

जब भी इसके लिए समय तय करें, इसमें clarifications लगा दें तब हम इसके ऊपर प्रश्न पूछेंगे। अभी आप दूसरी चर्चा शुरू करवा दें।

**उपसभापति :** clarification के लिए बाद में समय तय करेंगे।

## **SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION**

### **Internal security situation in the Country**

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, it transpired from what Mr, Sanjay Nirupam and others were saying that the circumstances in which we were taking up this issue today was, by allusion, a reflection on the inability of the Government to keep up with legislative Business. But in my view it is actually a symptom of the times in which we live, that an issue like internal security really comes up as a filler for the afternoon. And I will go through this. It is easy on such a matter to make a partisan speech about what great work was being done by the NDA and what has happened since then. I am not going to do that because the issue is too grave for us to boast about each other's doings in this whole matter and I would, therefore, also plead, please do not dismiss (from every other side) what I have to say by the simple question: But what did you do when you were in Government? It's too grave for that kind of a response and I will be urging several things for the hon. Home Minister to consider because it would be very easy for me to give an extensive account of the concerted steps which were being taken and which many of us apprehended, sort of went in vain in the last few months. But I will not do that, Sir. And I will make the brief point that I want to put forth which I should, of course, do in some detail. It is that the situation was set out very well in the two of the four Task Forces that were set up in the wake of the Kargil War. The situation regarding internal security was examined by the Task Force on Internal Security. It had some of our most experienced civil servants on it, some of our most experienced intelligence officers and security personnel on it. Similarly, the Task Force on Border Management. These were the two task Forces that dealt with the issues which I will go into in some detail. Sir, my point is that the situation is well described there. They have given a long list of things that should be done and I would urge that since they reported, the situation has deteriorated to an alarming extent and therefore the urgency with which those steps should be taken has been compounded by events in the last few months. This is the main point which I want to urge for the Home Minister's consideration and I will deal with why this is so. Sir, the

fact to remember is that in the last 20 years, 64,000 people have been killed in terrorist-related violence. It is an astonishing figure. In no other country in the world have 64,000 people been killed.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand) : In 20 years?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Yes, in 20 years; and all have been killed in Indian territory. None of these deaths has anything to do with any war inflicted upon us, except the war which I shall come to. Sir, the second fact that comes through in all this is that the forces which are doing this are extremely well networked and both these Task Forces give a lot of illustrations, as the Home Minister knows, of the relationship of the narcotics smuggling to arms smuggling, to terrorist training camps, to Left extreme violence, to Hawala transactions, to these foreign contributions which were coming to the setting up of Madarsas on our borders, to infiltration, to Pakistanis disappearing after obtaining valid visas. All these things have been well documented. ...*(Interruptions)*... मैं वहाँ भी आ रहा हूँ। Sir, the third point that came out is that these groups are now most professional in the arms and ammunition they have, in the communication facilities which they have, in the tactics which they employ. So, you will be astonished if you see what is happening in Jharkhand today, the systematic way in which one police station after another is surrounded by up to 150 to 200 persons, then explosives are thrown and then how the policemen and all are completely slaughtered in an operation lasting two or three hours. Exactly the tactics which have been employed, are being employed, to such a devastating effect in Nepal or tactics which we find professionally deployed in Our Own States. Sir, then both Task Forces, have documented in great detail the foreign sponsorship of all these elements. Mr. Kondariya is just going. He knows that the IB has given lists to the Home Ministry. As the Minister at that time, I received information in respect of the North-East from RAW and IB of the groups which had been set up by the ISI for Islamic extremism, spreading that among Bangladeshi infiltrators, and I can give the names, at any stage, Of the groups which had been set up for this purpose,

Sir, the next point is that Left Wing extremism is one and Islamic fundamentalism is another. These are the two main challenges on account of which the killings have taken place, and the sponsor of one of these groups, that is, of Islamic fundamentalist groups in India, that is, Pakistan, has not changed either its conduct or its aim one bit. There are many persons who keep hope, and who keep inventing reasons for hope, the Chief Minister has come, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has come, the

Foreign Minister has come, but each time they come, there is a jolt to these hopeful people because, the person in the end always say, no, no, games are okay. But till you solve the Kashmir issue, that means, to our satisfaction, nothing will change in this regard at all.

Sir, the astonishing figure to remember is that when this Task Force on internal security reviewed the matter, they said that 40 per cent of the geographical area of the country is now in the grip of insurgencies of one kind or another. Forty per cent! We are not a small Grenada. Forty per cent of India means 40 per cent of a continent. By now, on the figures put out down, and available, I am sure to the hon. Home Minister, 4,220 districts covering 45 per cent of the geographical area of India are affected by insurgencies of one kind or another. The most lethal of these today is Left Wing extremism, and it is an astonishing fact that in October, 2003, that is, last year, when the IB tabulated the figures-I have them-they had said that 55 districts in 9 States were affected by naxalite activities. How many? 55 districts in 9 States. The figure put out in October 2004, and I have the map here, is that from 55 districts, it has gone up to 156 districts in 13 States, on only naxalite violence. That means, there has been an additional sway of naxalites in two districts per week. Two more districts they have acquired in terms of explosive activities and other activities that they are able to do. If we look at the map-I am sure that the Home Minister has received this map-Dr. Karan Singh had talked about that corridor from Nepal extending to another. That corridor has actually already come into being, a vast swathe of territory in which their operations are free, which extends from Nepal. Sir, Nepal itself shows dangers in which we are. One is the base at which this thing spreads. Many distinguished friends are here who are dealing with Nepal. They will remember the Dang incident which took place in November 2001, just three years ago. At that time, only 4 districts in western Nepal that Dr. Karan Singh knows so well, were affected. In December 2001, 4 districts were affected. Today, all 75 districts are affected and the writ of the Government running only in some urban pockets, and that too, during daytime. Now, I come to the second thing that it shows. I wanted to know one thing from one of the senior most officials in one of our Committee meetings. I said: "What is the evidence that the arms and ammunitions of Maoists are coming from China?" He is very experienced in Nepal affairs. He said, "There is no evidence at all!" He also said, "There may be some smuggling of arms from China, from some illicit groups, but there is no evidence of arms and ammunition coming from China! It means that all the arms and ammunition being built in by Maoist groups in Nepal

are coming through India and from India and Indian groups! It is an astonishing fact for us to remember because this means what can happen to us!- To what extent the authority of the Indian State runs on our own groups and our own territory! And, Sir, the condition in Nepal is no worse than the condition in large parts, adjoining Nepal, within India. Sir, in Jammu & Kashmir, every other day, there are explosions. Just yesterday, 11 persons have been killed in such explosions. This has now become a single column item in newspapers on an inside page. Attempts continue to disrupt the normal political processes. The Chief Minister, the Chief Minister's daughter, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Dr. Farooq Abdullah's son Omar Abdullah, the Head of the National Conference, they have all barely escaped assassination attempts in this regard. In Hurriyat, the former Chief Minister...*(Interruptions)*... मैं अपने चीफ मिनिस्टर मुफ्ती साहब की बात कर रहा था। He has also just escaped; his daughter has also just escaped. As Mr. Arun Jaitley says, he is not yet 'former'! Sir, the Hurriyat has stopped talking to Delhi. And it makes a very big public parade of talking to every visitor from Pakistan! It is something which should reflect on the Pakistan Foreign Secretary whose conduct as Ambassador we knew, and whose disposition we knew. I knew him personally. He comes here, and the Hurriyat calls on him! He gives his advice-it is published in the newspapers-to a group of India! If the Indian Foreign Secretary were to go to Islamabad, there are today secessionist movements in PoK, there are secessionist movements in PHATA, Waziristan, Baluchistan, and certainly in Sindh-do you think that the Indian Foreign Secretary in Islamabad can hold a meeting with those groups? But what have we reduced ourselves to as a country? I am not talking about the Government. The representative, the Foreign Secretary of a hostile power should come to us and meet secessionist groups within India! In Andhra, the signal which, has been given is this. First, they are called for talks. They say, "We won't come to you till you allow us arms!" So, the Government says, 'Okay. You can have arms!' It is an activity, as I mentioned to you earlier, affecting 156 districts across 13 States! No other State is consulted! One State takes a unilateral step which would certainly bring in respectability and confidence and would give time to regroup and rearm to an entire hub of a rebellion. But that step is taken! And, Sir, the lethality of such groups in Jammu & Kashmir-Soz Sahib is sitting here-is really astonishing; I mean the people would be astonished; since 1989, more than 13,500 civilians have been killed in Jammu & Kashmir. 13,500! And over 5,500 security people have been killed! You are soon going to be debating how to dilute a law? If we get an opportunity in that, I will

certainly like to give some facts on that. But now I want to just draw your attention to what happens in the existing procedures. Against 13,500 civilians killed, against 5,500 security personnel killed, Sir, the House will be astonished to know how many persons have been convicted of terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir. Can anybody make a guess? From 1989 till December, 2002, only 13 persons were convicted of terrorism. Since then 16 persons have been convicted of terrorism. I am giving these figures as on the day before yesterday. In all twenty-nine persons have been convicted of terrorism and that is the retribution that we could bring about through our normal laws, courts and procedures. The sad fact is that over vast stretches of the country, today, the terrorists and the terrorist groups are the Government. They collect taxes. They dictate who shall get contracts. As in Andhra Pradesh, they dispense the so-called justice. So, these development outlays that we give through the North Eastern Council and others are actually, almost, one of the principal sources of finance of these terrorist groups. This has been documented in great detail by the Task Forces themselves. The recoveries which have been made in the sporadic raids that take place are quite astonishing. In a single raid in Jharkhand, the IB people told us when we were there 15 days ago, lakhs of rupees withdrawn from the Government account for development works had been found; the most modern equipment had been found; two or three storeyed concrete bunkers built on the hillsides had been found. What is happening is that the society is getting used to worse and worse standards.

As I mentioned, the killing of eleven persons and blowing them up becomes a single column news item in an inside page. There are several explanations for this. But I really don't want to go into them. What is happening really is that these situations are allowed to fester till they explode, and when they explode we only hurl some security forces at them and we believe that we have done our job. What is the real condition of these forces, compared to those modern equipment and other things which the terrorists are able to wield? I will just read out to you one small item from the Report of the Task Force on Internal Security. They say, "the studies carried out by the Bureau of Police Research and Development in regard to the living and working conditions of State police forces reveal", what they call, "an alarming picture". I am sure the Home Minister will tell us what is being done now. "Twenty-five per cent of the police stations and fifty per cent of the police outposts do not have regular buildings. Over 37 per cent police districts work from makeshift police lines. Over 70 per cent police districts do not have a proper control room. Superintendents of

police in 34 per cent police districts do not have official accommodation. Seventy per cent of the constabulary is without residential accommodation. Mobility deficiency of the Indian police is approximately 43 per cent". They record, "In many cases there is only a bicycle". ...*(Interruptions)*... Please, I am just trying to give the figures which are common to all of us. It is a common problem. "The weaponry available with the police forces is outdated and inadequate". As regards their training, they say, "Only one per cent of the Police Budget goes for training, for keeping up with, the new crimes and new tactics deployed by the terrorists". That is only one per cent. "The average tenure of a Superintendent of Police has been reduced to six months". About the communication system, they say, "the less said, the better".

Sir, as I mentioned, we will be- asked soon to dilute the essential instrument for fighting terrorism, that is, POTA. We will come to that when the Lok Sabha sends us that Bill.

:But please remember the circumstances in which the judicial system is working today and what is the result. I have mentioned to you in the case of J&K-it is only a representative figure - that from 1989 to 2004, only 29 persons have been convicted of terrorism as against 19,000 people they have killed among civilians and security forces.

AN HON. MEMBER: How many terrorists have been killed! ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I have those figures. That is not through the legal system. That actually proves the point. ...*(Interruptions)*... In the Bombay blasts case instituted in 1993-1 am on the point not of the Government being serious but of the country being serious about these matters-the first court is yet to give its judgement. In the Indian Airlines high-jacking case of 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1999, the first stage of the trial is "progressing in e court in Patiala" I have a whole list with me. There is another disturbing feature. The Task Force has mentioned that the criminal elements and the terrorist elements have now got such links in the entire system of investigation, of enforcement, of prosecution and in many other places also that the cases get withdrawn for collateral purposes. Of the five top associates of Dawood Ibrahim, who were extradited at great effort and cost from Dubai, every single one of the five has been acquitted because in one case the tapes got missing of the conversation which had been recorded and in another case the confessional statements got missing. This

has happened in the case of five of these accused and in the case of each, the total number of cases was 20.

Then they showed-1 would be grateful if the Home Minister could enlighten us as to what steps he is taking in this regard -- the interlinking of these operations; *hawala* transactions, money laundering, drugs smuggling, arms smuggling, terrorist outfits, infiltrators, Madarsas, etc. They have given the entire nexus. They have explained it in various ways. The Home Minister would please guide us as to what is to be done. I could go into as to what the NDA Government was doing. But I would be grateful to know if the Home Minister tells us as to what is being done now. They reported that of the Pakistani nationals who had come here on valid visas till October, 2000, 13,000 people had disappeared without a trace. They said, "It may be recalled that the Pakistani nationals who had perpetrated the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane to Kandhar, had entered India on valid visas; overstayed and carried out activities which culminated in the hijacking." They said, "According to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 11,000 have overstayed and 2,560 have gone underground." They said, "The Ministry has no way, the Government has no way of knowing how many, if not all of those who are untraceable, could possibly be engaged in espionage, sabotage and subversion and further extending ISI's network in the country." We used to take great pride in the fact that within a period of two and a half years, 166 modules set up by the ISI within the country had been identified and smashed. But the other side of the coin is that the ISI had been able to set up 166 modules all across the country. They say, "We had sent a questionnaire eliciting information on the working of all this". Then they said, "For want of information we have to conclude that the situation is more alarming than we had anticipated and that urgent steps are required." We will be wanting to know what the Government is doing in this regard.

Secondly, Sir, they said that over a period of seven years, between 1991-92 and 1997-98, about Rs.14,400 crores had come as foreign contributions. And they have identified that much of these transactions is the drug money that has been recycled and then being used for these purposes. Then, they said, "Actually, the position is that under the law, no organisation here can accept a foreign contribution without the prior permission of or registration with the Ministry of Home Affairs. The law provides for auditing and inspection of the donee's account and also punitive action for various violations." Actually, a number of specific issues

were raised by them regarding enforcement of the Foreign Contributions Regulations Act. They said, "We could not get the requisite responses on the ground that the relevant information could be supplied only after the ongoing computerisation process is completed." And, they say that this law was enforced 24 years ago! "We also gather the impression that the functionaries responsible for handling this important area of work were not adequately sensitive to what exactly is required to be monitored and how." Then, after a lot of search, it was found that at the asking the Ministry of Home Affairs, probably in Mr. Narasimha Rao's time, the Reserve Bank of India addressed a letter in July, 1994, to commercial banks asking them to monitor and report it. And, they say in October, "we are unable to find out if anything has happened as a result of that letter that was sent to us." And, today, they say, "Effective mechanisms have been established to enforce the FCR. We are unable to get a confirmation about how the situation stands since the RBI issued this letter of July, 1994. In response to our queries, the Directorate of Enforcement reported that they were unable to detect the linkages between the activities of the hawala operators and subversive elements as no mechanism exists for this Directorate to be provided the required intelligence by the I.B., RAW, State Special branches and other organisations. We were most concerned to find out that there is no concerted system at all for the collection, collation, analysis and dissemination of economic intelligence or for launching a coordinated strike action against economic offenders in cases requiring multi-agency involvement. Each organisation is working in its own water-tight compartments and exchanging information is done only at the subsequent stages, in respect of cases which were detected earlier." This is a major drawback on account of which various things happened. They showed how narcotics trade has become an instrument for financing terrorism and the achievement of the ISI that they made terrorism in India a self-financing operation. And, they have given long figures of the amount of narcotics that have been smuggled through India, how these groups finance this and then are able to purchase arms out of this. They gave a figure that the Pakistan's National Development Finance Corporation estimated in August, 1992 -- you can imagine what the figure now is--that the black money of the nation gained 32.5 billion dollars annually from the cultivation, production and smuggling of illicit narcotics from the Golden Crescent. Sir, we are just hearing wonderful things about the North-Eastern Council. They say that this has become a plague especially in the North-East that this money is being used and pumped to do all these. But what is happening as a



result? It is relevant to know that the Narcotic Control Board, the nodal national agency, has a regional office in Imphal which has jurisdictional responsibility for the seven North-Eastern States.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) in the Chair]

Before you operationalise, the Minister has just told us that they are operationalising the NEC's mandate relating to security of public order—please just see this. "The NCB has a regional office in Imphal and it has jurisdictional responsibility for the seven North-Eastern States. The Imphal office, with staff strength of 11"—guess how many peons and stenographers in that—"is without any roadworthy vehicle and has no communication system at all. The Regional Officer does not even have a residential telephone". But, here, we are operationalising NEC's mandate on national security! He says, "Yes, the Narcotics Control Board holds quarterly meetings; but it does not play a coordinated role of concerted strike action against drug traffickers. There is no institutionalised arrangement for sharing of Intelligence between NCB and other concerned organisations. We also found that the Army and the Central Paramilitary Forces officers were not even aware that any Central agency responsible for taking action against drug traffickers was located in the North-Eastern States. Our discussions with the zonal and regional level officers further revealed that the working of the NCB is severely handicapped for want of vehicles, the necessary equipment and gadgets and adequate Secret Service Fund to develop sources".

(MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

"Such a state of affair provides the ISI easy entry points". The same thing happens in fake Indian currency. They list Rajasthan; they list various other points through which fake Indian currency is being smuggled in to destabilise our economy. He says, "Our discussions with the concerned Deputy Governor General of the Reserve Bank of India have revealed that, regrettably, there is so far no system even for reporting the seizures of fake Indian currency to any Central agency, far from stopping it". And there is a very strong passage on the culpability of many persons and many agencies in this regard.

Sir, I will only touch on two further points and I would not read them in detail because I do not want this to become an acrimonious debate in this regard. But they have entire chapters on Bangladeshi infiltration and on the setting up of *Madarsas* all along our border for the purpose of

facilitating infiltration and as staging points for arms and as staging points for agents. They have given specific names. They have given results of interrogation in that. And I have myself reproduced this on other occasions. It was not only Gen. S. K. Sinha, who was the Governor, who wrote to the President in this regard, but also Mr. T. V. Rajeswar, whom you have selected now as the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, who wrote a series of articles on how this infiltration had reached such a magnitude which could soon lead to the creation of, what he called, the third Islamic republic in the sub-continent. I have reproduced these passages at great length. So, I do not have to go into that.

But all that is now dwarfed by the actual figures which have come out from the Census. I have myself shown by studying the adjacent districts of Bangladesh, in Bengal, some in Bihar and in Assam, as to how the growth of population is completely inexplicable by any natural phenomenon, except by the infiltration that is going on.

Now, the point on internal security was that these task forces documented in great detail how the infiltrators - because they are captives - are given ration cards by interested people; then they are put on voters' list; then they become captive vote banks. And they said that democratically now they will prevent any step from being taken to stem that accusation by inundation of Indian territory.

Then, on *Madarsas*, they have mentioned many things. They have given number of figures of *Madarsas* on the Rajasthan border, the Nepal border, the Bangladesh border and so on. I will give you just one figure. Sir, as you know, our weakest link is the 'Chickens Neck', the Siliguri Corridor in the top of Bengal. That is our only land link with the North East. Mr. Jaswant Singhji, is it only 30 miles? Or just 30 miles. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is just 38 miles. Just see, Sir, the adjacent district in Nepal is a district called Jhapa. There were no Muslims there. They found that within three years 38 *Madarsas* had been set up in that district. And the Indian Embassy, when it asked somebody to find out what those things are being used for, and they identified that this was the staging point for pumping currency into India, arms into India and other types of agents being brought into India. As these are well-known, I will not take too much of your time on this. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, then, I can read it to you what they have said. The Task Force has noted with concern the rapid spread of *Madarsas* and mosques in border areas on almost all borders. Most of

these constructions have come up without any formal approval of the competent local authorities.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh) : Sir, I would like to know from Mr. Shourie who are 'they' he is referring to, or, which is this authority. Who has authored this document? Could you enlighten us as to where from you have got this information?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Oh, yes. There are two Task Forces. ... (*Interruptions*)... Please understand Kargil was not a partisan affair; I am sure, everybody was shocked by it. In the wake of Kargil, four Task Forces were set up. One was in higher command of the Defence forces, one was on intelligence, one was on border management, which was headed by Mr. Madhav Godbole and one was on Internal Security, it was headed by Mr. N.N. Vohra. They had generals on them; they had intelligence officers; they had civil servants; they co-opted Chief Secretaries and others. It is a national effort, and they are the ones who are saying this.

SHRI RAASHID ALVI (Andhra Pradesh) : Could you give us the exact addresses of those *Madarsas* and mosques about which you are talking now?

SHR) ARUN SHOURIE: I actually had them.

SHRI RAASHID ALVI: Please tell us, whether they are on this side of the border or on that side of Nepal. For the last five years, I kept on asking this question in the Lok Sabha, to the then Home Minister, Shri L.K. Advani, but he could not reply. So, now I am asking this question to you. Let us know the exact addresses.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I am not making a partisan speech, as I said in the beginning. I am sure you would like to ask that of the Home Minister, not of me. But, I can tell you as a journalist-because I am not disclosing anything that I received during the period I was in the Government- I receive and I have-whensoever you want, I will disclose them in the House - IB reports in which the list of particular *Madarsas*, for instance in Nepal, which are being used for anti-India activities is given.

SHRI RAASHID ALVI: Please give us five addresses, as you are talking about so many *Madarsas*. Let me know five addresses of *Madarsas* and mosques. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt him. If you have any question, you put it to the Home Minister, and he will reply to that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: And I start..*(Interruption)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no.

SHRI RAJEEV SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Shourie, why were you silent for the last six years? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I have not said one word against the Government. I don't believe it is a governmental matter.

SHRI RAJEEV SHUKLA: Have these *madarsas* come up in the last six months or in the last six years? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: That is the point, Sir. That the permissive signals which are being given, the signals which are being given, which compound this permissive atmosphere, I mentioned to you in the case of naxalites; I mentioned to you on several other matters; the withdrawal of a thing like POTA; what is happening with ULFA in Assam? All this give a permissive signal which you...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAASHID ALVI: You should admit that you don't have the addresses. You are just poisoning the entire country without telling the facts. ...*interruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Jharkhand) : Why is he reducing the debate to waste?

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Why do you think that he is making a charge against you? He is not.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Let the Government say that there is no address. Why is he asking us? ...*(Interruptions)*... Let the Government say that there is no such report. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please go ahead, Mr. Shourie.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, if you want me, I will start reading the names of Rajasthan itself..*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I don't want the debate to get into this communal thing. हरेक चीज को अगर हिन्दू — मुस्लिम चीज बनाइएगा, तो नेशनल सिक्योरिटी तो इसी तरह खत्म हो रही है। I was on the point of the signals

which are being given. As Mr. Arun Jaitley was just reminding, this is, in my view, compounding the problems which have been set out by the Task Forces. About ULFA, I have followed Assam with Mr. Jaswant Singh, at least, since 1980. We had been there when almost 800 students were gunned down and killed, because they were only saying, "Don't let infiltrators come and occupy the place." Eight hundred students! Now what is happening? After a great effort, into the great success of several persons who are involved and at great personal risk to himself, His Majesty, the King of Bhutan took stern action against ULFA people, who had set up camps there, because the AGP Government was taking stern action from this side, they went and set up camps over there. But the Bhutan King took action. And the position is such that they have found a safe sanctuary down in Assam itself, again. ...*(Interruptions)*... You will see the results very soon. Please wait. I have not been wrong on these matters. I am giving you the first hand information.

SHRI DWIJENDRA NATH SHARMAH (Assam): Not only the AGP Government took stern action. The Congress Government is also taking steps on this. What you say is not true, I can't accept it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: All right, Sir, let me go to Andhra Pradesh. In the People's War Group, what is happening now? ...*(Interruptions)*... The State is bending to them...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, the same sort of things come when loose statements are made. I will give you two examples only and again from periods with which we should not have any great quarrel.

Dr. Farooq Abdullah is not here. But, Sir, you will recall a statement made by an Indian Prime Minister in West Africa saying, "As far as the autonomy of Kashmir is concerned, the sky is the limit." And everyone knows what difficulty it caused later on, because that became the benchmark. Then a unanimous resolution was passed by the Assembly. The Handique Committee was set up. "Go back to pre-1953" - which would have meant that the Supreme Court's jurisdiction goes, the CAG's jurisdiction goes, the Election Commission's jurisdiction goes. "But when the sky is the limit, why not pre-1953?"

Now also, a statement has been made in the enthusiasm and in goodwill, I am sure: 'All options are open on Kashmir.' Does it mean rescinding the unanimous Resolution of Parliament is open? Does it mean the plebiscite is open as an issue? Because, "All options are open." So, this kind of a statement creates a permissive atmosphere and compounds the

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problems which were created. The same thing happens in patronage. In Punjab, we eventually had 21,000 persons killed by terrorism. How did it start? Because to outdo the Akalis, somebody felt he would be very clever and would prop up a local preacher. In Bihar, there is a nexus which is well documented in these reports. Condoning infiltration. This is the kind of patronage which then affects the internal security. And, then, they have documented at a great detail the interference from all politicians on the working of the police force, the breakdown of discipline and how promotions, transfers, recruitment have been taken out of the police...

That naturally has various consequences. Therefore, Sir, I would end by urging the Home Minister first to please desist fomenting the permissive atmosphere that you are creating. In particular, desist from statements such as 'sky is the limit', 'all options are open'.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ (Jammu and Kashmir) : Could I remind you what Shri Advani said. When Shri Advani was dealing with Kashmir, he started with four corners of Indian Constitution. Then he talked to Hurriyat people without condition and the then Prime Minister Shri Vajpayee said we should talk within the Preamble of *Insaniyat*. So remind yourself that when you were on this side, you compromised your principles with time, Mr. Shourie.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Saif-ud-din Sir, many people would be upset with what I am reading because there is an easy answer to all of them.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: You should speak with restraint.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: No, no, Sir, I am, therefore, only suggesting to you...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: You should give back to them.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: The point is that anyone with goodwill saying such things compounds a problem, whoever does it and that is the problem that I would like to draw your attention to.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: You only referred to Shri Narasimha Rao and not to Shri Advani.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: You take it from Shri Advani also. Please do not dilute the laws, the way you are going to do it again. Remember the figure of 19,000 killed and 29 persons convicted under this law. Secondly, don't delude yourself about Pakistan-that it will give up its singular pursuit because of a pipeline, or trade, or some games and hospitality or about its associate in the East. Journalists used to call The Gujranwala School of Foreign Policy because I am from Gujranwala. He is from Gujranwala and so we will be able to settle. So also, if I am from a village that side, I will get a painting from there and I will be able to settle. Everybody who comes with that delusion and in the end it taught -- at the country's expense - a bitter lesson. I would urge, 'do not be in a hurry' in regard to dealing with Pakistan. 'Do not be in a hurry.' 'Do not think that it is just a matter of devising some clever wording at a Press statement as in New York.' 'Do not compete that you will work a miracle that NDA could not work.' Please remember these three rules which are borne out of studying this security situation for almost 25 years now. 'Do not be in a hurry'. Don't think it is a matter of devising some clever wording and 'do not compete' because somebody else could not work a miracle, I will show that I will work a miracle. The third thing is, I would urge: please publish the report of the Task Force on Border Management and Internal Security. Fourthly, please implement their recommendations in particular, joint commands for J&K and North-East. They urged it for security forces, they urged it for independent agencies, and they urged it for different departments dealing with FACRA, narcotics, terrorism and so on. Fifthly, please don't do - I am alarmed to see Mr. Kyndiah's statement - what you are doing. I do not know, I am sure there are many friends here who know the North-Eastern Council. I have worked with them. We did everything to revive them. But thus far they are a defunct organisation. They are not able to do work on development and there are some persons, well meaning persons but their administration are mortgaged to terrorists. Money is given to them; Governments are urgently available to terrorists. Contracts on these development projects go to them and in that group you will discuss security operations. They say, we will operationalise NEC, the mandate relating to security. Please let them first do what they are trying to do. They should at least do development, development of their own project. At least, development of their own projects. You would be discussing with them operational details.

Third, the Task Force had urged a Central investigating agency. You learn from the Teligi's case. In Teligi's case, figures are given; there were

30,000 crore fake stamps, 60,000 crore fake stamps. It transcends to the various State Governments. And, because of the hold of such a person, a State Government refuses permission to the CBI to investigate. And, the CBI can't investigate till it gets permission. Let us see Teligi just a smalltime faker of the fake stamp papers. But, now, the type of public life induction that is taking place ...*(Interruptions)*... Tomorrow, the terrorist groups - groups working for the breaking up of the country - will also acquire the same type of hold and would prevent the agencies from working. So, the law for a Central investigating agency must be followed. One of the worst signals, which could have been given, has already been given. You have resolved that the IMDT Act, which is the Act under which no foreigner can be deported and detected in Assam, will not be scrapped. Please examine what is being taught in the *madarsas*; what they are being used for; what the agencies said in regard to the Bangladesh fence. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is the last line of paragraph 5 - The role of the NEC in border trade and operationalising NECs mandate relating to security.

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH (Andhra Pradesh) : Is this the recommendation of the Committee?

SHRI ARUN SHOLIRIE: No, Sir, the Government has accepted. Please read the beginning of the sentence. ...*(Interruptions)*... Jairamji, you are not reading it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Jairamji, read it. The Government of India has, by and large, accepted the recommendations of the Committee. ...*(Interruptions)*... If it means that it is not accepted on security, then, wonderful. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I am very happy. ...*(Interruptions)*... Yes, they have accepted this. Anyhow, I will just finish it. Enforce the laws that have been passed on the Bangladesh fence. The first step was taken -- a very good first step. But the type of fence that we really require is the type that has been set up in the J&K. That should be done forthwith. Sir, there are several other recommendations. I will, with your permission, only read two more and, then, finish. But, they are telling passages. On the national identity card, the Task Force has said, because it is a passage that deals more than a particular recommendation, "Attention may be invited to yet another disconcerting aspect of our national life. It is amazing to see that though over five decades have elapsed since Independence, we have not been able to implement a National Identity Card Scheme nor the scheme for a National Citizenship Register. Crores of rupees have been wasted on issue of election cards in a few States. The Income Tax Department is now issuing its own PAN cards to income tax



assesses. All such expenditure could have been avoided by issue of an all-purpose identity card to all citizens of the country. In the absence of such a card, irrespective of the legal niceties, passport, election card and ration card are treated as evidence of citizenship. And all these are easy to get by providing an illegal gratification of just a few hundred rupees to the concerned functionaries in Government departments." Then the Task Force asks, "How much more can the citizenship of a country be devalued?"

Sir, my final point is on Lakshadweep. I will mention, through you, what a criminal thing it is. They say that intelligence agencies have revealed that Lakshadweep has become one of the major centres for smuggling -first, gold and silver; then, narcotics; then, arms; then, agents. And then they say, "A strategic amalgamation of all these activities (narcotic trafficking, smuggling silver and gold, *hawala* operations) and developed facilities have been worked out at the instance of the ISI of Pakistan. Drug couriers are allowed passage on condition of collecting and reporting trans-border intelligence. Trained saboteurs and terrorists - these are on the basis of the intelligence inputs to them - are prevailing upon to carry drugs for sustenance and operational expenses from the sale proceeds. Passage to couriers of contrabands is often conditional to carrying and delivering arms and ammunition." This is on the basis of interrogation reports. "Smugglers are often given assistance and facilities in exchange of organising infiltration of terrorists and saboteurs and landing of explosives, arms and ammunition. The ISI has thus been eminently successful in utilising the network and infrastructure developed by smugglers and drug traffickers to serve its own objective." Then they say, "what are we doing about it?" They say, "The Lakshadweep police maintains police stations in such and such islands." Please note this,- against this operation of ISI, they say, "Intelligence gathering is carried out by one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector, one Head Constable, and three constables working in the Special Branch at Kavaratti." Sir, this is no way in which security can be safeguarded. They say, "The ever perplexing security scenario of Lakshadweep Islands and the absence of any worthwhile surveillance had prompted the Director-General Coast Guard to moot the idea of a Marine Police Force as far back as 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1996." And reporting in October, 2000 they said, "What has happened over four years or six years?" "The Lakshadweep Government has since put up a case for a Marine Police Force on the same lines as Andaman and Nicobar in October, 1999..." पाँच साल तो केस पुट — अप करने में लग गये । आज हम दिसम्बर में बात कर रहे हैं । परसों मैंने दरयाफ्त किया कि जो केस पुट — अप हुआ था, उसका क्या हुआ ? वे कहते हैं कि वह

अब कंसीडर भी नहीं होगा। Why? Because it has become a matter of contention between the Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry on who will control the Marine Police Force. Sir, this is not the way in which internal security should be judged and dealt with. That is why, I am pleading and I would be very grateful to the Home Minister for whom I have great affection and personal regard, that he may please table these reports in the House and then give us a check list of the recommendations, what is being done about them, and the time frame within which it would be done, so that the House can be satisfied that these grave problems are being attended to. Thank you.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have been listening to our dear friend, Mr. Arun Shourie, for over an hour on a subject which is of collective national concern. There is no disagreement that the threat to the internal security is not a partisan issue. Be it the threat of cross border terrorism, be it the threat of narco-terrorist, be it the threat of infiltration, we all are equally concerned, whether the Government or the Opposition Benches. But, Sir, though Shri Arun Shourieji was repeatedly saying that he will be restrained and not make it a partisan issue, the hidden insinuations, the barbs, and the criticisms were not lost on all those who were listening to him carefully, especially, about the alarming scenario which was painted about the internal security situation as it prevails today. True, there are issues that need to be addressed. We cannot run away from the responsibility of the Government and administration. However, to give an impression that in six month's time there has been a deterioration, there has been an alarming increase is not correct.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY (Gujarat) : Change of attitude.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Now allow me. Why do you interrupt me right in the beginning? We were very patient with your colleague. Let me deal. You will have the time to answer.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: I just said, there is a change of attitude.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Well, yes, we will discuss attitudes also, if we are going to talk on attitudes and try to make it partisan. I was trying to make one thing clear that this issue should not be treated as a partisan matter. There are ways in which the Government addresses this threat. The present Government is very clear about its approach, about its priorities and the needs of the internal security for the country. I am saying that the

present Government surely needs no sermons or education from those who were there for six years, who had come into Government-I would like to remind- on the twin planks of *Swaraj* and *Suraksha*. What happened to *Swaraj*, the country knows; what happened to *Suraksha*, how secure were we; how strong was the internal security; how were the issues addressed? I am constrained to say that, Sir, because Arun Shourieji's entire speech was based on certain reports of the Task Force. I would like those reports to be tabled and at an appropriate time to be discussed. But these Task Forces were set up post-Kargil. There was a Subramaniam Committee Report on Kargil. What happened? Where were the failures? Be it of internal security agencies or intelligence agencies. I must place on record the fact that those recommendations - post-Kargil - were not considered or implemented. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister, out of those recommendations, which were made after Kargil, how many recommendations were, actually, implemented.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI JASWANT SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have no intention of either intervening or interrupting the hon. Member but purely as a fact, the sequence of events, the conflict in Kargil, thereafter for the first time ever in independent India, an inquiry into the conflict was ordered by the then Government. The Subramaniam Committee Report was the consequence of it and based on the Subramaniam Committee Report, as part of further inquiry into the situation, four Task Forces were established which my distinguished colleague and friend, Shri Arun Shourie has listed, and two other Task Forces relate to the internal security. On the recommendations of these Task Forces, a Group of Ministers which was involved with the task from the very beginning then consolidated a Report, which Report was submitted to Parliament, which Report was placed in the Library of the Parliament and is a matter of public property ever since. Thereafter, Sir, an Action Taken Report was also submitted listing all the steps that the Government has already taken on this. And in the consolidated Report of the Group of Ministers also, they have listed all the steps that have been taken. As a matter of personal knowledge I do wish to say that I had the distinction and honour of also simultaneously holding the portfolio of Defence at that time and I can state to the House that about 95 per cent of the recommendations of the Subramaniam Committee Report and the Task Force on the Armed Forces were implemented.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Well, Sir, this is what hon. Jaswant Singhji had to say. I would also like to remind him, it is not merely the tabling of the report. There were repeated demands for a discussion on the report. I have addressed this question, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sir, the points which were raised by Mr. Shourie have been replied now by the Leader of the Opposition sitting over there. And, I can assure the House that the recommendations, which have not yet been implemented, are in the process of being implemented. I propose not only to reply to the debate orally, but I will give a written reply to all the points which have been made by Mr. Arun Shourie. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I have noted there are around fifty points. If I reply only to Mr. Arun Shourie's points, I won't be replying to the others' points. And, to the others' points, wherever it is necessary, the replies will be given in writing as well as orally on the floor of the House.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, I have the privilege of being asked to yield twice, first to the Leader of the Opposition for whom I have personal regards and to the hon. Home Minister who has clarified what the Government is doing. That is exactly what I was saying, Sir, that the priorities and the comprehension of this Government are very clear. There is no question of a compromise, there is no question of a slow down when it comes to dealing with the menace of terrorism, of narco-terrorism, of militancy and also all those armed groups who believe that the path of violence is the only mode of arriving at some solution.

But, Sir, when we talk of internal security, it is important to realise as to what a Government and an administration needs to do. It is not merely policing, it is not merely a piece of legislation, but beyond that. Yes; the Government is expected to do the identification of the terrorist groups, the areas in which they operate, as Arun Shourieji was saying, - I share his concern - if forty per cent of the territory is afflicted with this scourge of violence in one form or the other. But besides the identification, what is also required, Sir, is the intelligence-gathering and also prompt action by the security forces. This is normally what policing will be all about. But, finally, Sir, a nation-State also has not only to cope with it, deal with it but also strive to find a resolution of the problems where ever it can.' And the resolution cannot be there only by following one-track; resolution can only come about if those who have been lured out of the mainstream, those who have been persuaded or impressed upon to take recourse to arms, are

prevailed upon, are brought back to the mainstream. Now, that is one step which this Government has indicated by talking of the Naxalites, the Maoists in Andhra, that if they give up - the Prime Minister made it clear -- the path of violence, have talks with them so that the youth who have been misled can be brought back into the national mainstream. The same approach has been there with regard to the North-East, be it ULFA, be it the talks with the youth in Manipur and the talks with the Naga leaders.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : Incidentally, two of them are here, in Delhi today - Muivah and Issac. They are in Delhi to have talks with the Prime Minister and the Government. So, this is indicative of this Government's firmness to tackle the matters and also its understanding of what is in the critical interest of this country.

Shri Arun Shourie was saying that this Government has 'compromised'. He has very carefully put words into the mouth of the hon. Prime Minister, which he never uttered. He has said, in the context of Jammu and Kashmir, that the Prime Minister has said, "Sky is the limit..."

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : Sir, that was said by Mr. Narasimha Rao.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : Sir, we are talking about the present Government and you were talking of the last six months.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : Sir, Dr. Manmohan Singh had said...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : Sir, you are talking of the last six months, too.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : Sir, Dr. Manmohan Singh had said that all options are open....

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : Please, Mr. Arun Shourie, I am not yielding any more. Please.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : Please, give me a second. Sir, he is attributing something to me. Mr. Narasimha Rao had said...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : Well, Sir...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : Just one second, Sir, let me clarify if there is some confusion in your mind. Mr. Narasimha Rao had said that 'the sky is the limit' about autonomy in Jammu and Kashmir. I mentioned the difficulties that arose from that. Now, what has been said by the Prime Minister is that all options on Kashmir are open. That is the point.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : Sir, the hon. Prime Minister as well as this Government has made it clear, while talking of a dialogue, and while saying that options are open, that the territorial integrity of this country and what is mandated by the Constitution would be upheld.

Shri Arun Shourie had said that we have compromised on what we have stood for, especially the resolutions of both the Houses of Parliament on Jammu and Kashmir. That is not correct, and I would like to place it on record, if that was your understanding, it is unfortunate; if that is not your understanding, then the statement was deliberate and misleading.

Sir, Mr. Arun Shourie also commented on the present position with regard to the Hurriyat, that the Hurriyat is no more talking, but it is being allowed to come to Delhi, and that the Hurriyat leadership is meeting the Pakistani Foreign Secretary. Sir, I would like to remind him that there was a time when the Hurriyat leadership was interacting with his Government; his Government was kind and generous enough, not only to issue them passports but also, allow them to go abroad. They travelled and met with the leaders abroad. If I may remind Shri Jaswant Singh, when Pervez Musharrafji was here, is it not a fact that the Hurriyat leadership came to Delhi, at the Pakistani High Commission, and had tea with Musharraf? Were they not allowed, repeatedly, to meet with the Pakistani High Commissioner at the officials of the High Commission?

So, what charge is there against this Government that has suddenly come up? You say that it is a pathetic plight. You suffer from a convenient loss of memory! You were there in the Government for six years. You are now reeling out figures and statistics as if in these six months, heavens have opened up, and for six years, the path chosen was correct!

Here, we have the Congress-led UPA Government at the Centre. And we understand the security concerns and needs. But what you have sought to do in the name of this debate on internal security is to give it a subtle communal slant, I am very much pained to point out.

When we talk of infiltration and *Madrasas*, yes, we do understand its implications, but when we are reading excerpts about creation of another State, I would like to remind you, Sir, that for internal security to be strong, to be taken care of, it is equally important that there is social unity and harmony and nothing is said or insinuated or instigated ...*(Interruptions)*...Please, let me complete. I was not going for a running commentary, my dear friend, when you were speaking. I did not utter a

worth I was listening to you. I was listening to you. So, let me say this because when you were talking about the dilution of the laws to deal with terrorism, you were also talking about Assam, you were also talking about Bangladeshi infiltration. You also connected it when you referred to the identity cards for the citizens. As I was saying, for internal security we have to be sensitive to the composite culture of this land, and recognise the fact that we must have that social harmony, the communal harmony which was forgotten and allowed to be torn apart when your Government was there. I agree, Arun Shourie;/, that there is no room for extremism or fundamentalism. But fundamentalism of any kind, bigotry of any kind is dangerous to society and to its internal security, be it a fundamentalism of A religion or B religion. Though this is not the occasion, but I cannot help mentioning that what happened in Gujarat did not help the internal security of this country. It did not strengthen it in any manner. Sir, today when we all agree about the seriousness of the issue, we would also like to know from the Government about the steps being taken to counter the infiltration and also the influx of weapons. I will concur with you that the influx of sophisticated weapons in the country is a matter of concern. What is the source of those weapons? Where those weapons are coming from? They have been coming over a long period of time. Surely, the hon. Home Minister can share what can be shared about the intelligence available on the sponsors, their identity, and how we propose to deal with it. Sir, Narco terrorism is a well-known threat and is a serious one. I am in full agreement that Jndra because of its geographical location is sandwiched between two major drug-producing regions of the world - the Golden Triangle and the Golderi Crescent - and the drugs coming in from them, as we have seen in the case of South-East Asia and Afghanistan are being used to fund terrorist groups and insurgent groups. This needs to be tackled. Merely by saying and reeling out the figures, which are there, that so many police constables are there in Lakshadweep, or that there is an understanding in the North-East or not that there is a national organisation to deal with narcotics, we can't tackle this. I am sure that the present Government is equally, rather more, concerned about how to deal with it. .Sir, I will touch just two more issues. As Arun Shourie;/ was referring to the convictions, the rate of conviction of those who have been charged with committing acts of terrorism - you referred to the Bombay blasts; you referred to the subsequent terrorist incidents — yes, those incidents were serious and it is equally a matter of serious concern that most of the perpetrators are not brought to book. Now, it is something which the concerned agencies need

to address to ensure that those who have committed such acts are punished, they are brought to justice and the judicial process is made more expeditious and effective. This is something for the Government to consider. But, Sir, to give this impression through this discussion, as was sought to be created, of this alarming scenario, which my friend painted, I would like to remind him. I am happy that Shri Jaswant Singh is also sitting here. When we talk of experience, we were being given some words of wisdom. The Home Minister heard them and as we all did, that we should not delude ourselves about Pakistan; we should not be in any hurry. We take that advice of yours very seriously Arunji. -But, when we talk of experience, coming from that side and six years of track record, it is very difficult because we talk of the ability. You are talking of loss of direction; you are talking of a mindset which was set during the last six months. That is what Shri Arun Jaitley just said. And, I would like to remind you, Sir, just to refresh your memory that we had the famous Indian Airlines hijack case and after that, the then Government was put into the situation of negotiating the release of hardened terrorists who were in Indian jails, including Maulana Azhar Masood, who later on founded Lashkar-e-Tatba in Pakistan ...*(Interruptions)*... Okay, I stand corrected, Jaish-e-Mohammad, but it does not mean that that organisation is very kind towards India. But, this is a fact that they were in Indian prison. They were escorted, released with respect and what they are doing is known to us. You are talking of dilution of the legislation. You had the legislation and the will, which you claim that you had. But, after that, we have witnessed the attacks on the Army camps in Jammu and Kashmir, attacks on the families of our soldiers in Kalu Chak, attacks on the places of religious worship, be it Akshardham or Reghunathji Temple. And, Akshardhamji is in the constituency of *Loh Pvrushji*, - who was the Home Minister then. उनसे बढ़िया देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा की चिंता न किसी को थी, न समझ थी, पर वहां भी हमला हुआ। लाल किले पर हमला हुआ।

Parliament was attacked and as per your own statement, as per your own records and the information, which your Government had, or claimed to have, those people were inspired by Maulana Azhar Masood. So, you did refer to the legislation, though there will be a separate discussion on the POTA and the new Bill which will replace it. But, mere enactment of legislation did not save this Parliament from being attacked. You had legislation in place. It has to be the will and the resolve, and this Government does have that resolve and will. Mere rhetoric, words, Acts and enactments do not matter. We had heard enough of rhetoric then. Today, you have a Government which is talking with sobriety, with depth



and understanding. Otherwise, we are also aware when day after the attack, what we saw हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्री जी, उस समय के तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री जी थे, मैं उनका बड़ा सम्मान करता हूँ। उन्होंने एक दिन कह दिया कि अब तो 'आर — पार की लड़ाई होगी' सारा देश और दुनिया सकते में आ गई कि इधर अब जंग हो जाएगी। उनको किसी ने कहा होगा कि गलत हो गया। फिर अगले दिन ही उन्होंने कहा कि आसमान साफ है। जी, मनाली तो मेरे हिमाचल में है, वे छुट्टी पर वहां आ गए। हमें उसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। But, what I am saying is that mere rhetoric and threatening statements do not reflect or convey a nation's resolve. You also mobilised one million soldiers. You took them to the borders. More soldiers died during the ten-month period than the number of troops killed in Kargil. So, if we talk of things like what direction was there, and, whether there is loss of direction, or, lack of will today, that would not be the correct thing. I wish those insinuations, those barbs could have been avoided. Let us address this issue as Parliamentarians who are committed to the Constitution of this country, to the integrity of this country, and, support the Government in its endeavour to bring back into the mainstream those who have strayed away and taken to weapons and arms, and, also of a dialogue process which can end the menace of terror and violence. Thank you.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN (Kerala): Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on the discussion on My hon. colleagues who have already participated in this discussion have contributed their views. We are all unanimous that the entire nation should be united to safeguard the sovereignty of this country. We have to oppose any kind of action, which is trying to destabilise the integrity and sovereignty of the country. Here, Sir, this Government is a continuation of the previous Government, and, this country is facing the menace of terrorism for more than one and a half decade.

So far, we are not able to solve the issue in toto. Now, after this Government came to power, there, is an attempt to address some of the issues. Sir, the issue related to terrorism etc., has its own root from so many issues. If it is with regard to Jammu and Kashmir, still it is a very poverty stricken and backward area. There are scarce employment opportunities available to the youth in Jammu and Kashmir. Because of this, the extremists are exploiting the youth. These extremists have been funded by foreign agencies. This is the situation. So, naturally, we should have a very clear stand, very transparent stand towards this issue. The first step taken by the Government, especially by the Prime Minister, is to be appreciated. I would like to quote something about the Prime Minister's

recent visit to Jammu and Kashmir. We are all aware that on the eve of the Prime Minister's visit, there was an attack, and, I quote from *The Hindu*, "The *da/* began with Srinagar shutting down its shutters in response to a *hartal* called by a separatist camp. By the time the Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh landed, Srinagar looked like a deserted town. Simultaneously, a *fidayeen* attack was staged at Sulaiman Hill, not very far from the Prime Minister's public rally venue."

By the time the media party from Delhi made its way to the rally venue, the tense venue already wore a normal look. However, the security brass was nervous, and, it insisted that the Prime Minister should speak from a bulletproof enclosure.

Despite the shoot-out, by early afternoon, the democratic forces were out in force at the Chinara land, the picturesque Bakshi Cricket Stadium with flags, banners, posters and a special air of excitement existed. Nearly about 20,000 people were there to hear the Prime Minister. So, this is a change. Those people came to hear the Prime Minister in spite of the guns booming between terrorists and security forces. So, in this situation, poor man came to listen to the Prime Minister. Sir, assurances had been given from that dais and that assurances have to be implemented. That is the important thing. Will the Government implement the assurances given to the Kashmiri people? That is the main question. Would they be ready to implement it? Then, there would be a positive hearing and positive steps from the people. So, my humble request to this Government is that you have to take some bold steps in this regard. Naturally, now steps have been taken. Some of the armed forces have been withdrawn. But now there is a proposal that you have to identify some peace zones within the State and subsequently you have to demilitarise these zones. This would be a step in the direction of creating some conducive atmosphere. So, some zones have to be identified and demilitarised. Secondly, the political parties are now taking initiative for peace in Jammu and Kashmir. This should also be supported by the Government. Then, youths should be given more opportunities and aid for getting employment.

Then, Sir, with regard to North-East, the situation is different. Right from August 15 to *Gandhi Jayanti*, within 6 weeks, there were attacks in which 80 innocent people died. Attacks were there on Independence Day, where school children died. Then, on *Gandhi Jayanti*, 30 people died. In this regard, some steps have to be taken. But, there was a very dangerous signal at that time. The US Ambassador, immediately after this

incident, promptly wrote to the Assam Chief Minister offering him the services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in locating the terrorist activities and their perpetrators. This is a dangerous signal. This message came from the US Ambassador. Those who failed to save their people from the September 11 event are now extending support to our country. We have our own CBI; we have our own institutions. Did this Government take a stern stand in this regard? That is to be explained. What would be the stand of this Government towards this kind of an action of US? They are intervening in the internal security of this country. We are all aware that US is trying to destabilise the sovereignty of so many sovereign countries. Now they are trying to interfere in the internal security of this country. What is the stand of this Government? That is to be explained for us. Then, Sir, there is a positive step from the Prime Minister. I would like to appreciate him. He had visited Manipur and gave an assurance that the Government is going to make a review on that notorious law and the force has been given to the Manipur Government. These are some positive steps by the Government. Again, from Assam, he had given some assurances with regard to packages for North East etc. This is to be implemented properly.

Thirdly, Sir, Bangladesh is being used as a hub for the terrorist training, etc., and these terrorists are coming to India. They are using Bangladesh as a haven for the cross-border, terrorism, especially in Tripura. There also, the Government has to provide more paramilitary forces. The request is pending with the Government.

Then, Sir, with regard to *hawala*. This is a dangerous area. In my State of Kerala, the southern most corner of this country, there was an inflow of Rs. 336 crores of hawala money some three years ago. The Central Government made some inquiry. Now, it is revealed that nearly 700 crores of rupees of hawala money had gone to Kerala in the last 2-3 years. This money is being used for anti-national activities. A particular political party from the religious minority, is using this money to spread communal feelings and sentiments in the State. It was reported that from a small village, with a population of 20 thousand people, 70 crore rupees of *hawala* money has been transferred through a cooperative bank. Another 100 crores of rupees of hawala money has been transferred by a nearby urban cooperative bank. I wrote a letter to the hon. Home Minister. I have not received a reply so far. That is the ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Can you give the name or is it only a sweeping remark that this has been done by ...*(Interruptions)*... Name the cooperative bank.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: I have given the name. This was reported in the newspapers ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: The name is there. You mention the name.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Name is clear...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You cannot force a Member to name ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: I have no objection. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Don't give a sweeping remark.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Sir, I have no objection. Manchery Urban Cooperative Bank and Makaramba Service Cooperative Bank. These are the two banks. I name them. Let the Minister make an inquiry. He will get the information about a handful of cooperative banks which have been used for the *hawala* transactions. It is a very dangerous thing. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, go on with your speech.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Sir, this Government has to take a very stern stand. ...*(Interruptions)*... These *hawala* transactions are being used for anti-national activities. It is used by the minority community, and some of the terrorist elements backed by the ISI are also using it. So, the Government has to take stern steps, and a proper reply should be given to this House as to how you are going to deal with these *hawala* transactions which have taken place in Kerala.

Then, Sir, now with regard to Naxalites, the Government has started some discussion with them, and it has been reported in newspapers. I am not against this kind of discussion with Naxalites. But one thing that they are emphasising on is keeping weapons with them. That is an integral part of their body. This is what they are saying. What is the approach of this Government with regard to these kinds of comments from the Naxalites? People want to know this. Some

discussions are going on; big publicity is being given. Every day, we can see Naxal leaders on television. But this demand is very dangerous. How this Government is going to tackle this problem that has to be cleared before the public of this country.

Then, Sir, with regard to the country's internal security, I have seen some dangers; one from Kanchi and the other one from Ranchi. What is going to happen, I do not know. We all know about the seer episode of Kanchi. When this seer was arrested, there was a three-day *dharna* in Delhi, which was led by very prominent leaders. So many people were there; Advaniji was there; Murli Manoharji was there; one former President was there. They had given a representation to the President. I would like to quote it. 'The sanctity and dignity of the Kanchi Peetam as indeed of world religions and spiritual institutions of all denominations must be protected from political pulls and pressures.' What are the allegations? What kind of allegations are there against the seer? Is he above the law? One after another allegations are coming. And this is the approach of one prominent party. Is he above the law? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Which allegation are you talking about? ...*(Interruptions)*... Are all these allegations established? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: There are so many allegations. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Is it a matter of internal security? Are you talking about internal security? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: There is an allegation of murder; there is an allegation of sexual harassment. ...*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Is it a matter of internal security? Till the case is proved, everybody is innocent. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Sir, in this country whether Sankaracharya or Mullah or Imam or Priest, they are not above the law of the country. ...*(Interruptions)*... Whosoever it may be. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सभापति महोदय, यह आंतरिक सुरक्षा के लिए बात हो रही है , ...*(व्यवधान)*... आंतरिक सुरक्षा के लिए बात हो रही है । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सभापति : क्या फर्क पड़ता है, आप बैठ जाइए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

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श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : प्रासंगिक बात करें तो हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। ये तो प्रासंगिक बात से बाहर निकल रहे हैं। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सभापति : बैठिए — बैठिए। इनको बोलने दीजिए, क्यों बीच में डिस्टर्ब कर रहे हैं। ...*(व्यवधान)*... बैठिए, माननीय सदस्य। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: No. What I am saying is a fact only. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: This is a real fact. He is in jail. I am talking about a person who is in the jail now. He is behind bars. He is not an innocent man. That is why...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You go on making your speech. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Why I am saying this is because there was a *bandh* call. Religious sentiments were raised using this opportunity. This opportunity was used to raise religious sentiments which were detrimental to the security of this country. That is what I am saying. That's what I am saying and again whenever there is an allegation against a religious head, they are hiding behind religious faith and belief. That is what happened in the case of a Minister in Kerala belonging to the minority. There was an allegation, sex assault. He was also telling the same thing. That is what happened. You see...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Is he hiding behind the mask? You say it.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Yes, yes. He was saying, "I was hiding behind the Allah". This is what happened and this is what is happening. Sir, you see not only this seer, I am not saying not only the seer, but the Minister in Kerala who assaulted a lady is also hiding behind the Allah. That is what I am saying. He was openly declaring. That is what is happening. So, Sir,...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सभापति : आपको क्या परेशानी हो रही है। बैठिए आप। ...*(व्यवधान)*... सब बैठ जाइए। अगर वे बोल रहे हैं तो क्या बात है।

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: What I am saying

श्री सभापति : आप बैठिए — बैठिए, इनको बोलने दीजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : वे क्या बोल रहे हैं। वे जो बात बोल रहे हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**... कोई अगर अल्लाह की पनाह ले रहे हैं तो क्या गलत बात है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... फांसी चढ़ाने के पहले भी पूछा जाता है कि तुम्हारी अंतिम इच्छा क्या है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: You don't know about this act. He told..*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Ahluwalia, I do not have any hesitation in saying that the Minister is from the Muslim League. What is the hesitation? No doubt, he used his religion to escape from the allegation. That is what I am saying. The same thing was done by the Minister belonging to the Muslim League. That's what I am saying.

श्री सभापति : बैठ जाइए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप बोलिए, बोलिए। ... आप डिस्टर्ब मत कीजिए माननीय सदस्य। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप बैठ जाइए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... इनका रिकार्ड नहीं किया जाए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सभापति महोदय, बात ऐसी है कि इन्होंने शंकराचार्य जी के केस के साथ ...**(व्यवधान)**... यह बता रहे हैं कि मुस्लिम लीग के एक मंत्री जो कि एक यौन उत्पीड़न के मामले में ...**(व्यवधान)**... ये लोगो की धार्मिक भावनाओं को ठेस पहुंचाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him finish, let him finish, please take your seat.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Sir, I am just concluding. Sir, what is Bengal here? Then, from Kanchi to Ranchi. Now, I am coming to the issue of Kanchi to Ranchi. It was reported that the BJP is really the chosen instrument to take our country out of its present problems and to glorify its all round achievement. Now the Hindutva route is coming. Sir, it is a repetition of the Palampur Declaration .. So, they are trying to foment communal passions in the country. This is also a threat to the internal security of this nation. You should be careful. What is the approach of this Government regarding Mr. Advani's declaration at Ranchi. This has to be answered properly in this House. That is what I am demanding. Then, Sir, finally, I would like to say while discussing about the internal security, we have to think about the unemployment problem in the villages; we have to think about the unemployment problem among the educated youth. What did Mr. Gogoi, the Chief Minister of Assam, say?. Last year, the income from the tea estate was Rs. 103 crores; and this time it is only Rs.3 crores. That means the entire tea industry is in trouble. So, because of the new economic policy, the impact is there on the villages. There have been suicides by farmers, there is unemployment problem, the Government's investment is coming down, and religious fanaticism is increasing. So, the

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Government has to take positive steps on the economic issues; otherwise the Government cannot safeguard the internal security and sovereignty of this country. Therefore, I request the Home Minister to take necessary steps in this regard. With these words, Sir, I conclude.

**श्री सभापति :** सदन की कार्यवाही कल 11 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned at fifty-nine minutes past four of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2004.