

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

but display an attitude which is authoritarian, which is irresponsible, which is reckless and which is in total disregard of the safety of the Kashmiri Pandit families who are living in the Kashmir Valley. No wonder that the reaction of the Kashmiri Pandit families who have already migrated and are living in different places has been rather very sharp and angry. This has also been reported in 'the National Herald' issue of May 1, 1990. It says—I will just quote a few lines;

"Two things were clear after a talk with the migrants: they will not go back and cannot be forced to go back by merely issuing..."

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Point -of order. Madam, is it permissible to read from the newspapers?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please don't quote from the newspaper.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am quoting only what has appeared. (*Interruptions*). The newspaper has reported that a delegation of the migrants met the Minister of State for Home Affairs...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Bhatia, you can summarize whatever is said. Please don't quote.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is colossal ignorance of the procedure of the House.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Madam, may I ask, under what rule it is not permitted to quote from the newspaper? I think the rule should be cited because, I think, there are things of grave importance and a man cannot get them from his imagination but from somewhere. There must be a source. So why can't the source be quoted?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Unless it is authenticated, we don't quote from newspaper reports.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Madam, the Minister of State for Home Affairs is here. The report has quoted that a delegation of the migrants met the Minister of State for Home Affairs and told him categorically that they cannot be compelled to go back to the Kashmir Valley unless their lives are secured, unless their honour and dignity are secured. In these circumstances, I respectfully submit that the Government should come forth and make a categorical statement that it withdraws these instructions which are not only unconstitutional, which are totally irresponsible and reckless and which have no basis whatsoever even from the humanitarian point of view. ' Secondly, I submit, Madam; that it is the moral and constitutional responsibility of this Government to give full support and assistance to those migrants who have had to leave their hearths and homes because their lives were put at stake and their honour and dignity could not be protected by this Government while they were within the Kashmir Valley. Thank you, Madam.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS— *Contd.*

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Madam, today we all know that the law and order situation in the country is slowly getting from bad to worse. Every day when we read the newspapers, we find that the killings in Kashmir, in Punjab; of late in Assam and in Delhi are on the increase. We know that the questions of Kashmir, Punjab and Assam are inherited by the new Government from the old Government, but that doesn't mean that while we discuss these questions, only saying that they are inherited, etc., will be sufficient.

Madam, what is the real position in Kashmir today? We find that the Pakistani rulers are openly training insurgents and militants there and with sophisticated arms they are sending them to Kashmir to carry on insurgency. So, a new situation has come about, a really serious situation has come about. A war psychosis is being created. So, as Indians we must see the length and breadth of the development and we must take our position on the basis of the new development.

We are having our own political opinions. We are different political parties having different opinions. But this suicidal to be divided when our country is slowly being usurped and attacked when insolently the Pakistani rulers are allowing the training of militants in Pakistan. Every side issue can be focussed as a big issue but the main issue should not be forgotten. So, an attempt is being made to use force to take out Kashmir from India. This has to be opposed by one and all.

The problem now is that the Government of India has taken certain steps. Those steps have been yielding results. Serious steps have been taken by the Government to end out the hideouts of the militants, and many of them have been arrested.

To our bad luck or surprisingly we find some people are agitating for freedom of civil liberties. There is the organisation for civil liberties protection, the PUCL. They are raising their voice. What are they saying? They are saying that the Government is attacking and controlling the freedom of citizens in Kashmir. But what do they want? They want freedom for those people who want to kill people, innocent people, unarmed people and that too for the militants trained in Pakistan and who want the country should be dismembered. This kind of freedom-

fighters should be taken with a pinch of salt.

Also now we find to our bad luck that somebody wants immediately that Article 370 should be nullified or removed from the Constitution. I do not know why they are making this demand. The founding fathers of our Constitution when framing the Constitution took into consideration the peculiar situation prevailing in Kashmir, and that Article has been included in the Constitution for keeping the unity and integrity of the country intact. When a situation has arisen in Kashmir, a war-like situation has come about in Kashmir, then, the demand is being made by somebody that immediately Article 370 should be nullified. Is it good for the country? To whose benefit does this kind of demand go? With all respect to my BJP friends, I would say that they may be perhaps making this demand for protection of the country, which we do not understand. But at the same time who is utilising this? Those people who want to take away Kashmir out of India are using it by saying that the protection enshrined in the Constitution is being tried to be taken away so that the independent status of Kashmir is done away with. This will go to the head of the insurgents and those people who want to divide the Country. Therefore, I appeal to all those in the Opposition and in the ruling party to see the reality.

We may have differences. There can be issues. But at the same time when our country is to be divided, when they want to take away a portion of India and declare it to be some kind of an independent State or a part of Pakistan, can we be neutral? We hear Mr. Mann, one of those big fighters for a Sikh nation, has declared this. What has he said? "That I will be neutral." If war is started in Kashmir, he will be neutral. Not only will he be neutral, but he will take the issue to the UNO for plebiscite. This is also a part of so-called patriotism.

[Shri E. Balanandan]

But the Punjab people, Sikhs and Hindus, I hope, will not be supporting this man. I must submit with humility that there is something wrong with Mr. Mann's understanding of the situation. Therefore the people of the country should distance themselves from this kind of people. They are supposed to be Indians. They are claiming to be Indians. And when the country is going to be attacked, they are going to be neutral and they are going to raise this issue in the United Nations. This kind of patriotism, I do not understand. We do not subscribe to this View. Therefore, I request the Government not to look to the past records. They might be good or *had*. But what I would urge upon the Government is to govern the Country. It is the duty of the Government of India to see that all the patriotic forces are mobilised and that our country is protected. Of course, some steps have been taken. They are welcome steps. But there are some steps which have yet to take. When you go to Kashmir you find a State, which attracts lakhs and lakhs of foreign tourists where for more than six months in a year, does not have adequate power supply. Why? A large amount of power is generated in Kashmir and taken to other parts of the country, while they are starved of power. Therefore, for development of Kashmir, immediate steps on a war-footing have to be taken so that the Kashmir people realise that the Government of India and the people of India are serious and they are one with them. If they get an assurance that all the benefits for their development which are their due will be made available to them, they will have a feeling that they are developing in pace with the rest of the country. This is all I want to say about Kashmir.

There a new slogan of confederation is being raised. It is an old slogan of the US lobby for the dismemberment of our country. Nobody should get fooled by this slogan.

I won't go into the details on the question of Punjab, but a new development has taken place there. Terrorists are going to the people with guns and demanding money. A section of the administrative personnel is siding with them. Moreover, they are continuing with their job of killing innocent People in Punjab. Now, they have extended their activity to Delhi also. Today we have read in the papers that 1,800 detonators were found in a bus. In the month of April alone in three incidents of bomb blasts in buses in Delhi eleven people have died and dozens injured. In Delhi, the capital of the country, bombs are being put in small cases, handbags and in some other things which we cannot *imagine* and they are placed in buses in some areas. This is how the terrorist activities have now extended to Delhi. Therefore, the situation is very serious. I would request the Government of India to view the situation seriously. The new Government after coming to power have taken certain political steps. They were of course, welcome steps. The extremists in Punjab and their supporters were making so many demands. Many of their *demands* have been conceded by this Government thinking that a political solution should be found and the grievances which have gone into the minds of the Sikh people have to be redressed. Keeping that in mind the Government has taken many steps. But instead of reacting to those steps favourably and coming to an arrangement through political discussions, they are going the other way round. When the Government wanted to take some political steps to ease the situation, the extremists took it for granted that the Government is weak. Therefore, they are forcing the Government further to yield to their threats. This cannot be done. This should not be done.

There is a Government. The Government has to rule. Therefore, every body should be told that with small bombs and a few arms collected

from elsewhere cannot be used to threaten India. This will not be allowed; and should not be allowed. With different political parties in this House, we may have differences but ! should we allow Punjab to be taken away with a few guns? *History and Geography* will be there. Congress(I) Government's failure is there. Maybe so many other Governments' failures might be there. How to meet this challenge is the question today to be answered. We the Indians, we in the Parliament of different political parties, should we not fight this kind of a situation where some people with a few guns want to threaten us and take Punjab away? This cannot be allowed. Therefore we suggest while continuing with steps which are to be taken politically to restore normalcy in Punjab, stern measures have to be j taken to deal with terrorism. I want the Government to be quite frank; when the Home Minister of the country speaks that he is not going to : allow terrorism in the country it means, he should have his own way. People should understand that the Home Minister of the country is speaking. When you talk, you talk seriously and it should be driven home that the will not work. I want the Government to appoint Advisory Committees in Punjab, at the State and district levels so that all parties can be associated with it. Every party from this angle or that angle can criticise the Government. I am in favour of that but while criticising, we must not forget the main I point on which we all should jointly work. Therefore, what I am suggest- ing is that we must have State level ! and district level Committees in | Punjab so that together with the Gov- ernment's action while continuing the political dialogue with the people who are willing to work within the frame-work of the Constitution, we must try to solve the Punjab problem. The Government must be serious and all parties should unitedly stand with the | Government's effort to come to an

understanding to solve the Punjab problem.

Another serious question has come today, that is the question of Assam. This is not a question of Assam alone but the whole of North-East. Somebody now talks about United Liberation Front of Assam. What are they doing *today*? They are killing innocent people. They are going to indus-trialists and demanding "All right, you give so many thousands of rupees or so many lakhs of rupees: otherwise you will be killed." Already somebody has been killed. The Tatas are the biggest company in India who are having some plantations in Assam. These people went to them and told thme "Your Manager will be killed unless you publicly declare that the Tata Company which is going to start a factory in West Bengal will be stopped." This is the demand they are making. What a wonderful demand. They want to take Assam out of India and to have an independent State of Assam. This is the fight which they are carrying on. I must submit that the steps which the State Government are taking is not adequate to meet the situation. So the Government of India should see that India is India and I do not want to say what India is- If anybody wants to take away Assam from India and carve out a new State and that too, as I said earlier, with a few guns in hand, this business has to be settled once for all. Therefore the Government of India should see that proper additional force is sent to Assam to help the State Government and the State Government should also rise to the occasion and see that this insurgency is stopped and nobody is allowed to play with the unity and integrity of the country. I submit that the Government should seriously act and I must request the Government of India to tell the State Government and the Chief Minister that the attitude now being adopted by the State Government and by him is" not sufficient to meet the situation.

Then another serious problem is about communal situation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Balanandan, your party has 33 minutes.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Madam, I have only started.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I am not interrupting you. You have spoken for about 18 minutes. Your party has 33 minutes.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: I have just started, I do not know how long it will take to finish my speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You can take 33 minutes.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: As regards communal situation, today We had a discussion during Question Hour about the arrest of some Swami Ji. I do not know his name.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: His name is Swami Swaroopanand, the Shankara, charya of Jyotirmath.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Somebody was worried about his arrest. They were not worried about our country. This so-called Babri Masjid question is pending in the court and the Shankara-charya thinks that tomorrow he will go with some seven-eight persons and immediately install shilanyas there and he started yatra with some people.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): But he has no relation with Gopalsamy.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: I am sorry to find, that our gods are so powerless that poor human beings go and support them to strengthen them. It is illogical according to the logic preached by them. Everybody who believes in God wants to go and support that God with sword or something like that. I do not know the logic behind it. Now I am only saying that this kind of a step taken by the State Government of U.P., a correct step, should not be

Home Affairs criticised by anybody. Can this Parliament or can anybody raise this question and find fault with that correct step? I can understand fight- , ing on some secret thing or anything in Parliament, but how a correct step taken by the Government be criticised from different angles. Is it correct on your part to raise this issue? I am sorry for those people who are raising that question like this. (*Interruption*) I do not want to say anything either against Congress(I) or against any other party because I am concerned with the nation more than Congress(I) or Communist Party. That is why I want these (people in the Congress benches to think, how can we solve this problem. Today, we have received a reply from the Home Minister to comrade Balaram's question in which the Minister has stated and with your permission, Madam, I am quoting:

"Nine incidents after January of communal conflagration were there in which 73 lives were lost and more than 300 people were wounded of which in Ahmedabad alone, 38 people died and 118 were wounded."

For what? What is the reason? There might be reasons. Nearby some temple, a procession of Muslims has gone. So, the Hindus thought 'to protect God and to do that, they must go and kill the Muslims. Then alone the Hindu God can be protected. Likewise some other procession has gone nearby a mosque and immediately Muslims started thinking, oh, our 'Allah' is to be protected by killing Hindus alone and this kind of fundamentalists are being protected by some people. This should not be done. While we say secularism should be there must be freedom for every religion to propagate its line. There must also be freedom for everybody to oppose any religion if he wants so. Nobody should take daggers or swords or anything to kill anybody which is being done today. Fundamentalism is being developed. A communal divide is being developed. This means what? There

will not be India. That is all. Just two minutes ago, my friend raised the question of Kashmiri refugees. It is a real problem. For the first time in India's history, Kashmiri Hindus are being driven out or they are coming away from Kashmir to other parts of India. This is really a problem. But how that problem has come? It has come because of the new situation created by war-clouds and the attacks of militants trained in Pakistan and sent over to India. Their attacks increase in number daily in Kashmir. That is the problem. What is the point to raise first, this or that? While raising this question, you must talk about that first and then say that Hindus are in difficulty. I can understand. Is this the difficulty of Hindus alone? It is the difficulty of the nation. My hon. friend, who is an expert in law, etc., raised this question. Can I question that? No But, this does not suit today. Therefore, every political party in the country should see that the communal divide, fundamentalism, Hindu or Muslim or any, is discouraged properly discouraged. The question of Babri Masjid and the temple could be solved amicably. That is my humble request. But till the court verdict comes, till a solution is found, there should not be any construction by either side, Hindus or Muslims. There should not be any unilateral drive. Whatever position is there today should be maintained. Today, in order to save the country, we have to seriously consider the totality of the situation, Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and the communal divide in the country, all these things taken together, what is the totality of the situation? Is it a normal situation? No, Madam. It is an abnormal situation. In this abnormal situation, what should we do? You may have differences. Keep them and project them here in Parliament if you want. But while understanding the totality of the situation, you should come forward to see that this Government is helped. If you want to change the Government, change it. That is another thing. But this Government is there in power. We must be one with the Government to

see that effective steps are taken to save the country from the present difficulty. That must be the approach, according to me. I plead, to the best of my ability, with all the political leaders here to think over the situation and unitedly stand against communalism, against terrorism, against chauvinism, against any kind of fissiparous tendencies which go against the unity and integrity of the country.

Madam, before I close, I have to mention one or two things. Today we are discussing democracy very much in this House. That is natural also. I must bring, through you, to the notice of the Government what is going on in Tripura. I am not going to attack the Tripura Government. I am not interested in that. But I am interested in one thing, that is, basic freedom should be protected. Do you know what is going on in the State of Tripura? In the ADC areas now elections are going to come. The people are not allowed to go and register their votes. If they go there, goondas—I must say with humility, Congress-I goondas, hoodlums—beat them and the police—I am sorry to name them—are also not able to help. That is happening. The fundamental right of citizens to register their votes is not being protected by a government called the State Government. This is the situation there. It is a very serious situation. I do not blame my friends in the Opposition for what they have done earlier. I am not going to criticise them for that. Today, what are you doing there? What is your State Government in Tripura doing? We have many responsibilities. I admit it. We are not saints and we are also committing mistakes. At the same time, I may tell you that in Tripura nobody who is called a democrat can run a Government like the one which is led by the Congress (I) Party which is not allowing the elementary democracy. It is wrong. I request you to ponder over the situation.

[Shri E. Balanandan]

Another thing which is developing in the country is the so-called Naxalite activities. In Andhra Pradesh, it is becoming a major problem, and our State Government in Andhra Pradesh, to our bad luck, is not taking it seriously. They are not taking it seriously at all. Today we found that ex-Air Chief's house has been attacked and his gun has been taken away. (*Interruptions*). I warn the Government of India—whether it is a Congress Government or a Communist Government—to realise that these things should not be tolerated. Naxalism is being encouraged. For the time being, it may go against the Communists or the Telugu Desam people, but it cannot be taken for granted and that this will be allowed. If it is allowed, it will finally go against the State of India and its freedom. This should be taken note of and before I end—I hope the rest of the time will be allotted to my party men—I may remain that this Government, the National Front Government when it came to power, had said that freedom should be given to the Government employees taking away section 311(2) (b) of the Constitution. But using that. I tell you that in the Assam Rifles alone, nearly 50 jawans were taken to task and were dismissed when they went to a hunger strike. For what? Many of them were dismissed on the ground that they went on a hunger strike for a day. And for what? When the Fourth Pay Commission decided their salary, many of the jawans' salary had been reduced by an amount ranging from Rs. 125/- to Rs. 375/-. For that, they went on some kind of agitation. And for that, they had been taken to task. Our Party Leader, Shri Samar Mukherjee, raised the issue with the

Home Minister, but he did not put his head into the problem and, therefore, I do not say much on this. But he has to look into it and see that these jawans are reinstated. With these words, I conclude but the rest of the time should be given to my colleague.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARANJAN): Rest of the time is two minutes... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): I just like to point out that there is no Cabinet Minister present when a very serious discussion is going on. There are many Cabinet Ministers. Can you at least request the Cabinet Minister to be present?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): The Minister of State for Home Affairs is here.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: I agree. There should be one more Cabinet Minister. The system requires that there should be a Cabinet Minister present over here. I am not trying to say that you should ask them to come. ... (*Interruptions*) ... All right, you may be right but I have made a point and let her say... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Don't be excited over this issue. It was only a humble suggestion by one Member. We should appreciate the presence of a Cabinet Minister. It is not that we cannot present without a Minister. But in all fairness, when such things are discussed, at least a Cabinet Minister should be present.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): The Minister of Home Affairs is present and I cannot call upon any other Minister. Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD (Maharashtra) : Madam, I would like to start from Assam because, unfortunately, on account of the grave situation in Assam, we do not have enough of representation from Assam in both the Houses. Of course, in the other House there is no representation at all. So, I felt that somebody should at least start with Assam.

Madam, the situation in Assam is very very serious. Since Assam is far away from Delhi, we are not in touch with the people of Assam as much as

we are with the people either in Punjab or in Jammu and Kashmir and the situation is not fully reported as is being reported with regard to Punjab or Jammu and Kashmir. But once you visit any part of the Eastern States—it is not a question of Assam alone—and even if you visit Calcutta, you will find hundreds of people coming to you with petitions and pleading for help from the Government of India.

It is most unfortunate that the present situation has deteriorated mostly because of the AGP Government. The ULFA is running the Government there at the moment and it will not be out of place to mention here that the ULFA and the AGP are the two faces of the same coin. Rather I would say that the ULFA is working as the frontal organization of the AGP. When I say this, I am not saying it for the sake of opposition. I would like to quote some newspapers in this connection in support of my point.

The "Economic Times" of Wednesday, the 25th April, 1990, says like this:

"There is a widespread belief that the police force in the State has been completely infiltrated by the ULFA."

The "Economic Times" of Wednesday the 18th April, 1990 says:

"Almost simultaneously leaders of the ULFA had arrived seeking huge amounts of donations. The strategy is paying dividends. If the businessmen chose to pay, the ULFA just gets the boost. If they do not pay, their elimination is a message to the non-Assamese in the State. Either way the ULFA gains."

There is another report:

"There are reports linking the AASU activists and even the AGP Ministers with the ULFA. Though the AGP leadership denies any connection with the extremist front,

political observers and Intelligence sources assert that the nexus among the AASU, AGP and ULFA is complete."

The paper further reports:

"This widespread belief has given currency to a new political joke in Guwahati."

Madam, what is the joke?

"The kurta-pyjama-clad AASU activist in the morning becomes a safari-clad leader in the after-noon and a battlefield ULFA guerilla by night. The joke cannot be far off the mark. AASU leaders have been regularly attending functions organised by ULFA."

I am quoting the police officer who has been quoted by the Press itself:

"The State Government's reluctance to move against the ULFA is evident from its lack-lustre efforts to trace the culprits."

"Clearly the political will to check the secessionist movement is lacking" says the senior police officer. Now I quote the "Indian Express" of Tuesday, the 17th April, 1990:

"What is needed is an anti-in-surgency strategy which blends firmness with a sensitive political approach and which is devised and implemented together by the Central and State Governments. Unfortunately, even if the charge that the State Government is soft on the ULF with whom a section of the AGP and the All-Assam Students' Union reportedly have close links is not true. . ."

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam, on a point of order. There is no person who is taking any notes. And there is not officer also of the Home Ministry taking notes. This is very serious.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan) ; The Minister is present

SHRI JAGESH DESAI; But he is dozing. He is not taking notes.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA; The Minister is present. You cannot say the Minister is dozing and is not taking notes. Everybody is listening to the speech of Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad,

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): It is highly unfair on your part, Mr. Jagesh Desai, to say that you cannot make such statements.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Anyway, I cannot ask the Minister to take notes. The Minister is present. That is all we are concerned with. It is up to him.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA.- Every word spoken by Mr. Azad is being heard, we assure you. In fact, I have a point to make. Mr. Jagesh Desai has disturbed my concentration on Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad's speech.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): You should not have interrupted, Mr. Jagesh Desai.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI; This is an important subject and there are no officers also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I have already said that I cannot call upon the Minister to take notes. Now let Mr. Azad continue with his speech.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I can leave these newspaper cuttings with the Home Minister...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA; All the newspapers are available with him.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD; Let me complete the quotation, the most operative part: "There is no indication that the State Government mean business." this is by the Indian Express. "To a large extent the lack of

firmness and direction in its approach reflects the drift in the administration caused by the running feud between the Chief Minister, Mr. P.K. Mahanta. and his Home Minister Phukan." This is what is being said by the Indian Express. Then I quote from the Assam Tribune of Tuesday, the 5th April; "The main charge levelled against the Government is incompetence and inefficiency, nepotism and corruption, wasteful expenditure leading to financial crunch, failure to maintain law and order and lately allowing extremist organisations like AASU to run a parallel Government sustaining it by extortion of money, indulging in murders and forcibly collecting arms from licence-holders". The Assam Tribune further says, "If the ULF has already procured over a thousand guns, as is estimated, it is indeed a serious matter and the stage has clearly been reached when the Centre will have to step in, however unpalatable it might be".

Madam, I was quoting three different newspapers. Well, unfortunately, none of these is a supporter of my party. A few of the newspapers are very neutral. And I think the assessment of the papers was very, very objective. So, keeping this in mind. I would like to bring¹ to the notice of the Home Minister that he will have to take some positive steps. The non-Assamese businessmen are under great strain. Particularly after the murder of Mr. Surenda Paul, the non-Assamese people are completely and totally shaken. So it is not a question of Assam only. As far as the non-Assamese are concerned, people from Gujarat are there, people from Bengal are there, people from Rajasthan are there and people from Bihar are also there, and people from almost half of Central India. People from all areas and all districts of eastern States are working there. They are very much demoralized, because unfortunately they have lost business, they have lost money and now they

are losing their lives also. There is nothing left with them. It is most unfortunate that the Central Government and the State Government which is an important ally of the Central Government, the Janata Dal, has totally failed to protect the lives of the non-Assamese people in "Assam. Therefore, I would request the hon. Home Minister to take some personal interest.

DR. NAGEN SAKIA (Assam); Madam, may I make only one point?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; why are you shouting?

AN HON. MEMBER; It is his maiden speech.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Don't bother about me. It might be my maiden speech here, but I am not that 'maiden'... *(Interruptions)* I have put in one decade in the other House. *(Interruptions)*

DR. NAGEN SAKIA: It is very significant to make that point. A few days back, the PCC-I President Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, made a statement: where he has stated that he does not think that ULFA is anti-Cong. *(Interruptions)*. He says that the Congress people cannot blame them for all the killings. This statement proves that even some elements of Congress may be behind the extremist activities in Assam.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Since I have not gone through the statement of Mr. Saikia, I am not going to make any comment on this. It is for the Home Minister to make an inquiry and just rise to the occasion to protect the lives and property of the non-Assamese in Assam.

As far as Punjab is concerned, well I was directly or indirectly connected with Punjab once as Minister of State for Home Affairs at the Centre I was in-charge of Punjab and also

for the implementation of Punjab Accord. And subsequently from the organisation side also, after I resigned from the Ministry I was very much connected with Punjab. So I know a little bit about Punjab... *(Interruption)* General Sahib will excuse me.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab); I only said: Non-implementation of the Accord.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD; Well if Sant Longowai had survived, it would have been the most successful accord as far as I believe _____

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Was it not the duty of the survivors to see that it is implemented?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD; Let me speak on Punjab. Whenever we talk of Punjab, the ruling party would always come up with a statement blaming the previous Government. But what about the achievements of the previous Government? It is very easy to condemn the working of the previous Government. But I would like you to appreciate, if somebody has the courage to come forward and appreciate, the positive things which were done by the previous Government. We took three initiatives. We took the administrative initiative. We took the political initiative. We took the economic initiative. As far as the administrative initiative is concerned, we had a strong administrative set-up. We dealt with the terrorists strongly. We did not compromise with the terrorists. We strengthened the Police communication system. We strengthened the intelligence machinery. The net result of toning up the administration was that hundreds of top hardcore terrorists were killed and hundreds of terrorists were nabbed. Dozens of Guruwaras were freed from the clutches of terrorists. This is a hard fact.

[Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad]

4.00 P.M.

As far as political initiative is concerned, we organised mass contact programmes. I remember that in the first six months of 1987 and the beginning of 1988 the Congress itself organised more than 500 public meetings under the mass contact programmes and I had the opportunity of addressing as many as 300 public meetings in Punjab. Today if somebody from the Janata Dal goes even for one day, they are making a lot of hue and cry about it. But I do not find even a single public meeting being organised by the Janata Dal leaders. I might say that even the present Prime Minister did not visit Punjab even once as long as he was not the Prime Minister of the country. Do you feel that as long as they were not in position, it was not the duty of the Janata Dal to visit Punjab even once? Well, forget it. While you "were not in position, you could not go to Punjab. Now you are the ruling party. Can the Janata Dal Party cite even one example of having organised even one public meeting under the mass contact programme in any part of Punjab? Not a single meeting has been organised in any part of Punjab. We brought Hindus and Sikhs together. If there is no communalism in Punjab today, it is because of the efforts of the Congress Party. I must also appreciate the efforts made by the Leftist Parties in Punjab. We did not allow Hindus and Sikhs to clash with each other. But nothing was done by the Janata Dal. We mobilised the people of Punjab against terrorism. We built up public opinion against the terrorists. I would like to say that the net result was that the terrorists could not communalise the situation in Punjab and the terrorists could not get mass sympathy in Punjab as unfortunately they have in Kashmir.

As far as economic initiative is concerned, it has been a big tale. Positive and concrete economic steps were taken in Punjab Administrative

steps were taken by the Administration. Political steps were taken by the political party. Economic steps were also initiated by the Government. The Kapurthala Coach Factory worth Rs. 1200 crores, if I remember correctly, was set up. Goindwal paper factory was there. To improve the power situation in Punjab we gave liberal amount of money for Ranjitsagar Dam. Patiala was selected for the Northern Cultural Centre. We gave Rs. 140 crores for the drought of 1987. We gave Rs. 100 crores for the floods of 1988. We selected almost 2000 boys from the border districts of Punjab in the para-military forces. I think more than half a dozen sugar mills were opened in different parts of Punjab. That was the will of the Government. We were fighting on different fronts to bring normalcy. The result was, of course, there was some fear psychosis that we could hold free elections. Of course, we could hold elections in Punjab. But what has happened today? (Interruptions) General Sahib I am not yielding. It is not the question whether we got two seats or we got one seat. In democracy you are supposed to lose and win. It is not a dictatorship. The question is whether we could hold the elections or not, which you are not able to hold today. You are giving a statement every second day that we will hold the election. Somebody is saying from your Government that we are holding the election and another person is saying that we are not holding the election. You yourself do not know where the Punjab is. But I would like to draw the attention of the Chair at the moment towards the Punjab situation. What is happening there? As far as the administration is concerned, there is no administration at all. There is no will on the part of the administration to fight terrorism. Nobody, not even the Prime Minister of this country has categorically and openly condemned terrorist activities of the terrorists*—

ts in Punjab. In a country where the head of the Government does not have the courage to condemn the terrorists, how are you going to bring down terrorism in that State? (Interruptions) As far as the political in-initiative is concerned, as I have already said, we did not see, we did not hear of even a single meeting that has been organised in the name of mass contact programme. No efforts have been made to muster the public opinion against terrorism except one public meeting which was held in Ludhiana where the Congress was invited by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, and the Deputy Prime Minister of the same Government said that the Congress should not participate. How unfortunate it is that the Prime Minister is inviting a particular party to attend the programme but the Deputy Prime Minister says that Yney should not attend, and the Prime Minister does not have the courage to over-rule his Deputy Prime Minister. And ultimately we chose not to participate. This is the only one public programme in the past five months which this Janata Dal Government has been able to organise in Punjab.

SHRI T.A. MOHAMMED SAQHY (Tamil Nadu): It is not Janata Dal Government. It is National Front Government.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: It is National Front Government, So I think, the topic is becoming very hot. Since it is becoming very hot and my friend has reminded me that it is not a Janata Dal Government but it is a National Front Government and that means there are so many political parties, this has reminded me of one couplet... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Don't interrupt the speaker. Let him sneak

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Well, I had come to the Elders' House. I was under the impression, that it is a House of Elders and there might be some sort of discipline. But we had much discipline in the Lower House. (Interruptions) Well, I am also a Member of the House; you are not the only one. Since he comes maybe from Andhra Pradesh, I hope he can understand Urdu. So, I am reciting one couples

बरबादी-ए-गुलशन की खातिर एक ही उल्लू
काफी था,
हर शख पे उल्लू बैठे हैं, अंजाम गुलिस्ता क्या
होगा ॥

देश को बरबाद करने के लिए जनता
दल ही काफी था। तो जब हर शख पे
उल्लू बैठा है तो गुलशन का अंजाम क्या
होगा, आप इसका अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं।

If this is the state of affairs of Punjab, I think it is only God who can save the people of Punjab and Punjab We cannot expect anything more from this Government keeping in view the present situation.

अब मैं कश्मीर की तरफ़ आपका ध्यान
लाना चाहता हूँ। अगर होम मिनिस्टर
साहब होते तो और मजा होता क्योंकि
हम दोनों एक ही स्टेट के हैं, कुछ
जानकारी जो उन्हें नहीं होती शायद
मैं उन्हें देता। जब मैंने अपने लोक
सभा के साथियों की स्पीचिज़ हमारे
साथियों की सुनी, यहां की भी सुनी।
जब हम कश्मीर की बात करते हैं,
कॉलिंग पार्टी के साथी और उनके सहयोगी
सिर्फ़ एक बात कहते हैं कि यह प्रीवियस
गवर्नमेंट की वजह से हुआ, बहुत
आसान जबाब दुँडा। मैं मानता हूँ कि
शायद आपमें से बहुत सारे लोगों को
यह मालूम होगा अगर नहीं है मालूम
तो मैं बताता हूँ कि कश्मीर की प्रॉब्लम
आज की नहीं है 1947 से है। मैं जब

[Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad]

स्कूल में था, कालन मंथा, यूनवास्ता में था हर जगह 14 अगस्त जब पाकिस्तान ले होता था गड़बड़ होती थी। पाकिस्तान के नारे लगते थे, क्रिस्ट मैच होता था तो पाकिस्तान के नारे लगते थे। लेकिन उसके बीच में दो अन्तर थे—एक अन्तर यह है कि तब उनकी संख्या कम थी उनके पास हथियार नहीं थे, और दूसरे एक संज्ञित राज्य सरकार थी। आज अगर लोग कहते हैं कि सब कुछ कांग्रेस के वक्त में हुआ तो मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कांग्रेस की ही नीति थी और कांग्रेस की पोलिटिकल मैच्योरिटी थी कि 40 साल तक उसने इन हालात को ऐसे बदलने नहीं दिया, बिगड़ने नहीं दिया। लेकिन आज स्थिति खराब होने की तीन वजह हैं, अब मैं आपको वजह भी बतलाता हूँ। आप पूछ लीजिये। आपतो कश्मीर के बारे में, यहाँ अंधेरे में गोलियाँ मारते हैं, पूछ लीजिये, फैंट्स मैं बता रहा हूँ शोर मचाने से क्या होता है.....तीन वजह हैं

the wrong policies of the Government, weak Government at the Centre and the BJP-Janata Dal alliance. These are the three basic reasons for the present situation.

wrong अब मैं एक-एक को लेता हूँ policies of the Government, number one, dissolution of the Assembly.

क्यों मैं डिजालूशन आफ असम्बली की बात कहता हूँ, जब तक असम्बली डिजौल्ड नहीं हुई थी, पूरी कश्मीर की जनता का सहयोग टेरोरिस्ट की प्राप्त नहीं हुआ था। अगर आप पेपर पढ़ेंगे तो उससे पहले बम विस्फोट होते थे, आदिमियों को मारते थे, कहीं-कहीं। लेकिन मास सपोर्ट नहीं थी

not even once not even five thousand people could get to gether

क्यों कश्मीर में अगर हमने 22 साल के बाद शेख अबदुल्ला की पार्टी के साथ एलार्स किया था तो उसके पीछे एक ही बात थी कि हम शेख अबदुल्ला की पार्टी जो आज 1953 से बात करती थी प्लेबिसाइट की, हमें कई वर्ष लगे,

to bring them round the corner, that their place is in the mainstream and we brought them ire the mainstream and we gave them the; power.

और जब 1953 से 75 तक मेनस्ट्रीम से अलग बात करने वाले लोगों को हमने मेनस्ट्रीम में लाया, उन्हें हिन्दुस्तान की और जम्मू कश्मीर की सरकार में सहयोगी बनाया, पार्टनर बनाया तो उन्हें विश्वास हो गया कि हम मेनस्ट्रीम में आये हैं। लेकिन जिस वक्त गवर्नर ने असम्बली डिजौल्ड कर दी तो जो लोग मेनस्ट्रीम में आये थे 25 साल के बाद उनको फिर विश्वास हो गया कि हमको मेनस्ट्रीम से हटा दिया गया है और अब एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट के होते हुये हमें दुबारा शाब्द सत्ता में आने का कोई मौका नहीं मिलेगा यही कारण हुआ कि इन लोगों का सहयोग या नेशनल कांफ्रेंस के साथ विशेष रूप से वे लोग भी इसमें आये आये और उन्होंने भी झंडा उठाया और एक मास भूमेट बनाया। मास भूमेट बनने का एक कारण डिमोलेशन आफ असम्बली था।

This is a hard fact. You may agree of not. (Interruptions) I will come to that part also. You can tell your colleague, whoever is going to speak next. Let him reply. Why, do you bother yourself? The second reason is, not taking the local political parties into confidence.

मेरे रयाल में दुनिया के किसी भी कोने में अगर आप को बात करनी होती है डिक्टेटरशिप में, तो गोलों से, तन्हूक से बात करनी होती है। लेकिन, क्या आपने पिछले पांच महीने में कश्मीर में किसी से बात की है ? वहाँ 103 साल पुरानी कांग्रेस है, क्या सरकार ने उनसे किसी से बात की है। वाा आप मुझे बता सकते हैं कि इस वक्त के गवर्नर ने इन पांच महीने में किसी भी कांग्रेस के आदमी से बात की है ? डा० फारूख अब्दुल्ला की नेशनल कांफ्रेंस जिसकी पार्टी मास बेस्ड पालिटिकल पार्टी थी उससे होम मिनिस्टर साहब या गवर्नर ने बात की ? कांग्रेस से बात नहीं हुई नेशनल कांफ्रेंस से बात नहीं हुई और

दूसरी किसी भी पोलिटिकल से बात नहीं हुई। तो मैं पूछता हूँ, किससे बात हुई?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Political parties have become irrelevant. This is what Mr. Jagmohan said.

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : अब हम वहाँ डेक्लरेशन में गए थे पोलिटिकल पार्टियों के तो हमने गवर्नर से बात की। हमने पूछा कि आपने किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी से बात की?

He said they are irrelevant. He was not prepared to talk to them.

फिर किससे बात की? क्या आपने यहाँ का ट्रेड यूनियन से बात की? तो उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे मालूम नहीं ट्रेड यूनियन कौन कौन सी है। हमने कहा आपने किसी संगठन से बात की तो उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे उनके एड्रेस नहीं पता है। हमने उनका कहा कि जो शिकारा यूनियन्स हैं, उनकी बहुत बड़ी ऑर्गेनाइजेशन है उनसे बात की तो उन्होंने कहा मुझे इनके बारे में मालूम नहीं। हमने कहा कि यहाँ कश्मीर में ट्राईपोर्ट्स हैं उनकी भी बड़ी यूनियन है they take active part in political activities.

क्या आपने उनसे बात की? तो उन्होंने कहा कि मेरे पास उनके एड्रेस नहीं हैं। तो मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या आप गोलियों और बन्दूकों से कश्मीर का मामला हल कर रहे हैं? पोलिटिकल पार्टियाँ इररिलेवंट हो गयी हैं, ऑर्गेनाइजेशन का आपके पास ऐड्रेस तक नहीं है, उनका अता-पता नहीं है। तीसरी बात, आप इस लिये फेल हो रहे हैं

because the administration has not taken the local people into confidence. You have not taken the local political parties into confidence. You have not taken the local organisations into confidence. You are not taking the local administration into confidence. How the hell are you going to decide things? You are living in a fool's paradise. Let me tell you.

एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में कौन है आज कश्मीर का? गवर्नर जगमोहन साहब दिल्ली के रहने वाले हैं। उनके एडवाइजर वेद मरवाह भी बाहर के रहने वाले हैं।

जमिल कुरेशी भी आउट साइडर है, तीसरे गुप्ता भी आउट साइडर है। You have five Director-Generals of Police. All of them are outsiders. The core group consists only of outsiders. You have the Governor, his three Advisers and the five Directors-Generals of Police. The Governor is an outsider. Mr. Ved Marwah is an outsider. Mr. Jamijl Qureshi is an outsider. The third Adviser, Mr. Gupta, is also an outsider. All the Director-Generals of Police are also outsiders. The Director-General of Police, Mr. Saxena, is an outsider. The Director-General of Police (Law and Order), Mr. M. N. Sabharwal, is an outsider. The Director-General of Police (C.I.D.), Mr. Amar Kapur, is an outsider. The Director-General of Police (B.S.F.), Mr. Ashok Patel, is an outsider. The Director-General of Police (C.R.P.), Mr. D. D. Gupta, is an outsider. Do you have a single person from the Valley? How are you going, to solve the problem? This is unheard of. If I tell these bunch of people to go to Lucknow and decide the fate of U.P., are they competent enough to do that? They are not. What about the local administration? You have not taken a single local officer into confidence. Still you have the courage to say that you are not getting the support of the local administration. If this is the state of affairs, you will not get the support of the local officers. Why should you get? They are nowhere in the policy making they are nowhere in the decision making.

Now, recently two Inspector-Generals have been promoted by superseding others. -If you did not have the two Directors-Generals you could have appointed or upgraded at least two local officers, whether they were

"[Shri Jagesh'Desai]

"Hindus or Muslims, I would not have minded. But what has happened; Mr. Sabharwal, Mr. Kapoor, who were both Inspector-Generals superseded Mr. O. N. Kaul and Mr. Abdul Rehman Nanda, one Kashmiri Pandit and the other Kashmiri Muslim, and they are appointed over the head of these two local people and still you want the cooperation of the local administration.

SHRI ASHISH SEN (West Bengal): You are inciting communalism by using this forum.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Do not put things in my mouth. Please sit down. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ASHISH SEN: While mentioning these things you are inciting communalism. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please sit down. Kindly resume your seat. (*Interruptions*). Don't interrupt the speaker.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Do not try to put the things in my mouth. We know what are you up to. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please, do not interrupt the speaker. Kindly sit down.

SHRI SUNH, BASU RAY (West Bengal): You should speak to the Chair. You cannot command the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please let him continue his speech. He did not say anything that was unparliamentary and if there is anything like that...

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY: It is not a question of using unparliamentary words. When he talked about Hindus, that means he wants to: incite com-

munal feelings through this forum. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I request all the Members to address the Chair.

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA (Karnataka): You are always going outside Kashmir.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Well, I will send this bunch of administrators to your State and let me see what you do. I will request the Prime Minister to send the same bunch of officers to your State and then let us see where you stand.

Now the houses of two local SPs, Abdul Majid Khan and Khalid, were raided in the last week. If you are raiding the houses of the senior IPS officers, if you do not have confidence in them, how can you take their confidence? This is a hard fact. Can somebody raid the house of a Police Superintendent and then seek co-operation from him?

Now, let me tell this for the sake of my BJP friends. I heard through the papers that it was said in the Lok Sabha, and also yesterday the Home Minister was saying, that 70 terrorists were released by the previous Government. Yes, I would like that an enquiry should be conducted under the chairmanship of a sitting Supreme Court Judge to find out on whose advice they were released and they should be taken to task. Again, my BJP friends will be surprised and will be up in arms. It was Mr. Kapur and Mr. Sabharwal, who were I.Gs, C.I.D., and Mr. Bhutani, who was the Adviser to the Chief Minister for security on whose written recommendations to the Chief Minister, they were released. And both of them were promoted from I.G. to D.G.P. Yet the Congress and the National Conference are being abused for releasing them! Do you know something about it, Mr. Home Minister?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह क्या हो गया ?

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : क्या हो गया...

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त (मध्य प्रदेश) : ठीक है आप फरमाइये

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : आपने बताया कि कांग्रेस ने 70 लोगों को छोड़ा, फाजल खान ने छोड़ा। लेकिन मैं बताता हूँ कि छोड़ा किस का रेकमण्डेशन पर। जिसका रेकमण्डेशन पर छोड़ा उसको गवर्नर ने आई० जे०० से डी० जे०० बना दिया और गालियों नेशनल काँग्रेस सरकार को पड़ रही हैं, यह मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

कश्मीर का दूसरा प्वाइंट जो मैंने बताया था वह है कि वहाँ गड़बड़ क्यों है। एक तो आपने जो असेबल डिप्लॉम कर दो और दूसरा कारण उसका है वॉक गवर्नमेंट एट दि सेंटर। केंद्राय सरकार के कमजोर होने की वजह का अगर हिन्दुस्तान के काने काने पर पड़ा है, उसका असर कश्मीर में पड़ा है, उसका असर पाकिस्तान में पड़ा है। जब कांग्रेस का सरकार था, जब राजीव गांधी प्रधानमंत्री थे, पाकिस्तान की हिम्मत नहीं थी कि वह कश्मीर में पांच हजार लोगों को बगैर हथियारों के बार्डर क्रॉस कराके भेजे। आज पाकिस्तान का मनोबल इतना बढ़ गया है कि वह समझता है कि बगैर हथियारों के भी वह हमसे मुकाबला कर सकता है? क्या राजीव गांधी के शासन में, क्या कांग्रेस के शासन में यह हो सकता था? नहीं हो सकता था। कांग्रेस के शासन में बेनजीर भुट्टो ने और बेनजीर से पहले पिथा ने यह कोशिश की कि हमारी तरफ से कोई दबाव न आये। वह इस कोशिश में थे कि हमारी तरफ हाथ बढ़ाये क्योंकि वे हमारी उभरती हुई शक्ति को तोल चुके थे और महसूस कर रहे थे। एक तरफ हिमालय था और दूसरी तरफ एक छोटा सा पाकिस्तान। लेकिन आज पाकिस्तान का मनोबल अगर बढ़ा है,

पाकिस्तान की ताकत अगर बढ़ी है तो वह आपकी कमजोर सरकार को देखकर बढ़ा है। वे जानते हैं कि जिस सरकार की अपना टांग नहीं है, जो बेसाखियों के सहारे चलती है वह सरकार पाकिस्तान का क्या मुकाबला करेगी, वह सरकार टेरोरिज्म का क्या मुकाबला करेगी। आज कश्मीर में यह हालात होने की यह भी एक सब से बड़ी वजह है कि आपने कमजोर और लंगड़ी सरकार केन्द्र में दी है। तीसरा कारण है जनता दल और बी.जे.पी. का अलायंस। कश्मीर में 1947 में लेकर आज तक बी.जे.पी. हमेशा धारा 370 को खत्म करने के लिए कहती रही है। जब यह सरकार बनी, बी.जे.पी. इसकी पार्टनर बनी, कश्मीर की जनता में यह अहसास हुआ कि अब बी.जे.पी. सांस नहीं लेने देगी, जिन्दा नहीं रहने देगी। जनता दल को जब बी.जे.पी. ने सहयोग दिया, जनता दल अब बी.जे.पी. के शीशों से देखने लगा, तो कश्मीर के लोगों में, जिनके बारे में 40 साल से दफा 370 की शंका खड़ी की गई थी, उनका मनोबल गिर गया, वे बहुत पीछे खड़े गये और यही रीजून है कश्मीर में 41 स मुवमेंट बनने का। आज हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी डिफेंस के बारे में कहते हैं कि पिछली सरकार ने डिफेंस कमजोर किया था।

Let me tell you, Mr. Gandhi's period was the golden period for the-defence of this country. ... (Interruptions) ... Yes, I repeat it, I repeat it and I repeat it. (Interruptions)... it was the golden period... (Interruptions) ..

राजीव गांधी के वक्त में डिफेंस बजट 5 हजार करोड़ से दूसरे साल में 7 हजार करोड़ हो गया, तीसरे साल 9 हजार करोड़ हो गया, चौथे साल 11 हजार करोड़ हो गया और पांचवें साल 13,600 करोड़ हो गया।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : कमीशन खरफ

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : आप निकालिए न। चुल्लु भर पानी में डूब कर मर जाना चाहिए। पांच महीने हो गये आपको कमिशन खाने वालों का नाम दूँडते हुए (व्यवधान)

डा० एन०कर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इसी पर तो आपने इलेक्शन जीता है। यह सिक्का एक बार चलता है, इसकी रोज चलाने की बात करोगे तो हाथ जल जाएगा। इसकी आपने एक बार चला लिया है। इसी के बल पर आप इस हाउस में बैठे हैं, वरना आप किसी काम के थोड़े ही थे। यह आपके बस का काम नहीं है। राजीव गांधी ने 13,600 करोड़ डिफेंस का बजट कर दिया जो 5 हजार करोड़ का था पांच साल पहले। मैं कहता हूँ अगर फिर भी डिफेंस बजट कम था कहाँ थे आज के प्रधान मंत्री, कहाँ था उस वक्त जनता दल, कहाँ था उस वक्त बी.जे.पी. और बाकी लोग जब डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री की गेट्स पर बहस होती थी उस वक्त वहाँ थे ?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : आपकी सरकार में थे आज के प्रधान मंत्री।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : मेरे भाई, उस वक्त आप कनक्लेव कर रहे थे, बंगलौर में कनक्लेव हो रहा था, कलकत्ता में कनक्लेव हो रहा था, हैदराबाद में कनक्लेव हो रहा था।

You were not bothered about the people of this country.

उसी कनक्लेव में बीच में गुजरात में सुखा पड़ा, जब राजस्थान में सुखा पड़ा, जब आसाम में फ्लड आया, पंजाब में फ्लड आया, यही राजीव गांधी थे जो अपनी पत्नी के समेत तपती हुई धूप में राजस्थान के सहाराओं में, गुजरात की तपती धूप में, वह लोगों के खाने-पीने और जानवरों के चारे का इन्तजाम कर रहे थे, फ्लड से ग्रस्त क्षेत्रों का दौरा कर रहे थे, आसाम और बिहार का दौरा कर रहे थे, पंजाब के फ्लड अफेक्टेड एरियाज का दौरा कर रहे थे। मुझे आज अर्म आती है कि इस हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को चलाने का जो लोग दावा करते थे

वह किसी भी फ्लड अफेक्टेड एरिया में नहीं गये, ड्राउट अफेक्टेड एरिया में नहीं गए। कांग्रेस के एम-पीज ने दो दफा एक एक महाने को तनख्वाहें दीं फ्लड के लिए दीं... (व्यवधान) ड्राउट अफेक्टेड एरियाज के लिए दीं। लेकिन क्या किया आपने उस वक्त ? आपको हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की याद नहीं आ रही थी, उस वक्त आपको डिफेंस बजट याद नहीं आ रहा था मे सोचता हूँ कि विरोधी दल में रहकर जिनमें देश के लिए भावना नहीं जिनमें देश प्रेम न हो वे हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार चलाने के काबिल नहीं हैं।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इमोलिथे निकाल दिये गये हैं।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : डिफेंस की बात करने वालों, "अग्नि" किसके वक्त में हुआ। पूरी दुनिया ने "अग्नि" के बारे में हिन्दुस्तान को बधाई दी। हमने अपने देश में पहला वन हुआ सवनेरीन समुन्दर में डाला यह कांग्रेस के कारण, राजीव गांधी की सरकार के कारण हुआ। डिफेंस माडर्नाइजेशन के बारे में राजीव गांधी की सरकार में खितना हुआ उसना 40 वर्षों में नहीं हुआ।

यह कांग्रेस की सरकार थी कि श्रीलंका की गवर्नमेंट ने यह सहमति किया कि हिन्दुस्तान की फौज की सहायता लेनी चाहिए। यह हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार थी कि मालदीव ने यह सहमति किया कि केवल कांग्रेस की सरकार और हिन्दुस्तान की फौज मालदीव की मदद कर सकती है।

SHRI ASHIS SEN: Madam, I only want to know what we are discussing, Defence or Home Affairs.

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : मैं आज यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो डिफेंस के नाम पर गौर मचाने हैं वे अपनी नाकामियों को छिपाने के लिए, अपनी कमजोरी को छिपाने के लिए लोगों को गुमराह कर रहे हैं लेकिन हम हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को गुमराह नहीं होने देंगे।

जहाँ तक हिंदुस्तान में आतंकवाद का सवाल है, जहाँ तक हरिजन भाइयों और बहिनों तथा अक्लिधतों या माइनारिटीज पर एट्रोसिटीज का संबंध है यह बहुत चिंता का विषय है। इसमें अभी आप भागलपुर की बात करेंगे। इससे पहले मैं बताऊँ... (व्यवधान) येस, हमें शर्म है उसके लिए और अफसोस है। हम अपनी गलती को नहीं छिपाते हैं। अगर मैं यहाँ मेरठ और भागलपुर का जिक्र नहीं करूँगा तो बात गलत होगी। उसके लिए हम प्रार्थना हैं, हमें अफसोस है। लेकिन वह किसकी वजह से हुआ। उसमें भी कुछ हमारे यहाँ भाई सदन में हैं जो तब भी आग लगाते थे और आज भी आग लगाने हैं... (व्यवधान)

जनता दल की तो किम्मत है कि बी.जे.पी. साथ रहकर भी आप बड़े साफ और सुधरे हैं। एक शायर ने कहा है—

“हम आह भी भरते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम,
बो कल भी करते हैं तो चर्चा नहीं होता।”

आपका तो यह हाल है कि आज जनता दल दो दो बंविधों, एक तरफ सी. पी. आई. (एम) और दूसरी तरफ बी.जे.पी. लेकर चल रहा है और फिर भी कह रहे हैं कि हम तो कुंवारे हैं। फिर भी वे कहते हैं कि हम अंधाचारी हैं।

श्री विनिवजय सिंह (बिहार) : नेशनल कंसेंसस।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : बाह, ऐसा नेशनल कंसेंसस अगर ही तो भंगवान ही मालिक है। मेरे भाइयों! जो पीछे हुआ, सवाल है कि क्यों हो रहा है, क्यों आज इस देश में माइनारिटीज अपने आपको महफूज नहीं समझती है क्यों आज शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के भाई अपने को महफूज नहीं समझते हैं।

क्योंकि हमारे लोगों ने सोसाइटी के साथ कंप्रोमाईज नहीं किया है। कुछ लोग आज भी समझते हैं कि वह सरकार चलाने के लिए ही पैदा हुए हैं। जब तक हम

सोसाइटी के साथ कंप्रोमाईज नहीं करेंगे, जब तक इस देश के शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एंड शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को इस देश के संचालन में, इस देश को चलाने में उनको बराबर की साझेदारी नहीं होगी, जब तक उसको इम्प्लायमेंट की अपारिच्युनिटीज नहीं होगी, यह असंतोष तो बराबर रहेगा, एट्रोसिटीज बराबर चलती रहेगी।

मैं आपके द्वारा इस सरकार से निवेदन करूँगा कि आपकी बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है, आप सत्ता में केवल हमको गालियाँ देकर आये हो, लेकिन अब अगली दफा गालियाँ सुनने वाला कोई नहीं है। अब आपको अपनी करनी पर बोट मिलेगी। आपने पीछे एक ऐसा फार्मूला बनाया, दोनों हिन्दू भाइयों को भी बेवकूफ बनाने का और मुसलमान भाइयों को भी बेवकूफ बनाने का हिन्दू भाइयों को हमारे बी.जे.पी. के भाई नीला आसमान दिखाते हैं और मुसलमान भाइयों को हमारे जनता दल के भाई सात आसमान दिखाते हैं। जब इलेक्शन चल रहा था, तो प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मथुरा में कहा कि मैं इस स्टेज पर नहीं जाऊँगा, यह बी.जे.पी. का झंडा है, क्योंकि मुसलमानों के वाट चाहिए थे, और बी.जे.पी. वाले कह रहे थे कि मैं इसलिए नहीं जाऊँगा कि यहाँ आखेट का साहच का झंडा है। दोनों भाइयों को बेवकूफ बनाया और जब सरकार बनाने की बात आई, तो दोनों एक हो गये।

इस देश की कितनी बदकिस्मती है कि इस देश की सरकार इस वक़्त उन लोगों के हाथ में है जिनके सहयोगी सुबुलरिज्म में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। तो कैसे इस देश में माइनारिटी खुश रहेगी, कैसे इस देश में शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एंड शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स खुश रहेंगे? आप चाहते हैं कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स आज से सौ साल पहले की तरह, अपनी लड़कियों और बहनों का तंग नाच करें, और आपके लिए रखस करें। अब यह मुमकिन नहीं है।

[श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद]

आप चाहते हैं कि आज भी आप दगे और फिदावात करके वोट हासिल करें। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है। इस देश का हिन्दू सेन्चुर है। उसका अंदाजा शायद मुझे बी.जे.पी. के भाइयों से भी जगदा होगा। मैं दो दफा 99 फीसदी हिन्दू कंस्टिट्यूटो से चुन कर आया हूँ और हमारे बी.जे.पी. भाइयों ने कोई कसर नहीं रखी और कहा कि यह तो पाकिस्तान का मांश है, जो भी कहा था, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी वहाँ के हिन्दुओं ने आपकी एक भी बात नहीं सुनी।

आज भी इस देश का हिन्दू सेन्चुर है, आज भी इस देश का मुसलमान सेन्चुर है, लेकिन कुछ सिमासी लांडर, कुछ राजनीतिक लीडर अपनी राजनीति के लिए, अपनी कुर्सी के लिए उन्हें गुमराह कर देने हैं। उन्हें शर्म आनी चाहिए। जो हिन्दुस्तान के सबसे बड़े दुश्मन हैं, वह ऐसे लोग हैं। और हिन्दुस्तान का सबसे बड़ा दुश्मन है पाकिस्तान—1947 से लेकर आज तक पाकिस्तान ने यहाँ के मुसलमानों को गुमराह करने की कोशिश की, उनको सबन बाग दिखाने की कोशिश की और हमारी मजोरिटी कम्युनिटी के बीच में यहाँ के मुसलमानों के प्रति शक और शूबाह पैदा किया और कई-कई जगहों पर उन्हें हर मुसलमान में पाकिस्तानी नजर पाकिस्तानी नजर आने लगा तो इसकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी पाकिस्तान पर है।

मैं आज इस सदन के द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान अपनी सीमा उस डेढ़ फुट पाकिस्तान की रक्षा करे, कराची को देख ले, बलोचिस्तान को देख ले। हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों को अपने रहमो-करम पर रहने दें। वह इस काबिल है कि वह अपना हक मांग सकते हैं, वह इस काबिल हैं कि अपने हक को प्रोटेक्ट कर सकते हैं। आखिर हम बाहर के नहीं हैं। हमारे भाई यहाँ के हैं, चाहे वह हिन्दू या सिख हों, उनसे हम बात करके अपनी बात मनवा सकते हैं। हम पाकिस्तान के रहमो-करम पर ज़िदा नहीं रहना चाहते हैं।

लेकिन इसके साथ ही मैं बी०जे०पी० भाइयों को भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप भी हिन्दुस्तान के दोस्त नहीं हो, आप भी पाकिस्तानियों से कम दुश्मन नहीं हो, आप भी वोट हासिल करने के लिए ऐसे-ऐसे स्लोगन्ज लगाते हो, ऐसे-ऐसे नारे लगाते हो, ऐसे-ऐसे भाषण करते हो कि हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने की कसर आपने भी 40 वर्षों में कोई कम नहीं रखी है। हम बी०जे०पी० के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। वह सत्ता में आए, लोकतन्त्र में हरेक इंसान को, हरेक व्यक्ति को सत्ता में आने का हक है, लेकिन नीतियों के द्वारा आए, पालिसीज के द्वारा आये। हिन्दुस्तान के हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों की लाशों पर चढ़ कर इस सदन में आयेगे तो यह नामुमकिन है।

(उप सभापति पीठासीन हुई)

जो लोग हिन्दुस्तान के हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों की, यहाँ के हरिजन और गिरिजन की लाशों पर चढ़ कर हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति करना चाहते हैं, अब वह दिन आया है कि यह सब नहीं चलेगा। अब लोग जान गए हैं, अब लोग समझ गए हैं कि आप उन्हें बेवकूफ बना रहे हैं किस कल्पना के हिन्दुस्तान की कल्पना आप करते हैं? इस देश की भारतीय जनता पार्टी एक अंधे हिन्दुस्तान की बल्पना कर रही है, लेकिन हम दो आँखों वाले हिन्दुस्तान की कल्पना करते हैं। हमें अंधा हिन्दुस्तान नहीं चाहिए। हमें वह हिन्दुस्तान चाहिए जिसकी एक आँख हिन्दू हो और दूसरी आँख मुसलमान हो। लेकिन इस देश की भारतीय जनता पार्टी दो आँखों वाला हिन्दुस्तान नहीं चाहती है, वह अंधा हिन्दुस्तान चाहती है। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि अंधा हिन्दुस्तान नहीं चलेगा, दो आँखों वाला चलेगा। जो हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को बांटना चाहते हैं वह हिन्दुस्तान के सब से बड़े दुश्मन हैं। हमको चाहिए हिन्दुस्तान महात्मा गांधी का हिन्दुस्तान, हमको चाहिए पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का हिन्दुस्तान हमको चाहिए इंदिरा गांधी का हिन्दुस्तान, जिसने अपने जीवन का बलिदान हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की एकता और अखंडता के लिए दिया। वह महात्मा गांधी जिन्होंने अपने

Home Affairs

जीवन का बलिदान दिया हिन्दु-मुसलमान एकता के लिए, अगर आज वह जिन्दा होता तो उन्हें अक़सीस होता कि क्या मैंने इस हिन्दुस्तान के लिए संघर्ष किया था जो आज ब्राह्मण, राजपूत, यादव कला-कला में बंटा हुआ है क्या इस हिन्दुस्तान के लिए मैंने लड़ाई लड़ी। (व्यवधान)

राजीव गान्धी का तो हिन्दुस्तान है. यह उनकी तो when I talk of Indira Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he is part of that. But unfortunately none of your leaders have that privilege. They have come from another category. ... (Interruptions)... They have come from the category against whom we have been fighting all along and this is also most unfortunate.

I want a categorical statement on this and I तो आज मैं इस सदन के द्वारा अपील करता हूँ कि अगर हमने हिन्दुस्तान की एकता और अखंडता को कायम रखना है, हिन्दुस्तान की स्वतंत्रता को कायम रखना है, हमें यह जाति-पाति और धर्म की बातें छोड़ कर कम्प्रोमाइज करना होगा सोसायटी से और जब तक कम्प्रोमाइज नहीं करेंगे तो हिन्दुस्तान एक नहीं रहेगा और जब तक यह सरकार भारतीय जनता पार्टी के इशारों से चलेगी और उनके रिमोट कंट्रोल से चलेगी तब तक इस देश में एकता और अखंडता नहीं रह सकती है। आज मैं एक चीज भूल गया काश्मीर पर कहते हुए कि जिस वक़्त श्री खेसा को और वाइस चांसलर को बंद कर दिया गया था, यह शायद आपको जानकारी हो, न हो, जार्ज फ़र्नांडीज, जो काश्मीर अफ़यर्स के मंत्री थे, मुझे मालूम नहीं कि उन्होंने होम मिनिस्टर से बात करी या नहीं, मुझे मालूम नहीं उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री से बात की या नहीं, लेकिन मैं एक जिम्मेदार आदमी की हैसियत से इस सदन में कहता हूँ, कि जार्ज फ़र्नांडीज ने बी.जे.पी. के प्रेसिडेंट एल.के. आडवाणी से कलकत्ता में बात की कि, बताइए इस के बारे में हम को नेगोशिएशन करना है कि नहीं।

am saying this with full authority at my command that he tele-phoney him at Calcutta and the BJP President told him, 'be tough, don't

compromise'. Should I not hold Mr. h. K. Advani the culprit for the murder of Mr. Khera and the Vice-Chancellor? (Interruptions).

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS: How are you saying that?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I am saying this with authority. Let him contradict it. Let both of them contradict it. (Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: How can you speak like that?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I am saying, let Mr. L. K. Advani and Mr. George Fernandes contradict it....

(व्यवधान) पत्थर तो मग़नू को पड़े रहे हैं और इंदू खैला को हो रहा है। आप को क्या है ?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad, Mr. Advani is in the other House. What are you talking? (Interruption).

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: This is not a question of talking, my dear friend. I am just saying whether this Government is being run by Mr. V. P. Singh or Mr. L. K. Advani? How did the Union Minister telephone the BJP President at Calcutta and ask what steps he should take in negotiating with the terrorists and whether he should negotiate with them as far as the question of release of Mr. Khera and the Vice-Chancellor is concerned. Mr. Advani told him, "be tough and don't negotiate". This is what I want to tell you (Interruptions) .. This is none of your business. You tell both of them to contradict it. (Interruptions).

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: How did you listen to this talk? You must tell us. (Interruption). It is your duty to prove it because you are say. ing it.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat) ; You must admire his resourcefulness to get this information.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: If you are so incapable that you do not know how we can help it? (In-

years Kashmir has become, an abode of secessionists and extremists.

interrupt'umsS',

तो अंत में, मैं यहाँ निवेदन करूँगा, विशेष रूप से 'जनता' दल की सरकार में कि, अगर वह देश की एकता, अखंडता चाहते हैं तो अपने एलाइंस को भी कुछ सीमा में रखें तभी जाकर इस देश की एकता, अखंडता रह सकती है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं डिप्टी चेयरमैन आपका आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ।

DR. NARREDDY THULASI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I am going to speak in Telugu.

Madam Deputy Chairperson, we are discussing the most important problem; peace and security of the people of our country constituting 1/6th of the world's population. In our De-mocracy; country no other Home Ministry faced all these problems which the present Home Ministry is facing. Excepting 3 years, almost 40 years after Independence Congress has been ruling our country as if it was its monopoly. They are the cause of all these problems. Adding to the problems our neighbour Pakistan is - busy with anti-India propaganda only to divert the attention of their people from the political instability in that country and failures of the Pakistani political leaders and also to counteract the criticism of the Chief Minister of Punjab i.e. Sindh-Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif against Benazir Government. Pakistan is not only organising training camps for Kashmir Militants but also supporting them with financial assistance and arms and amunitions. Thus the interference of Pakistan in our internal affairs has further worsened the Kashmir problem. So today India is like a ball of fire. We cannot say when it will explode.

Madam, Kashmir problem has not arisen over-night. For six or seven

English translation of the original speech in Telugu.

On August 15, 1933 the secessionist; hoisted Pakistani National Flag in Srinagar. In the cricket match played in Srinagar in October, 1983 between India and West Indies, our Indian players were booed and jeered by these secessionists. On an auspicious day like the Independence Day the people of Kashmir in protest remained in black out. On the first death anniversary of Gen. Zia-ul-Haque the whole of Kashmir observed bandh. As per the orders of the secessionists even the Ministers of the State had to switch off their lights and remain in the dark. This is a problem inherited by the National Front Government from the Congress regime. Who is responsible for this state of affairs?

The Indian army which was welcomed and greeted in 1947 for driving away the Pak forces is now treated with hostility. I request the Government to look into this situation. As there are many reasons for Karna's death, so are many reasons for Kashmir problem.

Kashmir people developed a hostile attitude towards Indians. The way Indian Government is tackling the problem of Kashmir is faulty. The National leaders failed to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of Kashmir people. The Kashmir Valley is a paradise on earth but the common man's life there is a hell. Crores of rupees were allocated for the development of the Kashmir Valley but practically there was hardly any development. Politically influential people and immoral people were benefited. Unemployment increased. Dissatisfaction crept in. They were not satisfied with the ruling party but had no other alternate political power on which they could depend. So there was a vacuum. This was a boon to secessionists and Pakistani agents. They exploited the situation. The Zamayat Islam brain washed the younger generations to

make them believe that Kashmir is a separate nation and should therefore be separated from India. As long as Sheikh Abdullah was alive secessionists could not play their games. But today the problem of Kashmir has raised its ugly head only because Sheikh Abdullah's son after his father's death showed much more interest, on foreign tours, and opportunistic politics than on the law and order problem and welfare of the country. Hence there are social, political, economic and historical reasons behind the Kashmir problem.

(Speech not concluded)

5.00P.M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At 5o' clock, the Minister of External Affairs is to make a statement. If you finish your speech within five minutes, I will allow-; otherwise you can speak tomorrow.

DR. NARREDDY THULASI REDDY:
I will speak tomorrow, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister of External Affairs to make a statement.

STATEMENT By MINISTER

Talks between Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan at New York

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI I. K. GUJRALI); Madam, Honourable Members are aware that I visited New York from the 22nd to the 26th April, 1990 to participate in the Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to International Economic Cooperation and in the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' meeting connected with this Special Session. I had extensive discussions with my counterparts from a large number of countries during my stay in New York.

The background to the meeting with Pakistan Foreign Minister was the tensions, and- aberrations, created in Indo-Pak: relations due to Pakistan's, involvement generating extremism and in violence in Jammu and, Kashmir. Despite Pakistan's obdurate attitude on this, issue, the Government of India had kept lines of communication open, with authorities in Pakistan to avoid confrontation and to resuscitate the process of normalisation and stability in-Indo-Pak relations.

In conformity with India's commitment to conduct relations with Pakistan in the spirit of bilateralism inherent in the Simla Agreement, I took advantage of my visit to New York to have a detailed exchange of views with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sahabzada Yakub Khan on the 25th April, 1990.

During the course of this meeting I reiterated that Pakistan's continued intervention in Jammu and Kashmir and its support and encouragement to terrorism there was not conducive to maintenance of peace in our region and that such an approach would be detrimental to Indo-Pak relations. I stressed that adventurist brinkmanship on the part of Pakistan in relation to Jammu and Kashmir might generate unpredictable events which might become uncontrollable.

I told him that since our last meeting, in January of this year, instead of listening to my advice for restraint, Pakistan had stepped up interventionist actions in the Punjab and Kashmir through! training and supply of arms to subversives and incitement to violence. Belligerent and inflammatory rhetoric exhorting people to resort to arms was being indulged in at very responsible political levels. Calls for a 'Thousand Years War' and for 'Jehad' were being issued from the same quarters. Special Kashmir Funds for supporting insurgency had been created. Government-sponsored media campaign had increased mani-