

and on the first gate, I will go on a hunger strike unless All India Radio and Doordarshan put up today, in the evening news bulletins, that I was asking for a discussion by converting Calling Attention into Discussion under Rule 193 regarding exodus of Pandit community. When I come to speak on this situation, I will weep for many people. But why do they put up in the news bulletins which I never mentioned. This is why people listen to BBC and they reject the All India Radio. I condemn All India Radio and I condemn Doordarshan. Four days ago, I was only sitting in chair. They put up my name...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Prof. Soz, you are not following the procedure properly.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: I never said it. You knew what I have said in the Zero Hour. I went to the Information Minister and told him about this...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This is little too much. please follow the procedure.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: What is the procedure?*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

Only he can tell, how it happened.

*[English]*

It is a privilege issue.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, you come to the point. Are you bringing a Privilege Motion?

*[Translation]*

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: I would like to tell you the way Radio and Television are behaving.

*[English]*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This is not fair Prof. Soz. if you want to follow the proce-

dure, you have a remedy.

PROF SAIFUDDIN SOZ: I have followed it.*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right. The information Minister will look into it.

18.55 hrs.

#### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

#### Law and order Situation in Kashmir

*[English]*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, Shri Kumaramangalam to raise a discussion on the grave law and order situation in Kashmir resulting in kidnapping and killing of officials as well as political workers including an ex-MLA by the terrorists.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): I would, firstly, thank the Chair that at the last the matter has come up for discussion, though it would have been nice if the Calling Attention had been converted into an 193 discussion, and the discussions had taken place. It is most unusual that on almost similar subjects we have both the Calling Attention and the discussion under rule 193.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You will not blame others when others are accommodating you.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM: No; I thanked...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): He is casting aspersion...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM: No; not at all. Then you have not heard me carefully. I said it would have been nice. When I said 'nice', it was in a normal language.

Sir, what is most important is that since

[Sh. P.R. Kumaramangalam]

the last discussion, the situation in Kashmir has gone from bad to worse. In fact, before the 20th or 21st January when the massive police action took place in Kashmir and according to official figures 35 persons were killed, and according to unofficial figures which we received, which are quite reliable, more than 100 were killed—we never saw, we never heard of this problem of exodus. It is only after that, essentially because of State terrorism and its counter by the militants and the terrorists that we are seized of this situation. Our sympathies are fully with the Kashmiri pundits. We understand their distress; and not only do we understand their distress, but we feel pained to note that the hon. Home Minister, while giving the statement on the Calling Attention in the morning, mentioned a figure in the statement, of 25,000 families—which, if I assume an average of four per family, would mean nearly one lakh persons. It means that the Kashmiri pundit population, I presume, almost has moved out from the Valley, which is definitely wrong. Then, finally while replying he gave a figure which, according to him, was received from the local Administration, essentially collected by the Deputy Commissioner, if I recollect rightly—viz. 8455, a very specific figure. An approximation or a minor variation one would understand. But this shows that obviously, the information that is available with the Government and the Home Ministry about the situation in Kashmir is highly unreliable. They are flitting and floating merely on assumptions. It is even more clear that the local Administration, the civic Administration especially, and the civil Administration together, has just no analysis of the reality on the ground in Kashmir.

What has happened is that we have seen that more than 35 people have been killed in Kashmir by the terrorists in the last month alone. I am not talking about the position from December. I am talking only about the last month. We have seen the Director of Doordarshan being killed; we have seen Mr. Handoo, the Deputy Director of Information being killed—he was entering

into the jeep to go to work, and he was shot while he was sitting in it. We have seen Mr. Tikkoo and Mr. Gangoo, both belonging to the Telecom. Department with whom myself and Mr. Rawat have worked in close coordination, and have had connections. I know both the gentlemen personally.

19.00 hrs.

They were killed; they were junior officers of the Telecom. Then we had seen Gulham Hassan, the Deputy Superintendent of the Home Guards being killed. We had also seen the CPI Secretary, a well known poet, if I know rightly, Mr. Anju being killed. To add insult to injury, we had seen a former elected representative being killed. I am just giving a few names to show how it is going on, that it is not a sporadic, hapazard killing of people; it is selected, planned offences where an attempt is to make Kashmir secede; it is extremely well done and well planned. We had seen a former Member of the Assembly— he was kidnapped on Friday, 23rd—hanging dead on Sunday, the 25th. We had also seen Gulam Nabi Kuller, commonly known as Gulam Nabi Kuller, I think he was Gulam Nabi Bhutt, being killed on Sunday. Every killing has a purpose, not one of them had been killed off-hand or causally or without a plan. Every single person killed among the names I have taken had an important role to lay. In fact, they have been indentified as persons belonging to important essential services: some belonged to the Doordarshan Department; some belonged to the Information Department; some belonged to the Home Guard; they were all political personalities. There was a planned attack by Militaries.

What is the position on the ground there? The position on the ground is that ever since 15th February we have curfew; we still have curfew. Not only that, if one takes up an independent review, one will come to know about it. I understand there was an Independent Initiative group which went there. They came back and gave a Press Conference in Delhi; they said, "Government terrorism, State terrorism is also taking place. Women are being raped; women are being

molested irrespective of which community they belong to, where they are Muslims or Hindus." Not only that, there is a real terror unleashed on both sides; on the side, there is terrorism; on the other side, there are officials in the name of bringing control, bringing in law and order situation. In addition to this, the most unfortunate thing is that, all the extremist organisations, fundamentalist organisations, which are openly campaigning, actively participating in the movement, organising movement for Kashmir to secede from India, are still openly working and are in league with somebody. I understand quite reliably that even the Government itself has identified 42 organisations, both underground and over-ground—in their terminology, and what they consider over-ground, Jamaat-e-Islami, everybody knows that it has been campaigning from roof-tops, loud-speakers, every method of publicity it has been employing; in fact, they have been playing in certain mosque, I understand, the Pakistani National Anthem. The situation has not yet reached where people have totally decided that this sort of administration they are going to continue to have in Jammu & Kashmir, especially in Kashmir.

Hindus are moving away from Kashmir. It is visible, it is admitted and it is an accepted fact. I would only at this stages say a word of caution. Let us sympathise with their problems, let us understand their distress but not utilise—I repeat not utilise—their grief and misfortune for political ends. Let us not try to communalise what has not taken a communal turn. It is essentially a matter that lies between national and anti-national matters and let us not give it a communal turn. I plead with all the the Members of the House. Unfortunately my friend Shri M.L. Khurana is not here. If he were here, I would have requested him in person.

19.06 hrs.

[SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE *in  
the Chair*]

The most important point which arises today is that the sea change took place in

Kashmir only after the massive police strike or action of the 20th and 21st January. We saw large processions going to the U.N. office after the 26th of January and in fact right up to the 15th giving memorandums. Nothing was done at that time to even stop such obvious anti-national processions and even now unfortunately it is my feeling that nothing is being done specifically to ban these organisations who at best can be called anti-national. That is the worst I would put to them. They are definitely agents of foreign countries. It is in this background and in the light of the fact that the Pakistani Prime Minister has offered Rs. 10 crores to them and the United Muslim Front of the Islami Jamhuri—as it is called—has offered Rs. 5 crores to them and they said—in fact their leader is very categorical and has gone on record that they will deal with the Pakistani issue in a different manner, in their own manner—which means having raiders moved into Kashmir in gangs which is going on. At this rate, one thing is very clear. If one is going to have a Governor who can go ahead and dissolve the Assembly without getting the prior consent of the President, which is required, whether in law it is or not, at least on moral grounds it is required, we are supposed to be ruled by the President's agent but the President's agent does not deem it fit to get the approval of the principal; and having such a human being the problem cannot be solved. I mean no personal allegation against the individual but the manner of his functioning gives us a feeling of insecurity. Will he really represent us, this House, this country in Kashmir? Whom is he representing? After dissolving the Assembly, he calls these organisations and tells them that "I have given you *Azaad*". What is his bent of mind? The need of the hour, if I may submit, Mr. Chairman, Sir, and it is an immediate need, is to change the Governor. If you continue with him and then by making half-hearted attempts appointing my very good friend, trade union colleague Mr. George Fernandes in charge of Jammu and Kashmir this problem cannot be solved. He is not here but he seems to be more active in Goa and Meghalaya. There might be a reason because factually he is very good at destabilisation.

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora):** He has become a Minister for destabilisation now.

**SHRIP.R. KUMARAMANGALAM:** That is what I said. He is very good at destabilisation, and he found that there was nothing more to destabilise in Kashmir. That is all, he could go. He could not go lower.

Mr. Chairman, leaving aside my jokes that I had at the expense of my friend and comrade Mr. George Fernandes, the truth is that appointing a Union Minister is not an answer. What we need today is not just only join hands and start a political activity and political process but also to have a person as a Governor who really sympathises and understands the feelings of the Kashmiris. It is no use having an attitude of mind right from the moment go that they are anti-national, they are not Indians, they are Muslims, they are this and that. They are Indians whether they are Muslims or Hindus. That must be the first approach.

The second very important need of the hour is immediately to ban all those organisations. Let us not forget that Indiraji had banned the plebiscite Front at one time. It does not require an Act. It requires only a mere governmental order. All that you have to do is to pass orders to ban these Parties, these Organisations, whom you yourself have identified, instead of trying to have a deal with them or a compromise with them. The only way you can compromise with them is to hand over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This is what in effect has happened today. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I speak with pain and agony... (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAM NAIK:** Give suggestions. Whom do you want to ban?... (*Interruptions*)

**SHRIP.R. KUMARAMANGALAM:** I said that they have themselves identified them. Jamai-e-Islami is one of them. There are 42 such organisations. They know it very well. I do not need to tell them which one it is. I have just given them the major example. The hon'ble Minister is aware of it. The need to

ban is very important. Unless you ban them, you will not be able to communicate Delhi's firmness. Today we need to handle the issue firmly and at the same time with sympathy. We must understand the feelings of the Kashmiris. But that does not mean that you allow fundamentalists and secessionist groups to dominate.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have taken too long but we all know that many of these organisations have their Chiefs or Chief Executives or Heads sitting in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan; what they call Azad Kashmir, that portion of land comes in no man's land or in Pakistan; and they operate from Pakistan. Fifteen crores of rupees have been openly given by Pakistan. I would not be surprised if four to five times of that figure has been given under the table. The fact is that open subversive activities are going on at the behest, at the command with the finance and the help of Pakistan on the one hand; and we are not having the courage to identify those organisations and atleast ban them legally. If you cannot ban them, how are you going to handle them; how are you going to curb their activities; how is it that we will ever manage to get Kashmir within our control or will we always sit in Parliament and say, it is most unfortunate that civil administration has broken down. I am surprised that the Government says this without batting an eyelid and without even feeling ashamed of it. The misfortune of this nation seems to be that we have a situation where we do not know we can expect the answer from when we ask questions.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel it is necessary that all of us in this House should joint together and send our condolences to the families of the bereaved, especially the thirty five families since we last met. They have been targeted and killed. They are martyrs; they are heroes who have laid down their lives for national integration and I would plead with all Parties, please do not try to communalise the situation. Let us not try to make political gains or debating points; let us not try to say, why have you not done this or that; let us really put our minds together and



remember that Kashmir to us is the very symbol of secularism in India. If we lose Kashmir, we have not just lost one State, we will lose the very fundamental character of being a secular nation and the fall-out will be on a national scale.

I would like to end by thanking you for having given me this opportunity. I hope, the hon. Minister would respond to my request. I am sure, it is not only my request, but if one takes a vote in this House, majority of the Members of Parliament will demand a change of the Governor. Not that I expect that Governors should be changed on vote. But that is the feeling that every one of us have. And definitely we will all be unanimous in the demand of banning Jamiat-e-Islami and other 41 organisations which have been clearly identified as anti-nationals and secessionists.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV (Sitamarhi): Mr Chairman, Sir, I fail to understand why despite repeated discussions in the House on particular issues-like we are having on Kashmir today solutions are not coming forthwith. Where is the obstruction in solving the problem after all.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM: The Governor of Jammu & Kashmir.

SHRI HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV: I think that Governor, Shri Jagmohan is not the only reason behind this problem. He can be one of the reasons but there are many others also. But I can not say even that because Shri Jagmohan has come only today. As a layman I would like to submit that the Kashmir problem became complicated the day when orders were issued to stop the advancing forces who were marching ahead on the orders of Patel and a part of Kashmir was separated. If entire Kashmir had been occupied at that time, this problem would not have been there. If there is an abyss in the sensitive part of the body it gradually become cancer, if it is left like that. The problem of Kashmir is somewhat similar for which we

are searching a solution. Kashmir was divided into two parts and half of it was left for America to play with. They have played with it for a long time and that is one of the reasons why Kashmir problem has become so complex. It all started from there. One should take a lesson from the Kashmir problem which shows how the future generations have to face the consequences for years for a small mistake committed by a person sitting on the throne, of Delhi. There are many other reasons also behind this problem. We are aware that when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and kept in jail for a long time, late Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia always fought for his release. What was the attitude of the then Central Government. Has not this problem started from there. Have the Kashmiris forgotten the past. If we say that the problem has arisen today, it is not so. The problem has been there for long. I would say that the problem has been created by the Government in Delhi. It has never let a leader emerge from among the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes in India and this has affected the people throughout the country. Whenever any such leader emerged his wings were clipped by the Delhi Durbar and efforts have always been made by the Government at the Centre to clip the wings of those who try to compete with the number one at the Centre. This was done so that he could never come at par to the top position. So never a personality whether from the ruling party or opposition or from South, North or Centre was able to emerge in this country. India is not a small country. It is a big country. So many problems which are arising today should not have arisen, if attention was paid to the development of leadership, personality civilisation and culture keeping in view the regional needs of the country. It is a different thing that this problem has been created by someone and solution is being found by someone else. Why so many problems were created, one after the other? If a fundamentalist leader emerges in a particular area, Government sees to it that another fundamentalist leader is projected there to overshadow him. Shri Kumaramangalam this has not happened in

[Sh. Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav]

one place but everywhere whether it is Kashmir, Punjab Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam or Meghalaya. Which part of the country is free from problems? It is a different thing that somewhere the problem is clear and is creating trouble and somewhere it is suppressed. Sometime the people provide solutions themselves, but sometimes they say that the Government is ineffective. I do not mean to say that this Government can go scot free. In a democracy power always changes hands but no Government can shrug the responsibility. If this Government says that the problems have been created by someone else and they have nothing to do with it we can call it irresponsible. This Government is continuously making efforts to solve this problem. A suggestion has been made to win over the hearts of the Kashmiris, so we have to seriously think in this direction whether the reason is Farooq Abdullah or anything else. The question is that when a simple farmer like me gets agitated over certain things, the Kashmiris are not to be blamed for taking to guns. When even I feel that we are being maltreated in politics, just like our Kashmiri brethren, it hurts and enrages to the extent of revolt.

When we talk of equality, let the time come. It has always been the effort from Delhi to belittle the personalities. Another dangerous thing is that the Centre has been testing the loyalty of leaders by asking them to prove that they are nationalist. Whoever surrenders is the best man of the country and a nationalist with good character. But whoever puts up a stand against the Centre is labelled a traitor and is suspected to be a foreign agent. These problems have been there for the last 40 years. The Kashmir problem has been there since partition of India.

We are living in the Terai area of Nepal. The residents there would not have to face the difficulties if the proposal put up by the King of Nepal was accepted at that time. The Indo-Nepal border dispute has not been

resolved so far and the people are facing lot of difficulties. The Hon. Minister has said that we generally stress on problems, and say that Shri Jagmohan is the root of all problems. What to speak of one Jagmohan, there are a number of them, who have aggravated this malice. It is the duty of the Government to act according to the views of the people of Kashmir and if they do not want Jagmohan, he should be removed. For solving this problem it is necessary to know the views of the Kashmiris. Our discussions will not help much. Effective steps should be taken to heal their wounds. This is the time to consider seriously and with patience and not to get entangled in small things. Merely saying that some body said this and somebody said that will not serve the purpose. This issue should be considered seriously and with cool mind so that healing touch could be given to their hurt feelings. A physical wound can heal soon but if feelings are hurt it takes months and years to heal. We are making efforts in that regard. Attention should be paid as to how terrorism started and from where did they get the arms and ammunitions. If we put a restriction on the arms and firing is banned will violence stop there? Action should be taken against those who supply these arms. May be they come through Pakistan or any other foreign power. I think Pakistan is merely a toy in the hands of a foreign power which is playing a game. If it is a super power, we should gather enough strength to tell them categorically that playing such games could have serious consequences if their involvement is proved. If someone tries to spread terrorism in our country and tries to divide the country, we should roar like a lion to stop them and tell them that we will not tolerate this. We should try to know from where they get the arms. We have to solve the problem.

We should put a check on the terrorists, their ammunition and the violence that they are indulging in. If some mistake has been committed by the Government or some prominent personalities, we should not hesitate to apologise publicly from the people of Kashmir. In fact we should do this with open heart if it provides any satisfaction to them

and helps in healing their wounds. It will enable us to restore their confidence. We should try to form a Government there which can understand their problems so that the people of Kashmir feel encouraged. This is my personal opinion, rest you know better because earlier the Congress party was in power and now it is playing the role of Opposition. They had gone to Kashmir twice, first in capacity of ruling party and now as Members of Opposition, in search of possible situation to the problem. They can understand the gravity of the situation better because they can review it from two different perspectives. Therefore they must let us know of the possible solution their party had in mind when it was in power and what do they think could be an effective solution now. Or is there any other alternative which is being kept secret? Major responsibility in this regard lies on them. Therefore, if there is anything secret it should be disclosed to the present Government. Something is there which has not been put on the paper or in the agreement but there is something which has hurt the feelings of people of Kashmir and thus the problem was created. All of us have to sit together to find a solution and we should make continuous efforts to reach a solution. Being a simple farmer, I have put it in plainwords. The hon. Minister will tell us of the various measures and step taken by the Government to solve the problem. In case some powerful elements stand in between and block the path of solution then they should be dealt with firmly by the Government so that the problem can be solved at the earliest.

[English]

PROF. SAI-FUD-DIN SOZ (Baramulla): Mr. Chairman, I will take a minute to explain what I had to say about Doordarshan or Radio because proceedings of the House cannot be distorted. I will give an example of how the Television works. The Government of India is going to give them autonomy. Will they be really autonomous? We require human material for that. Hon. Minister, Sir, we went to the President of India with a Memorandum about Kashmir-all the five

M.Ps.-and yet Television blacked it out. And only four days ago I was sitting in a Seminar on the communal situation in India where the Home Minister spoke. My turn would come later because I had to go to the Saturday Luncheon Meeting in the India International Centre. So, I could not wait. But I was sitting in the front seat. I had to speak, but I could not wait. So, I left at nearly 1.30 p.m. and in the evening there was a news item and they said something about the Home Minister therein. Then they said, Prof. Saifuddin Soz's name was put first. Then Akbar's turn came. Although he had spoken, I had not spoken. This is on record, and Prof. Saifuddin Soz, then Antulay-even by seniority Antulay could come. I had not spoken a word, and when I went to the President on the critical situation on Kashmir, I was blacked out...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): When you did not speak, your name came there.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I did not speak...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Very good. You should be happy...(Interruptions)

No, I am telling you the design. (Interruptions). They have to be responsible, Mr. Chairman...(Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have made your point. Now, come to the main point.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I am coming to the point, Sir. I will be very brief. But today in the Zero Hour...

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: With an assurance that his name would come in the proper time and place on the TV.

(Interruptions)

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: No, no. I am telling you that they are playing a game, and

[Prof. Saif-ud-din Soz]

I am not a party to that game... (*Interruptions*)

I never mentioned Mir Mustafa's name... (*Interruptions*) My heart is full of agony, I would weep for all people who have been killed—Abus Sattar Ranjur, but I never said. My subject was, "Unfortunate exodus of Kashmiri Pandits". I was, therefore, put in the news. Therefore, I will wait for what Television will say on this. The Radio people have corrected it now. They must, otherwise tomorrow I will go on hunger strike for it because they have to be responsible. They cannot play this trick with us. If they have to play words, then they will be responsible because we shall catch hold of them. If they do it to us—we are a privileged community—what are they doing with others? So, no more politics.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, speak on the relevant subject.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: And they have to be different. You are bringing Prasar Bharati Bill. We are to be different if they behave like that... (*Interruptions*)

Now, Sir, coming to Kashmir, they have put me to mental agony, I do not know whether I will express myself in a cohesive manner. Anyway, I start with Ghalib's one verse—I am speaking Urdu, not Hindi; tomorrow morning give it to me in Urdu:

"Rakhiye Ghalib Mere Talakh Nawai  
Me Maaf Aaj Kuchh Dard Mere Dil Me  
Hota Hai"

'Ghalib, if you are bitter today'—he recited this poem in a Mushaira—'If you are bitter today', unto his own self he says, 'you forgive me because my heart is full to the brim with agony and sorrow.'

In the Zero Hour today I had raised the question of exodus of Kashmiri Pandits. And I said it was unfortunate that they suffer very great miseries now in Jammu and some of them have come to Delhi. Even Muslims

have migrated, but since Muslims are a majority community, therefore, the dimension is different. There is scare, I heard and it was heart rending that in Jammu, they say may be for very good reasons, I do not know, but they say 'they must get back. Otherwise how can we tolerate such a big population? Here, they will work on more land, they will buy land, we shall be happy.' So, they are not accepted in Jammu. I want to say through you to the House that even the situation in Srinagar and in other parts of the Kashmir Valley is very critical and very grim. I have satisfied myself that Muslims are not happy at the exodus of Kashmiri Pundits. They are part of the their and part of their body; they want to live together. Kashmiri Pundits will have to come back. It is the duty of the State Government and it is the duty of the Central Government to create means, to create a situation whereby they will go back and live with their brethren in perfect atmosphere of amity and live with human dignity. Kashmiri Muslims—there are reports and I will place these reports before the House because the Home Minister does not get the correct picture of the situation through figures—feel doubly hurt because they are also to suffer through killings. When it is killings at the hands of the para-Military forces, only Kashmiri Muslims suffer the most. In fact, I am in agony because the blood is Kashmiri blood. I do not differentiate between Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pundits. Kashmiri Muslims bear the brunt; they are not sorry for that, but they are sorry for one fact that outside the Kashmir Valley their image is being tarnished. My sisters and brothers are in Jammu. Some elements are there to politicalise the situation and to take political capital out of that. They say that the Kashmir Valley should be made a Union Territory. That can never happen, but they do not say it because their misery is being exploited and that hurts them. So, my first plea before the Home Minister is, 'let us work very hard, let us think how the Kashmiri Pundits can return to their home.' After all, they have left their property there. Tomorrow I will have a report here where I will prove that their houses are not being burnt; their houses are intact. I will prove before this House that Kashmiri Mus-



lims are weeping for their brethren. Four hundred years ago, Abdul Kodooz Gojwari laid his life for his Kashmiri brethren. I am reminded of many stores as to how they had protected their brethren against all the onslaught. You must remember that Kashmiri Muslims have never been narrow-minded to welcome Moghul rule. I must tell you that Gulam Mohammad Sadiq, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masudi, Kashyap Bandhu and others who were in the working committee have fought the battle with Dogra Maharaja and Sardar Budh Singh and later with Girdhari Lal Dogra. When we refer to Moghul rule, we call it as Moghul imperialism; when we refer to Patan rule, we call it as Patan imperialism; when we refer to Sikh rule, we call it as Sikh imperialism and when we refer to Dogra rule, we call it as Dogra imperialism. That is the history of the freedom of my Party. This is a statement by Maulana Mohammad Masudi who is now ill in an hospital. He is the tallest freedom fighter who did not unfortunately figure in the list of 1977. It was something miserable. He said before the court, Judge Hindu Bhushan in 1946, "It is not that we are fighting Dogras because they are Hindus. We fought Mogul imperialism, even though they were Muslims because we refused to be dominated because it was 400-year period of slavery. So, we rejected that." That is the genesis of our secularism.

Today, Kashmiri Muslims feel hurt. They are not part to this exodus. Their version is this. I will prove it before the Government of India. Governor Jagmohan's Administration is a party to this exodus. When a group of Kashmiri Muslims went to the neighbours, they said: "10 trucks came in the evening. They were scared. There were no policemen. There was curfew. We were carried to Jammu." I will give you authentic facts how Jagmohan became nervous and organised the exodus of Kashmir Pandits. Kashmiri Muslims feel hurt. We were suspicious that perhaps through the surges which the Administration is committing, they are going to commit further atrocities. Therefore, they would be free to deal with Kashmiri Muslims

and in order that they must do that and they must succeed in doing that, they are taking away the Kashmiri Pandits. Certainly, Kashmiri Muslims feel, they are not party to the exodus. It is heart-rending for them. It is the working, according to some plan of Mr. Jagmohan. It is going on record. I make this statement with no fear of contradiction, with all the responsibility that Mr. Jagmohan is responsible for the mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits who never in the history left their homes like this.

In the morning I said about one exodus story which has gone on record. This is what I want television and radio to put on record. I said, Kashmiri Muslims are one. I speak for all Kashmiris. One Kashmiri Pandit came to my house saying, "Mr. Jagmohan has polarised the situation, communalised the situation. Why don't you go on a hunger strike? We want to go back our home. But his administrative machinery came and took us to Jammu. Now, Jammu people would not accept us". It is not only this. Two Kashmiri Pandit families came to my house. They said, "Have you forgotten us?" I said, "No, How can I forget?" They said, "Then, listen to us. You see, hot days are coming. We cannot live in Delhi. Those poor women had never been to Delhi. We cannot live in Jammu in this scorching heat." They said, "It is Jagmohan who organised exodus". I was telling it in the Zero Hour today. I have said many thing. The whole of Kashmir wants a high-level judicial enquiry into the exodus. If it is proved that any Kashmiri Muslim organisation or Kashmiri Muslim community is responsible for that, at least I will apologise before this House. At least, I will refuse to live in Kashmir. But I will prove the Governor's administration. So, you must accept something of enquiry. Earlier, I have said that the Supreme Court Judge must look into the atrocities. The terms of reference can be expanded and we can include this exodus also.

When the members of all-Party delegation went to the Valley with Mr. George Fernandes it was Mr. Jagmohan who organised the demonstration. Similar slogans were

[Prof. Saif-ud-din Soz]

raised in Jammu and in Delhi. Placards were shown: Jagmohan Zindabad. This committee is not required. George Fernandes go back etc." By telling this, it is not showing favour to Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. But it is a schism. When the Government of India appointed the Kashmir Affairs Minister, Mr. Jagmohan reacted because he has a negative thinking on issues. When he sits on the chair, he does not have any care for the Constitution of India or for the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir State. He wants to exercise all the authorities which he wants to exercise, whether rule or no-rule. Therefore, the Government of India has taken a very big risk in sending Mr. Jagmohan. The record is here. I supported Mr. Jagmohan as Lt. Governor here, in the *Indian Express* case. I have no personal animosity. But it was a suicidal decision by the Government of India to send Mr. Jagmohan because Delhi is atrocious. I will come to atrocious part, if you give me time. This is the Kashmiri story which is authentic.

My brothers in the Bharatiya Janata Party need not feel that I have a grouse against their Party.

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: You listen to me. I am speaking to you from my heart.. This is what I believe is happening in Kashmir. Kashmir situation is critical.

SHRI A.K. ROY: Prof. Saifuddin Soz, please hear me...(Interruptions)

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: You can disagree.

SHRI A.K. ROY: No, no. I don't disagree. You are the man from Kashmir speaking from your personal experience with all your sentiments and agony for which we have got great respect. But I would like to ask you very humbly one thing. Suppose Shri Jagmohan is withdrawn and in his place if Shri Farooq Abdullah is the Governor there—

because we are thinking of revising the Cabinet—if we send Shri Farooq Abdullah as Governor there, can this problem be solved?

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I will answer that...(Interruptions)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN (Mahbubnagar): Can you appoint him as Governor? (Interruptions) It is a hypothetical expression. (Interruptions) I thought you were going to make some other important point... (Interruptions)

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: You send Shri Farooq Abdulla. Then we will see...(Interruptions)

SHRI A.K. ROY: You may have anybody in your mind. I am not talking of Shri Farooq Abdullah or anybody. You may have anybody in your mind.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I will answer Mr. Roy's question. Perhaps it is a relevant question. But I will come to it later. I made the point. I have no animosity with BJP because on so many issues, you can make common cause with other parties. You can have a different point of view. We must live in democratic set up according to the values that are enshrined in the Constitution of India. I must honour your point of view. You must honour my point of view.

I could not talk much because I have talked in eight Seminars about it i.e. now Shri Jagmohan has created a situation. This is a very grim and a very critical situation. But since he is the Government there and the President's nominee and now exercising authority, he is creating a situation every day which cannot be controlled. Therefore, I must mention how he has polarised the situation in Jammu & Kashmir and made it critical during that night 19th/20th January. He has the knack of proving every other person wrong by issuing statements. So, what happened during that night when he went as Governor and when he took charge? He did two things. He held a three hour meeting with the top brass of the Police including the

**Director-General of Police.** The Army General was there. It was a 3 1/2 hour meeting to be precise and thereafter he went to visit some site in Jammu because he has done considerable good work as a road builder. Yes, it goes to his credit that he could create good parks. He went to some site where he ordered how lessons in the matter of cleanliness could be taken. Thereafter he came to the Raj Bhavan. He had got enough time to take stock of the situation. What happened during that night? The paramilitary forces went berserk and committed all kinds of atrocities. History will never accept his argument that these things were ordered by Dr. Farooq Abdulla. The police felt free. The Director-General was there in the meeting for three-and-a-half hours. The General was also there. He was not visualising the situation in Kashmir as you have visualised. He was calm and composed. He went out of his own sweet will there. He has said in his own language: "Had I known this, I would not have gone to Kashmir." I am telling in his own language because otherwise I would become controversial. This would be the situation. He has told privately to his friends and he told two of my friends like this: "Had I known it earlier, I would not have gone to Kashmir." The point is that he does not consult anybody. He thinks he is wiser than all others. Therefore, he went to Kashmir out of his own sweet will and without consulting his friends here. Otherwise, he could have been advised not to go there. So, he was calm and composed when he held three-and-a-half hours meeting with the top brass of police with the Police General around. Therefore, our hon. Home Ministers knows the details as to what had happened during that night. Not only during that night but in the morning at 2 A.M., myself and Mr. Handoo went to Shri V.P. Singh's residence. What we felt in our memorandum hurriedly in that morning hour proved to be correct. The paramilitary forces went berserk. We had received so many telephone calls. People were crying. There was rape and old men and women were taken by the hair and dragged out and people were going to mosques in thousands using loud-speakers. That kind of a situation developed there. The

situation started going out of control. Mr. Jagmohan is responsible for that and none else. He is the postmaster in preparing these Press releases in Raj Bhavan. I know how many journalists go there. Some people do not have conscience. Our hon. Home Minister should be conscious of this fact also. Some newspapers are playing up these stories. But the people of India will never accept the untruth because they have conscience. First of all I raise a question. Did the 800 million people in India have only one person to be sent to Kashmir? Don't we have any substitute for Mr. Jagmohan? Is he so indispensable? Do we not know him? How do you know him better than myself? I have lived with him. He was my Governor for five-and-a-half years...*(Interruptions)* I know whatever that had happened on that day. Then it followed on 21st January, 22nd January. There were killings. Then he imposed curfew. He lost track of norms which he should exercise in dispensation of his duties as Governor. He lost the track. Thereafter, everyday is a day of negative administration which my country men unfortunately do not know because he has built a system of disinformation. So, what he does now is totally negative...*(Interruptions)* I will tell how he is doing. Mr. Chairman, I am making a statement in Delhi that hospitals in Srinagar and other towns in Kashmir do not have vital drugs necessary for patients. Hospitals do not have life-saving drugs. I go to WHO, the Redcross and I go to the Home Ministry. The All India Radio obliges me without myself telling them—not the Television. All India Radio put up a story that Prof. Soz said this thing. The Radio Kashmir has also done that job. I am giving the correct story. Every word is correct. That is why I want to keep you informed of what is happening in Kashmir...*(Interruptions)* Nobody can talk against him. Next day in the morning's 9 A.M. bulletin Shri Jagmohan contradicted me saying like this: "Professor Soz had made a wrong statement. And drugs were not available. Ten days after that, I presented here a list of 14 important drugs, life saving drugs, which were not available in the Bone and Joint Hospital where several young children of ten years, fifteen years, whose

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legs were amputated, suffered because there was no medicine. Neither Mr. Jagmohan nor his two advisors have visited any hospital in Kashmir. After fifteen days of his contradicting me, the Voice of America presented a story stating that some militants were still in Kashmir hospitals and life saving drugs were not available. But he has no time for that. What has he time for? He has time for preparing files for dismissing officers. Already, about 30 people have been dismissed without giving them any chance to explain about the position. But it takes some time even for that hurry. As I say, he has no political policy in his administration. Is this the time to eradicate corruption? Here it is a question of life and death of people of Kashmir. But here he is preparing a list of officers for dismissal. I do not want to take your time in telling how he dismissed officers. Although there is no time, the Governor should go and count the dead; the Governor should go and count the wounded; the Governor should give correct figures as to how many Kashmiri Pandits have left. And as of now, he has no figures of dead persons. His machinery has put up the figure of 61 as the dead persons. But the number of persons died since the time he took the charge is more than 450. If you come to violence and terrorism, you will see that Muslims also die and Kashmiri Pandits also die. We must feel sorry for both. Do not count Kashmiri Pandits. Do not count Muslims. Do not say only about Mir Mustafa. There are so many people. But he did not spare any time for public welfare and because of that the situation is totally grim.

And about disinformation, first he snatched away curfew passes from journalists. For 25 days, none of the Urdu dailies appeared there. So, Kashmiris remained totally cut off without any information. That created a void on information. Today because of curfew and because of various kinds of difficulties, no national paper is reaching there. And Kashmiris do not know what Mr. Datta Roy, what Mr. Rustomji, what Mr. Ajit Bhattacharya, or what Mr. Masani or

what Mr. Ashok Mitra and what several great sons of India have written in favour of them about alienation. They do not know about the stumbling block. The person who has created this disinformation, the total disinformation, is Mr. Jagmohan, because curfew is a continuous process. Somebody said that passes were valid for the whole month of February. That is available with me. I can show you that...*(Interruptions)* I am giving you this information because you may not get it otherwise.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Since you come from Kashmir, we have given you half an hour.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Another thing which he forgets is that he has to appear in the public eye. Because he has got a very strong lobby in Delhi, somebody came to my home. I got scared. But I do not look to the hon. Home Minister or the Prime Minister for my security. One thing I have felt is that he has got a strong lobby. I have spoken in various seminars. Somebody came to my home—with my permission, of course. He asked: "Do you think that Mr. Jagmohan is communal?" I said: "My dear friend, it is as much important for a person to appear in public eye to be non-communal as he has non-communal actually.

20.00 hrs.

Jagmohan may not be communal—my conscience refuses to believe it—but he has to appear in public as non-communal also. I give only two examples although there are hundreds of examples.

On a day when he announced *ex-gratia* amount of Rs. 1 lakh, it is given sparingly. I challenge the hon. Home Minister, let him come to the House tomorrow and give us the figures as to how many people got that *ex-gratia* amount. The Radio in Kashmir said that one lakh of rupees is given. On a day when five government servants died why is it that the radio in Kashmir say that an *ex-gratia* amount of one lakh rupees is sanctioned in favour of one? On a day five people died. Unfortunately they were all Kashmiris.



Two of them were Ganju and Raina, the Food Department Officer—what an honest man he was—Ghulam Hasan, ASI and two other Muslim gentlemen who were working in the IB. The next day ex-gratia was sanctioned for Ganju and Raina. It was the news and the news bulletin must be available with Shri Upendra. But no ex-gratia amount was sanctioned for others. I don't mind that. May be they did not ask for it or may be he has some other explanation for that. But why should CBI look into the killings of Ganju and Raina only? This is already on record in the Press.

He has announced so far four enquiries—one for Ganju, one for Raina and two others. I told this to the gentlemen who had come to my home. I told them one more fact and I silenced them. Then they agreed with me. I said it in the seminar also. I told them, understand that Jagmohan is an honest man, he is not communal. But since he has no political angle, see what mistakes he has committed. He appointed the Chairman of the Subordinate Selection Board, that too from Delhi. He may be his friend, I do not know and I have no objection to that. It must be on merit. But can he impart integrity to J & K in this grim situation? Now an average Kashmiri who is not educated raise this question. They have raised this question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now you may please conclude. Otherwise I will call the next speaker.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Within two minutes I will conclude Sir. They are already saying as to where was the need of appointing even a Subordinate Selection Board chairman from Delhi. So the Governor has no political angle to his administration. Therefore he has created this situation which is very grim.

Since you want me to take my seat I want to raise the final question.

Kashmir can be had only by winning the hearts. I want to convey this to the Central Government. It cannot be had with Jagmohan's bullets which was a continuous proc-

ess there. It cannot be had through the atrocities of para-military forces. That will have to be stopped and I support Shri Kumaramangalam wholeheartedly in this. Shri Jagmohan will have to be removed from that State.

I want you to go into the question of the alienation of Kashmiri youth. Why is 90% grant given to Himachal Pradesh and only 70% loan to J & K State? Why is it that in public sector enterprises J & K State's share is only 0.03%? Why Kashmiri Muslims are only 1.5% in the nationalised banking sector? You must go into these cases of alienation, correct the situation, remove the bullets and give your sympathy of heart to the Kashmiris. That is the only last chance; otherwise it cannot be done...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all. Now I will call the next speaker.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I will conclude with one couplet. We require somebody who understands the *samasya* of Kashmir.

Was that situation as bad as it is today?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will call the next speaker.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: We require a man because Delhi should not continue with its stance of being atrocious. We require a man who will understand, who will give the sympathy. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad quoted this in his Auto-biography 'Tazkirah', without saying who is the author.

Ya Rab Kuja Az Mehar-e-me,  
Razi Ki Har Zaman  
Dil shar-e-aan Dahad  
Jadid-u-Jahan Shunid.

Oh! God, I want a friend-not a friend-such a friend with whom you can open up completely perfectly and share with him every moment of your life and tell him what you heard and what you saw with your own eyes. Show me the man, I will relate the story.

[*Translation*]

PROF. PREM KUMAR DHUMAL (Hamirpur): The problem of Kashmir has in fact become so disturbing that the matter had to be discussed twice today in the House. Those who spoke prior to me laid stress on the background and the reasons behind the problem and the necessity to find an early solution. While listening to Prof. Soz, I felt that his attitude has changed. The problem has become so serious that we have forgotten even the Punjab problem and it seems to be of lesser importance. People of a particular community-Kashmiri Pandits are fleeing from the Kashmir valley to seek shelter in other States. I can narrate a personal experience. Last week a young Kashmiri pandit came to me. He was alright when he entered the room but started weeping while narrating his story. I told him that hon. Members representing Kashmir in the House totally deny any communal violence in the valley whereas you say that there is communalism in the State. He said that he is forty one years old and is a painter by profession. He further added that he has been writing to the National Conference and the Congress that he is not being allowed to cast his vote but they have not bothered about it. He said that whenever he went to cast his vote he was told that Panditji, there is no need for you to come here as your vote has already been cast.

When Shri Hukumdeo Narayan was speaking, Shri Kumaramangalam objected to his reference to the past. Unless we look back into our past, we will not be able to know the rootcause of the problem and it will become more and more difficult to reach the solution. Whether it was problem of Punjab or Kashmir it has become more complicated whenever we tried to solve it with politics of votes. Be it dismissal of Barnala Government to fetch more votes from Haryana or compromising with G.M. Shah to dethrone Farooq Abdullah by saying that he was \*\* or after some time joining hands with Farooq

Abdullah to overthrow G.M. Shah. The same Farooq Abdullah who was called the greatest\*\* and was conspiring against the Government once again became the greatest Patriot. Why is there a sudden change in the yardstick and the same Farooq Abdullah becomes the only and true heir of Sheikh Abdullah. We have to take into consideration the policy of previous Government on Kashmir and find out whether the problem became complicated only in month of December. I am surprised when the hon. Members of National Conference and Congress take the name of Shri Jagmohan whenever they discuss the Kashmir problem. It seem as if the Kashmir problem was created by the Governor Shri Jagmohan, and it could be solved after he is removed, from there. I have figures to support my argument. More than fifty six terrorists were released during the regime of Farooq Abdullah. They had been arrested on charges of having Chinese rifles in their possession. This is a very serious matter whereas my hon. friends repeatedly point to the incidents that occurred since December without paying any attention to this harsh reality. The Farooq Abdullah Government released more than seven hardcore terrorists who were associated with Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front. Jamat-e-Islami and Hizbul Muzahideen between July, 1989 and December, 1989. They were behind many bomb blasts and they had received training in Pakistan to use weapons and had met Amanullah Khan there. The Advisory Board headed by Chief Justice of Jammu & Kashmir had recommended their detention and insisted that they should be kept in prison for some more time. When the unfortunate kidnapping incident of the daughter of Home Minister took place, Shri Bhajanlal said that had their party been in power, they would have given twelve hours ultimatum to release Dr. Rubaiya failing which all the five terrorists would have been shot dead. I would

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\*\*Not recorded.

like to narrate an incident that occurred during the regime of the coalition Government of National Conference and party of Shri Bhajan Lal. The day Dr. Rubaiya was kidnapped, nearly forty five terrorists were released by the Minister Shri Shafi Udi of Jammu and Kashmir and later on hon. Chief Minister Shri Farooq Abdullah confirmed the release orders. I wish that a suit should be filed and an inquiry should be conducted in the national interest against persons like Shri Shafi Uri, who was a ...minister. I can absolve the Government of this charge. In this very House the hon. Minister had once stated that about four to five thousand Pakistanis had tried to intrude into the Indian border with Pakistani flags and wanted to hoist it on the Indian soil. When resisted by a B.S.F. Jawan, they beat him with the flag-stick, as a result of which our jawan had to resort to firing in the air. At that time, I had said that when the life of a citizen is not precious, whether he is Punjabi or a Kashmiri, the Government should have issued shoot at sight orders for any one who intrudes into the Indian territory. The Kashmir problem has deteriorated to such an extent and become so serious that merely accusing the Governor or asking for his removal would not serve purpose, rather it will be a mistake. If my friends in the Congress (I) and National Conference think that the root of the problem is Jagmohan, I would appeal to them to rise above the narrow party considerations and think about the larger interests of the country. Kashmir would exist only if India exists and the survival of parties depend on the survival of the country and Kashmir. But if even today we continue to indulge in petty politics, the Kashmir problem would not be solved but instead become more complex, I would have liked to hear something about Pakistan from Shri Saifuddin Soz. The 'India today' of this fortnight has described the manner in which funds are being raised for war in Pak-occupied Kashmir. It is true that Kashmir has been a secular State, and there are no two opinions about it. But at the same time, it is also true

that communal feelings are being flared up there and Pakistan's national song is being played in the mosques there. The slogans of 'Pakistan zindabad' (long live Pakistan), and 'Indian dogs go back' are being raised there. Will all these problems be solved just by removing Jagmohan. Whoever may be there, he will have to take strict measures to enforce law and order. So I appeal to all the parties and all the leaders that since Kashmir problem is a major problem, let us rise above petty party considerations and pass a resolution that no Pakistani interference will be tolerated. If our army can go to Sri Lanka and save it from disintegration, India too will not disintegrate and will remain united forever. But this has to be brought home to Pakistan in a stronger and clearer terms. I saw a cartoon in a newspaper depicting the two facets of V.P. Singh Government one as very poor, and the other as very powerful. I would like, hon. Home Minister, that the message to be conveyed by you to Pakistan should be that of powerful facet and not of poor facet. That country should be made to realise that any sort of interference in our internal affairs shall not be tolerated at any cost. I would like to appeal to our National Conference brethren to go to their respective constituencies and make efforts towards achieving a solution to this problem. On the one hand, you say that the Bhartiya Janata Party or the Janata Dal have no stronghold over there. And if any party can claim to enjoy power and popularity there, it is either the National Conference or the Congress party. When it is you who are powerful there, please go and put that power to a constructive and practical use and stop the brutal killings that take place every other day. Lately, Shri Tikalal Tiploo of BJP was assassinated... (*Interruptions*) He was murdered. Thereafter a Congress leader was also killed. Some muslims were also killed. Even the communists were not spared. But here, there is not the question of any particular party or religion but that of the whole nation. The problem of Kashmir is every-

[Prof. Prem Kumar Dhumal]

body's problem. Therefore, I request each of you to please co-operate with the Government for the solution to this problem. The Government shall announce a clear-cut policy with regard to Kashmir and make it evident to the whole nation as well as the Parliament as to what steps it is going to take to solve the Kashmir tangle. With these words, I thank you all.

[English]

SHRI K.S. RAO: Are we continuing this discussion tomorrow?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is not the intention.

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): We gave our names and we want to speak on this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the House agrees, we can sit even up to mid-night.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, you may extend the time of adjournment of today's sitting of the House at your pleasure but if arrangements were made for every speaker to put his point of view forward in a precise manner without repetition of what has been said earlier, we are ready to listen to them. Every member is not going to speak about it. But we would like to listen to the novel ideas and proposals only once and if things are not repeated, one would like to listen to them; and that way the time of the House will not be wasted.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: All Members are honourable members. They have listened to you. I hope they would take note of it.

SHRI K.S. RAO: Give some time to

each member so that all the Members who want to speak can speak on this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Dr. Sudhir Ray.

DR. SUDHIR RAY (Burdwan): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is with a sense of great anguish that I participate in this debate on Kashmir. As we know, thousands of families have migrated from the Valley and the terrorists seem to be reigning supreme in Kashmir. A number of political and social activists are being gunned down daily. It is a deliberate plan to create an atmosphere of terror and the Government is simply disfunctioning in Kashmir.

I do not want to dig up the past; I do not want to sling mud at others or assume 'holier than thou' attitude, but it must be remembered that the people of Kashmir under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah fought against the Dogra *raj* and they also fought against the British imperialism, and it is under the leadership of the National Conference that the people of Kashmir expressed their willingness to come to India and link their fate with India. It should also be remembered that never in the past, communal feeling such as those which now prevail in Kashmir were there. There was perfect communal harmony in Kashmir. We are proud that Kashmir was the banner of our secular democracy. But now the situation is very poor and the terrorists' gangs have been set up in Pakistan. The Pakistani Prime Minister Mrs. Benazir Bhutto and the Punjab Chief Minister Nawab Sharief are vying with each other to encourage the separatist in Kashmir. The Jamait-e-Islami and the JKLF are crying from housetops that there is terror let loose in Kashmir. Now, I must say that the Governor of Nammu and Kashmir Shri Jagmohan committed a serious blunder when he dissolved the Assembly. Certainly, he should have sought the advice of the president and the Prime Minister. he should not have taken such a drastic step because by dissolving the Assembly, he has destroyed the only medium that existed between the people and the separatist. We cannot wish away the glorious rite played by the National Conference in the history of Kashmir. Therefore,



they should have been taken into confidence and they should have been allowed to operate.

SHRI MOHAMMAD SHAFI (Srinagar): Mr. Chairman, there is no Quorum in the House. Only a few Members are sitting in the House. Out of 546 Members only 20 Members are present in the House. This is a mockery. If we have to follow the rule, then we have to follow it strictly. We are not having any fun here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the Quorum bell be rung...

MR. CHAIRMAN: There being no quorum, the House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

20.35 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, March 27, 1990/  
Chaitra 6, 1912 (Saka)*