

the workers of Anganwadi scheme so that they could meet their basic necessities.

MR. SPEAKER : Well done. Today, you have delivered a very good speech in Hindi.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : Thank you very much.

12.35 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1987-88—
Contd.
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—
Contd.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now, we go to the next item, namely, further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Now, the Minister for State for Home will intervene.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members for the wide-ranging discussion on the Demands of the Home Ministry. I am particularly grateful to the Members for highlighting the gravity of the communal situation in India and making valuable suggestions about how to deal with the situation.

The internal security environment has been our primary concern in the last two years. In fact, ever since this Government assumed office we have strained every nerve and done everything in our power to reach out to people who felt alienated, to reach out to groups, organisations and parties which had genuine grievances and to find solutions to problems. Our whole approach was based on a spirit of re-conciliation, a spirit of understanding of genuine problems and a genuine concern for finding solutions. In Punjab, in Assam, in Mizoram, in Jammu

and Kashmir and in Tripura this has been the guiding spirit as far as this Government is concerned and as far as this Ministry is concerned.

We have never contributed to the heat of any argument. On the contrary we have tried to go beyond what it appears on the surface, tried to go to the roots of the problems and find genuine solutions which will be permanent and which will bring peace in an area of disturbance. But during this process while most people have extended their cooperation and support there are still some forces and some groups which either do not see the wisdom of this path or seeing the wisdom of this path deliberately want to place obstacles on this path. That is why it appears that the security environment has deteriorated. In a sense it has deteriorated, but in another sense we must recognise that the forces of nationalism, the forces of integrity, the forces of unity and the forces of patriotism have also been strengthened in the last two years. Despite tremendous odds we went through an election in Punjab and there is in Punjab today a Government elected by the people. The same is true of Assam. The same is true of Mizoram. The same is true of Jammu and Kashmir. We may have lost as a party but we have gained as a Nation and that, I believe, is most important.

Sir, I want to pay tribute to the Central police organisations. Never in the history of Independent India have the resources of the Central police organisations been stretched so much. The CRPF, the BSF, the Assam Rifles and the ITBP have performed under tremendous odds. On internal security, the brunt of the responsibility has been borne by the CRPF assisted by the BSF and the Assam Rifles. On our borders, the BSF has rendered yeoman's service. When there was a challenge to the integrity of this nation, when there was a threat on the borders, the BSF rose to the occasion and was able to stand side by side with our Defence forces. In fact, our Defence forces have nothing but praise for the kind of assistance and help they got from the BSF.

12.40 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *In the Chair*]

Sir, in the snow-clad mountains of the

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Himalayas, the Jawans of the ITBP serve at heights of 15,000 ft. to 20,000 ft. They spend six to nine months in a year in a very inhospitable climate. They are exposed to very special kind of occupational hazards. Yet they have performed their jobs manfully. Sir, I want to take this opportunity to salute our CRPF, our BSF, our ITBP and our Assam Rifles.

Sir, under the guidance of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, we have done a very exhaustive review of the problems facing our Central police organisations. We have taken some far-reaching decisions. I wish to share with this House some of the decisions that we have taken which will make the conditions of service in these forces slightly better, which will make them give of their best which will make them more secure, which will make their families more secure. We have taken a number of decisions and I want to share some of the decisions.

Firstly, we are now in an advanced stage of deciding on a comprehensive group insurance scheme for all ranks of the Central police organisations which will give them a substantially higher benefit in case of death during service and in case of retirement. The details of this scheme will be announced shortly. We are doing this in consultation with the Life Insurance Corporation and it would be a tremendous improvement to the service conditions of our Central police organisations.

Secondly, Sir, we are concerned about the facilities in the border outposts. These border outposts are on our western border, on our eastern border and some of them on the northern border at heights of 15,000 ft. to 20,000 ft. We are now trying to improve the conditions of living in the border outposts and particularly communication facilities. The kind of change that is being brought about in communication facilities will mean that every border outpost is linked either to the Company headquarters or to the battalion headquarters, is linked not only in terms of communicating messages and orders but also linked in terms of providing them food and supplies. When these decisions are implemented, we hope that conditions

of service in these remote border outposts, where they stand vigil on our borders and protect the unity and integrity of the country, will be slightly better.

Sir, we attach great importance to training. Because we have stretched our forces too thin, training has been a casualty. But we cannot allow this situation to continue much longer.

I would appeal to State Governments that while they are entitled to ask the Central Government for support, while it is a legitimate demand which we would be obliged to meet and we have met every legitimate demand of the State Governments during the last two years, I would appeal to the State Governments to cooperate with us in ensuring that the training complements of our Central police organisations are not tapped. We must train our forces. They must go back to retraining. They must go back for rest and recuperation. Sometimes, therefore, we will have to say no to some demands of the State Governments. But we need to have 83 companies of the CRPF on training at any given day and we cannot go below this minimum. We can spare our forces only subject to the requirements of training. Today, we have commissioned audits of the training programmes for all our Central police organisations. This is under way. When these audit reports are received in the next two to three months we will revamp the training programmes, we will upgrade the training programmes, give them more equipment, give them more teaching facilities. When the new programmes are implemented after the audits are completed in two to three months, you will find that our forces are qualitatively better.

Housing is an area of great concern for us. We are nowhere near the level of satisfaction. We have sought the cooperation of the Urban Development Ministry. Funds are available. Ministry of Urban Development will, we hope give us cooperation and this year we intend to do more in the area of housing than we have done in the past. Housing is a very important element to keep our forces at a high level of satisfaction.

Sometimes we find that there is unjustified criticism of the performance of the

Central police organizations. There may be stray incidents here and there; under grave provocation some Jawans sometimes may behave in a manner which is not befitting of the uniform that they wear, but please let us not generalize. Let us look at these isolated incidents in the background of the tremendous service that they are doing day and night throughout the year in the far-flung corners of this country. What make for headlines are the isolated incidents. But what should fill our hearts with gratitude is the work that is done silently, quietly, efficiently, loyally and with devotion every day and every night throughout the year. I think, with improved training, better conditions of service, better facilities, better retirement benefits and a comprehensive group insurance scheme, we would have motivated our Jawans to perform better and even these isolated incidents of wrong behaviour will be a thing of the past and will not be repeated in future.

There has been a discussion on many subjects. I will try to answer some of them and the Home Minister, in his concluding remarks, will answer the remaining points.

Firstly, I want to touch upon the Assam accord about which there has been a considerable debate. We have repeatedly said in Parliament and outside that we are committed to implementing the Assam accord. There is no dilution in that commitment. Even under grave provocation, we have never tried to raise the level of the rhetoric. On the country, our effort has always been to persuade, to reason, to argue and to find a solution. I do not have to read point by point the progress in implementation of the Assam accord, but there are some points on which, I think, it is necessary to clarify so that the doubts raised yesterday during the course of the debate are dispelled.

Hon. Member, Shri Goswami sought to say that the Central Government has been tardy in implementing the accord. It is far from correct. On the contrary, we think, that the State Government is often in two minds about whether it should go ahead in implementing the accord or keep

this a 'live' issue. Perhaps, there are political advantages in keeping the fire burning. But they would be doing a great disservice to the people of Assam who have elected them to government, if they want to keep the fire burning. The best course, the course that is dictated by wisdom and prudence is to cooperate and implement the Assam Accord, and not to find scapegoats for the difficulties that have arisen in implementing some points of the Accord.

Let me take Sir, paragraph 55 of the Accord. The idea was to strengthen the machinery for detection. It was proposed that 18 officers should be appointed in the rank of superintendent police. 18 names were sent. But we said that, in their own interest, that these 18 officers should be a mix of officers drawn from the Assam Police as well as drawn from the Indian Police Service. We also said that it should not appear that there is a regional colour to these officers who will be officers engaged in strengthening the machinery. Finally, there was agreement between the Central Government and the State Government. We approved the names of officers which they had sent. They eventually agreed that 10 officers would be adequate. But then, another obstacle arose. We wanted them to tell us which officers should be appointed to which district. We could have done it ourselves. But we did not want to do that. We wanted them to be associated in allotting officers to districts. That took time. Finally, when the Assam Government named the officers and the districts, promptly we issued the notification and the officers are doing their job.

Now what does it show? This example shows that there must be an understanding of the dynamics of the working of a government. A government does not work on slogans. A government cannot work on rhetoric. A government cannot work on suspicion. You can work only if you bend down to the serious business of running a government. My appeal to the Assam Government, my appeal to the young men and women who have formed that Government is this: "All right. Bend down, settle down to running a government. It is serious business."

Now take for example, the question of setting up of Tribunals. After tremendous

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effort and searching all over the country, we were able to identify 18 judges from outside Assam to man the Tribunals 18 judges were found inside Assam to man the Tribunals. We set up 20 functioning tribunals in which these 36 judges were holding office. Some judges held office in more than one tribunal. There were 20 functioning tribunals. What has happened in the last few months? Everyone of those 18 outside judges has been, so to say, encouraged to leave after the end of his tenure. There was no effort to request them to stay on after the end of the initial tenure and continue the work. Everyone of the 18 judges has gone now. And of the insiders, the 18 judges from Assam, six have been released. Today, there are only 12 judges manning four functioning tribunals. Now, whose fault is this?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat):
Who released them?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The Assam Government. We gave them 20 functioning tribunals. But they have only four functioning tribunals today. Yet, they turn round and say that this is an obstacle which we are placing in implementing the Accord. I would urge the Assam Government to review its position, to encourage judges to come to Assam and man these tribunals and not encourage them in very subtle ways to leave Assam and not man these tribunals.

SHRI M.R. SAIKIA (Nowgong): May I know whether the judges left Assam on their own accord or they were sent by the Government of Assam? My point is, they have left Assam on their own. The Assam Government cannot compel them to remain in Assam.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Kindly listen to me. I am using a careful language. I am saying, they had an initial tenure. At the end of the initial tenure, if you are a good manager, if you are a good Government, you will persuade them and encourage them to remain and carry out their tasks. But if you create objective conditions that they cannot continue, and if you subtly encourage them to leave Assam, then of course, they will leave Assam. The point

is, it is in your interest to encourage the judges to remain. If you are not able to do that, you are not a good manager. You are not running a good Government. That is what I am trying to say. If you are not a good manager, will not be able to manager your people.

(Interruptions)

SHRI H.A. DORA (Srikakulam): Did you receive any complaint to that effect or is it only your surmise?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I do not make surmises. I am making statements

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: What are you saying about...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: No he need not. If he wants, he can join the Indian Foreign Service for a few years.....

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S BUTA SINGH): Or retired people can go and give him some briefing.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Now the point is, the Assam Government must motivate judges to come to Assam and man the tribunals. We will help them. But the effort must come from the Assam Government.

There was a lot of debate on the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act—the I.M. (D.T.) Act. Now, we could argue and argue and never reach agreement. But the issue remains—and I want the hon. Members of the Opposition to kindly appreciate the point. A comparison is being made to the Foreigners Act of 1946. It was intended to apply and it did apply at that time, but in a very special situation, on the eve of independence and immediately thereafter. It was intended to apply to large number of people, belonging to a particular part of the world, essentially to identify members belonging to, what we may call, without any disrespect, the Anglo-Saxon race. Section 8 and 9, therefore say—that if he is a foreigner of a particular category—the ordinary rule of proof will apply under Section 8 and if it does not fall under Section 8, the special burden of proof will

apply under Section 9. Now what has this got to do with the I.M. (D.T.) Act? The I.M. (D.T.) Act does not empower the Tribunal to determine only whether a person is a foreigner or not. On the contrary, the I.M. (D.T.) Act charges the Tribunal to determine whether a person is an illegal migrant. And a person is an illegal migrant only if he satisfies each one of three conditions. Let me read Section 3 (c) :

"illegal migrant" means a person in respect of whom each of the following conditions is satisfied, namely :

- (i) he has entered into India on or after the 25th day of March, 1971,
- (ii) he is a foreigner,
- (iii) he has entered into India without being in possession of a valid passport or other travel document or any other lawful authority in that behalf."

"Foreigner" is defined as having the same meaning as in the Foreigners' act. So, the tribunal is not to determine only whether a person is a foreigner. The tribunal is to determine whether the person is a foreigner and whether he has entered India on or after 25th March, 1971 and whether he has entered India without being in possession of a valid passport or other travel document or any other lawful authority in that behalf. It is to determine whether all the three ingredients are satisfied that we have adopted under Section 12 the wholesome principle applicable to all civil tribunals, namely, the principle of preponderance of evidence. Section 12 says :

"The Tribunal to which a reference has been made under Section 8, or to which an application has been made under that section, shall, after taking such evidence as may be adduced before it and after making such inquiry as it may think fit and after hearing such persons as it may deem appropriate, by order, decide the question as to whether the person named in such reference or application, as the case may be, is or is not an illegal migrant."

Can you have a fairer provision than one which says after taking such evidence as may be adduced before it?

13.00 hrs.

Sir, the evidence can be adduced by both sides. Then, "after making such inquiry as may deem fit". It may be a local inquiry. It may be an inspection. It may be looking into documents. Also, "After hearing such persons as it may deem appropriate," wide powers have been given to this tribunal. There is an appellate tribunal. There is also the power under Article 226 and 227. This is the principle which many Hon. Members will bear out, a principle which applies to all civil tribunals under Indian law. All civil tribunals under the system of Anglo-American Jurisprudence; All civil tribunals function under this principle. And when the Assam Government raised doubts about it, we obtained legal opinion and we forward that legal opinion to the Assam Government on the 17th of December 1986. Sir, I wish to read a portion of that opinion. It says :

"Another well recognised rule is that a party need not prove such facts as are specially within the knowledge of other party. The evidentiary value of the evidence adduced before the tribunal and the credibility of the oral evidence let in will have to be judged by the tribunal. If we impose the burden of proof provided under Section 9 of the 1946 Act—that is only a limited Act applicable to a foreigner whereas other ingredients have to be proved here through 1983 Act, the same will be struck down as violative of the Article 21 of the Constitution."

Assam Government was requested to offer its views on the legal opinion. They have offered their opinion on the 13th March, 1987. So, they have taken three months to give their views. This view is being studied. But, in the meanwhile, I would most humbly appeal to Hon. Members belonging to other parties in the Opposition because you did speak on some matters but you should speak also on these matters so that your views are heard. What is independent opinion in these matters? What do independent commentators say? I find, Sir, that there is

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a fascination in the Opposition for certain newspapers. And I think opinion expressed by these newspapers would have same value as far as Members are concerned. I want to read from the opinion expressed by...
(Interruptions)

DR. G. S. RAJHANS (Jhanjharpur) :
You give a summary.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I want to read this portion because it is not that Government alone is taking this position and I think they should...
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Madam,
can you say about the Lunch break ?

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No, No.
Madam, wants to say about the Lunch.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY
AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT) :
Sir, I would like to suggest that this hon.
House will forego the whole Lunch Hour.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No lunch
break. Lunch is there, no lunch break.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT : I said
Lunch hour very categorically.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : For today
only. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : For today
only or from today... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT : For
today only. Tomorrow we will see
tomorrow.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : During
the days of the Budget proceedings we do
give up lunch hour. We are running behind
schedule.

SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT : That
is right. We have decided we will do so
subject to the approval of the House every-
day. This was decided in the BAC subject
to the approval of the House everyday.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : We will be
guillotining so many Ministries.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Sir, I
want Hon. Members of the Opposition and
belonging to some other parties to prevail
upon the Assam Government to realise the
folly of pressing this argument regarding
burden of proof. I personally and believe
and I most humbly submit it would be
violative of the Constitution. We cannot
agree to any change in the law which will
open the door to persecution of the poor
people or any minority. We cannot agree
to a change in the law which will open the
door for harassment by low level officials, of
people who may not have any documents—
which may be washed away in the floods,
lost in riots—and of people who have
suffered. We cannot add to the misery and
burden of these poor people. If, under the
law, it is possible to detect any person as an
illegal immigrant, certainly the law should
take its course, and the tribunals should
determine, subject to the appellate tribunal
and subject to the High Court. But it
would be a dereliction of duty on the part of
the Central Government, it would be a
dereliction of duty on the part of other
political parties, if they acquiesce in this
very unfair demand to shift the burden of
proof on persons who are poor, who are
weak and who have suffered. I would
humbly appeal to the Assam Government to
review its position, particularly when the
legal position is clear, viz. that any change
in the law would be violative of Article 21
of the Constitution.

May I read a portion from the editorial
of "The Times of India" ? It says :

"The sensitive implications of these
modifications that the AGP Government
is seeking are only too apparent. Aware
of the electoral promises it made to its
constituents on reducing the number of
illegal migrants settled in the State, it is
responding to the pressure being exerted
on it by public opinion to deliver. At
the same, minority groups in the State
have made plain their opposition to any
move to amend the 1983 Act on the
proposed lines. At the same
time, it is in the interests of harmony in
the State that the detection of illegal
migrants does not become an excuse for
a general witchhunt against the

minorities. So far, the Centre has ignored the issue in the hope that it will simply go away. But it will not, and the AGP Government is making sure that it does not."

Again, we have another view expressed by "The Statesman":

"It is easy to imagine, therefore, the fate of poor and unlettered villagers who may be suddenly set upon by lower level police officials at the instance of over-zealous student leaders and asked to prove their identity. Since the very plank on which the AGP attained power has undermined its impartiality, it is hardly possible for the Centre to accept its proposals, knowing that unrestrained authority in the matter of detecting illegal immigrants will only result in further harassment of the linguistic and religious minorities. If the AGP Government is keen on a proper implementation of the accord, it should desist from trying to change the terms of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act and allow it to follow its own, admittedly slow, but basically fair and legal procedure. The stipulations regarding the area from which a complaint can be lodged against a suspected immigrant, along with the payment of a fee, are meant to protect genuine citizens against frivolous and motivated charges. Any tampering with the rules to serve the purpose of a particular party will only provoke social tension. The best way to save the accord, therefore, is to let existing laws take their own course."

Independent opinion also supports the Central Government's position. It would be unfair to tamper with the cardinal features of the Act. Any minor changes to be made, we have agreed. Mr. Goswami himself pointed out that on 2 or 3 points we have reached agreement. We can look into that. But we cannot change the structure of the Act. It is a basically fair and sound Act.

There are some other aspects of the situation in Assam which require our attention. Firstly, reference was made to the Asoka Paper Mills. Now, what is the position? The position is: we have worked out the financial package. We have said

what our contribution will be. We have said that under the Accord, the Assam Government must be responsible for the take-over of the paper mill. We will help. We cannot agree to the demand that the mill be taken over by the Central Government. Though we have worked out a package, the Assam Government has yet to decide on its part of the package, and it is yet to decide on writing off the arrears which are owed by that mill to the Assam Government.

I believe there are some arrears of electricity; there are some arrears of sales tax, etc. They have not taken a decision. Unless they take a decision on their part of the package, it will be difficult.

Similarly, on the jute mills, we have already contributed Rs. 15 crores. Now, it is for the Assam Government to decide what it will contribute and what its part of the package will be. Unless the Assam Government decides its part of the package, it is not possible to go forward on this. Again on the IIT, a point was made yesterday. There is a group set up by the Ministry of Education. A consultant has been appointed. They are to give a report within six months. They have started work. We are waiting for the report of the Educational consultant. When the educational consultant gives its report, certainly we will go forward on the IIT. In no matter, on no issue, have we dragged our feet. On the contrary, we are committed to the Accord and we are conscious that we must implement it speedily. The point I would like to make is that you must create objective conditions. The Prime Minister spent 3½ hours sitting with the Chief Minister, going through every line of the Accord and explaining to him in Delhi. He was satisfied. But when he goes back to his State, he expresses dissatisfaction. I only hope that it was not because Mr. Dinesh Goswami travelled with him on the same plane. The point is that the Prime Minister patiently explained every line of the Accord, discussed with him and asked him about his problems, gave orders, went through with a fine tooth comb and said, yes, this is all that can be done and this is all that you should expect. You cannot be a statesman in Delhi and a politician in Assam. One must be a statesman in both the places. That is the only way you can solve these problems.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They are politicians in both the places.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : There is a problem about creating objective conditions. Now, how are you creating objective conditions? Are you doing it by continuing this totally misconceived struggle against Oil India? I think this is a dangerous course. Oil, coal, iron ore, manganese, water, every mineral every natural resource of the country, belongs to the whole of the country. Nobody can say that, if oil is explored in Assam, it belongs to Assam; nobody can say that if Iron ore is found in Bihar, it belongs to Bihar or if coal is found in Andhra Pradesh, it belongs to Andhra Pradesh. Oil is a natural resource. It has to be shared and exploited for the benefit of the country.

Now, Oil India has done tremendous work in the last several years. Oil India is one of our premier public sector concerns. When Oil India was faced with a threat of an agitation, which threatened to paralyse its operation, the Chief Executive stood his ground. The Chief Executive maintained order and peace in the complex. He produced oil for the country.

Now if there are problems about recruitment, problems about local people being encouraged, we can look into those problems. But you cannot pit the might of the government against the Chief Executive. This is a dangerous principle.

We have lost, I am told, something like 70,000 tonnes of oil valued at about Rs. 11.70 crores.

SHRI M.R. SAIKIA : That is not the loss. Oil is there; crude oil is still there. The operation is closed because of the fault of the Chief Executive. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Nobody has taken away the oil; nobody has said that the oil is taken away.

SHRI M.R. SAIKIA : Who is responsible for the prevailing situation in the oil fields there?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am not saying that. I am saying that there is

something known as opportunity cost. If you don't mine coal, nobody will take away coal. But you cannot mine coal 100 years later. There is a cost to time; there is a cost to opportunity. If there is machinery and men and equipment and an organisation to explore and exploit the oil wealth of this country, and if you keep them idle or it does not work to 100 per cent capacity or it does not reach its target of output, there is a cost and that cost will eventually fall upon you and me. You cannot rest content and say oil is under the ground, coal is under the ground, iron ore is under the ground.

SHRI M.R. SAIKIA : The original cost of it—who pays? It will be compensated when the operation will be started. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Sir, it has been estimated that the production loss as a result of shut down caused by the agitational problems during 1986-87 is Rs. 11.70 crores. Foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 10 crores will be required for import of crude to make up losses of production! Whom does this benefit. This benefit no one and I would again, through you and through this august House appeal to the Assam Government that if any problems must be sorted out they must be sorted out with reasoned debate, discussion and dialogue and one should not allow any organisation in Assam, may be a student body or may be student wing to take the law into its own hands and launch a programme which comes seriously in the way of running a public enterprise. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Has the experience of the Oil India given the Centre any second thoughts about the second additional refinery to be set up which is part of the accord?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : No.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It is going to be set up.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : We think that this is a passing phase. We think that people will see reason. But I want to

make it clear that while we will be willing to discuss and settle any problems we will not let down our public sector executives or the men who are threatened by a misguided agitations. That we will not allow. We will stand by our people who are doing a fine job under very difficult conditions.

To answer Mr. Indrajit Gupta's point, as regards the oil refinery in Assam, the State Government has been advised to identify suitable private parties and get a feasibility report prepared and the Central Government will provide the necessary assistance. This advice went out on the 15th September, 1986 and we have not yet received a reply from the State Government. We are committed to setting up of an oil refinery in Assam and they have to identify the suitable parties.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : In the Joint sector ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Yes, in the joint sector.

But the objective conditions must be created.

Today there is a climate in Assam where people belonging to other political parties fear that there is a threat to their lives and property. I do not wish to refer to the case of Mr. E.S. Parthasarathy which is pending in the Supreme Court. But everybody knows that it was a gruesome murder of a senior officer and the effort now is to take the case out of Assam so that it can receive a fair trial. But since then, what has happened in Assam is not very happy. I can mention names, these names are well-known. We must hang our heads in shame if people belonging to a different political party or having a different political persuasion are hounded and killed. I refer to the names of the following: Mr. Tankeswar Dhingia, Dr. Bhumidar Burman who was seriously injured, Shri Mantosh Das, ex-Chairman, Dibrugath Municipality, Shri Debjit Dhar Chowdhary of the Mahukma Parishad and Mr. Kalipada Sen of the UMF.

Now, the only fault of these people is they believed in a different political

philosophy or belonged to a different political party. Is it not the duty of any State Government—I am not referring to any particular State—is it not the duty of the State Government to create objective conditions under which people will feel that their rights are secure in that State? I would humbly urge the Assam Government to look into this problem. This is a very serious problem and we cannot allow the situation to continue in any State, much less in a State which has come out after six years of turmoil and which must find its feet and regain its economic strength. I do not want dwell much longer on Assam accord. I wish to assure the House that the Central Government is committed to the implementation of the Assam accord.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN
(Kishanganj): What about the activities of ULFA in Assam ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I will answer when I deal with that.

We seek the cooperation and understanding of the Assam Government in implementing the Assam accord.

There was a reference made yesterday to the Gorkhaland agitation. I thought that after the elections the rhetoric will come down. The rhetoric did come down even when the opposition members spoke yesterday. I do not want to raise the level of the rhetoric. But we must remember one thing. The first person who went to Darjeeling and made a statement on 19th December, 1986 in the heart of the area where the agitation was taking place, was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. On 19th December, 1986 the Prime Minister, although he was not accompanied by the Chief Minister, landed in Darjeeling and in a very hostile environment when there was a boycott call, went to the meeting and made a categorical statement that Gorkhaland will never be conceded and Bengal will never be divided. The Chief Minister accompanied the Prime Minister only on the second visit on 7th February, 1987. If any one has shown courage in proclaiming the correct position and policy, if any one has consistently stood by his policy, if any one has faced

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unjustified criticism in the matter and yet did not yield ground, if any one appealed to everybody to make this a non-election issue, if any one saw the danger of such a movement to the integrity of this country and therefore, kept the national interest above everything, it was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar) : It was Mr. Jyoti Basu.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : We do not want their certificate. If they give certificate, it will be a problem for us. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I think, I will compliment Mr. Jyoti Basu for joining the Prime Minister seven weeks after the Prime Minister went to Darjeeling. Some people see wisdom later. But as long as they see the wisdom we do not mind complimenting them...*(Interruptions)*

Our policy on Gorkhaland has been stated on more than one occasion. It is a clear and consistent policy. We do not subscribe to the demand and we oppose the demand for a separate State. Bengal will never be divided : we will never allow that.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour) : They are surreptitiously giving encouragement to the movement and making Gbeising a hero.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Sir, each State Government, each political party has a favourite hobby-horse. They have to ride this hobby-horse for a while, and they can continue to ride this hobby-horse...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI AMAL DATTA : If they had brought it in the elections, they would have got four instead of forty.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I must also compliment the State Government of West Bengal again for the rather late realisation. I am glad they no longer, I believe, use the Bengali word of either *Reshtriya Virodhi* or *Jatiya Virodhi*. Now the official documents are using the word *Vlchhintawatt*. I am glad that they have

consciously dropped the word 'anti-national'—a phrase which occupied a whole session of Parliament—and now they are dealing with the problem as it should be dealt with. It is a problem of a people, a problem of a section of the people who have genuine grievances, and these grievances, must be attended to.

One point which I wish to make is that we have a greater understanding on a person to person basis with Mr. Jyoti Basu who, I think, works very well with the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. It is only when the hon. Members of the CPI (M) as a group sit in this House, they take a position which is very different from what Mr. Jyoti Basu takes in his discussions either in Calcutta or in Delhi. So I would humbly appeal to Honourable Members that since they have implicit faith in Mr. Jyoti Basu, the hon. Members should leave the issue to Mr. Jyoti Basu and we will solve the problem using the good offices of Mr. Jyoti Basu, and they should turn their attention to other problems in this country.

I want to come to secularism at the end and I want to take a little time dealing with that. Some reference was made to the National Police Commission and to what we have done. I thought I will give the figures. There were 621 recommendations of the National Police Commission; 85 concerned the Government of India; on 84 we have taken decision. There is only one recommendation which is pending, that is, licensing of private detective agencies—something which is occupying the Opposition's mind these days. I did not intend to bring this up, but knowing what private detective agencies can do to their equanimity, I think they should allow us to keep this recommendation pending and not take a very hasty decision in the matter. As far as we are concerned, we have taken most of the vital decisions. The entire recommendations on training have been accepted. The National Crime Records Bureau has been set up. The Central Forensic Science Laboratories are being reorganised. Amendments to the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code and conferring powers on Executive Magistrates in respect of certain specified Acts are under process and they would be brought before the Parliament. Therefore, as far as Central

Government is concerned, we have taken considerable action on the recommendations of the National Police Commission.

I want to say a few words on some new movements which have reared their ugly head and which are dangerous to the country. Reference was made to ULFA. Our reports about ULFA are very disturbing. ULFA has made some contracts with some other movements in the North-East and I think the governments in the North-East must wake up to this problem. ULFA has built up its potential in the last three year. We know its area of operation we know, the districts in which it operates. It has some hard core members, many of whom, we believe, have been trained in camps run by the NSCN. What worries us is the link between these organisations, NSCN, ULFA and some other organisations. Governments in the north-east must wake up to the realities of the situation, and here I must say, thanks to the non-intervention of my hon. friends, Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary and Mr. Acharya, we were able to reach a good working arrangement with the Chief Minister of Tripura...

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : When you are doing something good, we do not intervene.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : If you had intervened, we would not have succeeded. We have reached good results—after Mr Sontosh Mohan Dev and I visited Agartala. Of course, the Chief Minister was initially reluctant to change his position, but we were able to persuade him that he must do certain things and we will do certain things. Now, what have we done in Tripura? In Tripura, the State Government has declared some areas as disturbed areas under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act with effect from January 24, 1987. On the basis of the material available with the Central Government and the material furnished by the State Government, the TNV has been declared as an unlawful association under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act with effect from 4th February, 1987, and we have deployed forces belonging to the Assam Rifles in Tripura since they are considered suitable for counter-insurgency operations in that area...

**SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Ban-
kura) :** How many Companies ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : That, we can not disclose. You come and ask me privately, I will tell you. But we cannot announce this in public. What was agreed with the C.M. has been given. The results are obvious now. After we sat there for more than 24 hours, talked to the officers, reorganized the command structure, redeployed some of the officers, inducted these forces, the results are clear. We have been able to apprehend more insurgents belonging to the TNV. The police there has been able to engage them in encounters. Some TNV rebels have surrendered and many have been apprehended. Now the climate is better. This has happened in Tripura despite the fact that the Central Government and the State Government are run by different Parties. It means that we need not look at these problems in a partisan manner. We do not look at these problems in a partisan manner. We look at these problems because we are concerned about the unity and integrity of India, we are concerned about the welfare of the people, we are concerned about peace and good government, we are concerned about law and order, we are concerned about public order. We can adopt the same approach in Assam, we can adopt the same approach in Nagaland, we can adopt the same approach wherever we are faced with a problem of insurgency. I make these prefatory remarks because I would like to appeal to the Governments in the north-eastern States to lend their fullest cooperation to the Central Government in these problems. It is much easier to nip these insurgency movements in the bud rather than deal with them when they assume rather alarming proportions. Today I believe the ULFA can be contained, today I believe the NSCN can be contained, the TNV can be contained. But if we approach this problem in a partisan manner, if we use it as a stick to beat one another, we will, in our fighting, allow these insurgent movements to grow and then we will find that they are more difficult to tackle. I would only appeal to all the Governments in the north-east and all the political parties in the north-east to cooperate with the Central Government, and the kind of progress that we have made in Tripura can

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be made in other States to deal with the insurgency movements. To answer hon. Member, Mr. Saifuddin, we believe that the ULFA is containable. We are attending to this very serious problem and we believe that we can contain the ULFA.

Finally, the vexed question of communal conflict. What is secularism? Today communalism does not spring merely from religion. Anti-secular forces are based not only on religion, they are based on caste, they are based on race and they are based on religion. Each one of them to me is non-secular. I think, casteism, communalism and racism are all different aspects of non-secular forces. Today, unfortunately a feeling has grown that each political leader is a leader of a caste or a religion or a race or a group and only he can deliver the goods. The leader believes that he can deliver on behalf of his people and the group believes that only a leader from that group can deliver the goods.

It is a shame that after 40 years of practising democracy we should still have groups and leaders who believe in this totally retrograde principle. We must, as a House and as a nation, condemn this kind of politics and this kind of functioning.

I have never recognised anyone as a Muslim leader and I will not recognise him in future. I have never recognised anyone as leader of a caste, a leader of the Jats or a leader of the Thakurs or a leader of the Brahmins. I have never recognised, anyone as the leader of a race.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Are you speaking for yourself ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am speaking for myself and I hope that you will all agree with me...*(Interruptions)*... I am speaking for myself; I am speaking for my party and I am speaking for the Government.

SHRI H.A. DORA : Don't speak for your party, we know that your party is...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : This is too serious a matter. I am sure some of

you will speak after me and the Home Minister will reply. This is too serious a matter, please listen.

I think what is happening today in the country is that people have styled themselves as leaders of religious groups, caste groups, linguistic groups, racial groups, and they want to do politics in that manner. We must put an end of this kind of politics. We must base our politics on policies, principles and ideologies.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Fundamentalism is also an ideology.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : A retrograde ideology, an undemocratic ideology and a fascist ideology.

What is happening today is, Sir, while we are trying to bring these groups into the mainstream, there are efforts to keep these groups outside the mainstream and there are efforts to push people in the mainstream into these fringes. I think both are wrong.

The efforts of my party and I believe my Government the efforts of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indiraji and our Prime Minister—are to bring these groups into the mainstream. It is a painful task, it is a slow process and it will take time. We have to necessarily bring these people into the mainstream, so that they can walk along with us side by side, shoulder to shoulder.

But two things are happening. Two forces are at work against our efforts. The first is the work of narrow and parochial political leaders who want to keep some outside the mainstream. I think those narrow political leaders must be identified and exposed.

SHRI H.A. DORA : Who are they ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He is speaking generally.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : The other force which is equally bad is the one which, while not narrow or parochial in itself, somehow works against the process which we want to work and tries to push people in the mainstream to the fringes. That also is bad. You cannot push people who are

in the mainstream to the fringes by taking strident positions. Again, as I said, it is only a spirit of re-conciliation, a spirit of accommodation, which will bring people who are on the fringes, for whatever reasons into the mainstream. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in this House said and I quote :

“There is no place in India today for any organisation preaching violence or communal hatred. No such organisation will, therefore, be tolerated. The combination of politics and religion resulting in communal politics is most dangerous combination and must be put an end to. It is harmful to the country as a whole. It is harmful to the majority but probably it is most harmful to any minority that seeks to have some advantage from it. I think even the past history of India will show that.”

Of course, he spoke about a religious minority but, I think, the same applies to people who see themselves as a linguistic minority or people who see themselves as a caste or a community minority in an area or people who see themselves as a smaller group in a larger population in an area. The answer is, and the way of prudence and wisdom lies, in bringing these groups into the mainstream rather than push them away from the mainstream or encourage them to form their own organisations. We must not encourage narrow parochial leaders to rise among those groups and give an impression that only group leaders professing a particular religion or group leaders belonging to a particular caste can deliver the goods for that caste or for that religion.

Our parties must become broad-based. The political parties must become broad enough to take within them every caste, every religion, every race and every language group. We must never in thought, word or deed do anything in our political parties which will push out people. If any party adopts a policy consciously or un-consciously which alienates the people on the ground of religion, that is bad, or alienates any group on the basis of language, that is bad. We cannot drive them out because they feel that their language interests are not secure in the mainstream and in the broad framework. We cannot drive out people who rightly or wrongly believe that their identity as a

religion or identity as a race or identity as a linguistic group is in danger. So, we must broad-base our political parties. How many political parties are sufficiently broad-based ? Whatever the faults of my party may be, I can claim that we belong to the most broad-based party which attracts within it every religion, every group and every language. We can proudly stand up and say that we are people belonging to every group in this country. Can you say that about your party ? Which party can say that today ? (*Interruptions*) I do not want to name parties but I ask which other party—leaving for the moment the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress ..I repeat... which other party can claim to be a national party ; which other party can claim to be broad-based party and which other party can really claim that it attracts into its fold people from all parts of the country, from all religions, from all castes, from all groups and from all linguistic groups. Which other party is there ? (*Interruptions*) Mr. Chinta Mohan cannot claim that for his party. Surely you cannot claim that for your party. The Lok Dal cannot claim that for its party—Lok Dal 'A' or 'B' or whatever it is. (*Interruptions*) There is only one Congress. The rest are all alphabets. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, when we talk about secularism, we must do some soul searching. We must look at ourselves. We must ask ourselves whether we are secular enough to take within our fold every group in this country which, for right or wrong reasons, feels that it is alienated or feels it is deprived of certain rights, feels that it is deprived of certain privileges.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Including the big business houses.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I thought day before yesterday and today, the defence of certain big business houses is coming from that side.

AN HON. MEMBER : We are not defending.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : The process can go on only in two ways... (*Interruptions*)... You are not listening to me because you are afraid of truth. Listen to me.

AN HON. MEMBER : You also listen to us.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : You can point your finger at some political parties or some political organisations and say you are narrow, you are parochial, you are sectarian. The question is whether the other political parties and other political organisations are broad enough to absorb all those people who feel that they are pushed away from the mainstream. I am sure, Mr. Indrajit Gupta will agree with me when he reflects upon it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I think you are appealing to Mr. Shahabuddin to join your party.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am not. I hope that the Janata Party which claims to be national and secular will be able to nationalise and secularise and keep within itself Mr. Shahabuddin and not say that we don't have anything to do with Mr. Shahabuddin.

AN HON. MEMBER : Only by persuasion.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I want hope so. I want remain in the Janata Party and preach secular and national policies which, I am sure, he can preach. This is what is lacking. You cannot constantly use as a stick to beat some people. I think I am making my position very clear. What we say is we cannot allow the narrow, sectarian and parochial forces to grow. We must clean our politics. We must become secular in the true sense. We must be able to absorb all the groups within the broad political framework of this country so that they can work in the mainstream. Sir, when we are engaged in doing this, I have no hesitation in complimenting the Communist Party of India and the Community Party (Marxists) because, I think, they are the two other parties which certainly share this broad ethos of a truly national secular party. The kind of work they are doing in Punjab ..(Interruptions) ..I have no hesitation in paying my tribute for the work they are doing in Punjab along with the Congress Party. I think we owe them a tribute. But while we are working on these lines, what is happening outside? We find people who

claim to be secular and nationalist, now want to ride on a tiger. Those who ride on a tiger, you know where they will end up. Two days ago, we had a rally in Delhi. What were the speeches made in that rally? If that kind of poison will be spread in the capital of India, it is a matter of shame to this country. If anyone stands shoulder to shoulder or stands side by side with people speaking that language, I think and I humbly submit, some of the responsibility will have to be shared by those who went to share that stage. Anyone who is truly secular, truly patriotic, truly nationalist should have abandoned that stage. How can one walk with somebody who says "burn houses, burn *kothis*, kill people?" How can you walk with somebody who, unsheathes a sword, who spreads poison, and yet say: "I am a democrat, I believe in the judicial system and I believe in the Constitution of India". One cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. There is only one path. The path of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru. Even if you are a lonely man, go on that path with courage, but do not ride a tiger. Those who ride a tiger will end up inside the tiger. It is not as though Government is powerless to take action; action will be taken when it has to be taken. What is important now is to convince the people of the grave dangers by allowing such movement to raise their heads.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record. Not allowed. Please take your seat...I never allowed you to speak.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He never mentioned you. Why are you getting provoked? Not allowed.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I make my remarks with a sense of responsibility... (Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Not allowed.

(Interruptions)**

SHRI RAJ KUMAR RAI (Ghosi) : I am on a point of order Sir.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I cannot hear your point of order, I request the hon. members to take their seats.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Nothing goes on record. You please sit down.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The matter is over now. You please take your seats. Do not go on raising the issue. Yes please. What is your point of order.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJ KUMAR RAI : Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, I am on a point of order. Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary has asked one of the Members to get out. I want your ruling on this point. (Interruptions) He is calling our party as communal (Interruptions).

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have allowed nothing to go on record. There is no point of order because nothing is going to come on record.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Therefore, I would humbly appeal to everybody that we cannot allow communalisation of our politics because...

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Everybody knows our Party's stand.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I agree. I complimented your Party.

We cannot allow communalisation of our politics because democracy cannot function except on the basis of secularism. You cannot have non-secular politics and yet hope to have a democracy. It is only secularism which will ensure democracy and the rise of non-secular forces and the decline of secular forces will mean the death-knell of our

democracy. If we have to strength our democracy we have to strengthen secular forces and secular parties. I believe that this effort to secularise our politics, which in the long run will strengthen our democracy, will not be undermined by certain forces or certain individuals of certain groups, even while they passionately advocate certain causes.

14.00 hrs.

I know that there are problems which are troubling us. Babri Masjid is indeed a problem. But I have tried to acquaint myself with the problem. The Home Minister is seized of the problem and I am sure, in his reply he will touch upon it. But in my brief acquaintance with that problem, I have known and I have come to the conclusion that this is a problem which can be solved if we are able to localise the problem, if we are able to contain the size of the problem. We all know what the problem in Ayodhya is. We all know or those who have been to Ayodhya know and those who have seen the information known what this particular mosque and the old pillars are. We all know the number of people who are involved in that : the population of Ayodhya, the number of muslim families there. These things all very well known. Let us contain the problem and let us try to solve it instead of making it a major national controversy. I make this appeal in all sincerity. I sincerely believe that we will find a solution, if we are able to keep this problem within the confines of that State and that area and not raise it to the level of a national controversy. Once you subscribe to this approach, you will find that the solution falls into place. The beginnings of a solution are visible to everybody. The standards are visible. It only now requires somebody who can pull these strands together and work out a framework. I can assure this House, hon. Home Minister is seized of the problem and we will find a solution to the problem but please, let us not add new dimensions to the problem, which it does not deserve and not raise it to the level of a national controversy. There are efforts afoot in that area to bring leaders of both communities to find a solution. There are other well

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meaning individuals who are engaged in this effort. I think we should allow this effort to continue rather than beat the drums of war and battle. The first thing is that you should stop the beating of drums of war. Two days ago, some individuals, some leaders did just that. Let that be the first and the last occasion. Let us not have a repeat of that kind of a rally because it is not going to help this country...

(Interruptions)

The communal situation has indeed caused us concern but without taking any credit for it, let me say that the communal situation is a matter on which the Government is seriously engaged. You would remember that last year in July, intervening in the debate on the communal situation, I made a statement and the Home Minister endorsed it with great vigour, that we will hold the S.P. and the District Magistrate responsible for the communal situation. We want them to implement the guidelines. We do not want them to look over their shoulders all the time to the State Capital and look for orders on an hour to hour basis from the State Capital. The man on the spot must deal with the situation.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kaiserganj) : I would ask the Minister, why don't you hold responsible the particular public representatives who are there? Why always S.P. and District Magistrate? Why not the Members of Parliament or MLAs? They should also be held responsible... (Interruptions)* You should also lay down certain policies...

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Members of Parliament and Members of Legislature are indeed responsible for...

(Interruptions)

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH : They should be made equally responsible. And if they behave in that fashion they should be refused ticket or they should not be allowed to participate in the election.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I agree. I am talking of the Government. As

Government we must hold the District Magistrate responsible. As Government, we can only hold the District Magistrate and S.P. accountable. I am talking about the accountability. Now, look at the figures. I have taken the figures of January to July—seven months—and then the figures of August to December, after we reiterated these guidelines, after we sent this clear message to the State Governments. Now, there is a sharp decline in the period—August-December, 1986. As against a total of 465 incidents in January-July, 1986, there were only 259 incidents in August-December, 1986. As against 303 deaths in January-July, 1986, there were only 106 deaths in August-December, 1986. As against 3457 persons injured in January-July, 1986, there were only 1749 persons injured in August-December, 1986. There has been a decline in the number of communal incidents. I am keeping my fingers crossed. The first two months of this year have not been very bad. Except for January, in Ahmedabad, it has not been bad. We are vigilant. But our vigilance alone won't help. What will help is greater determination and will on the part of the State Governments. Sometimes we find this will lacking; sometimes we find they look at problems merely as a problems to be dealt with by the police. This is not correct. One must keep eternal vigilance. One must understand what the problem is. One must involve the people, particularly the people of that area and that district. One must plan to advance. One must take the people into confidence. One must contain the situation. This can only be done by the State Governments. However much we may shout from the Centre, it can only be done by State Governments. I would appeal to the State Governments to summon that will to put down this cancer of communal conflict once and for all.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Is there any figure to show the number of people recruited from the minority community to police force ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I will give you figures presently. As far as Central Police Organisations are concerned, all the new battalions which have been raised since 1985, we have satisfied well

laid norms for representation of minorities. But I cannot say the same thing for State Police Forces. Because the recruitment to the State Police Force is a matter for State Government. We have recommended to the State Government that they must go out of the way to recruit people from minority and other groups. I cannot make that claim on behalf of the State Governments. I think it is still inadequate. I hope the sense of this House will go out to the State Governments. State Governments will recruit people from the minorities and other disadvantaged groups. But in the new battalions we have raised we have satisfied the norms which have been laid down for recruitment of minorities and other disadvantaged groups.

SHRI ATATUR RAHMAN (Barpeta) : I have been hearing about recruitment of minorities. During the period of Indira Gandhi the specific instructions went to the State Governments. These instructions were passed on to the lower ranks, to the lower districts. No action is taken. Who is responsible? It is not the State Governments alone? It is the responsibility of the Centre also to look into this particular aspect of the matter which hinges on communal commotions in the country.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I entirely share the concern of the Hon. Member. We are responsible to monitor the State Governments' recruitment. But, as long as recruitment is in the hands of the State Governments, we can only persuade them, cajole them, request them, advice them, admonish them but beyond that the will must come from the State Governments. This debate must take place in the legislatures. This criticism must come in the newspapers that are circulated in that State. This must be made an issue in the debates in the State. All we can do is to persuade cajole, admonish and monitor. We cannot do more than that. Sir, I have taken longer time than I wanted to take. I am grateful for the views expressed.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri) : One clarification I want. You know that there are some citizens propagating, against the Constitution. They do not express their allegiance to the Constitution. They do not subscribe to the unity of India. Sir, my question would be what

is the reaction of the Home Minister about the citizenship right? That is one question. Another question is...
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can speak when the time comes. This is not the final reply the Minister has given.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY : Another point I want to know is regarding the reaction of the Ministry about the certain Members of Parliament those who have taken oath of allegiance to the Constitution, they are opposing the acts. What is the reaction of the Home Ministry? On the one side they express their allegiance to the Constitution, and on the other they say: We do not accept the Common Civil Code. These are two different things. That is why I am confused, and I want to be enlightened by the Home Minister.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I have taken longer than I wanted to take. I am grateful to the Members for the patient hearing. I believe that I have tried to spell out the approach of the Government, the approach of the Home Ministry to this problem. I share the concern that was expressed, but I am an optimist. I think we will do better this year, and we will have a better atmosphere this year. But this atmosphere can be created only with the willing cooperation of all sections, not only of this House, but of all sections of the people and of all political parties. The message must go out to our people, that we are all one people, and we must move forward as one people.

We must recall the stirring words of Rabindranath Tagore: We cannot allow this nation to be divided into religion, caste and language. We must move forward, and we can move forward only if we are strong and united. The endeavour of the Home Ministry is to ensure that there is peace, public order and law and order in this country, that there is development in this country, that secular and democratic forces are strengthened, that all other forces are isolated and their influence over the people reduced; and to enthuse the people and to inspire the people to join in the great effort and adventure of building a

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strong and united India. It is within our power to do it. As a nation we are second to none; in terms of natural wealth, and human resources, we are a great nation. We can become even greater, but we can do so only with the willing cooperation of all sections of the people. I appeal, therefore, through you to this House and to the people to join us in this effort.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated Anglo-Indian): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Unfortunately, the time at my disposal is microscopic, compared with the previous speaker.

Sir, I had given notice of a Motion. My time is microscopic, compared with the previous speaker. My Motion has underlined the duty cast on the State by Article 46 of the Constitution, to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, bearing in mind the special provisions for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As an elected member of the Constituent Assembly, I was a party to the special provisions in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; and, therefore, I continue to support the provisions on their behalf.

The reservations for the Scheduled Castes worked out to about 15%, and for the Scheduled Tribes about 7%, making a total of 22%. But we in the Constituent Assembly thought that it would be for a limited period; but it is going on. I do not begrudge that to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; but what I am appalled at today is this—and there was a good deal of philosophy from my friend—and I think he would also, with great respect, to him, might benefit by listening to what I have got to say. I am appalled at what is happening under the backward classes umbrella. I know that the number of so called Backward classes people is growing into many millions, growing everyday, and this umbrella is expanding every day. They seek to justify it by reference to Article 16(4), because Article 16(4) says that a duty is cast on the State where certain sections have not got sufficient representation—that is, then they can have their reservation, I mean the backward classes.

But that is not categorical with regard to castes. What I am today really appalled is at this. First and foremost, you get this mindless extension of the backward class about its umbrella. It renders nugatory 16 (1). 16 (1) says, you must have an equality of opportunity in respect of services and appointment under the scale. The Supreme Court has said in terms, you must not have these reservations to render this, the heart of Article 16 nugatory; and that is what is happening today; and unfortunate is the reservation for the so-called backward class, that is posited largely, if not entirely on a caste label. And may I say this to the previous speaker, with all due respect to the Congress I...

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurdwara): You also follow the same reservation policy in your institution.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: With great respect, let me tell my friend, what I am fighting for today. Why I am refusing to put up my fees? I am sorry for this agitation. Why have I got an agitation in my school because half of the parents belong to the lower income strata and I am fighting for them also.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY: I said this because I should like to put it on record.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: Let it go on record. Today, in all parties, including Congress I—I regret to say—there is a competition in vote catching. All the parties are supporting this mindless extension of the backward class umbrella. What has happened in Karnataka? I have 6 or 7 branches of my Association. I am the elected leader of a small minority with 6-7 branches of my Association in Karnataka. There I used to know practically every Chief Minister. You have two huge sort of caste sections—the Vokkaligas and Lingayats; and I think all of them, the Chief Ministers, usually came from among Vokkaligas. The present Chief Minister is an exception; he is a Brahmin, but he is under pressure. What has he gone and done? Since he is under pressure, he kept out one of its largest group, I think it was the Lingayats. Some members resigned. So,

he brought them all in and you got the shocking result of that 92 per cent of the population of Karnataka; 92 per cent specified as backward. This is backwardisation of the nation with a vengeance; 92 per cent of the population in the State. I think Andhra Pradesh has made it 78 per cent. Now, I do not want to make any arrogation to myself. The organisation of which I am elected head celebrated its centenary in October 1976. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as the Prime Minister, came there. She congratulated me for refuting the demand by some so-called spokesman of my community to have my community classified as backward. I said, Madam, never. I led a delegation. I regarded the word "backward" as an expression of degradation. Although we have our weaker-section; every community has its weaker sections; whether they are Brahmins or whether they are Anglo-Indians or whether they are forward classes. But I will not allow this expression of degradation to be branded on my whole community. And Indira Gandhi paid us this tribute that this microscopic minority had made a contribution out of all proportion to its size to the progress and development of India. And what is happening with this tremendous mindless extension, I am drawing this pointedly to the previous speaker. You are a party to it; you are driving out the most brilliant boys and girls, young men and women belonging to the so-called forward class; they cannot get into professional colleges with 90 per cent and 95 per cent. They cannot get into engineering and medical colleges; the so-called backward class, with 30 per cent, 35 per cent are monopolising all the reservations. And this is what the State has done and what is happening. You are precipitating riots.

14.20 hrs.

[SHRIMATI BASAVARAJESWARI
in the Chair]

Riots in Bihar, riots in Uttar Pradesh, riots in Gujarat, between the so-called backward and the forward classes. This is what is happening because everybody is subscribing to this mindless extension of the backward class umbrella. And that is why I have sought to bring to the notice of the

Government—yes, we have the provision for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, you continue them. But this is what, and I would ask the Home Minister and his colleagues to remember the words here,

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people..."

There is no—there is no—emphasis, no condition of caste interests. What do you do? You do not promote the educational economic interests of the weaker sections, you do not. You do not promote it among the Brahmins, or you do not promote it among the Anglo-Indians because we refuse to be classified as backward classes. And that is why I am making this appeal, earnest appeal to the Government. It is a negation of the secular concept, it is a fraud on the Constitution. When dealing with this problem the Supreme Court said, "any reservation beyond 50 per cent is a fraud on the Constitution". Now every party is a party to the fraud. Because not one party will speak against this mindless extension. Ninety per cent of the population in Karnataka and 78 per cent in Andhra Pradesh—what happens to the rest of the Indians? Those who can afford, to send their children, their brilliant children abroad, it is all right, but what happens to those who cannot afford it? They join the ranks of the unemployed. That is why, as I said, everybody is climbing on the backwagon of the backward classes. You suddenly get the sons, grand sons, the great grand sons, of a former Prime Minister, of a Deputy Prime Minister, in spite of the position of their forbearers, they are still getting them reservations for their grand children and their great grand children! And the whole thing has become a mockery, a negation of the secular concept and continues to be a fraud on the constitution.

My friend has spoken extremely well but I ask him to apply this unctio to his soul too. He asked, he talked about the secular concept. Why are you joining in all this mindless extension of this backward class umbrella? Why are you not implementing your duty of promoting the

[Shri Frank Anthony]

secular educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of all communities whether they are Brahmins, Anglo-Indians—the so-called forward class? There is no such complete forward class, every so-called forward class has a weaker section. Why do you not give them some kind of economic assistance?

[Translation]

SHRI ARVIND NETAM (Kanker) :
Madam Chairman, I support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Ministry has written the following in its report about Dandakaranya Project :

[English]

"The Danadakaranya Project was set up in 1958 for the resettlement of displaced persons from the former East Pakistan and for the integrated development of the area with particular emphasis on the interests of the local tribal population."

[Translation]

I do not agree with the last sentence. I cannot say about the Central Government but I am saying about the role of the State Government. There are four Zones in two districts, namely, Koraput in Orissa and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. The zones of Baster district fall in my constituency. From the very beginning, Madhya Pradesh Government has been ignoring Danadakaranya Project and from 1965 till date, no Rehabilitation Minister of the State Government has visited the Dandakaranya area. Similarly, no Rehabilitation Secretary of the State has paid a visit to Dandakaranya area since 1972. From this, you can very well imagine as to how seriously the State Government has been taking this project. Since the Dandakaranya project has now been completely transferred, I am apprising the Central Government of the difficulties likely to be faced after the Dandakaranya project is handed over. You have transferred two zonal headquarters having one lakh population. Earlier the entire staff of Dandakaranya Project was posted at Zonal Headquarters but

after the transfer, the District Headquarters will be at a distance of about 265 kms, Block Headquarters 130 kms and Sub-Divisional Headquarters 150 kms. Therefore, I am doubtful whether the districts administration will be able to meet the requirements of one lakh people from time to time. Therefore, I would request the Central Government to ask the State Government to at least provide a separate administrative set up for Dankaranya area. An officer of the rank of at least Divisional Officer should look after it so that in future the necessary arrangement for the developmental works could be made.

Last month, a team of General Administration Department of the State Government went there. Different departments are being given to the GAD officers at district headquarters. They say that no special amount or special financial assistance will be given for Dandakaranya project. I would like to know from the Central Government whether the agreement to give compensation for five years has been signed to beautify the Bhopal city or to spend the amount on Dandakaranya project? Besides, I would like to know from the Central Government whether the Home Ministry has released any amount under the agreement of providing compensation for five years or not? I would like to request the Central Government to make efforts at least for five years to ensure that the compensation amount is actual spent on Dandakaranya. The environmental conditions of East Pakistan from where these refugees came and those of Bastar where they have been resettled vary a great deal. That is why their problems can further increase. Taking these things into consideration, I am cautioning the Government so that the State Government or the Central Government is able to face this situation in future.

I want to cite an example. In 1985, Education department was merged with Rehabilitation Ministry. Sir, you will be surprised to know that two academic sessions are going to be completed, but the State Government could not appoint Bangla teacher there. The children studying in primary schools should be imparted education in their mother tongue i.e. in Bangla but the State Government has not

made any arrangement for Bangla teacher in the school. Apart from this, the State Government has also not filled the vacant posts of 250 teachers in other subjects. I want to know from the Central Government as to why the State Government could not make the arrangement of teachers in two years? On my part, I am doing whatever I can do and am writing to the State Government, but the State Government is not yet taking it seriously. I want that even after handing over the Dandakaranya, the Central Government should see from time to time and ensure that the compensation given by the Government is properly spent on it.

Madam Chairman, there is no mention about the naxalit problem in this report. I do not know as to why the Home Ministry is not taking naxalit problem in the country so seriously. It is a formidable problem in three states, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Whether it is the Central Government or the State Government, they have been thinking about the solution to this problem through police force, but I would like to say that the naxalites try to exploit the administrative lacunae or shortcomings of the State Government and try to take undue advantage, and instigate the people. I want to say that the police force is all right at its place but the Government should seriously think about the administrative lacunae that exist in the State Government or in the district administration. You have not taken up this problem seriously whether it relates to the tribal areas of my district, district of Shri Potdukhe or other tribal districts of Andhra Pradesh, as you have not mentioned anything about it in your report. A committee has been constituted under the chairmanship of the Minister of Home Affairs to study the reasons of growing discontentment in adivasi areas. It is a good thing and a right step taken at a right time. The Central Government should find out the reason of growing discontentment among the Adivasis and take necessary measures to remove their grievances.

I want to submit one more point. The Central Government will face a new problem of rehabilitation very soon. Today the new schemes like construction of new

dam, irrigation scheme, Power projects or industrial projects, are mostly being taken up in adivasi areas and there is every possibility of their further expansion. Rehabilitation of displaced people is the responsibility of the State Governments but they are taking this work very lightly. I would like to say that now no State Government has been left with sufficient land for the resettlement of displaced people and as such it will become a formidable problem. If immediate attention is not paid towards it, it will pose a new problem before the country because no State has surplus land for rehabilitation. Efforts should be made to rehabilitate the displaced Adivasi families or families belonging to other groups. The Committee constituted under the Chairmanship of the Home Minister should go into the problem of displacement and make a study of the various rehabilitation projects to find out where the work has already started and where there is a need to start new projects. We should ensure whether proper rehabilitation is being done. Moreover, with regard to the projects which are to be started in the near future, we have to consider as to what kind of provisions should be made for them. I am saying this in reference to the Bodhghat Power Project in my area. The Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board has offered 4 thousand hectares of land for rehabilitation. You will be surprised to know that not even 500 hectares out of that 4 thousand hectares of land are fit for cultivation. The rest of the land are in illegal possession. The Adivasis have occupied the land for 15, 20 and 25 years and it will be very difficult to displace them. The Madhya Pradesh Government had stated that it possessed 4000 hectares of land merely on the basis of land records at the Collector's office and in the magistrate's court. Actually this land is not available there. Inspection has not been done. Hence, this attitude of the State Governments in regard to be projects is not right. Therefore, I will request that the Committee which has been appointed under the Chairmanship of the Home Minister should look into it.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla):
Madam Chairman, I rise to support the Demands of Home Ministry. Our Govern-

[Shri K. D. Sultanpuri]

ment has signed accords with the State Governments of Punjab and Assam; has solved the Mizoram problem and granted Statehood to Arunachal Pradesh. In this way, the Government has salvaged the North Eastern hill areas. The Government has taken a laudable step by reaching these accords. I want to congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Home Minister and the Ministry of Home Affairs on this occasion. So far as the Assam Accord is concerned, it too is a laudable step. Assam had been a victim of agitations for a long time because of intruders from Bangladesh. In addition, Rs. 1125 crores were spent in the Sixth Five Year Plan and in the Seventh Five Year Plan, the Government has increased the allocations by a few more crores. The Government of India deserves to be congratulated for it.

The State of Himachal Pradesh is adjacent to Punjab. Our Simla was also in Punjab at one time. We all know about the kind of terrorism which has grown in Punjab. It has been created by the intruders from across the border. The Akali Government was democratically elected to power in this State. It is an elected Government. Our Hon. Prime Minister signed an accord with Sant Longowal. It had very good impact. But terrorism is growing in the state to such an extent that Sant Longowal himself was murdered. Hon. Shri Barnala is heading the Government at present. He also has to face several problems. But they way he has functioned his efforts have brought some peace and relief.

I think that the people of Himachal Pradesh are concerned because if Punjab is safe then Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir will also be safe. The agreement between our party and Dr. Farooq Abdullah has been laudable because following this agreement, decision was taken to fight those forces which were trying to disintegrate the country and that process has already begun.

The States of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and other hill States are border areas. You will be surprised to know about the kind of conspiracies that

are being hatched here. A suicide squad has been formed there in the name of Hindu Sabha to preach communalism. Where does this suicide squad start from? It starts from Gurdaspur and is marching towards Delhi. They collect money enroute and enter Himachal Pradesh as well. We told the squad that they should fight at the borders from where the terrorists are coming, instead of coming here. But they are just spreading ostentation. They belong to the opposition. I will not say the same for every opposition party but there are some Hindu communal parties which are conspiring to disintegrate the country. They are no less terrorists and we should be cautious against them also. Those who are hatching conspiracies and want to balkanise the country, we should be cautious against such dangerous forces. Only then the Home Minister will be able to take the country forward.

The Hon. Prime Minister went on a tour of Vidarbha in Maharashtra recently and I read about it in the newspaper. I read in 'Punjab Kesari' that someone had been impersonating an I.A.S. officer and collecting crores of rupees in the name of our Hon. Prime Minister. Such people in Vidharbha should be identified and arrested. It is essential to pay attention to such conspiracies. Likewise, hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi was attacked at Rajghat and this too is a very serious matter. There was also a very dangerous plot behind the assassination of our late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Hence, the Police should identify those who are traitors and those who are patriots. We should keep an eye on such people in our police forces as well. It is also our duty to make tight security arrangements for the protection of our Hon. Prime Minister who is taking the nation forward. Today the country can make progress only under the leadership of Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi and none else. The condition of the opposition is such that a single party has two heads. They only hamper the proceedings in the Parliament and try to portray themselves as greatest patriots. All of them stand up during zero hour and make allegations against others that they are smugglers, dacoits and thieves. (*Interruptions*)

I want to submit that our party was routed during the 1977 elections. So, the

States in which the Opposition parties are in power should not forget this fact and if the present situation continues, they will also meet the same fate in the next elections. The States will have to help the people and assist the Centre in order to run the administration efficiently whether it is the Telugu Desam Government or any other Government.

[English]

SHRI H.A. DORA : Telugu Desam Party is having a national outlook. But your Party has no national outlook. (Interruptions)

MR CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding. Please sit down. Please, resume your seat.

[Translation]

SHRI K D SULTANPURI : What I mean to say is that we should be vigilant of any party which tries to weaken the nation or hamper the process to development in the country. Kindly listen carefully to what I say. I want to submit that if any individual or party talks in terms of division of the country, they are traitors and the Home Ministry should take stern action against them. It should be ensured that in collusion with each other they do not succeed in making the mischief of toppling the Central Government or talking any other political revenge. Just now, I saw that all the hon. Members belonging to the Telugu Desam party stood up which implied that they were doing good work, otherwise they would not have stood up. Their leader is very good, he quite good at singing and acting. Can such people take the country forward? No, never.

In regard to the Government of Karnataka, it was stated that it is functioning very well but all is not well there. A conspiracy is being hatched against Maharashtra by them. When Maharashtra demands its share of water, they condemn the Centre. Similarly, wherever there are such sectarian groups or parties, it is essential to be vigilant against them. And in regard to these political parties I want to say that they claim to be national

parties with only one or two representatives in this House. Some of them do not have even a single representative and yet they claim to be the national parties. When they initiate a movement, it spreads in the entire country and we must deal with such anti-national forces strongly. Somewhere they are behind lock-outs, somewhere they stop buses from plying on roads. They also organise 'bandhs' in one State of the other and all these things are damaging to the country. Our police force should tackle such things effectively. Our nation can make progress only by crushing such forces.

Apart from that, steps should be taken to fill up the reservation backlog in services in regard to the Schedule castes and scheduled tribes. If we do it, these people will feel that they are enjoying the rights granted to them under the Constitution. Hon. Prime Minister wants it and Late Shrimati Indira Gandhi had also accorded a high status to them. Moreover, they have been granted reservation of seats in the Parliament and State Assemblies according to the provisions of the Constitution. Hence, I want to say that as we have sworn legally to accept the Constitutions, we should grant them their rights.

While supporting the Demand for grants of the Home Ministry, I want that the Central Government should allocate more funds to Himachal Pradesh for raising more battalions of police force, so that they could rise to the occasion in meeting the challenge of terrorism and could serve the people of the country. With these words I conclude by thanking you for giving me time to speak.

[English]

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduar) : We have just heard the good sermon of the State Home Minister. He has spoken very nicely. But he is willingly hiding what the Congress party is doing to the contrary in the country. He propagates secularism. But in practice, we have observed that this ruling party is inciting communalism everywhere. I am giving one or two examples.

First I will say something about the Gorkhaland issue. The people of North

[Shri Piyus Tiraky]

Bengal, irrespective of caste, creed and language, are being organised on an economic issue. We recognise only two castes. One is the exploiter and the other is the exploited. But there is no place for communalism in West Bengal, whether one is a Muslim or Hindu or belongs to any caste or speaks any language or belongs to any State also. We want to make that State a mini-India. But the ruling party, in order to get political interest and to crush the Government there, is inciting communalism. The Prime Minister, the most responsible person of the country, went to the tribals also, just to prompt and incite them to act in a communal way, to get rice from the Government. Many a time, while speaking on the Gorkhaland issue, he is speaking in many voices. Even Mr. Ghising and all the people are disturbed by what he means to say. All people are confused. Even those who are running the movement are also confused about what the Prime Minister is saying on this issue. This is a political issue and the ruling party wants to politicise it. They say that they want peace to prevail there. But actually they do not want peace in West Bengal. The time has come when the Union Government should cooperate with the State Government and they should tackle the matter immediately. Otherwise, it may spread to Bihar and other States because our country is a caste-ridden country. It is a very touchy issue and the ruling party should not play on casteism and communalism. This should be halted and they should not try to insist on casteism and religion and communalism. The ruling party is playing with casteism and communalism on many issues.

Next, he has rightly said that Bihar was never ruled by any Opposition parties. But you know that Bihar is a caste-ridden State. They speak of Brahmins, Bhumidar's, tribals, Harijans and all these things. You must at least correct yourself. The necessary steps should emanate from the ruling party where no communalism is allowed. But I observe that no State which is under the ruling party—I mean the Congress—is following secularism and it is not secular. They are fighting on the caste lines. They are fighting on the caste issues just to have power. In order to

keep power in their hands, they are trying to push up communalism. They have failed in West Bengal very badly. They should not try anywhere except in their own States. Perhaps, they will be losing afterwards. If this is continued, they will be losing in Orissa and Bihar also because the people are fed up with casteism, communalism etc. everywhere. They have never succeeded and will succeed...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI
CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI) : You are
a prophet, I think...

(Interruptions)

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY : Next, I would like to come to the Punjab situation. I have said that the ruling party has incited communalism and I have given one instance. Look at the Punjab situation. The ruling party incited the people because the Akali Dal was very strong. They did not get through. Anyhow, I leave out the past case. You have divided the Akali Dal. You have divided it and you kept the Badal and Barnala Groups just to get through. You wanted that party should win, so that you can enter into the field. This is our politics. Small people are killed because of communalism, because of party division. You want to keep power in the State. You incited it so that you can divide it. I would like to say in this connection that you have already learnt about Haryana. In Jammu and Kashmir, once you called them anti-nationals and agents of Pakistan. But, just a couple of months back, you made an alliance with them. You have won the elections. You want just to keep power only. You have no ideology which you follow. Anyhow, you want to remain in power. That is the policy you are following. The time has come when the ruling party should know that this kind of politics will not work at all. India will go bad to worse, if this policy remains even within the ruling party itself.

We are speaking very big about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; crores of rupees have been spent. But you have not tried to ascertain what benefits they have already got. They have demanded that why cannot you allow them

to organise themselves and develop in their own way. But you do not accept this policy. Perhaps, you will be understanding that after a period of 40 years, they know their problems; they know how to develop themselves. Take the case of the people of Chotanagpur in Bihar. There are a number of acts like the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act and the like. Such acts are there to safeguard the interests of the tribals and scheduled caste and other people. You apply your kind to the rules which have been enacted already. Let the people develop in their own way. You don't try to help everytime. But you help from outside. Let them stand on their own legs. Perhaps, that will be the best policy.

In the field of Education, you are speaking of secularism. But in every office we observe that you are supporting your own people. You are considering who is your own relative; who is your own caste people; who is coming from your own State. No social justice is there anywhere. Corruption is rampant. People are now watching the lectures, *Jalsas* and *melas*. You will not get votes. You must change your way of politics. Don't try to inject communalism, religion etc. You have just done this in the case of Muslims. A lot of trouble is taking place even in your own States. Sometimes, you want to get the votes. In that event you think it is good. You feel all right if the Muslims vote for the Congress. If the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are following you, then it is alright. So long as they are in the Congress, you say, there is no communalism; otherwise, if they are with others, then you say there is communalism. You are following this kind of policy just to have the power here and in the States also. This will not work. India is ours. We all love India. We are all brothers and sisters. Let us live as brothers and sisters. Do not divide us just to have your power at the Centre and in the States also.

[Translation]

SHRI UMAKANT MISHRA (Mirzapur): Madam Chairman, I rise to support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs. While on the one hand a

great responsibility rests on the Ministry of Home Affairs to keep the country united, to maintain law and order and peace in the country, and to protect the integrity of the country, it is also its responsibility to save the country from the internal challenges. The Department of Home Affairs has taken appropriate steps in regard to the internal security of the country in accordance with the directive, policies and the resolution of the Prime Minister, this is a laudable task. Particularly the Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police Force etc. deserve our appreciation for displaying exemplary courage and discharging their responsibilities at the time of internal trouble in the country from time to time thereby salvaging the country out of crisis. Madam, the most important responsibility of the Department of Home Affairs is to safeguard the country from the internal dangers, to maintain the unity and integrity of the country and to keep the morale of the people high, and this Department is working in this direction. Madam, it is also an incontrovertible fact that the grave dangers and challenges posing before the country are nothing new. Ever since the struggle for independence started, the communal forces have been posing danger to the freedom of the country from time to time in the garb of religion and have been opposing our progressive policies as well as endangering the very existence of democracy and socialism. It is due to the conspiracy of those fundamentalist forces that the partition of the country took place and the country was divided into two, the murder of the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi took place and then our beloved Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi had to lay down her life at the hands of fanatics. The activities of these forces are not a recent phenomenon; they have been posing a grave danger to the country ever since the freedom struggle started. When Mahatma Gandhi tried to lead the country, obstacles were put on his way and thereafter when the country was marching towards progress, thanks to the adoption of the Five Year Plans and the successful implementation of the policies of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the country, grave crisis were created the country and efforts were made to work against the unity and integrity of the country, against the socialism and progressive policies and their conspiracy is still going on. These forces are

[Shri Umakant Mishra]

still active and they raise their heads when they get an opportunity. These communal forces are just like black cobra for the country and, as I have already said, these forces whether they are Hindu communal forces, Muslim communal forces or Sikh Communal forces, are the arch enemies of the country, of democracy and development. Whenever they raise their heads, they should be crushed. If you show leniency towards them, they will become more dangerous and one day they will prove death knell for the democracy in the country.

Madam, a bandh was organised in Uttar Pradesh on 29th March and the incidents that took place there are enough to horrify any person. Those Hindu fundamentalist forces brought every part of the country under the bandh. The following day, a rally was held in Delhi and everyone knows what happened here. Speeches were made in the rally in which people were exhorted not to trust and recognise the Government. Similarly, they were asked not to trust the judiciary of the country. In other words, the people have been asked not to give recognition to the Constitution of the country. Such type of venomous speeches are being made. This is detrimental for the democracy in the country.

15.00 hrs.

Madam, the issue of Ram Janam bhoomi and Babri Masjid is a trivial thing and a local issue. The birth of Lord Rama took place in Ayodhya, this is a local issue. Of course, Lord Rama may have been a historical and legendary figure but Lord Rama represents the sentiments of the people of the country. The people have sentimental attachment with Ayodhya and now the issue of Babri Masjid has also been added to it. Everyone knows who was Babar in the History. They also know who was Mohammad Ghorri and Mohammad Ghaznavi. The issue is being blown out of proportion.

I agree with the views of Shri Zainul Basher that this trivial issue, which could have been settled locally; is being magnified with the support of foreign powers and the forces that are active in the country. They are blowing the local issue out of propor-

tion. In this country, who is stopping anybody to offer namaz and who is preventing anybody to recite Ram bhajan. If some one goes to a temple and recites Quran-Sharif, Rama will not stop him to recite Quran-Sharif and if someone goes to a masjid and recites Ramayana, Khuda will not stop him from reciting Ramayana. There is no difference between Rama and Khuda but the devotees of Rama and Khuda are fighting with one another in their attempt to disintegrate the country and to Sabotage democracy and development. Such activities which are responsible for the partition of the country, for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi and which are responsible for stalling the development of the country should not be allowed. Everyone knows those forces and the consequences of their activities.

S. BUTA SINGH : There is a bit difference. The God becomes Rama in the temple and Rahim in mosque.

SHRI UMAKANT MISHRA : That is what I have said. The sage Vakradanta has said.

"Ruchinam vachitrayat, rijukutil
narai manjusam
Mrana amekogamya twamsipmasama
arnava iva"

Just as the water of all the rivers whether small or big or of Ganges flows into the sea ultimately, similarly there is no difference if you call Him Khuda, Ishwar or Rama. You may recite his name in Urdu, Hindi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Tamil, Telugu or in any other language, it makes no difference and he is the ultimate Truth. This is a very important thing. The political parties have abandoned their high ideals and are using religion for the sake of furthering their interests. This is a very dangerous trend. This is a treacherous tendency. It is essential to crush such tendency. Compromising with such tendency will be dangerous for the democracy of the country. They are hatching conspiracy. They want to grab political power with the help of religion and then they want to enjoy it. I would like to warn that such political power will not last long. It will end and with it will end the forces that be.

Madam, I would like to make one more submission. The Muslim fundamentalists want to stir up Hindu fundamentalism in

the name of Babri Masjid and Ram Janam bhoomi issue. They want them to become violent. I would like to submit through you that any attempt to instigate the demon of Hindu fundamentalism in this country should be frustrated. Such attempts have never succeeded in this country. Although attempts have been made in the past in this country to stoke the fire of fundamentalism through Hindu Mahasabha, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, R.S.S., but all in vain. The majority of the Hindus in the country have opted for secularism. They have always accepted the truth. They embraced Muslims, Christians, Hunas, Kushans, Sakas in their fold and accepted them as their brothers.

Madam, when Bahadur Shah Zafar saw this, he said :

"Hindiyan mien boo rahegi jab
talak imanki."

He called 'Hindiyan'. He did not call Musalman, Hindu, Brahman or Thakur He only called 'Hindiyan'.

"Hindiyan mien boo rahegi
job talak imanki
Takhte London tak chalegi
tegh Hindustan ki".

A person who lives in 'Hind' whether he is Hindu, Muslim, Christian or of any other community, and works towards making the country strong is called Hindu. It is India. Here there are different religions and sects. People here follow different paths but all paths lead to one God. Why are they going to put hindrances in the progress, development and unity and integrity of the country? Such elements are raising their heads. The speeches were made there that we do not recognise this country and its judiciary. Then whom do they recognise? Have they some separate authority or country in their minds? This means that these elements are leading the people to the same thinking and methods which brought partition of this country earlier. Mr. Home Minister, Sir, you should be cautious of such people and should deal with them sternly.

Wherever there is fanaticism—be it Hindu fanaticism, Muslim, Sikh or Christian fanaticism—it is fatal for the nation, socialism and democracy.

Madam Chairman, I would like to say a few words about language problem also. My submission is that the issue of Official Language has already been decided. This issue has been finalised in the Constitution. Hindi has been accepted as the Official Language. It is not possible to change it. The decision is being implemented. This language has been accepted as link language and alongwith it 15 more languages have been recognised. Hindi has been scheduled as Official Language. It is not proper to indulge in politicking in the matter of language. It is neither in the interest of the country nor in the interest of the people and the Government. To rake up the language issue again is not going to benefit anyone. In spite of this having been decided in the Constitution, it is being said that Hindi is being imposed. That way it can be said that democracy is being imposed, the Constitution is being imposed. We would like to request the Tamil leaders that instead of pleading for English why do not they fight for Tamil language? English is a very rich language; the country should benefit from it. French, German and Russian are also very rich languages and we should benefit from them also. We know that English has been quite useful in this country and people have benefited from it, but to continue it till eternity is against the dignity and self-respect of the country. Now it cannot be tolerated because the people are awakened.

I can say with surety that it is not necessary to make a language the Official Language of some country, only it cent per cent people should be speaking that language. I would like to cite certain examples. In China, out of the population of 100 crores only 45 crores speak Chinese but even then people have accepted Chinese as their Official Language. In U.S.A. only 10 crore people are English-speaking, the remaining population speaks Spanish, French and German. Even then English has been given the status of Official Language there. Similarly, in Russia, 13 crore people are Russian-speaking, the rest speak different languages but in spite of this, Russian has been recognised as the Official Language.

In India, there are 50 crore Hindi-speaking people, out of which it is the mother-tongue of 40 crore people. When

[Shri Umakant Mishra]

the scholars and thinkers from South, North, East and West sat together and decided collectively about it, it becomes necessary that their decision should be implemented and Hindi should be used in official work with accelerated pace.

We love and like Southern languages. We would like to ask the people of South as to why do not they decide among themselves that of the 4 languages, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada, one language should be made as the second language? Why do not they fight on this issue? Why do they fight for English? We shall respect English but we shall not tolerate its imposition on the country for long. We are ready to accept Southern languages but not English.

I may submit that so far as the matter of Official Language is concerned, the Home Ministry and the Government of India are doing their job and are propagating it. We want to submit to the Government, bureaucrats and the people of South and North that this matter has been decided and no impediments should be brought in its implementation. Rather, its pace should be accelerated so that we can move with self-respect, are able to enhance country's prestige and can raise our head with pride in the world that we have a competent language, we too have our identity and are a country which has every thing.

With these words, I support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs and hope that our views will be respected.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Varanasi): Madam Chairman, just now our friend Shri Umakant Mishra has expressed his views which are quite encouraging.

Supporting the Demands of the Home Ministry, I would like to submit two or three points. First of all I would like to talk about Punjab. The terrorists there are creating a situation which is quite horrible. The entire nation is concerned about this. There are no two opinions that it is being brought under control and efforts are being made in that direction but the Government should be vigilant about the manner the terrorists are attacking the non-Sikhs and their life

styles. I have returned three or four days back from Punjab. Several people told me there that sale of cigarettes is being banned openly with the help of the terrorists. One should not smoke, that is better, and it is being publicised that smoking is injurious to health and this type of publicity should definitely be made but the people are being terrorised *mala fide*. Similarly, barbers' shops are also being closed and they are being threatened. The terrorists are trying to influence the people in such a way that they will automatically be terrorised and will do what these terrorists want. Nothing can cause more concern than this. I fail to understand to what extent the Punjab Government will be able to face these acts of social boycotts. One thing these terrorists are saying and other people too are saying. Few days back India's former Foreign Secretary, Shri Rasgotra, made a statement that talks should be held with Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Simranjit Singh Mann, Jodhpur detenus should be released and general amnesty should be given. He went to the extent of saying that we should have talks with Shri Ganga Singh Dhillon also. Thank God, he has not asked for holding talks with Shri Jagjit Singh Chauhan. If former officials of the Government talk in such provocative manner, I am compelled to think if he, the former Foreign Secretary of India, was working with these feelings during his service period.

Secondly, our friends have talked about Ram Janmbhumi-Babri Masjid problem. The turn this dispute has taken is also a matter of concern. Hindu fanatics want to arouse extreme communal feelings. I want to say it clearly that the feelings of fanaticism created in Uttar Pradesh is the handiwork of political parties. These are the political parties which call themselves nationalists and consider themselves the symbol of nationalism. Even today a statement of their leader has come in the newspapers. These are the people who belong to Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and Bhartiya Janata Party and are making statements openly thereby incite Hindu extremism and creating tension. A statement of their office bearers in my city has appeared in the press. I want to know from the Government of India why such people are not exposed? Why does it not

take action against those people who want to imbibe in Hindus the feelings of fanaticism. There is need to keep a strict vigil on those persons who are provoking people. On the other side, there is restlessness in Muslims also which is natural. I think this is because of their being in minority. It gives them their religious identity and it is also a question of existence of their culture. Therefore, whatever has been said in the rally held in Delhi, is not at all tolerable. Shri Banatwalla is present in the House and he will reply to this question. Such things which come within the periphery of sedition have been said in his presence. How the nation can tolerate such things? At that time the Secretary of Janata Party and the people belonging to some other political parties were also present at the stage. Why such things have been said in their presence? Did they refute such allegations? The Muslim League claims to be a non-communal party, but they have to prove it. The way their alliance has harmed us in Kerala has become a matter of national debate. Therefore, they have to give their clarification on this matter...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : You may ask about it from the people of Kerala whether they have harmed you or not.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : Howsoever big you may talk, but if someone sitting beside you talks of treason or other suicidal things and speaks against the entire set up of the country, the people will suspect you also and you cannot have any answer to it.

A ray of hope is also seen in this rally. Many people demanded the solution of this problem and their suggestions are logical and worth consideration. They want that the solution to this problem should be found through Judges. No one can reject this proposal. It is a separate thing as to what would be the details of this proposal and which judges would be involved in it, but I think the muslim leadership is honestly prepared to talk on this dispute and is ready to accept a neutral verdict. It would be proper and acceptable to both sides if a bench comprising five judges of Supreme Court decides this matter. Such agreement

was signed in 1968 also at Mathura. Therefore I think, such agreement can also be signed in this dispute provided pure religious and liberal people endeavour in this direction and the politician keep themselves away from this dispute. It is a common feeling that a real solution to this problem will automatically come from the Hindus and Muslims of Ayodhya. The Cobra in the form of reactionary and fundamentalist forces is raising its hood all over the country. Sir, I join several other hon. Members in requesting the Government to start a dialogue with the representatives of both sides who are willing to settle the dispute amicably and the Government should sternly deal with those who want to fan the dispute and want to take political advantage. The Government should take wise and prompt action, otherwise it will be too late and some other complication may also arise. It is merely an imagination if someone says that a particular place was birth place of Lord Rama and that it is no more a dispute over historical facts but it is a religious dispute. The views expressed by the so-called historians in this regard do not tally with these facts if one goes by what has appeared in newspapers. The views of historians reflect more of their mentality rather than their historical research. Appeals are being made to maintain communal harmony among the Hindus and Muslims but it is unfortunate that these so-called historians are everyday discovering some new things. Now the question is whether a temple which was converted into a mosque hundreds of years back can again be converted into a temple. This logic runs on the same lines as a long time back some Hindus were converted into Muslims, so can they again be converted into Hindus? Now after the lapse of hundreds of years, the act of taking revenge is communal and dangerous. Whenever, any efforts were made to dig the things long buried, it proved to be suicidal and resulted in blood-shed. Therefore, there is no use to dig the things long buried. It can also be said that the dispute of temple and mosque cannot be settled merely by law but it should be considered at political and social levels also and the assistance of liberal elements of both sides should also be taken to settle the dispute.

I would like to say one more point. I think these are major problems before us

[Shri Shyam Lal Yadav]

and the Central Government is also worried about them. I know that hon. Home Minister is endeavouring to solve these problems. I would like to tell him that the Government should not take new thing in its hand such as the case of common civil code which has appeared in newspapers. I think, at present the question of common civil code should not be touched. The existing civil code based on religious recognitions should continue. The problems which are before us should be solved first and no new problem should be created. The Government should not take any step under the influence of some people. It is necessary to be vigilant about the problems which we are facing today and no one should try to take political advantage of them and no one should try to instigate the people. Particularly those who call themselves as nationalists should desist from it. It is their responsibility to show more generosity as compared to the other people. If we work with such feelings I am fully confident that the majority of the people of all communities will support the Government in making every effort to reach an amicable agreement. I am sure that some satisfactory solution to this problem will be found and religious fundamentalists and extremists will get disappointment only. I appreciate this effort and believe that our hon. Home Minister will solve this problem also as he is solving other problems wisely and firmly.

In the end, I would like to say that the courage shown by Sardar Buta Singh in dealing with the Punjab problem and the way he faced the extremists, is really commendable. What was not said about him? He was even declared Tankhaiya. Some big politicians and people in power went there and begged pardon and have cleaned shoes, but Sardar Buta Singh is the only person who is still fighting against the extremists. We hope that he will continue his fight for the unity and integrity of the country and for the communal harmony and secularism. The entire nation and all parties will support him in this struggle.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI V. TULSIRAM (Nagarkurnool) :
Madam, Chairman, we are discussing the

Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Just now, one of our friends was speaking about Hindi. S. Buta Singh, who is the Chairman of Official Language Committee, is also present here. He is a lover of Hindi and takes keen interest in it. I want to bring one point to his notice. Recently we, the members of Drafting Committee went to CMI Limited. Shri Chaturvedi was also with us. CMI Limited is manufacturing Hindi computer. They told us that though they were manufacturing Hindi computer, yet there was no demand for this computer in the market. They do not get order for this computer.

15 24 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH RATH *in the Chair*]

Just now one of our friends was saying that there should be Hindi. The hon. Minister is present here, that is why I brought this thing to his notice.

I have been listening since yesterday to our colleagues from the other side who said that our country was becoming weak and its unity and integrity was in danger. I do not blame S. Buta Singh or his colleagues for this but I would like to say something about the policy of the Central Government. The Government can go to any extent to serve their self-interest. They are always ready to join hands or make alliance with anyone to save their chair or to attain their self-interest. Today it is said that the Punjab problem is there and Babri Masjid dispute is there but I would say that there is neither Punjab problem nor the dispute of Babri Masjid but it is the policy of the Government which is causing discord between Hindus and Sikhs or between Hindus and Muslims. I do not blame any one person but I am saying time and again that their policies are wrong. (*Interruptions*)

It is the policy of the Government which is making Hindus and Sikhs quarrel among themselves. You have adopted wrong policy in Punjab. The Babri Masjid dispute is also the result of your wrong policies. Why do not you settle these disputes immediately? Why are you keeping them pending? If such policies continue, the people hitherto supporting you will also desert you. You

always try to twist every problem and harass the people only to attain your self-interest.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as long as Dr. Farooq Abdulla was not with them, they used to call him traitor and an agent of Pakistan but now when he is with them, he is a patriot. This is their policy.

SHRISHYAM LAL YADAV : A person can amend his attitude also, then what is wrong in it.

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : We know who has amended and how much.

SHRISHYAM LAL YADAV : He has completely changed himself.

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : I do not say that a person cannot amend himself. It is not necessary that a thief will always remain thief but the question is what is your motive? You ask from your conscience as to what is your policy and whether whatever you are doing, is right or wrong

Today, atrocities are being committed on the Harijans in the country. What are you doing for them? You are shedding crocodile tears. If some one wipe their tears you ask him as to why he did so. This is your policy. Whatever you are saying here, you come with me to the Lobby and I shall tell you what you are doing and how much atrocities are being committed on Harijans. We went to Kanpur. *(Interruptions)*

A pregnant women was shot dead there and I cannot explain here as to which part of her body they made target of but you do not issue gun licence to those Harijans and Girijans, whereas these anti-social elements get licences. They are made to run from pillar to post but they do not get licence.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : You issue licence in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : In Andhra Pradesh we issue licences even to a common man. You can sleep on the road crossing there, you can move freely anywhere you want without any danger or fear.

So far as the matter of election or any other matter is concerned, I would like to say that you join hands with them in Kerala and here they are saying that the Ministers should be killed.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : They do not say so, it is the other people who say so.

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : I do not blame even those who said that the Minister should be killed. I blame your policy. Your policy is behind the Hindu-Muslim and Hindu-Sikh riots. I am saying that it is the result of your policy. You are not able to solve the Punjab problem. They challenge us to come to the streets armed with swords in order to settle the issue. You have not solved one problem, how will you attend to other problems? You tell me for how long the country can be run like this and how far can we keep telling lies and for how long can we save ourselves by telling lies? We can get away with one, two or even ten lies but how can we save ourselves by speaking one hundred lies...*(Interruptions)*...You can see the results. The results of your policy are coming out. One by one all States are slipping out of your hold. The trend will continue in future also. What we are to do? We have to speak. If we speak more the Hon. Speaker does not allow it and we stage a walk-out. You people think that because you are in majority, you can do anything you want. You can assert your power for you are in majority. But do tell us how much justice has been done to the Harijans. One Harijan M.L.A. was not allowed to go inside a temple. When I wrote a letter in this connection to the hon. Minister, he replied that it was all a pack of lies and that it could not be so. What more can I do? It has been published in the newspapers as well.**

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is expunged. It won't go on record.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Sir, one minute. Sir the Hon. Member is quoting some newspaper report. The rules are very well-known. He cannot do that. If he wants to quote, he

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

must take responsibility for it. He must satisfy himself that the report is correct. Not only is he quoting the report, he is not giving the date, he is not giving the name of the paper.

**I think this is wrong.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The name is expunged.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already said it. Please proceed. Please go on. Please address the chair.

[Translation]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : I was addressing the chair only. I want to submit one thing more. All the three hon. Ministers of Home Affairs are present here. In other words, the trinity is present here. I will not say whether they have done anything or not. But there are some freedom fighters who are not able to afford food for themselves. They are not being given pension even. These persons are getting pension who had been jailed for committing thefts but had manipulated to get certificates and score off the section relating to their crimes therefrom. They have political backing. Mr. Chairman, Sir, please do not ring the bell. Our party has been allotted 25 minutes time. The earlier Member has spoken just for 7 minutes...(Interruptions)... The freedom fighters really do not have any kind of support. They sit under the trees and no one is there to take care of them. The thieves who are sentenced to jail, manage to get certificates with the backing of politicians and consequently, pension is sanctioned to them. But the actual freedom fighters are deprived of this benefit. It is only as a result of the sacrifices of these people that you are all sitting here, I am standing here and hon. Shri Buta Singh has occupied that seat. We should help them open heartedly. But they are sitting under trees without having food and the thieves are getting the pensionary benefits. I would to draw the attention of the hon Minister especially towards this issue.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, It is very easy to make such a sweeping and general statement. Let the hon. Member give specific names of those freedom fighters who are sitting under the trees, without having food. I will definitely look into it today. But if he is making a general speech without names, then he should be responsible.

[Translation]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : If the hon. Minister wants, I can give the names and I can also bring them here. I will give it, why are you doing this ? He also knows it, he is speaking without any reason. They are under great difficulty, you know it very well...(Interruptions)...

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order please...All right; Mr. Tulsiram, please give it in writing. He will give it in writing. Now Mr. Jujhar Singh.

(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have called Mr. Jujhar Singh. Nothing else will go on record. These other things will not go on record, I have called Mr. Jujhar Singh. Nothing else will go on record, except what Mr. Jujhar Singh speaks.

[Translation]

SHRI JUJHAR SINGH (Jhalawar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants of the Home Ministry. Before me, several hon. Members have expressed their concern about the current situation in the country in view of prevailing communalism and the need for maintaining national integration. It is a very serious situation and I am also quite concerned about it. The main issue in the last elections was national integration. The people of the country rendered full support and the Congress Candidates were elected in large numbers. So far as the people are concerned, they still support the principle of

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

*Not recorded.

national integration as strongly as they did during the elections and on the basis of which they voted us to power. They have not changed their view even slightly till today. In spite of it all, the environment which is developing in this country is unfortunate and special attention should be paid to it. The people living in the rural areas, who are common people and whom we represent, are gradually losing their faith and confidence in us. Whatever assurances are giving to them in the Parliament or in the State Legislative Assemblies are not executed. We frame laws and take various steps but they are not implemented. That is why the people are losing confidence in the Government. The most serious matter is that a huge rally was held in Delhi on the 30th on the Babri-Masjid issue and strikes were organised all over Uttar Pradesh, and what did the Government do after that? The people are not interested in exhibitions but are more concerned with the actions of the Government and it is disappointing to note that strict action is not being taken. When all the issues are identified, the individuals are identified and no facts are hidden, then what is your difficulty in taking proper action? Till strong measures are taken, the people cannot have any faith in you and your assurances will be meaningless. Therefore, the time is ripe for taking strong action.

Sir, I belong to Rajasthan and our hon. Minister also represents the same State. There were 22 erstwhile princely states in Rajasthan before they were merged and all of them were adjacent to Pakistan border. All those were Hindu kingdoms, the kings were Hindus and they did not have any concealment or reservations regarding their religion and they called themselves Hindus. The States were run in the name of Hindu deities. Some states lasted for 500 years, some for 1000 years and some others for 350 years but communal tension was never witnessed there. During the partition in 1947, lakhs of people crossed through Jodhpur, Bikaner which are border areas. Even during that period of disturbances and in spite of being surrounded by Hindu kingdoms, we did not see a single incident of communalism. Therefore, I think that whether one calls himself a Hindu or a Muslim, it cannot give rise to any dispute. There are certain elements who are bent

upon picking up quarrels and strong action should be taken against them. Until the people understand that the Government is taking strict action against the anti-national elements and its actions are judicious and intentions clear, such incidents will continue to take place and the people will continue to take liberties. Therefore, kindly take action also in conformity to what you say in this House. Unless you take strong action on these issues whether it is Punjab or Delhi or any other issue, you cannot restore confidence among the people. Restoration of confidence among the people is the solution to all these problems.

Another submission I would like to make to the hon. Minister is that the most important unit of the police is district. If the district is governed properly, the administration of the country will run smoothly. In every district there are some I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers and you have directly or indirectly control over them. But we feel that the State administration has become very loose and a lot of deficiencies have crept in our district administration which needed to be remedied. A district has S.H.Os. and some constables. It is essential to bring about improvement at every level. Instead of paying attention to bigger things, if we take care of them, the situation can be improved a lot. A common man does not find a police officer or a constable in uniform as serious as he supposed to be. If you see any constable standing on duty at the railway station, cinema house or on traffic duty, you will feel that he is not serious about his duty. Some days back when I went to the taxi stand after getting down from the train at the New Delhi Station and asked a taxi driver to go to North Avenue, no taxi driver was willing to go there on one pretext or the other. They have a union there. When I contacted a constable posted there and showed him my identity card even then his reaction was casual. Either he was in league with the taxi drivers or the union of the taxi drivers or there was some other hob-nobbing but he did not take any keen interest. I would like to tell you from that incident that there is no sense of seriousness right from the rank of Constable to S.H.O. or Superintendent of Police in the Police Force who has been entrusted with the task of enforcing the laws. Unless they become conscious to

[Shri Jujhar Singh]

their duty, any amount of rules and laws that we make are meaningless. So I would like to submit that special care must be taken while posting a policeman and he must be asked to discharge his duty with a sense of responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, promotions and postings in the Police department is also a matter of serious concern. You should pay attention to this problem also. The hon. Minister may say that it is a state subject but ultimately the problems are generated from the level of State Government and these small problems become big ones later on. Subsequently these problems have to be dealt with by the Central Government. The Government cannot escape responsibility by saying that it belongs to the state services. It is due to this that so much inefficiency and lack of confidence has crept into the Police Force. Large scale bunglings take place in the matter of postings and transfers in the States. In my state the order for posting of not only a Sub-Inspector but even of a lower level personnel like A.S.I. is issued from the higher level of the administration thus ignoring the hierarchy like S.P., Dy. S.P., of DIG etc. This results in erosion in sense of responsibility among them because they know that the order for posting is issued from the higher level.

Sir, there should be a systematic policy of posting and transfers. If this policy is followed everywhere, the police force will be demoralised and the demoralised police cannot give good results. Due to this, trouble first brews in the villages, then it spreads to towns and from there to cities. Ultimately it spreads to the district. Therefore, it is essential to follow properly the policy formulated in the matter of transfers and postings. What is happening at present must be checked immediately.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to make a small submission. There are a number of pockets in my area where notorious persons reside and they operate under political shield. In a village named Bagdar in Jhalam Pattan, a person wrote a letter to the District Vigilance Committee saying that a murder was likely to take place in his village. This question was discussed by the District Vigilance Com-

mittee but nobody did take any notice of it. After 3-4 months, the murder did take place, just as he had warned, but no action has been taken against the persons whose names were mentioned by that man. The family, to which the murdered man belonged, has left the village. I have written to the police authorities and the State Government a number of times that these people are migrating due to the fear of terrorists. But the Government is not taking any action against them although they know everything. If such examples go on multiplying, it is natural that the people will lose their confidence. So I would submit that instead of making hollow claims here, the Government should do something positive which may restore their confidence, which at present stands eroded. If you think that something is wrong, you should take strong action against it so that the people may feel that whatever the Home Minister of the Government of India or some other responsible person says, is implemented and action is also taken against any anti-social activity that takes place. The problem can not be solved by mere talking.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI HAREN BHUMIJ (Dibrugarh) : I take me stand to support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs. While extending my support I along with the people of the country must congratulate our dynamic Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, for his bold step in establishing the universal truth once again that pen is mightier than the sword. The turmoil that was trying to destroy the peace and integrity of the country was vetoed by the mightier pen which resulted in the accords like Punjab accord, Assam accord, conferment of statehood to Mizoram, Arunachal and so on.

After the Punjab accord the whole country is behind Shri Surjit Singh Barnala. I hope, the implementation of the accord in meaning and spirit cannot be abortive.

I want to confine my speech particularly to the Assam accord. Just after this accord, the people of the State of Assam

beaved a sign of relief that long six years of movement and agitation will come to an end and peace and tranquility will prevail there, because we have got a clear understanding at the time of signing of the accord that the agitation will end, the movement will end. Now I want to know whether this accord is being given due honour. The State Government is accusing the Central Government all the time and the Central Government from time to time is giving its clarification. Is there violation of the accord from any side? Let us examine it. If it is being honoured, how could the State Government give a call for Assam bandh on 8th December, 1986? Is it not violation of the accord? In the name of implementation of the accord, the State Government is acting the way it likes. The people in the State particularly the religious minorities and linguistic minorities are being harassed. I do not want to elaborate on this point. The eviction orders are being issued without taking steps for rehabilitation. In the name of implementation of the accord, thousands and thousands of notices are being issued to the linguistic minorities and religious minorities accusing them as foreigners. The State Government is now taking steps urging the Central Government to bring an amendment to the Illegal Migrants Act of 1983. Before making any amendment in the Act, the condition of an accused has become like a client between the two lawyers. If there is an amendment in the Illegal Migrants Act, the condition of the accused will be no less than a fish surrounded by cats. Most unfortunately, it has come our knowledge that some notices are also being served on Adivasi tribes, whose forefathers migrated to the State of Assam in the beginning of 19th century. These things have been brought to the notice of the Ministry of Labour in the State. I do not like to reiterate all those things.

I would request the hon. Home Minister that before going into the amendment this should be thought of otherwise the condition of an accused would be like a fish surrounded by cats.

My second point is regarding census in the State of Assam. Since 1971 there has been no census. I would like to say to the hon. Minister that whenever the

census is conducted in the States, particularly in the State of Assam, the census work must be done in true and proper sense. The names of thousands and thousands of Tea Adivasi Tribes people have already been deleted from the voters' list. The present population of the State of Assam is approximately two crores and if there is a census in true and proper sense, the number of people belonging to these Tea Adivasi tribes will not be less than 50 lakhs. They contribute to the economy of the State by their toil and diligence. They are helping the Central Government in getting more than 60 per cent of the foreign exchange through tea. The forefathers of these people, who now constitute one-fourth of the total population of the State, migrated to Assam around 1846 when the Britishers started plantations in Assam in the beginning of the nineteenth century. All these Tea Adivasis were migrated to Assam from Bihar and Orissa. Those who migrated to West Bengal and Tripura are categorised as Scheduled Tribes but those who migrated to Assam are neither categorised as Scheduled Castes, nor Scheduled Tribes. They are categorised as 'More Other Backward Class', having no facilities at all. No Government can snatch the democratic rights of the people, whichever may be the Government...*(Interruptions)*.

What is Scheduling? In the Constitution of India, in my opinion, there is a provision for fixing the time limit or a span of time for the upliftment of the weaker sections. Since Independence, these 50 lakhs tribal people, these Tea Adivasis who have gone there from Bihar and Orissa, have been categorised as 'More Other Backward Class', having no facilities at all. They have got no reservation either in service or in education or in other fields. The then Government in 1977 recommended nine Tea Adivasi tribes for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA (Jorhat) :
Who was in power in 1977? Which party?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't disturb.

SHRI HAREN BHUMIJ : Please don't

[Shri Haren Bhumij]

disturb me. If you are not interested, I will request you to go. .(Interruptions)

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA : Sir, I want your protection. He has asked me to go out. Who is he to ask me to go out? I seek your protection, Sir... (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : He has a right to say that...(Interruption).

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA : What right has a Member got to ask me to go out ?...(Interruptions).

16.00 hrs.

SHRI M. R. SAIKIA : Sir, Mr. Bhumij asked Mr. Chaliha to go out. I would like to ask whether he is the Presiding Officer or you are the Presiding Officer.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nobody goes unless he himself wants to go. Mr. Bhumij, please proceed.

SHRI HAREN BHUMIJ : Sir, the then Government in 1977 recommended for the inclusion of Adivasis in the list of Scheduled Tribes. Ten years have passed since then. This is now 1987, the Government has not yet done it. Time and again a Memorandum has been submitted to the Chief Minister of the State for further recommendation, but till today I do not know what would be the fate of these Adivasi tribes in Assam. Their demand is not a new one. They are already scheduled in their States of Origin. What it requires is the lifting of Area restriction, lifting of the fencing. The State Government be directed to recommend all the Tea Adivasis of Assam for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes and Government should come forward to bring amendment in the Constitution, if necessary. Assam has got ignition in the last six years. Somehow it had been extinguished, but if these people do not get proper recognition, I fear it will get ignited again which cannot be extinguished by the water of the ocean.

Sir, just with a verse I want to conclude :

*Dukh ke bandhan me jakare hein Assam
ke cha mazdoor Kisan,
Azadi ki kasam hai tumhein unko bhi
azad karo, unko bhi abad karo,
Jo kah gaye hein pyare bapu yaad karo,
yaad karo.*

[English]

With these words, I thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI NARESH CHANDRA CHATURVEDI (Kanpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, while supporting the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs, first of all I would like to congratulate Shri Buta Singh that movement for separating religion from politics is gaining momentum. In spite of the fact that forces of communalism are raising their head, he has taken initiative in this direction. I would like to congratulate him again for this.

I join the other hon. Members in saying that the way the issue of Babri Masjid and Ram Janam bhoomi is being blown out of proportion and the vicious propaganda in regard to this is being made, it is a matter of concern for the whole country. A few days back our Muslims brethren were invited to a meeting held in Delhi. Similarly a few days before this meeting, a big meeting of our Muslim brethren was held in Kanpur in which reasonable speeches were made. I have got newspaper cuttings in regard to these meetings. The speeches delivered in Kanpur made my hair stand at end. I have read in it that an MLA called 'Bharat Mata' as dayan (witch) which sucks blood. Nothing can be more shameful than such type of speeches made by an MLA. I am shocked to know the type of language the Members of Parliament and the MLAs use in their speeches. And yet they do not lose their eligibility of sitting in Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies. Why such a provision exists in this country that even those who make the people fight, cause enmity among the people, destroy the feelings of harmony and goodwill and

harm the unity and integrity of the country become the Members of the Legislative Assemblies and Parliament of a secular country like ours. There is no need to name such persons. In Parliament also, there are Members who have insulted the national symbols, have given a call to boycott the national festival. Are we not aware of them? (*Interruptions*) I, therefore, demand from the Home Ministry, and for this I have moved a Bill also. (*Interruptions*) see a guilty conscience is self-accused. I have neither pointed towards anyone, nor I intend to do so. You should take all these things seriously. Have we after independence, stopped thinking seriously about the important issues facing the country? Have we started wasting our time on trivial things? We pay attention as to how one can be humiliated and insulted and how a serious and true thing can be ridiculed by thumping the tables. Democracy does not flourish with such things.

I am one of those who appreciate every good thing. If a good thing is said in this country, we should applaud that irrespective of who has said it. If someone has said a wrong thing, he may belong to any religion, State or caste, he must be punished. Only then the country will progress and only then unity and integrity of the country can be sustained.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, another thing I want to submit is that we allow a situation to develop to extent where it takes dangerous dimension. What is this Ram Janambhumi-Babri Masjid dispute? Repeatedly incorrect things are being said about that. Many of our friends have either opposed or supported many things in this regard but they have shown faith in the judiciary. What sort of faith is it? If they had faith in the courts, then what was the necessity of saying that this matter should be referred to a judge of some High Court and that too from South India. This is also another way of showing that they do not have faith in the courts. Is South India separate from India? Is West or East India not part of India? India is India in its entirety. This shows that we do not have faith in the court, in the judiciary. If we have faith in the judiciary then there is no need to say such things. If we

have faith in the democracy, there is no need to say who out of 544 Members of Lok Sabha should be the Speaker of the House. That man, will become the controller of the destiny of this country irrespective of his caste, whom crores of adults of this country elect. Only then democracy will remain secure and that is what is needed today.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, next I want to touch the language issue. I have to submit two or three points in this regard. Shri Umakant has raised the issue very well. I also want to say something about this. Language issue is as important as any other issue. Regional or communal matters are linked with language problem. This is very dangerous. Why this question crops up that so and so state will not recognise this language when the same has been decided in the Constitution of the country? This is another form of communalism. When the country has formulated a three-language formula; then not to accept it or to insist on two language formula is as serious an offence as those enumerated above. If a State in the country says that it will not enforce three language formula in its education policy, or if people of a particular caste or religious group insist that they will not agree to this, tomorrow they may say that they will abide by the directions of so and so Minister only and not others, then democracy cannot function. I want to submit to the hon. Home Minister that an objectionable amendment has been made in the Official Language Act. It is very objectionable to amend the decision of the Constituent Assembly so drastically. This should be clarified. It is very undemocratic to say that "English will continue to be imposed on crores of people of this country till such time that even a single State is in its favour." I want to ask that when States are being carved out with a population of 3 lakhs or 5 to 10 lakhs and in such a situation if some them want that English should be their State language—one of them has already adopted it—then will you keep on imposing English on the remaining 74 crore people and will not bother for their feelings? You should remove this constitutional lacuna. It is the biggest injustice to the Official Language. The matter relates to the Home Ministry

[Shri Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi]

and surprisingly, no provision has been made in the Demands for the Ministry of Home Affairs for the development of the language. The job of development of the language was entrusted by our Founding Fathers to the Government of India but no funds have been provided for the development of the Official Language in the Budget. A provision should have been made in the Budget.

With these words, I support these Demands for Grants.

[English]

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala) : Mr. Chairman, we are discussing the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs. A lot of discussion has taken place. It is very distressing that there is dissatisfaction all over the country whether it is Punjab, the Eastern States, Tamilnadu, Gujarat the labour problems of the country or the agitations by the farmers or of the Babri Masjid. This shows clearly that all sections of the society throughout the country are dissatisfied and agitated over one issue or the other. My opinion is that this is all due to the policy adopted by the Central Government. I think the basic policy of the Government is to prolong issues and problems and then to take political advantage out of it. I agree with my hon. friends who said that the basic policy of the Government is to divide on the basis of caste, on the basis of community and to make a capital out of it. I remember the words of the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs Shri P. Chidambaram when he was talking about the Assam Accord and about the Assam Chief Minister. He was saying that the Government there wants to keep the fire burning so that to make political advantage out of it. I can pose the same question to the hon. Minister as to whether it is the reflection of his own thinking about the problem. Do they keep the problems alive because they want to gain political advantage out of it? I think the reflection is of his own working and the working of the Government. If it is so, then this is a very dangerous policy, very harmful for the country and that is why, in the recent past, we are listening to the

new slogan from the Government; from the Congress Party that the unity and integrity of this country is being threatened. I think if they rectify their own mistakes, if they correct their own policies, then there is nobody on the earth and in the country who can distort the unity and integrity of their country. They must search their own conscience; they should try to leave this policy of putting blame on others. The Punjab problem, the Gorkhaland agitation and the Babri Masjid issue—which is talked about these days very much—they have been allowed to prolong and the Government must stop this policy of double standards. We are all one in this country as also in this House. When our Tamilian brothers in Sri Lanka are fighting for their cause, we are asking our Prime Minister and our Home Minister—we are unanimous on this issue that this is a political problem. The Sri Lankan Government should evolve a political solution to it, sit round at the round table and talk, discuss everything with all the Groups of the Tamilians.

The Home Ministry has quoted in its Report for 1986 that while signing the Accord in Mizoram with Mr. Laldenga, they have finished and put an end to two decades of insurgency in Mizoram. If there was insurgency, armed revolt against the Central Government; if they ask the Sri Lankan Government and if they can sign an Accord with the insurgent Laldenga, then what is the harm—in my opinion, there is no insurgency in Punjab; there is no armed revolt in Punjab—and what is the problem in talking and discussing the whole matter with Mr. Prakash Singh Badal, with S.S. Mahu and other leaders who are leaders of repute, who are very respected leaders and men of status and with persons like AISSF and *Damdami Taksal*, and why not they call them, sit round the table and then find a solution of this problem? After all, they are not untouchables, they are not men belonging to any other country. If you can sit with Mr. Laldenga and talk to him, why not with these people? So, I request the Home Minister and our worthy Prime Minister that they should stop this double standard policy and try to find a solution to the lingering Punjab problem. The Punjab agitation was started in a very peaceful way in the early Eighties,

in 1982. It was the deliberate intention of the Central Government to prolong this problem and that is how it has come to its present form. It was simply for river waters, it was for implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which is nothing more than restructuring of the Constitution to give it a real shape as a federal Constitution, a federal character. And this is what every political party wants. Our great leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders, before independence and after independence, were in favour of decentralisation of powers. It was complicated because of the intention of the Central Government.

The next one is what is being talked about these days, namely, extremism and terrorism. This extremism and terrorism in Punjab came into being in the early Eighties. May I ask the Home Minister whether the Government is ready to appoint a Commission to go into the whole thing as to who started this extremism and terrorism, who are responsible for it, so that the whole matter comes before the people. The persons who started it, the persons who are responsible for it, should be exposed before the whole country, before the people. So, I request the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to go into the whole thing...

S. BUTA SINGH : What is the position of your Party towards extremism ?

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA : According to your analysis, extremism was created by the Government. If you kill people, if you kill boys in fake encounters, if you implicate them in false cases, what will happen ? Government must stop terrorism and extremism and then it should ask the citizens to stop it.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA
(Salempur) : Do they kill even innocent people ?

[English]

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA :
During the Blue Star Operation and during

the Woodrow Operation, hundreds and thousands of young people were being interrogated, detained and killed. So, those people fled across the borders, they ran away because they feared death. May I know from the Government what is their attempt to bring them in the mainstream ? Government must make amends and must make efforts to bring the youth to the mainstream. This extremism and terrorism cannot be stopped by force and by repression. Rather, they should be brought round by persuasion. So, Government must pose itself as a symbol of justice, not as a badge of repression.

May I bring this to the notice of the hon. Home Minister ? Perhaps, he knows about it. Mr. Prakash Singh Badal Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Mr. Simranjeet Singh Mann are being shabbily treated in jails; they are not being provided with those basic amenities which persons of their status should get. After all, they were Chief Ministers, they were men of status. They are not being given the basic medical facilities.

Mr. Mann is suffering from such an ailment which can cause concern. It is deteriorating.

Some people have congratulated the Government on signing the Punjab Accord and the Assam Accord. But here we have listened to people saying that the Punjab Accord is not being implemented. The Chief Minister of Punjab says that it is the Central Government which is not implementing while the Central Government and the Prime Minister has said that he is not implementing those clauses on the request of the Chief Minister. Both agree on one thing at least that it is not being implemented. But, for the people the Punjab Accord is a dead accord. Nothing has come out of it.

Similarly other accords are scuttled like anything. I think that the best course to bring peace in Punjab is to free all those boys, to free the political leaders, to restore democracy in Punjab, not to gag the feelings and sentiments of the people and to bring about a solution.

In the end I would like to say that the Punjab Action Plan which has been

[Shri Charanjit Singh Walia]

started by the Government with the aid of my Hon. friends in the opposition should not go and address rallies from bullet-proof platforms. They should try to know the sentiments and feelings of the people there. They should mix up with them in order to know the real sentiments of the people—how the people are being subjected to excesses—and that will create an atmosphere where some solution can be found.

With these words, I thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI) : Sir, I would be dealing with some of the problems of rehabilitation of the refugees. This was pointed out by some of our friends here. I would like to inform the House that the Government of India has been spending large sums since Independence on relief and rehabilitation of refugees who are coming to India. The Government of India has been receiving representations from time to time that the refugees who came to India from former East Pakistan have not been able to generate enough surpluses to be able to repay the loans as per the terms of sanction of these loans.

When the Prime Minister visited West Bengal in 1986, many of the refugees—those who were staying in the colonies—represented that they are facing some difficulties. Taking a sympathetic view, the Government has been advising the State Governments also to write-off the irrecoverable loans. Under the delegated powers, the Central Government delegated powers to the State Governments to consider these cases. The State Governments write-off an amount of Rs. 34.79 crores upto 31.3.1985. This was under the delegated powers of the Central Government. The Union Government also, after getting representations from the various States and the Hon. Members of Parliament...

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : Is it only the house building loan or the business loan also ?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : I am coming to that.

After the writing-off of Rs. 34.79 crores loans by the State Governments, again representations were received from many Hon. Members, from various representative organisations of refugees and also from the State Governments saying that the refugees are not in a position to repay further loans that they have taken. Therefore, after receiving all these representations, the Union Government reviewed the position again and considered that the refugees would probably be able to build up a better economic base for themselves if they are relieved of all the loans burdens, totally. Therefore, Sir, Government decided to write off all types of loans given upto 31.3.1974 and outstanding loans as on 1.4.1985 and re-lending loans given from 1.4.1974 till 31.3.1984 and the outstanding as on 1.4.1985. Due to sympathetic consideration of the hon. Prime Minister a decisions were taken to write off Rs. 130.25 crores of recoverable loans of the refugees. Central Government asked the State Governments to write off all these loans. Earlier I have mentioned about Rs. 34 crores. So the total comes to Rs. 164 crores loans which were written off for helping the refugees to overcome their difficulties. So, when the Central Government is writing off Rs. 164 crores of loans the same should be passed on to the refugees by the State Government. But unfortunately efforts were made to link up such a good gesture with the elections. It has nothing to do with elections because we have written off these Rs. 134 crores of loans in respect of 20 States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Meghalaya, Manipur, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tripura, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) : What about Andaman and Nicobar Islands ?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : Union Territories are also there. Andaman and Nicobar islands must have been covered.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is the date of the order ?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI :

It is in 1986 and not now. Therefore, I would like to submit, Sir, that this has nothing to do with the elections and it was decided much earlier and almost all the States have been benefited from this concession given by the Central Government.

Sir, the decision to give free-hold land in urban areas was also taken when many people represented their difficulties to the Prime Minister. They requested him to give free-hold rights and not leasehold rights. The decision to give free-hold rights on land was taken in response to the repeated representations of several hon. Members of this House as well as of the State Governments. The announcement regarding provision of Rs. 93 crores for regularisation of quarters/colonies was based on rough assessment at that time. The detailed proposals submitted by the State Governments after repeatedly being asked to do so justified an outlay of Rs. 84.36 crores. The actual expenditure will have to be varified and how much money they need will be decided.

Now I come to the question of Union Territories which Mr. Manoranjan Bhakta is very much interested to know. Mr. Chairman, as you know perhaps, Mr. Bhakta is getting the maximum advantage for his people after the Island Development Authority was constituted by the hon. Prime Minister.

Sir, in recent times, perhaps somewhere some newspapers have written that various developments are taking place in the islands like Andaman and Nicobar, and other places. Maybe if they completely open up to the outside world, perhaps the beauty that is there will be lost. The development is taking place in a rapid way. Hon'ble Mr. Manoranjan Bhakta is so much interested always in the development of the people and the islands and the areas there. We fully sympathise with him. Perhaps in the Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs, he is a member and I also sit there. We always receive cooperation of the Council members there.

Sir, I would just like to submit that what some honourable Members wanted was that though there is going to be good development, there should be good adminis-

tration also just comparable with the progress and development. That is what he meant. Rapid development takes place. Naturally there might be some shortcomings in the administration. They might not be used to a particular kind of development process. Now rapid development process means some more activities on the part of the administration. When the Central Government is spending so much money in the development of the islands, the good administration is bound to follow. Wherever there is any deficiency in the administration, he can just point that out to us. We shall look into this and we will give to the Union Territories good administration. Otherwise how can the development take place? Wherever he feels some difficulty somewhere, well he can point out to the Ministry of Home Affairs. Advisory Committee is there. He is accessible to anyone in the Government, in the Ministry and in the House. Therefore, he can bring it to our notice.

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA : Nobody listens there. You send instructions from here to the officials. We have pointed out specific cases but you don't take any action.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : I think Mr. Manoranjan Bhakta is not speaking the whole truth. Whatever things he wants, I think, it is being acceded to and development is taking place.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur) : Sir, please set up one monitoring committee to look after the refugee problem because when Government of India has agreed to give few lakhs of rupees to urban area people, you must involve the MPs in this monitoring committee.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : I think it is a good suggestion. We shall take it into consideration because the money that we spend has to be monitored. You would be knowing that perhaps the horizon of the union territories is gradually declining and perhaps more territories are becoming States. Recently, the Prime Minister inaugurated two new states of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. Maybe in future also, Prime Minister might fulfil the aspiration of the people of some other Union Territories. Therefore, we are making every effort for

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

expediting the all-round development of the union territories.

Another point was raised by some honourable Member about the pension to the freedom fighters. We are doing our best to sanction Swatantra Samman Pension to all genuine freedom fighters. Sir, here I must acknowledge that Prof. Ranga and others are always helping the Home Ministry so far as the freedom fighters pension cases are concerned. We have already received 4,44,725 applications up to 31.3.82. We have already sanctioned 1,41,714 cases till February, 1987.

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA : Does the minimum period still remain six months? Somebody told that now it has been reduced.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : It is six months, but in the case of scheduled castes as also in the case of women, we have reduced it to three months.

The hon. Members might have experienced themselves also that whenever they have brought any genuine case to my notice, we are looking into those cases most sympathetically after calling for the files and looking into them personally. Perhaps during the last three-four months, we have cleared hundreds of genuine cases.

We are also now liberalizing the guide lines to include the cases of ex-INA civilians. One day we met all the ex-INA heroes, Mohan Singh and others. We talked to them and they were very happy to know that we were now trying to liberalize and include the cases of ex-INA civilians.

Then, recently, we have sanctioned pensions for people involved in the agitation during the period of Gandhi Irwin Pact. Many freedom fighters involved then were not able to get their pension, because of certain difficulties, but now we have cleared those things and many of those freedom fighters will be able to get their pensions.

It is true, as some of the hon. Member have said, that there are cases which are not genuine, but somehow or the other, they were able to manage to get pensions. In

recent days, we have cancelled as many as two hundred such cases. If any fake cases are brought to our notice, we would certainly review those cases and will take utmost precautions in future. However, the genuine freedom fighters will get all our consideration.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about time-barred cases?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : The time limit is still there. Already the last date of application is over—in 1982, March 31. But, if some genuine cases are left out, we consider their cases and also are condoning delay in such cases. If any such genuine cases are left out, we would certainly try to do our best.

I would request all the hon Members to see that this scheme becomes a success. We have given the freedom fighters, railway travel concession, free medical facilities etc. Shri Dinesh Goswami has sent me a letter as to which are the places where the freedom fighters can get free medical facilities. They will get these facilities in Central Government Health Scheme Hospitals, where all these facilities can be availed out.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati) : There is another problem. A freedom fighter can be accompanied by a person. The Railway Ministry has been insisting for the name of the person. Once a name is given, another person cannot accompany him. Why not do it as in our case 'a person to be accompanied'?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : That could be examined. With these words, I conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No interruptions please, the rest will be clarified by the Home Minister tomorrow.

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana) : Mr. Chairman Sir, with your permission I have risen here and now to oppose with all the force at my command the motion for grants under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is will-nigh impossible for me to give all the reasons and grounds on this occasion in this limited time for opposing

it. But I will be placing the salient features before this hon. House of the reasons for which I am opposing the demands for grants of the Ministry, because the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for creating such a gloomy picture in this country.

Mr. Chairman, this is the Ministry which has repeatedly, persistently and consistently failed in their duty which is enjoined on them by the Constitution to protect and safeguard the life, liberty and property of the citizens. It appears that at all moments of time, this Ministry has been a silent and mute spectator to the drama—rather a gory drama—with the most blood-curdling scenes of mass murders, loot, arson, gang rape and other such offences. These offences are being committed in this country on those persons who are weaker sections, who are economically poor, who are numerically weak, who are depressed and who are physically unable to defend themselves. This sort of drama is going on throughout the country—in South, in the North, in the West and in the East. With every last ray of the setting Sun, there is the rising graph of atrocities, brutalities and cruelties that are being committed on certain minorities, particularly on the Scheduled Castes and the backward classes by certain sections of the society which have got their patronage in the ruling classes. And the figures given by the Ministry themselves speak for it. Since the Home Ministry and the Government themselves say that they are champions of the cause of the down-trodden people, I am giving these figures for the information of this House.

During the period January 1982 to October 1986, 3,200 persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were murdered by persons belonging to other communities for very petty reasons. During this period 4,400 girls from Scheduled Castes were subject to rape and sometimes to gang rape.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : Who gave you these figures? How could you manufacture such figures?

SHRI M.S. GILL : These figures are given by the Government themselves in the Rajya Sabha.

During this period 5,400 arson cases were registered whereby several thousands

of houses were razed to ground and they were decimated. These were cases and not individual incidents. In one case, one whole colony of houses was reduced to ashes and so many thousands of people were rendered homeless. During this very period, as per the figures available with me, 62,917 assault cases have been registered. This number pertains to cases and not to individual persons. So, you can very well imagine the number of those persons involved in this and the number of bones broken and so on. These are the figures and you can imagine the situation for yourselves.

In the first six months of 1986, 214 murder cases were registered and all these pertain to depressed classes. Out of this, 202 cases were registered in those States which are governed by the Congress, the so called champions of the Dalits. And out of that, 112 cases were registered in Uttar Pradesh only. These are the figures which speak for themselves.

Mr. Chairman, with every tick of the clock, whether it is midnight or about midday or both dusk or dawn, an innocent cold blood of an innocent Indian person is being spilt on the, I should say, forehead of our mother *Bharat*. And the only reason and the only fault invariably is that the victim unfortunately belonged to one community or the other; to one caste or the other. This is being done before us every day. The blood thirsty *trishuls* and sharp pointed spears, razor-edged daggers are the prized possession of certain organisations which are called *Senas* or which are called brigades and simply so many names are being given to them and the people are... (*Interruptions*) Everyday, we have been seeing these things. Those gentle boys, I should say, the misguided boys, are being given to understand that the welfare of their community lies in the decimation of the other community. Unfortunately, these are the boys who are always anxious to dip the nose of these weapons in the blood of their next door neighbours. These things are happening every day. What is the result? In Punjab, 6000 young boys are thungishing in Jails and more than 400 persons are rotting in jails, thousands of kilometres away from their houses in other States. Several thousands of persons have been tortured and maimed in the name of

[Shri M.S. Gill]

police interrogation and there are scores of persons who have been grilled through the mill of police interrogation and they have been permanently rendered unfit to lead their married life. There are several instances before us that these things are going on; these tortures are going on. How it is possible? Who is responsible for that? It is only the Home Ministry. Therefore, I would submit, your honour, with all the forces at my command and I oppose the Demands of the Home Ministry because they have failed in their responsibility; failed in their duty enjoined upon them by the Constitution.

[Translation]

SHRI ANADI CHARAN DAS (Jaipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, supporting the Demands of the Home Ministry, I submit certain points before the House. We know the root cause of the deteriorating law and order situation in the country. A detailed discussion has taken place in this regard in this House. Why do immorality, atrocities, murders, corruption and drug addiction—which ultimately results in death-increase? Because we do not nip the evil in the bud.

To my mind, one of the reasons for deterioration in the law and order situation in the country is the burgeoning population. With the increase in population the economy of the country too has been imbalanced because 'haves' are committing atrocities on 'have-nots'. This is the root cause of law and order problem. We are committed to democratic socialism and if our actions conform to this principle, there will be no riots and violence.

There has been a detailed discussion in the House. I see that thefts are taking place daily. Some people steal during night and others commit thefts in broad day-light. What is the punishment for those who indulge in thievery in the broad day light? (Interruptions) You can say that we have a Vigilance Department but we see that mostly people commit thefts during day time. You should enact a law whereby a person giving information about those who are indulging in profiteering

should be rewarded suitably. This should be done on the lines you give incentives to those who inform income tax evaders. If someone gives information about a person who is having black-money or is earning money in an illegal manner, the informer should be rewarded.

I want to draw the attention of the Government towards one thing more. Two hundred houses were burnt and two persons were killed in village Jauri under Binjbarpur Police station area in my constituency. Government has provided some grant but I want to tell that no case has been instituted against the guilty so far because of the connivance of the police. The police in the local police station belonged to the area from which these offenders came. Therefore, I suggest that no IAS or IPS officer should be posted in his home area and police station incharge should also not be posted in his home area. Otherwise certain influence is put on them because of their being from the same locality. He can be influenced by his caste or community people also.

Similarly, though we talk of secularism, yet the Government sanctions funds to the Waqf Board and Devottar. People may give as much money as they want to religious institutions, but the Government should not contribute for any religious activities. This situation needs to be improved.

17.00 hrs.

Now I want to say something about the Department of Personnel. The President has said in his Address that administrative reforms should be brought. It is very essential and attention should be paid towards this. In this connect on, I suggest that all the class I and Class II officers and the employees should submit their monthly returns of expenses to the Government. We observe that Government officials and employees indulge in wasteful spending. Wherefrom they get this money? How do they manipulate? There should be a provision under which they may be prohibited from purchasing even agricultural land. During their service period, sufficient facilities are provided to them. On the other hand, there are people in this country who

live in huge pipes and give birth to their children inside these pipes. They do not get any facility but on the other hand these officers lend money, do other works on contract basis and increase their bank balance. My suggestion is that there should be provision under which they should be prohibited from keeping 4 to 5 tolas (40 to 50 grams) of gold in their possession and they should not have more than one house of their own. During their service, period even the share of their parental property should not be given to them. Such steps are necessary if you want to bring socialism in this country.

My suggestion is that there should be no state cadre for the IAS and IPS officers; only one All India Cadre should be there so that they can be transferred from one place to another. A letter has been issued by a Director of the Department of Personnel stating that at the time of recruitment the candidates belonging to scheduled castes will be given same marks as given to the general candidates. We have raised this issue in this House as also in the Consultative Committee. Under this procedure, the scheduled caste candidates will not get any concession. The Government has not yet paid attention towards it. If Harijan and Adivasi candidates are not able to apply for the post initially, how will they be recruited. I want that the Government should pay attention towards it so that the condition of Harijans and Adivasis could be improved. The statistics given upto 1984 regarding the Scheduled Tribes show that the candidates in respect of 6.4 per cent posts in class IV were not available. Is it possible that not a single S.T. candidate was available for recruitment in class IV posts? Similarly figures show that S.T. candidates in respect of 3.79 per cent posts in class III not available. It happens because you do not make efforts from the very beginning. You have opened so many schools and colleges and so many students come out of them after completion of their studies. You do not make proper efforts and that is why you do not get suitable candidates. I want that the Government must look into the points raised by me. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA

(Ponnani) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the question of Babri Masjid is creating increasing unrest and agony. The Babri Masjid has to be restored without any further delay and the government cannot be a mere silent spectator. I must most respectfully submit that it is the procrastination and inaction on the part of the government that is creating a lot of discontent and frustration and which leads to the deterioration in the situation. I must, therefore, once again, appeal to the government to rise up to the situation. It is not only a question of the Babri Masjid but I must put the government and the House on a note of caution with all the vehemence at my command. Claims are being made not only against this Babri Masjid but against a large number of places of worship, shrines and places of religious significance. It is very astonishing and very condemnable that flimsy grounds are sought to be extracted from the limbo of the past, from the history of thousands years old and claims have been advanced in that manner to a large number of places of religious significance.

I very much appreciate the point that was made by the hon. member, Shri Shyam Lal Yadav that history cannot be invoked and flimsy grounds found out and then all the problems created. These attempts to lay claims to places of religious significance on the basis of flimsy grounds extracted from the history of thousands of years, this opens up a Pandora's Box. All this releases the jinnce from the bottle. It is here that this House has to act and act very firmly; it is here that the government has to act and, therefore, I must urge upon the government for a step that solves the entire problem once and for all. I urge upon the government to come forward with an enactment to provide that the status and the form of all places of religious significance shall be maintained as they existed on the eve of independence on 15th August, 1947; on 15th August, 1947, if it is a temple, it remains a temple and no claim shall be entertained; if it is mosque, it remains a mosque and no claim shall be entertained. Here a movement has been launched called *Dharam Isthan Mukti Andolan*. Here we have, what I may say, the unleashing of discontent. All these claims raise serious controversies. Such claims lead to deep discord and such claims are prejudicial to communal harmony and

[Shri G.M. Banatwalla]

the stability of the country. I must, therefore, with all the vehemence at my command, ask the government to rise, to come forward with a central enactment to provide that the status and the form of all places of worship as they existed on 15th August, 1947, shall be maintained.

And no claims there to will be entertained. It is only then that we will be able to cope up with the situation. It is not merely a question of Babri Masjid. I must tell you that that Mosque has to be restored but at the same time, claims being made to a large number of these places of religious significance, they have to be taken care of.

I need not, Sir, dwell at length on the history and everything because as I said that, history cannot be invoked to raise all these types of frivolous claims otherwise there will be discord everywhere.

Sir, I must also draw the attention of the Government to the fact that it is unfortunate that communal tension and communal violence still rock various parts of the country. The hon. Minister, Shri Chidambaram, has given us certain figures. We wish the Government well. Because it is only on controlling this communal violence that we will be able to save this country. But, Sir, the fact remains, look at Gujarat, a chronic State it has become and look at various other places! We have major communal riots. I have a list before me but time will not permit me to talk about the basic features, the characteristics of the communal violence that has rocked these many places. An important point is that communal hatred is projected everywhere and the Government must rise to see...
(Interruptions)

SHRI BANWARI LAL PUROHIT
(Nagpur) : By whom ?

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Let him ask. I will yield to every member who wants to ask me any question on any topic whatsoever.

Sir, I say that this hatred will have to be checked from whichever quarter it comes and it will have to be checked with a very firm hand at the same time,

AN HON. MEMBER : I will agree.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : By officials as well as non-officials.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Yes. We have written to the Government. All these several forces that have been disseminating hatred, look at what is happening in Maharashtra. Shall I name the Pramukh of a political party over there? I have written to the Government. All sorts of things are being said. The Chief Minister of the State simply says, "I will listen to tapes". He never finds time to listen to the tapes. There are a plethora and a glut of venomous speeches and writings over here and the Government must shake off its lethargy to see that firm steps are taken so that this communal hatred, this hatred against minorities and also these venomous writings and speeches do not continue. Complaints are also rampant against...
(Interruptions)

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kaisarganj) : Will Mr. Banatwalla take the responsibility of helping our Government in doing all that is being done? The other day when the procession or the rally was there, I think he was the best spokesman of the whole thing. He should have been there to come forward and help the Government to see that such things are not allowed to happen. I think he should give an assurance that this is the first and the last thing that has happened.
(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : I was waiting that this question be put to me, and I am very thankful to the hon. Member. The whole trouble is (Interruptions) that we do not have the entire facts before us. We are talking about rallies, what type of speeches were made? That is a point which is disturbing or disturbing the mind of this hon. Member and some other Members.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please hear him. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : The hon. Member should know that I participated in the rally. I do not boast here on

the floor of the House. In the rally itself I told the people to guard. And I told the people that any person who excites to violence, harms the people themselves, who have gathered here and harms the nation. I questioned in the rally itself. What to do? The press does not report that. This is the thing. I must tell the people, who have collected rather than I tell you character... (Interruptions) I must also say that the speech of the Imam is also mis-reported and put out of context. But then I must say that there are two things to it. Where were these hon Members when venomous speeches and writings were put out and I was here waiting for people to get up and ask the Government to take action? (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : There cannot be word for word debate. Please proceed.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : We have been asking this Government here and the Governments in the States quoting chapter and verse what types of venomous writings and speeches and coming. But till now we have never come across any action whatsoever against hatred that is being spread throughout the country by certain elements against the minorities. This is the whole trouble with the communal history over here. The communal history of our country knows no punishment whatsoever given to the culprits. There are several reports of judicial commissions in which even police officers have been named, district officers have been named and we have never found adequate action being taken against them. I must say, long ago, in Maharashtra there was a Madan Commission. The Madan Commission pointed out the officers responsible for heinous crimes. I was a Member of the Assembly at that time. I asked the Government as to what action they were taking. I was assured that action would be taken. And later on, does the House know what action was taken against those people? Yes, against those police officers also action was taken. And what was the action? A fine of Rs. 10. The police officers who were pointed out by the Madan Commission being responsible for committing heinous crime were fined Rs. 10. And it was said that those officers or police personnel may not be in a position to shell out Rs. 10, therefore, Rs. 1 per month was to be deducted from their salary.

This is what leads to frustration. It is this that leads to discontent. And if we do not rise up to this type of situation, then we have ugly situations before us. I must urge upon the hon. Minister, I must urge upon the Government to call a meeting of the Chief Ministers of all the States, especially those states which have been very sensitive and have witnessed so many communal riots. Let us not merely mourn. How long are we going to complain and mourn over here? Let some constructive steps be now taken. You have given certain guidelines. Thank you very much, but then they have to be implemented. Call a meeting of the Chief Ministers, sit at the highest level, call the leaders of the parties also there and let us face this menace of communal violence and communal hatred throughout and let us stamp it out completely, once for all, from our country. It is with these particular thoughts and for this purpose that the entire cooperation. I offer to this House, to the Government in stamping that out. There in will lie the glorious future of democracy, no, of the secular democracy of our country.

If you permit me, I would say two-three words with respect to the Assam Accord. Certain suggestions were made by the Chief Minister to bring about some amendments in the Illegal Migrants Act—Determination by Tribunals Act. I must conclude by saying—because there is no time—that the Government should not succumb to such types of demands that are being made. Let the Act be not made an instrument for persecution of the helpless and the innocent people and I am sure that the Government will look into it and safeguard the interests of one and all.

[Translation]

SHRI K.J. ABBASI (Domariaganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have got the opportunity to speak after Shri Banatwalla has taken his turn. He has drawn attention towards a serious matter about which one of our friends, Shri Singh has also raised some questions. I keep Shri Banatwalla totally aloof from this issue because according to my information the people, who have done all this, were some others but the responsibility for it falls not only on Shri Banatwalla but also on me who never participated in it, because I am a Muslim,

[Shri K.J. Abbasi]

Therefore, we are all responsible for it whether we participated in it or not.

Is it not a matter of shame for us that even after 40 years of Independence we are discussing the matter of Hindu and Muslim in this House? You ask from those who fought for Independence of the country 40 years back as to what they are feeling. We were petty workers who followed Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru during the freedom struggle. They dreamt that the country would become independent and they would not allow the partition of this country to take place. We Hindus and Muslims would live together and die together. We do not want Pakistan. Today you ask from those people as to what they are feeling and thinking about it.

I would like to tell Shri Banatwalla that the blood-shed in Karachi in Pakistan was not due to the Hindu-Muslim riots; it was due to Pathan-Mahajir riots. Who are the Mahajirs? They are all our brothers who went to Pakistan from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar at the time of partition. One brother is living here in India and the other has gone to Pakistan. Though both are Muslims and recite ayats of Koran but even then the Pathans are not tolerating the Mahajirs. When both of them are Muslims, why they are fighting among themselves. Jinnah had said that we were not one nation, we were two nations, but we did not subscribe to his theory and said that we were one nation. The partition took place and Pakistan because a separate independent country why the people are fighting among themselves in Pakistan even today; why a Muslim is cutting the throat of another Muslim. When there is no dispute like Babri Masjid and Ram Janam bhoomi in Pakistan, why they are fighting and killing each other.

Today, after 40 years of Independence if such issue has come up before us, we should think over it as to who will solve it. This problem will be solved by the Congress party and its leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Today our hon. Prime Minister is following the foot prints of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Shri Banatwalla will not deny that a few days back a case relating to the divorced Muslims women came before us which shook even big people. At that time who came to our rescue and who solved that problem? Was that matter solved through processions. It was our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi who solved that problem. Today we are hopeful that he will solve this problem too. I would like to tell Shri Banatwalla that in this regard I have written 2-3 letters to the Prime Minister. We rely on our party. We shall continue our fight with our Home Minister S. Buta Singh till this matter is finally settled, but we shall not organise rallies and murders to achieve this end. It is apparent from the speech of Imam of Jama Masjid that he is not a friend of Muslims, he is their enemy. He instigated the people to kill the Muslim Members and burn down their houses.

Today the Congress party is in power in India and has a strong Government. It follows the principles of Mahatma Gandhi and knows to pardon the other. Otherwise, by now the Imam would have been put behind the bars.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND
FORESTS (SHRI Z.R. ANSARI) : You
have got it done before 1947.

SHRI K.J. ABBASI : I would like to request that in India we should adopt a balanced approach. I do not say that Babri Masjid should be given to us or that the Ram Janam bhoomi has no importance, but we should solve this problem with broad minded approach. The forces which are working behind the Ram Janam bhoomi are not religious. They want to divide the country and want to create rift between Hindu and Muslims. Our hon. Home Minister, who also belongs to the minority community which includes Sikhs and Muslims, has bravely faced the communal forces in Punjab. Is he not capable of solving this problem? We hope that he will certainly do something at this critical juncture to find out an amicable solution. As the hon. Home Minister has also said in the House while replying to three days' debate on communalism that it is not a difficult problem and it will be solved. We

want his blessings. We would like to remind him that it is not a difficult task and if the Government is prepared, an amicable solution to this problem will be found. It requires your attention only.

At the same time, I would like to tell my Muslims brothers through this House that in India we have our own Constitution, laws, right to equality and all other rights. These rights have been given to us by those against whose wishes we formed Pakistan. Some Muslims went to Pakistan and those, who were left in India, were embraced and were given equal rights. We should commend that we were considered worthy of being given equal rights. Therefore, now it also becomes our responsibility to discharge our duty properly. After 40 years of Independence, we have to prove that we are a part of the Indian mainstream. We can say it with pride that we are Muslims and we are Indians. In the capacity of Indians, we have certain duties, which we shall have to fulfill. It is also our duty to settle the Ram Janam bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute and we shall work day and night for it and shall never take sides.

Without saying much, I want to draw your attention to another point. The newspapers are full of a dispute that has arisen in our area. This issue has not been raised in the House so far. This dispute is going on in Shamli. I cannot understand as to what is the bone of contention there. Even the police officers do not have the courage to go there, what to talk of holding big rallies. An absolutely new picture has emerged before us. I will request the hon. Minister of Home Affairs to kindly pay attention to it so that this spark does not become a fire and it is put out before it can spread.

Although Babri Masjid dispute belongs to Uttar Pradesh, yet the Government of Uttar Pradesh is functioning more efficiently as compared to other States. I have written to the hon. Prime Minister again and again and I have submitted in the House earlier also and I say in once again that I am not trying to flatter hon. Shri Veer Bahadur Singh. What I want to submit is that though he is surrounded by so many controversies, yet he is managing

to keep the riots under control. We should lend him all our strength and support and you should also do the same.

I want to submit one more point. The way the issue has been presented by hon. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, I congratulate him for it. At least I feel satisfied when someone speaks in consonance with me which assures me that there are still such people in India who will approach a problem as Indians irrespective of whether they are Hindus or Muslims. I want to congratulate them for it. I also believe that like other issues, this issue too will be settled.

At the same time, one of my able friends from that side delivered a speech here, supported with plenty of figures from all over the country but did not divulge the source. We kept on listening. He gave the figures in thousands and lakhs and I want to ask him a serious question. I want to ask him, through you, whether he has ever thought honestly as to how many people have been killed in Punjab due to terrorism and what was their fault? Have you ever given it a thought and taken some action? Without saying much, I want to convey a message through you that this trivial issue which has become a major one should be settled at the earliest. Hon. Shri Basheer has stated that this issue should be settled mutually. It cannot be resolved by holding a rally howsoever big it may be. If one side organises a rally, the other side will organise four rallies. This is enough for answering rallies. The Hindu Parishad is raising funds through donations and the Muslims are also doing the same. The side which has a larger number of members will collect more funds and will also hold more rallies. But what will be the result? Only the huts of the poor will be burnt and we shall warm ourselves by sitting around that bonfire.

With these words I support the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs with full strength at my command.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the main target of today's discussion in the House is the Ram Janam bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. I think that had that rally not been held, perhaps, this discussion would not have

[Shri Mohd. Mahfooz Ali Khan]

taken place. The reason is that we had first demanded. . . (Interruptions) Mamataji, kindly listen to what I say... (Interruptions)

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kaiser-ganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to submit one point. The hon. Member has submitted that had the rally not been held, this issue would not have been discussed here. However, I want to say that the Shah Bano case was discussed fully in the House although there were no rallies held on that issue. The matter was taken up in the House in order to respect their sentiments.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : We have made efforts in this regard in the House. We have staged walk-outs and we have asked for permission for discussing this matter in the House, but we were not given permission to do so. That is why I said that had the rally not been held, we would not have discussed this issue and what I have stated is the truth. What I want to say is that though the Britishers have quit but they have left behind their policy of divide and rule. Our Government today is acting on that theory and is ruling the country on that basis. What is the reason for making a mountain out of a mole hill when it was in the knowledge of the Government? Our hon. Minister of Home and hon. Shri Chidambaram are both present here. Were they not aware as to where was this issue drifting? What will be its fate, how much blood will be shed and what will become of us? The temples as well as the mosques belong to us. These are places of worship. It is nobody's parental property. It is the abode of Allah, of Lord Jesus; but it is being destroyed today and disputes are being raised over this issue. Man fights for his own house but this is the House of God, of Jesus of the Almighty. It is nobody's property. It neither belongs to the Hindu nor to the Muslim. I will recite a couplet :—

*"Mazhab ki farukat mein
parrna nahi achha,
Hindu-Musliman ka jhagarna
nahi achha".*

What I mean to say is that Ram Janam bhoomi belongs to us. The Babri-Masjid

also belongs to us. You can read their histories. I am not going into the history of either the temple or the mosque. Neither was I present in your function.

AN HON. MEMBER : The court has given the Judgement.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : The court has given its judgement but there are many things in it. I hold the Uttar Pradesh Government responsible for this issue. As hon. Shri Kazi Jalil had stated that the administration is being run properly and good work is being done there. Mr. Home Minister Sir, the Government of Uttar Pradesh is behind the dispute. The Babri Masjid case is not new. It traces its origin to the times of the Britishers. It has a history. I think that a platform should be raised and the Masjid should be allowed to exist so that both Hindus and Muslims are able to offer prayers there, but our conscience is not clear in this regard. It is because we are not clear minded about it, that is why disputes are being created : Hence, I shall request the hon Home Minister and hon. Shri Chidambaram—both are very able representatives—that they should settle the issue at the earliest because otherwise the fire which has already started may spread to any extent. I shall request you to look into it and set the matter right. It is true that it is a local issue. Therefore, the Government should call the Hindu and the Muslims of that area to settle the issue. The political leaders of both communities should not be associated with the negotiations. The local people should be included but not the politicians. I repeat that the political leaders should not be associated. Instead, the local people should be associated with it. You may approach the problem legally or otherwise but it should be solved. If we glance into the history of the time of Babur, we shall find that history repeats itself and we drive a lot from it.

Secondly, casteism is eating into the vitals of the country like termites. It is cancer like disease. It will also come before you. There is no limit to this disease in this country. If an officer belongs to a particular caste or community, he appoints his subordinates from the

same community. Today administration, law and justice have come to an end in the country. The people are practising casteism frantically. Therefore, you will have to look into it, judge it and eradicate the evil.

Thirdly, I want to submit in regard to police administration. You will at once say that it is a state subject under the rules. We are very harassed on this account. We are elected to the Parliament but whatever issue we try to raise is rejected on the grounds of its being a State matter. But this matter is also a state subject and yet we are discussing it over here. Why is the Babri-Masjid case being discussed? It concerns Uttar Pradesh and we are discussing it here. Similarly, the Punjab issue also falls under the State list yet we have taken it up in this House. Therefore I want to say that so far as the police administration is concerned, it has not undergone any change. The policemen have not stopped accepting bribes. Their behaviour is not proper. A school should be set up to train the police personnel as to how they should behave with people. A poor man does not have the courage to lodge an F.I.R. and if he musters enough courage to do so; the first question that he is asked is whether he can pay anything to them. As he is in torn clothes, his report is not registered and a shower of such abuses is hurled at him which we shall not find in any dictionary. If we utter those abuses we shall be accused of using unparliamentary language. Hon. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav who is present here will support me that the F.I.Rs lodged by the poor people are not written and if they are at all written, then proper investigations are not done and consequently justice is not done to them.

One more point which I want to submit is that numerous encounters have been staged by the police at the behest of the politicians. For example, if I am an M.L.A. or M.P., I can influence the local police. Whatever I say, they will have to do it. Thus the politicians get their enemies liquidated and they get their revenge. In our Etah district hundreds of innocent people were killed by the police in the name of a dacoit named Chhavi Ram. There is a need to change such a situation which is prevailing at present.

We have completed 40 years of our Independence yet the police are still corrupt. The police-station incharge is not worried about his salary. You may increase his pay-scale to any extent; make it Rs. 2500 or Rs. 3000 but he will not stop taking bribes.

Yet another point which I want to mention is that our country is independent but licenses for keeping guns are not being issued in Uttar Pradesh. We are the residents of Uttar Pradesh, but we cannot get licence to keep a gun. Is this the freedom? You go to other countries and you will find that there is no need to get a licence there. You just go to the shop, buy a gun, go to the police station and get the registration done. What is the use of this freedom when we cannot get arms' licence for self-protection. There are many illicit arms factories in Uttar Pradesh and the people keep illegal arms. Why does not the Government issue licences? If they do it, they will get revenue in the form of licence fee on the one hand and on the other, the people will neither manufacture nor keep illegal arms. The Government should issue us licences so that we could protect ourselves. Though our district is a criminal and backward district, yet the Uttar Pradesh Government has excluded it from the criminal list and have included the neighbouring districts of Mainpuri and Etawah in that list because crime rate in those district is also very high... (Interruptions) I am giving the reasons why it should be treated as a criminal district. If it is accepted as a criminal district, development can take place there. As of now, there is neither any industry nor a railway line there. I have all along been demanding a railway line there, but my demand has not been accepted. Even the condition of the existing railway line is not being improved. I had requested the Prime Minister also that our district should be included in the list of backward and criminal districts so that development could be undertaken there. I am saying this thing from this point of view.

So far as recruitment is concerned, we, the representatives are not invited and we never know where and on what dates the recruitment will take place in the district,

[Shri Mchd. Mabfooz Ali Khan]

If we public representatives are informed in advance about the places and dates of recruitment to C R P F. and B S F, we shall be in a position to tell the authorities as to where they can get better stuff for recruitment and we can also make publicity among the public about the place where the recruitment is going to be made.

The Government are well aware of the law and order situation. Although 40 years have passed since Independence, yet the scheduled castes, minorities and the backward classes continue to be oppressed and there is no change in their condition. Riots continue to plague the State and no end to these riots is visible. Why don't they conduct research in this regard?

The I.A.S and I.P.S. officers should not be posted in their home provinces. They should be posted outside their home-states. If they are posted in their home-states, it gives rise to nepotism and favouritism. The case of Babri Masjid is before you. Government should take up this matter seriously. There is an urgent need for it today. Both the sides are swelling their arsenal. Government should ban the communal parties. R.S.S. which gives fuel to fire should be banned. The communal party in Gujarat should be banned. These communal parties instigate the people for communal clashes, that is their mainstay.

We are Indians and are faithful to our country. We have fought for the Independence of this country. This country is Gandhi's country. We as well as our ancestors have fought for its freedom. We are not Pakistanis; we are Indians. We are with India.

I would request the hon. Minister to take steps to settle this dispute very early and carefully.

With these words, I express my thanks to you.

17.46 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[*English*]

SHRI S.B. SIDNAL (Belgaum) : Mr.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to participate in this discussion.

Law and order has been the main problem of this country. The question is how we can solve this problem. Communalism and casteism have been raising their ugly heads because there are fundamentalists from all sides and they encourage these people. There are some persons and organisations who are prompting these people. Therefore, Government has to take serious steps against all these communal organisations. Otherwise, every State will become independent and tomorrow they will ask for everything, even for the military, and we will stand divided; there will not be anything like India as a whole. Therefore, my earnest request to the Government is to see that communal organisations and communal parties are banned.

All these things happen not only in this country but outside also, internationally. We are on the verge of transformation of the society. The Society is changing from old values to new values, and in this process, in the transition period, so many things are coming. It is not the creation of the Government as some of our friends have said. So many things are happening which are beyond the control of law and order also. Any number of legislations cannot prevent these. All religious heads, all social leaders, all political parties, should create a good climate in this country. Otherwise, the future generation will suffer; political stability will not be there and the economic progress will be hampered. Because this law and order cannot be considered independently; it has to be considered relatively with the political and economic programmes. Imagine what will happen if in the districts they cannot implement our programmes because of law and order problem. Therefore, this has to be taken note of very seriously.

Much has been said about communal riots in Gujarat. Yes, there was an anti-Harijan agitation. There was a provision for reservation in the Constitution, but the Harijans, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people, could not avail of it because they were not fully qualified; it has taken them 25 to 30 years to acquire

the qualifications in order to get the benefit of reservation. Now they are ready. But there is a section which is going all out against these Harijans; an anti-Harijan climate is there. It is very unfortunate. My earnest request to the Government is that we should nip it in the bud itself, before it grows and poisons the whole country.

Thirdly I congratulate the Prime Minister and the Home Minister for having come to accords and created a climate in which democracy has gone to the roots of this country and every man lives a much better life. If there were no accords, the country would have been in chaotic condition. The Prime Minister has brought the democracy and the country on the right track. Therefore, I congratulate them. This has totally changed the mood of the people and brought democracy in this country. Otherwise there would have been a lot of blood-shed, division and wrong forces would have been encouraged. With these accords, the mood of the people has changed and the elected governments have been constituted in their respective states. Therefore, I congratulate the Prime Minister and the Home Minister.

Now I come to my home State, Karnataka. There is a saying that generally corruption cannot be rooted-out, but it can be reduced. Corruption, according to me, cannot be rooted out in democracy. Because it is one of the demerits of democracy. It is said by D. H. Lawrence also that "corruption cannot be rooted out, it can be reduced". Once we are married to democracy, we have to go by it. But we should try to reduce it and try to curb it. In some of the States, more so in my State, Karnataka, corruption has come to such a stage as it has to be nationalised ! It has come to that stage Sir. Without these things no work can be done. There is a lot of injustice to the poor people. There is no implementation of the programmes. There is injustice to minority, injustice to Harijans and injustice to women. Rightly my friend has said that the Central Government has to monitor all these things not only through papers, but also by physical presence, by making thorough enquiry and by telling them not to in-

dulge in certain things. Corruption should not be allowed because a day may come when it becomes the biggest problem. It is because the country is not developed, it is developing. Therefore, it should not be allowed. I don't charge that the Government is encouraging it. In many of the other democratic set up we have seen that these things are continuing even in big countries. Therefore, my appeal to the Government is that be more vigilant on corruption and punish the corrupt. If there is corruption there will be adulteration, influence which will spoil the texture of the society. Therefore, it should be rooted out totally.

We find only Punjabi, Haryanvi, Karnataka-man, Maharashtra-man, Assamese, Keralite and so on; but we don't find any Indians. Therefore, nationality has to be inculcated through education at least for the coming and succeeding generation. If it is not done now, we cannot achieve integration. Integration cannot be achieved through lectures only, it should be inculcated through education and uniformly right from the kindergarden level upto the university level.

Many times educational institutions become the preaching places of religion. How can you bifurcate religion from politics ? Whether religion is based on politics or politics is based on religion—it has created a confusion. Many people only go on communal line. It has happened in many of the States and many of the parties are based on communal lines. But in future this should not happen.

Somebody has said that in 40 years nothing could be done to anybody. There is a charge against the Government in regard to poverty. I would like to say that there was poverty. There is poverty and there will be poverty but the poverty definition gets slightly changed. Poverty cannot be rooted out. What was poverty 40 years back it was absolute poverty. What was poverty 20 years back it was comparative poverty. Today we are still poor. We have many problems and Government of India and Congress and more so I salute Indira Gandhi who started this 20-point programme to fight against poverty. I also congratulate our present Prime Minister who is continuously

[Shri S.B. Sidal]

struggling to fight against poverty through these programmes which have been recently revived. Therefore, the charges made by the other side are not correct.

Sir, I come from South and I love Hindi. I want to learn it also but it should not be imposed and it should not be an emotional issue at least on the Floor of this august House. Everyone of us wants to learn Hindi. I can speak better Hindi than many of the other friends who preach Hindi but we should not be told in that way because all of us are not that highly qualified. There will be more than 60 per cent ignorant who will be misguided by political forces under the garb of language or some other thing. Hindi is being taught better on the TV and Radio rather in the schools and colleges. Every child knows Hindi but it should not be politicised. We should be cautious while speaking and we must know what we are speaking and what are the other fellow's feelings and where it hurts and whom it hurts. Therefore, in my opinion such things should not be raised. I request my friends on both sides not to make emotional speeches especially on the language issue. When we can learn English which is a foreign language who can't we learn our own language? Therefore, my earnest appeal is that in the best interests of the country no emotional issue should be touched and nobody should feel that Hindi is being imposed on South people.

Now I come to modernisation and investigation of the police. Lot of things have been done and I congratulate both the Ministers. Police is very limited and the population is Bulging out of proportion. Investigations are defective and as a result accused go scot free and he becomes qualified to do the second crime. As a lawyer I know when the Investigation Officer is put incharge of some police station and when the second incident happens he leaves it there and goes and somebody else comes and takes over the charge and writes the investigation which is totally wrong. Therefore, special investigation branch has to be established which alone should investigate and handle the investigation right from the beginning to the end.

18.00 hrs.

Secondly how can we improve the police force if everyone goes on condemning the police officers. They will get demoralised. They are our own brothers. We have not imported them. We should tell them not to commit mistakes. We know many big officers are corrupt but it is only the small man who is always caught and not the big fish. Their morale has to be boosted. Their pay-scales have to be revised and more work has to be exacted from them. I salute our late Prime Minister Indira Gandhiji for having recognised the freedom fighters and making them happy by way of giving pensions. Our Panigrahiji is an honest gentleman. We are happy with him. Only I am cautioning him to safeguard himself from the officials because I am a grandson of a freedom fighter. My father had gone three times of jail. I know how much hardship they had faced in the jail. It is a dictum in the Indian Evidence Act that "Let the 9 rascals pass away from the clutches of the law and not an innocent." In a similar way, not a single genuine freedom fighter should suffer. Let nine bogus people take away. There is a law to punish them when found, There are many rules framed periodically and they are relaxed subsequently to the advantage of the freedom fighters for which I congratulate the Home Minister and Shri Rajiv Gandhi. How can we find a genuine and non-genuine one? There was a time that a co-prisoner should certify and he should necessary be MP, MLA or MLC. It was changed to the best advantage of the freedom fighters. Anybody who has gone to jail more than a year or two can certify as a co-prisoner. But hardly in my place half a dozen freedom fighters are living who are eligible to certify others freedom fighters. When they certify, the officials say that why these people alone are certifying. Then they doubt the integrity of the certifying persons. So, I request the Home Minister to look into the matter. After doubting, the officials send for verification to the respective States and there it is terribly delayed. Somebody has to prompt them or grease their palms. This is the difficulty with the genuine people.

I request you to take a firm decision

rightly or wrongly. Only then, you can find out the wrong people, that is, the black sheep. I do not want to quarrel with the Ministry. Many a time, I have discussed about the genuine freedom fighters. I appeal to the Government to be very liberal to the widows. I would not have bothered. When their husbands were getting the pension, delay should not be there to continue the same pension to their widows and no verification should be made. I think the Government has done it but it is not strictly followed. I request you and appeal to this august House that we cannot find a single freedom fighter after 10 years. So, be kind to them. I congratulate Shri Rajiv Gandhi for having increased their pension and facilities like train pass, hospital facilities, etc.

There may be bogus freedom fighters. But they cannot be of young age of 40 or 50 years. They must be old people and may be only 10 or 20 per cent bogus. But Government can take action against those by investigation without denying the genuine people's claims. When the State Governments recommend, here in the Central Government the applications are delayed for granting pension. Therefore, I request you to frame strict rules and adhere to them and complete action within six months or in a year so as to facilitate the dying old freedom fighters.

National integration has to be brought inculcating in the education right from the

kindergarten stage to the post-graduation level.

Lastly, the nationality should be above our personality and morality.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : I wish to correct a mistake which was made by me when I intervened in the debate. Hon'ble Member Mr. Indrajit Gupta earlier asked me whether the oil refinery in Assam will be in the joint sector. The correct position is that at the time of entering into the Accord, it was made clear that the refinery will be in the private sector and that the Assam Government must identify a private party. A statement to this effect was made by the Home Minister in this House on the 16th of August, 1985. And when the Chief Minister met the Prime Minister, it was made clear that the State Government should identify a suitable private party. The question of joint sector does not arise. I, therefore, wish to correct the erroneous impression which might have been created.

18.05 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Friday, April 3,
1987/Chaitra 13, 1909 (Saka).*