

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

now estimated at Rs. 1156.60 crores compared to Rs. 1896.04 crores in the Budget. Taking into account the transactions in the Public Account and the opening deficit, the current year is expected to close with a deficit of Rs. 51.94 crores compared to deficit of Rs. 76.84 crores estimated in the Budget.

The revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 2072.79 crores showing an increase of Rs. 177.28 crores over the Revised Estimates for the year 1989-90. State's tax and non-tax revenue receipts estimated at Rs. 1581.01 crores are higher than the Revised Estimates of 1989-90 by Rs. 201.60 crores. The State's share of Central taxes and grants is Rs. 491.78 crores, which is less than the Revised Estimates for the year 1989-90 by Rs. 24.32 crores. The expenditure on revenue account is estimated at Rs. 2540.84 crores.

On the Capital account, the receipts are placed at Rs. 2159.25 crores and expenditure including loans and advances at Rs. 1727.01 crores. Taking into consideration the Revenue Account, the Capital Account and the Public Account, the Budget for the year 1990-91 relating to transactions gives a surplus of Rs. 51.94 crores. Taking into account the opening deficit of Rs. 51.94 crores, the year 1990-91 closes with a 'Nil' balance.

The State Plan Outlay for 1990-91 has been fixed at Rs. 905.00 crores. The normal Central assistance for the year 1990-91 will be Rs. 85.42 crores. Centre will also be providing a special assistance of Rs. 800.00 crores.

While as required, the Annual Financial Statement for the year 1990-91 has been laid before the House and the connected Demands for Grants are also being circulated to the Hon'ble Members along with the other Budget papers I am, at this stage,

seeking a 'Vote on Account' for the first six months of the financial year 1990-91 except for the requirement of food procurement where the annual requirement needs to be Voted to keep procurement operations going.

16.34 1/2 hrs.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR
GRANTS—PUNJAB, 1989-90

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): I beg to present a statement of (Hindi and English versions) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the State of Punjab for 1989-90.

16.35 hrs.

MOTION UNDER RULE 342

Situation in Jammu and Kashmir—
Contd.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Balgopal Mishra.

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV (Jhanjharpur): Mr. Speaker, I am on a point of information. I have given a notice of the breach of Privilege under Rule 227 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha.

MR. SPEAKER: Please, take your seat.

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV: I seek your ruling on it.

MR. SPEAKER: Please see me in my chamber.

[English]

SHRI BALGOPAL MISHRA (Bolangir): Sir, Kashmir is not today's problem. This problem has been there for the last many years. Mr. M.J. Akbar said that this weak Government is responsible for the Kashmir issue. The so-called weak Government has assumed power only 100 days back. But the Kashmir problem was there since the day of independence. So, this Government has inherited the problem of Kashmir along with other problems from the previous Government. I do not want to repeat what the other Members have said. In 1983, Andhra Pradesh threw out the Congress-I when the entire country accepted it. That was because the Andhra sentiment was trampled by the political bosses of Delhi because Chief Ministers were changed frequently by the then Congress-I hierarchy. This hurt the Andhra sentiment. Similarly, Kashmiri sentiment has been hurt. In addition to this, the chronic negligence and humiliation of Kashmiri people has resulted in the present state of affairs.

In his speech, Mr. M.J. Akbar referred to Mahem. He forgot completely the Amethi incident. If a political opponent could be gunned down in Amethi, booths can be captured and mass scale rigging can take place, that must have encouraged some people in Mahem to resort to the reported things. No sane man will support Mahem incident. But the people who refer to Mahem should condemn Amethi first. Some people say that communal forces are working in Kashmir. They should know that it is not only the communal forces but also the Kashmiri sentiments and ego and self-respect etc. If some one will go through the article of Mr. Jaya Jattlee, published in today's Times of India, he will be very clear about it. People of Kashmir had expected that Dr. Farooq Abdullah shall uphold the dignity of Kashmiri people but he failed and he danced to the tune of political bosses of Delhi. Out of frustration, they resorted to the present methods. I congratulate the Prime Minister for the bold step he took, by taking the entire House into confidence to sort out Kashmir

issue. I could request our hon. Prime Minister and I also urge upon the House to ban these communal and extremist elements so that these secessionist forces do not pose any threat to the unity and sovereignty of the country. But unfortunately in the past the Gorkhaland problem was there and they trained some people. Today the same force might be having a hand in the activities of the *Jamaat-i-Islami* and the JKLF. These things should be scrutinised thoroughly.

So far as the question of a political settlement is concerned, I congratulate our hon. Prime Minister because he has started the political initiative. He has taken all the political forces in the country into confidence. He has not tried to make any discrimination, though some people have tried to take advantage of it, whom I do not want to name here.

Finally, by raising one issue simply I conclude. My point is that even after 40 years of Independence this country has failed to produce a statesman in right earnest. Mostly, the country has produced politicians who were concerned about their own political interest, petty party interest of which the present Prime Minister is above.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI KADAMBUR M.R. JANARDHANAN (Tirunelveli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as a Member of Parliament belonging to the AIADMK Party which has not been included in the list of major political parties as per the new National Front Government's decision, I and my Party Members were not given an opportunity to participate in the delegation. Even then we are proud to participate in this sensitive national issue as our party itself is called the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

Sir, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, the seriousness and the heavy burden which lies upon the new Government is clearly seen by the appointment of a separate Cabinet Minister hon. Shri George Fernandes. Now he has to look into the problem.

[Sh. Kadambur M.R. Janardhanan]

For that purpose, an Advisory Panel is also nominated with six MPs from different political parties. At present, what worries the Government and the people is as to how to solve the problem of Jammu and Kashmir. Seeing today's paper, I must tell this august House what the hon. Minister Shri George Fernandes has stated. He has stated: "... his new job would in no way create any confrontation with the Jammu and Kashmir Governor..." I cannot understand this statement. There is a separate Home Minister. At the same time, a new Cabinet Minister—Shri George Fernandes—has been appointed for tackling this problem. The people feel that this problem has started because of the appointment of the new Governor Mr. Jag Mohan. When he says that he will not have any confrontation with the Governor's view, then I do not know what for this Advisory Panel is. It has been stated that the political process has been frozen in Jammu and Kashmir. If it has to be frozen, then the activities of Mr. Jag Mohan has to be reflected according to the wish of the people. That is the talk of the people of Delhi. Since our hon. Prime Minister has said that we represent the people, he must hear the people of Kashmir of what they talk in the streets. They say: "Do not put money in the Indian nationalised bank but put the money in the Jammu and Kashmir Bank." What we read in Tamil newspapers is that Cape Comorin to Kashmir is one country, our country. I come from Tamil Nadu. The news about Kashmir which we get is that the driver of the hon. Deputy Prime Minister is beaten up in the streets. When there is no security for the driver of the Deputy Prime Minister, what will be the security available to the common man. Therefore, looking to all these problems, I request the hon. Prime Minister to have a deep concern over this issue. It is a national issue. As our mentor Shri MGR has said, we always work in the national interest unlike your partner DMK which has no representation now. There is no representation of the people here from the DMK side. As we represent the people of Tamil Nadu, I wish this Government to come out of the situation

gloriously for the welfare of the country because Cape Comorin to Kashmir is one country. In Tamil we say and its translation is from Cape Comorin to Himalayas is one country. For that issue, we have to work together. On this issue, we have to work shoulder to shoulder and in cooperation. We extend all our cooperation to the National Front Government for solving the Jammu and Kashmir issue soon.

[*Translation*]

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was confident from the very beginning that there would not be much dispute on the issue under discussion. We are discussing such a problem with which we are not only familiar with but I believe that our country had not faced such a serious problem during the last 42 years. Our country was invaded. The whole country had stood up as one unit to identify and counter the enemy. We were not on good terms with the neighbouring countries, war also took place, but the circumstances in those days were such that issues before the country appeared in a clear perspective. Thus the Government did not face much difficulty to tide over the situation. The situation in Kashmir, as I have stated, is the gravest of all because we have been experiencing not only the intervention of a foreign power in it but all the people in one part of the country with the exception of a very few, have also undoubtedly stood up as rebels. Just a few minutes before information was received in regard to the speech delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan. She has asserted that full support will be given to the people who have stood up as rebels in Kashmir. But at the same time, she has stated that no assistance is being provided to them for anti-national activities in India, this is merely a contradictory statement. I am not concerned with her contradictions but with her intentions. About 5-6 days ago the representatives of a number of political parties visited Kashmir to evaluate the prevailing situation in the Valley. At that time, they truly felt how grave the situation in Kashmir was and how difficult task it was for us to

solve the problem in the present circumstances. At the time of starting the discussion, the Members of the Opposition raised certain objections such as who would be the appropriate person to start the discussion and why wrong Minister has been chosen to fulfil this responsibility. It is but natural that such happenings are part and parcel of the Parliamentary discussions and that the working procedure would not be interesting without it. But at the same time, I feel that in view of the gravity of present situation instead of raising futile objections, the opposition should have welcomed the move to appoint a special Minister in charge of Kashmir Affairs and should have offered constructive suggestions. Then there would have been no difficulty to evaluate the situation however grave it had been. We see that some members of the opposition have been feeling disturbed over the matter. They need not feel disturbed. Perhaps the members of the party may not be aware of the decision taken by their leader. What I am going to place before them is not meant merely to score a debating point, but to say that if the opposition, the Government and the political parties landing support to it arrive at a unanimous conclusion. That the present situation is so grave that the Government should make special efforts in this respect. For this purpose, the members of all the political parties have decided to cooperate at every step. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome this offer not only by the opposition but also by the leaders of other political parties and would like to thank them. During the discussion, the members had unanimity over a number of issues. Even the Prime Minister was also of the same opinion and I feel that the foremost among those issues is that all agree that the situation is very grave about which mention has been made in the very beginning. Second issue over which we are unanimous is—that political process should be started in Kashmir. But alongwith this one thing which is quite important is that political activities should be started in Kashmir before the political process is started there. If I say that there is no political activity in Kashmir at present, it would not be an exaggeration and nobody would deny it. Thus it becomes

essential to start political activities before starting the political process; and the Hon. Prime Minister has reiterated this not once or twice but thrice in the All Parties Meetings held before going to and after coming from Kashmir. During these meetings, it has become evident that we will have to take initiative to start political activities, and I am pleased to say that Shri Indrajit Gupta and other Members have stressed the need of activating our political workers at places where they have already been working. All the parties should make joint efforts in this regard. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the situation in Kashmir at present is such that there is unilateral propaganda, unilateral activity rather it may be called that there is terrorism. This unilateral action may be termed as terrorist activities or the activities of the underground people or the activities of the militants or the rebels. Mr. Speaker, Sir, to do away with this unilateral situation, there should be no disagreement among us about starting the political activity there.

17.00 hrs.

Accomplishments of National Conference were discussed, working of the Congress Party was evaluated and the position of BJP and Janata Dal was assessed. Performance of CPI and CPM was also discussed though these are not major parties in that region. Shri Indrajit Gupta himself has admitted that their power in that valley is limited and they are not a big power there. He also said that whenever there is any scope for making a proper use of that limited power, they would readily offer their cooperation. Besides, there are other forces, I would like to refer to the workers' movements in particular, for, nobody in the House till now has referred to it today. The reason for mentioning this point is that I believe that whenever any political activity or political process is to be started, all the public organisations working for a single cause, have to be activated to enable them to assist in the political process. They have been such a forceful power which played an effective role to protect and restore democracy in the country as well as in the world, we have witnessed such happen-

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ings at many places in the world, that is why I would like to mention it. Similar organisations are active in Kashmir for various purposes whether these are related to workers or to some other section. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is no need to repeat that we have a common agreement that in the prevailing circumstances of Kashmir, it is not possible to control the situation even by putting the entire administrative force into work—I am using the word 'administrative' in its comprehensive meaning; which includes bureaucracy too and that in place of an elected Government, Governor is administering the State. Thus our complaints are that the steps taken by police at one place or para-military forces at other or the administration still at other place created alienation. This point has been mentioned time and again that alienation can be removed only by means of those forces. Feeling the need Government have taken certain steps to start political activities though at a small scale, and also moved ahead.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point is that discussion regarding the political activities may be considered as ignoring the factual position. It is true that during our recent visit to that valley, we somehow managed to go out of the hotel for a few hours but others, who were accompanying us including MPs and other political leaders could not take the chance of going out of the four walls of the hotel, curfew was clamped in the city area only, not because the Governor wanted it or his advisors advised them against it but because those people who had observed and realised the gravity of the situation personally, felt it that it was not at all an easy task to move outside the four walls of the hotel whatever might be our feelings about the situation there. There was resentment among the people on various accounts.

I was surprised when my banded friend Shri M.J. Akbar voiced his protest against our Government. I am aware that he is engaged in the challenging profession of journalism and the peculiarity of this profes-

sion is that a journalist attempts to establish his point of view or the point of view of someone he supports whatever may be the circumstances and to prove the point of view of others to be wrong. However, I regret to say that he has opted for this very principle of journalism and used it as an instrument while participating in a discussion of national importance in this House.

As I did not want it, I had stated immediately after I stood up that I did not want our differences to be reflected in this discussion but when certain points are made, it becomes essential to give a clarification and I believe that my hon. friend would agree with me that if a matter is raised in the House it becomes obligatory on my part to place the basic facts before the House. Therefore, in order to clarify the issues raised by him, I would like to submit one or two points here. I will not do so to hurt their feelings or just to counter their statements but to bring the facts to light and it will be relevant not only for today but for all time to come because it will find a place in history and whatever is stated here during the discussion will become the part of our history. He submitted in his speech that the crisis in Kashmir began with the formation of the National Front Government headed by Shri V.P. Singh in December. Actually whatever he submitted here I quote it:—

[English]

"Mistakes had been committed but what is happening now is a disaster".

[Translation]

Now this is the problem. Perhaps an endeavour to interpret it may give rise to a new controversy. However, I have got a clipping from the 'Sunday Observer' dated August 27, 1989 in which an interview with Dr. Farooq Abdullah was published and I would like to quote his statement on certain issues in his own words. It was a very long interview and I would not like to discuss all those things in detail. First, a reference was made to the deteriorating situation in Kashmir, the in-

creasing incidence of terrorism, the assaults made on the people responsible for protecting democracy and even physical assaults made on them. Thereafter, a question was put to him as to why all these Bandhs are being organised.

[English]

The question was:

"But if the shops are closed because of a call by the underground groups, would it amount to supporting terrorism to publish that."

[Translation]

This question was in the context of the bill which was brought by his Government. In his reply he stated:

[English]

"But why do the shop close, tell me?"

[Translation]

Thus the questioner is put a counter-question instead giving an answer. The journalists replied:

[English]

"Because of fear."

[Translation]

To that, Dr. Abdullah's reply was:

[English]

"That is what I am trying to knock out".

Then the question was:

"But you have to do that politically. Where are your political workers?"

Dr. Farooq Abdullah's answer was:

"Are my political workers going to fight

against Kalashnikov? That is what I am doing now. I am going to arm my workers."

[Translation]

Kalashnikov is a gun which fires shots at a very fast pace. I don't know as to how many shots can be fired from it in one second. I do not know whether that decision was taken by the Government in consultation with you because at that time there was a coalition Government in the State. Delhi influenced the decisions taken by them and in fact an equal number of decisions were taken in Delhi as in Srinagar or perhaps even in Jammu.

[English]

Further, the question was:

"Are you going to arm them with Kalashnikovs?"

And the answer:

"I am going to arm them with whatever I can. I am not going to wait till the police comes and my man should be shot in the street."

[Translation]

Dr. Farooq Abdullah was the Chief Minister at that time and he was also the President of his party. The present leader of the opposition who is also the President of his party was the Prime Minister at that time. Dr. Farooq Abdullah who is your friend and President of National Conference stated that he was not going to wait till the police came and he was going to arm his political workers with arms so that they could defend themselves and face the situation. Under such circumstances the Government and the administration becomes irrelevant and it would not stop there. It is not right to give your hold so easily, my friend.

[English]

Then, the next question was:

[Sh. George Fernandes]

"But why can't the police be trained?"

And the answer was:

"The police is being trained. The police, unfortunately, has never fought this situation before. They never knew what terrorism was....."

Sir, we are discussing August 1989, not January, February or March, 1990..... (*Interruptions*).

Kindly see the answer further:

"... Their arms are old, the 303 is from God knows which century. Can you beat this? In one of the villages, four terrorists come down from a bus, the police try to check their passes, they shoot two of them, my SHO fires; his 303 31 times and not even a single shot comes out; it does not fire....."

It is not a laughing matter. This is where we have come to..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PIYARE LAL HANDOO (Anantnag): After this, will you kindly permit me to quote from another newspaper which will give you the correct situation there today, after 30th December. If you do not recognize the sea change that has taken place there, you will not be able to solve the problem..... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I concede your point; please try to understand what I am saying. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I concede your point. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PIYARE LAL HANDOO: Nobody denies that there were terrorism till 13th of December..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I concede that there is a sea change. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my friends belonging to the National Conference need not feel offended because I am only referring to the actual situation and the precarious state of administration prevailing there. The issue which have been taken up here, for example the mistakes and the disaster..... (*Interruptions*).....

[*English*]

I respect your feelings. I understand your feelings.

[*Translation*]

I am here on my legs neither to clarify only one point nor it is my intention but I would like to bring it on record. Shri Sathe will also agree that it is necessary to reproduce that sentence because without that it will not be possible to comprehend the situation prevailing in Kashmir today. Dr. Farooq Abdullah was asked..... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Mangalore): Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I am referring to a rule. He is referring to a personality who is not in the House. If this Minister is sent there as a Minister in charge, then there will be a disaster in Kashmir. This provocative speech is not going to bring peace there. On the contrary, it will bring disaster in Kashmir. Let him not bring down the level of the debate. I am sorry to mention it. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not my intention to cast aspersions on anyone. I had said it at the very outset that as this is a very special

matter of a very serious nature we should not embroil ourselves in a controversy. However, as regards the points which have been raised here, I would not like to go into all these details. If the situation had not been so serious, you would have been free to turn this debate in any direction but I am not taking it in that manner. However I would definitely like to submit that Dr. Farooq Abdullah in this interview..... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI T. BASHEER (Chirayinkil): You are forgetting that you are a Minister entrusted with a job who is supposed to bring normalcy in Kashmir and also to solve the problem. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: He is going to create problem there.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: He does not have any constructive policy. He does not have any positive thinking. He is always for destructive thinking.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: In order to comprehend the kind of situation prevailing in Kashmir today, it is essential to understand one more statement made by Dr. Farooq Abdullah. (*Interruptions*)

ONE HON. MEMBER: It is enough.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Why do you say so? We all agree that the National Conference..... (*Interruptions*)

It is not possible to take any political initiative without discussing the role of National Conference and without seeking their indulgence in it. That is what and how we all accept and take it. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Piyare Lal, please

take your seat. He is not yielding. No; this is not how you can carry on the debate in the House.

(*Interruptions*)

No; I have not permitted you. Please take your seats.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to quote only one sentence of Dr. Farooq Abdullah.

[*English*]

It says here; "When you won the elections in...."

(*Interruptions*)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Fernandes, are you yielding?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: No. I am not. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Kindly sit down. He is not yielding. Mr. George Fernandes is not yielding. So, please take your seats. No; I will not agree to this. (*Interruptions*) He is not yielding; if he yields, you can have your say.

SHRI PIYARE LAL HANDOO: He is entitled to read this newspaper, and say whatever he wants. But we are entitled to say what Dr. Farooq Abdullah has said in the various Press conferences. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Charles, I have not permitted you. I have not allowed you. (*Interruptions*) All of you please sit down. I have not permitted you. No; please take your seats.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Sir, it reads: "When you won the elections in 1983, you represented the whole of Kashmir....."

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): We are not interested in hearing you.

MR. SPEAKER: The House is interested in hearing him.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Sir, the last question was: "When you won the elections in 1983, you represented, the whole of Kashmir." And the answer was this. Because this is the crux of the present situation, if you do not want to understand the crux of the present situation, how will you find a solution? The question was: "When you won the elections in 1983, you represented the whole of Kashmir." Before the question is concluded, Dr. Abdulah replied: "Did Delhi accept it? I could not get a damn thing done there. Don't you think that it was necessary to give that sacrifice for the betterment of these people; and the sacrifice was the accord, and my humiliation."

These are not my words, but his words.

[*Translation*]

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): What difference does it make?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: The difference is that, I am referring to it here to point out that when this kind of treatment is meted out to Dr. Farooq Abdullah, it hurts not only Farooq Abdullah, but all the Kashmiris..... (*Interruptions*)..... all the people of Kashmir got hurt, it hurt that 'Kashmiriat' which is called Kashmiri identity. The self-respect of the people of Kashmir was hurt and that is why I have touched this point here. The situation that has been created there has not developed during the past three months. These developments have been taking place since long. What we see today is the result of the same. Today, I may submit to the House..... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla):

Mr. George, please yield the floor to me for half-a-minute.

MR. SPEAKER:

[*English*]

Yes, Shri Soz.

[*Translation*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I appreciate the feelings of Shri George Fernandes..... (*Interruptions*)..... but today when he is talking about the present problem, he commits a historical..... (*Interruptions*)..... later on we can walk out..... You are unable to comprehend the issue..... (*Interruptions*)..... Mr. Speaker, Sir, he is committing a historical mistake and therefore, I request my dear friend..... (*Interruptions*)..... he should not commit a mistake like Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, he has taken charge of Kashmir affairs only recently. Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed says something in the morning and contradicts the same in the afternoon and translates it in the evening. Therefore, I submit that he has taken charge of a very sensitive affair. I am not supporting Dr. Farooq Abdullah that no mistake had been committed by him or that the set up had committed a mistake. I want to say through you..... (*Interruptions*)..... the present problem, which we are facing today is about the people being murdered while going to the mosques, continuance of curfew for months together, sick and the injured people lying in the hospitals for want of medicines and rallies by doctors demanding life-saving drugs. This is the situation there. I had visualized the miserable situation now prevailing there, as projected by you, which is a result of sending Shri Jagmohan there by the Home Minister and some of his colleagues. The day when Dr. Farooq Abdullah was made to resign which was a revengeful attitude, Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, you scuttled the social and political causes, I would like to know whether this situation is the same which was prevalent earlier? You are mis-

leading the masses of India..... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI M.J. AKBAR: I have as much deference for journalism as for the present debate. Your description of journalism as merely seeking to point a finger on others and keeping themselves completely beyond sin; well, this is not quite accurate for the profession.

There was also a small contradiction. I admitted that there were mistakes and I tried to point out the difference that has come about through a break in policy in as good a spirit as I possibly could. The difference is there. I would only give one example. In August there was a Parliament. All this while being the time you refer Parliament sat. You may not have been a Member of the House and I also was not. But your friends and colleagues were there. Never before had Parliament despite the problems, in Kashmir, felt a need to come together and discuss them. So, there is a qualitative change, a very definite change—a very definite deterioration.

You are, I may add, the only editor of *The Other Side*.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was not attacking journalism but the way my worthy friend, Shri M.J. Akbar was trying to raise this issue, was not appropriate.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have said earlier also that I don't want to make this debate controversial. Vasantji, I will clarify only one point and not discuss other matters.

17.30 hrs.

[DR. THAMBI DURAI *in the Chair*]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Hon. Prime Minister has said in his speech, and this was

reiterated by all the hon. Members, that Kashmir is an integral part of India and we will protect the unity and integrity of the country, regardless of the sacrifices, which we may have to make. Neither, there is any difference of opinion among the parties on this issue in the House, nor there is any chance of it. We are all unanimous on this point.

On the one hand, some people are trying to lead the innocent people on path of destruction and ruination in Kashmir whereas on the other hand, they have succeeded in creating hardships for the masses. My hon. friend Shri Soz stated here that medicines were not available to the people there, as the chemist shops were closed. We considered this issue when we all visited Kashmir. We had a meeting with the Hon. Prime Minister on our return in which it was decided that arrangements must be made to provide medicines and other essential commodities immediately to the people, which have not reached them due to disturbed conditions in the State. We have taken steps in that regard. People may be facing lot of hardships in other parts also, so efforts should be continued to remove them. I can assure you that we will spare no effort to ensure regular supply of essential commodities.

But we all have to make an effort here. We have unanimously decided in the All Party Committee to appoint a Minister, with special charge of Kashmir affairs in order to handle this problem. One of the important work of the committee will be to check continuing violence in Kashmir and for that all of us have to make joint efforts. I know it is not an easy task—because the forces we have to fight are on a firm ground. We know how strong they are. We have fought even mightier forces.

We fought against the mighty British empire through non-violence and achieved Independence. If we look at the history of Kashmir and the contribution it has made to the freedom struggle, there is no doubt that it is indeed great. I am sure that the children of those who fought for the freedom of the

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country would fight the situation in the Valley in a determined way. The people of Kashmir who have fought for the freedom of the country through non-violence have to play a vital role in bringing about normalcy in the State.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are many problems which need immediate solution. My friend Shri Soz also mentioned some problems here. A lot of people have migrated from Kashmir to the other parts of the country. Some are in Jammu and some are in Delhi. It is necessary to provide them with relief.

SHRI PIYARE LAL HANDOO: It is more important to see when they have migrated.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: A meeting of our committee was held today, in which a decision was taken regarding the relief. Tomorrow, we are going to visit those people who are staying in Delhi. We have also decided to visit Jammu. We do not have to provide relief only, but also to allay their fears and make them fearless. We have taken the initiative to do this through the committee.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is necessary to say something regarding some issues, which may not be urgent today. There is lot of unemployment in Kashmir today. The question of development is also linked with it. During the last 7-8 days, we met a number of migrants. They repeatedly say that there is no development, no employment in the valley and there is power shortage also. They say that the Government had made lot of promises. They don't distinguish between the previous Government and the present Government. They only say that Delhi didn't fulfil the promises made to them and that is why they became helpless and desperate. They have to be helped at any cost. These issues are repeatedly raised by the people of Kashmir, particularly by the younger generation. I hope that besides taking steps for

normalising the situation, the Government should consider some schemes for Kashmir, which, even if implemented after some time, will create a feeling in the minds of the people and assure them that Government is looking at the problems afresh and taking steps for the development of the State.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, without taking more time of the House, I would only submit one point. The question is not just of keeping Kashmir with India, but I feel that every Kashmiri should also feel that he is as important to the country as any Member sitting in this House. Unless we instil this confidence in the people and make efforts in this direction, things cannot improve in Kashmir. They will remain the same as Shri Handoo has also pointed out. There is nothing new in it. We have been living through this for the last 40-42 years. These slogans have been heard earlier also. The situation in 1953 was even worse than what we are facing today. These problems are continuing for a long time. Shri Handoo has stated that the political situation has taken a new turn. The problems are there for the last 40-42 years and the country as well as the people of Kashmir have succeeded many times in keeping the situation under control. Therefore, I am sure that we will be able to bring the situation under control this time also. Kashmir will remain an integral part of India and the distressed Kashmiris will overcome the crisis and live with self-respect, once again as a citizens of this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to assure the House that I will discharge the special assignment entrusted to me by the Hon. Prime Minister on the advice of the hon. Members of all the political parties to the best of my capabilities and I hope that the Government will get full co-operation of the House in this matter. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI ARIF BAIG (Betul): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I also had the opportunity to visit Kashmir with the delegation as its member. It is a fact that for the persons like us sitting in Delhi it was not possible to take stock of the situation in Kashmir Valley from here.

Unless one makes an on-the-spot study and takes stock of the whole situation with one's own eyes, it is difficult for anyone to assess the magnitude of the problem. A delegation consisting of some of the sitting members of this House as well as leaders of some political parties visited Kashmir. Though we represent different shades of political opinion, yet we do agree that the problem of Kashmir can be solved by the people of the country alone. This fact has assumed greater importance with reference to the open stand of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan and its Parliament on Kashmir issue. Moreover, the intentions of the Prime Minister of Pakistan do not appear to be good as she has been making every efforts to win over the opinion of the Muslim World in her favour. I would like to congratulate our hon. Prime Minister and the Government for foiling her sinister design. I would like to tell Shrimati Benazir Bhutto that she should not forget that the Muslim population in India is one and a half times more than the population of Muslims in Pakistan. Therefore, she has no right to raise the bogey of Islam in her country. All the countries of the world know this thing well. So far as the question of Kashmir is concerned, everyone of our countrymen is prepared to make all sacrifices for preserving the unity and integrity of this country. If Shrimati Bhutto wants to raise the bogey of Islam, I, through this supreme body of the largest democracy of the world, would like to tell her that the entire world knows the treatment meted out to Muslims living in Pakistan after it came into being. How the Bengali Muslims living in Pakistan have been treated and what have been its consequences? The entire world knows about it. The people of the world also know what kind of persons Sindhis and Punjabis living in Pakistan are. Not only this, the people who migrated to Pakistan from this country in the name of Islam are still treated as second grade citizens and are called 'Muhazir' even after 42 years of creation of Pakistan. I would like to remind our Kashmiri brethren to learn a lesson from the treatment being meted out to our mujaharin-brethren under the regime of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan. I would also like to tell them that the

life and property of Kashmiri people as also their culture are safe only in a free democracy like India where they can raise their voice with full strength and seek redressal of their grievances. People who lived under military dictatorship for decades in Pakistan cannot protect the lives and culture of people of Kashmir. Sir, with all humility at my command, I would like to ask the hon. Prime Minister of Pakistan as to what is the state of their relations with Afganistan which is also a Muslim country. I, therefore, call upon my Muslim brethren to ponder over all these things. It is a fact that when the delegation visited the Valley, the situation was very bad. So much so that the Governor of the State admitted that there was practically no administration worth the name in the Kashmir Valley. We also came to know that during these 42 years, the economic condition of a common Kashmiri has not improved at all. But the leaders who claim themselves to be the representatives of the people in Kashmir amassed wealth and became millionaires. I would like to draw the attention of this august House to this point through you, Sir, that during the last 40 years the leaders in Kashmir became millionaires, but the common man has no cloth to protect himself from the biting cold. Today thousands and lakhs of Kashmiris are unemployed and are leading a life of misery.

I would like to draw the attention of the august House to all these points. I would also like to tell the hon. Members who claim themselves to be the representative of the people Kashmir that when we went to Kashmir, we found that these representatives have no courage to live with the people of Kashmir in the Valley. But they are present here.

"Ranj leader ko bahut hain,
Magar Aaram ke sath."

I am fully confident that the people of Kashmir will think over these points seriously. So far as Mr. Soz is concerned, he has no right to raise fingers at us. These people raise their fingers at B.J.P. But they should not forget that the people of the country gave

[Sh. Arif Baig]

a massive mandate to B.J.P., both in Parliamentary elections and Assembly elections and not a single instance of violence has taken place in the states where the B.J.P. came to power. We did not allow riots to take place in these states. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to point out for the information of Shri Soz that among the contestants in my constituency, 12 were Hindus. All of them lost their security deposits and I emerged victorious by the grace of God. I had defeated Mr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the present Vice-President by a margin of one lakh and nine thousand votes in Bhopal constituency in the 1977 elections. These are the important aspects to which I draw the attention of the august House. Similarly, when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the Union Minister of External Affairs, our relations with neighbouring countries had been very good. You may recall that despite being a leader from R.S.S. and the Jana Sangh background, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had established good relations with neighbouring Muslim countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan. But the situation reversed when Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Narasimha Rao held the charge of External Affairs and our relations with a neighbouring tiny Hindu country like Nepal worsened. As humble worker of the B.J.P., I assure, you sir, and call upon my brethren in Jammu and Kashmir that it is only India which can provide them protection and ensure their progress and none else. With these words, I express my gratitude to you for giving me time to speak.

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): The discussion began with a general consensus and in a cordial atmosphere in the morning. The hon. Prime Minister said that Kashmir is an integral part of India and it would continue to be so in future also. The whole country would stand by him in this matter and it will continue to do so always. We, the leaders of various political parties and the leaders of Congress Party have given this assurance to him several times. The Government would be getting full support of all the political

parties for preserving the status of Kashmir as an integral part of India. Today, the discussion was started with a general consensus and with good intentions. The hon. Members solemnly affirmed that they would not be provoked by anybody's statement. We extend our fullest co-operation and good wishes to Shri George Fernandes, who is a senior leader.

We wish him success in his new assignment. We went to co-operate with him in this matter. I do not want either to condemn or repeat those things which have been said in the House today. It would have been better had he not said those things. Shri Indrajit was also sitting here. He said if there is an organised political force in the Kashmir Valley, they are ready to seek its co-operation—however little or more organised they may be. Governor Shri Jagmohan may call them irrelevant, but the Government wants to seek co-operation from this party. They are ready to co-operate. They were invited to the All Party meeting also. Now what is the use of creating a feeling of bitterness against its leader, Dr. Farooq Abdullah on the basis of a newspaper interview. It would have been better, had this not been done. They may create a feeling of bitterness, but I would not. They may indulge in fault-finding, but I would not. You may pass a thousand taunting remarks on us but so far as Kashmir issue is concerned we will extend full co-operation to you.

Just now Shri Indrajit and Shri Saif-ud-din said that Kashmir symbolises the secular character of our country. History bears testimony to that. Shri Saif-ud-din was telling that he does not believe in God, but I do. We have a rich secular tradition in the country. Kashmir is paradise on earth and it has a long history. They can point out not one but several mistakes. But these problems did not emerge all of a sudden. These have been there for last 40 years. They may enumerate a number of such mistakes of the Congress Government or Farooq Abdullah's Government. But you should not forget the fact that it is Pakistan which is primarily responsible for fanning communalism in Kashmir than

anybody else. Just now one of our friends was referring to the event when Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited Kashmir for enrolling members for the working committee of the Muslim League, but nobody from Kashmir responded to his call. No other party in the country has fought communalism as bravely as the National Conference. There are no two opinions about it. You want co-operation and we will extend our co-operation, even if you do not want it.

I came to know from newspapers that there was a general consensus in the All Party meeting on making George Fernandes the Minister of Kashmir Affairs because he had a good equations with Dr. Abdullah. I was delighted to know that they had a good equation. I was hopeful that they would seek the co-operation of Dr. Abdullah—whatever little he can offer—and would not indulge in these things. Anyhow, we will extend our co-operation to the Government. All the parties including the of ours have expressed this view. You may like it or not but you would continue to get support. The Congress, with whatever strength it has, will extend its fullest co-operation to the Government in this matter. Mufti Sahib is sitting here. He was associated with the Congress Party for a pretty long time. I, therefore, request him not to make such statements. However, it was good that he made a clarification in this regard later. While making a reference to Shri Akbar he took all the journalists to task. Later he clarified things and that was good. I do not want to comment on Shri Arif's speech. He is a senior member. We will offer our views on his speech at the opportune time when discussion on External Affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs are taken up. I respect Shri Arif and therefore I would not like to comment on the views he has expressed in the heat of the moment. He felt as if he had to deliver a speech on a 'war platform'. According to Shri Fernandes we have overcome even the worst crisis and history bears testimony to that. He has not said all the things and therefore I have to raise these points.

18.00 hrs.

I would like to submit to the Government

that we never say things with the intention of condemning them. We have no such intention. If anybody in India takes a partisan view of the Kashmir issue he will be committing a sin against the country. Neither we committed such a mistake in the past nor we will commit any such mistake in future. As such there is no question of condemning the Government in matters relating to Kashmir. We will extend our co-operation to the Government under all circumstances. But after listening to the views expressed by certain hon. Members in the House, I apprehend whether the Government really wants to seek the co-operation. Does the Government really want to seek the co-operation of the National Conference. I do agree that the Governor enjoys some constitutional powers and he is empowered to dissolve the State Assembly. Even then Dr. Abdullah said that he would cooperate with the Government. In fact, he should extend his cooperation even if the Government does not want it. Another thing that pinches me is that without any hesitation we said the people belonging to National Conference did not come out of their houses and they remained indoors. In this connection may I put a question to the hon. Members who recently visited Kashmir as members of the All Party delegation. Did they dare to venture out in the Valley? Does the Janata Dal or the B.J.P. have a hold in the Valley. Does any of the two congress parties have a hold in the Valley? What I was going to say is that none of the Members of the All Party delegation dared to venture out in the Valley. The only exception was Mr. George Fernandes who showed some courage and went out. Most of the people in the Valley belong to the National Conference. Their families and kith and kin live there. In Jammu region, the number of people supporting the Congress (I) are more, but in the Valley the supporters of National Conference are in majority. That is why I am saying that the approach of the Government is not right. True, the Governor has the Constitutional authority, to dissolve the Assembly if the circumstance so demand. Since the hon. Prime Minister is present here, I am putting this question to him, otherwise I would have asked this from the hon.

[Sh. H.K.L. Bhagat]

Minister of Home Affairs. In such a sensitive matter, though he has every right under the Constitution to dissolve the Assembly but should he not have consulted you before taking a decision in this matter? All the newspapers were of this opinion that the Governor should have consulted the Centre before dissolving the Assembly in the State. If you feel that he should have asked you before dissolving the Assembly you should have said it categorically today. Besides the Constitution, there is something called political propriety also. Sometimes there is political necessity also. There are certain sensitive issues which need to be handled with care. We have always wanted to cooperate with the Government. While making this submission, I have no ulterior motive in my mind. None of us is to be blamed for the situation in Kashmir Valley. This situation has been prevalent in the Valley for last 40 years. I am not at all saying that we did not make any mistakes during the last 40 years. I do not deny that. We might have made a number of mistakes. But when the situation erupts all of a sudden, some immediate cause is attributed to it. I do not want to go into details as this is not the proper time. But history will have to decide as to what are the causes, the proximate causes behind the sudden provocation that shook the Valley. The Government accuses the Congress (I) for the present disturbance in the Valley. But there are several people, which include media men who are strong supporters of the present Government and critics of the former Government, who say that the situation in the Valley has further worsened after the new Government came to power. Several of them are the friends of the people in power. I had not thought that I would be required to speak on Kashmir issue today, but I had to speak in pursuance of a write-up on Governor's perspectives by the Editor of the 'Statesman' Shri M.L. Kotru. He hails from Kashmir and I know him for the last 30 years. He is of the view that the Governor should not suspect all the Muslims. Every Muslim is not a traitor. Today he is transferring people belonging to a particular community either on

suspicion or on some reports from some quarters. If you think in this manner how will things improve. Shri George Fernandes is the proper choice. He is brave and dynamic. May I hope that the new political structure in the State, which cannot be controlled from Delhi, will be able to provide a concrete programme to solve the problem. He has said that there should be a plan of action, then only the problem could be solved and political process started. Before that political activities have to be started. I would like to know whether these activities will be initiated by the Central Government from Delhi or by the Governor. I know the nature of the Governor quite closely as we have worked together for many years. Will the political process in which you want to involve all these forces, be initiated in Delhi or in that State? I am asking this question with the good intention of giving some suggestions. I would like to caution you lest all these initiatives should prove to be a failure. I would say openly that you are not a man who would sit silent on this issue, as you are a hard worker, but I would like to know as to what type of political initiatives or political activities would be started. Who will start this process? Will the workers of National Conference or Congress or some other parties be involved in this process? So long as all parties do not initiate political activities there, how the political workers will come out? I have read Governor's statement in which he has said that both National Conference and Congress have become irrelevant, and this statement has not been contradicted. Suppose that today we are not that relevant as our strength has reduced, but elected Assembly was there to decide as to who was relevant. The Governor avoids reply to these questions but he must have explained to the hon. Minister the grounds on which the Assembly was dissolved. He has the right to decide about the relevance but the Government did not ask him about the grounds on which the Assembly was dissolved. If they did, they might have done it secretly. I believe that whatever you are saying is true but what I have read in the newspapers is that National Conference and Congress have become irrelevant and the Governor's perspective is

that some youths from the terrorist organisations will come out as leaders and then new election will be held.

[English]

Are we running into blindness? Are we running into darkness?

[Translation]

We should think over it.

Shri Arif Baig was just saying that the Government have taken diplomatic initiative as a result of which Muslim countries have also supported our stand. We appreciate it but I would like to state that we have been following this policy since the time of Gandhiji. You were our colleague just two years back and used to sit with us on that side. Since the time of Gandhiji, Muslim countries have been supporting our stand due to our secular outlook. Even during Indiraji's time, Kashmir issue was raised several times and each time most of the Muslim countries appreciated India's stand. Therefore, I would like to know as to how far this perspective is right. I hope that the Government will keep the political focus in the right direction.

A high power delegation went there. Could there be a bigger delegation than the one which included Deputy Prime Minister, two-three Ministers, Leader of the Opposition and leaders of other political parties? It is true that the situation did not allow them to go out but no sincere effort was made by the Administration to bring some people to the delegation. Let me know if any such effort was made. At least, they could have talked to the house boat owners. The economy of Kashmir depends on tourism which has suffered a serious setback during these days. It has caused resentment in their minds. Was any effort made there by the Administration to bring even the boatmen, house-boat owners, taxi drivers or transporters to meet the delegation? Was there any feed back given to the high power delegation? From what I read in the newspapers, I got the impression that no such effort was made and

I feel that it was rather avoided. I want to say that our good wishes are with you and will remain with you in future as well. Our party has been saying so with full responsibility. Kashmir is an integral part of India and barring a few years, democratic form of Government has been there for the last forty years. There have been certain complaints of poll rigging here and there but on the whole democracy was there. Earlier, Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference was in power and later on National Conference and the Congress formed a coalition Government there. Then why did such a thing happen? The left parties also share the same view. Now it is clear that you have appointed Shri Jagmohan as Governor and you have to think about its consequences also. While the main responsibility is that of the Government, we also cannot escape it. The people of this country will not pardon anyone of us one the issue of Kashmir. It is your responsibility and we are also with you. You should think about your perspective. There is no question of any rigid stand on the issue of Kashmir. Steps should be taken to see that relaxation comes in the attitude of the people of the State. For this, you should mobilise some people to come forward for talks. All steps should be taken firmly. Our goodwill is and will always be with you and we will never allow any political differences to prevail upon us on this issue.

[English]

SHRI NANI BHATTACHARYA (Bengal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would only take a few minutes to make some observations. Everyone of us has expressed the view that the Kashmir is causing anxiety for all and we must find out ways and means to solve the Kashmir problem. First, what I do not like to elaborate is this: what should be the perspective? The perspective, according to our party, is that on the basis of secularism, federalism and socialism, we must have to solve the problems of Kashmir and steps must be taken towards that end. It is commendable that this National Front Government has taken certain steps and to give exclusive attention to this problem, a

[Sh. Nani Bhattacharya]

separate Ministry has also been created with an Advisory Committee attached to it.

Sir, the main question before the country as well as the people of this country is to restore the credibility of the Government. The credibility of the Government has been shattered during the period of the erstwhile Government under Shri Rajiv Gandhi. So, that credibility must be restored. The people of Kashmir will have to feel that they are part and parcel of the Indian Union. Whatever may be the solution, that solution should be arrived at within the framework of the Constitution. I am not one with some of my friends here who have expressed the view that all the Kashmiris are being converted into secessionists. There are quite a large number of people who are imbibed by national spirit. There are quite a large number of people who have fought and have been fighting for democracy. There are people who are with the Indian Union and they want to stay in the Indian Union as well. There are certain divisive forces which are working in Kashmir and those divisive forces are getting indulgence from abroad also. So, this must be stopped. We should move towards solving the problem of Kashmir with the perspective of federalism, secularism and socialism.

With these few words, I conclude.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI (Amethi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, for me Kashmir is a very basic and fundamental issue. It is not just something that we debate very lightly or talk about lightly. It is also deeply emotional.

Kashmir is fundamental to our civilization; it is fundamental to our secularism; it is fundamental to our nationhood today. So, when we talk about Kashmir, it saddens me greatly to see on occasions, the debate being lowered to the level that it has been lowered. We had hoped that the debate in this House today would be of the highest level. And I hope that the intentions that come out after this debate will be at such a level. The Congress on its part will do every-

thing that is necessary to maintain the issue as a national issue which it has become today. There are people in the Treasury Benches who even at this moment like to lower the standards. This is what saddens me.

Sir, Kashmir is a symbol, I emphasise the word "is" a symbol of our secularism. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister seems to have given it up as a symbol of secularism because if I heard the Prime Minister correctly, what the Prime Minister said was that Kashmir "was" a symbol of India's secularism. This is obviously the perception of the Government since it has taken over. I can assure the Government that we feel even today that Kashmir is very much a symbol of our secularism.

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad): Is it a high level discussion?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Yes, it is a high level discussion because if Kashmir is described in the past tense with secularism, I think, it is a very sad day. It is a question of perception. Our perception is that Kashmir still is a symbol of secularism and after coming back from this visit, nothing has strengthened my conviction more than that Kashmir even today stands as one of the strongest symbols of secularism. The way different people from different communities came to see the delegation and there are many friends who are here, they must have noticed it also, there was anger on issues but there was no communalism, there was no rancour between the communities or between the religions. They were one. Kashmir very much is a symbol of our secularism. And tied to Kashmir is also very much the basics of the two-nation theory that was put to us at the time of partition. I am aware, Sir, that there are some who would benefit from the two-nation theory being strengthened. But today, it must be the endeavour of every nationalist Indian to see that the two-nation theory is destroyed. And as much as, Kashmir, as a part of India, as a part of secular India, stands against the two-nation theory, any weakening of the secularism in Kashmir,

any weakening of the bonds between Kashmir and the rest of India strengthens the two-nation theory. So, any action that is taken today to weaken the bondage, in fact, bonds... (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur): You must not make that mistake.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Bondage not bonds will, in fact, help the two-nation theory. This is where all of us must be very careful that not even the slightest indication goes that there are any fundamental changes that are taking place.

I don't want to go into the arguments on Article 370 and what has come up in the House this morning. I would just like to say that whatever anybody's perception of Article 370 may be, this is not the time to start a debate on 370. At this point in time the nation should be clear that there is going to be no change in Article 370 in any way at all. I think all of us, even those whom I know have different views on this should for the time being put those views apart and say at this point in time we will not raise this issue. Save it for a later time; we will debate it, we will argue it. But at this point in time it sends the wrong message. I would request you not to send wrong messages at such a critical moment.

I would like to spend a few minutes on terrorism. If any Government has taken a really tough stand against terrorism, it was our Government when we were in Government. I would like to request the Government in power today to continue being as tough as it can with terrorists. In fact my complaint with the present Government is that it is too soft on terrorism. You must be much tougher on terrorism. You cannot bend down in front of terrorists, you cannot succumb to the demands of terrorists because the minute you start doing that, then your credibility is finished. A part of the problem in Kashmir is that you bent down, that you were weakened. You were perceived to be weakened. Let me not say you were weak, you were seen to be weak. You were seen to be weak

in front of terrorists firstly by the terrorists and secessionists and secondly you were seen to bend down in front of terrorists by the people of Kashmir. They lost faith. They did not know whether they would be protected against terrorists any more. They did not know whether you would stand with them or they should not rely upon you and in fact succumbed to the pressure of the terrorists. That was the beginning of the problems that we are facing today. I do not want to go into the question of who created this problem and where it got bad because that will only.....

AN HON. MEMBER: That you cannot.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Yes I can and I can go into it so sharply that it will make it very difficult for you even to sit here while I am talking. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: You go on saying.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: No, I do not want to create rancour. (*Interruptions*)

When they have entirely finished, I will continue Sir. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, please.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Without going into details and creating rancour which unfortunately some have done, I say that I was in fact more saddened by what line the hon. Minister for Jammu and Kashmir Affairs—or whatever the technical label is—took. Because I thought he was the one person who should be pulling all the threads together; whatever little weak threads are available. Whatever he may think—that the NC, Dr. Farooq Abdullah have no credibility, have no relevance—that is his view. But it is still a thread which must be picked up at this point in time.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I have never made that statement itself. It is a distortion of anything that I might have spoken here or I might have spoken anywhere else. I have always believed that the NC and Dr. Farooq Abdullah have been harmed and

[Sh. George Fernandes]

have been harmed by the Congress Party.

I am only speaking from what I understood the tone and the contents of his quotations. (*Interruptions*)

Here, the words are important and not the tone. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Both are important. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I am afraid, no, Sir. In the House spoken word matters and not the tone. I want to make it clear in this House. (*Interruptions*) I have not said anything acrimonious. You made a statement. That is not a correct statement. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am not yielding. If the hon. Minister wants me to yield, he should ask me. Then, I will yield. Sir, let me quote the hon. Minister. The hon. Minister started by saying—I translated it into English—that the problem that the country is facing today is the gravest problem in 42 years. I hope I have not got that wrong, Sir. And I assume the hon. Minister is including the 1962 incident of China as well, when he speaks of 42 years. So, the hon. Minister is understanding the gravity of the situation today. And by saying that it is the most serious situation in 42 years, you are also accepting the fact that that is what you have made it today. That is what it is today.

SHRI HARIN PATHAK: In three months?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Yes. Because, there was no need to debate this situation in any of the Houses three months ago or four months ago. We had a Session in October. (*Interruptions*) You, at that time, the hon. Members sitting across, were in the opposition benches. Perhaps you were not in this House. But, your Members were in the other House and the question was not raised. I am raising it not. (*Interruptions*) Let me just give

a few more quotations. The hon. Minister for Jammu and Kashmir also said that the political processes must be started. But before the political processes are started, political action or political activity must be started. Here, I agree with the Minister. But, he then went on to say that the conditions in Jammu and Kashmir today are such that political activity cannot even be started or perhaps raise the question of whether it can be started. Now, was this the condition three months ago? It was not. Political activity was taking place. Has this been the condition in any other State in India under President's rule, no matter how severe, and even in Assam and Punjab, political activity has been taking place. The Government of India has never come to a situation where it has had to say that the situation is so grave in a State that political activity and even political action—I am not talking of political processes—have to come to a grinding halt. So, this is the gravity of the situation today. The hon. Prime Minister—can I quote two sentences from him? Said that he went to Jammu and Kashmir 1 1/2 years back and he visited Anantnag and some other areas. I wonder he will be able to go to Jammu and Kashmir today in the manner in which he had gone 1 1/2 years ago. He walked freely 1 1/2 years ago. He did not need to be escorted with dummy convoys and also toting guns. He was in the opposition. Then, he was not a part of the Government. He did not need permission. He did not need curfew passes. That is the difference between then and now. There were problems. I know there were problems. But it was never like this. And again a quotation from the Prime Minister. He said, "some semblance of law and order must be restored." These are his words—some semblance of law and order must be started. What do I understand from this, Sir? I understand that today there is not even a semblance of law and order. This was not the case three or four months ago. So, we have to understand that some material difference has taken place in this time. There is some basic change that has taken place. When we talk about terrorism, when we talk about secessionism, yes, there has been terrorism in Punjab. There is naxalite activity

in a number of States. There is an agitation going on in Assam at the moment. But, Sir, economic activity and lives are, more or less, in those States. Even in Punjab, agricultural production has increased and industrial production has increased. The economy of Punjab is blossoming. It is doing better than perhaps it has done ever before.

I am not trying to reduce the problems of terrorism. What I am trying to say is that terrorism is isolated. It takes place in pockets. It does not affect everybody's life every single day. In Kashmir today, every single citizen is affected every single day. Going back to somewhere around the middle of December—perhaps some of my friends from Kashmir could correct me if I am wrong—if I remember the date correctly, it was either 13th December or 15th December that these problems really started. So, what is important to understand is that it is not adequate to say that things happened forty years ago, things happened ten years ago, things happened five years ago, things happened two years ago, things happened six months ago. The question is that is it different today. I think every single member of the delegation that went to Kashmir will agree with me that he couldn't even have imagined the situation to be as bad as we saw it. I had lots of pictures. Dr. Farooq Abdullah had explained to us at great length at the all-party meeting. He had talked with me separately. I had talked to our friends from the National Conference. I had talked to our own friends, our Congress members, from Kashmir. But when I went to Kashmir, I couldn't have imagined what I saw. It was so bad. And I don't think any Member will disagree with me when I say that situation is about the gravest that the nation has faced in forty-two years. I have agreed entirely with the hon. Minister for Jammu and Kashmir Affairs.

The question then is: Is the Government fully aware of the situation? Are they reacting? Are they getting the correct input? I am afraid, I am not fully satisfied that the Government is getting all the inputs that it should. I give a small example—medicines. Why should our delegation have to come back

from Srinagar and say that there are no medicines in Srinagar? Surely the Governor must have sent a message that there are no medicines in Srinagar. Surely somebody should have told the Government that there are no medicines in Srinagar, that the hospitals don't have medicines, the drug-stores are closed, the wholesale depots are also closed. Now, how come that the Government did not find this out?

I am not harping on the question of medicines because that is over. Medicine supplies have gone. The question I am really asking is: Is there such a great breakdown in communications? And then, where is the breakdown in communications? Have the communications broken down between Delhi and Srinagar or have the communications broken down between the administration in Srinagar and the people in Srinagar? These are few questions. I don't have the answer. The Government must find an answer. I have some ideas because I saw what was going on. I saw the rift between various groups there—within the administration, between the people and the administration, between the various organisations, labour organisations, federations and associations and the administration. There is a major problem.

Before we could get down to any solution, communication is the first thing that has to be sorted out. You cannot get answers sitting in Delhi. Here, I would like to remind the Government the reason why the situation in Kashmir is being debated in this House is Dr. Farooq Abdullah's visit to Delhi. He spoke with me when I called a meeting of the Opposition parties. We met together. We decided that we would take the delegation to Kashmir. In fact, I wrote such a letter to the Prime Minister before the Prime Minister decided to call us and before the Prime Minister decided to send a delegation. When we told the Congress Working Committee what Dr. Farooq Abdullah had told us, our Working Committee immediately instructed me to take a small group from the Working Committee and to go and meet the President

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immediately. Unfortunately, the President was in Madras. We could not meet him. We asked for an appointment and we feel that it was urgent enough for us to fly to Madras to meet him. He was very kind. The President reorganised his visit, changed his schedule and flew back to Delhi one day earlier. He said that he would meet us in Delhi and it was only after we spent one hour and forty minutes, the Government started becoming aware of the issue of what was happening in Kashmir. Up to that time, there was no reaction from the Government. At the earlier meeting which was taken up by the Congress and other Opposition parties, when we went and met the President, I think it was the end of January or the beginning of February—it was pointed out as to what was happening. At that time, we were promised in the all-party meeting that obviously there was no urgency. It dragged on and nothing happened... (*Interruptions*)...

That happened very much later. It was only when we raised the issue on the second occasion that the Government became aware of what was happening and again at the first meeting that was called by the Prime Minister, I do not think that the gravity of the situation was understood. I won't go into the details because it would not be fair. But the gravity was understood in the second meeting because the all-party group that had gone to Kashmir, to Srinagar had come back and obviously briefed the Prime Minister. I think for the first time, the full gravity of the situation was brought to light of the Government. I want to thank the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister for allowing us to go on such a visit. Unfortunately, because of curfew and the attitude of the local administration, we were not able to meet a large number of people. I hope we had another meeting of the real Opposition parties and we decided that we would request the Government to allow us to go to Kashmir on our own, not during curfew but perhaps after the curfew was over, so that we could go without disturbing the Government and causing problems to the Government and

the administration. At that time, we can truly go around and meet the people. We would like the hon. Home Minister to give us some idea as to how long will it take for such a visit. Will it take three days, two weeks or one or two months? I do not know.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA): Why do you need the Government's permission to go there?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is because there is a curfew. We cannot move. I do not know as to who is going and who is coming. I do not know as to whom should we contact. Are we to talk to Mr. Fernandes or Mr. Sayeed?

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: You talk to both of us.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: There are two voices always. (*Interruptions*)

I was coming to this point a little later, because that is worrying me in a serious way. I am not trying to be frivolous.. (*Interruptions*)

We are speaking of the actual situation. The distance that has come about between the administration and the people is unimaginable and I do not think anybody who does not go to Kashmir can understand what has happened there. That is why, I would specially request the hon. Prime Minister, I would request you, Sir, to please visit Kashmir for two reasons. One, that there is no way the gravity of the situation can come home to anybody unless you actually go there, unless you try to speak to people and I would like you to do this. The second reason I would like you to go there is from what some people, average citizens told me. What they told us was that they do not know the Government. I am not being light-hearted, I am not being frivolous. They said they do not know the Government, they knew Pandit Nehru, they knew his policies, they knew what he stood for and they knew what he

would fight for. They know Indiraji...*(Interruptions)* Let me just complete. I am being deadly serious because there is a rift in the valley which needs to be broken. communication links have been shattered; somebody has to pick them up and with due respect, Sir, it has to be you, who can pick them up; nobody else can pick up those links.

The problem is that they knew Panditji from the independence struggle, they knew Indiraji, they knew what she stood for, they knew that she was Panditji's daughter and they had some comforts...*(Interruptions)* You can be frivolous; I am being deadly serious. I am trying to give a suggestion where weak links have to be picked up, where every thread makes a difference. It is my humble opinion. ...*(Interruptions)* Unfortunately, some of your supporters seem to think that Kashmir is a very light issue. It is very unfortunate...*(Interruptions)* I would request you to go to Kashmir for the second reason, so that the people of Kashmir can recognize you, see you, talk to you, understand you as an individual, because if they need confidence today, you are the one person who can give them confidence to stand with India. And I feel it is imperative that you take the earliest opportunity to go to Kashmir. Even if there is curfew...*(Interruptions)* I am trying to be deadly serious, I am not being frivolous. I said that right in the beginning. This for me is a very important issue; for the CPI (M), it may not be, because you are isolated in the eastern part of the country and what difference does it make to you...*(Interruptions)*

This is my personal request to you, Sir, and even if there is curfew, even if you cannot meet too many people, even if you meet half a dozen senior citizens, they will carry our message down and it will have its impact.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): I have a mind.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Thank you.

AN HON. MEMBER: The credit goes to

you.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: As long as you are doing the right thing, there will be no credit taken; we are open either side.

In Kashmir, we were told by the administration that in recent weeks, approximately two hundred people, a little under two hundred people had been killed or shot. Are these 200 people terrorists? Are these 200 people secessionists? How many of them are terrorists? We were not told this number. I do not want to argue. I do not want to raise an issue of this percentage or that percentage. But when the number is so large, I think I can assume that a fair percentage of these people are not terrorists. This is where a very important factor comes in that there must be some point where grievances will be heard, where complaints can be listened. Unfortunately, this does not...

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: It is a wrong figure.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I was giving the official figure that was given to me. The unofficial figures that were given to me by others were sometimes double or sometimes triple. But I do not want to go into those arguments now. That is not my purpose here. My purpose only is to point out that even with official figures, the numbers are so high that some mechanism must be set up. It must be set up very-very fast. I was horrified on one other thing, that I think, I must bring to the notice of the House. Because, here there is a very clear contradiction. And until the meetings with the hon. Minister on Jammu and Kashmir affairs start taking place and something concrete starts coming out, we won't be clear in our minds what the Government policy is for Kashmir. Because, we were told a horrendous story in Kashmir. The policy that was enunciated to us, which I assume must be the Government's policy, I cannot imagine that a State under Governor's rule goes off totally at a tangent to Central Government's policy. This certainly could not have happened under the previous administration and I hope that the

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present administration does not allow States to go off, on their own when specially under Governor's rule. This is totally against what we were told is your policy, Mr. Prime Minister. We were told in Kashmir that action is being taken on two fronts. On the one front, the whole administration is being—if I remember the word correctly restructured. Because the whole administration has been taken over by terrorists and secessionists. I have never heard such a sweeping statement before. Even in Punjab, when we came into Government in 1984-85, we have a lot of problems with the Punjab administration. But it was the Punjab administration which was made to work. It was the Punjab administration which fought the terrorists. It was the Punjab administration which brought a semblance of law and order back to Punjab.

Similarly, it must be with the Kashmir administration. You cannot side-track the whole Kashmir administration. I do not want to go into their numbers in Kashmir—no Kashmiries in this whole cadre, nobody from this community in that cadre. If I go into those numbers here in this House, it would be devastating. I won't do it here. I believe the numbers have already come to you. Your delegation must have brought them to you. I hope that you have taken corrective measures to restore some balance in Kashmir; some balance in the administration in Kashmir. Because, if that is not done, then nothing else can work.

I must object to one thing. There have been lots of reports in the newspapers and media that the Congress has been obstructionist during the two meetings that we had with you. I do not think we have been obstructionist at all. Yes, we have argued. We will argue if we feel there is a point to be made. We will argue where we feel that you need to do something. But I think you will agree with me that when it came to crunch, the Congress stood with you solidly on everything. I do not think you can deny that. And I go beyond that: on the first day when we had a meeting, the National Conference had

some problems—no need to go into the details of those problems. (*Interruptions*) Whatever they are, you forget the problems. That is not the question. But you yourself, at the first meeting, said; 'Let us not have a resolution.' And I took a strong stand; and I said; 'Once we have gathered here as all parties, we will not disperse from here till we have a resolution, even if it is an one-line or a two-line resolution.'

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Let me put the record straight. There was a draft to which there were certain reservations—on the NCW's draft. Then we said we could start anew, and that this draft be put aside, and we can start anew and frame a fresh draft. It was not the intention that we will not have a resolution. All that we said was that if a particular draft created some problem, we could put that draft aside, and we could start afresh, together.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will not quibble with you here; but I remember the words. They are still ringing in my ears, because right in the beginning, when they came, you had said; 'All right; let us not have a resolution; let us not even talk about a resolution.' In this sort of a tone—the words may be slightly different. But let us not argue. The only point I was making, was that the Congress had a very constructive position as far as Kashmir is concerned. We have our fears, we have our worries. We are worried about the speed of your action.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: (Midnapore): Too much speed?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: That is what I meant: non-existent speed, Sir. (*Interruptions*) Let me give you an example. We were promised an Action Plan; and I remember this very clearly. We were promised an Action Plan when we had our first meeting; and I think it was on the 7th that we had our first meeting. On the 8th and 9th we were in Kashmir. On the 10th we had the second meeting. On the 7th evening, we were promised an Action Plan on the 10th morning. Very clearly I remember this. The 10th morn-

ing meeting was postponed to the 10th evening; and on the 10th evening, the full scope of the Action Plan that was put to us, was that you would make a Ministry. That is fine. That is not an Action Plan, as far as I am concerned. That is only a method that you are adopting in Government, to create an Action Plan. We still have no Action Plan. And I may remind you and take the House into confidence, in the second meeting that we held, we brought up certain points which we thought were essential; the two points that we zeroed into one, were; one, that political activity must start. We would have preferred the political process to start, but we realized your problem and we limited ourselves to political activity. The reason why we spoke of political activity was that the hearts of the Kashmiri people were to be won back—and I believe that the hearts of the Kashmiri people are still with us; their minds are worried about certain things, because of what they see. One person, for example, told me: 'Why should we be with India? What is India doing to us? There are no banks. There is no airline service; there is no postal service. I cannot send a parcel.' This is what I was told in Kashmir, namely that basic things are not available. They are locked into the houses. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

AN. HON. MEMBER: Within three months banking and life insurance services can be restored.

[*English*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: One of your crutches find it very funny. But it is not. It is deadly serious. The people in the Valley are under very severe pressure, because of curfew, first of all. I realise the problem in lifting the curfew. It is your problem. I am not giving you suggestions. But while your hard action is taking place, there must be openings for people to vent their grievances.

There must be openings where people can reach out. People must be there to argue and discuss with the people of Kashmir to

turn them back from the road on which they had turned. We suggested three mechanisms. I can mention them here if you like. Our suggestion was very clear that (a) political focal point must be created in the Valley preferably in every district, not just in Srinagar. The political focal point, if you so prefer, can be your Governor. But, under the circumstances, it cannot be this Governor. If you want a different focal point, we do not want to argue to remove or place anybody there; it is your Administration; you have to handle that. If it is not to be this Governor, it must be somebody else. We gave a number of offers. We said that the House should be reconstituted.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is Legislature.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am not such a good lawyer. What can I do? I did not have your training.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: There is no harm in getting it.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am accepting it. Legislature is all right. The Congress and the National Conference felt that the method of dissolution was illegal and incomplete. Anyway, that is being sorted out separately. I believe the discussion has not started. But I hope that they will start it.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES AND MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): It has started.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am glad to hear this. I hope they will end it very soon. So, we will have some results. We went further; we said; if it is possible to have the Legislature revived, then we, the Congress and the National Conference are willing to step back; we do not want government. You put up whom do you like; the names are yours, not ours. You put up a government. We will cooperate 100 per cent in reviving the political process in the Valley.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who will be the leader?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: That is entirely upto the Government to decide. They can name anybody. I had not spoken with Dr. Farooq Abdullah. But in that meeting, I suggested it and Dr. Abdullah accepted it on the spot. This was one offer. We will sit with you; we will work with you. And it is my promise that it will be with full coordination. There will be no undercutting, no back-sliding, if it is not a feasible proposition. Then I thought it was necessary to have a political focal point; it must not be the Congress and it must not be the National Conference; it has to be somebody else; it has to be your representatives because in today's situation it is not only the National Conference and the Congress that are relevant today. You have to pick up every single thread that is available in the Valley; you have to pick up all those who are opposed to the National Conference and the Congress. They must also work together. You must even have an approach to some of the militants to see how many of them you can pull together. We have no approach to the militants. But recent experience has shown that your Government does have some approaches (*Interruptions*) I am deadly serious about it. Those approaches must be used constructively. Your Minister for J&K Affairs, I was told, was able, within a matter of hours actually, to meet some of these people; and yesterday, in the newspapers, there was an item which said that they were not agreeable. Of course, they will not be agreeable for the first time when you talk to them. But, may be, as you keep on talking, you will break through; you will have some link built. So for heaven's sake, don't break that, but continue it. But to continue with a political involvement of the broadest spectrum, it must be your initiative; that is why we suggested in the first instance that we will step back; you put up your Chief Minister. Let him coordinate, if there is any problem, political, legally or technically which does not allow this to happen. Then we gave a suggestion; we said, let him operate outside.

19.00 hrs.

He could operate in the manner of an

advisor to the Governor. He could operate which is a sort of partially in the system. You could take him totally outside the system and say, *Okay, we will have a joint political activity. This is your coordinating point. Everybody work together*'. Government rule is totally separate. After all when there is Governor's rule in other States, political activity goes on. Parties who are in opposition to the Central Government when there is Governor's rule, still are able to carry on political activity. We can all work together and see what pace we can pick up. The reason I feel political activity is absolutely important is that I have very clearly got the impression and feeling after having spoken to a number of people that Kashmir can very clearly be pulled back with political activity. And if we do not pull it back with political activity, your options are very very hard.

The second suggestion we had given was that a Grievance Redressal Machinery must be set up. That presumably would be an administrative exercise and not the political exercise. Both must be done in parallel. These were our concrete suggestions. We have more suggestions. But then, we are waiting for a meeting to be called by our Minister and something to come from the Government. We must have some lead from the Government. Upto date we do not know; the country does not know what the Government's policy on Kashmir is. The only policy that has been enunciated to us is that, what we were told, of totally destroying the administration on the one hand and destroying the N.C. and the Congress on the other hand. Now you have yourself told that this is not your policy. But this is what is being carried out in the Valley very clearly... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: These suggestion have come in the meeting. Shri Rajiv Gandhi even after the meeting, in my personal discussion with him, came up with these suggestions. And he is right when he says that he came up with these suggestions. Other party leaders have also come up with their suggestions. When we have started collectively, the spirit is that

we will put all these suggestions immediately before the committee that we have set up together. So, it emerges with the stamps of a consensus. And I think today all members could not come. As soon as all members are available, we will pool together all these suggestions and also the suggestions from other senior leaders. It has the stamp of consensus and that will be more than the Government's. And that I think will carry much further weight.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA): The time of the House may be extended by one more hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is it the pleasure of the House to extend the time of the House by one more hour?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I may suggest that this is a very serious subject. We should not limit the subject just on time. Sir, I understand from what the hon. Prime Minister has said is that the Government has no policy. It is waiting for suggestions to come from all of us. Well, if that is the way you want to do, do it that way. Fine Sir. This is what you have said. The Government have done no thinking.

Now we will work with you for a consensus. We will work with you to find the solution. We will work with you on the ground in Kashmir even if it involves congressmen getting killed and shot. It does not matter, we will be there Sir. That is my assurance to you. But I only request you to please give us a plan of action fast so that we can get on. Please give us some political focal point in Kashmir which can coordinate activity in the valley. Your committee in Delhi in on way will be able to coordinate activity in the valley. And then there is a fundamental question of who is incharge. Is the Minister of Home Affairs incharge? Is the Minister of J&K Affairs incharge? Is the Governor incharge? So these thing must be sorted out. I am not

looking for answers now. These must come out when the action plan comes up. And something in the valley must come up. If that does not work, the people of Kashmir will lose faith, they will lose trust and then it is going to be very difficult to rectify the situation.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI(Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think it would be better if it is postponed till tomorrow but you have asked me to continue. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MOHAMMAD SHAFI (Srinagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have allotted time upto Nineteen of the clock and the time is already over.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI P. UPENDRA: Tomorrow it cannot be done because there is the Railway Budget.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let them sort it out. You please continue.

[*Translation*]

SHRISULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, let me know the decision, so that I may continue my speech. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it may be postponed till tomorrow. (*Interruptions*)

SHRISULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI: Mr. Chairman, Sir the Kashmir situation, which is being discussed here, has become a national problem and instead of blaming one-another, we should look into the causes which have led the situation in the State to deteriorate to serious proportion. If we pay attention to it, we will find that it has become an issue which threatens our national unity

[Sh. Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi]

and integrity. If instead of criticising each other we take it up as a national issue and concentrate on finding a solution, I think that perhaps it will be much better. When we pay attention towards solving this problem, we must first try to find out the reasons behind the change in the attitude of the people of Kashmir who had effectively countered the attacks of the Pakistani tribal invaders (Kabailis) in 1947. While doing so many things come to light. I do not need to say it publicly that this is a national issue. In this connection, if we look back, the first thing that comes to our notice is that Shri Sheikh Abdullah who had bravely fought communalism in Kashmir and made lot of sacrifices, was arrested. Then much hue and cry was raised against the special provision of Article 370. Later when Sheikh Abdullah was released this Article was scuttled and its importance was undermined. Thereafter, it was felt that only a handful of people who were faithful to the Government of India had a right to solve the problem and the sole authority to rule the State. Fair elections were never held in the State. Consequently, the masses of Kashmir got agitated. Thereafter, economic problems emerged. The people of Kashmir have only a few means of livelihood. One of them is tourism and the other is carpet industry. But unfortunately, the Government has played with the carpet industry and ruined it. Similarly, the people who are engaged in the business of fruits have also been neglected. I have discussed their problems with the responsible persons of Kashmir several times and they have complained that even fertilisers were not supplied to them for fruit cultivation and as a result the entire business has come to a standstill today.

The people of Kashmir are facing acute shortage of power. The dam has been completed but the power which is being generated is being diverted to another State and the people of Kashmir are left to shiver during the cold winters. Consequently, today the people of Kashmir are agitated and we don't know what to do in this regard. It is

necessary at this juncture to solve their economic problems and to put an end to the excesses that have been committed there because by injustice and atrocities we cannot solve any problems. I think that the excesses have reached a saturation point. It is for the first time in the last 450 years that the pilgrimage to the shrine of Hazrat Bal did not take place and people could not offer their prayers. Until necessary steps are taken in this direction things cannot improve. If some sacrifice has to be made it does not matter but necessary steps should be taken to solve the Kashmir crisis because the people of Kashmir feel themselves to be insecure. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty prevailing there because of the disturbances.

As you are ringing the bell I will not speak further. I would like to quote two couplets of Iqbal, drawing particular attention of Shri Arif Beg, who spoke earlier:

"Sadig arze deccan jakar arze Bengal,
Nange deen nange waten".

The next couplet is :

"Ae tayeer-e-lahuti us rigak se maut
achchi,
Jis rizak se aati ho parvag me kotahi."

[English]

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Mr. Chairman, Sir I stand to participate in the discussion on Kashmir with a very heavy heart. I do so with pain and anguish. This I say because today Kashmir is bleeding; today Kashmir is in turmoil, today the situation in Kashmir is very grim and if the Government does not come forward and perhaps with constructive measures, then I am afraid there will reach a point of no return. Therefore, the Government should take very speedy and effective measures to see that the integrity of the country is maintained and the Kashmir people remain with us. Now, Kashmir problems cannot be solved through barrel of the gun. Kashmir can be with us and we can win over

the hearts of the Kashmir people by love, by persuasion, by dialogue. But it is very unfortunate that the attitude and the action of the Government has been something very different. Sir, you know that the appointment of the Governor, Mr. Jagmohan, has been very very controversial and things have deteriorated after Mr. Jagmohan went over there as Governor and there was a break down immediately after his arrival there.

Now, Sir, we all know what is happening in Kashmir. There is butchery, large-scale murder and complete suppression. Can you win over the hearts of the people over there under such a situation? We can never win over the hearts of the people in such a situation of suppression, oppression, murder and butchery. A different attitude is needed an solacing attitude is needed and that is lacking as far as this Government is concerned.

Now, Sir, the confidence of the Kashmir people is being lost day by day. Firstly, it is because of the ruthless attitude of the Governor over there and secondly because of I am sorry to say—the attitude of the BJP with regard to the Article 370 of the Constitution. These two things are completely alienating the Kashmir people over there and create suspicion about our sincerity. Now, I would like to say one more thing. We talk of political processes. But how are you going to start the political processes? Hon'ble Minister of Railways, Shri George Fernandes, has been made in charge of Kashmir Affairs. It is very good and we wish him well and success in this. But he has not explained here in the House what is going to be the political process and how he is going about it. The leader of the Opposition, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, made so many suggestions as to how to go ahead with the political process, etc. How far the Government is going to act on that. I can't say. Hon'ble Prime Minister has said that the Government is to formulate policies for Kashmir after hearing the views of the Opposition parties. Now, so much time is lost. It is very very surprising that Government has not got a policy so far. It is very very regrettable. Now I must say this much that political

process should start, people should be taken into confidence. But then they try to see that the Assembly is revived. I do not think it is possible. Once dissolved is dissolved. I do not know how the Assembly is going to be revived. But anyway political process should start; we must have dialogue, we must try to solve the economic problem as mentioned here. People are suffering there. There are no jobs, there is no bread, no electricity and no industry. People are suffering even from extreme cold in the Valley. All these problems are there. The religious susceptibilities are deep, they do not allow people to gather in the Mosque and pray. Even call to prayer, Azan, is being restricted. I do not understand all this. When there is no religious freedom people over there will get more and more alienated.

One more thing is, a delegation was sent there. Well and good. It was said that an all-party delegation would be sent, but later on they said, a major party delegation would be sent. That means, you have neglected other parties. The DMK is here, the Anna ADMK is here, Kerala Congress is here, the Muslim League is there and so many other parties are there in addition to the major Opposition Party, the Indian National Congress and National Conference. The Muslim League is very much interested, but they are not consulted in solving this problem. To say that there was no time to call all of them is something very distressing. there is telephone facility and you could have sent a message across by wire and so on.

What I would like to say here is that action must be taken by the Government to call leaders of all parties and discuss the matters with them and start political process. For that, what I want is that political activity should be there, the people should be involved. Unless people are involved, you cannot create confidence in them. Without involving people, confidence cannot be established. Therefore political activity should be started involving the common man in the Street in establishing confidence. In this connection I would like to say that the appointment of the Governor in Jammu and

[Sh. Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait]

Kashmir has created problems and controversies. Therefore, it is very much essential that this controversial Governor should be recalled. Many respectable, distinguished persons are available in India, there is no dearth of personalities. So, somebody else should be sent who can have a sympathetic approach for the solution of the problem and the present Governor is notorious for his brutalities, nothing less than that. That has been our experience. In the days of Emergency he was responsible for the Turkman Gate tragedy. Therefore, a man who can have sympathy for the people, who can go ahead in solving the problems with love, persuasion and dialogue should be sent. All these matters should be taken into consideration.

The first and foremost thing is that massacre should stop, suppression should stop, brutality should stop. So long as brutality continues, suppression continues, murder continues and butchery continues, you cannot expect the people to come round. It is not possible to win their hearts through such a barbarous method. What we want is love and affection. First, the Government should recall the Governor and establish confidence again and then should stop suppression and start political dialogue. This is the second step. And then think of other process. After establishing normalcy, let us have free and fair elections there so that the real representative come to power and govern themselves in the State of Jammu and Kashmir which is an integral part of India.

Several things have been said here. It has been said that elections have been rigged and elections have not been free and fair in the past, and so on. Let us not cry over the spilt milk, let us start afresh. Therefore, let us establish normalcy, let us have a dialogue, let us have economic development and try to provide more and more jobs and see that there is complete freedom there. It is very essential. There, people are not allowed to go to the Mosque and pray. All the restrictions will make them suspicious about

the policy of the Government. Such a feeling is coming up. Now, Ramzan is coming. The whole month is a sacred month, a month of fasting. As our respected friend Shri Vasant Sathe said, the month of fasting, Ramzan is fast approaching. Today it is 13th of March and in two week's time on 27th of March, we will have Ramzan. Therefore, conditions have got to be brought to normal very soon so that the people can have complete freedom for the performance of religious tenets. Unless you give them full freedom to go out and have the normal activities as Muslims to attend mosque, it is not possible to have normalcy established over there. Therefore, I request that steps should be taken to recall the Governor. Let us stop the butchery and brutality and start dialogue and let there be an approach of love; let us try to win them over. Then we can have full political process of elections and all those things. I think the Government will give full attention and as such, I hope we will be able to please our brothers which is very important as far as protecting secularism in our country is concerned. Here, everybody is saying that the symbol of secularism in Kashmir should remain because for the minorities the most important factor is secularism. This will give us full freedom to live. I would very much request our BJP friends to stop talking of scrapping of Article 370 at least at this crucial hour. Let them not make an issues about it so that the people of Kashmir develop confidence about the sincerity of our Government on Article 370. Article 370 is an article of faith as far as we are concerned; it is a part of the Constitution and therefore abrogation of the Article 370 in the Constitution is not a good thing for the country. It is an offence against the country. This has to be understood. I hope our BJP friends will understand the gravity of the situation and will not insist on the abrogation of the Article 370 of the Constitution which will work in the interest of the country and secularism.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next speaker, I request the Members to limit their speeches to two minutes only because the Minister wants to reply and finish the debate before 8'o clock. I cannot allow a debate. We

are going to have a so many occasions to discuss about the same subject. You can speak during the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address and during the Demands for Grants of the Home Minister. So, please limit your speeches to one or two minutes only. I request your cooperation in this matter. Now, I call Shri Ram Krishna Yadav to speak. Shri Ram Krishna Yadav.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMKRISHNA YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Kashmir issue is a very serious issue. Kashmir is an integral part of India geographically by historical by, culturally and traditionally. So far as I am aware, at the time of partition in 1947, the democratic and secular forces of Kashmir had opted for joining the Indian Union but today the situation is very grave. What are the reasons that these very forces have taken to secessionism today? This is a fundamental question.

Today, the philosophy of Manu is being propagated and the Hindu religion is being given wide publicity through the media of Radio and T.V. Manuism is being spread. When serials like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are telecast or there are similar broadcasts, the confidence of the minorities is shaken. I think that the propagation of Hindu religion through Radio and T.V. affects the confidence of the minority communities. In my opinion, the Punjab issue as well as the Kashmir issue are their fall out.

All of us want the Punjab and the Kashmir issues to be solved. Therefore, religious chauvinism should be checked. I would like to cite the example of Uttar Pradesh in this connection. Temples are being constructed inside the premises of Government Undertakings and inside Police Stations. I would like to know from the Government whether these are not Government properties? If a place of worship is constructed over Government property, how can it create a feeling of secularism? So far no Government has been able to give the evidence of being secular.

If Government properties continue to be utilised for the propaganda of Hindu religion in this way, how can confidence be created among the minority communities? We all have to make concerted efforts to create a feeling of confidence in them. Only then can feelings of unity be created among them. While concluding I would like to say that we must make concerted efforts in this direction.

[English]

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling): Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me a chance to speak on the Kashmir situation even at the fag end of the day. We have waited for a long time and I do want to protest. It is grossly unfair to the smaller parties not to have given them a chance to speak so far. Members of the major Parties have been called times out of number. Member after Member from the major political parties has spoken but the smaller parties have been kept out. The smaller parties are not interested in politicking. They are interested only in the best national interest yet, they have not been given an opportunity. In this regard, I would also like to state that what should have been done was to call an all-Party meeting and not merely a meeting of major parties. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister and his Government chose to call only a meeting of the major political parties. I feel, this was grossly unfair to the smaller parties. As in the case of the Punjab problem all the parties should have been called. All the small parties should also have been involved; to that extent, the process of national integration would have been encouraged.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: We are going to call all-Party meeting.

SHRI INDER JIT: My point is that to the extent the smaller parties from all over the country like AIADMK, DMK, Muslim League, GNLF, Jharkhand Party were involved...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already ac-

cepted your suggestion. You come to the point.

Mr. Chairman, I am coming to the point. I am only saying that by calling an all-party meeting, the government would have promoted the cause of national integration. Kashmir is not the concern of only the major parties.

Now coming to the point, Mr. Chairman, I see no reason why we should think that the Government has undertaken no political action. There is a plan and, I think, the Government should have the boldness to pursue it. The Assembly has been dissolved. I think it was the right thing to send a new Governor. But it is unfortunate that a controversy arose over the choice of the new Governor. I have known him for a long time and I do think, it was an ideal choice. But in case, there was controversy, he could have been avoided.

Secondly, now that the Assembly has been dissolved, we must move towards bringing about a good situation in regard to law and order and then move towards elections because the people of the Valley had lost all faith and confidence in the electoral system. A former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir told me the other day that he had persuaded the youth of the Valley to eschew the bullet and to opt for the ballot, but when things went wrong in 1987, the kind of elections that were held, they lost faith in the ballot and told the former Chief Minister, "We are now going for the bullet."

Thus, we have first of all to bring about a semblance of law and order and next move towards elections. I would also like to take this opportunity to appeal to all the major and other parties to rise above partisan and petty political considerations. I was glad to hear the Leader of the Opposition say earlier today that he was not going to raise the issue of Article 370. In my humble opinion, the issue of Article 370 should never have been raised at this point. When the country is facing a grave crisis. This was not the occasion for him or his party to raise this issue. It

might have suited the politics of his party. But, we must try to eschew such kind of partisan politics.

I would also like to make two suggestions. It is good that the Government has decided to have a Minister in charge of Kashmir affairs. I think we also needed a Special Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, something that we had for almost for 20 or 25 years. It is not enough to have a Minister I think it is grossly unfair to expect the present set up in the Home Ministry which is almost entirely new at the highest level of the Administration, to deal with this problem. I would therefore, suggest that, in addition to 9 Minister there is need for a Special Secretary.

Finally, I would also say that the Advisory Committee on Kashmir should be enlarged to bring in some of the smaller parties which, as I said, earlier have no partisan politics and would speak out in the best national interest.

SHRI VAMANRAO MAHADIK (Bombay South Central): Sir, I am glad to welcome my friend Mr. George Fernandes because he is put to a very responsible job. But this is a time when we have to think and alert him about the secularism problem of Kashmir which has been vitiated by an outside agency like Pakistan. Late Mr. Zia had started a secret organisation named OPER-PAC wherein he decided that he would send all Pakistani soldiers secretly into Kashmir and that Kashmir should be caught hold of by the Pakistani enemies and they have played this political mischief in Kashmir so that our secularism that is the relation of local Hindus and Muslims is not vitiated. This country was ruled by Hindu King Shri Hari Singh with the help of late Shri Sheikh Abdulla with whom Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had very good relations. But Pakistan first invaded Kashmir. The Kashmir called for the military help from Hindustan and when Hindustani army's Commander-in-Chief wanted only two days' time to take over charge of Muzzafurabad and Lahore city, and he wanted to catch hold

of Pakistan's major land also. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru stopped him from going ahead and a present dividing line of Kashmir into two parts was agreed as settlement of retreat. One part of Kashmir was given in charge of Hindustan and the other remained with Pakistan and now this part which is indispensable part under Section 370 of the Indian Constitution is wanted by Pakistan. Our friend Shri George Fernandes should go there and with the help of local Hindus and Muslims see that the intruders of Pakistani CID Police are thrown out of Kashmir. Then only peace will return. He should do it with the help of Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed and Shri Jag Mohan. At present nearly 1,50,000 Hindus have migrated from Kashmir to Jammu because of fear. There are Muslims who are hidden CIDs of Pakistan and the present Prime Minister of Pakistan is also helping them. That is why I want to alert the Government. The Government has to take stern action in order to avoid the division of Hindustan for the third time. There was the first division during the Mahabharatha period. You know what kind of havoc was there. Secondly, there was Pakistan-Hindustan and then also there was havoc. If this division comes on us for the third time, there will be severe havoc. That is why I want to request the Government that whatever facts are there, they should place the facts before this House. This House should know in what way and what fashion we are going to see that either only secularism prevails in this country or war. Already the OPERO PAC poison has been spread. We should be very careful in this matter.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMESHWAR PRASAD (Arrah):
Mr. Deputy speaker, Sir, finding a solution to the Kashmir problem means loving the country and neglecting Kashmir would mean its negation. The question of patriotism is also linked with it. When we talk about the Kashmir issue we have to look at two stages. The first stage was between 1947 and 1965 and the second stage is between 1965 and 1990. We find that during the first stage, the people of Kashmir were very close to India

and there were neither any incidents of riots nor any incidents of burning of the Tricolour. The question of secession did not arise and no one dared to oppose the Congress Government. This was till 1965. What could be the reasons behind the post 1965 developments and to the situation which led to the burning of even the national tricolour. The previous Government of the Congress Party always spoke of Article 370 and of the Federal Union. The rights of the people were being eroded and therefore the need of the hour is to make efforts to remove certain shortcomings in the implementation of Article 370. For example, one of its provisions is that an outsider cannot purchase land in Kashmir. However, what is happening is contrary to that. The high-ups consisting of rich businessmen, Ministers and Government officers are purchasing land on lease basis for constructing houses or for developing orchards. The people of Kashmir are suffering as a result thereof and are being ruined. If the people of Kashmir are ruined, they will definitely adopt such a course of action. Therefore, it is necessary to implement Article 370 effectively.

Secondly, as regards the opposition to Article 370 by the BJP is concerned, it means that they do not want the Kashmir problem to be solved. Therefore it is necessary to check such demands. On the other hand, as regards the Congress people who have been making attempts to spoil the situation in the country, it is necessary to take action against them and to make a fresh start to establish cordial relations with the people of Kashmir, to bring about economic development, to grant social security and political powers. Until we guarantee this the Kashmir problem cannot be solved.

I would not take more time because you have rung the bell but it is important to submit here that you have convened a meeting in which only some political parties participated. It cannot be called an all party meeting because in such a meeting it is necessary to involve all the political parties and consult them.

[English]

SHRI P.C. THOMAS: (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the House the deep concern of the people of Kerala regarding the situation prevailing in Jammu & Kashmir. Almost all the hon. Member have expressed their views in this regard. I would only like to add one or two points. I think apart from those suggestions which have been made, there must be a forum for taking immediate steps to give political education to the people of Kashmir. In fact the people of Kashmir have been misled. There are so many aspects of the problem. Of course, there are unemployment and other problems. Those problems are causing serious concern. But many of the problems which have been voiced by the hon. Members are the problems of the nation as such and they do not pertain to the people of Kashmir alone. I think this misunderstanding has to be cleared by giving very clear political information. They should not feel that they have all along been neglected. So, proper political education should be imparted to them.

Sir, because of paucity of time, I am skipping out all the other point. Some Members also suggested abrogation of Article 370. Finally I would like to make one important point. In fact it was suggested here that the National Conference show sever its close relationship with some other party.

I would like to submit that the people of Kashmir are now in doubt as to whether some of the major political parties and major political forces are working against their interests. Of course, great concern has been expressed by all the Members here.

So, I think the parties which are concerned in this matter must be ready to deal with important policies, important aspects that they have suggested which may at present seem to be against the interest of the people of Kashmir.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ (Baramulla):

I am on a point of Order. Since it was under the Presidential Order that Shri George Fernandes has been made incharge of Kashmir, again, I say we do not listen to Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. Here I would like to cite a *Sher.* (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. It will not go on record.

19.47 hrs

(At this stage, Prof. Saifuddin Soz left the House)

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today there has been a discussion on the problem of Kashmir in this House and in view of the gravity of the situation in that State very good suggestion have been given to the Government here for the solution of this problem. It is a fact that at the time when Kashmir acceded to India, there was a division on communal lines in the whole sub continent. In spite of all that Kashmir had presented an example of secularism in the wake of increasing communalism in the country or when the people of the two communities in the rest of the country were busy killing their fellow countrymen and Gandhiji had also said if a ray of hope was to be seen it could be seen in Kashmir only. In such circumstances Kashmir joined us. Hon. Members have said that Kashmir is an integral part of India. It strengthens the roots of secularism in this country because the issue of Kashmir is linked with the unity and integrity of this country. so, there cannot be a compromise on this issue. I am happy to say that realising the gravity of the situation, for the first time all the major political parties have joined hands to pass a resolution in this regard and give their suggestions on the basis of a follow up action. I would like to say that these suggestions will be implemented. All the members have spoken for

the deletion of Article 370 but manifesto of the ruling party says that it is a historical necessity, hence there is no question of its removal. Similar situation had arisen after 1953, and the then Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had to take very harsh decision and had to put his close friend of the days of freedom struggle Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah behind the bars. I feel that there is no doubt in it that from 1953 to 1975 the people of Kashmir did not participate in the democratic functioning of the country. It was after 1975 that an accord was signed with Sheikh Abdullah when he came back to power and the people of Kashmir, in the real sense of term associated with the country and after the elections of 1977 people in that State felt in the real sense that they were supreme and they had right to elect the Government of their choice. They had the high sense of involvement at that time. However I would like to say that as compared to the National Conference the Congress as a pro-India Organisation played a positive role during the period 1977 to 1987. There was 'Jamait-e-Islami' but Congress was the only party, though out of power from 1977 to 1987 whose workers went round the villages with tri-colour in their hand to hear the problems. Of the people of Kashmir and fought for their cause. I think that Congress played a historical role there. In 1984 democratic process was scuttled but in 1987 an accord was signed between the then Congress Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Dr. Farooq. With it the Congress and the National Conference, which were the major political parties in that state, joined hands in the elections against the Jamai-e-Islami which was a fundamentalist force and it rank third when the Congress was in the opposition.

[English]

Jamait-e-Islam was third.

[Translation]

In election of 1983 National Conference emerged as the largest party and the Congress also secured over 33 per cent of the

votes. But situation changed in 1987. All anti-social elements and Jamait-e-Islami gathered under the banner of Islam, to make an appeal for the votes in the name of Holy Quran. They displayed Quran on each and every poster. In that election all the youths of Kashmir had their participation. Even if the elections had been fair, the Muslim National Conference would not have secured majority. But the slightest error changes the entire atmosphere. After elections, people in Kashmir thought that as the Chief Minister of Kashmir and the Prime Minister of India had joined hands, there would be lot of progress and development in that State and the problem of unemployment would be solved. But nothing of that sort happened. In the meanwhile Kashmir youth continued to get training in Pakistan under Gen Zia's regime. It was a continues follow and the situation continued to deteriorate. So far as education in Kashmir is concerned, it is free for all, right from primary to university level. For that matter, even medical and technical education is no exception. That is why even in village you can find a large number of boys and girls who have M.A. or even Ph.D. degree but there is not a single big industry for want of railway network in that State. In Government jobs, merit is also no consideration in that State. There were few industries in Kashmir. Therefore most of the educated unemployed youth crossed the border in search of employment and when they came back, they had to face many problems such as breakdown power supply, unemployment and corruption and it was for the first time in the history of Kashmir that the people started using guns and a phenomenon of terrorism was created in that State and the people who were facing problems turned to the other fold. Now these people have started gun wielding. I do not want to go into the details of all that but I want to say that there was not a single day during 1988 and 1989 when there was no agitation or strike. There was an agitation against the increase in electricity tariif from 9th June to 17th June in which 5 people were killed, it means that it was all because of increase in electricity charges. Later on, in the year 1988 there was a total bandh on the 15th of August i.e.

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the independence day of India and again, the 27th October that year was observed as occupation day because on this day in 1947 Indian army had entered Kashmir at the instance of Sheikh Abdullah and the people of Kashmir had come forward to welcome them urging them to repel the invaders. 27th October became occupation day and there was a total strike in the entire Valley on that day.

20.00 hrs.

Thereafter in 1989 26th January was observed as a 'Black Day' On that day, not a single bulb was alit in any house in the valley. All this happened there, there were again Bandhs, strikes and even the incidents of firing on 11th February, the day of death anniversary of Maqbool Butt. From 13th Feb. to 17th Feb. they organised demonstrations protesting against Salman Rushdies Book. Even on that occasion there was firing and incidents of killings. Again from April 3rd to 9th i.e. for a period of 4 days today protested against the arrest of Kashmiri youths by the police. From 11 to 14 May there was a 'Quit Kashmir Movement.'. Total bandh and strike was observed on these days in the whole of Kashmir. Again the 15th August was declared as 'Black Day' August 17 was also observed as the first death anniversary of General Zia-ul-Haq. There was firing even on that day. Death anniversary of Aizaz Ahmad Dar was celebrated on 18th September with incidents of firing. Again there was strike from September 29th to 3rd October after the arrest of P.L Leader Shabir Shah who remained underground for a period of 6 months to 1 year. There was agitation on that account in which people were killed. After that, there was strike and poll boycott from 22nd November to 24th November and reports appeared in the news-papers daily

[English]

They would say that we are not identifying any nationalist party.

[Translation]

What was the result, the Congress got only 30 per cent of votes in the Lok Sabha Elections of 1983. National Conference needs no mention. During the last Lok Sabha Elections not more than 2 per cent of the voters cast their votes. I have no personal differences with Handoo Sahib but in Anantnag city it was only he who cast vote and no other cast his vote. In Sopore city which has a population of 30 thousand, as per the statement of Dr. Farooq himself, only one congress minister, and none else, cast his vote. Srinagar is a hot bed of political activity.

20.00 hrs

Srinagar is the heart of whole valley. It is always a centre of activity. No party dared to field its candidates against the National Conference's candidate there. Nobody dared to file his nomination papers from there. I am not saying this but such are the circumstances there. I want to say it with all humility at my command that even then our Prime Minister went there. Just now our leader of the opposition asked here as to when the Prime Minister was going to Kashmir. But from 1985 to 1990 when he (leader of opposition) was the Prime Minister he might have rarely gone to Kashmir. I don't want to go to further deep into the matter. On one hand it is said that Governor's documents is a secret document while on the other side we find that when Neelkanth Gangoo, the session judge who delivered judgement in the case of Maqbool Butt, was shot dead by the terrorists his body lay there for three hours. nobody dared to remove it. In another incident an S.H.O. came out of his house to go to a mosque to offer prayers early in the morning at 5 a.m. and the moment he came out of the house, he was shot dead. Even in this case nobody dared to remove his body. There was another S.H.O. who did his duty but for it, his daughter and brother were hanged in the same village. So there is an air of terrorism and none of the political parties wants to take that risk. So please tell me, as to why all these things happened inspite of the presence of the National Conference a

party with a great history and the congress that has so much of popularity in that state and also when both of them were in power in the stage. How is it that only 4 per cent of votes were polled there. Did any body go there for a campaign, or did any of the leaders go there to compaign. If Kashmir is a part of India, why such a sorry state of affairs is prevailing there. What I mean to say is that we may have also committed some mistakes. But today, whenever militants or terrorists go there, the bullets are fired from one side and children and ladies receive it on the other side but no policeman dares to go near the spot. I don't want to say that Jagmohan is a divine figure and he can perform miracles. Because abdication of authority is going on there and nobody comes forward to resist it. So the situation has deteriorated to a great extent. It needs to be controlled. During the all parties' discussion some of our colleagues had said that political activities should be started. I also hold the same opinion. I think, that all the people in Kashmir don't want Pakistan though a number of forces are at work in that state. Some Pakistani elements were there even in 1947. They are still working there. But such an atmosphere has been created there that people have an obsession. They have a fear that if they came out to attend a meeting or to join a procession or to meet the Governor, they will be killed. They are obsessed with the terrorists' threats. People are testing your nerves, how are you going to contain that threat. This is one thing I don't want to go into it. This is complementary. But as regards the question of restoration of administrative authority alongwith some political work, none of the leaders of the political parties is coming out to say it openly that he stands to support a particular political party. Within the four walls of their house, they may support any of the political parties but openly they are not with any one of them. In such a situation how can one start the political activities. They ave also referred to Punjab here as there is also the rule of Governor in that State. But in Punjab all the political parties are free to carry their political activities. Some residents of Srinagar came and told me that the situation in the city is, no doubt, bad; but

the rural areas have remained unaffected so far. I agree with Shri Jaswant Singh here that as soon as the hilly roads are opened, more people will return. Of course, some people have already gone back. This is one achievement in this respect. Secondly, some persons have been apprehended also who were trying to cross the borders for training purposes from the areas kept under strict vigilance. Thus we have to remain watchful on our borders and prevent any type of infiltration. We have to protect the rural areas from the polluted environment of the valley however hard the terrorists may try to make large scale killings in order to create similar situation there. And when searches were made the next day after Shri Jagmohan took over on 19 or 20, people came out... Otherwise, para-military forces have strict instructions to see that innocent persons are not killed. Only when cross firing takes place, the police is forced to open fire. There is one Faiaz who opened fire and in reply the police had to open fire.

The Government have deployed maximum forces in the valley so that maximum restraint could be exercised and that minimum firing takes places and there is no loss of life. My submission is that the persons who are willing to go to the Valley to deal with the situations in the valley should not be stopped. Almost all the personnel dealing with administration in the Valley including an S.P. remained on leave for about 3-4 months, so much so that even police force was reluctant to deal with the situation. I am fully confident that Shri George Fernandes who has been given the charge of Kashmir, would succeed in tackling the problem. He visited the Valley also and people met him. The persons having one problem or the other contact us here. They depend on tourism. Lakhs of people earn their livelihood from tourism. In this manner, public pressure will also work. The people in the Valley generally feel as if they are going to achieve independence. People discuss the matter in buses, some say that it would take another 3-4 months while others opine that Srinagar would become free within a day or two. They think of forming an independent State of

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their own. This a feeling of realisation should be created in the people that they cannot be separated from India. Secondly, militants will have to be dealt with firmly, otherwise normalcy cannot be restored in the Valley. Thirdly we agree that the people who have nothing to do with terrorist activities, and who are facing the problem of unemployment, also become victims of excesses. For instance when searches were conducted a number of complaints were received regarding excesses committed on such people.

The Government should evolve some mechanism to overcome such lacunae. The Government should take action in cases in which excesses have been committed and persons involved should be brought to book.

[English]

Secret and correct policy will go together.

[Translation]

We have to fight terrorism. The persons who lend their support to terrorism should be made aware that if they continue to behave in that manner they will have to face the consequences. Many High-ups are involved who make payments to terrorists, some people spend part of their income for such purposes. You cannot adopt lenient attitude towards them. We have to draw a line. I am not disappointed. I am confident that political activity will start and people would realise that the party they have adopted.

[English]

It is an exercise in futility.

[Translation]

Kashmir would not become independent, it would not accede to Pakistan. They would realise this fact. Thus my submission is that we as well as you have also committed mistakes. You talk of Article 370, my submission is that the Kashmiri people allege that

everything is done at the instance of Delhi. First elections took place in the year 1951. In 1953, Bakshi Suhib took over and later on resigned in 1963 under Kamraj Plan. The Shamas-ud-din Sahib took over who was replaced by Sadiq Sahib. Once they thought in 1977 that they are going to form Government, then again they thought that it would be done in 1983, but ultimately it was scuttled. As it is said that in the elections held in Haryana, Congress own 5 seats and the remaining seats went in favour of Shri Devital. Similar was the case in Tamil Nadu. They feel that why confidence is not reposed in them and can't they form the Government they like You will say that

[English]

Free and fair elections, there is no taker.

[Translation]

But that is not the situation at present, a time would come when people would realise that their demand has been acceded to. From now onwards whenever elections will be held no malpractices would be allowed. I do not mean that National Conference and Congress indulged in misdemeanour in the elections held in 1987 but even a minor misdeed has its impact. Secondly I would like to submit that great resentment has been expressed with regard to the appointment of Shri Jagmohan. In may state that such a decision is taken by the Government, the Cabinet; and moreover Shri Jagmohan had played an effective role in Kashmir. For one year I had been a Minister in the Congress Government. I could not meet him owing to a little bit of arrogance. But I thought that something should be done immediately to deal with the situation prevalent there. My assessment was that he had played a significant role for the welfare of the common people, I do not mean politicians. I felt that he was familiar with the officials already working there and if some other Governor is appointed, he require another 3-4 moths to get familiar with the people. I mean to say that at the time of oath taking ceremony of

Shri Farooq Abdullah as Chief Minister they said.

[English]

"Governor Sahib, we would need you very badly. It is indeed, amazing that such remarkable work could be done by you in a short time through an imbecile and faction-ridden bureaucracy. Please do not hesitate to pull my ears if I go wrong. If today three ballot boxes are kept—one for the National Conference, one for the Congress and one for you, your ballot box would be full while the other two ballot boxes would be empty"

[Translation]

This statement was given by them in 1988 when he took oath as a Chief Minister. I am not perjured against anybody, and therefore, it has nothing to do with the Government. All the members of CPI, CPM, BJP and Janata Dal who visited the Valley assessed the situation and felt that some effective step should be taken to express our resolve to keep Kashmir an integral part of India. They created such circumstances.

[English]

either to take or leave it.

[Translation]

This is not a question of

[English]

taking to or leaving it.

[Translation]

Some one may say that the Governor is in favour of repression. He declared on the very first day that he won't draw his full salary, rather he would accept only Rs. 1000/- . But the circumstances took such a turn that it was alleged that he was unable to manage the show. Now the Minister incharge of Kashmir Affairs in consultation with the Advisory Committee, which has been consti-

tuted to assist him would discuss the matter and adopt a strategy to deal with the situation. As soon as they reach there, the work would start. It is good that all party consensus was evolved in tackling the Kashmir problem. There are a number of parties recognised by Election Commission and I assure them all that an All party Conference would be held within a week or two for follow-up action with regard to Kashmir. I thank you all.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received Substantive Motion under Rule 342—from S/Shri George Fernandes and Vasant Sathe. I would request Shri Sathe to read and move the Motion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: (Ponnani): There is one Motion from me also.

MR. CHAIRMAN: After finishing this, I will take your Motion.

SHRI. G.M. BANATWALLA: Which Motion came earlier? Let us know which Motion came to you earlier? I gave the Motion so early and then I also told you about it. Now all of a sudden, you are taking another Motion.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P.UPENDRA): Are you pressing it?

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: Yes, I want to move my Motion. You should follow the procedure. Otherwise, this is a murder of democracy.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You move your Motion. I am allowing you. You please move your Motion.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: It is very unfair. My Motion is here. It is a very unfair way of scuttling my Motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have allowed you. You move your Motion. I told you that I will consider your Motion also.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: I protest at this procedure that is being adopted now. I beg to move:

"That for the original Motion, the following be substituted, namely:-

"That having considered the situation in the State of Jammu & Kashmir, this House is of the opinion that the Government policy led to the deteriorating situation in Jammu & Kashmir" (1)

Now you allow me to make my submission on my Motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. You move. That is all.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: Kindly put it to vote.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: I should be allowed to explain.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. UPENDRA: No. that is not the procedure.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your Motion is self-explanatory.

"That for the original Motion, the following be substituted, namely:-

"That having considered the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, this House is of the opinion that the Government policy led to the deteriorating situation in Jammu & Kashmir." (1)

The motion was negatived

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I beg to move:

"That this House expresses its grave concern at the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. From across the border, terrorism is being encouraged and aided and persistent attempts are being made to arouse secessionist sentiments in the Valley. It is necessary for all Indian patriots to set aside their ideological and political differences and to act unitedly for defending the unity and integrity of the country.

The role of the people of Jammu and Kashmir in our nation-building efforts, ever since their participating in our struggle for national freedom, has been a glorious one. Jammu and Kashmir has a proud tradition of communal harmony and tolerance. The cultural identity of Jammu and Kashmir has been maintained and shall be maintained. The legitimate aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir will continue to have full expression. At the same time, no sinister designs against the unity and territorial integrity of India shall be permitted to succeed. The nation stands united and committed to this goal. Secessionism and subversion against the rule of law will, at not cost, be allowed in our democratic system.

This House is convinced that, within the framework of our democratic and secular polity, the political activity in Jammu and Kashmir must be revived. All our efforts should be unitedly directed to this national goal. This House appeals to misguided sections of people in the Kashmir Valley to abjure violence and take recourse to peaceful ways for the redressal of their grievances, for which abundant opportunities exist within the Constitution of India."

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: On a point of order. Our hon. Member Shri Vasant Sathe started by saying that he was moving the

Motion on behalf of Shri George Fernandes and on his own behalf. Now, this is a very strange procedure. A Member can move a Motion on his own behalf. The House will adopt it; it is a different thing. Let us know in whose name the Motion stands. This is the rule. The rule also says that 'a' Member, and not 'Members', can move a substantive Motion. Therefore, the records must show that the Motion has come only from one Member; whether that Member is George Fernandes or whether that Member is Vasant Sathe, is a different question. I am not objecting to the Motion. Today we are having these very strange procedures.

Therefore, I say that such a thing does not exist in the Constitutional and Parliamentary Procedure, and the records must show straight that a Member has moved the Motion under the particular rule.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to clarify. We have received individual Motions from Mr. George Fernandes and Mr. Vasant Sathe.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: What is the point of time?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Both are identical.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Only that Motion can be taken up which was received first, from the point of view of time.

SHRI CHAIRMAN: Mr. Vasant Sathe has moved.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: You may receive notices from five people. But from the point of view of time, the person whose Motion was received first, will be called by you. If he refuses, then the second person will be called by you to move the Motion. If the second person refuses, then the third person shall be called by you. Not in this particular manner—we are having a strange procedure from the Chair. Arrange the Motion and the names of movers according to the point of time at which you had received the notices; call the first Member. If he re-

fuses, then call the second Member. But not in this fashion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I told the House categorically that I received the Motion from two persons.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Then this is a murder of democracy. The procedure is not a matter to be treated like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I asked Mr. Vasant Sathe to move. That is all. There is no confusion about this. I received this Motion from two persons I read out like that. Then I asked Mr. Vasant Sathe to move. That is all. So, the point is over. Leave it.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: I protest against that procedure.

AN HON. MEMBER : Walk out.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: It is not a matter for walking out.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: The procedure is not meant for making fun like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is :-

"That this House expresses its grave concern at the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. From across the border, terrorism is being encouraged and aided, and persistent attempts are being made to arouse secessionist sentiments in the Valley. It is necessary for all Indian patriots to set aside their ideological and political differences and to act unitedly for defending the unity and integrity of the country.

The role of the people of Jammu and Kashmir in our nation-building efforts, ever since their participation in our struggle for national freedom, has been a glorious one. Jammu and Kashmir has a proud tradition of communal harmony and tolerance. The

cultural identity of Jammu and Kashmir has been maintained and shall be maintained. The legitimate aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir will continue to have full expression. At the same time, no sinister designs against the unity and territorial integrity of India shall be permitted to succeed. The nation stands united and committed to this goal. Secessionism and subversion against the rule of law will, at no cost, be allowed in our democratic system.

This House is convinced that, within the framework of our democratic and secular polity, the political activity in Jammu and Kashmir must be revived. All our efforts should be unitedly directed to this national goal. This House appeals to misguided sections of people in the Kashmir Valley to adjure violence and take recourse to peaceful ways for the redressal of their griev-

ances, for which abundant opportunities exist within the Constitution of India"

The Motion was adopted

20.23 1/2 hrs.

RESIGNATION BY MEMBER

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the House that the Speaker received a letter today from Shri Shanta Kumar, an elected Member of the House from Kangra constituency of Himachal Pradesh, resigning his seat in the Lok Sabha.

The Speaker has accepted the resignation with effect from today, the 13th March 1990.

20.24 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March, 14, 1990/Phalgun 23, 1911 (Saka)