance their personal interests and the political interests of the DMK. And fourthly the massive coverup indulged in by the V. P. Singh Government and the Karunanidhi Government during the greater part of 1990 when Intelligence Reports had brought to surface all that was going on in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, before I come to the happenings in Tamil Nadu, let me give you a little background on the political situation in Tamil Nadu. Assembly elections were held in 1989. Barely a month after Assembly elections were held and Mr. Karunanidhi claimed massive victory barely a month thereafter, there were two by-elections, one in Marungapuri and the other in Madurai East. The people did not care that a new Chief Minister had been voted to power, the people were not awed by the show of power by Mr. Karunanidhi and his Ministers, or the massive money that was spent by the Government and the Party in these two constituencies; yet barely a month after the DMK Party was voted to power, in these two by-elections the DMK was routed. The AIADMK led by Miss Jayalalitha scored a thumping victory in these two by-elections barely a month after the elections were held. That was an indicator that the Karunanidhi Government did not come on a popular vote, they come to power only because the votes against DMK split four ways. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum): That is how the Congress ruled the country for the last forty years... (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, in November, 1989, the Parliament elections were held. One election was counter-manded. Thirty eight constituencies went to elections. That represented 228 segments out of 234 segments. Out of 228 segments, the DMK Party lost in 266 segments; including Mr. Karunanidhi's own constituency of Harbour, including the Education Minister's constituency, the Revenue Minister's constituency, Mr. Karunanidhi's heir-apparent's constituency, every single constituency, in which massive amount of money was spent, every one of them was lost.

Sir, the Palani by-election was held three months after the Parliament elections. In all six segments, the DMK lost. Along with that, there was a by-election to an other Assembly constituency, Peramanallur, where also the DMK lost. In the last two years, the DMK has not won a single by-election or a single election in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, if this was a country, in which the DMK respected certain basic norms of democracy; if this was United Kingdom and the incumbent Prime Minister or the incumbent Chief Minister loses three or four by-elections one after another, as a respect of democracy, Mr. Karunanidhi should have stepped down and called for an election. Sir, we demanded that he does so. There was a precedent. In 1985, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde lost the Parliament election in Karnataka. He stepped down. He dissolved the Assembly, continued as a caretaker, and then won the elections to the Assembly. Sir, we were the first to demand, I was one of the first to demand, that Mr. Karunanidhi need not resign his office; after the Parliamentary elections as a respect of democracy, he should advise dissolution of the Assembly, continue as a caretaker,

call a fresh election and if he wins the fresh elections, rule for another five years. Sir, how did Mr. Karunanidhi's Ministry continue? Who was the originator of the doctrine of 1977? No one in the Janata Dal today can speak against that doctrine because they and those who preceded them were the originators of this doctrine, that following the Parliament election, if it is established that the people of that State have lost the confidence in the State Government, the State Government would have to go and fresh elections should be held. The only reason why Mr. Karunanidhi could cling to office was, here in Delhi Mr. V. P. Singh formed the Government. The only reason.....(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Fatehpur): In the Assembly seats, how many seats have the MLAs won under your constituency? (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will explain why we lost. The votes were split in three ways. The only reason why how the DMK Government was allowed to continue contrary to healthy precedent set by Mr. R. K. Hedge, was that when Mr. V. P. Singh became Prime Minister here he went all out to protect the DMK Government which had lost the support.....(Interruptions)

Let me now give you as brief a narration as possible of the things that have happened. Today after the change of the Government at the Centre and after the dismissal of the DMK Government, many startling facts have come to surface. You will recall that even last year, on more than one occasion, we stood up in this House and pointed out that grave things were happening in Tamil Nadu. The then Prime Minister is on record, the present Prime Minister is on record. The Ministers have spoken in this House. Let me narrate all those that happened in the last two years.

After V. P. Singh Government came here, a forty-year practice in Tamil Nadu was changed. For forty years in Tamil Nadu while the Police was under the Home Department, law and order and public order were under what is known as Public Department. This was so in Kamaraj's period. This was so in Karunanidhi's first tenure. This was so in Annadurai's tenure. This was so for 11 years of MGR's rule. But when Mr. Karunanidhi became the Chief Minister again, public order and law and order remained with the Public Department under the Chief Secretary. So long as Rajiv Gandhi's Government was here in 1989 he did not dare to make the change. After V. P. Singh's Government came into office and after he was assured that his Government would not be dismissed and Assembly dissolved, once he was fully secured, he made the most pernicious change as far as Tamil Nadu administration is concerned. On 17th of February, 1990 public order and law and order were taken out of the Chief Secretary's control and placed under the Home Secretary. The Home Secretary in Tamil Nadu is no different from Mr. Karunanidhi himself. He is a close relative of Mr. Karunanidhi. They share the same political ethos and ideology and for all practical purposes the whole of Tamil Nadu, particularly the civil services, knew that the then Home Secretary was the Deputy Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. This has been reversed after his dismissal. On 2nd of February, 1991 public order and law and order were placed once again under the Chief Secretary's control. What happened in this period of 12 months between 17th of February, 1990 and 2nd of February, 1991 is the most deplorable story in the history of Tamil Nadu.

14.59 hrs.

[SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN in the Chair]

In April, 1990 the Q Branch of the Police

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of the State of Tamil Nadu established formal contacts with the LTTE. I believe, there is evidence that a LTTE leader met the Q Branch and a detailed plan was drawn up on how LTTE activities could be carried on in Tamil Nadu without interference from the Police.

EPRLF cadres were brought to Orissa. They came here as refugees, chased out of the north-eastern province of Sri Lanka. They were initially kept in Malkangiri District of Orissa.

15.00 hrs.

Then, because they did not like the language or the climate or the food, following their request and because the people of Tamil Nadu also made this demand, they were moved to Tamil Nadu. Every movement of the EPRLF, particularly of Mr. Padmanabha and other senior leaders, was conveyed by the State police to the LTTE. When Padmanabha came to Madras in the first or second week of June, his arrival in Madras was notified to the LTTE. The location of the EPRLF House was conveyed to the LTTE and on the 19th of June, 1990, the most dastardly crime to have been committed in recent times in the city of Madras was committed. Almost sixteen or seventeen EPRLF cadres, including Padmanabha, were killed by the LTTE. The first reaction of Mr. Karunanidhi and his police chief was: "We do not know who perpetrated these murders." Not only did they kill them, they traversed 350 kilometres from Madras to Thanjavur coast and this wonderful Central Government and this great Tamil Nadu Police of Karunanidhi could not intercept them or stop them while they traversed 350 kilometres from Madras to Thanjavur coast and escaped by a boat via Palk Strait. An hon. Member of Parliament belonging to the DMK, and part of the National Front, met another emissary

of LTTE, by name Dixon, and another chosen emissary, by name Nateshan, and conveyed to them that following the murder of EPRLF cadres, they were under pressure to take action and, therefore, the LTTE should be very careful in its wireless communications. On the 26th of June, 1990-I give this date and ask the Minister of State for Home to either confirm or deny that this is correct—the Chief Minister met two chosen emissaries of the LTTE—Mr. Kasi Anandan and Mr. Nateshan. These two names have been disclosed by Mr. Subramaniam Swamy, Minister of Commerce, in Madras yesterday.

AN HON. MEMBER: Very dependable source!

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He is better than your source. On the 26th of June, 1990, the Chief Minister met these two emissaries. On that day, that is, seven days after this murder and assassination, a sum of Rs. four lakhs was paid by the DMK to the LTTE. An hon. Member of Parliament was present at the meeting and at that meeting the Chief Minister is reported to have told LTTE leaders: "Take me into confidence before you launch any action here so that I can warn my police. Padmanabha is a betrayer, so is Varadaraja Perumal. My only regret is that Padmanabhan should have been killed in Tamil Nadu and thereby I have the obnoxious duty of placing a wreath on the body of Padmanabha, but I will not join the funeral procession." This is what he is reported to have told Mr. Nateshan and Kasi Anandan. The hon. Member of Parliament sent a message to LTTE saying: "Deny your involvement in the killing of EPRLF leaders." The Police chief, even before the investigations started, exonerated the LTTE. For 350 kilometres, with a very massive wireless communication system, they could not intercept a vehicle. They knew where the boats had been parked but they allowed them to escape. I want to know what instructions were sent by the then Central Government to the State Government following the killing EPRLF leaders. My question is were any instructions sent at all. If

instructions were sent, what instructions were sent? If instructions were sent, were they obeyed, were they enforced? We want clear and categorical answers to these questions. Did these instructions remain on paper? Was there any follow up? Was any action taken? Did any official go down from Delhi? What did the Central Government do to protect the EPRLF refugees who had been brought by the Government of India from the North Eastern Province to India with the promise that they will be given refuge and sanctuary and protection?

Sir, at about this time, the then Home Secretary held a series of secret meetings with the LTTE and told them, "Don't worry, ignore the CID, if the CID or Q branch of Tamil Nadu Police comes to you and asks you any questions, do not answer those questions, ignore them. I will take care of them." Is this true or not?

Sir, let me move on to another shocking development which happened in 1990. On the 14th of May, 1990 the Q Branch of the Tamil Nadu Police registered a case against five persons in Coimbatore. Accused No. 1 was a persons by name Aruchamy, the District Secretary of the Dravida Kazhagam. Dravida Kazhagam is the fore-runner of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, and continues to enjoy close links with the DMK. The charge was that the underground arms factory was manufacturing arms, grenades and ammunition. Arul-89 is the name of the grenade which was manufactured. Pasalan-2000 is the name of the ammunition manufactured. Claymore mines and Johnny mines were manufactured. 30" to 40" mortars were manufactured. Sir, I ask the Minister of State for Home: What has happened to that case? Did this case come to the notice of the V.P. Singh Government? Did they monitor the progress of this case? Foreigners who had come to India seeking refuge and who established a clandestine arms and ammunition factory in Coimbatore were apprehended

and a case was registered. What did the Central Government do? What has happened to that case? What is the progress of that case? Who is Killy Annan? Who is Udayan? Sir, my information is Killy Annan and Udayan are two leading LTTE cadres who were specifically deputed to Coimbatore to set up this arms factory. when was Udayan first apprehended? Not during V. P. Singh Government, not during Karunanidhi's Government. Udayan was first apprehended on the fourth of February this year, after the imposition of President's rule. I want to know: Has Udayan been interrogated? What has Udayan got to say? Has he confessed to anything? Has he revealed what was manufactured? Has he revealed what was transported to Sri Lanka? Has he revealed the sources of his money?

Sir, these questions must be answered and we must know what happened to this case which the Q branch registered on 14.5.1990 and what progress has been made in this case.

Let me know take you, Sir, to another deplorable development. One prominent LTTE cadre was deputed specifically to conduct what are described as shore operations, that is launching and landing of boats on the coast of Tamil Nadu. Many of these coastal landing spots are in my constituency and I had an occasion in the last session of Parliament to speak about that. I demanded, I asked the Prime Minister to depute officers to investigate. The Prime Minister has written back to me confirming broadly what I said. today I have more information.

Sir, a major operation was set up here to procure boats, to use them for smuggling gold and arms into Tamil Nadu as well as smuggling out diesel, petrol and other POL products. Between July, 1990 and December, 1990 there was an average of two to three landings per week, may be more. During

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this period of six months, one lakh litres of petrol alone had been taken out of Tamil Nadu. How did this happen? The then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu met Natesan, the appointed emissary on the 2nd of July, 1990; a detailed blueprint was drawn up of the villages which will be converted to coastal landing points. I will give you the names of the villages. They are, Meemisal in Pudukkotta District, Mullimunai, Karangadu, Soliakkudi and M.R. Patnam in Romanathamann District. These are the villages chosen for this purpose. Four of these villages fall in my constituency. I went there and I made these charges in the last Session of Parliament. Bus services to these villages had been curtailed; water supply had been curtailed so that there would be no movement of people through these villages. I have seen the landing sites myself. The whole area has been cleared so that the boats can come whenever they like and go whenever they like. On a specific request made by the LTTE, the then Home Secretary said Mallipatnam will also be cleared for these landings. Boats were procured in Tamil Nadu; fibre glass boats were ordered on a firm in Tamil Nadu. When I come to ULFA I will tell you more about that. The emissary went to Malaysia to procure boats; he went to England to arrange for money. Boats were procured in Malaysia, money was got in England, boats were ordered at a factory in Tamil Nadu and these boats were used.

Sir, our information is that gold alone worth about Rs. 1/1-2 crores was smuggled and *hawala* transactions worth about Rs. 1-1/2 crores have taken place during the last six months. What was the Central Government doing? Where was the Enforcement Directorate? Where was the Economic Intelligence Bureau? Where was the Revenue Intelligence? And what happened to Customs authorities? On the 12th of December, 1989, Mr. Govindarajan, a Customs Inspector

and four other constables were abducted; they returned on the 24th of December, 1989. Despite numerous demands made, the V.P. Singh Government has not so far furnished the answer to Parliament and to this country as to what happened to these Customs officers between 12th of December, 1989 and the 24th of December, 1989. They were abducted by the LTTE, taken to a remote place in Sri Lanka, kept as hostages and captious for 12 days and brought back to Tamil Nadu. During this period, our information is, Rs. 94 lakhs was taken out to Bangkok for purchase of arms. An hon. Member of Parliament's car was used by the LTTE. This car was intercepted on the 29th of June, 1990 in Tamil Nadu. The car had an occupant by name Mr. Adaikkalam, a State Government employee; anyone in Tamil Nadu now knows about these things. These things have come to surface now. I want to know from the hon. Minister; is it true that the car was intercepted on the 29th of June, 1990? Is it true that a State Government employee by name, Mr. Adaikkalam was found in the car? Is it true that this car was used by the LTTE? Is it true that these villages were cleared for landings and launchings of boats? Who has been arrested now? Our information is one Menon and one Kiruban have been arrested along with Udayan in the first week of February. Has Menon been interrogated? Has Kiruban been interrogated? What have they said in the interrogation? Why were they not arrested earlier?

Sir, I make another serious charge. One of these three people was apprehended twice by accident by the Tamil Nadu Police last year. In the normal operations, they apprehend people who were moving in suspicious circumstances. One of these was apprehended twice and on both the occasions, he was let out on instructions from the topmost level of the State Government without showing the arrest on the police records. For the third time he was appre-

hended in the first week of February and now he has been taken into custody. Was the Central Government aware of these arrests? Was the Central Government aware of these transactions, these smuggling activities and what did the Central Government do?

Sir, when the then Chief Minister met Natesan on 2nd of July, 1990, he promised that the coast will be cleared for landings and he also stated something more interesting. He said, I have consulted the Railway Minister, Mr. George Fernandes and you may go ahead with your actions." I make this charge and I want the Government to tell us whether the meeting took place or not. I have given you the date, place and the names. Let the Government tell us whether the meeting took place at all.

Let me come to the LTTE-ULFA links. On the 2nd of September, 1990, Mr. George Fernandes stated and he was widely reported that ULFA has emerged as the lynch-pin and Link between all militant groups in India including LTTE. It is not my statement. It is Mr. George Fernandes statement made on the second of September.

I shared with the House some of the information on the last occasion. I will give you more information and I want the hon. Minister to tell us whether it is correct or not. Kokil Gogoi, a top leader of the ULFA visited Madras in 1990, after V. P. Singh Government came into office. An ULFA cell was set up in Tamil Nadu in February, 1990. The objects were the following:

1. Tamil Nadu should have few safe houses which can provide sanctuary to ULFA cadres if they are under pressure in Assam, and if they escape to Tamil Nadu, there must be safe houses.
2. Medical aid for injured cadres, which was very successfully

carried out by falsifying records in the Christian Medical College, Vellore.

3. An open line to LTTE for procurement of arms and recruitment of trainers.

A three-member Cell was established in Tamil Nadu. I made the charge on the last occasion also that six safe houses in Madras and Vellore were located. I am not in a position to say that all the six houses were used simultaneously but it may be that three houses were used for some time and they moved to another house and then to another house. But six safe houses were used in Madras and Vellore. You may remember that S.P. Dibrugarh was shot dead and the prime suspect according to the Assam Police is one Mr. Jirwal Gogoi. DGP Assam wrote two letters to the DGP Tamil Nadu asking for cooperation and help in apprehending not only Jirwal Gogoi but other suspects in S. P. Dibrugarh murder case as well as in some other cases. DGP, Tamil Nadu sat on this letter and took no action whatsoever. I do not know whether he brought it to the notice of the political masters but certainly he did not share it with top level officials of the State Government. Jirwal Gogoi visited Tamil Nadu on several occasions in February, 1990, there is reason to believe that he remained in Tamil Nadu-Madras and Vellore for several days. He was not arrested. After the change of Government in the Centre, after the V. P. Singh Government was replaced by the Chandra Shekhar Government, Jirwal Gogoi was arrested in December, 1990.

I want to know the circumstances under which Jovel Gogoi was arrested. On whose instance was he arrested? Who gave the information that he was in Vellore and how was he arrested and how long was he in Tamil Nadu and why was he not arrested earlier?

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

I demand an inquiry into the two letters written by DGP Assam to DGP Tamil Nadu. The action either taken or not taken by the DGP Tamil Nadu, and the entire circumstances leading to the arrest of Juwal Gogoi in December, 1990 must be inquired into and must be placed before Parliament. It is a very serious charge. An IPS Officer holding the Office of SP Dibrugarh was killed and a State Government throws a net to arrest him. He goes to Tamil Nadu. They get information. They write to the State Government. The State Government does not move a little finger. The Central Government sleeps over its duties and only after the Central Government is changed at the instance of the new Central Government, Juwal Gogoi is arrested in December, 1990.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:
By Karnataka Government.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You have much to answer, Mr. V. P. Singh. Your turn will come. You would have destroyed Tamil Nadu if you continued in power. You would have destroyed India. *(Interruptions)* You can answer the charge. Why do you interrupt now? *(Interruptions)* Come to Tamil Nadu and the people of Tamil Nadu will teach you a lesson.

*(Interruptions)***

SHRI SHRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack): He is responsible for that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All these things will not be reported. All these unnecessary comments will not be reported.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your

seats. You will get your turn. Mr. Chidambaram, please continue.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Ratul Katoki, two other, the three Central Committee Members of ULFA visited Tamil Nadu in the first week of August. *(Interruptions)* They returned to Assam with a top LTTE leader under the code name, Rangappa. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: After this, Mr. V. P. Singh will be speaking. If you continue like this, they may also interrupt when Mr. V. P. Singh is speaking. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA: I will not allow the House to function.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You should not behave like this.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Ratul Katoki and two others, Central Committee Members of ULFA, visited Tamil Nadu in the first week of August. They returned to Assam with an LTTE leader, code named Rangappa. Rangappa stays in Assam for two months. I want to know is there any evidence of LTTE trainers visiting Assam. Is there any evidence of LTTE trainers training ULFA Cadres? What are the links between the ULFA and the LTTE? All this must be placed before this House.

Sir, on the 14th of November, 1990—not very long ago, three months ago—the then Home Secretary made an astounding statement. It was reported in all the newspapers on the 15th of November. In a statement he said: "There is no infiltration by LTTE or any other militant group into Tamil Nadu."

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE
(Belpur): When was it made?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: On the 14th of November, 1990—three months ago.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Shri Subodh Kant was a Minister here.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Shri Subodh Kant was indeed a Minister and Shri V. P. Singh was also the Prime Minister. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, Please. All these points raised without the permission of the Chair will not be recorded.

(Interruptions)**

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He made an astounding statement. It was widely reported in all the newspapers. He said: "There is no infiltration of any militant group including LTTE into Tamil Nadu. There is no arms movement in Tamil Nadu. There is no smuggling into or out of Tamil Nadu, as alleged and there are no wireless communications."

Sir, in February, after the imposition of President's rule, 17 key LTTE leaders were arrested out of which six were the top-most leaders. Shortly thereafter, according to information made public by the State Government, 12 more were arrested bringing the total number arrested to 29. When these 29 people were arrested passports, genuine passports, genuine in the sense that they were issued through a competent authority in fictitious names, both by the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka—27 passports were seized. Documents relating to hawala transactions running into Rs. 1-1/2 crores were seized.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Was president's rule imposed for hawala transaction? (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Very High Frequency and High Frequency wireless communication systems were seized. Cars were seized. Here was a Home Secretary making a statement, three months ago, that nothing of the sort was going on in Tamil Nadu. Five days after the Government was dismissed, when these people were arrested, these things were unearthed. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, Please. Running commentary should not be made.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I want to know what action is the Government of India taking against these officers who indulged in this massive cover up. I charge the Central Government and the State Government of joining hands in a massive cover up of all that happened during 1990. On the 12th of December, 1990, after the change of Government at the Centre, the Chief Minister once again meets Shri Kasi Anandan. On the 19th December, 1990, he meets another Emissary Shri Sachchidanandan. He is under pressure from the Central Government, he says. He says: "Paramilitary forces are arriving in Tamil Nadu very soon. Therefore, go into hiding." I charge the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for having passed on information to the LTTE that the paramilitary forces are arriving and advising them to go into hiding. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: How does he know all this information?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You deny this charge. I know it because I use my eyes

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

and ears. You were not here when I started my speech. I take the responsibility. I know that. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, you can reply while you speak.

(Interruptions)

SRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have taken the responsibility. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am on a point of order. He is an hon. Member who is apparently not in the Government. How does he have access to the official documents? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have taken responsibility for what I have said. I demanded a public inquiry. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not correct. Mr. Chatterjee, while you speak, you can reply. You can deny.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am not the Government here. The question is: How does he come to know of this?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He says that he knows it. Mr. Chatterjee, please don't waste time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is not a party matter. How does he know. If I want the file, will he show me the file?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You ask for it, if you want. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Did you want to say that?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I do not want

it. How I know the information, I cannot tell you.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: This is the conspiracy. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: This seat is a very hallowed seat. I remember, it used to be occupied by an hon. Member known as Shri Jaswant Singh. And when Mr. Jaswant Singh rose and made a statement, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee did not ask him where he got that information. Today he wants to know, "where I got this information." I got this information in the same manner in which Mr. Jaswant Singh got the information. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Therefore, you are inspired by Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Yes, I am. In this matter of promulgation of President's rule, Mr. Jaswant Singh's party, at least in Tamil Nadu, is completely in agreement with us. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: How many minutes do you more want?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will take another five minutes. The CPM has no stake in Tamil Nadu. *(Interruptions)* It cares little for what happened in Tamil Nadu. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is the Congress(I) which is the biggest party up till now and they are now being.. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not yielding. Is it going on record?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have already stated that all those things spoken, without my permission, will not be recorded.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to say whether it is Mr. Somnath Chatterjee or Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, comments made, without my permission will not be recorded.

SHRIP. CHAIDAMBARAM: What is the use? Thanks to what has happened in the last year and a half in Tamil Nadu, Chauvinistic and secessionist activities have increased in the last year. Today we have a Tamil Nationalist Movement in Tamil Nadu set up in 1990 which is bold enough to publicly state that it believes in the right of self-determination for the Tamil People. This is due to the political climate created by Shri V. P. Singh and the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu. The DMK gave up secessionism in 1963 and for nearly 26 or 27 years, they had not raised their voice for a separate Tamil Nadu or have publicly spoken for secessionism. Today a climate is being fostered in Tamil Nadu. The Tamil Nationalist Movement set up in 1990 which functions as a porg, publicly tells that it believes in the right of self-determination for the Tamil people. (Interruptions) This is how separatist movements grow. Unless you nip it in the bud, unless you take stern action, this will grow into a monster. Today there is the Thamizh Manavar Preravai, the so-called students body. There is Marxist Periyarist Communist Party....

AN HON. MEMBER: Somnath Chatterjee's.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Even Mr. Chidambaram does not say that.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I do not say that. Today there is the Marxist Periyarist Community Party. There are at least three organisations which openly now speak that greater Tamils must form Greater Tamil Nadu. They are openly pleading for self-determi-

nation and secessionism. This is the time when we must all unite and nip this in the bud. You cannot allow this to grow in Tamil Nadu. This will grow into a monster. And this monster then will be difficult to control.

There is a popular misconception that Tamil Nadu is a have not peace. In 1990 in Tamil Nadu, there were 37 communal incidents. I am not making any comparison with any other States; I am just making a statement of fact. I know there are some other States which are worse affected. There were 37 communal incidents-8 dead and 237 injured. Worse, there were 137 caste clashes-52 dead and 375 injured. There were 97 inter-party political clashes-7 killed. This is the information published by the State Government now.

Much is made about the Governor not having submitted a report. It is not for me to answer that. Again let me go back to 1977 when the originators of the doctrine dismissed nine governments in exercise of the powers under article 356. It does not lie in their mouth to make these allegations. According to my information, Governor Barnala was totally ignorant about what was going on in Tamilnadu and he said it in so many words. Governor Barnala said, "I don't know what was going on in Tamilnadu because I was kept in the dark. No reports came to me, no information was given to me by the Chief Minister." What has be to report on? All the papers have carried that he was called to Delhi, the information was placed before him and according to my information all that Governor Barnala said was, this information is with the Central Government, it is for you to act.

Now much is made about Governor Barnala's removal. Let me ask a question. Mr. Alexander was the Governor there in the President's Rule.....(Interruptions)*..... Mr. Somnath Chatterjee cannot pack me off

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

to the State Legislature. I will remain here to haunt him for ever.

Mr. Alexander was the Governor when elections were held. He was the Governor who inducted the DMK Government into power and Mr. Karunanidhi did not demand his removal. Yet the V. P. Singh's Government removed Governor Alexander. Why? Where were these voices, which are so loud, high and mighty about Governor Bamala's removal, when Governor Alexander was removed? What right have they got to speak about Governor Bamala's removal?

Today we demand immediate elections in Tamilnadu. Let me say for the record, the leader of party who has spoken against elections and that leader is no record saying "why hold immediate elections in Tamilnadu" is that great respector of democracy Mr. Karunanidhi. He said, why hold elections in Tamilnadu? Because he knows that if elections are held in Tamilnadu? His party will be wiped out of Tamilnadu. Therefore he does not want an immediate election. I demand that the Prime Minister who is here must announce at the end of this debate the date for elections in Tamilnadu. We want this debate to conclude with the Prime Minister or the Minister concerned announcing the date for elections.

There is much to be done in the next four weeks. Firstly, the public distribution system is in a shambles in Tamilnadu thanks to massive corruption it is in a shambles. The Prime Minister or the Minister concerned must take action to remedy the public distribution system.

The only elections that the DMK won was a rigged cooperative society elections held last year. This was the last malevolent action of the DMK which reduced its credibility to zero. These cooperative elections must

be annuled. If they are not annuled by the President's Rule, let me give notice that the new popular Government will surely annual these cooperative elections, a totally fraudulent election conducted all over Tamilnadu. Under the threat of nationalisation of bus transport, under the threat of imposition of Sales Tax on hotels with a turn-over of over five lakhs of rupees, vast amounts of money were collected by the DMK Government. I give you an extra-ordinary development. The then Education Minister of Tamilnadu publicly announced that he would recruit Secondary Grade Teachers. Recruitment took place; lists were drawn up; because the lists were drawn up by the Education Minister, the Chief Minister stayed that list and that list has not seen the light of the day. People who have paid money to get into that list are now demanding that money back from the DMK. (Interruptions)

Police Constables' recruitment was kept pending because money was collected for the Police Constables' recruitment. Two so-called village level workers one male and one female cadre belonging to the DMK have been appointed in each of the 16,500 villages. This is the only job, created by the DMK Government. If President's rule does not terminate immediately these 33,000 appointments, let me again give notice that the popular Government will surely terminate these appointments of DMK cadres of one male and one female worker in each village.

False cases have been launched against political party leaders, false cases have been launched against newspapers and magazines. There is no paper in Tamilnadu, which does not have a case against it. The then Home Secretary has launched a series of defamation cases against newspapers, magazines and political parties. Even Shri Somnath Chatterjee cannot defend that.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: De-
fend what?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Defend the false cases launched against newspapers, magazines for writing against the DMK.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: If it is a false case I will support you.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: When the Congress party agitated for retaining the name of a railway station, named after Kamaraj, 50,000 Congress volunteers were arrested and put in jails. The High Court struck that down on the ground of gross misuse of magistracy, gross misuse of the police. The Judgement of the High Court was delivered by the Division Bench. That case has still not been withdrawn. 50,000 cases were registered for doing peaceful *Satyagraha*. Date for the *Satyagraha* was announced; time was announced and the place was announced. When I went there, the DSP said, "Please come to this platform; train is waiting; please hold the *Satyagraha*". And 50,000 cases are still pending.

When the AIADMK launched an agitation, 30,000 AIADMK volunteers were arrested and they were put in prison. Their cases are pending.

So, I demand, the President's rule should review these false cases against political parties, political party leaders and take action.

Let me conclude by saying that we demand elections. We cannot accept a situation when elections are postponed.

Sir, the festival of Ramzan is starting on March 18th or so and is coming to an end on April 17th. Since I am told that the colleges...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Told by whom?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am told by the thinking human-beings!

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Because you cannot think on your own.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Nobody can give you either right thinking or humanity.

Sir, I am told that college and school buildings will not be available for about ten days in April. All these can take us at the most, only to the end of April. We would like elections early, in April. If elections are not possible because of Ramzan, if elections are not possible because of college and School buildings not being available, we demand elections during the first week of May. Sir, we demand elections should take place in May.

Finally, I will end with what I said. (*Interruptions*) Let me put it as the first half of May. Sir, I have made serious charges. If these serious charges are denied, that is not the end of the matter. (*Interruptions*) The matter does not brook any delay or indifference. We demand a public inquiry into all that has happened in Tamilnadu, in the matter affecting national security and public order. Let us not caricature it as a law and order problem; it is not a mere law and order problem. It is a problem affecting public order; it is a problem affecting national security. The Prime Minister must assure this House that a public inquiry will be held and the a high-powered inquiry Committee will be constituted to go into all that has happened in the later half of 1989 and in 1990; into all that the DMK did in furtherance of its clandestine and secret objective of carving out a separate Tamilnadu in support of secessionism and under the guise of a plea of self-examination for the Tamils. The people of Tamil Nadu demand of the Prime Minister an unequivocal answer to our demand for inquiry and to our demand for elections.