

621 Stat. Res. re. approval of Proclamation in relation to state of Maghalaya and Motion re. revocation of Proclamation in relation to state of Maghalaya 19, 1913 (SAKA) Disc. under Rule 193 622 Gen. deterioration in law & order situation in various parts of country

motion and allow the statutory resolution to be passed.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put statutory resolution moved by Shri M.M.Jacob to the vote of the House.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: So far as the motion that I moved yesterday is concerned, I do not want to press it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall now put statutory resolution to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 11th October, 1991, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Meghalaya."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Consequent on the adoption of the statutory resolution moved by Shri M.M. Jacob, the motion moved by Shri Lal K. Advani is governed under rule 338.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am afraid you have taken the analogy from the disapproval motions pertaining to ordinances which is not correct in this case. In this case, what has been done by the House now, is approval of a decision taken by the Government two months back. Even after that, this particular Motion of mine is valid. Even today, after adopting that Resolution, the House can come to the conclusion that the President's Rule be revoked. Therefore, the only course is to put to the House as to whether or not I have the leave to withdraw my Motion.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: I would like to draw your attention, Sir, to Rule 338 which says:

"A motion shall not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the House has given a decision in the same session."

Now, what has been sought by Mr. Advani is not disapproval, if I may bring to the notice of the Chair. It is a separate Motion asking for revocation which is a prospective act and not a retrospective act. Therefore, this Motion can stand on its own and may be put to the leave of the House to be withdrawn.

MR. LAL K. ADVANI: I seek leave of the House to withdraw my Motion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Has the hon. Member leave of the House to withdraw the motion.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

*The motion was by leave withdrawn.*

15.12 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**General Deterioration In Law And Order Situation In various parts Of the Country with reference to recent spurt in incidents of terrorism, secessionism and kidnappings**

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We will now take up Item No. 10, namely, discussion under Rule 193 regarding general deterioration in law and order situation in various parts of the country.

Shri Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the discussion under Rule 193, which I am raising, refers to the law and order situation in the country with particular reference to recent spurt in incidents of terrorism, secessionism and kidnappings.

Sir, I do not wish to treat this subject as a party matter. I hope the discussion which follows will also be free from accusation

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

being hurled by one party against another. *The situation has become so serious that it is a matter of national concern. What we see now is not a law and order situation but complete lawlessness and disorder spreading all over the country and it is reaching a dimension which will very soon threaten this country with disintegration and disunity. I hope the Government does not underestimate, in any way, the gravity of this question. It is not a simple question of law and order. This problem, at one time, was more or less confined to the border States of the country. But it is no longer so. The terrorists violence which was concentrated at one time in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, particularly in Kashmir Valley, is now spreading like cancer to Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Assam, Bihar and so many places in the country, not to speak of this capital city of Delhi where we are living in and working. Sir, today nobody can say that he is safe in Delhi. If terrorists or violent elements choose to strike at anybody at any place in Delhi, we can rest assured that there is no security or no protection against them. We are seeing so many incidents taking place.*

The law enforcement agencies in this country, ranging from the security forces, even to the judiciary, are more or less in different degrees of paralysis. I do not, for a moment, want to decry the good work that done by the security forces at various times. But the general picture I am talking about is that in the face of these attacks which are taking place, there seems to be a kind of paralysis in the law and order machinery, the law - enforcement agencies and the judiciary. This is aggravated, of course, by the fact that the bureaucracy which deals with these problems is getting increasingly corrupted. As a result Sir, the general public are feeling more and more helpless and demoralised. This is a serious matter which the Government must now treat as a national problem.

This terrorism has found now areas in which to operate, now 'killing fields' as the

expression goes. For example in Haryana, we have seen a couple of days ago, a massacre which was carried out in Tohana. During the first one hundred days after the general elections took place, in the Terai alone, 49 incidents took place, in which 38 people were killed and this is by the way, excluding the two notorious incidents which had taken place in Pilibhit. In Rudrapur in Uttar Pradesh, while a crowd was sitting and watching Ramayana just before Dussehra, 50 persons were massacred.

I should say that the Sikh farmers who have settled in the Terai and who are engaged in farming there, are being more and more alienated by the behaviour or rather the misbehaviour of the police towards them. The police seem to think that any farmer, if he is a Sikh, must be a terrorist, and the way they have been behaving is alienating the farmers more and more.

As far as the Punjab is concerned, nowadays, everybody is saying and writing that these things which are happening in Haryana or Uttar Pradesh are a fallout of the army deployment which has taken place in the Punjab. It is said that because of the deployment of the army on quite a massive scale in the Punjab, the militants or terrorists whatever you like to call them - are being squeezed out and are therefore shifting their operations into the nearby adjacent States.

15.18 hrs.

[RAO RAM SINGH *in the Chair*]

I would like to hear more from the hon. Minister about this army deployment. A very large number of troops has been sent to the Punjab. I do not know the number exactly, maybe between two and three Divisions. They are now on an operation which has a code name 'Rakshak II'. I do not know what happened to Rakshak II. What was the result of it? I wonder whether the results which the Government hoped to achieve were achieved or not. Now, we are having Rakshak II. I would like to know that are the tasks which have been assigned to these three Divisions

of the army, now deployed in the Punjab. Of course, while operating in the Punjab, they are under the control of the State Administration. It is for the State Administration to *deploy them. Unfortunately, there is no elected Government in the Punjab and State Administration means the Governor and his advisers. Therefore, I would like to know what are the tasks assigned to this army strength that has been deployed in the Punjab.*

I am asking this question particularly because in Assam there is another army operation going on by the name of 'Operation Rhine'. Sir, I am very much disturbed, I think everybody should be disturbed, by the reports which are coming which may not be completely correct or or verified. They are allegations of very serious type. There are reports of Army excesses being committed against the civilian population in Assam. It is for the Government to look into.

Just now, a little while ago, a deputation of some lawyers from Guwahati came here. They met me also. They had brought with them what they claim to be a documented evidence regarding excesses committed by the army against the ordinary civilians in Assam. To whatever extent it may be true, one reason seems to be that the army in Assam is being permitted to arrest people to search houses, to interrogate people whom they arrest. It is alleged that these people who are taken for interrogation to Army Camps are being mal-treated and tortured there. This may be some exaggeration in the Report, I do not know. That is for the Minister to tell. But the duties assigned to the army in such cases, I am speaking as much in the interest of the army as of anybody else, -as far as I know the army rules which have to be supplemented by clear directives by the Government itself- do not permit the army personnel to carry out this kind of operation. They are not expected to do it; they do not like to do it and they should not do it. They do not like entering the houses, searching for people, arresting them taking them to the army camps for interrogation. If they arrest

anybody they are supposed to hand him over to the nearest police station.

I have not yet heard of any such reports or allegations from Punjab. Or Course, about the police many allegations have reached us. But I am told that the army in Punjab has not been permitted to do other things except to do night time patrolling. They are not permitted to arrest people and if they arrest somebody they hand him over to police. They are not permitted to interrogate or to search the houses.

If this is true, I would like to know why one set of rules is covering the assignment of the army in Punjab and another set of rule is governing their performance in Assam. There must be some clear cut directive about this. I should say it is not fair to the army also to ask them to do this kind of work. It is not their work. It is the work of other paramilitary or security forces.

Sir, according to the view of the Director General of Police of U.P., whose statement has appeared in the press, the selective killing of Hindus in Punjab and U.P. is meant to provoke Hindu backlash. Of course, this is not something new. We all know that selective killing of always done to provoke backlash and some sort of counteraction. Generally they have failed. Our people have risen above all these things. They are not able to provoke communal backlash. But, police admits its inability to cope with the highly sophisticated equipments which these terrorists groups are using. This includes the fire arms, the explosives, mines, vehicles and even their wireless equipments are superior and more sophisticated than what the security forces have. In fact, as far as collection of intelligence information and supply of intelligence is concerned, I apprehend that they are superior in that field also.

The Government must take a serious view of this and tell us what they propose to do. How long is this to go on in this way? In any case, the army deployment in the Punjab, in my view, is not going to be any solution by itself. If it is a run up to the elections which

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

have been promised, we should be told then that in the run up to the promised elections which are supposed to be held by February, this Army deployment which has taken place with a specific and limited purpose, what is that purpose?

But in any case, we feel that unless these measures are combined with some political initiatives and some political measures which will give confidence to the people in the Punjab, simple Army deployment is not going to solve the problem at all.

So, I would suggest - because this is connected with the whole question of violence and law and order - that during these coming two or three months, the Government should be stir itself and try to take political initiative or political measures, maybe on the basis of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. There were many items in that and I do not want to go into those details now. But on that basis, certain things should be done which will give confidence, particularly, to the Sikh majority in the Punjab and allay their fears and their feeling of alienation.

Then, Sir, the external hand, of course, is a major factor. The supply of weapons and training to the militants in the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir from across the border is well known. It is not disputed now.

The Director General of the ISI (Inter Services Intelligence) of Pakistan, Major General Assad Durrani, is reported to be coordinating the activities on both these fronts, the Punjab front and the Kashmir front thereby stimulating the demands for cessation from India.

As far as dealings with Pakistan on this matter are concerned, our Government from time to time assures us that they have received from the Pakistani authorities, even from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, assurances that no such interference in our internal affairs is being carried on, but we find that

there is absolutely no improvement whatsoever in the situation.

Then Sir, in the North-Eastern Region of our country, you will find no place has remained unaffected. There is a growing sense of desperation I should say among the young men, particularly, in the North-East. A feeling of desperation is there both on the political and economic scene. Above all, there is a realisation that no redress of long standing grievances can be had by lawful or peaceful means. It is a very dangerous idea. Once it grips the mind of the younger people there, the consequences are inevitable. This has led to an eruption of violence all along the North-Eastern border with frightening intensity. I do not have to repeat all those things that have been happening there, whether it is Nagaland or Manipur or Tripura or Meghalaya or anywhere on the border.

Therefore, I would also, in this connection, urge upon the Government one thing. When they are talking about these issues, like we have just been discussing about Meghalaya, tomorrow, we may have to discuss about Manipur. But an additional factor which the Government should bear in mind is the fact that this is such a sensitive region on the border of our country, there is a great deal of alienation among the people there and they are tribal people, therefore, we should be very cautious and very careful in handling the political issues which are concerned with those States and not do something which will only aggravate the feeling of alienation.

Insurgency is an expression of the people's disillusionment with a non-performing model of development, a non-performing model of development which is non-performing development which is non-performing due to years and years of economic neglect.

Bureaucratic bungling, rampant corruption and political manipulation, all these factors combined have created a disillusionment among the people of the North-Eastern region. Incidentally, these are basically the

same factors which have caused people alienation in Kashmir also. This feeling of disillusionment is of course, being exploited by the pro-Pakistani forces in order to raise this demand for independence from India. Without that basic cause of alienation, these element, would not have found a fertile ground on which to work.

I regrate to say, though I have begun by saying -I do not want to blame; I am not blaming any party- what is happening in Assam? The Assam Government seems to be impervious to the grievances and aspirations of the tribals, many tribal communities in Assam; whether they are Bodos or whether they are people of other hilly areas of Assam. The Government of Assam is impervious to thier grievances and their aspirations.

And as I said earlier, you must look into this Operation Rhino and please tell us whether the army there has been instructed to carry out these various assignments which are not, strictly speaking, the army's duty at all and which open the way for all kinds of allegations, of ill-treatment, excesses and so on. This is one type of violence which we are facing.

The Resolution which is moved here is, of course, much wider. For example, I could ask a question: why is there growing violence in the form of a murder, of rape, of arson , of looting? Yesterday, in this House, the hon.Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr. M.M.Jacob, gave some figures in which, according to him, upto this year, in 1991, 2448 cases of dowry deaths have been registered. Of course, I do not know what does this mean? One has to go into them. Dowry death means deliberate killing or burning of unfortunat women; it can mean suicide also. Somebody is responsible for it. I am not interested in the technical difference between a murder and an unfortunate woman being driven to suicide. The point is somebody is responsible for it. These figure do not tell us anything, how many people were proceeded against,

how many were arrested, how many were punished or what happened. 2448 cases of dowry deaths this year have been registered; out of which, according to him, Mr.M.M.Jacob, 1152 took place in U.P. 568 took place in Maharashtra , 305 took place in Andhra Pradesh. I do not go into the others.

5916 cases of rape have been registered this year; out of whom 1532 were registered in Madhya Pradesh, 928 in U.P. 403 in Bihar.

12902 cases of molestation have been registered; they must be serious molestations to be registered; 71 16 cases of kidnaping and abduction have been registered; all these cases are of women; these are all crimes against women.

So, I would say that you can get similar figures about attack on Harijans, on tribals; they have been recorded in the proceedings of the House several times. The curve is going up all the time; it is not going down. Why is it so? I think we have to meet this fact that the socially disadvantaged sections, the weaker-sections among whom I count the Harijans, I count women, I count tribals, these disadvantaged and weaker-sections are demanding their rights, social, economic and equality, their self-respect; and they are no longer prepared to take them lying down the social oppression by those people who exploit them. Previously they used to. Previously the spirit of restaiace the spirit of pretest was not very much in evidence. But then, the world is changing. Everything is changing in the world. And these people are no longer willing to take these things meekly and mildly. They are protesting, they are trying to resist and the result is that more ferocious reprisals are taking place against them. I think the new spirit among these people is something which we should welcome. But it is not just enough to welcome them. It is the job of the Government and the state to help them to stand up for their rights. Meanwhile, these crimes against them will go on increasing.

[*Sh. Indrajit Gupta*]

Then, there is the question of criminalisation of politics. Now it has become a habit, I regret to say, of depending on muscle power, money power also, of course, without money power you cannot get muscle power. Money power or black money power, let me say, The power of black money, in order to enlist the muscle power on your side in order to get votes. I suggest that all parties should examine their own performances in different States. I am not leaving out anybody. Some may be more guilty, some may be less guilty. Some may be doing it on a bigger scale. But the fact of the matter is that it has become a chronic and pernicious habit in the country now that you cannot get votes and you cannot win elections without enlisting muscle power, which requires lavish spending of black money power. Now this has led to respectability being given to well-known Mafia, elements of the Mafia who are well-known, and in their own localities and communities are well-known to everybody, as local criminals and Mafia. They are being given respectability by us by all of us. It does not still anybody's conscience that these people are being enlisted in order to suppress the right of some people to cast their votes and compelling some other people to indulge in false voting;

Even in this latest by-elections which were held just now, I do not wish to name these constituencies, there are widespread allegations of large scale rigging having been done, even when it was not required, even where it was not required that they should do rigging. In any case, somebody was sure to win. Why has this mass scale rigging been employed? Because we have get into that habit now.

I believe that the other day in some talk with his confidants the Prime Minister had also expressed his distress at this fact. That when it was at all not necessary to do rigging why do people do rigging?

Anyway, I would say, that this criminalisation of politics, particularly in the context of

*elections which is leading to lot of valence, lot of deaths, lot of killings, how is to be overcome? I think we have to look at things more in basic way and some radical electoral reforms, which we always talk about, of course, are urgently required.*

The State has get the duty to defend the rights of the weaker sections to cast their votes fearlessly and freely. People are being prevented from casting their votes in large numbers. If this is not done, if we do not put our heads together and evolve some electoral reforms, which will enable these people to exercise the franchise, which is guaranteed to them under the Constitution. If from year to year they are going on being denied of this right, well, the credibility of the whole electoral system, which is enshrined in our Constitution is at stake. We may go on saying, "yes, I had won, you have lost" or "You have won, I have lost", but the credibility of the whole system in the eyes of the people is going down rapidly all the time. And if the electoral system Ultimately loses all its credibility, well I do not know what will be left of, what we now call, the democratic system by which we are functioning. That democratic system is based on the right of adult franchise. If the right of adult franchise is going to be violated and distorted all the time, there will be nothing left of the system after some time and that will spell the doom of democracy, parliamentary democracy, in this country.

Then there are communal killings; there are chastest killings spreading all the time. I would say that the aggressive fundamentals, whether it is of the Hindu variety or of the Muslim variety or any other, the aggressive fundamentalism and the religious extremism, which tries to use religion for political purposes have also become a major danger and a big feature of our country's social life now. How many people have lost their lives? I have not got the figures with me now.

Then, unemployed youth, unemployed and frustrated youth, it is not difficult to lure them to the cult of the gun. This is happening. Are we going to solve this problem simply by

looking at it as a law and order problem? In the tribal areas particularly, which are very much neglected, what is particularly required are developmental activities, which will improve the life of those tribal people. Without that you cannot win them away from the influence of whom ever you may call Naxalities or you may call them anything you like or people's war, group in Andhra Pradesh. The basic cause is alienation of these tribal people, and no change in the quality of their life, which gives interested quarters the possibility of recruiting them for the use of the gun. And you know what is happening? We are not able to do any thing. They are able to kidnap officials; take them away; release them if they like; if not they demand ransom money for that, either you pay ransom money or they have to pay with their lives. The police is too paralysed I am afraid demoralised to do anything about it. This is going on it is admitted every day.

Another fact I would like to mention is that this Government has evolved no policy yet towards kidnapping. What is your policy about kidnapping? Now it is becoming a regular feature. Demands are made for releasing somebody else. Otherwise, the kidnapped hostage will not be released. And some are generally for release of somebody who is already arrested. What is your policy about it? Have you thought of working out any policy? The State Government in one place and the Central Government in another place, they are all behaving differently; they do not seem to have any norm or any commonly agreed principle on which they should proceed. We had many different experiences which show that there is a complete anarchy of thinking on this question as far as the Government is concerned:

We had one experience with the kidnapping of Mr. Mufti Sayeed's daughter in Kashmir. Then we had many other experiences also in various States. We have also had the kidnapping and killing of a foreigner. One Soviet Engineer was killed in Assam. The charge-d' affaires of the Romaniam Embassy Mr. Radu, was kidnapped in broad daylight from just near his house in Delhi and

disappeared for 48 days or so. And such a huge operation we were told everyday was put into motion by many thousands of police personnel equipped with all kinds of vehicles, wireless, walkie-talkies and what not; they searched several thousand houses in Delhi and they could not do anything. Ultimately thanks to the mercy of those kidnapers for whatever reasons I do not know that factors motivated them-quietly released him and he come back home. Utter incompetence of the Delhi Police and the security agencies was never more clearly demonstrated then in this case of Mr. Radu. Later he had said that he was kept in some house here in the city itself. They were busy closing all sorts of borders-border of Haryana, border of U.P.- and searching for him high and low. They are quite incompetent and they are not able to do anything.

You must have some more serious look at this whole phenomenon because this is not the end of it. It will go on happening. You will have to evolve some kind of a policy regarding kidnapping-policy means not only what attitude you will take towards these people but also on the ground. you should have a special kind of task force or something which can cope up with this kind of a situation.

Kidnapping and killing of anybody is bad. But killing of foreigners is particularly bad because it will discourage foreign technicians and foreign engineers from coming to our country. They do not come here except when they are attached to some project or working for something which will be of benefit to our country. But if we earn a reputation that this is the kind of thing which may happen here and there is no remedial action, who will want to come here? Our country is becoming risk number one in the whole world community. We were not like this a few years ago.

During the current year, upto November-these are also Home Ministry's figures-in the Punjab, 1992 civilians have been killed. You know what type of indiscriminate, merciless killing is taking place of completely

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

innocent persons who have got nothing to do with politics of Khalistan or anything. This is being done to create a climate of terror in order to force people to leave their homes and their villages and to migrate. This is being done in order to provoke a backlash. It is being done in order to create a pressure which will compel the rest of the country to agree to this demand for Khalistan to which I hope, we will never agree. But this is being done. 474 security personnel have been killed upto November this year. 2032 terrorists or suspected terrorists have also been killed.

If the security forces are complaining of inadequate equipment, inadequate weaponry, unsophisticated tools with which they are asked to confront these people, what does the Government propose to do about it? It is, of course, not just enough to give them better weapons. There has to be, I think, a much higher level of motivation. After all, these men are also risking their lives. They have got wives and children at home. Unless they have a much higher level of motivation to carry on this day and night, everyday, 24 hours, kind of tension in which they have to work and to fight, it is extremely difficult. We must take firm measures to see that excesses are not committed. Out of desperation excesses should not be committed against innocent people and civilian population. If we cannot stop that, it will only lead to the breeding of new terrorists; more terrorists are created by excesses and atrocities which are committed. So we have to be careful about it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta, I am sure, on this very important subject you have initiated this debate, you would like to give a chance to other Members also. I just wish to point out that you have taken about 45 minutes. The total time is four hours. I did not like to check you. But I am sure, in your own interest you would also like other Members to participate.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Quite right,

Sir, I do not want you to check me. I will finish in five minutes.

What I am saying is that the threat of the country is disintegration. It has come to the level of disintegration. It would not be underestimated and minimized.

I would say towards the end of my remarks that the key to de-escalation-there are many factors of course-of tension and violent conflict in our country is ultimately a radical re-structuring of Centre-State relations. Without that you will never be able to get to the root of the matter. The States must be given a larger share of power for raising their own resources, for financing and executing their own development projects. They must not be treated as though they are beggars asking for charity from New Delhi. This feeling has got around to the nook and corner of the this country now. It is irrespective of the party, whichever party may be running a State Government like this: Some may speak more loudly about this, some may not speak so loudly, but that is a fact.

After all, the framers of the Constitution so many years ago may not have thought of this as something necessary. But, years have passed, times have passed; the world has changed any a spirit of democracy is applauded in the world. Please try to take some lesson from what is happening in the country, Mr. S.B. Chavan in other countries and even from the Soviet Union. If there is always a feeling of excessive centralisation, excessive bureaucratisation and centralisation of powers, then, all kinds of centrifugal tendencies come to play. You see that has happened in other countries. If we do not want it to happen it here, please take timely action. More autonomy for the tribal region is essential. I am glad-unless I have misunderstood as to what has been said on behalf of the Government in the last few days-that in principle, at least it seems that the idea of a separate Jharkhand State has not been ruled out. What its territory will be how it will be defined, how it will be delimited are matters which require a discussion. But, it seems in principle, the idea of a separate Jharkhand

State for the tribal people has not been completely ruled out of court. What I have read, the Prime Minister had said and you had said? The idea of Uttarakhand State in the Garhwal region of UP where devastating earthquake has taken place recently,

I think, has not been ruled out. Certainly the U.P. Government has accepted it, the UP Assembly accepted it. These are good things, but all these things have been done in a piecemeal way. When some pressure mounts up and somebody in the Jharkhand area is threatening that if you do not give us a separate State, another Punjab will be created here. When that kind of language is spoken, then you come and say, 'Yes, yes, we will consider it'. This is not the way it should be done.

Let us take a comprehensive look at the entire structure of the federal State which we have been running all these years and see whether it is not necessary that the Constitution should be given a new look and there should be radical restructuring of powers between the Centre and the States which will help very largely this is not a magical remedy for any thing, but it will help very largely to obviate this feeling of distress, of suspicion, of alienation which exists today. This has unfortunately, development between the Centre and various parts of the country which is involving people in all kinds of activities including rise in violence and talk of secession. If we cannot get what we want here, we go out of the country. If you do not allow us to go out of the country, we will take to the guns." How do you indeed to deal with it in a piecemeal way? This is a problem which is dominating our whole country's future now and I request finally the Government to look at this problem in a more comprehensive and overall way and think more deeply in consultation which other political parties and forces as to how this situation can be remedied before it is too late.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, hon. Members, four hours are allotted for this discussion under Rule 193, which is a very important subject and which has been raised by Shri

Indrajit Gupta. Shri: Indrajit Gupta has taken about 50 minutes and that leaves us about 180 minutes. There are about 25-26 speakers, which gives about 8 minutes. I request you to bear with the Chair.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Sir, I will suggest that please do not go by mere arithmetic. Have consideration for the weight of the subjects in today's context. If we are told that we should speak only for eight minutes, then I will forego my time on behalf of my party. If that is your attitude... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Amal Datta, if you can suggest a better solution, I would gladly accept it. I have got a list of about twenty-six Members and I cannot *Suo Motu* cut out some of the Members...

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: We have always been extending the time...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Roseria): Mr Chairman, Sir, it is altogether different that four hours have been allotted for this discussion. However, under Rule 193, just one hour is permissible. Keeping in view the importance of the subject four hours have been allotted for it. This time limit can further be extend if the House desires. Because Parliament is supreme. Let the first four hours' duration be completed, the opinion of the House will be sought only afterwards. Since the parliament is supreme, if it wants the discussion to be over, it would be concluded and if it wants to extend it further, more time will be allotted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your suggestion is commendable but the decision is taken by the Business Advisory Committee and not me.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, generally time is allotted according to the strength of a political party.

[Sh. Ram Naik]

Therefore those 26 members whose names have been given for participation in discussion may kindly be allotted time for expressing their views as per the number of the members of their party.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is a very important point but the CPI has exactly six minutes and already about fifty minutes have been taken by them.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK: I do not want to create any controversy, they have initiated the debate, but the members of other parties should be allotted time as per their number. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Any way, Shri S.C. Dikshit.

SHRI SHREESH CHANDRA DIKSHIT (Varanasi): Thank you, Sir. At the outset, I must congratulate Mr. Indrajit Gupta, hon. Member, for a very brilliant exposition of a very important subject. I entirely agree with him that this subject should be discussed beyond the partisan attitude because it is a national problem. I entirely agree with him that it is a growing problem. But we must understand what it has not groan like this immediately, it started with the general disrespect for law, including the traffic rules and the general deterioration in the judicial system also. I do not mean any disrespect to the judiciary but the Ex-Chief Justice of India himself one observed that the judicial system has collapsed. Anyway, that we will come to later.

The analogy of cancer that Mr. Indrajit Gupta has given is very appropriate. Unfortunately, we detect the cancer only when it manifests us and we do not know which part

of the body is going to be affected next. I will particularly confine myself to Uttar Pradesh in the beginning.

[Translation]

As per the report I have received from Uttar Pradesh, the incidents of terrorist have increased four times. The regions which were safe from such incidents have become the centres of murders, dacoities of all types, kidnappings, balasts and confrontations.

[English]

16.00 hrs.

The figures would be revealing that from 1st January to 30th November, 1991-in this year -there were 157 such cases as against only 35 in the last year and 29 in the year before last.

[Translation]

Shri Indrajit Gupta has given a commendable exposition on this subject I do not find anything left for me to say on this issue. However, I would like to express my views on the manner this issue should be handled. It is a very grave problem, related to the entire country, and affecting all the sections of the society in very respect socially, economically, industrially and internationally.

The situation in terrorist affected areas is that those areas are under curfew. Industrialists are shifting to other places, common masses are also fleeing. But what can be done. I think, only two methods can be applied. The first is, that just as when a patient is physically hurt, first of all, efforts are made to control his bleeding immediately, treatment is started afterwards. In the same manner, at the moment should concentrate to find out a solution to the immediate problem. Afterwards, we may think over the other related aspects like the reasons behind it etc. First of all, we will have to agree that

[English]

Terrorism and this kind of violence that has spread is not a Police problem. It is not a State subject. It is not a law and order problem alone.

[Translation]

Blaming the police for their inefficiency would not solve the problem. The immediate remedy is that

[English]

We must be better equipped.

[Translation]

We must be better equipped than the terrorists and should have proper coordinated action.

Why the problem arose suddenly in Terai region of Uttar Pradesh? It is true that the circumstances in the state for the last several years encouraged terrorist activities. International border of Uttar Pradesh and Nepal is open even ordinary criminals run away to Nepal after committing criminal acts. But the underlying reasons of the immediate problem in Uttar Pradesh has been terrorist violence in Punjab and several other parts of the country. The pressure on terrorists in those areas was mounted to the extent that the terrorists fled to other regions to save their lives and started searching soft targets and they found western part and Terai region in Uttar Pradesh to be the Valuable point. We must realise that the terrorist effected areas in Uttar Pradesh are just double than Punjab.

[English]

It is contiguous to the capital region of the country.

[Translation]

Since this area of Uttar Pradesh has been disturbed after Punjab, Haryana and

Rajasthan were disturbed, there is much danger from it. So we met the hon. Home Minister under the leadership of Shri Advani. We presented some concrete suggestions to him. The main suggestion was that Uttar Pradesh Government should be provided full cooperation and assistance and it should be given good equipments and para-military force to contain terrorist violence. It is not a state subject. It is a national problem and so it should be tackled as a national problem. We have to develop roads and fortify police stations at all places.

[English]

Better interaction between the Central Agency and the State Intelligence Agency.

[Translation]

Intelligence has very important role to play and Uttar Pradesh Government cannot afford to gather that intelligence which is beyond its borders. We have made several suggestions to the Home Minister in writing. There is no use of repeating them here. He has to decide. We have been continuously emphasizing on a combined strategy to combat the terrorism and B.J.P has proposed Ekta Yatra in this regard...(Interruptions).....There is nothing to laugh in it. Rather it is matter to be taken seriously.....(Interruptions).....On that matter, I have to say only this that all of you should tell us that you are ready to cooperate with us. But besides that, you should try collectively to evolve a national policy to combat terrorism. In my opinion, efforts being taken to counter the Secessionism are very important.

There are some legal loopholes. Offences of kidnapping are increasing. There is an urgent need for reforms in judicial system to deal with terrorist violence because it is not easy to collect evidences against the terrorists and convict them in court. It is very difficult to contain terrorist violence in view of the simple way of granting bails. Sir, my submission is that Members more capable and experienced then I would

[Sh. Shreesh Chandra Dikshit]

make suggestions about long term measures. I can suggest only short-term measures. If you want counter terrorists you should provide more sophisticated weapons and more superior logistic support to the agencies which have to counter the terrorists. Their intelligence interaction between States and Central agencies should be very good. Para-military forces should be made available in sufficient strength to the states affected by terrorist violence failing which a situation may arise then army might have to be inducted. In the end, I appeal to you all to cooperate with the B.J.P's effort to deal with the terrorist violence. I hope that you would pay attention to it in national interest.

SHRI RAM PRAKASH CHAUDHARY (Ambala): Through you, I would like to ask that when the Rath Yatra began..... \*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is not rule to ask the question.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): We will tell you about that also.

SHRI RAM PRAKASH CHAUDHARY: We know that do you intend to do?

SHRI RAM PRAKASH CHAUDHARY: We know what do you intend to do?

SHRI RAM KAPSE (Thane) Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think another speech began after hon. Member's speech but to allow him to ask a question.....\* I think his statement should not go on record.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN (Rao Ram Singh): I have already stated that there is no provision in the Rules to ask questions at this time.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): It should not go on record. The Member has alleged that he had.....\* It is a serious

thing and it should not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM PRAKASH CHAUDHARY: Do your statements not go on record?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. If Shri Ram Prakash\*..... has talked about that then that will be expunged. Shri Indrajit Gupta has thrown light on the malaise in a nice manner in the House.

I request you to suggest long term measures to deal with the situation so that they may be more meaningful.

[English]

If you give suggestions, it will be more meaningful and more fruitful. It will also give the Home Minister an ideas to what is there in the minds of all the hon. Members. Shri Dixit has brought out some suggestions which are meaningful suggestions.

[Translation]

You will simply waste time if you repeat the same thing.

[English]

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH (Rajgarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I congratulate hon. Indrajit Guptaji and Ramashray Prasad Singhji to have raised this very important issued facing this country today, that is, the issue of ferorism secessionism and general breakdown of law and order.

Sir, although the law and order is a State subject, the reason. the genesis which is leading to this king of a situation in this country is definitely the concern of Parliament. That is why, I would congratulate hon Speaker also who has agreed to include this in the business of the House.

The violence has become acceptable in

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

\*Not recorded.

the society today. That is the most unfortunate part. Institutions have lost their meaning, their credibility. Doubts are being raised about the effectiveness of the judicial system. Even the results of the elections to this august House are being questioned. Doubts are being raised.

The point is, I agree with hon. Dixitji when he says that the issue should be discussed as a non-partisan issue. But unfortunately in the next breath, he starts reeling off facts and figures about not even an year old BJP Government in Uttar Pradesh. The facts have to be seen in the proper perspective. Let us not bring the total debate into a slanging match between BJP and Congress-I or CPI as such. But let us go into into the serious issues which are facing the country today. What are the reasons? Some of them are rising unemployment, social and communal tensions, economic disparity, delay in judicial process. The acceptance of violence in the society has gone to the extent of making criminals and mafia leaders as heroes. Of course, the rising discontent and is trust about the existing system is prevailing in the country today. The education system is not job-oriented. These are the issues by which we can solve this problem.

The frustrated youth who has been educated, who has become a graduate or post-graduate suddenly comes to a state where he sees, there is no avenue open for him. Suddenly he feels, there is no job opportunity for him. There is corruption all around. He cannot get anything done without paying something to somebody. These are the issues which make a youth to be a pawn in the hands of vested interests, and those forces which are opposed to us in the world today make the country weak. These are the people whom we have to bring back to the mainstream of the society. Then only, we will be able to have some kind of solution in sight.

On the Kashmir issue, I fail to understand how the children and grand-children of the same Kashmiri Muslims who have faced the Pakistani army in 1947 who chose to stay

with the secular India rather than Islamic Pakistan, have suddenly gone against this country. In Punjab, can we forget the role of Sikhs in the independence movement of this country. How have their sons and grandsons suddenly become votaries of the Khalistan? Take also Assam. All these young people are, in fact, nothing but frustrated youth who are being totally exploited by the enemies of this nation into an act of terrorism and pseudo nationalism and pseudo patriotism which is being enwuredged by our neighbours on the other side.

It needs an introspection. How has this happened in the last 30 or 40 years? Are we at fault? We must accept mistakes. I would like to quote Mahatma Gandhi on this issue:

"Confession of error is like a broom which sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface lighter and clearer. I feel stronger for confession."

Let us face facts.

Let us not be agitated on partism lines. Let us face facts when we have made mistakes about Kashmir, Punjab, and Assam and let us start with a clean slate to bring back the frustrated youth of these three States into the mainstream of the nation. Hon. Rajivji did make an effort in Assam and in Nagaland and in Mizoram where the insurgents were brought back to the mainstream of this country. They were brought back within the frame work of the Constitution and these States have become comparatively more peaceful.

We have certainly lost their trust and confidence. It will take some time to win back their confidence and trust. We will have to break new barriers and new ground to bring them back to the minister. There is the youth of Kashmir, Assam, and Punjab and we have to differentiate between the die-hard criminals and political activists. A die-hard criminal, out and out and he should be treated as a criminal, not as a political activist. A political activist may have a different frame of mind. He may have been falsely indoctri-

[Sh. Digvijaya Singh]

nated by vested interests. He can always be convinced to come back to the mainstream. That is why, I would say that the Home Ministry must get down to the job of isolating and identifying those die-hard criminals, the drug-traffickers, the mafia operators, the illegal arms smugglers and deal with them in the strongest of terms.

On the issue of kidnapping, I would urge upon the hon. Home Minister not to bow down to the wishes of these criminals and not to exchange hardened criminals.

I would congratulate Shri Gulam Nabi Azad. His brother-in-law was kidnapped and he made a categorical statement to the Home Minister and to the Prime Minister that, come what may, we cannot and we should not compromise with those people. They are die-hard criminals and enemies of the nation who are trying to black-mail this country, by holding the people to ransom. We must put a stop to this. For God's sake, there should be no more bargaining. No more letting of hardened criminals in exchange of hostages. The message must go to the votaries of Secessionism that the Government of India shall not bow down to any kind of blackmail and extraneous pressure. Then only you will make it possible for kidnappings to stop. Kidnapping has become a highly profitable. Today kidnapping for political purpose and for money is one of the easiest forms of crime.

But as Shri Shreesh Chandra Dikshit pointed out the IPC and the Cr. P.C. need revision on this. The penal provision has to be made much more stringent towards the crime of kidnapping. The criminals for whom the kidnappers ask for an exchange against release of hostages should be made a party along with the kidnappers. Criminal cases should be instituted against those persons also.

Every one in Punjab, Assam and Kashmir know that some of these people who indulge in criminal activities are suddenly

flushed with funds. They are buying property and land. They are creating wealth. Why cannot the Intelligence Department take action against them?

Let us not forget the great mafia leader A. Capone of 1930s in US who could not be convicted on criminal charges. He was convicted for non-payment of income-tax. So, these are the things. Until you make kidnapping and crime unprofitable for these people, you will not be able to check crime. I would like to point out that Madhya Pradesh was one of the most dacoit-infested States in the country. In 1982-83, we brought an Act called the Anti-Dacoities Act by which we made all those persons who were the harbourers of the dacoits, responsible for all these heinous crimes. We made all the persons, who have received something, who are the sort of guardians of the dacoits, wealth, responsible for all these heinous crimes. I am proud to say that today the State of Madhya Pradesh is free from dacoiteinfestation although there are some small gangs operating here and there. But the major dacoity-ganges have been eliminated. The judicial system needs a review, also,

Sir, today we are still carrying on with the same old judicial system which the Britishers handed-over to us. It needs a serious review. Why should there be so many levels of appeal. Who should there be provisions for anticipatory bail? These are the issues on which the nation must give a serious thought. The entire judicial system is fast losing its credibility. I would urge upon the Home Minister to do something in this regard. The late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi had initiated a debate on the review of the judicial system.

That is the need of the hour. To cite an example, if there is a land dispute in a village, it has six levels of appeal-appeal in the Revenue Court, in the Civil Court etc. Ultimately, can you expect the landless labour or the small and marginal farmer fight out his case in the judicial system which has got six levels of appeal? It is impossible and the affected farmer can never get justice. There-

fore, these are the issues which need review.

Now I come to Electoral Reforms. The hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta has rightly pointed out the level of rigging in our electoral system. It has to be denounced in the strongest of terms. But we must do some self-introspection. In Bengal, the Party in power has mastered the art of rigging. They have mastered the art of the election process. I was very amused when immediately after the BJP came to power in Madhya Pradesh, Shri Kushabhau Thackre and Shri Sundarlal Patwa made a journey to Bengal.....\*\*

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHUAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal): Did they inform you? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: It appeared in the Press.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: It should not go on record. These names should not go on record. *(interruptions)*

SHRI RAM KAPSE: I am on a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ram Kapse is raising a point of order.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: It is a matter of fact. I am not yielding.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ram Kapse is raising a point of order.

*[Translation]*

Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

D. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA:

(Mandsaur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I cannot tell how the name mentioned by hon. Member is related with this matter. You please ask him to make a submission about the law and order situation in the country. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM KAPSE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Member was placing facts about some people before the House which are far from reality. I think it is not in accordance with rules to say something about a person who is not present in the House. It is not proper to talk irrelevant things.

*[English]*

SHRI RAM NAIK: He is maintaining a very high standard. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM KAPSE: These things should not go on record. This is my point of order.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will examine the records. If there is any thing derogatory mentioned about the gentlemen you mentioned, I will see that it is expunged.

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: I will frame my sentence in the other way. The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh and the General Secretary of the All India BJP have visited West Bengal.

SHRI RAM KAPSE: They have the right to visit West Bengal. You should know it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: Sir, I have only said that the electoral laws need to be amended and the rigging has to be stopped. I totally endorse the views.....

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Sir, it amounts to saying that the Prime Minister is \*\* if I say like that, how will it look? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: I totally endorse the views of Shri Indrajit Gupta, that the electoral laws need a review. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK: You are leading the mafia; you have no moral right to say so.

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: Sir, I am not yielding.....

SHRI RAM NAIK: Sir, some courtesy should be shown. We have that allegations should not be made against the persons, who are not present and who cannot defend themselves.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Since I gave my ruling, he has not said anything which is derogatory. He said that the Chief Minister visited West Bengal. What is wrong with that?

SHRI RAM NAIK: My point of order is that when he says the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, when he says the Chief Minister of West Bengal, he is alleging against the persons who cannot defend themselves in the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI AMAL DATTA: He does not seriously understand the law and order situation in the country. This shows the insincerity of the Congress party.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Datta, please give me a chance. Please take your seat. After Shri Ram Kapse's point of order, I have given the ruling that if Shri Digvijaya Singh has said or passed any derogatory remarks against any of the Chief Minister, then I will examine the record and have it expunged. After that ruling, only he said that Chief Minister, Shri Sunderlal Patwa visited West Bengal. There is nothing derogatory in that.

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: Sir, I am going to a different issue now.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: He said: "I will

construct the sentence in another way" (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Digvijaya Singh, please stick to the subject and mention only those things which are relevant to this subject.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): Sir, I know that Shri Ram Naik and Shri Kapse are very responsible Members of this House. They have alleged something against the Prime Minister (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK: Sir, we have not alleged anything.

SHRI RAM KAPSE: Sir, we have not used any word which is derogatory.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: You have alleged something against the Prime Minister.

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad): Sir, they said if we use this sort of words, it would not be fair enough. Therefore this contention. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: If there is anything about the Prime Minister, it will be expunged. I do not think that we should drag on this issue.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: If there is anything about anyone, it must be expunged.

(*Interruptions*)

SRI RAM NAIK: Please give us the date. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: The communal tension in this country has come to a stage when there is a threat to the break up of this country. I have always felt that the

extreme fundamentalism of Hindus and the extreme fundamentalism of the Muslims are the two faces of the same coin. Whenever there is a riot, on one hand is the fundamentalist Hindu and on the other is the fundamentalist Muslim.

And I allege that the RSS and the Jammate-Islami are hand in gloves with each other. When Balasaheb Devaras visited Bihar, the Jammate-Islami Chief of Bihar was there to receive him at the public meeting. This is the issue. Today, the need of the hour is to promote secular leadership of Hindus and Muslims; the need of the hour is to control the communal elements, the fundamentalists of Hindus and Muslims.

The Ekta Yatra about which the hon. Member has pointed out, the hon. Prime Minister has very rightly replied to Shri Murlī Manohar Joshi in a very correct manner. If he is really very keen about the Ekta, let him understand that Ekta cannot be the issue of one party. Ekta has to be a joint effort, a combined effort of every political party in this country. Let us come to the discussion table and let us have the National Integration Council meeting.

[Translation]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK: We invite you to come and hoist the national flag on the 26th January. (Interruptions)

SHRI DIGVJAYA SINGH: The national flag always flutters in Kashmir. It is fluttering even today. There was no opportunity when the national flag was not hosted. It is fluttering on Rajbhavan and Government buildings. It always flutters there.

[English]

But Sir, the need of the hour is the control of the communal and fundamentalist forces in this country. They have to be fought at every level. Every secular minded people of this country must stand up in their own right and defend the sovereignty and integrity of this nation unitedly.

I urge upon the Home Minister that the time has come to review the inter-State relationship, to review the rights of the States vis-a-vis the Centre. The Sarkaria Commission report should be considered in the right spirit. Until and unless we review the whole issue of the Centre-State relationship and evolve devolution of power, more power to the States, more decentralisation of power, till then it will be very difficult to contain the law and order situation.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM SUNDER DAS (Hajipur): Sir, Comrade Indrajit Gupta has thrown light on the law and order situation in a nice manner on which discussion is going on. I agree with Shri Gupta that it is not a question of a single political party, a particular state or Central Government. It is a national issue. We have to discuss it irrespective of our party affiliations, it has to be discussed in national perspective as the situation is getting out of control.

I do not want to discuss much on it but, through you, I want to submit that Governments run only when the Government whether State Government or Central Government, has its good impression on the people and the administration functions in a good manner. Through you, I want to submit to the Government as well as Members of the House that when we look around, we find neither the Central Government nor the State Government having any credit and no impression on people. Bankrupt, like situation is there. Everything is lost when a man or an institution loses its credit. But it seems that political system in which all of us had faith and which the country accepted was shattered knowingly or unknowingly by the people who were responsible to run this country. They did not work to join it and strengthen it.

I would like to make one more submission. I do not want to mention figures because it is useless. Today's figures of killings, kidnappings, and loot become double and even for times more the next day. That is

[Sh. Ram Sunder Das]

why to talk about figures is simple a wastage of time. But point is that this question has not arisen today, it has its deep roots in the past but we did not pay attention to it. I want to say only this that if we take into account the situation in India that prevailed after the Plassey war in 1757 to 1857, we will find that today the situation is more or less the same. At that time also there was no security of life and property. None could say that a man who has gone out for work would return home safe or not. Today the situation is the same. We also cannot say that we are safe.

There was a time when the East India Company was there. The people were divided. Centre of power was disintegrated, It was the downfall of Mughal empire. Subedars became free and Centre became very weak. I think that political parties and the Governments run by the political parties do not have the credibility among people today which they ought to have.

My next submission is that if we want to discuss on terrorism and the law and order situation in real sense, then we will have to go into its genesis to check it. We are politicians, We had adopted the democratic set up, and accepted it, But now the Members of the ruling party, sitting here, alongwith Mr. Chavan, should ponder over it seriously and say whether they have tried to weaken it or strengthened it.

"Mahajano Yeno Gatah Sah Pantha"

Mr. Chavan, not only you but the Members of your party have lead this country on a wrong path. I admit that this shortcoming is noticed in almost all the political parties of the country. It is because all have followed your footsteps and weakened the country. Our friend, Shri Digvijay Singh, who was saying a lot has left the House. He was talking about booth capturing. He was saying that B.J.P. men went to meet Shri Jyoti Basu. Please do not laugh at yourselves. Please listen to what I am saying. You too are not left untouched by these shortcom-

ings. The right, which every citizen of this country was given is being snatched from him. The votes of the poor are being looted in this country. I am being compelled to refer to the incidents that took place in Bihar and the Members of the Congress Party are instigating the to do so. For the first time bye-elections were held in Gopalganj and your leader was a candidate, I would not like to refer to him by name. He started booth capturing in that bye-election. Therefore, your party is the creator of the concept of booth capturing.

I admit that all the parties have more or less faults. Have you got any remedy for this? If you do not find out the remedy, the affairs of the country cannot be run. Secondly, I want to say that politics has been further politicalized and gradually it has gone into the hands of criminals. Today, we are discussing it, but if it is not stopped, a day will come when we as well as the people of this country will not be able to discuss it. Good people will leave it, The principles will be broken and the principles for which the political parties are existing and talking about this country will not remain for long. The people of this country will have to take steps to face this danger.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, during the discussion on terrorism Mr. Indrajit Gupta and Mr. Digvijay Singh have made their submissions about it. But I want to make a lone submission and it is about a report that had been taken up in the National Integration Council. It had been reported therein that there has been growing naxalism in 5 districts of South. Today, I saw in the newspapers that Chandigarh has been declared a disturbed area. I do not understand why do not you declare Delhi also a disturbed area, What is lacking in Delhi as compared to Chandigarh? Terrorism has spread here also, and these people can come here at any time. If this is your style of functioning, a day will come when you will have to declare the entire country a disturbed area. Declaring an area as a disturbed is not the solution to this problem. The faith of the people of the country in the Government and in the political

parties is eroding day by day. Earlier the criminals used to run away on seeing the police but now a days, the police runs away at the sight of a criminal. The police is helpless, since the arms, supplied to them are of inferior quality to those of the terrorists. The terrorist come with smuggled arma and we are helpless at their hands since the police cannot face them with their inferior quality of arms. Even the Army does not have that type of arms. So far as meeting, the challenge is concerned, we will have to provide that type of arms to our armed forces.

Now I would like to make a submission about naxalism. It takes birth from poverty and sufferings. It does not mean that I support the naxalites. I am simply stating the causes of its growth...*(Interruptions)*...

I was submitting that cult of violence is increasing in this country. There are violent elements in the country. No social change can take place under violence. The reasons for which naxalism is increasing, I feel that the naxalites are not as much at fault as the administration and the social and economic disparities are. Those people are culprits who have snatched land of the poor. The money lenders are at fault who have got the lands of the poor written in their names in lieu of interest. Those people are at fault who have played with the honour of the poor. As long as there is social and economic inequity, poverty and as long as the honour of the poor will be disgraced, the naxalite activities cannot be stopped in this country. Therefore, I suggest that a meeting of the Chief Ministers of the States should be convened to discuss the land reform law and find out a solution to this problem. If it is not done and if we do not get the support of the Chief Minister of the States, the problem or terrorism cannot be stopped.

As I have just said that terrorism cannot bring social revolution and it has never been, There is no such evidence in History also. No way out can be found by terrorism. The administration is paralysed and its credibility is finished in the present situation. Moreover, the common people have lost their faith

in the politicians. Had there been a little faith in our words could have been of some impact on them. There seems to be only way out for it. It is the way which Gandhiji showed. Unless we choose there can be no solution to the problems of this country and there can be no peace in the country.

As I have already submitted that this is not the question of any particular party, State or the Centre only. All the parties should think about it unitedly and find out a solution to this problem. Only then we can maintain the unity and integrity of the country which is going to be shattered into pieces. Only then we can stop terrorism and fanaticism and bring relief to this country.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI CHIRANJILAL SHARMA(Karnal):  
 Mr. Chairman, Sir, an important discussion on the prevailing disturbed situation of the country has taken place today. I remember that after 1982 and especially during 1983-84 there used to a Resolution from the opposition parties every weak or after every two or three days to hold a discussion on Punjab. Prior to 1982 there was no Punjab issue. Forty four years have passed since India got freedom and during these 44 years the country has progressed in every field, whether it is industry, trade, science, technology or transport, it has progressed tremendously and we are proud of it, There were no such incidents upto 35-36 years in the country. Just now Mr. Sunder Dasji, from the opposition, was speaking. He recounted poverty as one of the reasons. Poverty could be a reason. Of course, it is a reason but poverty is not a new phenomenon of recent orwrence. It is a very old malady. There must be a solution to poverty and unemployment, But, are poverty and unemployment the only causes of violence, discontent and blood-bath in the country?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you must have seen that upto 1982 the situation in the country was not at it is to-day. But when 103 heads of states and Governments gathered in Delhi to participate in NAM-India was repre-

[Sh. Chiranji Lal Sharma]

sented by Shrimati Indira Gandhi- the super powers of the world felt jealous of it and tried to hatch a conspiracy against our country. Before that the conditions in Punjab were normal. Haryana was formed in 1966. The water dispute and the Chandigarh dispute between Haryana and Punjab were there for a very long period but from 1966 to 1982 there had been no such bloody incidents. It was a conspiracy, a planned conspiracy of those of powers. What is going on in Punjab and what are the reasons behind it? Whole country and all the parties are concerned over Punjab issue. No solution has been found to this problem. Rajiv-Longowal pact was signed. Whenever we try to find a solution to this issue, the forces which do not want peace to be restored start bloodshed on a large scale. It all happened in Punjab. Longowal and Rajiv Gandhi laid down their lives for this cause. we are reminded of the time when Mahatma Gandhi and Suhrawardi used to walk on the street of Nawakhali to defuse Hindu Muslim riots.

17.00 hrs

That was the time and a way to establish peace and persuade people to adopt non-violence. The country followed the path of non-violence and threw away the yoke of slavery of the British empire and got freedom. What is the reason for so much violence spreading in the country? With whom should we discuss Punjab issue? With militants or with terrorists? There was a time when words of Master Tara Singh were regarded as the final dictates for Sikh community. Then the mandate of Sant Fateh Singh was supreme and then Sant Longowal was the final authority. But today, the leadership of Akalis is divided into two or three factions. There is no authority with whom we should discuss the issue and whose authority is accepted by all. Wherever we try to talk with the leaders of Akalis, militants start violence. We tried to hold election in Punjab. Central Government sent army to Punjab to maintain peace. Since then militants are on the run in Punjab. Haryana,

Rajasthan, U.P. and Himachal are border states of Punjab. Militants tried to intrude into Haryana. What had happened one week before? 26 persons were killed in Tohana and prior to it 10 persons were killed in Sirsa. There were no disturbances in Haryana. The elements which fled Punjab tried to create disturbances in Haryana because their hide-outs were raided there. ULFA created disturbance in Assam and LTTE in Tamil Nadu. It is the country where there used to be atmosphere of love but hostilities are prevailing today. What is the reason behind it? You said that the Congress lost the last election. Why was it defeated? Congress did not care for the feelings of fundamentalist Hindus. They wanted that the Congress should join hand with them on Ram-Jan-ambhumi issue and become a party to this issue. Similarly, the Congress did not care for the feelings of fundamentalist Muslims. Mandir-Masjid issue will be decided according to court decision. Fundamentalist Hindus went against the Congress. In Rajasthan saints wearing, saffron clothes asked people to swear with holy water of the Ganga in their land not to vote in favour of the Congress. Fundamentalist Muslim supported those parties which joined hand with them in Babri Masjid issue. Therefore, the Congress lost the election. The Congress does not feel I sorry for it. But the Congress remained firm on its principles. People who attack the policies of the Congress, they should do introspection. The country should not suffer any harm which soever party comes to power.

17.05 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Main objective of the Congress has been the unity and integrity of the country. But what happened? Just before the last election a Rath Yatra was taken out. I don't know whether that was a Rath Yatra or a vote yatra or a note yatra. Rs. 10 crores were collected in the name of rath yatra. Starting from Dwarika the rath yatra passed through interior parts of the country via South India enflaming communal feelings. It is easier to set heap of dry hay on fire than to extinguish

it. The results of rath yatra are before us. And today after rath yatra they have started Ekta-yatra. What for Ekta yatra? To hoist tricolour on 26th January at Srinagar. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to ask the ardent supporters of Ekta Yatra... (*Interruptions*) Please listen patiently and keep silence. A newly converted person is more fanatic than the original followers. Has tricolour not been hoisted in Kashmir during the last 44 years? My hon. friends of BJP supported Janta Dal during last 11 months and in the regime of that Janata Dal, Rubaiya incident took place. That was not an ordinary incident but it was a big font to the law and order machinery in the country. The Government had taken a very foolish decision at that time. The people of Kashmir thought that the people of India are coward. That is why lakhs of Kashmiri came to Srinagar openly in the ground and said, "You Indian dogs get out."

I would like to ask these friends who make a noise that had there been ever riots between 80% Muslims and 20% Hindus living in Kashmir during last 40 years of the Congress rule? Had ever Hindus or Muslims been compelled to flee from there. Now most of the Hindu Pandits have fled from there. It was result of weak and coward policies of the then Government. BJP was with them and was supporting them.

Present situation in Kashmir was created by the previous Government. During the Congress regime Kashmiri Muslims had never dared to think on these lines but disturbances started during the rule of the Janata Dal and today secessionism and terrorism are spreading there very fast. Had there ever been such incidents of kidnapping of 10-20 people daily? It started during the regime of Janata Dal that one person was kidnapped to secure release of six militants in exchange. The situation which we are facing is the result of your policy. You are responsible for it.

Out of 44 years Congress ruled for 41 years and during that period four persons graced the office of Prime Minister. But there have been four Prime Minister during 3 1/2

years of your rule. Because only those can rule who know how to govern. You came in power and misused it. Now what is this Ekta Yatra? All the parties, intellectuals and every person of India opposed it. But the leaders of BJP are saying that the Ekta Yatra will not be stopped and if the Government stops it they will resort to strike. Somewhere extremists, at some places ULFA and yet in another area Anandmargis are active. Why all these things are taking place? The reason behind this is that the opposition parties got an opportunity to rule the country from 1977-79 and during that period country was pushed 10 years back. Then they got an opportunity to rule the country from 1990-91 and during that period they made the country bankrupt. Communalism and cynicism gained ground during that period.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I suggest that we must act wisely and adopt broad minded attitude. I would like to say that presently largest number of Muslims are residing in India as compared to any other nation in the world. There are 14-15 crore Muslims in our country. No other country of the world has such a large number of Muslims. Can Hindus of India force them to flee from here? Can they play with their feelings? But I would like to ask why the issue of Ram Janambhoomi Babri Masjid was not raised during 1977 to 1979? At that time Shri Lal Krishna Advani and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee were Ministers at the centre. Why they remained silent? I am also a Brahmin and a devotee of Lord Rama. When Lord Rama was born? Was he born two or three lakh years ago? When the Ramayana was written? When Babar came to India? When Babar built the Babri mosque? Even today the walls of Masjid and Mandir are adjacent to each other. In the name of all these things is it not a conspiracy to attack the unity and integrity of the country by inciting feelings of the Hindus and the Muslims? I would like to ask the custodians of the Hindu that if Hindus feel whether they or their rights are not safe here in India. I think that it is a matter of great shame for all of us. Our India is like a garden where different kinds of flowers bloom. There are different kinds of seasons, religious and different kinds of

[Sh. Chiranjil Lal Sharma]

windflow here but we never faced such communal cynicism as has been created by our friends of BJP. It is the result of your wrong policy. Rath Yatra and Ekta Yatra have created an atmosphere of hatred and ill will in the country. Where there used to be an atmosphere of love and cordiality, people have become enemy of each other and it is all being done in the name of religion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am not again the construction of the temple. It is not written anywhere that country should be sent to dogs for the construction of the temple. Why don't you say clearly that we want to collect money? What was the purpose of the Rath Yatra? It was merely an election stunt and they succeeded in their mission. In some states they managed to get majority and form Government and also they got good number of MPs elected to Lok Sabha. Its credit goes to you as you succeeded in instigating the feelings of the people. But Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have to see where the present situation will lead us to? It never happened before 1977 in the country where greatmen like Gandhi, Nehru and Maulana Azad were born. In 1977 Congress lost power and within two years the country was ruined and today you preach that we teach lessons. They pose themselves before the people as if they were apostle of love and peace. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is so serious issue that the anti national forces who can't tolerate the progress of the country will succeed in their nefarious design if we do not rise above party politics and above caste and creed, and if we do not stop creating wedge between high and low and unless and untill all the people and all the parties in the country do not join hands, whichever party may come to power, politics will continue.

You see the condition of Russia. Russia was once a super power. We should learn a lesson from the history of other countries. We all have to face these forces who want to spread communalism in the country and who want to disintegrate our country.

At the Minister of Home Affairs and announced, Government will hold election, in Punjab. I would like to submit that ever since the announcement of elections by Government despatch of armed forces to maintain law and order situation there, they have stepped up their activities. And its effect can clearly be seen in my state. I thank the Government of Haryana and Haryana police that they have liquidated 5 terrorists yesterday. But to face incidents like those which took place in Sirsa and Tohana we should be provided para-military forces, B.S.F. and C.R.P.F. we did not require it earlier. But when army was deployed in Punjab terrorists did not find any hide out, therefore, they intruded into Haryana. We need to recruit additional police force. Besides this, we need sophisticated weapons. Our policeman can't face A.K. 47 rifles of the terrorists with 3.3 rifles. I specially request hon. Minister of Home Affairs to provide us sophisticated weapons and para-military forces and allow us to recruit additional police force. And control those people who what to disintegrate the country in the name of religion.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the deteriorating law and order situation in the country in the wake of terrorism, secessionism and kidnappings. It is the issue but the speeches are being made on Ramjanambhum... (*Interruptions*)... I would like to say that first of all find out the reasons. We can put off the problem but cannot avoid facing it. If terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir was based on communalism there would have been Hindu-Sikh and Hindu-Muslim riots.

My submission is that the terrorism is not based upon communalism but it is a conspiracy to disintegrate the country. Therefore, terrorists are killing Hindus as well Sikhs and Muslims. We should go into their motives. They are blaming BJP for it and making their work easier. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, terrorism is not a State subject. Terrorism has spread all over the country.

Therefore, we should look upon it as a national problem.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not want to take much time but, would like to draw the attention towards serious situation prevailing in Jammu from where I have come only two days back. It is nice that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is present in the House at this moment and I would like to present the facts about the situation prevailing in Kashmir valley before him. In short, it can be stated that terrorism is raising its head even outside the states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. I would like to submit that in consultation with the Chief Minister of states where terrorism has taken a serious turn like Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan and Delhi in the recent past, a coordinated effort be made to tackle terrorism. It won't be proper to leave any state alone to tackle terrorism. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has stated that he is making special efforts to tackle terrorism. No doubt he is doing excellent job but I think terrorism is not the problem of one state or one party, it is a national problem. The Government must seriously ponder over the problem to evolve its solution. Uttar Pradesh has demanded a few more companies of PAC and many other things. Through you, I would like to submit that to tackle terrorism meeting of Chief Ministers of all concerned states, Government of states under President's rule and Lt. Governor of concerned state be convened immediately for evolving coordinated strategy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Delhi is a Union Territory. Terrorism through has raised its head in Delhi but the main problem here is if law and order. Hon. Minister of Home Affairs is directly responsible for law and order situation of Delhi because Delhi is a Union Territory. Law and order in Delhi is deteriorating day by day. Common man in Delhi feels insecure and is terrorised. Incidents of daylight killings, looting, dacoities and kidnappings are on the rise.

Kidnappings has two ramifications—firstly to secure ransom and secondly to secure release one or the other terrorist behind

bars. The Government will be surprised to know that an industrialist of Mayapuri industrial area was kidnapped and ransom was received in the Rohatak jail. This is the state of law and order in Delhi, directly Governed by the Centre. In 1965 Indo-Pak war the man who hoisted national flag at Hajipir and was subsequently awarded with Mahavir Chakra by the Government of India Maj. Gen. S.S. Kahlon was in the broad day light brutally killed along with his son in Delhi Cantonment. But the killers are still at large. I visited the area, because it forms part of my constituency. Family members and relatives enquired from me, whether this was to be fate of the man who without caring for his life held dear the prestige of the country. Will the person be killed in such a fashion? The Government must make special efforts to apprehend the culprits still at large. Otherwise, the public feel the law and order in Delhi has totally collapsed.

In the recent past more than 200 persons lost their lives in the 'Sura' tragedy. Every department is shifting the blame to the other authority. Some put on the blame on the Excise Department and the others say something different. If this is not a law and order issue, then I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Home Affairs why was the S.H.O. Suspended? Why was the S.H.O. penalised and suspended? Since the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is responsible for affairs of Delhi, then why cannot the guilty persons be pinpointed and prosecuted for the tragedy in which 200 persons lost their lives and 50 persons became blind?

I do not want to dwell on the complete shameful incompetence of Delhi Police in dealing with the kidnapping of Shri Radu, Charge-d-Affairs of Romanias embassy. I would like to draw the attention towards terrorism in Punjab and Kashmir where a new phenomenon of kidnappings has started. As I submitted earlier kidnapping has only two purpose one to secure ransom and the other to secure release of colleague behind bars. Lately the phenomenon of hijacking of trucks has also started to stop transportation of goods to other states. In the last few days

[Sh. Madan Lal Khurana]

150 trucks were hijacked. I demand handing over of the case to C.B.I. Kidnapings to secure release of collagues behind bars in jails are on the rise. In Punjab daily 30-40 persons are kidnapped and most of the cases are even not reported to the police. If the situation is not dealt with strenly , then migration from Punjab might start. Problem will get complicated, if the people start feeling inseucre. I do not want to speak more about Punjab but would like to concentrate just on Kashmir. I would to like say one thing that in Punjab attack on family members of policemen has begun. When Dr. Baldev Prakash was attacked, I paid a visit to Amritsar. There I was told that during the last month 100 family members of serving police personnel were killed. As a result police personnel have been demoralised posted in urban areas.

I would like to draw the attention towards Kashmir. It is nice that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is present in the House. I have come back after a stay of two days in Jammu region, with a few newspapers and facts. In Kashmir valley terrorism have gained upper hand and are roaming around freely on roads. Earlier the terrorists used to go underground but now they are holding press conferences. It has appeared in the newspaper, that the terrorists are addressing public gatherings in Hazratbal, Srinagar. When the terrorists are brought to the court the local people entertain them and the first cousin of a Central Minister is also among them. Here is his photograph. Out of the four pages of this newspaper two pages are full of Government advertisements. All this is being done with the money got by the Government advertisement.

"Raat Ka Jikar Na Kar Raat To Gujar Gayee,

Agar Hai Subah To Bata Roshni Kahan Gayee."

I would like the hon. Minister of Home Affairs to give a categoric statement regarding the happenings there. In the past, the

terrorists used to remain underground, but now they have come to streets with their arms. They hold press conference in uniform.....(*Interruptions*) I know who is behind this. Shri Advani and we did not appreciate the manner in which the daughter of then Minister of Home Affairs was released from the hands of terrorists. Shri Doraiswamy was also abouted. They demanded that Javed Ahmed Shall must be released in exchange. The Central Government insisted that they won't free him because he was convicted of murder of 40 persons. Instead 11 terrorists were released. I would like you to cotradict my statement. I had ben there. I was told by some people that Shalla was one of those 11 terrorists who were released in spit of his being convicted in forty murder cases. My information is the Government there does not want to release him. I would like to know the leader or the Minister who was instrumental in the negotiations with the terrorists and at whose behest 11 terrorists were released.

I would like to cite another example. In an encounter two C.R.P.F. personnels were injured and they are still hospitalised. Four of them were killed in the encounter. The Government announced an ex-gratia payment of Rs. 1 lakh to the next of Kin of the victims. Compensation for the terrorists? They refused to accept it and said that they need not any money from India. It was an insult to the country. What more do you want? An enquiry was conducted about this. The people you are willing to install, are not liked by the people there. You say that the Janata Dal is responsible but first peep into yourself and see what is happening there? A Central Minister visits Jammu by special aeroplane from there he goes to Akhnoor by a helicopter and returns after addressing a meeting attached by not more than 100 persons. Why did he go there. After all, who is responsible for these developments in Kashmir? Is it the Minister for Home Affairs or some one else? The people there ask this question. Who will decide it? If you want to take the ex-chief Minister take him to Kashmir, and hoist the tricolour there. Today not body can dare enter the valley. No poli-

tician has gone there during the last one and a half year. People laugh and ask us what is their last record?

I have a photocopy of statement of the then National Conference President Dr. Farooq Abdullah. I would like to quote from that statement:

"Since the situation in Kashmir is grave and the people of Kashmir are witnessing their motherland being turned into a vast graveyard at the hands of army and paramilitary forces. I appeal to the custodians of humanity in and outside the country to interfere in the extremely dangerous situation prevailing in valley and raise their voice to conduct investigation at international level about the massacre by the army and para-military forces."

Do you want to install him in spite of this. He speaks one language here and different language there. The person who does not have credibility. (*Interruptions*) I am referring to the another person also. I am referring to another name also, so that you are happy.

One of the former Governors, who was the blue-eyed boy of the Congress, is a Hindu. I would like to quote from his statement which has been published recently. The heading means that 'Karan Singh feels that signatures on the official document was not right'. After 44 years or the Independence Shri Karan Singh says that the signatures of his father were not right. What message does he want to convey? What does he want to say- (*Interruptions*) Are those signatures fake. The newspaper carries advertisements of Jammu and Kashmir Government. Do you send your advertisement to fake newspapers? I want to submit that the people do not trust those whom the Government has taken into your confidence to solve the Kashmir issue.

I would like to bring another issue to your notice. Nobody has done anything to stop anti-Indian propaganda there. I have a newspaper which has the statement of Shri

Mann. Concocted and mischievous statements are published. Of late, on November 24, 1991 a statement of Shri Simaranjit Singh Mann was published. The heading was 'Kashmiri defences blinded Kashmir a graveyard-Mann. The Government has not contradicted it. These newspapers defame India and Pakistan later refers to them and maligns India. I, therefore, want to submit that the Government should set right the media-machinery.

During the debate on Kashmir last time, I had said that the houses of Kashmiri migrants' and Kashmiri Pandits were being set ablaze-but our colleagues were shedding crocodile tears that it was the Janta Dal which was instrumental in migration of Hindus from Kashmir. Shri Azad is sitting here. He had expressed his grief and contradicted and challenged it. I have confirmed and I would like the hon. Minister of Home Affairs to mention in his reply whether more than two thousand applications have been sent to him. Have F.I.Rs been lodged for those cases?

Shri Azad has come. It is very good. Hon. Azad, you challenged me that no Hindu house has been ablaze there. I submit here that more than 2200 houses of Hindus were set ablaze. F.I.Rs have been lodged with you and nearly 500 to 600 people have been given Rs. 1 lakh as compensation. But even then you say that no F.I.R. has been lodged.

THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD): At that time you were talking about the temple issue.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Temples too have been burnt. About 2200 F.I.R. have been lodged and 700 to 800 people have been given Rs. 1 lakh by the Government as compensation after investigation.

I would like to be brief. The Government should awake and save Kashmir from the claws of a handful of cruel vultures. We have to decide as to who will deal with them. Confusion is being created there. Centre

[Sh. Madan Lal Khurana]

should decide whether the Governor is to continue or not? You should dispel this uncertainty. I am not pleading his case, but I will definitely like to say that sometimes hints are thrown that he would be transferred and sometimes he is asked to continue there. Whatever you want to do, you should do it and end such atomism and take concrete decision. I would like to suggest in this connection that the situation in Kashmir is worsening day by day.

The Ekta Yatra is going there, but merely criticising it will not serve the purpose. You should support the yatra. I heard two speeches just now. They claim that our flag is being hoisted. The Government have reported that only the B.S.F. has hoisted the flag. Who hoisted the tricolour there in last 30 years on 15th August? On 14th August the Pakistani flag was hoisted there and the Indian flag was never hoisted at Lal Chowk. Hoisting our national flag at the secretariat is no great achievement. Nobody can prevent me from hoisting national tricolour in any part of our motherland. I am not going to hoist the B.J.P. flag, but I am going to hoist the national flag and to sing the national song. I am going to sing it with courages. I declare here that you may prevent to the best of your capacity but as I told previously that I was committed to reach the temple, likewise I declare here that we should hoist the tricolour on 26th January and no power on earth can stop me from doing so.....

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSALL** (Chandigarh): The issue of hoisting tricolour is good, but what would you do besides it is to be seen in future.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** You are in power and it is for you to do something. I do not know what you will do.....

**SHRI VILAS MUTTEMWAR** (Chimur): You do not go yourself. Instead you send other workers to be lathi charged there. It is they who suffer.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** They are not cowards, but brave lot.

I would like to say that co-ordinated efforts must be made to curb the spate of incidents of terrorism. I would like to caution the Government about the deteriorating situation that I have witnessed personally in Kashmir. We can not visualise the severity of the deteriorating circumstances there and the Government should therefore be vigilant. The situation is more serious than what I have mentioned here. I would like to suggest in this connection that the Prime Minister should give up the policy of *ad hocism* and uncertainty and convene an all party meeting on the Kashmir issue to decide collectively about the steps to be taken there and then launch an attack on national level against the terrorists on war footing so that the citizens of the country feel a sense of security. I am sure, the Government would certainly pay attention to this.

With these words, I conclude.

**SHRI NITISH KUMAR** (Barh): Sir, we are discussing law and order situation with particular reference to terrorism. But I think to discuss law and order situation is of no avail because there is no law and order ever for namesake. Often has been observed that the issue of law and order situation is used for getting political mileage. When a State Government is to be harassed the Central Government generally remarks that the law and order situation has deteriorated there and action will be taken accordingly. But today the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that there is no law and order in the territories under Central Government. There is no need to go through the figures, because hon. Shri Indarjit Gupta has already given those figures in the House and therefore, I would not like to waste time of the House.

The failure of the Government in cases of kidnappings is beyond discussion. Needles to mention the failure of Government in connection with the abduction of Romanian diplomat Shri Radu. Whenever terrorists strike in such areas or secessionist activities

gain ground the Central Government does not have any way-out but suggest to the State Government to declare the affected area as 'disturbed area', as has been done in the case of Terai area in Uttar Pradesh. Declaration of Chandigarh as 'disturbed area' implies that the Government can send para-military forces and special police forces there. But have the terrorist activities stopped in those area where terrorist activities were at their peak and para-military forces were deployed to deal with the situation.

Whenever Punjab is discussed can you say sincerely that there is no need for any serious consideration? What is needed today is to initiate a political process. During the Chief Ministership of Shri Barnala, he was appreciated in this House in th beginning, but a month later, he was dismissed. Who created this situation? What forces and reasons were responsible to postpone the previous elections. At that time, the Congress Party insisted not to participate in the elections there. When they came to power they postponed the elections, and now they are thinking in terms of holding elections. It means that the Centre has always tried to excise its power to derive political mileage.

The situation in Kashmir is deteriorating. Shri Khurana has just mentioned the condition there. Even if Shri Khurana does not mention it, everybody has understood that there is no Government worth the name in Kashmir. Nobody is bothered about the Centre's authority. Everything is at the whims and fancies of the terrorists there. Such is the situation there. Today, you are glorifying Shri Farooq Abdullah, but you ousted the same farrow Abdullah earlier. Thus, the country is facing the consequences of four play of the Congress Party.

When you discus various tacts of law and order situation, or public order in the country, we meet nothing but disappointment. Inside and outside this House, this issue has been discussed many times and the hon. Members have expressed their opinions but the Government has the same stock reply and every time they manoeuvre

to conceal the facts. This problem is increasing everyday and there seems to be no let up. What is its ultimate remedy? What is the solution to the Punjab issue. Due to adverse situation in Punjab, the elections there were postponed. Now they are due in February. But it should clear whether elections would be held. Till the last moment it will be asserted that election would be held, but at the eleventh hour, it will be announced that the atmosphere is not conducive hence, the elections stand cancelled. This all is being done there.

I would like to congratulate Shri V.P.Singh who initiated a political process there. At that time, it was a minority Government and it had postpone elections in Punjab on the advice of their allies, as the situation was not conducive. Shri V.P. Singh had admitted as the Prime Minister, that it was the greatest mistake of his life. But today persons in power will manipur it to derive political mileage. Why Chadigarh was not transferred to Punjab? Why water dispute was not settled and was sent it to the Supreme Court? There are other such identical problems. Why these could not be solved? We have discussed them for several years but these have not been settled for the sake of serving our own political ends. The party in the Government has been manoeuvring so. I do not want to look back at the last decades history. Discussion has been held on it several times and the situation today is very grave.

Just now Shri Khurana was speaking on Kashmir issue. If the total picture of the law and order situation of the country is obvious, yet Shri Narasimha Rao is applauded. What is happening in the Narasimha Rao regime is evident from the figures given in this regard. Though it would not be proper to discuss these matters here but the way value of rupee has devaluded, the prices have risen, abduction, killing, kidnapping and loot, has escalated and dowry and other sorts of atrocities are being committed, one cannot help commenting on it. In other words, the Narasimha Rao Government has made remarkable progress in devaluation of the rupee,

[Sh. Nitish Kumar]

rising prices, loot, murder, kidnapping and atrocities against the Harijans and riots. This Government has failed to stop riots. Riots have been discussed many times in the House, but these can be overcome only if there is political will. When Bihar is referred in this connection, some persons from the treasury benches pass comments. What is the reason that there are no riots today in Bihar? All it needs is a political will power. It is all because of social justice and political will power that riots do not occur anymore in Bihar. We must learn a lesson from it, but we do not. We merely blame one-another. We try to draw political mileage out of it. To curb riot has become the model of the Janata Dal. Due to paucity of time, I would not like to go into the details. What I want to know in which field the Narasimha Rao Government is progressing.

SHRI PASWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Chandigarh): Are you aware of the fact that 16 houses have been burnt in Bihar? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Houses have been set ablaze everywhere. If you permit me, I can give you the figures. Shri Indrajit Gupta has already mentioned the figures. If you wish, I can continue mentioning figures for fifteen minutes and then your will commend to know the law and order situation in the States ruled by the Congress-I and the Janata Party.

I mean to say that on one hand, the situation is deteriorating whereas on the other hand the Narasimha Rao Government, is eulogized. It is said by the leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party that Shri Narshima Rao is the best person after Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. Not only this, an R.S.S. heavy weight said that the Congress Party should be extended the helping hand in national interest. On the one hand, we say such things while on the other hand, the B.J.P. President is setting out for the yatra. Shri Lal Krishna Advani launched a Rath yatra and he earned enormous public applause. Now Shri Murlidhar

Manohar Joshi is launching a yatra which has been named Ekta Yatra. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I smell here of collusion this way or that. According to the authentic information that I have, the B.J.P. men are making marriages, and the Congress Party is opposing it. It is giving them lot of publicity. I do not understand, what would they do in their Ekta yatra. They say that would hoist the national flag in Kashmir on 26, January. I fail to understand this thing. Kashmir is an integral part of our country and every citizen has a right to hoist the tri-colour on his house on 26th January, and 15th August. Tricolour can be hoisted even on private land. On other days, the Indian flag can be hoisted on Government buildings only but on 26th January and 15th August, it can be hoisted anywhere in the country. I do not think there is anything strange in hoisting the Indian tricolour on 26th January in Kashmir. The Home Minister is calling a meeting and the Hon. Prime Minister has made an appeal. But after all why? I know very well that the so-called "Ekta Yatra" organised by the BJP you would excuse me for saying that it would ask for protection as soon as it would reach Jammu. They would have demanded protection. But what the Government did? It glorified the entire thing and gave so much publicity that it has again become an election issue. Just as they did during the Rath Yatra on Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid issue antagonised Hindus against Muslim and strengthened the Hindu Vote Bank, similarly, the so called 'Ekta Yatra' is a big force and is not meant for unity and integrity of the country. Even they know that the Ramjanambhoomi Temple will never be constructed. I also know that it will not be constructed.....

SHRI VILAS MUTTEMWAR (Chimur): They have already demanded protection.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: The Government is giving them undue importance and I think there is connivance between these two parties. Shri Narasimha Rao says that Congress (I) should be helped whereas Shri Lal Krishna says that Shri Narasimha Rao is the second nice person in the Congress after Lal Bahadur Shastri. Shri Narasimha Rao is

making lot of propaganda for 'Ekta Yatra'. So, inspite of being diamenterically opposed in their ideologies particularly on social justice, secularism and other principles there is collusion between the Congress Party and Bharatiya Janata Party. We have come here to discuss terrorism and separatism and the law and order problem. Why is it that the law and order is worsening day by day? Why are a few handful of people getting rich and poor getting poorer? Why are the employment opportunities shrinking and unemployment on the increase? Have we ever thought on these issues seriously?

We have crime record of only those who are habitual criminal or known criminals. They are arrested, beaten and punished. But the other categories of criminals for example who do it for the fun of it or those who are influenced by the Bombay films—wherein crime is glorified—always get scot-free. When adolescent boys see Amitabh Bacchan on the silver screen fighting hundreds of people single handed they think it to be true in real life also and believe that this is the way to progress and property. On the other hand, this is the reason for the increase in crime rate whereas on the other hand, unemployment is also a significant factor. Some young men commit crimes as they get a 'kick' out of it and many boys of well to do families have been caught as they were involved in kidnappings. They have been committing other crimes as well. What is the reason after all. The youth think that they would be glorified in the society and that is the only way to progress.

Have you ever thought why a 'Phoolan Devi' was born? She was the product of circumstances in a society where there is discrimination against low caste. Why did Phoolan Devi take to crime and became the dreaded 'Phoolan Devi', She is the product of circumstances in which atrocities were committed on her family including rape or women. Have we ever thought in this direction? How do the people who have a higher status in society behave or treat the ordinary men? They maltreat and even commit atroci-

ties against them. Why will not such criminals and decides be born?

I was in the jail in Emergency period which was imposed during the late Shrimati Indira Gandhi's rule. We were arrested under the MISA. According to the survey that we conducted in the jail 98 percent of the prisoners belonged to backward classes, and were Harijans or Adivasis. We had got a cook. When we asked him as to how long he had been in jail. He said he was there for the last four and a half years. On being asked what crime he committed, he said he was hungry and had stolen a cup of *Rabri* (a type of sweet). He had been in jail for the last four and a half years merely for staling to satisfy his hunger. This is the way people are humiliated and are made criminal and naxlites. There is a need to deliberate upon these matters with a cool mind. I am not mentioning these things just to draw your attention. Nor am I saying that the political parties would draw political mileage out of it. The Government may emphasize any number of times that they are in complete control of the situation in Punjab and Kashmir but the fact remains that the Centre's dictate does not hold good there. Now the Terai region would be disturbed. Then the Northern region would be in the grip of disturbance. The way political gimmick is being played in the Northern region, the day is not far when the entire country would be on the verge of disintegration. We will merely waste the time of the House by levelling allegations and counter allegations. Have we ever thought for Punjab, by rising above party considerations? Is there a new approach to the Punjab problem. What generally happens is that with the change of power at the Centre a new Governor takes over in Punjab. The Governor and the Ministry of Home Affairs say contradictory things. This shows that there is no clear policing respect of Punjab. Is it not true that terrorism has increased there, youngmen have been killed in fake encounters and innocent have been arrested to hush up the lapses. Is it to true that terrorists are being born because of the wrong policies of the Government. There is need to ponder over these things. We may

[Sh. Nitish Kumar]

discuss the matter as many times as we wish but unless we rise above party considerations and take a decision by consensus on issues of social justice, secularism and removal of economic disparity and imbalances, we will continue to grope in darkness. Our future generations will hold us guilty. We remember our older generation with pride and say that they have brought us political, social and economic independence. But the way we are haunted by terrorism and the threat of disintegration is looming large on our country, we should bank upon our experience. The entire world is disintegrating and therefore, we should not sit with our fingers crossed. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and many other countries, are on the verge of collapse. We should rise above petty considerations, when we discuss matters whether it is Punjab, Kashmir, Terai or the Northern region and try to find out solutions through which we can bring this country on the path of progress and prosperity and make it strong. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU (Secunderabad): Hon. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing about the deteriorating law and order situation in the country, particularly Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Haryana.

In the recent events in Haryana in Tohana, 26 people were killed on 6th of December. On 9th of November, in Sirsa 12 persons were gunned down. In the *Hindustan Times* it has appeared a news-item regarding the Tohana incident. The Director General of Police, Haryana, G.P. Kalyan has said in spite of the repeated requests to the Union Government to supply para military forces, arms and ammunitions, they have not sent adequately. It was shameful to hear about the number of killings just like what we are watching in the cricket about score. Just like Imran Khan is playing cricket and scoring runs, about Kashmir and Punjab people are watching daily in TV and Radio what is the score of Punjab, what is the score of

Kashmir. Even in Tamil Nadu, in the name of Jihad Committee, they have published posters on the 19th of August, mentioning eight names of the Hindu leaders whom they want to liquidate. On the 5th of September, one of the listed name, Mr. Shiv Shankar has been liquidated.

18.00 hrs.

Communal feelings have arisen in Tamil Nadu also. Regarding Andhra Pradesh, recently the ex-Minister of the Congress-I Mr. Hayagrivachari was murdered.

In Adilabad, one train was totally burnt.

In the Kakatiya Express, 47 people were killed because of the burning of the train.

In Andhra Pradesh the Home Minister himself said that these Naxalites have got LTTE connections. He said this on the floor of the House in the Assembly on 20th August, 1991. 60 AK 47 rifles and 20 sten guns were taken from the LTTE.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: How much time will you take?

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU: I am going tomorrow. I will complete my speech. I will take only two or three minutes more. I will complete my speech.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You complete your speech quickly.

SHRI DATTATRYA BANDARU: Even the political workers, the CPM, the CPI, Congress BJP, TDP and MCPI workers were killed and I cannot give the number.

Even the houses of Ministers were blasted.

The house of Shri Santosh Reddy, the Finance Minister was blasted.

The house of Shri Narasimha Reddy,

Minister for Urban Housing and Municipality was blasted.

Shri Chenna Reddy, MLA, was murdered.

Shri Sudhir Kumar, Youth Congress President and MLA and former Minister's son, was kidnapped in Hyderabad, the capital itself.

Our MLA Shri Jaipal was also kidnapped.

140 persons were killed by Naxalites of which 141 belonged to the weaker sections.

Recently in many of the districts in Warrangal district 58 people were killed followed by 48 in Karimnagar and 26 in Nizamabad and 23 in East Godavari and 22 in the twin cities.

Large number of kidnappings have taken place.

93 people were kidnapped in Warrangal.

35 people were kidnapped in Karimnagar.

17 people were kidnapped in Adilabad.

224 people were kidnapped by Naxalites this year.

Three Mandal Presidents, 12 sarpanchs, four upa sarpancha and one MLA were murdered.

As I said, 43 policemen were killed.

The rest of the victims were small and marginal farmers.

The loss to public property which is incurred this year is, 168 RTC buses were totally burnt and the comparative figure is 117 in 1990.

The Naxalites are thereof in 13 districts of the States. There is no law and order.

There is a parallel government running in the entire Telengana district.

I requested the Home Minister, to deal with the situation firmly.

Even Prime Minister's lands are not cultivate. It is under seizure by the Naxalites.

Even many of the lands of the Harijans and the tribals are distributed by Naxalites.

The Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh should be asked to save the people of the State from Naxalites.

Regarding the recent elections, our friends was talking about election righting in Andhra Pradesh. I do not want to say about elections.

But particularly I want to say that the Prime Minister contested the election from Nandyal. The Independent candidates were kidnapped there. Eight Independent candidates were kidnapped and anybody going to file the nomination papers was whisked away by the Special Branch of the Police. They were taken to the Samachar Bhavan run by the Congress MLAs. Later in Nandyal all the Opposition parties polling agents were kidnapped. They were given many threatening calls. It is mentioned in the newspapers that the Law Minister has said that the Independent candidates do not have public stand and that they are bringing rickshaw-pullers to propose their names. It is on record. I questioned the hon. Law Minister "Is rickshaw-puller not a citizen of India?" How is he going to the citizen of India? Like that, being a Law Minister he has propagated all these things. All the polling agents were dragged out to the polling booths.

Lastly, I would like to say they even the All India Radio announced at 1.20 p.m that only 10.20 per cent polling took place. At 3 p.m. the Returning Officer said it was 35 per cent and at 10 p.m. the Chief Electoral Officer of Andhra Pradesh declared that it was 56 per cent. Finally, in the morning new, it was announced that there was 72 per cent

[Sh. Dattatrya Bandaru]

polling. This is a new phase of democracy as was shown in Nandyal. I therefore request the hon. Prime Minister, who represents this Constituency, who follows all the moral values, who has the dignity of life, who is regarded as a moralist person, if he has got courage and if he is fair enough, to recommend the appointment of an Inquiry Committee to go through all the illegal acts done by the local Congress Party. I am saying this because a stigma has come to the Prime Minister. Even though the country's highest personality is the Prime Minister, a stigma has come to him. Let him remove this stigma and allow his puritanical ways. I was telling about the law and order situation in Andhra Pradesh. Two women belonging to the weaker sections were stripped. One woman by name Mallamma was striped naked and she was prated in the streets.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Are you concluding or not?

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU: I am concluding. In telengana, Shrimati Durgabhai was make daily paraded in the street only recently- in the last month. Things are happening like that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Dattatraya Bandaru, I allowed you with the presumption that you would complete it within two minutes. It is already 6.05 p.m. Are you going to continue or finish it? We are not expected to sit beyond six of the Clock. We have not taken the permission of the House. I was under the presumption that you would complete within two minutes. Are you going to continue tomorrow?

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU:  
take only two minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will give you only one minute.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU:  
Lastly, Sir, my friend was telling about Bihar. I came to know about Bihar also as far as law and order situation is concerned. The country should know what is happening in Bihar. There is no law and order in Bihar. Politicians say that criminals are the politics. In Bihar, there were 600 kidnappings, 8000 murders during the last 10 months. This is the affair in Bihar also. The unfortunate things in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar is that some of the MLAs are involved in murders, looting and rape. This is the affair there.

Therefore, I once again appeal to the Union Home Minister, to ponder a way out. Let him consider how best it can be solved. The militants there are doing a lot of atrocities and on the other hand the other people those who have got muscle-power and money power are oppressing the weaker sections and the Harijans. That is why I appeal to the hon. Home Minister to save the weaker sections in this country from these two forces. I once again request the hon. Home Minister to consider these aspects.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Dattatraya Bandaru concluded his speech. The House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow at 11 A.M.

18.08 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday December 11, 1991/Agrahayana 20, 1913 (Saka)*