

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But I must also say that it has taken just over one hour for me to reach this place. I think perhaps the Police have over-reacted to whatever incident that has taken place. I do not know that happened. All the roads, round about two to three kilometers, all the roads, have been completely blocked. Nobody is being allowed. No car is being allowed. I showed my pass. But the pass does not make any sense to the Police people.
16.00 hrs.

You see, it has taken me just one hour to reach here. I think, they should not ever react like this.

SHRI S.B. CHAVEN: I will find out as to why this had happened. Normally this should not happen. The police is supposed to guard certain areas. But if there are over reactions, I will try to find out.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Roser): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think, the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs is not aware of the real situation of traffic restrictions being imposed at the time of movement of V.I.Ps. If the Prime Minister moves, the traffic can be blocked for 5-10 minutes on that route but on the movement of Prime Minister all the routes are being blocked for half an hour. You can block such routes for 5-10 minutes for security purposes but it is not proper to block all the routes and people have to wait for an hour. (Interruptions)

16.01 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**Deterioration in law and order Situation in various parts of the Country with reference to recent spurt in incidents of terrorism, Secessionism and Kidnappings—
Contd.**

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I request the

Members who wish to participate in the Discussion under Rule 193 to strict to the timing. If they go on speaking for 20 or 25 minutes, then they are taking away the time of the other Members. There are Members who did not get a chance to speak even in the last session as well as in this session. They feel it absolutely inconvenient. So, I request the Members to speak only for 10 minutes.

Now, Shri Kabindra Purkayastha will speak.

SHRI KABINDRA PURKAYASTHA (Silchar): Sir, I rise to speak on the law and order situation particularly with reference to terrorism, secessionism and violence. in the North East.

It is a matter of satisfaction that on 11th July, 1991, the honourable President of India addressing the joint session of Parliament declared that Government will ensure that secessionist elements of Assam are brought back to the mainstream. Genuine grievances of the people will be redressed. Steps will be taken for rapid development of Assam. It was only a matter of satisfaction. I think, nothing has yet been done in this regard.

Sir, the law and order situation particularly in the North East had cropped up from these insurgent movements in the North East.

In Indo-Burma (Now Myanmar) bordering the four outermost States of India on North Eastern side Arunachal, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram are witnessing major insurgent activities. Numerous tribal groups seeking independence and autonomy are tightening their belts for a major offence against both the Indian and Myanmar forces.

16.04 hrs.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

Sir, I will tell you the history as to how this secessionist movements in the North Eastern Region grew.

[Sh. Kabindra Purkavastha]

Since the Unification Agreement was signed on May 22nd, 1991 at Nupkar (Myanmar) which is the tactical head-quarters of NSCN, by Mr. S.S. Khaplang, (NSCN), Mr. A. Rajkhowa (ULFA) and Mr. R.K. Mehew of UNLF of Manipur, the IBRF (Indo Burma Revolutionary Front) has been trying to unite all these underground outfits of the North East Region and Burma. The IBRF had approached PLA and KIA with a request to join it. In the meantime ULFA and NSCN were declared unlawful and for the time being that were obstructed.

An international conspiracy to prove adequate assistance to the Indian outlawed outfits by the Burmese, Bangladeshi and Pakistani authorities have now been confirmed following the disclosure made by the self-styled caption German, who is the Secretary (Finance) of the Revolutionary People's Front to the State Police of Manipur some months back. In a letter addressed to the Secretary General of RPF dated 17 December, 1990 it was stated:

"We could establish contact with Burmese. The Burmese Government had agreed to extend held on a large scale. There is a possible chance of converting Burmese currency to dollars. If this Mission is enough we may earn more income...The Burmese Government has agreed to patronise our Revolutionary Front with all the forces under their command to revolt against the Indian Government."

In a communication by a prominent Police official to his superior it has been mentioned clearly that "the factum of establishing contact with the Burmese Army by the RPF is the most alarming and posing a threat not only to the security of the state but to the integrity of the country as a whole.

There are some other reports which are given to the Burmese Government to indicate how the things are going on in the North-East.

Now it is beyond doubt that a serious move is a foot to destabilise India with the foreign help and through different insurgent groups active in different parts of the country such as People's War Group of Andhra Pradesh, JKLF of Jammu & Kashmir, National Socialist Council of Nagaland, Peoples Liberation Army of Manipur, Khalistan Commando Force of Punjab, Maoist Coordination Committee of Bihar, United Liberation Front of Assam, etc. They are working in coordination and they are waiting for the opportune time.

ULFA one of the Powerful extremist groups emerged in Assam during the last 10 years or more specially during the last three-four years, had submitted a memorandum to UNO to highlight their case of self-determination. ULFA submitted this to UNO on 26 October, 1990 for the restoration of the rights of self-determination and the creation of a State of Assam into a separate and distinct self determination unit.

ULFA further prayed that the world body may be pleased to allow a delegation of the petitioner's front to plead the petition before the august body.

All these terrorist forces make their contact with the Bangladesh Government, Pakistani Government and Bangladesh Government. These Governments assured to extend all sorts of help to those outfits, particularly ULFA of Assam.

Now let us try to analyse the root causes of ULFA type insurgency in the North-East. One argument is that it is not deprivation, poverty and unemployment alone that have driven them to this bloody path, but also their genuine ethnic discontents. These genuine ethnic discontents can be very well identified.

Another argument in support of ULFA is given that it is the State violence perpetrated by the para-military forces employed to suppress the Assam movement. Some people say that the failure of the present political and administrative system to tackle

the basic problems of the people and uphold the tottering social order is also a factor. These are the messages of ULFA at different times. There are some suggestions to tackle the insurgency problem.

- (1) The Government should be able to isolate the ULFA like elements. For this, the Government must take the political leaders, socio-cultural organisations, intellectuals, writers, educationists into confidence before taking any major decision regarding such problems.
- (2) An Apex Body to analyse, monitor and to implement the decisions regarding insurgency be constituted with experts from different fields.
- (3) People living in Assam or other border areas must feel that the Central Government is concerned about the overall socio-economic and industrial development of the area. Simply appointing committees or commissions will not serve the purpose.
- (4) Border must be well guarded and sealed, if necessary to check further infiltration of people, arms and drugs as well.
- (5) A serious review should be made about the role of different security agencies working in the Northeast, Laws enacted prior to 1947 or post 47, should also be reviewed. If necessary, certain amendments be also made.
- (6) For a long time, the presence of Army or Para-Military Forces, is there is all the border States of NE region. A serious rethinking about this is necessary. Anti-Army feeling is not at all desirable in the State like Assam. At the same time, Army intervention to control the civilian disturbances is also a matter to be reviewed.
- (7) It is all the time necessary for the

Head of the State or for the Prime Minister or the Home Minister to pay visits to such geographically isolated areas of our country to assess the prevailing situation on their own. This will also instill the lost confidence of the people living over there. After all, it is the crisis of confidence which has worked as a fuel for this artificially created fire in the Northeast.

- (8) It is altogether necessary to Hit on the roots of the insurgency outside the Indian borders. RAW and other such intelligence agencies must monitor the movement of vulnerable persons, especially those who are working in so-called Human Rights organisations. Close watch must be kept at Geneva, London and New York where such bodies generally have their consultations.
- (9) Amnesty international, a London based human rights organisation be kept out of the trouble areas of our country.
- (10) Work of Voluntary Organisation working in the remote tribal areas situated in the borders of our country, be encouraged fully with whatever assistance they need to increase their network. Special priority should be given to them.
- (11) Blocking of foreign funding is a must in checking the activities of anti-national elements. Proper scrutiny be made of all those organisations who get funds from abroad.
- (12) All type of violent activities, organised by insurgents must be dealt with firmly. The Government should not allow anybody to take law into their own hands. While using the force, the Government must keep restrain. Otherwise, anti-Police or anti-army feeling is bound to be there.
- (13) Serious thought must be given once

[Sh. Kabindra Purkavastha]

again to prepare the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and publish it to check further influx of illegal persons from across the borders.

- (14) Liaison Committees with Army people, Civil officials and peoples' representatives be formed at the State level to dispell the ever-growing suspicion about the forces. Close cooperation of Governmental agencies and public organisations will pave the way to build up trust.
- (15) The Government can invite any organisation for negotiation but two things must be assured- (i) The organisation must abjure the violence first, (ii) and talks must be held within the framework of the Indian constitution. Secession of Assam or Nagaland cannot be on the agenda at all.
- (16) All non-governmental efforts be made to convince the youngsters who have taken up arms, about the futility of this path. Social workers must take, if necessary, initiative in bringing the gaps between the Government and the detailed youths. In this way, if those things are taken up by the Government, I think the problem in the Northeast may be resolved.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, since yesterday we have been discussing this subject of deteriorating law and order situation in various parts of the country. It is not merely this subject which is there but it further says that this is with reference to recent spurt in incidents of terrorism, secessionism and kidnapping. So, my submission is the scope of this subject is not the general law and order situation throughout the country on various issues but this has particular reference to the terrorist and secessionist activities of these militants as far as certain parts of the country are concerned. Otherwise we would be discussing several incidents of crimes in differ-

ent States; such as, we can discuss the murder of Niyogi in Madhya Pradesh, we may discuss the killing of the Forest Conservation Officer in Karnataka or the murder of two nuns at Jogeshwari in Maharashtra which has not been detected though practically one year has passed.

But this subject is limited to the secessionist and terrorist activities in certain parts of our country and, therefore, I will confine myself to the aspect of the matter only.

Really speaking, law and order is basically a State subject and the State List itself mentions 'Public Order' and 'Police' as the items which are related to the States. As far as the Union Government is concerned, the Union List merely records item 2A which refers to deployment of armed forces or other para-military forces in aid of the States. But in the Concurrent List, the subjects of crimes, including the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code and detention have been included. So, from that aspect, the Centre is also responsible. This is not to say that the Centre can play an alibi by saying that States are merely responsible for this law and order situation and the deteriorating part of it. But many of these problems... (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Chairman, Sir, rise on a point of order. Just before five minutes when you were in the House, I had raised a question of security. Just now, I telephoned to my house. I was informed that my secretary Ms. Jay Jetli, who was standing on the gate of my house, has been arrested by the Police on the plea that nobody can stand there. Now she is in police station. If anybody wants to enter my house he is stopped by the police. Hon. Home Minister should state whether I can go home or not. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is most shameful issue that a person can't come out from the house of an M.P.... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seats. Listen to me. You must know about decorum of the House that you have to sit when Chairman is standing here. Mr. Tirkey you are a senior member. Hon. Minister of Home Affairs is here and some steps will be taken against the problems being faced by the hon. Members.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: It is not an issue related to point or order raised by him. It is an issue relating to the arrest of a person who belongs to the family of M.P.

MR. CHARMAN: Nobody should be arrested.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Has a curfew or an emergency been clamped in Delhi.

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR (Gaya): It is a matter of regard that a woman has been picked up from her home. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I request you that she may be got released at once. It is a serious matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Since it is a serious matter, I am asking you whether such incident has taken place in your house as Shri George Fernandes has narrated? No. So he has raised a point of order. It is a serious matter. Anybody who is a member of the family of an MP or belongs to his security.....

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please be seated. There should be some order in the House.

SHRI RAM PRASAD SINGH (Bikramganj) Mr. Chairman, Sir, since the question has been raised in the House, it has ceased to be his personal matter, it is a matter of the House now. When we were coming, we too were detained for two hours.

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: Has emergency has declared in Delhi? Will this Government do something? *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI RAM PRASAD SINGH: We are discussing law and order situation and the people responsible for maintaining it are violating it...*(Interruptions)* ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You all please take your seats. We are discussing law and order situation. You can raise this matter during the discussion on it. I will ask the Home Minister to take note of this particular incident and make some arrangement in this regard.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are not listening to the Home Minister, it is not good. Please listen to the hon. Minister. This is not the way. He has raised a question which will be replied to by the hon. Minister. If all of you will stand up and start speaking, that will not solve the problem? You have to be seated when I am standing, you have to be seated. that is the practice.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will go just now and find out the position from the police. Mr. George has just now complained that the police has taken away a girl forcibly from the front side of his house, she must have been detained in the police station. Sufficient arrangement will be made so that you do not face any difficulty, if you go there.

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: It is not the question of one Member ... *(Interruptions)*

...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you go on speaking like that?

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: The Home Minister has just now said that he would ascertain the position from police. Has Shri George given a wrong report?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Are you asking this thing from me?

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: We are asking through you.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will go to the Police Station and if we are arrested on our way, you would be responsible.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM): What Shri George has said may be true.

[English]

It is possible that sometimes overzealousness creates unnecessary hurdles. We shall see. The hon. Minister has gone to look into it. Please do not play on it. Please wait.

[Translation]

...(Interruptions)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Home Minister has gone to find out the exact position. Shri Kumaramangalam is sitting in the House. So it is not good to create fuss. Digheji, you may continue your speech.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now Shri Sharad Dighe may continue.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE: Sir, as far as these terrorist and secessionist activities are concerned, we would like to have the figures from the hon. Minister of Home Affairs himself as to whether these mindless and senseless killings of innocent persons have risen since this government has come into power and if it has risen, to what extent it has risen and if it has decreased, then what is the proportion to which it has decreased. We would like to know these details so that this House can form the proper perspective of that situation.

As we read in the newspapers, the senseless killings of innocent people are not only going on out of the limits of Punjab, but they have extended to different other States of this country also.

Now, in the neighbouring State of Haryana there had been at Sirsa daylight killings of several people and that has also been brought to the notice of this House at the proper time. It has also reached the other States, not only the neighbouring State of Haryana or U.P. between it has gone to Maharashtra. In Maharashtra also we have seen that there was an explosion of bomb in the suburban local train at Kalyan and recently we have read the Intelligence Report appearing in certain sections of the newspapers that even at Nanded, the home town of the Home Minister, there have been also certain activities of terrorists noticed by the Intelligence Department. So, we would like to know exactly what is the position as far as the extension of the terrorists' activities from Punjab to the other States of this country is concerned so that we can also get a proper assessment of the situation.

Now, Sir, I read from some of the replies given to the starred and Unstarred Questions either in Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha that in U.P. nine districts are affected by terrorists' violence. This reply has been given on 25th November 1991.

Similarly, as far as Kashmir is concerned, it has been stated in the Lok Sabha on 29th August 1991 that from 1990 up to 30th June 1991, 1,833 explosions took place in Jammu and Kashmir, 553 terrorists were killed on the border and 299 elsewhere. So, *prima facie* it appears that these activities of the terrorists are going on well as far as even different States are concerned.

Now, we have also seen that there have been certain steps taken by the Government. For example, as far as Kashmir is concerned, I read that these two actions — Operation Flush Out and Operation Deliberate — have been taken to achieve success, and they have achieved unparalleled success. That is the claim of the Government. We would like to know the details about these actions which have been taken. Now, Operation Flush Out was carried out by the Army in October to round up the terrorists and unearth their arms dumps especially at

places like Rainawari and Pattamalla and down town area of Srinagar. So, I would like the Home Minister to give details about these actions which they have taken in the cases of these Operation Flush Out and Operation Deliberaté which is the network of solid concrete bunkers especially in vulnerable areas there.

Therefore, as far as the Government is concerned, it appears that the Government is very seriously taking action against the militants and terrorists and trying to squeeze out all these activities as far as not only Kashmir and Punjab are concerned, but even the other States which are also affected by the terrorists' activities. But I need not emphasise that really speaking these are not the law and problems only. Really speaking, these are political problems. Therefore, unless political solutions are found out, we cannot expect these activities to go down in a particular way. Therefore, as early as possible, the Government should work out political solutions to Punjab and Kashmir problems. Then only we can get the real solution as far as the terrorist and secessionist activities are concerned. That will apply to Assam also. My hon. friend has already stated in detail the difficulties of the Assamese people and from that point of view, political solution will have to be found out as early as possible in order to meet the situation that has been created in Assam due to ULFA activities. then, it is also connected with the external help and therefore, on the diplomatic level, these issues will have to be taken up with our neighbouring countries and international pressure will have to be sufficiently brought on Pakistan to close the training camps and also the supply of arms to terrorists. Now, negotiations with China are also going to take place. There is some good response from UK and there are some hopes that USA will also take some steps to stop these training camps in Pakistan. So, it is not only the job of the Home Ministry alone, but the External Affairs Ministry also should take up all these issues with all our neighbours and try to get help from them in order to solve all these problems.

Then, as far as kidnapping is concerned, no doubt there has always been a shift in the policy from the very beginning till today. Therefore, my submission is that the time has come now that we should have a definite and firm policy as far as kidnappings are concerned. Kidnapping is done either for creating ransom or for getting released the convicts of the under-trial prisoners who are involved in some heinous crimes. Therefore, the Government should give a firm signal to the militants. They have already given that signal in the case of Mr. Radu that hereafter we shall not release any convicts who are involved in some criminal activities. That signal was necessary since long and I would congratulate the Government for having given that signal. The militants should know that by kidnapping somebody, they cannot get their colleagues released from the Government of India or from any other State. That firm signal has been given and that should be continued. In that respect, I would also suggest that kidnapping should be made a principal offence and capital punishment must be given to the kidnappers. This is a world phenomenon and throughout the world the experience is that whenever an amendment is made in the law providing stern punishment to the kidnappers, then the crime to that extent had gone down. That is the experience in USA and UK; Scotland has got the full record of dealing with kidnappers and they had taken certain steps. We must also examine what steps they had taken and if we can adopt those steps which are appropriate to this country, then I think that will also create a good atmosphere to solve this problem. Therefore, the Government should think again and examine the feasibility of bringing law by which kidnapping is made a principal offence. I think, that will also help to reduce this menace.

As far as the other activities are concerned, namely the activities which amount only to crime because of several social problems, we cannot deal with those things in this particular discussion because as stated in the beginning, this is confined to secessionist and terrorist activities and kidnapping.

[Sh. Sharad Dighe]

Therefore, I submit that we should not deal with the whole problem in this House today. That would be going too far because then we can discuss atrocities on Harijans, atrocities on women. We can discuss several other problems and also try to analyse and find out the social causes for all of them also but today we are confined to other aspects. Therefore my submission is today the Central Government should concentrate on the political aspects of those problems and also try to see that definite policy is laid down as far as kidnapping is concerned and if possible, proper, suitable amendments are made in the laws so that kidnapping is made a principal offence.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Bihar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the terrorism, secessionism and separatism is going on in this country unabated. Killings and kidnappings are also going on. I feel pity that when the discussion is going on in this House, the Home Minister is really helpless. When I was a school student at that time we used to read *Our India*. There was a passage in that book—India's unity lies in its diversity. From Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, that is one nation. But that concept has gone and it has gone when there was a partition of India on the 15th of August, 1947.

I think, my BJP friends will also agree with me that the majority fanaticism is more dangerous than minority fanaticism and that Hindu fanaticism helps to create the condition to divide India.

I do not like to give the figures as my friend, Shri Sharad Dighe has given just now. The killing is going on. We are not giving much importance to the figure which may be 50 or 60 or 100 killings. But we are human beings. We have to admit that when a child is killed, for its father and mother, it is a question of loss of their son or daughter. When she loses her husband for the wife it is not a question of figure but it is a question of the loss of her husband as she, in effect, lost everything.

It is now crystal clear that the Central Government today has completely failed to counter terrorism. It was in the morning in just like broad day light kidnapping, when the Romanian diplomat, Mr. Radu was kidnapped from the crowded street of New Delhi. He also returned by a train after 48 days, which train was also a crowded one. During those 48 days, he stayed in Delhi itself for some days in some Government official's bungalow and in Jullunder. At that time, your police was so helpless and callous.

I say it is the callous attitude of the Police. This is the adjective I can put to it. They were not able to do anything. The release of Mr. Liviu Radu from the clutches of the Sikh terrorists will not go to the credit of the Indian Government. It was the Western powers, Rumania, England, and America who tried to pressurise Pakistan to release Mr. Liviu Radu and it is known to us that the Under-Secretary of State of USA Mr. Reszinland Berthlomiou had gone to Islamabad and had a talk with the Prime Minister and with the President of Pakistan on the issue of release of Mr. Liviu Radu. Mr. Reszinland Berthlomiou went to Pakistan and he met the Director-General of Inter-Services Intelligence and particularly he had a long talk with Mr. Afzal and Mr. Sajjad Asraf of ISI. Comrade S. Indrajit Gupta also referred to it the other day while moving 193 motion. It was also a fact that these two persons Mr. Afzal and Mr. Sajjad Asraf were the main architects to operate terrorism in the terai area of UP and Himachal Pradesh and Bihar also with headquarters at Kathmandu, Nepal. My BJP friends should know that there is no ethics or morality if a Hindu kingdom allows Muslim terrorists to operate. You boast of Nepal being a Hindu country. But here our friend Nepal is giving shelter to Pakistani Muslim terrorists. In the Gulf War, Muslims fought against Muslims. But Nepal being a Hindu country, it is giving shelter to Muslim terrorists. We do take international decisions on economic grounds. They give shelter to these Afzal and Sajjad Asraf. It is also known to us how the Congress Chief Minister of Assam said that the Alfa are being trained in Bangladesh and Bangladesh Government

is behind the terrorists of North-Eastern region.

A few days back there was a Conference in London on Kashmir issue under the indirect initiative of Pakistan. It was held on the last 17th November. In that Conference, the main speaker was the so called Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Quaim Khan. It was also reported that 13 Members of British Parliament attended that International Conference. It is not a matter of joke when 13 members attended it. They were present and naturally they spoke against India.

My friends of the BJP were talking about revocation of Article 370. What is the position? Withdrawal of Article 370 is a danger for the nation also. It is not only before 1947. Now the majority communal feeling is more dangerous. It is not the minority fundamentalism. It is the majority fundamentalism Hindu fundamentalism which can destroy the country, and if you move in this way, it will create many problems in the future.

Terrorism is not only a national issue. It is an international issue. What is the opinion of the hon. Minister in this matter? Will the hon. Minister please tell us his opinion? What is your High Commissioner's Office doing? Are they aware of it? Is the High Commissioner and the Ambassador aware of it? The motto of the Foreign Office is to eat, drink and be merry. I think you will never be able to counter terrorism if our Embassies behave in this fashion. I have got a newspaper cutting. It was published very much in the dailies Anand Bazar Patrika, the Statesman, Bartaman and Aaz Kal. Of course, all these are newspapers published from Calcutta. The Bangladesh Deputy High Commissioner Shri Syed Noor Hassain called a Press Conference which is beyond the jurisdiction of a diplomat. He called that Press Conference on 3rd December 1991 in Calcutta. In that Press Conference he said that it is Shri Hiteswar Saikia who is making a luxury of political adventurism. He made that allegation. But the Chief Minister of Assam Shri Hiteswar Saikia made an allegation that Bangladesh is aiding and providing training

facilities to the insurgent groups like the United Liberation Front of Assam. This is an allegation made by Shri Hiteswar Saikia, the Chief Minister of Assam. On what grounds he made such allegation? I am not going into the details. But if Shri Hiteswar Saikia's activities or his speeches are condemnable, we shall condemn them. But what right has the Deputy High Commissioner or the Ambassador got to make such an allegation? Is this a right thing? Who gave him this right?

Sir, there are so many diplomatic officials in this country. But all are not doing like that. Regarding the Tin Bigha issue also, he made some references. This issue is unnecessarily giving some troublesome position to the three political parties - the Forward Bloc, the BJP and a section of the Congress people. In that Press Conference the Deputy High Commissioner made an allegation. He said in that Press Conference that most of the Indian Newspapers are in the habit of making false propaganda against Bangladesh; the Press Reports are based on unscrutinised information and most of the newspapers are irresponsible. From where has he got this right to make such an allegation?

I think he has violated all the norms, decorum, decency of an Ambassador. Already, the West Bengal Government has sent a protest note to the Central Government asking it to take up the case with the Government of Bangladesh. But I think this Central Government has not done anything tangible. This is your attitude when Shri Hiteswar Saikia took the position that these terrorists are being trained in Bangladesh. On that issue, the Bangladesh High Commissioner is making such a statement. Regarding that statement, the West Bengal Government has appealed you to take up the case with the Bangladesh Government. It has sent information to you to start negotiations with the Government of Bangladesh. Why is the diplomat making such a statement? But you do not react to that. This is the position. This is a very serious matter.

[Sh: Amar Roy Pradhan]

In this connection I appeal to the hon. Home Minister to be sincere to this country in dealing with this matter. The fundamentalist forces, separatist forces and secessionist forces are spreading their ugly heads throughout the country. We have to take some steps to stop this. Let the Government chalk out a programme. If the Government would like to chalk out the programme, that would be helpful. The Government must look into the activities of the fundamentalist forces. It should ban such forces.

Regarding the socially backward people like the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, the Government must find some solution to solve their problems. Land Reforms must be implemented in full so that the problems can be solved. The Government must come forward to do this. Then only you can stop terrorism in this country.

With these words, I conclude. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Pius Tirkey, What do you want? Shri E. Ahamed, please take your seat. Shri Pius Tirkey, what is your point of order?

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduars): We have got four Members. There are some parties having two Members, one Member etc. But they have so far not been given the chance to speak. That is why I am asking you Sir, as to what is the order - partywise - to call the Members who want to speak on behalf of their party?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am calling according to the order that was already prepared.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: No, not according to the order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have called Shri Amar Roy Pradhan, who is from the Forward Block.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: How many Members he had Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever may be the number, is he not a Member of this House? When you turn comes, I will call you. Please be seated.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SR. S.P. YADAV (Sambhal): I have been waiting for my turn for a long time. (Interruptions)

.....**.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: That will not get on record.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whenever you get the chance, I will call you.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri): Sir, the country is passing through a sad and dangerous phase. I would like to participate in this discussion with a mixed feeling; mixed feeling because, on the one hand, we find some elements who are on inimical terms with the peace and tranquility of this House and on the other hand, the terrorists, militants and also criminals, who are creating not only law and order problems but also are posing a threat to the very unity of the country. But, unfortunately, they are people who all along the line are having ultra communal feelings and propagating a division among the people. At the same time glad that, we find some matured elements who want peace in the country by even putting up a stiff opposition to these terrorists, militants and the criminals, who are creating violence, killings and also law and order problems. Under these circumstances, we all should stand as one nation to protect the sacred values of our founding fathers of this nation and also to protect the very unity and integrity of this country.

I do not want to take much of the valuable time of this House narrating what the hon. Members have said yesterday and today. I would like to confine myself to only one or two points namely communal killings that have been taking place in the country for the last several years. I have with me the answer given by the hon. Minister of State for Home, Shri M.M. Jacob to unstarred question No. 566. According to the hon. Minister, in 1989 14 communal riots have taken place in the country. In 1990 it was 24. And in the riot that took place in 1989, the number of people who were killed as a result of this communal riots was 915 including 413 persons in Bagalpur. In 1990, in the 24 riots took place according to the official reports, the people killed were 692, including 113 in Hyderabad and 112 in Aligarh. In 1991, 24 riots took place not including the Varanasi riot where the death toll has not been shown so far.

These killings have been taking place in this country, a democratic country, a country committed to secularism! This is really reprehensible. The members of the minority community feel insecure under the circumstances prevalent in the country.

In the recent past there is a sharp decline in the law and order situation. The police had been used to suit the political designs of the ruling party in some States - a point here to mention is the case in Uttar Pradesh. The recent riots in Varanasi about which there were mentions in through the House though not discussed threadbare, there were some discussions and opinions expressed on the floor of the House where it has been mentioned that the killings could have been avoided had the police done their duty impartially.

Unfortunately we find, it is very much disgraceful for the Government, that the State constabulary, the police, had been taking part in the killings of innocent people on religious ground. It is very much disgraceful. Also in Varanasi it has been mentioned in the House that while no other political party leader was allowed to enter into the curfew

bound areas, only the local MP was allowed. Such things are happening unfortunately in this country. What is frightening is not just the death toll on account of the police brutality which became a common feature, but what is frightening is the people's loss of confidence in the Government, the Government machinery and the impartiality of the system. It is a dangerous phenomenon in this country.

Therefore I request the hon. Home Minister to have a system by which no guilty police official or policeman shall escape. Otherwise it will be condoning the police misdeeds, the consequences of which will be far far larger than the death unfortunately taken place in Varanasi. Therefore the administration should behave in an impartial way.

Quite unfortunately the menace of communal riots has grown as a cancerous disease on the body politic of our country. We all should put our heads together to find out how we will be able to stop it or atleast to prevent it. Perhaps that will be one of the greatest services that we people will be doing for this country.

I am of the view that the propaganda let loose by some of the political parties or some of the people who are on inimical terms with some religious groups is one of the reasons for this communal riot. A case in point according to me is, there are some elements and parties which are propagating some myths about the minority community and this aroused a strong sense of resentment among the common people in the majority community. They will be looking down upon the members of the minority community as unpatriotic and also as anti-national. Such things later go to uncontrollable levels resulting in the communal killings in this country.

17.00 hrs.

It is not correct to say-even to maintain-that the Muslims of this country are not part of the mainstream. We are and they are. The mainstream cannot be monopolised by any

[Sh. E. Ahamed]

section of people or any group or any party. One cannot distinguish between the religious identity and the national identity. Jews in America had a strong sense of separate identity. It is not necessary that a separate identity implies a separate national identity. Late lamented Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a personification of both national identity and religious identity. Therefore, any propaganda by any interested element in this field should be stopped. The duty of the administration is also to ensure the safety and security of the minority community. May I mention a few words about the speech made by my learned friend, Shri Khurana, yesterday in the House? During his speech, he has criticised some of the views of Shri Farooq Abdullah, the son of Kashmir. I am not holding any brief for Shri Farooq Abdullah and I am also not in agreement with many of the things that he has done during his tenure. But one thing we must say and that is this. It was Shri Sheikh Abdullah along with great Jawaharlal Nehru who were responsible for the instrument of accession. People like Shri Farooq Abdullah had been advocating continuity and also committed to the nation that Kashmir is an integral part of the country. That is our view. We will not allow anybody to separate Kashmir from the Indian Union. That will affect the numerical strength of the Muslim minority in this country. We will be the first and the last people who will oppose any move by anybody to separate Kashmir from the Indian Union. Kashmir is an integral part of the country. But, at the very same time, nobody can make the Kashmiris to give up their psyche and their identity. It is a psychological matter. They have their psyche and they have their identity. We must also bring them into the national mainstream.

In one of the speeches made by senior colleague of ours in this House, Shri Indrajit Gupta, it has been mentioned that - it is a quotable quote - 'We have the soil of the Kashmir; not the soul of the Kashmir'. I also underline that it should be our endeavour, at any cost, to see that we take the soul of

Kashmir with the people of Indian Union. That cannot be done with bullets; that cannot be done by bullying. Therefore, people like Shri Farooq Abdullah and the secular, national elements like him are to be taken into confidence. We have also to go and speak to the people of Kashmir in their own language. We have to use the word to attract their hearts. Mere argument and propaganda of this kind will not do. It is in this context that I say the *Ekta Yatra* taken out today by the BJP was quite unfortunate. It will divide the people. Therefore, it is time for every Indian who love this country, who has a commitment to this country and who has the national commitment to maintain the unity and integrity of the country - to join together and stand as one man against the fissiparous tendencies, against the elements who are dividing our people. That is going on to divide the very hearts of the people. That will be a dangerous phenomenon for the country.

So, all of us should stand as one man to meet the dangers posed to the country. At the very same time, may I say that the minority community should be given protection? They must also feel a sense of security of their lives, of their property and honour.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Does the Home Minister intend to tell something?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He might have already an arrangement.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Actually I had gone to talk with the Police Commissioner Mrs. Jetley, who happens to be the Secretary of Mr. George Fernandes, was picked up because of the fact that some of the Tibetans were trying to get very near the area. That is why we did not want to take chance. But I have asked them to release her immediately.

Since the House is going to rise at 6 o'clock, every arrangement will be made that Members reach their houses well in time.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Have you ordered the release of Tibetans?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: That I can't.

what action was taken against the terrorists.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He cannot give that undertaking.

17.08 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Now, Dr. S.P. Yadav will speak. Dr. Yadav, two Members have already spoken from your party. You passed some remarks against the Chair. That is why I am giving you this caution.

Similarly, on 8th October, 1991 six policemen posted at Police Station in Dhannaura Mandi were killed by terrorists but till now it is not known whether any action has been taken against the terrorists. Ramleela was being organised at Rudrapur in October. There was a bomb blast during the Ramleela in which 55 persons lost their lives.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: Out of anger.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: One should know where he stands.

[*Translation*]

DR. S.P. YADAV: Mr. Chairman, Sir, Under Rule 193 we are discussing the deteriorating situation of law and order in the country with special emphasis on terrorism, killings and kidnapping etc. in the country.

This way, terrorism is rampant in Uttar Pradesh in these days. Very recently a threat appeared in the "Dainik Jagran", Jhansi of 6-7 December which we read and it was stated in that report that the Police Chief (Director General of Police) and the Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh won't be able to see the dawn of 1st January, 1992. It is a very serious situation, an alarming situation of course. It is a matter to be given serious thought by the Central Government but what could the Central Government think in this matter is well known to us. Ninth Lok Sabha was dissolved only because of the race for the post of the Prime Minister and with the result elections to the Tenth Lok Sabha were held. What was the law and order situation during the elections to the Tenth Lok Sabha? What to talk of deteriorated law and order situation in Punjab, Bengal, Assam, Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh, former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was killed in Perumbadur. I wonder what the CBI and CID were doing? Where was law and order? If at all did it exist, how was it possible to kill the former Prime Minister? He was killed and the entire country mourned his death but our Chief Election Commissioner, Shri T.N. Seshan postponed the elections for Legislative Assembly and Parliament by 25 days. It is not known how many candidate suffered financial loss.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel that terrorist activities in North India began with the creation of Bangla Desh in 1971. The fact is that regionalism, economic disparities, unemployment, favouritism, dishonesty, corruption, fanaticism, historic events, political and geographical reasons, cultural conflicts, laxity on the part of judiciary and increasing corruption, inaction on the part of the Government employees all such reasons gave rise to terrorist tendencies, killings and kidnappings in the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would not talk about the terrorists activities in Punjab and Kashmir, as many hon. Members have already expressed their views in the House about the killings by terrorists in these areas. But I would like to speak, especially about Uttar Pradesh as I hail from there. The terrorism has spread from Punjab and Kashmir to Uttar Pradesh. This way many areas of Uttar Pradesh are in the grip of terrorism now. In September, 1991 a SDM and a Kanoongo of Vilaspur Tehsil of Rampur district were kidnapped near my constituency and they were released in a dramatic manner. Nobody knew

It is no use to discuss terrorism and kidnappings in our country. Is it possible to check such activities? We discuss things in this House only under some section and leave them there in the House and forget.

[Dr. S.P. Yadav]

Prior to this the Prime Minister was also killed. Very recently a freedom fighter, former Minister and a senior leader was killed in Andhra Pradesh. We pay homage and there ends the matter and no action is taken in the matter. I believe that so long as favouritism, employment, atrocities on and suppression of people will continue, the proverb 'idle mind is a devil's workshop' will continue to prove true. There won't be any abatement in terrorism, kidnappings and killings. Kidnapping has become an industry these days and many extremists, politicians and some dacoits have joined this industry. Uttar Pradesh is on the top in the incidents of kidnappings. There were 3878 cases of kidnapping in 1990. It is followed by Bihar, where 2138 cases of kidnapping took place. Then there is Rajasthan where 2107 people were kidnapped and 2681 people were kidnapped in the Union Territory during the past three years. The rate of ransom demanded per kidnapping in Ghazlabad and Delhi is Rs. 50 lakh each. Investment wise it is the cheapest industry and no action is going to be taken.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, therefore, keeping in view the fast deteriorating situation, it would be better to call a meeting of the leaders of all parties and form late a national policy and then this policy should be implemented. Then alone some solution of the problem is possible. Then forces engaged in combating terrorism possess inferior weapons. The people having inclination towards terrorism are in possession of the sophisticated foreign weapons. When six policemen were killed in Dhanaura, they possessed 315 bore rifles and the terrorists had A.K.-47 and AK-74 rifles. How unfortunate it is? I would like to suggest that the respected people of the areas where terrorist activities are on the increase should be given licences for AK-47 rifles. If licences are issued for A.K.-47 and A.K.-74 rifles, people would be able to protect themselves. Besides, police protection should be provided to the people living in border areas. The most important things is that the police itself should be brought under control. Hon. Home Minister is present here.

I was coming to Delhi on 22nd of the last month to attend the meeting of Public Accounts Committee. My railway seat was reserved from Moradabad in the first class compartment but two policemen entered the cabin and started breaking it while uttering abuses. Later on both of them placed their rifles on the glass panes. In this regard, I had sent complaints to the Hon. Prime Minister, Home Minister and the Railway Minister but no action has been taken in this matter so far. The situation about the Police has already been made clear by the Member who spoke before me. If the Police Administration is not brought under control, the saviours will turn devourers, as they are virtually now. This will not improve the situation in the country. It is very necessary to put the under check.

Corruption is at its peak in Police Administration. There was a time when police was considered as the biggest corrective department in the society but now it has gone other way and the terrorist tendencies in the society are on the increase like anything and there is a nexus between police and terrorists. The hon. Home Minister should attach special importance to this discussion with a view to bringing these terrorist tendencies under control. I urge upon the hon. Home Minister that the discussion may not be reduced to a formal type of discussion. A meeting of the leader of all parties should be convened and the points which he considers good should be discussed in it for finding a solution. Otherwise coming days are very crucial and it would be very difficult of solve the problem. We will think that if the Congress Government has failed to save its former Prime Ministers, how can it save the public. It is a testimony to their incapability.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

[English]

KUMARISELJA (Sirsa): There has been an increase in terrorist activities in the country and especially so in the north, where it has spread outward from Punjab. In the past two to three years, terrorists have gradually infiltrated into the States neighbouring

Punjab, viz. Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

There have been many serious incidents in Haryana earlier, where the militants have struck with vengeance. There was a bomb blast in Kurukshetra, there were killings in Daryapur, Panipat, Dabwali, etc. The latest incidents in this chain have been at Sirsa and Tohana.

The State Government has its own problems, but the Central Government cannot escape from its responsibilities. There has been a shortcoming on the part of the Central Government, where intelligence agencies are concerned. They have not been able to provide timely intelligence information to the States.

It is a well-known fact that terrorists have better and much more sophisticated weapons than the State police force. The terrorists do not operate with anything less than A-12s and A-47s, while our police is left grouping with 303 rifles. The State Government has asked time and again for more equipment from the Centre, which includes AK-47s, SLRs carbines, transmitters, etc.

Till now, the Central Government has not even decided as to what kind of weapons be provided to the State Police; nor has it supplied anything substantial. The Central Government should decide what kind of weaponry it should decide what kind of weaponry it should give to the State and it must do so fast.

The State police does not have proper training needed to combat terrorism. They need to be given different kind of training to face the new challenges. They can only wield sticks over the common man and when it comes to facing the terrorists, they do not even come out of the police stations. This was very much evident in the recent incident at Tohana where the terrorists spent about 45 minutes in the town, killing at will, even stopping and loading magazines in their AK-47s. They could have spent even another hour there and nobody would have stopped

them or even challenged them. The people are understandably very much upset about this. This is the result of a demoralised force which is illequipped and ill trained to face such a situation.

The Central Government has admitted that with the deployment of army in Punjab, pressure in the neighbouring States has naturally increased. Haryana itself has more than 500 Km. long border with Punjab comprising six districts of Ambala, Kurukshetra, Kaithal, Jind, Hissar and Sirsa. We have a large Sikh population and people of different communities have always lived together in peace and harmony here. The situation is still very much retrievable because the terrorists do not have sympathisers here. They come and go at will because the people fear them and the State Police is not able to provide protection to the people. In fact many of the people killed or kidnapped have been sikhs. In these border areas people should be given special civil defence training. Licences for arms should be given much more liberally to the people for their self-defence.

As I said, the other day, while Punjab has about 400 companies of paramilitary forces, Haryana has only three, which I am sure you will agree is quite negligible. We should be given at least 10-15 more companies. If we do not have enough CRPF companies, I think we can raise more. It will also provide more employment to the people. If we include the damage that has been done in terms of human loss and other property loss, it will be much less.

The Central Government should also give Rs. 30 crores more to us, as requested by our Government to protect the border areas. So that we can have more police stations, check-posts, vans, transmitters, etc. in these areas. It should also allow the State Government to raise more force which is better trained, and better equipped with better weaponry. This expenditure should be met by the Centre.

The army operations in Punjab alone will not yield any tangible results because

[Kumari Selja]

most of the terrorists have already moved out to other States. There should be a concerted effort by all the affected States to combat the problem and the Central Government should act as the modal agency.

The Central Government should face to its responsibilities and as has been said by many hon. Members, the problem of terrorism should be treated as a national problem rather than an isolated one confined to the State of Punjab alone.

SHRI B.N. REDDY (Miryalguda): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at the very outset, I should say that the deterioration of the law and order situation is as a matter of fact a product of the ruling party, that is the Congress (I). It is the experience of our State of Andhra Pradesh that some of the Congress (I) ruling groups are in the habit of pursuing the politics of murder in order to keep themselves in power. In the game of politics in order to maintain power, they even go to the extent of using naxalites for this purpose. Many of our party leaders and also the Opposition leaders were murdered. Some of the leaders who were murdered were S/Shri Sundarbasayya and Narsayya. Since 1983 thousands of our party leaders, and recently in the last year some nine leaders of Telugu Desam Party, in one district of Andhra Pradesh, were murdered. In this way, dozens of our workers and prominent party leaders were murdered since 1983.

During the last two years, nine Telugu Desam leaders in Nalgonda district were axed to death and eleven workers of CPI(M) and their leaders were murdered in the day light by their killer squads. To mention a few, a prominent worker of our Party Shri Luda-raiah, Sarpanch of Uppalancha was murdered in the broad day light. Another Sarpanch of Thakkelapady by name Shri Kishan was dragged out of the bus and was axed to death.

In the 1989 General Elections - it is a historical open secret - under the Leadership

of Shri Chenna Reddy, Congress got the majority and that too with the help of naxalites. As a gesture, Shri Chenna Reddy, opened all the gates in the name of bringing the terrorist groups to the national mainstream. The history proved otherwise. They are utilising the offer of Shri Reddy and collected crores of rupees for getting arms. They have entered the cities from the forest area and in a span of three years, thousands of killings not only of the Congress, but also of our party workers in Nalgonda and War-rangal have taken place. They have also killed the other opposition party leaders in the name of elimination of caste/class enemies. It also includes the recent murder of an ex-Minister. Shri Hygrivachari, a prominent leader of the Congress was killed in the city of Warrangal. In this way, now, the people's war group is actually ruling the northern part of Telengana. It is also a fact that some of the ruling party leaders are encouraging the killing squads to kill people, belonging to the Opposition. So, in this way, it has back-fired the Congress (I) ruled State.

There is a proverb in Telugu - Bhasmas-ura hastham. The man who benefited from Brahma was finished off by Brahma himself. So, in this way, the Congress (I) Government's policies have backfired. Now, the entire State is under terrorists' rule, under the gun rule. This is the position.

Thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Pa-drauna): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. We are discussing today in the highest forum of the country how terrorism can be checked. Some of my friends rightly said and I would also like to do some plain speaking on it, that if a leader of the stature of Indira Gandhi who was the Prime Minister of the country could not check it even after sacrificing her life, we should be ashamed of it. The terrorism has been checked and terrorists are assassinating great men. In fact it increased with each dose of medicine. There

is a saying "Jyon Jyon Dava Ki Teyon Teyon Marz Badhta Gaya". Terrorism spread from Punjab to Kashmir, then to Assam, Madras and finally even in Uttar Pradesh.

Sir, the time at my disposal is very short. Kashmir, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh are most affected by it. Much has been said about Kashmir and some of my friends have pointed out that the terrorism in the valley is primarily because of communalism. I would like to ask them, where is the communalism in Kashmir? Some hon. Members said that minorities should be protected. That should certainly be done. All those who live in this country, irrespective of the religion they may profess, belong to this country and should have equal rights. What crime had the Hindus in Kashmir Valley committed for which 2 1/2 lakh Hindus were expelled. Nobody is bothered for them. Is there any part of the country where a minority community has been forced to migrate, except in Kashmir?

Terrorism is on the increase because the Government is silent and ineffective. The same is true in Punjab also. Indiraji was assassinated because of Punjab problem. Even today terrorist activities and terrorism is spreading like a wild fire. In fact the entire country is burning. Terrorism is spreading in Uttar Pradesh also. It is very serious there. A number of killings and murders have taken place. It is not within the control of Uttar Pradesh Government alone to deal with it because terrorism has become a world wide phenomenon. Except a few States terrorism has spread throughout the country. If it is not dealt with firmly at the national level, terrorism would engulf the entire country.

I want to draw your attention to my constituency, in particular, in this context. We often discuss Kashmir, Punjab and Pilibhit here, but the area of Uttar Pradesh from I come i.e. Deoria is also threatened by terrorism. The problem is no less serious there than in Pilibhit or Kashmir. Everyday there are incidents of kidnappings and murders in this area. Terrorism in Punjab and Kashmir is on some other issue but in our area the Narayani river which originates

from Nepal and flows down to Sonpur and Patna in Bihar is causing problem. It is causing a potential threat to the entire area. Our area is on the border of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and is adjacent to Nepal. The name of the terrorist group operating there is the 'jungle party'. They claim that they will be ruling that part of the land. They frequently come to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and forcibly kidnap people for ransom. Not only this, they claim this ransom as 'levy' and say that they are collecting 'levy'.

Sir, I had visited that area long back with the IG and DIG of Uttar Pradesh personally. The Chief of Jungle Party had come to the border at that time. He kidnapped many people of the neighbouring villages. Just by sheer coincidence they kidnapped one person of their own community. When that man pleaded that he belonged to their community they abandoned him and asked him to shall out the money. I would like to submit that these terrorists or dacoits do not have any caste or religion. Their aim is to loot and create panic.

About two months back a person was kidnapped along with his jeep in a place called khadda. His whereabouts are not known even today. Almost every day there are reports of kidnappings. Recently, the persons who have been kidnapped are employees of sugar factories, as there are many sugar factories in our area. They are forced to pay the ransom amount. A manager of a sugar factory gave me a letter which was written by the Jungle Party. They have demanded Rs. 3 lakh and the dead line is 1st January. They have also threatened in the letter that if he does not pay the amount he cannot survive. What will happen to him now? The police in that area had requested the State Administration to provide river police i.e. adequate force to patrol the river bank. Sir, the Narayani river is not an ordinary river. It is playing havoc with our lives. The floods are causing large scale soil erosion whereas it provides shelter to the Jungle Party. A demand was made that river police should be provided in the area which could at least do patrolling along the river banks and

[Sh. Ramnagina Mishra]

keep a vigil. Only then there could be a fall in such incidents.

I would like to submit to the hon. Home Minister that this matter does not relate to two States only but also to Nepal. When the police pressure builds up the terrorists flee to Nepal. The cane and khairra wood which is produced in the area is very precious. Besides goods are smuggled from Nepal and terrorists get refuge there. The border is a few hundred kilometre long. Uttar Pradesh is vexed with problem today just like Punjab. The terrorists from Punjab are occupying Western districts of Uttar Pradesh whereas the eastern districts are infested by terrorists from Nepal.

"Jasu Raj Priy Praja Dhukhari
So Nrip Avashya Narak Adhikari"

You may say anything but I would like that people should at least have a sigh of relief. What is happening in Pilibhit today? What happened in Rampur? Probably, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has met the Hon. Prime Minister and requested him that it is beyond his control. I would like to suggest that a joint police wing of Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh should be set up so that all the States could coordinate information about the terrorists. All these States should jointly make efforts to contain terrorism.

My another suggestion is for Nepal because it is an independent country. The Government of India should hold talks with Government of Nepal and emphasize that if terrorists enter Nepal they should be apprehended and handed over to Uttar Pradesh Government or the Central Government. It is true as one hon. Member has pointed out that discussion on terrorism has become a regular feature every year just like the discussion of floods. I would like to draw a simile from Ramayana here. Rawana lived near the ocean. He had committed a sin but the ocean had not committed any sin. In spite of that ocean was punished. Some

people say that Pakistan is harbouring terrorists and providing them arms. It is true. But it is also true that some elements within the country are giving refuge to terrorists. A strict watch should be kept on them.

"Dharo Shathon se shathata sadaiva
Ye neeti kabhi na bhoolo naresh"

We should firmly deal with criminals. The terrorists do not kill people belonging to one community alone. If the terrorists of Kashmir killed Hindus alone or the terrorists of Punjab killed Hindus alone we could have thought that it is a case of communal frenzy. The terrorists of Kashmir kill Muslims also and the terrorists of Punjab kill Sikhs also. Enemy does not have any religion or caste and, therefore, we should deal with them courageously and impartially.

I think the greatest threat that the country is facing today in respect of Kashmir is from Pakistan when the credibility of the rulers of Pakistan is on the decline, they start a propaganda campaign against India and mislead the masses by telling them that they have to take revenge from India because it has divided their country into two parts. The terrorists are getting lot of funds besides training and arms from Pakistan.

I would like to submit here that the enemy cannot even touch us what to talk of harming us. Rama would not have been able to kill Ravana and *Vibhishan* not leaked out his secrets. That is why I am saying that we have to keep a watch over the *Vibhishans* within the country. If we are able to check their activities only then would we be able to save the country. Those who are giving refuge to terrorists, those who hesitate to calling India as their motherland and those who hesitate in defending its borders, they would not only be committing treachery against the nation but against themselves also.

With these words, I appeal to the Government and to the entire nation that people of all religions should come together to fight terrorism and keep the country united. It is

only then that we can think of the country's welfare.

With this I conclude.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduars): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to the wave of terrorism and separatism that is lashing the country. The Government will have to think seriously in this regard. There is escalation in terrorism during the recent times not only in Punjab but also in Kashmir. There is no let up in the deteriorating situation and no hope also. The problem is worsening day by day. In fact it is spreading from the State to other State. So we will have to think where we have gone wrong and committed mistake. This problem is emerging everywhere. We will have to ponder seriously as to why all this is happening? What are the reasons? If we do not go into the reasons it will escalate and we will not be able to contain terrorism.

Even the Scheduled Areas have their own demands. It has taken the shape of naxalite movement. I mean to say that you maybe aware what happened to the movement in Nagaland. How many people were killed and how much atrocities were committed? Now the Government wants that after 15 years they should be given a small State and be appeased. Similar movements were launched in Meghalaya and Mizoram. Besides, the demands of ULFA there is demand for Bodoland. I want to say that efforts must be made to bring them on the negotiating table and solve the problems through negotiations. If the problem of terrorism is not solved, the terrorists would spread from Punjab to Madras. There are reports that terrorists are present everywhere whether it is Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or Delhi. There is nepotism in providing employment. Those who have lot of money they are with the terrorists and those who have not, they are working for them. We can neither give them work no self-respect or a reasonable standard of living. On the one hand there are 5-star hotels whereas on the other hand there are 5-10 lakh juggis in the same area. The police is meant for those

who cannot protect themselves particularly, the poor masses. But what we see today is that on the one hand 300 policemen are protecting and guarding a Minister and the bureaucrats are also enjoying the services of policemen for their household work, whereas on the other hand there is nobody to protect the poor masses. The black marketeer, shopkeeper, adulterator and even the police are looting them. They are being removed from pavements and beaten. Will this not give rise to terrorism? They have also right to live with self-respect but they are grouping in the dark. There is no hope for them. That is one of the reasons for terrorism. Another reason for terrorism is that our youth are idle, weak and unemployed. There are so wide disparities in our society that on the one hand there are people who have tons of money whereas on the other hand people do not have enough to keep their body and soul together. That is also one of the major reasons for terrorism. Some are bathing in Ganga water whereas other do not have even clean water. Terrorism is increasing because of unemployment and nepotism. Even for getting a job of a Police Constable one has to pay Rs. 10,000 as bribe. If terrorism has to be dealt with firmly the children of our country would have to be given right of self-respect. Their interests will have to be protected.

During the time of Britishers there were 620 States in the country. But even then there was no such problem. Why is it happening today? You should listen to the demands of youth. If their demand is not genuine, try to make them understand. The reasons which have led to terrorism should be removed. Police is primarily responsible for increasing terrorism. Innocent people are being killed. I do not want to generalise or hold all the policemen guilty but in many places there is nexus between the policemen and terrorists. The policemen fear that if they apprehend terrorists they may have to face serious consequences. They do not have sufficient courage today to arrest the terrorists.

The hon. Home Minister is sitting here.

[Sh. Pius Tirkey]

I would like to tell him that the situation in the country is not good. The making or unmaking of the country is in his hands. He should pay urgent attention in this direction because only then will the situation improve. They should be brought to the negotiating table. Their demands and grievances must be heard and if they have committed a mistake they should be made to understand. Simply by using force, by sending police or putting them in jail will not curb terrorism. All of them are citizens of this country and if they have committed a mistake intentionally or unintentionally, they should be made to understand things. Only then can we find a way out and solve the problem. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, discussion is being held in this House on the worsening law and order situation in the country. Discussions are being held in every session, but what are the reasons behind it. No effective suggestions are being given in this regard.....(*Interruptions*)..... Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was saying that law and order situation in our country has worsened and some effective suggestions should be given in this regard. The situation has not worsened in one or two days. It has worsened gradually. There are reasons behind it. But we hide those reasons. First of all, we continued to adopt wrong economic policies, which increased the economic disparity to such an extent that it led to discontent among the people and caused unemployment. Besides, there was sharp increase in corruption. In such a situation, the deterioration in law and order situation was natural.

The police administration in our country is for maintaining the law and order situation. But from the very beginning, it has been used by the Government for its own political benefits. The Government can be of any party. I don't want to say anything on it. But the main reason behind the police inactiveness is that it has been used to fulfil our own political interests and it has become a silent

spectator. We may abuse the police a lot today, but who is responsible for bringing them to such a situation? How it can be improved now. The political leaders had started taking benefits from the criminals and they were trying to get themselves elected through their help. If anyone is honest, he should accept this fact, so that the country could be saved from danger. They are taking help from the criminals, whether they are smugglers or dacoits. These criminals have got the opportunity to enter the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies also. They think that if they can help others, why can't they get themselves elected. The matter has reached to this extent. When they become elected members, they openly wander before the same police they were once afraid of. Can the morale of police be kept high in such a situation? Who is responsible for demoralising the police force? We should not act like this.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the State Government implemented the Land Ceiling Act and publicised through Doordarshan that all the Government land will be given to the landless, the Scheduled Castes and the backward tribes. But nothing was given to anyone. This will certainly give way to discontent. The Government made the publicity, but no one got a single inch of land. The law and order situation in our area is getting disturbed due to these land disputes also. Until now, this law was not implemented by any of the Governments. The present Government should be told to do so. Whatever may be the reason, but I must say that the opposition parties are also helping in this regard. I will ask the leftist parties to get it implemented. Until this law is implemented we cannot save the Government by helping it from outside. This is the first thing.

Sir, the issue of intelligence department is being raised. After all, what is this intelligence department? This is a component of the police department which gives information about different happenings in the country. This department should have been allowed to play an independent role. The

capacity of our intelligence department is in no way less than that of the intelligence departments in other countries of the world. But in regard to terrorism, it was never allowed to play an independent role. Development is being done in this country in the name of forwards and backwards. Is it in the interest of the country? There are two Congress M.L.As in my area. In a village, there is only one drain, which is located on the side where forwards are living. As regards the backwards, they are deprived of this facility. Can this be called development? But the Government never paid attention to what their Members are doing. For the last some years, there is sharp increase in extremism in my area. Everyday, killings are taking place there. Not a single day passes without a murder having taken place. Still the Scheduled Castes had to dig wells for drinking water and in the absence of which they are drinking unsafe water. The Bindeshwari Dubey Government had empowered the M.L.As to make recommendations for different development works like installation of hand pumps and digging up of wells, but all this development work is only taking place for the forwards. It is they who are behind the acts of booth-capturing. On the one hand, the poor and the Scheduled Caste are drinking dirty and impure water and on the other hand, several pumps and wells are there in the areas inhabited by the upper castes. Why does not the Government pay attention in this regard and why does it not bring a land-revolution. The entire fault lies with the Government, who was not able to bring about proper development and distribute it equally among all. The development has also been undertaken by keeping in mind the caste consideration. Won't the poor raise arms in such a situation? Today you are abusing Pakistan, but you have also helped Bangladesh to become free from Pakistan. Now Pakistan will also want to create same situation here. You are concerned about it, but if you want to save the country, you have to be concerned about other things also. The electoral system should be improved and legislation to this effect should be produced in the current session itself. Until changes are made in the electoral system,

the poor will not be able to cast their vote. The results are also before us in the form of armed uprising.

The Government talks about providing facilities to the Scheduled Castes. But actually, they do not get any facility. Today, those poor and innocent people are taking to extremism. They have left all hopes of getting anything. That is why, they are taking up arms. The country whose youth are poor and landless can never develop. I would like to suggest you to persuade the State Government to implement the land reforms immediately. You may not remain in power, but the country will be saved. You are afraid of being out of power if you put stress on them for implementing it.

I would request you to bring changes in the electoral system. If our hon. Minister has respect for the country and wants to save it, he should make changes in the electoral system in the current session itself so that the poor could get the right to vote and real representatives of the people could come to this House. If such representatives are elected, all the problems will end.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI LAETA UMBREY (Arunachal East): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Since hon. Member Shri Indrajit gupta, while initiating the discussion, has said that it is an important subject and this should be discussed cutting across party lines and as many other leaders from Congress have also stated the same thing, I would like to put forth my viewpoint honestly.

Sir, it is a matter of fact that the general law and order situation in the country is deteriorating with every passing day. It is spreading like a wild fire. Terrorist and secessionist groups, it seems, are well organised. It is well accepted that they have better and more sophisticated weapons and very well organised. They are striking at random whenever they want, in spite of the fact that

[Sh. Laeta Umbrey]

the Central Government and various State Governments have taken various measures to curb them.

18.00 hrs.

It is unfortunate that we are once again discussing this problem here today. When we talk about general law and order situation in the country, I would like to refer to certain actions which are going on.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIGHULAM NABI AZAD): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I propose that the sitting of the House be extended by another half-an-hour today. We have few more speakers. The reply of the hon. Home Minister can be tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House that the sitting of the House be extended by half-an-hour?

MANY HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The sitting of the House is extended by half-an-hour today.

[Translation]

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Sahasra): This was very important matter. The sitting of the House should be extended by two-three hours or one more day should be given for this discussion. The hon. Minister will reply to the debate tomorrow. Therefore, extend the sitting by the two-three hours. The entire House is in favour of it.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are 6-7 Members who are very much in time and are waiting to speak. Therefore, it is better that we given them an opportunity to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV: Please extend the sitting of the House in view of the feelings of the hon. Members ... (Interruptions)...

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri K.P. Raddaiah Yadav strongly pleads that we should sit and complete the discussion today. Is it so?

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us see for half-an-hour. Let the hon. Member continue.

[Translation]

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV: This is a very important matter. As hon. Minister will reply tomorrow, please extend the sitting by two hours. Of the extended time, the speakers will take one and half hours and the hon. Minister will take the rest half-an-hour. No subject can be more important than this.

[English]

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Sir, the time allotted for this is four hours. We have already completed nine hours.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Only nine hours!

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Only nine hours. I think, by the time it is completed we may end up with ten hours.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We shall just try to complete.

[Translation]

The issue is very important.

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: It may take another half-an-hour.

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let's see, how much can be completed in half-an-hour.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The point is that some of the hon. Members could not get a chance to speak. They may feel rather agitated. It is better to give chance to everybody.

[Translation]

Please also keep it in mind that the time is limited.

SHRI LAETA UMBREY: Please don't reduce the time allotted to me.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let Mr. Umbrey continue.

SHRI LAETA UMBREY: I was mentioning that some drastic amendments need to be done in our present democratic set up.

I am not a constitutional expert. But I have seen that the present set up has totally and miserably failed. We can judge it by so many examples. Many examples are still fresh in our minds.

Even if there is a stable Government in the Centre and a stable Government in the States who rally are committed for the development, some of the leaders who are aspirants for power-power-mongers-they want to raise certain issues- like Bofors, Mandir, Rath Yatra, Ekta Yatra etc. They raise issues and make *hungama* in the country. They will try to take full advantage of it. We must also see the reason behind this Yatra. Whenever these people realise that their presence are going to be forgotten, they will raise certain issues and then they will start telling the people as if they are the champions of the masses, poor and down-trodden people. And ultimately when they come to

power, they do nothing. I can cite the example of Assam. The All Assam Student's Union is Assam picked up the issues which the Congress Govt., could never solve. But they themselves also failed miserably in solving the problems. What happened during their full term five years? They were all engaged in grabbing money instead of solving the problems. When this group of boys came to power, they were shifting from the hostels of colleges and universities to the bungalows of the Ministers. Today they are all millionaires but problems remained unsolved.

These are the few instances about which I want to remind the hon. Members, specially the senior Members to think over seriously. Today, the way the new political parties are coming up, it seems the number of political parties will be fragmented to such a large extent that in 20-30 years, each Members may represent a different party, thereby we will never have a stable government in the country. The party which will be in power will never be able to do anything other than deploying armed forces to control increasing law and order problem. So, I request the hon. Members, particularly the senior Members to think very seriously about the tixi bilty of present set-up.

Sir, I do not want to say such about Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, but I will just give a few points about what I have in mind. The main reason for the problem in Kashmir according to me is that the people are fighting for their self-respect, dignity and honour it is the result of continuous and utter negligence on the part of the Central Government and mishandling of the minor issues of Jammu and Kashmir over many years, feeling of insecurity among the Muslim minorities and the most important reason behind are continuous Army excesses committed on the innocent people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Then about Punjab the reasons for the problem are their fight for self-respect, dignity and honour the feeling of insecurity and identity of the Sikh minority. Their education,

[Sh. Laeta Umbrey]

economy and the hard working race made them feel that India is liability to them. That is why they are fighting. So,

The Government he recently deployed Army in Punjab. With the deployment of the Army you are never going to solve the problem, you will never be able to conduct elections peacefully there because I have seen the Army excesses myself in Assam Also, I apprehend the same in Punjab. You will never be able to win the hearts of those people who are still on the balance. When they are subjected to torture, they will turn back towards the militants. That is why what I feel is that our approach to the problems obattitude towards Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir should be different from the presents the Government at the Centre is very much efficient and competent to deal with the situation. But my personal request is that wehid have a Minister specially assigned for Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir because our Ministers in the Home Affairs are overburdened with so many problems, they do not have enough time to devote to the problems of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. So, there should be a Minister exclusively in charge of Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab.

Then, about N.E. Region whenever the leaders of the North Eastern States come to Delhi to meet the Central leaders, they are never given proper attention and whoever visits North Eastern region once in life becomes the expert of the region. That is the most unfortunate thing. That is the most unfortunate thing. That is why we have not been able to solve the problems in Nagaland, Assam and Tripura. In Arunachal Pradesh, we have international borders for about 1,700 kms. in three directions with Burma, China and Butan. So the terroristis are recruiting the youth on a massive scale. This should be checked immediately. It is understood that the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh has also apprised the situation in the State to the Home Ministry and requesterd for more help but nothing has been done in this direction so far. This is very unfortunate. Once the

youth who are in the training camps are out, they will strike and it will be too late for us to solve these problem at that time. So, the government should act immediately in this respect.

Sir, I therefore, feel the whole approach to the North Eastern region problem will have to be reviewed and changed. Now, the All Bodo Students Union and the All Bodo problems Action Committee have given an ultimatum that if their demands are not met by 31st December, 1991, they will resume their agitation and Bodo land being the gateway to the North Eastern States, if there is an agitation in Bodo land, then the supply of materials and foodstuffs to all the North Eastern region will be stopped. So, I would request the hon. Minister to call the Bodo Union and discuss with them about their problems. Then, there are so many demands from different corners of the tribal people. I hope the hon. Home Minister who is very well experienced will definitely give sympathetic attention to ail these problems.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHIBU SOREN (Dumka): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing the law and order situation in the country which is continuously worsening. If we go deep into it, we will certainly find a reason for it. The main reason is the economic disparities existing in the country. This disparity can be of any type. Unemployment is also a reason behind it. Today, the educated unemployed and displaced unemployed are asking for a separate State and we take action against them against them by branding them as terrorists. We have to find the ways to remove this disparity. Even those graduates, who appear in a number of interviews and even get through in most of them do not get the jobs. Laws are enacted everyday, but they are not implemented.

I am a tribal and I belong to Jharkhand area whatever has been done for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities till now, has been done only on paper. If actually something has been done, it has

been done for men like me, who have become Members or have become educated and got job. Today, we only discuss the issue in the Parliament and the matter ends there. Why don't we go deep into it. From where Punjab problem arose? The people of the entire world can never forget the atrocities committed on the Sikhs following the assassination of the former Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Members of those families will take to terrorism only. The economic disparity has reached its extreme limits. The problem can only be solved if we review it deeply. Our Jharkhand is very rich in coal, iron and aluminium. The Government is acquiring all our land. Our condition is even worse than that of Bangladesh refugees. Why such a policy is framed? If factories are to be set up, the residents of that village should also get some benefit from it. But I would like to know from the Government whether it had constructed houses for them anywhere.

You will be surprised to see the condition of the houses constructed under the Indira Awas Yojana. They will collapse in just one jerk. Once I had asked the officials to stay in these houses for one night. I told them that we would not be responsible in the event of house collapse. You are only giving tenders, but what is happening behind them. There seems to be no limit of economic disparity.

Several hon. Members expressed their views here. The Government should accept the demand for small States. If it does so, there will be decentralisation of power and it will give happiness to the people. We don't want that the Jharkhand agitation should take an extremist turn and hope that the Government will consider the issue.

Today, extremism has come to every home. Rich as well as poor are taking to extremism. What can you say to them? The sons of the wealthy are committing more crimes than extremists themselves. The son of a high ranking official or a Minister can do anything and no action is taken against him as influence is exerted. At the most he can be

transferred. This is the state of affairs in the country and we only talk about poverty. But at the same time, we find that five-star hotels of the country remain always jam-packed. Therefore, I would like to submit that the formation of small states should also be considered, because this can solve a lot of problems. Regarding unemployment, I would like to suggest that as there are a number of factories in my area, and it is rich in coal, besides providing jobs, a number of other employment schemes can be started there. A cooperative society should be formed for the unemployed who could get contracts from there and can earn Rs.1 thousand to Rs. 2 thousand per month. But the millionaires will also go in for those contracts. If my work has to be done in Bokaro or Ranchi, contractors from Delhi and Punjab will reach there. Such things give rise to terrorism. The youth of today understands as to which of his rights are being snatched away.

Therefore, I think that it is not a very big problem, but we make it so by raising it again and again. If the youth get employment and their rightful dues, this problem can be solved. The Adivasis and Harijans exploited by High castes are now raising their heads. We, the down-trodden, have suffered much. We did many lowly acts. Time has come to make Gandhiji's dream a reality regarding of the lower people. Now, they have become quite conscious of their rights. So it should be given to them otherwise there will be a clash for which they are ready to adopt any strategy.

I would like to say further that in the industries they should also be given participation. They should be given their due rights. And there should not be unnecessary legal interference in their affairs. If these things are not done, extremism will continue to grow. The training of the extremism is being given in every house in our Jharkhand area also where on the lines of Punjab, a person is kidnapped and Rs. 10,000 is demanded against his release. And he has to pay it even by selling his land. There is a wave of extremism which cannot be checked. It seems as if there is no law and order in the country.

[Sh. Shibu Soren]

Rather, I would like to say that the police itself has become an extremist organisation in which there are many who encourage such things for making money. Had these genuine problems been attended properly, the situation would have been a bit different. But even today, no action is being taken in that direction and as a result the terrorism is growing everywhere which is a major threat to this country.

Sir, this is an important issue. They are fighting for justice. The hon. Minister is present here. He has also said that if we want to avoid incidents taking place in Assam, Punjab and Kashmir, a separate Jharkhand State must be considered immediately. Sir, you have alarmed the bell many times, so I conclude now.

SHRI CHHEDI PASWAN (Sasaram):
Sir, the social, economic and educational disparity is the root cause of growing terrorism, secessionism and kidnapping tendencies in this country. And a wrong political approach taken in 1971 to help in the creation of Bangladesh which came into existence after the division of Pakistan in two parts gave vent to the rise of these tendencies of terrorism and secessionist in our own country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the seed of terrorism, secessionism and kidnapping was sown in the country in 1984 when after the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi in Delhi, 4 to 5 thousand innocent Sikhs were killed in the name of communal riots. And the then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi said that the ear shakes when a big tree falls. Such thinking gave rise to terrorism in the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, apart from that, our opposition leader, Shri Lai Krishan Advani, to whom I hold in high esteem, did not pay his attention to our 14000 square kilometers of land occupied by China, growing price-rise and unemployment but he went on his Rath-Yatra when the former Prime

Minister, Shri V.P. Singh announced to give the backwards their rights, who are down-trodden for the last two and a half to three thousand years. Shri Advani's main purpose was to suppress the very forces that talk of secularism and social justice. The same tendency is discernible even today when the B.J.P. President is on the Ekta Yatra. It is surprising and distressing when they claim themselves to be the followers of the Maryada Purushottam Rama, the path shown by him by his high character. But the person who draws his salary without doing his teaching job in University is on the Ekta Yatra today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of great concern that the B.J.P. has started this Ekta Yatra to divert the people's attention from its failure to construct the temple. If the country's unity and integrity could be maintained from this Ekta Yatra only, then what is the need of this Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha. No need of democratic set up. All of us would proceed on such Yatras. We would not have raised any objection if the national unity could have been achieved by taking out Yatras. But I would like to say it frankly that they started this Ekta Yatra just to divert the public attention from their failure to construct temple in Uttar Pradesh. Their approach is like that of the monarch of Nepal which had granted liberty to its citizens to drink wine as much as they could so that they could not be enlightened about their rights.

What is needed most in the country today is that we will have to pay attention to the factors that are responsible for growing incidents of terrorism, kidnapping and killings. Any act of diverting the people's attention in which media is also playing a great role will not be tolerated any longer. I would like to warn even the media that the public of this country is not going to tolerate it for long. Since media is in the hands of few people - a privileged class who have intellect and writing power, they dominate the Press. So the people will not even spare the media persons. I would like to submit to all to be cautious failing which the public of this country would not spare them.

Even the Pilibhit incident is responsible for growing terrorism in terai region of Uttar Pradesh. It is due to the wrong policy of the Uttar Pradesh Government. It is a counter action against the killings of innocent persons at Pilibhit.

I come from Bihar and Varanasi is adjacent to my area. What was the reason of the riot that took place there on the 8th? After sprinkling oil on the minorities they were burnt to death on the road. All this happened under police protection. Police did not take any action. In reaction to that, the Muslims and Sikhs killed some of the Hindus on 13th. I would like to say it frankly that on the one hand the Members of the Rajya Sabha are not allowed to visit that place and on the other, Shri Shreesh Chandra Dikshit moves about in the entire Varanasi city, gives directions to the police and Administration suggesting them the ways to terrorise the innocent persons and put them into jail. So, under such circumstances, how can we check the terrorism and secessionism in the country? As long as the labour and labourers are neglected, terrorism will not come to an end. I submit to all to take every care to solve these problems in time.

As far as the problems of Kashmir is concerned, it is mainly because of giving all the powers in the hands of one family. The funds allocated through the budget for the development of Kashmir were used merely for the development of one particular family and rest of the poor and educated youth remained unemployed. The result is that terrorism is on increase in the valleys of Kashmir. The hon. Home Minister is present. He may pay his attention to my views with regard to Kashmir if he had an open mind. I had interviewed some of the C.R.P. Jawans regarding the measures to check terrorism in Kashmir. Those Jawans suggested that this problem could be solved to a great extent if all the leaders started holding corner meetings. No matter if it is done in the police protection. So in order to solve that problem every effort should be made to hold such meetings there. There is hand of politicians behind every riot or terrorist activity in the

country. A poet has said,

"Jab siyasat ke nigeban ye hawa dete hain

Aag shahar mein dangai laga dete hain
Aap takid bhi karte hain bach bach ke

chalen

Aap he rahon mein kante bhi bhchha dete hain."

Bihar is a glaring example where we hold the police, the S.P. and the D.M. tainted collectively responsible for controlling riots. All of us should learn a lesson from it so that riots in the country may be controlled.

I would like to make a suggestion regarding Punjab also. There must be interstate transfer of the local police personnel of Punjab. Only then terrorism can be contained.

Now I come to the matter of land reform. On the one hand there is a person who has surplus land in thousand of aere and on the other hand, there is a man who has no land even for living. When he tries to make a house on a plot of land, he is driven away by the land-lords. As long as such disparity exists, peace in the country is not possible. When we were in the Government, we had attempted to include the need of land reforms in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. But in the mean time our Government stepped down and we could not implement it, though we had already made a provision to the effect that the land lords, who have land more than the ceiling could not move courts in case their land is distributed among the landless. The Government should take firm action in including that provision in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. Thereafter only poverty can be eradicated from the country. There is a proverb in our Bihar. 'Khali baithe shaitani sujhe' an empty mind is devil's workshop'. A man having no work is bound to indulge in wrong-doings. The talk about quality is meaningless unless unemployment is there in the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would conclude after submitting it that the B.J.P. is

[Sh. Chhedi Paswan]

taking out Ekta Yatra for supressing the forces w'ich talk of social justice and secularism. It will not solve the problems of the country. With these few words I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are some more people who want to participate in the debate. If the House agrees, we shall extend the sitting by half-an-hour. If that does not happen, then some people who come early tomorrow will take the opportunity and those who are waiting now will lose their chance of speaking. Therefore, we can extend the time now itself.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Please adjourn the House now Sir.

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN: I think the best course would be, even if you adjourn the House now; tomorrow only those names which are listed now will be called upon to speak and then I will reply. No new names should be included tomorrow.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We accept it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall read out the names. If any names are left out, it may be pointed out. I will call only the names which are listed.

Shri Kirip Chaliha, Dr. K.D. Jeswani, Shri Bheem Singh Patel, Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi, Shri Tej Narayan Singh, Kumari Frida Topno, Shri Dharm Pal Singh Malik, Shri Anantha Venkata Reddy, Shri Santosh Kumar Ganwar, Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav, Shri Girdhari Lai Bhargava, Shri Oscar Fernandes, Shri Chinnasamy Srinivasan, Shri K.P. Raddaiah Yadav, Shri S.S.R. Rajendra Kumar and Shrimati Basava Rajeswari.

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN: The list is too long. I would rather withdraw my suggestion. Let the hon. Members sit today and complete their speeches.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are 16 names. If each Members speaks for five minutes it will be more than one hour.

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN: Then, I request you not to give more than 45 minutes for all the Members who are going to speak. Thereafter, I will reply.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In this case, we shall have to confine ourselves. This is not a good president that we have set today. It is just to accommodate all the hon. Members, though this is much against the existing norms. Anyhow, since this happens to be an extraordinary circumstance, we are doing this.

18.41 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MR. SPEAKER: Well, I was hearing what you were discussing here, in the House. The only problem is that we have decided to discuss many other topics. This is one of the topics. Then, we are going to discuss the economic situation and also about the External Affairs Ministry. It was decided that this topic will be taken up on the day on which it was mentioned on the Agenda and it will be completed on the same day. Otherwise, we would not be able to go to the other topics. Yesterday and today we have discussed it. If we continue to discuss it tomorrow, then other topics will not come up. So, my request to you is, let us complete the debate today and the hon. Home Minister will reply tomorrow. then, we will go to the other topics. Otherwise, it would not be possible for us to discuss other items, like economic situation, External Affairs Ministry and public sector undertakings.

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN: There is only one request that I have to make. I have called for a meeting of the prominent people from Punjab, tomorrow. That meeting is going to continue till about 2 o'clock. So, you can decide about the time of my reply, any time after 2 o'clock.

MR. SPEAKER: Okay, that we will do.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV: Sir, we can take it up tomorrow, since the Home Minister is saying like this.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav, let us do one thing. Today we will sit upto 7 o'clock and speak. If there are some more hon. Members remaining, then we can do it tomorrow. Otherwise, it would not be possible to discuss it.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I see that you are making very good speeches. We would also like to hear them, but the time is very limited. I was hearing all the speeches from inside. Now, Shri Kirip Chaliha.

18.43 hrs.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA (Guwahati): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank hon. Shri Indrajit Gupta for initiating this discussion in this House. This is a very important subject. This is the most vital subject, concerning our future, present and the past. It involves not only the general law and order situation, but also the general economic situation, the handling of the economic situation since its beginning and the socio-economic and political situation since independence and even before independence.

Many things are inter-related to it and it is very difficult to do justice to the whole subject. But still, something is better than nothing.

I feel that certain aspects can be highlighted and certain other aspects can be left for other speakers. You may take terrorism, for example. There are various kinds of terrorism. We have terrorism in relation to secessionist which of course, is the most pertinent one today. We have terrorism, social terrorism, as you say, dowry deaths, mafia, dacoitise and gangs like Bombay's gangster terrorism. So, we have so many types of terrorism.

Secessionism itself has got different facets. Secessionist movement in Kashmir has got a historical perspective. In Punjab, it may have something else.

Secessionism in Assam is different in character from the secessionism which is there in Punjab or in Kashmir. So, each topic needs a detailed discussion. Each topic has its own aspects. I think, it is impossible for one speaker to do justice to all the aspects of this topic: Naturally, coming from Assam and belonging to the ruling party, I think, I have to highlight a little more about Assam and the North-East in the general perspective. While doing so, I would not like my maiden speech to be an isolated event. I would like to comment here and there on social terrorism also. In fact, I had been seeking this opportunity whenever there was discussion. Unfortunately Shri Ram Vilas Paswan is not here. But Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav is here. He has been a fighter for social justice ever since early days. He has been a very senior Congress leader. Though he left us, and is sitting here. It is social tension that leads to caste conflicts. I think that it is not proper only to blame the Government for all the evils that are taking place. It is not proper to blame the Congress party for all the evils that are taking place because these evils are not so simple in nature. They are very complicated. They are all products of the evolutionary process of development and have vital and intrinsic defects right from the beginning. It has something to do with our psychology, something to do with our religion, something to do with our system or society and something to do with governance. Somehow or the other, we wish to forget it. For example, suddenly we find that there is escalation of caste conflicts today. The greatest champion in these matters is, of course, Shri V.P. Singh. After leaving our party, he became totally concerned about caste differentiation but the simple point the people seem to have forgotten. is that .

I have never heard during the discussion about the caste differences as to. Why is it that there is not a single instance of violence in places like Assam and the North-

[Sh. Kirip Chaliha]

East or in Bengal? Have you ever pondered over it? Why is it that Bengal or Assam is free from casteism? We have even bitter economic exploitation going on there. Even bitter social differences are going on there. Why are they not caste-conscious there? Not politics but there must be a social revolution. A revolution on social platform may be a type of religious reformation movement which Assam witnessed in the 15th century due to which casteism became non-existent. I am supposed to be product of so called high caste or low caste. In our religious ceremonies, it is the scheduled caste person who distributes the *prasad*. These are the traditions. These are the rules which we have to ponder over to remove the evils of casteism.

Similarly, about Kashmir and Punjab, is the situation same in nature as that in Assam or in Nagaland? I feel that while talking about Kashmir and Punjab, the primary emphasis should not be on condemning the Government. But the primary emphasis should be on the audacity of foreign powers, especially Pakistan. It is very sad to hear Members saying here that this situation has started because of the Bangladesh War. Bangladesh war has a different history of being liberated. We should not be blamed for that. Indian Government's approach to Bangladesh was never wrong. Because of that, we justify Pakistan's action today? Pakistan is doing something which is worse than a biological warfare. It is unfortunate. I must say that our Home Ministers, our Defence Ministers, our Central Ministers have not been able to have the guts that are necessary to teach Pakistan a lesson and to tell them to keep their hands off from India. We must have a political will as a whole and not only as a Congress Government. We should not find out weaknesses of the supposed minority Government on such issues. We must rise above partisan attitude during our approach to certain vital social and political problems which intrude upon our sense of patriotism, problems which hurt our national sentiments, problems which spring from international conspiracies. We cannot

justify them by simple blaming a party or a Government.

I am not going into the details about the North-East. I would like to be as brief as the unity of Janata Dal leaders. I will just finish my speech. In the North-East, Nagaland has different history of secessionist. Naga people had the sense of isolation. They are getting assimilated now. In the process of assimilation, they have yielded. I must tell you that the future of India lies not in the process of caste differentiation or religious differentiation but in the process of assimilation with the national mainstream. Similar must be the approach in most of the North-East. When Army was brought in, in Assam in this very House, I justified the Army going to Assam and said that the Indian Army should never be treated as invading Army. Situation has come to such a pass that sending army has become inevitable. There is infiltration in the administration. There is infiltration and terrorism in the administrative machinery due to which a new situation has developed which the police is not able to tackle. But seeing today's developments taking place in Assam and as the Home Minister is present here, I would like to point out one thing. Experience shows that in the long run, Indian Army has not been suitably trained to tackle problems like that of Assam. They have their own problems and that creates problems not only for the people of Assam but for the Government and for all of us. I feel that in the light of secessionism and secessionist movements, the Indian Government must realise that separate trained police force is needed to deal with the law and order situation in sensitive areas of the country. Everybody has pointed out the inadequacies of the police system. We know that there are inadequacies in the police system.

MR. SPEAKER: Please try to conclude.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA: Sir, as I am from Assam, give me liberty to speak for some more time.

What is happening today in Assam is of

a very serious nature. If you do not realise it, then as I said, secessionism in Assam will spread like Punjab and Kashmir. If you do not take the right decision at the right time, then Assam may go like that of Punjab and Kashmir tomorrow. We are all aware of the situation in Assam. If you do not get the confidence of the people of Assam, then Assam may become like Punjab or Kashmir. So, this is the right time for you to take action. You have to once again review the entire policy regarding Assam and take some concrete peace initiatives to see that the slide towards secessionism in Assam does not grow. When Army was sent to Assam, there was hardly any resistance. I can still say with confidence that hardly two to three per cent of the people support the ULFA and nobody wants to go out of India. I am Assamese first and I am an Assamese last. I am an Indian first and I am an Indian last. I will face the bullet to fight for the cause of Assam. I represent this State.

I think that there are certain reasons for which alienation of Assam has been taking place. This alienation has been there due to certain political reasons.

MR. SPEAKER: Kindly conclude. Time is short.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA: That is why, I feel that a certain political initiative in regard to Assam should be taken at the right time. When opportunity is available, we have to seize that opportunity and for this, I appeal to the entire House to find out as to how best Assam problem can be solved. Do not leave it to the Government or to any political party. How many of you have bothered to go to Assam or Punjab or find out what is happening there? Piecemeal solutions to cancer will not stop cancer. We have been given drugs for diarrhoea viral fever but the disease is cancer... (*Interruptions*)... I thank you giving me an opportunity and I hope you will convey my feeling to the hon. Home Member.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR (Gaya): Mr.

Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the law and order situation for the last two days in this House. The law and order situation in the whole country is quite embarrassing. There is social inequality and economic disparity throughout the country and I would like to say something about it.

Harijans are prevented from entering the temple in this country. Just take the example of Jaganath Temple, no Harijans can enter it. Once a senior congress leader the late Babu Jagjivan Ram had garlanded the statue of Purnananda in Varansi and after his departure from there that statue was purified. The condition is so worse that Harijans are not allowed to sit on the same cot. Would not the kith and kin of a person so maltreated be forced to turn towards terrorism?

People in power for the last forty to forty-four years have been following the policy of Divide and Rule. Laws are enacted for the upliftment of Harijans but they are not properly implemented. The laws meant for the welfare of Harijans are not implemented. Many types of agitations are going on in the country. Government does not seem to be concerned at all about what is happening in various parts of the country, such as Punjab, Assam, Kashmir, Bombay and Terai region of Uttar Pradesh. It is a matter of deep regret that the Ambassador of Romania in India was kidnapped in broad-day light in Delhi. An atmosphere of murder dacoity looting and kidnapping is prevailing all over the country.

I would like to draw your attention Bihar you should learn a lesson from Chief Minister of Bihar. I do not find any difference between the people of BJP and ruling party. Both of them want to rule the country. Riots do not take place in Bihar but in all States where there is President's rule or where Congress is in power, terrorism is gaining ground rapidly. Is there any hope to end what all is happening in Punjab? Where there is so much discrimination in the society, there can be no law and order. I do not want to go in to Government's economic and industrial poli-

[Sh. Rajash Kumar]

cies. There are so many reasons for the dismal state of affairs in the country where incidents of terrorism, murder, kidnapping and rape are common.

When Shri V.P. Singh was in power he had talked about implementation of land reforms. But his Government fell so he could not implement it. When we want to make land reforms so as to distribute land to the rural landless people, the landlords taking advantage of the defects in the land reforms laws move the court and succeed in staying the implementation.

Just now, my friend Shri Soren was referring to it that half of the total revenue of the country comes from South Bihar. Bihar produces manganese, coal and steel. But what is Government's attitude towards Bihar? No royalty has so far been given to Bihar nor Government seems to have any intention to give it. When there is a propose to set up factories in Bihar, contractors from Delhi and Calcutta reach there to exploit the opportunities and the people settled there find it difficult to even earn their livelihood. In such circumstances what would they do? They would definitely turn extremists. Therefore, to control the situations, Government should give the royalty to Bihar Government which is outstanding in crores of rupees against the Government so that we are able to provide employment and food to the poor people who have been displaced and rendered jobless.

The most important factor is that the defenders are becoming offenders. I would like to submit that I have been elected from Gaya Lok Sabha constituency. I have defeated both BJP and Congress candidates. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that a D.I.G. in Bihar, Ranjit Kumar Sinha, I would conclude my point in a few minutes, was involved in Bihar uniform scandal. During Gaya elections the same man misbehaved with the Muslim women who had come to caste their votes.

MR. SPEAKER: You have referred to officer by name, it will not go on record.

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: He was an accused in Bihar uniform scandal and our Home Minister has posted Shri Sinha to CBI. Does this step not an open invitation to terrorism? Ranjeet Kumar Sinha.....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: The Officer's name will not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: He was posted to CBI and that too in Patna. We demand, through you, Sir, that such a corrupt officer should not be posted to CBI. We also wrote letters to Home Minister in this regard but he did not agree.

MR. SPEAKER: The matters concerning transfer and appointment are not raised in the House. We are discussing law and order situation in the country and you are talking of transfers.

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: I am not raising any issue regarding posting and transfers. I would like to know whether the steps such as postings of corrupt officials or priority basis would not encourage terrorism?

MR. SPEAKER: This is a big issue. Please come to that and do not discuss personal things.

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR: Defenders have turned offenders. The officers who are corrupt have been given high posts. So it has become difficult to control terrorism. I am going to conclude in one minute. All the leaders should sit together and discuss the measures to be taken to improve the law and order situation, otherwise such discussion in the House is of no use.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I think before we adjourn this House, may I request the Members to come prepared tomorrow so that we can finish this discussion. On this point it was also decided to request the hon. Minister to reply to as many points as is possible and if it is not possible the Minister may cull out the points and replies may be given by the Ministry in writing.

So, we adjourn now to reassemble tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.

19.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, December 12, 1991/Agrahayana 21, 1913 (Saka)