ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR GOVERNMENT LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Cornmittee at its meeting held on Monday, the 12th March, 1990, allotted time for Government Legislative and other Business as follows;

Business	Time Allotted
1. Consideration and passing of the following Bills :-	
(a) The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1990.	3 hours.
(b) The Indian Medical Council (Amendment) Bill, 1987, as reported by the Joint Committee.	4 hours.
2. Discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address .	Three days.
3. General Discussion on the Punjab Budget, 1990-91 • • .	4 hours.
4. Gsneral discussion on the Railway Budget, 1990-91 . . .	Three days. (March22,23 &26)
5. Consideration and passing of the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill ,1990, as passed by the Lok Sabha.	2 hours.

REiSIGNATION BY MEMBER

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that the Chairman had received a letter dated March 12, 1990, from Shri R. K. Dorendra Singh, a Member representing the State of Manipur resigning his seat in the Rajya Sabha and th$_e$ Chairman had accepted his resignation with effect from March 12, 1990.

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BUDGET (RAILWAYS) 1990-91

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES): Madam, I lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1990-91, in respect of Railways.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): I hope he will resume the Kashmir-Kanyakumari train service.

DISCUSSION ON **SITUATION** IN **JAMMU AND KASHMIR—**Contd

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; We have the next speaker, Mr. Fotedar.

SHRl MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, I know that I am speaking on an issue which is not only sensitive or strategically important for the country, but it is very emotional for me also, i have heard with rapt attention the speech made by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Shiv Shanker. He gave in detail the genesis of the Kashmir problem. I agree with some of the • observations made by Mr. Morarka, especially in regard to the retention of article 370' of the Constitution. I wish that his party could carry all the constituents of the National Front Government with this policy statement. I have heard the statement made by hon Home Minister which, is forceful but it is partisan in its content. I wish he could have been

true to himself, true to his office and true to this House. I do not know wherefrom I should start on Kashmir but I remember a couplet of a poet:

"अगर फिरदौस बर-रुये जमीं हस्त,
हमीअस्तो हसीअस्तो हसीअस्त" ।

That if there is any heaven on earth it is Kashmir, It is our tragedy that we are discussing the question of Kashmir in the context of a devastating situation.

Questions have been raised here for and against about a particular person who is in charge of the State of Kashmir, i am neither for him nor against him. When I talk, I talk about tl e source of the power. Mr. Jagmohan, though he is a creature under the Kashmir Constitution, is no more enjoying that authority which he ought to have enjoyed under the Kashmir Constitution. He is a crea ture, a representative of the Govern ment headed by shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. I will come to it later how the position, the status or the prestige of the Governor, Mr. Jag mohan has been devalued by this Government. I am saying this be cause we had also appointed him as Governor in 1984. I do not shirk my responsibiity. But then we will have to say that it is not the Governor's policy in Kashmir, it is not the policy of the Home Minister in Kashmir, it is not the policy of the Minister for Kashmir Affairs also. Because whatever is being done in Kashmir is the result of the policy of the Prime Minister of India. If anything goes wrong in Kashmir, the Prime Minister himself and the Cabinet collectively will be responsible. I am saying these words in the hope that the Kashmir problem and the Kashmir situation would be understood by the Prime Minister in its correct perspective. He should apply his mind. He should have a perception of his own. I know that •a Prime Minister who does not dare to remove Mr. Chautala (Chief Minister of Haryana") who belongs to his party, how can he remove Mr. Jagmohan for which he has to get the approval of a senior leader, Mr. Atal Bihari Bajpayee, I know my limitations. I know his limitations also. So I am not going to say anything about the posts held by some people there. I will however try to put the picture of Kashmir in its true and correct perspective.

All of ns know that Kashmir is one of our glories. It has been a place and it is a land where secularism has thrived. It is a place which gave a beacon light of secularism in the darkness of 1947 when India got partitioned. It was the only Muslim majority State in the then India which joined the Indian Union at that time. It was the only Muslim majority State which fought against the two nation theory. It was the only (Muslim majority State which fought valiantly against the father of two nation theory. We must not forget that.

What is the genesis of the Kashmir problem? I am reminded of a remark made by Jawaharlal Nehru about Kashmir. I quote:

> "Kashmir is a place of infinite beauty. What is more, Kashmir is a place of great strategic impor tance. It has always been a mis fortune for a country to be situated strategically because envious eyes fall upon it.'-'

It is this last sentence of Jawahar lal Nehru which speaks about the problem of Kashmir. And it is this sentence of Jawaharlal Nehru which, in the past, made Kashmir a national issue and Pakistan committed naked aggression against us. It is this Kashmir which in its frmis India in miniature. It is this Kashmir which became a pawn in! the chessboard of power politics in the world. It is this Kashmir which gave new light to secularism in India.

[Shri Makhan Lai Fotedar]

1 want to find out what has brought the state of affairs to this level in the recent past. We learn from, our experience. We also might have committed mistakes. One also learns from his mistakes. But the Government is such that it has no intention to learn either from its own mistakes, nor has it any will to learn from the experience of others. That is why I was aghast to read the statement of the Home Minister saying that the situation started deteriorating from 1968. 1 agree about what was in the heart of the people of Kashmir, I agree about what happened in 1947 or 1951 or 1957. I agree about what happened in 1964. The country knows also what happened. But never in the past. from. 1947 up to this time, was there fraternization of the masses with the movement which is on in Kashmir now. Never in the past were the masses of Kashmir alienated from the rest of India. Never in the past did the masses of Kashmir fight against the might of India, never in the past had the people of Kashmir fought against the moral authority of India. What is the genesis of this problem of this present situation

My friend has said that it started from the 2nd of December, 1989. I do not agree that it actually started from the 2nd of December. The present situation—the present grim and grave situation in Kashmir—started exactly on the 13th of December, 1989. This date is of historic importance. This date is of great significance not only to the people of Kashmir but even to the people of India . What happened on that date is not the kidnapping of the Home (Minister's daughter. I have sympathy for the Home Minister. His daughter is my daughter; his daughter has grown UD in mv lap also. I am not. attacking the Home Minister. It. was not the kidnapping or the abduction of a daughter. I was very happv—and *J* do not know whether the Home Minister or anybody else had taken I such initiative—that the Muslim pub-I lie opinion not only in Kashmir, not only in the rest of India but throughout the world had been generated against the abduction, of a girl. Dr. Rubaiya was not the daughter of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed alone—she became the daughter of India. It was basically, if I may say so—and I want to tell the Prime Minister— essentially an action of a psychological warfare. Madam Deputy Chairman, please convey it to the Prime Minister: Mr. Prime Minister, these terrorists wanted to test your nerve, they wanted to test your will, they wanted to test your determination, they wanted to test whether you would succumb to their pressures or not, it was a war of nerves, they have had that as Chief Minister of U.P. you could not withstand the pressures of dacoits. And time has proved that after that incident daeoit menace in U.P. unfortunately, our Prime Minister has not grown. 3.00 P.M.

My friend has said that the Home Minister succeeded in getting back his daughter. I am not saying so. I would say that while Vishwanathji succeeded in securing the release of the daughter of the Home Minister, the Prime Minister of India failed the nation. The Prime Minister of the country failed the nation. This basically is the genesis of the present problem. Since then the terrorists have become bold enough not only to take the processions but to dictate terms to the Government which in practice is a non-governing Government. They know the will of this Government. They know how far this Government can go. If I remember correctly, the day the self-proclaimed Pakistani terrorists were released in Kashmir, the entire valley was marching on the roads, not for India, but they were rejoicing that thev have been able to get releas- of the terrorists and dictate their terms to the Prime Minister. This became the genesis of the present situation, and since then there is no end to it,

Murli Saheb, J must tell you, wlien I am saymg tnis it is not out of any afcony. We nave to approach the p.ooien^ we have to approach Kashmir issue with utmost calm, with as much equanimity and wisdom as we possess. 1 want to tell the Prime Minister that the release of terrorists under pressure was not only unior-tunate, but it also compromised the security of lndia. Since then the terrorists have grown in number. Since then the terrorists are crossing the line of actual control as if it is just their courtyard. Since then, this Government has exposed itself to be the weakest Government India has ever had. I can tell you that Kashmir has remained a part of India, is a part of India and shall continue to remain an inalienable part of India despite the fact that our Prime Minister or the Government is weak.

I do not say that every Kashmiri is a terrorist. I do not say that Kashmiris are communal. They are more secular than any one else. But they have come under the influence of fundamentalism, Thy have be-come a prey to a sort of Iranian fundamental revolution. It is for this Government to see that they do not become a part of that revolution. I would not call it "revolution". If the Prime Minister considers it as a revolution, it has a different connota-tion. I would call it a sort of "rebellion". You have to deal with such a situation as the law of the land demands

Then, the second thing that hap pened is that an unwelcome Gover nor was imposed on the State. The Prime Minister is telling us about value-based politics. He has perhaps brought an eminent jurist as the Home Minister who has interpreted the Constitution of India in a diffe rent way, given a different compre hension. What he hss said is that the Governor Post or office shall be coterminous with the tenure of the ruinig party at .txie Centre. As I told you eailier, it is tms Government wnicn has not only made Mr. Jagmohan controveisiai but aiso devalued his authority. is *the* tenure of the liovernor co-termmous with the tenure of the ruling party? This is a noval interpretation. One is amazed to hear tnis. I am sorry to say that up to this time the Prime Minister has not opened his mouth whether the interpretation given by the Home Minister is correct or incorrect. I must tell this House that Kashmir has a distinct personality, *li* has a distinct identification. Perhap* many people in the country do not know that in Kashmir you hare a separate Constitution. Perhaps many people in the country do not know that the Kashmir Governor used to be a elected Head recognised as such by the President of India. To deface the authority of the Governor by saying that he is H.Ms Private Secretary, what else do you expect Mt. Jagmohan to do in Kashmir? I am not making an issue whether Jagmohan is good or bad, because that is not the purpose of the debate. S told you at the outset that a Prime Minister who cannot remove Chautala, how can he remove Jag Mohan? I am not asking for that. He is a competent man and my friend, but the way he was appointed and the way his post was denigrated in the public eye has had its implications in, Kashmir. Kashmiri people, the Home Minister knows, being articulate and sensitive, would not like to hear that the Governor of their State should b_e designated as PA of the Prime Minister or of the Home Minister.

Thirdly, I am told by no less a person than Mr. Abdullah himself? that he had vehemently opposed the appointment of Mr. Jagmohan as Governor and he had warned both the Prime minister and the Home Minister that in case Mr. Jagmohan was sent as Governor, he was going to resign. In the light of this warning I can conclude that perhaps the Government wanted Mr. Farooq AbdullaM

[Shri Makhan Lai Fotedar] to resign and Dr. Farooq Abdullah did resign. I must tell the hon. Members that in Kashmir we have all along faced a very delicate situation. In Kashmir, we are facing now a very explosive situation. We must always have a buffer in Kashmir and a buffer represented under the stewardship of a son of the soil. By bringing in a Governor, you are bringing people of Kashmir in direct conflict with the Centre. You must always have a buffer if you have to administer Jammu and Kashmir. Never in the history of independent India have we dissolved the Kashmir Assembly. Even in 1964 during the holy relic agitation the situation was such that the Assembly could have been dissolved. But the Centre did not dissolve the Assembly...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I will take some more time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The total time of the Congress party was 135 minutes. Mr. Shiv Shanker took one hour and you have taken 20 minutes. ^

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: You don't want that the Government should *get* exposed. I have taken my party's time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Member, I am sorry for your aspersion on the Chair. I was only reminding you about the time you took. You take your words back.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: You just sit down.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request you to please leave this House.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I will not leave.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, I am on a point of order. This august House has not seen previously such an audacious remark from a -esponsible Member of a party which happened to be a ruling party. He was a member of the previous Cabinet. Being a member of such a tradition, he has the audacity to tell the Chair, "you please sit down." If this i$ the way the Member toehaves, then, where the tradition, of the House is going, let alone the question of keeping the democratic traditions of the country high? We are discussing about Jagmohan but we are becoming Jagmohan ourselves in the House. It cannot be allowed. Either the Member should apologise or he must not be allowed to speak. He must apologise or he must not be allowed to speak. It is very strange.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : नेता सदन क्या कहते हैं ? नेता सदन, बोलिएगा इस इश्यू पर। अभी भी गलत-फहमी है इन्हें कि यह मिनिस्टर हैं।

SHRI V| GOPALSAMY: H should apologise.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : महोदया, जो कुछ सदन में हुआ है, बड़ा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है। आप कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों को यह याद दिला रही थीं कि उनका कितना समय बाकी है। (व्यवधान)

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): She is quite competent to take the decision.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : शायद फोतेदार साहब ने यह समझा कि आप इनको टोक रही हैं, लेकिन उसके बाद उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा, उसको कहने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी। फिर उन्होंने आपसे यह भी कहा कि आप बैठ जाइए, जो गैरजरूरी था। मुझे लगता है कि फोतेदार साहब कोई चेयर की अवमानना नहीं करना चाहते हैं।

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : चेयर की नहीं करते हैं। इनको मालूम है, चेयर को मालम है।

THJS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like the Members to go and see the record what I said. I said: "The Congress party had 135 minutes. Mr. Shiv Shanker took one hour and Mr. Fotedar took 20 minutes." I have got 12 Members listed and it is the duty of the Chair to remind every Member how much time his party or her party has got. I was doing my duty as the Deputy Chairman... *(Interruptions)* ...

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): May I just intervene? What Mr. Fotedar has said is unfortunate. I do not wan$ the House to make it an issue. At the same time, I would like the expression used by Mr. Fotedar should be withdrawn in fairness to himself- and in fairness to the House and also in fairness to the Chair in particular. After all we respect the Chair and any remark made even in a huff, I think should not be allowed to go on record. He is a senior Member. I would like him to express his regrets and withdraw his remarks,

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: You must understand that I have long years of parliamentary practice ... *(Interruptions)...*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That does not justify.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I never meant any disrespect to the Chair, I never meant that..I expressed regret so . that... *(Interruptions)* ...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Since you are a senior Parliamentarian, as you yourself said, you withdraw your remarks.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I never made any remark in any huff. You follow my point. But when I ... *(Interruptions)*..You see, only the Home Minister, myself and some of the Kashmir friends can understand what is happening in Kashmir. Our hearts are bleeding... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You shouted at the chair.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: The Prime Minister of India does not understand what Kashmir is. That is my difficulty.

SHRl GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Will he continue like this? He must unambiguously withdraw his remarks.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Being a senior parliamentarian, you must withdraw your words.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I never meant any disrespect to the Chair. *(Interruptions)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry the Member is not ready to withdraw his words. Well, I want this to be on the record that one senior Member of this House made such an aspersion on the Chair. All •right. Proceed. Let it go On record, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker. Let it be part of the history that how members have behaved in this House. Let it be part of the history.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am sorry, we do not mean any disrespect to the Chair in any form and I offer my apologies en behalf... *(Interruptions)* ...No, no. As a leader of the party, I am offering the apology. *(Interruptions)* . I appreciate the sentiments. Just a moment. I appreciate the sentiments that are being expressed from the other side. I realise and I am appreciating our point but if the hon. Member is putting it in a different form, I am putting it in my own form. (Interruption)... Asa leader of the Opposition, I offer my apology. Let us close this chapter. (Interruptions) .

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Being a leader of the Opposition you cahnot discipline your own man. What do you say? *(Interruption)*.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr- I Gurudas Das Gupta, would you like to score a point by putting me in the | dock? If you want to score, I have nothing to say. *(Interruption)...*

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Why do you want to put yourself in the dock?

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I said, I sincerely apologise on behalf of my party.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I must tell the hon. Member that I am more interested in the debate on Kashmir. *(Interruptions)...*

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Everybody is having concern for Kashmir. There is no problem about it. But we are equally concerned about... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Madam Deputy Chairman, one of the hon. Members sitting on that side insulted the Chair in this House and Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy, the then Leader of the Opposition stood up and said, "on behalf of the House, I apologise and so I feel the matter must be closed" and we readily agreed to close the matter. So if the Leader of the Opposition offers an apology... (Interruption)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. I did not even need Mr. Shiv Shanker to give an apology. But I wanted this thing to go on record. I so not want it to be expunged. Let the people know the history. That is all. Let it go on record. (Interruption) . No, it should go on record. *(Interruption).*

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : अभी नेता विरोधी दल खड़े हुए हैं और उन्होंने क्षमा मांगी, रिग्रेट शो की। काहे के लिए रिग्रेट शो की ? लोग : उनको सीनियर मेंबर कहते हैं। मैं तो इनको सीनियर आई०ए०एस० आफिसर मानता हूं। चंद दिन हुए आप पोलिटिक्स मे आए है। मैं यह कहता हूं कि जब वह कहते हैं कि उन्होंने कोई गलती नहीं की तो वह माफी काहे की मांग रहे हैं ? अगर गलती की है तो माफी मांगनी चाहिए जिन्होंने गलती की है . . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुरेन्द्र जीत सिंह अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : यहीं कहा गया कि आपके राज्य मे जो गवर्नर हैं वह यहां पर... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : संजय गांधी, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, राजीव गांधी मुकर्रर करते रहे, तब तो बहुत अच्छे रहे और कांग्रेस का टिकट मांगने के लिए यहां आए थे। अब टिकट नही दिया तो बे बुरे हो गए... **(व्यवधान)** नेता सदन की माफी का कोई सवाल नहीं है।

उपसभापति : वर्मा जी, मैंने इस हाउस के सामने कभी किसी चीज का बुरा नहीं माना है। मैं यह, जो हूं इस चेयर पर... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : प्रश्न आपका नहीं है, प्रश्न सिर्फ चेयर का है . . . **(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : प्रश्न चेयर का नहीं। हाउस की गरिमा रखने का सवाल है। कोई मेम्बर रखना चाहते तो उनकी महरबानी है। नहीं रखना चाहते हैं तो रेकार्ड पर आने दीजिए . . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री पी० शिवशंकर : मेहरबानी की बात नही है, यह तो इनकी ड्यूटी है . . . **(व्यवधान)**

It is our duty. Kindly don't take it in that spirit.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry that you have made me feel that way.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : अगर आदमी होते तो माफी मांगनी चाहिए थी। चेयर से, श्रीमती नाजमा हेपतुल्ला से नहीं। आपको चेयर से मांगनी चाहिए अगर आदमी होते, अगर इंसानियत होती तो. **(व्यवधान)**

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : हमने भी आपकी इंसानियत देखी है . . . (**व्यवधान**)
I have always apologised to the Chair.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : तुम कौन होते हो कहने वाले ? आ गए बोलने वाले . . . (**व्यवधान**)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I was just saying how the so-called value-based politics has been debased. (*Interruptions*).

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : यह तो कहिए आपने जो कुछ किया है . . . (**व्यवधान**)

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : वर्मा जी, कुछ समय पहले आप हमारे साथ थे आप फिर आ जाएंगे, घबराइए नहीं . . . (**व्यवधान**)

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : आप पहुंच जाएंगे वहीं जहां थे । पांच साल की जर्नी है लंबी, अभी तो शुरूआत हुई है । और किसी से नहीं, मुझे इनके रिमार्क्स पर आपत्ति है । हाउस का एक भी मैंबर एप्रिशिएट नहीं करता जो रिमार्क्स उनके थे . . . (**व्यवधान**)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I was saying I am not against the Governor, i will not say that he should be recalled. It is for the Gov ernment to see whether he should be kept there or not. What I am saying is that if the imposition of the Gov ernor was a blunder, the dissolution of the Assembly was against national interest— I am choosing the word very conscious '.y and deliberately—it was an anti-national act. As the Leader of the Opposition said, it was an anti-national act because Pakistan has always been claiming that elections in Kashmir are farcical. But the dissolution of the Assembly, the Government has removed the buffer that was there. We asked the Prime Minister whether foe had given his concurrence. We have no reason to disbelieve the Prime Minister. The Home Minister also said he had not given concurrence though concurrence had been given by the .President. We nave no reason to disbelieve this. But, if the Governor on its own initiative, has taken such an important political decision which threatens the very security of India in Kashmir, I can infer that either the Prime Minister has lost grip over the Governor or the Governor is dictating terms to the Prime Minister and the Government. Either of these is true. Either you have lost the grip or he is dictating to you the terms. The dissolution of the Assembly is not in the interests of the Nation. You should have kept it alive. As the Leader of the Opposition also said, the representative of the Prime Minister in Kashmir said that the Assembly had lost its representative character. I wonder whether it is correct to say that the Governor has the right to pronounce that the Assembly has lost the representative character. In case it is so that a Governor has the right to determine its representative character. I would tell Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee to take care in Madhya Pradesh and also in Himachal Pradesh keep their Gove'rnments informed. Similarly, I would suggest to West Bengal M'.P.s to have their own Governors. The second thing which has appeared in today's morning papers is that the President of United States of America is sending a delegation to Kashmir. I would like to know from the Government whether there is any such proposal; whether the Government of India has been consulted and if it comes, whether the Government of India will permit them to enter Kashmir for this purpose.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; The Home Minister will react on this later on.

SHRl MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: It is a tragedy for the country that shots are being called by the troubled lady of that little Pakistan. The Prime Minister was good enough to say yesterday that any misadventure by Pakistan will be decisively met. I want to tell the Prime Minister perhaps he has no comprehension as

[Shri Makhan Lai Fotedar] to what is happening in Kashmir. Pakistan is already carrying on its undeclared war against India in Kashmir, It is fighting a cold war in a flatant and brazen manner through the terrorists on our soil in Kashmir. I will tell the Government that Pakistan will never attack us. Pakistan is already on war there. I want to know from the Government whether it is considering to demolish the basis of the terrorists across the border?

I have certain suggestions now. First, while taking all necessary steps and measures against the terrorists/ militants in Kashmir, care should be taken that innocent citizens do not suffer. My .second suggestion is that the Government should find out the bases from where these arms and ammunition are pouring in. The Government should seal the borders. The Government can also say that even a sparrow should not be allowed to fly across the Line of Acutal Control. I know if the Government issues such an order that a sparrow, cannot be allowed to fly, I know the Government is so weak or so strong that even elephants will cross the border. Let me say that Kashmir cannot be ruled out by force or by repression. It has a history of its own. You will have to bring back Kashmir to the national mainstream with the love & compassion. You can win Kashmir if you deal with th$_e$ minds of the people there. For that$_i$ you will have to create political soofis who can deal with their minds and bring back Kashmir to the national mainstream. Political Soofis can be the sons of the soil of Kashmir. Political Sufis cannot be the representatives of the Prim Minister in Kashmir. Politicale Soofis can be persons like Farooq Abdullah ana National Conference, Congress (I) cadres Political Soofis can be the secular and nationalist elements in Kashmir. These are the people who can bring back Kashmir to the national mainstream. It is, therefore, neeessary and imperative that the political process in Kashmir must b$_e$ initiated at the earliest. The State Assembly should be revived.. *(Time Bell)., j* understand that under the Kashmir Constitution it can be revived. I would not mind even if the Home Minister takes over the stewardship of Kashmir because the pet-pie should see that affairs are being conducted by a son of the soil. I am not asking only for Dr. Farooq Abdullah. You ma$_y$ say that I am partisan. Let the Home Minister do it; let him deal with his own home State. I would not mind. We will give him support.

I do not know whether the Prime Minister has appointed a Minister for Kashmir exclusively as yet. We were given to understand that the Minister will be in total charge. But, today, we were told that he will be only coordinator. I wonder if the Prime Minister is really keen, genuinely keen, to deal with a crisis of such a magnitude in Kashmir. We are committed to co-operate. But as to the person chosen for Kashmir affairs as Minister we wish him good luck and success. There are of course- circumstances, which may reduce the effectiveness of the Minister concerned in Kashmir. I do not want to say those things in the House. But, if the Prime Minister so desires, i would like to speak in confidence to them.

Lastly, Madam, i happen to belong to Kashmir. I was born in Kashmir. Many people are leaving Kashmir now. It is not only the Kashmiri Hindus, but it is also the nationalist Muslims, who are leaving Kashmir. We must not allow any Indian to be a refugee in India. It i$_s$ essential that effective and immediate steps are taken t$_0$ creat condition so that the people who have left the Valley, numbering about seventy thousand or eighty thousand, return to their homes in Kashmir Valley at the earliest.

Let me say that a Government that hesitate$_s$ or fumbles or a Government that has no perception, cannot govern at all. A Government must govern. Let me tell the Government and the

Prime Minister that either they should govern or they should go there is no other way.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Prof. Lakshmanna.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Madam, when we look at the whole problem of Kashmir, we have to look at it very dispanssionately. What are the lessons which we have to learn from the experience of Kashmir? This is the fundamental question now.

Madam, Kashmir was, and I hope, continues to be, the symbol of secular ism of this country. Kashmir mirrored the aspirations of the entire nation, of all the people of this country. This is not just .rhetoric. What happened in 1948? In 1948, when one the UN Team was there and when subsequen tly they were drawing the Line of Actual Control, there were two villages which had to decide whether they would take to this side or that side. Which were those villages? These villages were Tawak and Hilchi. Pakistan has been harping on the plea that there has to be plebiscite and Pakistan has been harping on the theme that there has been a referen dum. But Pakistan forgets, and those who are now taking like this forget the whole thing, that there has been a referendum that there has been a plebiscite. They forget the fact that there has been a mini-referendum. In these two villages, under the auspices of the UN itself, there was a mini-referendum. People should know about it and I say this with authority that this is a fact. In one of these two villages, hundred per per cent of the people opted for India and, in the other village, there were only three people who were not opting for India. This is the case of Kashmir. Not only that. Subsequently in 1948, in the plebiscite then, what happened in Baramulla? In Baramulla when these intruders in the name of tribal people invaded, there was one gentle man, Maqbool Shervani, and this Maqbool Shervani who is from Baramulla and who is a secular Muslim of Kashmir, gathered all the National Confer ence volunteers and they obstructed these intruders until Brig. Osman arrived there and when Brig. Osman arrived there, he was able to drive them back and subsequently he went to Srinagar and we know the rest of the story. That was Kashmir. That was the way in which Kashmiris, the socalled Kashmiri Muslims, stood for a secular lndia. That was triumph for secularism all over the country, all over the world. The same Kashmiris in the year 1965, in the year 1971, were the ones who caught hold of those infiltrators from Pakistan and dealt with them. And if that Kashmir—if what the reports have stated is correct —today turns against India, we have to look into the causes, we have to look into the reasons, we have to look we have to look into the history, and then try to book the culprits, those who have been responsible for the state of affairs that is obtaining today and they should be squarely dealt with. But it is unfortunate that for this the entire blame, a larger share of the blame, has to go to those who were in power, those who were in power at the Centre, to those who were in power in Kashmir, for a long time. And in this respect I do not absolve even the National Conference of its share for the present state of affairs because in the year 1983 when there were elections and when Dr. Farooq Abdullah became the Chief Minister of that State and subsequently when he was dismissed, what was the resentment shown by the people of the Valley, by the people of Kashmir against such undemocratic, ruthlss, act? We had occasion to revolt against that, to fight it in this very House because we stood for democratic values and we continue to stand for those democratic values because they were the forerunner to what was to happen in our State. In our own State when it happened, we stood like one man and we taught a lesson to this very Congress which is now saying all sorts of things. During that period the same Farooq Abdullah, wherever he went, whether he was in

[Prof, c, Lakshmanna] power or out of power, he received welcome. Ultimately when he came *l.o* power, what was the position? Therefore, j would request our National Conference friends to understand what the reason is for the srosion of that great affection which was shown by the people of Kashmir for Dr. Farooq Abdullah and the National Conference. And if they think about it they wil know that their association with the unprincipled, undemocratic, stands that were taken continuously by the Congress and their siding with them alone has been responsible for it. Therefore, if there is a_n unsavoury, unsatisfactory, and very grim and grave situation in Jammu and Kashmir, instead of realising who has been responsible, if the very senior Member—the very senior Member as he claims to be—tries to put the blame for the 13th December and subsequent events on the National Front, I think history will not condone them, the people of this country cannot condone them, however great that incident may be—I d_0 not want tO go into the details of what happened on 13th December, 1989. That has been stated by several friends. But ;f one day could alter the people who had been so affectionate towards India, I think it is something which has to be looked into very seriously. But there is evidence as to what was happening previous to that while vhoreef Farooq Abdullah's National Conference Government was in power. And what happened even earlier than that? Therefore, Madam, it does not behove well on the part of the Congress Party today t_0 talk today that the Government which is in power today is weakened, that it has no power, that it is the signal given to foreigners, especially to Pakistan. That does not hold water. Therefore, we have to make it very clear to the entire world today th/at whatever happens in Kashmir, which is an integral part of India, no force whatsoever can take it away from us, no force can strike a blow to the nation's integrity and unity of the country. Therefore, what is the lesson which has t_0 be taught? That particular lesson has been conveyed, conveyed very effectively, Madam, this is the first time—r want to make it very clear to the party in Opposition today —that many countries which stand by religion, on which Pakistan wants to make a plan, have come out in support of India. Excepting for two countries, there has been no other country which has come out in support of Pakistan today. Therefore, if that type of state of affairs, if that situation prevails today, if it has come to stay today, who has to take credit? It is not the Congress. With all the professions, where the Congress was in power, this was not the state of affairs whenever there have been problems raised by Pakistan against India vis-a-vis Jammu and Kashmir. It was not the case. But today with all the vehemence at my control, with all the strength at my control I can say that for the first time even the so called Muslim countries have come to realise that what has been stated by India is correct, what has been stated by Indiia is genuine, what has been stated by India is just, and lndia is only reflect ing the aspirations of the people.

Even on the talk of repression what is repression? We must have a definition of 'repression.' Repression has to be understood in the context in which it has to be understood. Madam when a certain amount of freedom was given, where there was no fetter as to what has to be demonstrated by the people and if people in thousands *(Time Bell rings,)*, If thousands and lakhs marched, some of them armed and if they attacked the military per sonnel who are there only to safeguard the borders of this country, the inte grity and unity of thisl country, and i:l the military personnel or the adminis tration there had kept quiet, thes< would have been the first persons to say that this Government is not having the power, it is not able to show its teeth, it is yielding, it is coming down, so on and so forth. But on the other'hand if that efforts was mada [1] and if in the process there were cer-Jain deaths, etc , they do not have

right to say that there has been unleashing of repression in Jammu and 1 Kashmir or in the Kashmir Valley today. Therefore, when we are looking at the problem, we have to look at it with all the dispassionate attitude which is required.

Madam, not only that. Today Kashmir reflects the entire ethos for which this country stands. This country stands for equality of religions, equality of sexes, equality of all things. This message has to be told to everybody. This is a country which has the second largest Muslim population in the world, next only to Indonesia. Therefore, it is not just a question of forty lakhs or fifty lakhs or sixty lakhs of Muslims. Even if all of them are agitating, I do not agree with that. My information which is fairly based is that at least 30 to 35 per cent even today are silent spectators. We have to make them speak. We have to strengthen them. That is a different matter. Therefore, we cannot take any step either in Kashmir or anywhere which will jeo-pardise the values for which we have been standing in this country. And, therefore, in the name of a large section of population which is living in this country, with whom we want to have cordial relations—we want to foster cordial relations among all sections of people—I ask a simple question.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Is there an alternative but to maintain it? This is exactly what I don't understand. On the one hand, my friends in the opposition say that we will have to be firm, we have to show our teeth, we have to show our strength and so on and so forth. At the same time, they say that we have to be soft. I do understand that we have to be humane, we have to be considerate and we have to give them all opportunities. I will say that among •ther things one of the reasons why the Kashmir valley is todav boiling with anger is because we have neglected its development during the last 42 years. Who is responsible for that? What happened? Why is it that a man in the street or in th evillage is unhappy? I have spent a considerable time there." If there is any language in which one dose not speak even ten sentences, it is Kashmiri. I have a personal relationship with Kashmir. 1 do not want to go into it. I have gone there a number of times. But when I see the lack of development in that area which is supposed to be a privileged area, I think the people are justified in getting angry with us. Therefore, we have to do something to provide the fruits of development not to the top 5 or 10 per cent, but to the bottom people. If that happens, then there will be a change in the situation and they will stand by us as they stood in 1948, as they stood in 1965 and as they stood in 1971. Apart from that, what did We do over a period of time? The . Kashmiris are in search of an identity of their own as all the other parts of India are in search of an identity of their own. It is not in conflict with the national identity. Their identity is Kashmiri identity and Kashmiri identity would have been strengthened had we given enough encouragement to Kashmiris to develop their language. Kashmir would have had Kashmiri as its language. If Kashmiri language had been developed and if they would have been able to have an identity of the type of identities that are being developed all over the country, then they would have been fighting for the unified India as much as wfe are doing. What lesson do we draw from it? What signals does it give? What should be our approach towards the Kashmiri language? Kashmir does not have Kashmiri as the language of the people The Kashmiri language has not beer developed to the extent it should have been developed. Kashmiri culture has not been allowed to develop. A time has come when we havt tc work for the identity of the Kashmiris as Kashmiris. If there has been a continuous sliding down of the situation in Kashmir for the last 4! years, it cannot be changed overnight One handred days are not sufficient

[Frot. C. Lakshmanna]

It has to be mach more than that. It has to be through a national consensus. That is precisely what the National Front Government is doing today. For the first time in the history of thi$_s$ country, especially with regard to Kashmir, it has been able to create a national consensus. It has been able to gather all the parties together. One leader or one party may do this or that. That does not matter. Thi$_s$ consensus has been arrived at as a result of the parleys that look place among all the national parties including the National Conference. *(Time bell)* I am concluding. They suggest that one of the ways in which the problems of Kashmir $_c$an be solved and Kashmir can be brought back into the mainstream of life is to look after their interest. That can be done particularly if there is a Minister to took after it. Madam, I want to make this point very clear. The appointment of a Minister in charge of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs is not the outcome of its own volition but as a result of the discussion which had been taking place in the all-party meets. Now we are raising the question whether he is above or below or something is subtracted or added. That is not the question. What is important is whether thi$_s$ Ministry, while it is functioning, will be **able** to attend to..,.

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SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Just, on a point of information. He says that perhaps it has emanated from there. Let me say this that, as I am told the Government had no perception as to what is to be done and they wanted to know from everybody whether the appointment of a separate Minister will solve the problem. Let me tell the hon. Member that in the past up to 1956, we had a Secretary Kashmir Affairs who was under the Home Minister and who was directly looking into it. What the Minister is going to do now was at that time being done by the Secretary, Kashmir Affairs. He used *to* do that. So, this is not a new.thing because the Government had no knowledge or the perception.. (Interruptions)

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Ma dam, the senior Member has, brought out very interesting and important information that the experiment which is being conducted was done even earlier at the Secretarial level. My only point is this: What has made that practice to be discontinued? And if that practice is revived at a higher stage—if the Government wanted to know what the perception of every body is—it is not for lack of percep tion on the part of the Government. Who said it? Let them look into the manifestoes, let them look into the various pronouncements made by the constituents of what is now the National Front. There is no problem about it. There had bee$_n$ perceptions. In an all-party meet, the perceptions emerge from each. They get fused, **and** ultimately something emerges. And one such factor which has emerged was that there has to be a Ministry which has to look after the interests of Kashmir. Therefore, I would like the whole House to look at the performance of the Minister in charge of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs, whether he is able to coordinate the activities, whether he is able to do anything for the development of Kashmir so that the Kashmiris who are now to some extent astray can be brought back to the mainstream or not. Instead of that, let us not go into why Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed is not in full charge of it or why Mr. George Fernandes is not in full charge of it or why the two of them 'are not sitting together or why one is sitting above the other. I think, this type of thing will not lead us anywhere. Therefore, I urge upon, more particularly, the Opposition to kindly look at the problem in that nerspective in which it has been put by the new Government for the first time. In some matters we have to rsise above the party politics. in some matters we have to have con-

sensus, in some matters we have to make a united effort so that not merely the people of Kashmir but the entire.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, just on a point of information. ..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Just for information...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. I would not permit. Please take your seat.

Now, you also sit down. Your time is over.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am concluding. Therefore, not merely the people of Kashmir but the entire world will know that here is one India which is standing for secularism, one India which is standing for democracy, one India which is standing for development, one India where there is consensus where there is opportunity for consensus, where we can show consensus in the development of the entire part. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next speaker, I would like to introduce Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy as a new Vice-Chairman on our panel. While I welcome him over here, I request the hon. Members to behave in a manner of dignity It is all right some members misbehave with the Chair. But I take it in the spirit of it because I do not mind it. I think, I like the job- He is a new Vice-Chairman. Please behave with
him.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE; Before you go, Madam, I think, we will have to revise the timing. Otherwise this will not be a fruitful and complete debate.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Unfortunately, when the Members start speaking, they do not realise that they are exceedng their Party's time. The Party's time is not decided by the Chair. It is decided by the House in the Business Advisory Committee. However important the matter is, any Member who is speaking from this side or that side is an important person of this House and a partici pant in this debate. It does not mean that those who are listed as number one or two or three should take the entire time of the Party. It is for the party to decide whether they are going to ask... *{Interruptions)* Please do not interrupt., so, if there is going to be a full discussion, the House should decide to the time for it because until and unless we have taken a decision on the time, I cannot allow everybody to speak for one hour or two hours. There should be some procedure in the House. We cannot just do like this.

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। भंडारे साहब और हमने कश्मीर के मामले पर डिबेट मांग रखी है।

उपसभापति : आपका नाम है।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : नाम है, तो फिर कैसे होगा ?

उपसभापति : लिस्ट मे आपका नाम है। आपका नाम मैंने अपने हाथ से लिखा है।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : नहीं, मुझे और भंडारे जी को तो प्राथमिकता मिलनी चाहिए और इस पर फुल डिबेट होनी चाहिए, जैसाकि लोक सभा मे हुआ है।

हम 1939 से इससे जुड़े हुए हैं और वहीं के हालात से हम पूरी तरह वाकिफ हैं।

उपसभापति : आपका नाम लिस्ट में है और आपको समय मिलेगा।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : नही हमको प्रायटी मिलनी चाहिए।

उपसभापति : हां, प्रायटी के लिए आप अपनी पार्टी से बोलिए।

SHRl M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Madam, my humble submission is this that in the Business Advisory Committee we have agreed to allot the full day for the discussion on Kashmir. We requested for the full day discussion on Kashmir and the Government was also kind enough to accept our request and that is why we even agreed this morning to suspend the Question Hour. Now, the strict interpretation of the Secretariat, that four hours is a day, should not apply in this particular context. So, I request that a whole day may be allowed for a discussion on Kashmir.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Agreed, a whole day, but till what time? Then the time can be allocated. Otherwise. some other Members will not get any time. You may define how many hours. You want to sit till midnight, fine. Then you decide that way. You cannot say, one day, four hours, two hours. You have to decide.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Till 8 p.m.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the House agrees till 8 p.m., it is 8 p.m.-

[The Vice-Chairman, (Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy) in the Chair.]

SHRl MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE; We all welcome you, Sir. Now, you are the harbinger of good news that all Members will get more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Yes. absolutely.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, I offer you my best wishes in conducting the affairs of this House.

Sir, the crisis in Kashmir is influenced by two factors, external and internal. Pakistan has never reconciled to the accession of Kasmhir to India and has spared no effort to rake up the issue at any possible forum. Shattering setbacks in conflicts of its own choice and making' have instilled no sobriety in the leadership of Pakistan. Instead domestic compulsions nave impelled tnem to unceasingly harp on the issue though without anv tangible result, because of the unique position that our country enjoys in international arena. Our state of defence preparedness seems to have infused enough strength in our Prime Minister, SHri Vishwanath Pratap Singh to declare time and over again that India would give a fitting reply to any misadventure on the part of Pakistan. Mr. Kamal Morarka also repeated the bravado of the Prime Minister.

But today what really causes concern -to us, Sir, is the situation that prevails in the country, that prevails in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Today the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has acquired > dreadful dimension, a dimension that was not known of or perceived ever before. Mr. Kamal Moiarta tried to reason out by referring to the various incidents of anti-national activities that took place during Farooq Abdullah's Government. Sir, secessionists have been on the prowl for quite some time. But as I said, the situation was never as grave as prevails today.

4 P.M.

If you were to go into the genesis of the situation, very briefly 13th December, 1989, is one date which stares mockingly at us. This date, 13th December, 1989 can, in fact be referred to as the watershed in the current history of the State. That was the day when the militants, when the anti-national forces, in the Kashmir Valley, established their supremacy over the Government of India by securing the release of five hardcore terrorists in exchange for the Kidnapped daughter of the Home Minister. That day, the might of the Union Government capitulated before the whims and will of the terrorists. It has emboldened them, beyond their own imagination, with the result that they have accelerated their activities. Now, the Government at the Centre, instead of encouraging the duly-efec"t'ed Government there to mobilise the natio-

nalist forces to meet the situation politically, got panicky and embarked upon a course which has proved, and will prove, to be perilous for the country.

The then Governor, a distinguished ex-soldier who had earlier led our Army with distinction, was asked to quit unceremoniously in favour 6f the present incumbent, completely ignoring the views of the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah. In fact the new Governor was thrust on him knowing very well that the two did not pull along well. This was done to provoke Dr. Farooq Abdullah to resign. He paid the price stoically. He paid the price fof not agreeing to align himself with the motley groups that constitute the Government today. He declined to align himself with the Janata Dal which was then rambunctious and euphoric over its victory of sorts in the formation of a Government by it with the help of a f^evoutely communalist party. Foreseeing the disastrous consequences of depriving an elected Government @*f* its legitimate right to run the affairs of the State, the Communist Parties, the Congress (I) and certain saner elements within the Janata Dal advocated the quick return to a popular Government. But their efforts were stymied by the preemptive action of the Governor in dissolving the Assembly and promulgating Governor's rule.

Sir, it saddens me to hear from the Prime Minister and the Home~Minis-ter that the action was taten by the Governor without their knowledge. 1 want to believe them. But it sounds astoundingly incredulous that a decision of far-reaching consequences concerning a strategic border-State like Jammu and Kashmir could be taken by the Governor without consulting the leaders at the Centre. If that is really so, I am sorry for the fragile authority that the Government at the Centre commands today. Now, what is the perception"of the Governor about the situation as it prevails in the State today? Mr. Shiv Shanker quoted the Governor saying that the situation is so bad that no on$_e$ can retrieve it in the near future. He dissolved the Assembly because in his opinion it could not even pretend to be of a representative character. Our friends on the other side concur with this view. Whether such irresponsible talk provides enough grist to the propaganda mill of Pakistan is none of their concern it seems.

And how does he propose to deal with the situation? He says, as it is also given in the statement of the hon. Home Minister today, that be will restructure the entire administra tion that will then restore a semb-lanch of law and order before the identifies a new political leadership to take over. Sir, this may sound to be impressive, all right, but this is fraught with serious consequences. A ground reality in Kashmir today is that there is alienation amongst the people. They have to be won over not with the gun but with compassion and understanding. This applies to the administration even more. Any talk of restructuring or revamping the administration i$_s$ bound to prove counter-productive. We, today, cannot, afford to alienate the entire administration and no attempt whatever should be made to replace the administration with the personnel from outside. That will only push the situation to a point of no return and take the nation to the brink of disintegration. Instead, grievances of local administration, grievances of the people have to be redressed and their confidence won over to prepare them to fight the terrorists and secessionists, stalking the State.

Mr. Morarka referred to the violence in Punjab. Let us take the example of Punjab. it is not that we had no problem with the administration at that time, but we did not debunk it. Instead, we created confidence in each officer and the result was that many many of the

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal] officers have laid down their lives, have lost members of their families to protect the unity and integrity of the county. If you embark upon a disastrous course like trying to do away with the entire administration, I wonder what real perception the Centre has.Preception Is a term, I would like to tell Professor Lakshmanna, which cannot be really viewed in abstract form. When we say that the Government lacks perception, we do not say that they just do not think that Kashmir exists in this country, what we really say is that the Central Government today lacks vision and is not coming up to the duty that is expected of any Government worth its salt, of protecting the unity and integrity of the country.

(Time Bell rights) Sir, with the extension of time up to 8.00 P.M. I thought I would get some more time Just five minutes more.

Sir, I feel that the thrust of the • Governmental force has been applied at the wrong point in Kashmir Valley. Instead of the terrorists and perpetrators of crime against the country, it is the ordinary people who face the wrath of the Governor's invincible power. It is the common man who suffer$_s$ from month-long curfew. It is he who suffers on the snapping of communication links with rest of the country, he suffers when he finds that the banks and post offices ^{ar}e closed, when he finds that essential drugs are not available ln the Valley. This is how the Governor has gone about after dissolving the Assembly. Let the hon. Home Minister or the Minister for Kashmir Affairs say whether the Central Government shares the perception of the Governor there. Unfortunately, as I just said, the Central Government has yet to come to grips with the situation. I appreciate the holding of an all-party meeting. But what does the Government do after that? What action doe$_s$ the Government take? Does the Government want us to believe that designating one of the Cabinet Ministers as the Minister [for J&K Affairs is the action plan that the country i$_s$ looking for?

Sir, because of constraint of time, I do not want to get into controversy regarding twoMinisters who are now looking after Kashmir. But I must take this opportunity t$_0$ say that this action of the Government shows its conflusjed mti/nd). A jfeeling emerged at the all-party meeting that the grave situation in Kashmir warranted special action and it was perhaps in response to that "consensus"—to use Prof. Lakshmanna's word—that a decision was taken that the affairs of Kashmir should be dealt with by one Minister iexc^usively. For certain political reasons and internal' Compulsions, the Prime Minister has to retrace his steps. Today he tells us that the Cabinet rank Minister who has been designated specifically as Minister for J&K Affairs will be looking after th$_e$ development work. Then what is the local government there for?

Sir, i wish the Government at the Centre rises to the occasion, appreciates the gravity of the situation and takes bold steps. Sir, why do I use the word "bold"? It is none of our allegations that the Janata Dal or the National Front stands for abrogation of Art. 370. Our grouse is that they are compromising On this issue today surviving on the support of a party which believes in abrogation of Art. 370. This hyprocrisy, these double standards must go. It is precisely because of the demand for abrogation of Art. 370, as it was put very eloquently by Shri Shiv Shanker, that there is this renewed feeling of alienation amongst the people. As I said, it is not that the secessionists were not at work there in the State earlier. But the strength, the mobility which they have acquired today was never witnessed before and it is because today they feel that the Government at the Centre is not in a position to deliver the 'goods to them, because they feel that the

Government at the Centre today has to pander to the whims, to the dictates of a party which I have no hesitation in calling as a devoutly fundamentalist party. It is because of this reaction that the people there have risen.

I bow to the secularism, the feeling of nationalism, the feeling of oneness with the rest of the country that the people of Kashmir have shown over the years. As it was said on many occasions earlier, the events in Kashmir cannot be isolated from other events in the country. If the people of Kashmir feel that secularism is under threat in the country, they would react the way they have reacted. It is because of this that I humbly wish to submit that only expressing a pious desire 'by all of us for the welfare of Kashmir, for the ultimate good of the country, is just not enough. *(Time bell rings).*

So, Sir; I would take this opportu nity to appeal to the Government and more than the Government to the constituents of the National Front to take it as a national issue. And as a national issue, it warrants a national endeavour. We can prepare ourselves for that national endeavour not by blaming the Government of yesteryears, not by blaming Dr. Farooq Abdullah for (aligning with the Congress, not by blaming the Congress for not coming to the rescue of Dr. Farooq Abdullah at the time when there were certain mem bers breaking away from him and reducing him to a minority. What we have to do today, is to face the reality o'f the situation in Kash mir, pool our efforts and then work out a national agenda to solve the Kashmir problem. Given that wil lingness by the leaders of the Na tional Front, instead of the arrogance which they exebit. I am sure we will succeed. Thank you.

SHRl T. R. BALU (Tamil Nadu): Arrogance you exhibit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Shri Sukomal Sen.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Ben-gall) : Sir, I am the only speaker from my party and I hope I will get reasonable time.

Sir, yesterday the Pakistani Prime Minister while visiting the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir—the so-called Azad Kashmir—addressed a joint session of the so-called Assembly and Council there and declared her willingness to help the so-called freedom fighters in Kashmir. Not only that. She also announced that a "Kashmir Fund" would be opened and as Pakistan's donation she would donate 12 crores of Pakistani rupees to that fund to help and aid the freedom fighters in Kashmir. So, it is a very serious development and it is in this background that ,we are debating the Kashmir issue in this House today.

Sir, within this short time it . is very difficult to deal with the past, but in order to understand the present, situation it is also necessary to make a realistic and objective evaluation of the past. I was very keenly listening to the speeches Ifrom the Opposition Benches—I heard most of the speakers—and they wanted to say that this problem is the creation of the 100-odd days of rule of the National Front. Sir, even if we wish, we cannot just wipe out the facts of history. The hard facts of history are there and we cannot simply write them off. Now it is a very saddening experience ifor us that all this is happening in Kashmir where, more than 90 per cent of the population being Muslim, they fought against communalism and fundamentalism, fought for communal brotherhood and communal harmony fought for Kashmir's integration with India and against invaders from Pakistan, fought in war and shed their blood. In the earlier days they fought against the Dogra Raj. Such having been the unique history of the

[Shri Sukomal Sen] Kashmiri people with their patriotism nationalism and. secularism, now it is very saddening *to* find that the same Kashmir is burning and an overwhelming population of the State are demanding either for a free Kashmir or for joining Pakistan. Most of them want to secede from India. This is the hard reality.

Why has this happened? Is it a creation of the 100-odd days of the National Front's rule Even if you refuse to go back to the earlier **period,** ev-an if you dilute the history of the last two years, what was happening in Kashmir in the last two years when the National Front was not in power, when the Governor's rule was not there? What happened in Kashmir?

During the last two years, Kashmir has been witnessing a series of terrorist activities. The terrorists regrouped themselves in various parts of the Valley, got arms and ammunition from across the border, got train ing there, came down there and tried to play havoc with the lives of the people in the' Valley. They fought against the Government and fought against any symbol identified with India. That is what they have been doing during the last two years. Evfen during the test match when the Pakistani flag was hoisted at that time the National Front was not in power. When they organized strikes when Maqbool Butt was hanged, at that time the National Front was not in power nor was Mr. Jag Mohan there as ruling Governor. At that time R semblance of democratic rule was there. The Congress Party was in power in Delhi. Tn 1978 and 1987-88 a number of incidents have taken place and the terrorists have tried to show their face, their bold **face.** They have tried to assert. They have tried to refuse to obey the authority of the Goveinment. That is what they have done for the last two years in Kashmir. Sir. if we now :ount the heads, we will find that in 1989 itself not less than 40 people to Kashmir died because of police firing. That as not after December 13. but before that. Why had th-police to fire when Dr. Farooq Abdullah's National Confer-ence-cum-Con-gress Government was ruling in Kashmir? It was because there was not violence. To quell the violent mob, to fight terrorism the police had to fire. And 40 lives were lost in 1989 itself. Can Mr. Fotedar and Mr. Shiv Shanker deny that and say that it did not happen before but that it only happened after December 13? If somebody wants to wipe out history, he cannot do it. *(Interruptions)* .

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Sir, he has mentioned my name.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAY MOHAN REDDY): Mr. Sukomal Sen you continue. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH; Why had Mr. Fotedar to flee to Uttar Pradesh to come to Rajya Sabha?

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR; I did go to Uttar Pradesh. I am there for the last over a decade.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN; Arms and ammunitions were recovered by the police in Kashmir before December 13 when Farooq Abdullah was in power. (*Interruptions).*

Sir, I had an opportunity to visit Kashmir last year also. Twice or thrice I visited Kashmir, Srinagar, different parts of the State. When Dr. Farooq Abdullah was sharing power with the Congress I found how the terrorists were holding the State Government to ransom. I asked common people, "What is happening?" The common people, the Muslim population said, "There is no law and order. Why? The Government *is* unwilling to control the mob. The Government is unwilling to impose itself upon the people. That is why

*he things are happening like that." Even the common people spoke against Dr. Farooq Abdullah, about his inability to control the situation. This is what happened in Kashmir last year and in 1987 and 1988 also. So, Sir, this has not happened during these 100 days of the National Front rule or after Mr. Jagmohan's appointment. It is all bunkum, all humbug. It is sheer denial of histo y.

Sir, about the Pakistan's demand of plebiscite, Ms. Benazir Bhutto has said that India should abide by its commitment to plebiscite. The ques tion of plebiscite is not there, the question of plebiscite is totally dead now. When the question was raised in 1948 there was a different situa tion. After that much water has flowed under the bridge. The situa tion has changed. Pt. Nehru, when he was the Prime Minister of India in 1954, in both the Houses of Parlia ment categorically stated that in the changed situation the question of plebiscite did not hold good any more. When Pakistan tried to inter nationalize the issue, when it took it to the Security Council and tried to get support from the U.S. and the British in 1957, the British Govern ment and the American Government brought a resolution so that India could be compelled to hold plebiscite. At that time that resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union. I just want to quote a few words from what the Soviet Union said about why the Soviet Union was vetoing the resolution in the Security Council. Vetoing the resolution in the Security Council, the Soviet Union said,

> "Soviet Union's view and its basic premise is that the Kashmir question has in actual fact already been settled in essence by the people of Kashmir themselves who consider their territory an integral part of the Republic of India. Some states however do not want to acknowledge the great changes which have *come* about in aKshmir in the last three years. They continue to foment artificial hue and cry on the subject of so-called Kashrnir question in order to force reconsideration of the decision taken by th$_e$ people of Kashmir themselves."

Then, Sir, they vetoed the Resolution and the Resolution was lost. This was the stand taken by the Soviet Union at that time while America and G.eat Britain tried to force the Resolution on India so that India was compelled to hold the so-called plebiscite. After that also in 1972, after the decisive defeat of Pakistan, when j the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and Mr. Bhutto met in Simla$_)$ in the Simla Agreement also Kashmir was particularly mentioned and it was categorically stated that whatever problem remains on ! Kashmir, those problems would be solved through bilateral negotiations and through dialogue. Not $_a$ single word about plebiscite finds a place in the Simla Agreement. Now, all of a sudden, they have resurrected the word, the idea of plebiscite, and they say plebiscite is the only panacea in Kashmir. So, our Government is correct in totally rejecting the idea of plebiscite and it is very much correct when they say there js no question of secession of Kashmir from India. It is part and parcel of India and the whole country will stand by it to see that it remains an integral part.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAY MOHAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN; I have just started. $_y$

Now, the problem is that the Kashmiri people themselves had fought for their own accession to lndia. In the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir they themselves passed a resolution for accession to India. Then why has this situation developed? It is not that for the last two or thre years that this siuation has deve^1 n ed the situation is sliding down for

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN

the past several years. We cannot ignore the political and economic situation in Kashmir. After they decided that their accession with lndia is final, what has the Government done for the Kashmiri people? What socio-economic benefits have accrued to them? The Kashmiri youth after getting education as engineers doctors and technicians do not find employment in Kashmir. Neither they gets job here, nor elsewhere in the world in countries like the Gulf countries. On the contrary, our Kashmiri youth, Kashmiri Muslims, compare themselves with the youths in the so-called Azad Kashmir, ifrom where the boys are going to Gulf countries. The Pakistan Government is getting jobs for them there. Moreover while on the other side the Pakistan Government is trying to foment trouble and allure them, our Government sat idle and did not do its job so that their socio-economic condition was improved. They could also have don$_e$ so. The Pakistan Government took full advantage of it. They wanted to show them that they had accepted accession with India and that is their fate now, that they do not get any job. The Indian Government is dealing with them in a step-motherly way. Besides fo$_r$ the last few years fundamentalism is sweeping different parts of the world. Be it the Hindu fundamentalism or the Sikh fundamentalism or the Muslim fundamentalism, it is sweeping the whole world. That also had an appeal on the Kashmiri people. It was not there earlier, but it has now happened. I feel particularly after the development of Khomeini type of Islamic fundamentalism, that fundamentalism is having its appeal on Muslims of many countries. In Pakistan, it is very much there. That also is influencing the Muslims in Kash-mir. So, this socio-economic injustice combined with religious appeal and then direct help from Pakistan with arms and ammunition, training and material and. financial help and this discriminatory attitude of the Government of India, all have channelised them into this insurgency and now they have taken up arms. They say that they do not want to remain with India. Either they will remain sovereign, independent or would go with Pakistan. Sovereign means existing under the umbrella of Pakistan or joining Pakistan in a different way. This has happened.

bMnasn

Some political forces in our country demand that Article 370- should be scrapped. They say if that was not there, this situation would not have arisen. We would have dealt the situation in a better way. In our party we have always held that Article 370 has not come all of a sudden. It has a background — historical and political. Under that background Article 370 had come about. We cannot just wipe it out, scrap it out. Kashmir has a special status because of the special situation there and that was the integrating factor of Kashmir with the rest of India. Now, if article 370 is scrapped, what will happen? It is» heartening to note that the Prime Minister has said "Article 370 will remain". If it is scrapped, what will happen? It means, we will be trapped by Pakistan. We will get into the trap of Pakistan. Actually Pakistan wants that article 370 should b$_e$ scrapped. If it is scrapped, then they will say: "You see how they are behaving. Earlier article 370 was there. Now it is domination. You are a colony of India." They will say like this. So, Sir, we stand for article 370. But I would try to criticise the present Government in handling the Kashmir situation not in a very correct way. What have they done a few days back? I was very much sure when Farooq Abdullah joined with the Congress party and formed the Government that it would be a weak Government. That Government was incapable of handling the Kashmir situation. The Congress party and their Government have committed a crime. When they dissolved the Farooq Abdullah Government in 1984 and imposed G.M. Shah as the Chief

Minister of Kashmir, during that time, Pakistani infiltration hoarding of arms, recruiting of terrorists took a full form and that period, perhaps, is the worst period in the Kashmir's history when G. M. Shah was in power. The Congress party and their Government did it in the greed of power. The Congress party was suffering from an insatiable greed of power. They mishandled the Punjab situation. They tried to sideline the Akali Dal, the moderate Akalis. They tried to grab power in Punjab. They tried to make them irrelevant. As a result of this, the terrorists gained ground in Punjab. New, you see what is happening in Punjab? The same thing they want to do in Kashmir. They have no proper mass base. Anyhow they wanted to grab power. So they blackmailed the National Conference. They dissolved the Farooq Abdullah Government. They brought in G. M. Shah whose antecedents were doubtful. The National Conference could not stand up to the challenge of the Congress party and their Government. That was the death-kneel for National Conference. Even the National Conference people did not like joining hands with the Congress party. As some of us understand, the Kashmir people are proud of their own heritage. They are proud of their own culture. They are proud of the past history of the National Conference. But when they found that the National Conference shared power with the Congress party, to a great extent, the Kashmir people got alienated from National Conference itself and the rest of India. Sir, when Farooq Abdullah joined hands with the Congress party and formed the Government in Kashmir, they mishandled the situation and also mishandled the terrorist situation. At that moment, the earlier Governor was removed and Jag-mohan was appointed. Some Congress leaders have said that we forced the Farooq Abdullah Government to resign. Sir. we did not force the Farook Abdullah Government to resign. Farooq Abdullah was already seeking a plea, an alibi to run away, to escape because he was unable to handle the situation. As sooas soon the National Front Government wittingly or unwittingly provided the plea, the alibi Faroq Abodullah took advantage of it and with the Congress party's advice immediately he ran away putting the entire blame on the National Front Government and Jag-mohan.

About Jagmohan, we have also our own reservations. Basically he was an Emergency man. These people utilised him in what way, you know very well. During the Emergency what he did in Delhi itself, therefore he did in Kashmir itself, you know his antecedents. As a Governor, as an administrator, we have our own objections to his appointment. We have openly voiced our criticism against the National Front Government's handling of Kashmir situation, by appointing Jagmohan as the Governor and giving a plea to Farooq Abdullah to run away. Then, what happened? He dissolved the Assembly. That was an awfully wrong step taken by Jagmohan. T do not know who advised him. Whether he took brief from Delhi or without any brief he did it, whatever it is, it is awfully wrong and harmful. It has done greatest disservice to the cause of Kashmir as well as to the rest of India. Sir, what do we mean by the dissolution of Assembly? It means the holling of fresh election. Can jagmohan tell us that after 1977 and 1983 there have been in Kashmir free and fair elections? Even in the last election, what had happened? One Mem ber came unopposed because nobody is there to contest and other twc Members for Lok Sabha, they stood up but the total polling was less thar 1 per cent of the total voters. Nobody dared to cast his vote because terrorists are threatening them that they should not cast their votes. S election is merely a farce there. Tha cannot be the reason for the dissolution of the Assembly. Had the Assembly been in existence, then yoi

could have taken an opportunity to form a semblance of a democratic forum, a Government in opportune time. Now, that opportunity is also lost. We cannot hold free election in Kashmir in the near future. We cannot do it. Terrorists are on the rampage. People are afraid. People are terrorised. If they do not follow the terrorists, they are terrorised. It is not possible to hold free and fair election in Kashmir in the near future. It can be done, I agree, but not in the near future. So by dissolving the State Assembly, the Governor has done a great disservice to the cause of Kashmir and to the cause of lndia. Now what has to be done? Our friends from that side, they criticised the Government's action, the appoint ment of George Fernandes and all these things. I do not want to go into it. But it was done on the basis of consensus. It was an action plan supported by all parties including Congress. How much power is shar ed by the Home Minister and by Mr. Fernandes, that is a different thing. The Government as such has consid ered it and one Minister has been given special charge so that he can devote his attention to it. That is the sum and substance of it. We should extend our fullest support to the Go vernment, to the Minister in charge and to the Advisory Committee so that they can tackle the situation in a proper way. That is the main thing.

Now Sir, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker, has got a resolution. It is good. It is beautifully worded. Now in some places, it has state, "no sinister designs against the unity and territorial integrity of India shall be permitted to succeed. The nation stands united and committed to this goal". I hope this is their sincere desire. If they sincerely desire, then Congress party in practice also should show their sincerity. The need of the hour is to mobilise whatever democratic forces secular forces are there in Kashmir. Then only this situation can be countered. What are the democratic forces? We have not taken any referendum. We have not counted heads how many people are in our favour and how many people are aga'nst it. It is very difficult to count italso because under the threat of terrorists, people who are nationalists, who want to remain in India, who want integration with India , even they are not in a position to raise their heads. Which political party is relevant in Jammu and Kashmir? It is mostly the National Conference. What Mr. Jagmohan has said, we are not concerned with it. Jagmohan is not the authority of India. We are the elected people. Parliament is sovereign. *(Interruption)...*

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Jagmonan is a representative of the Central Government.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: But this Parliament is not guided by Jagmohan. So, the National Conference, I feel, is still relevant. But I am sorry to say that National Conference is feeling highly demoralised. I would advise them, I would request them, I would implore upon them to gather some courage and whatever support they have still remaining in Jammu and Kashmiri, they should try to mobilise it, consolidate it. They should contact the people. Without contact, without guidance, without leadership, even the National Conference rank and file people who want integration with India, they are confounded, they are confused and intimidated. So, some bold initiative is necessary. About Congress, yes, they should also come out if they have any will. But past experience does not inspire any ' confidence about the Congress party's role. What they are doing in Punjab is very well known. It is the National Conference which has to come out. I am vevy sorry that the Deft is very weak in Kashmir. We are there only in some pockets. Even then we are trying to do our best. Let the National Conference take the lead. All religious forces, secular forces, left forces and democratic forces should stand behind them, stand

behind the Government, and flghat it out and see to it that Kashmir re- j mains in India, Kashmir remains part of India, and does not go out of it. In Kashmir there are some patriotic religious forces also. They may not be the supporters of the National Conference. But they are not fundamentalists. We have to distinguish between religious forces and fundamentalist forces. Those religoaus forces which stand for nationalism should also be harnessed and their support should be taken. All the forces which are not in favour of Pakistan, but who have a genuine grudge against tb$_e$ Government of India's handling of the situation or a genuine grudge against the dissrimination that is meted out to them, the injustice that has been done to them, should be mobilised. And hen, Kashmir which once fought against Pakistan's invasion and which stood for secularism and against fundamentalism, should take up that role again. It is high time that Kashmir is restored to the glory which was there thirty years back, twenty years back. That glory should be restored and the fight should be the united fight of the Kashmiris and the rest of the Indians. Sir, the present Government's approach is different from that of the earlier Government. In the earlier days, when the Congress was in power, there was no national approach, there was no effort for a national consensus and there was no taking of the opinions of other parties. Now, this time, this Government has taken the right approach. They are consulting the different political parties on Kashmir; they have formed an Advisory Committee; and they have appointed a particular Minister for this. This is a correct approach taken by the National Front Government. And a national consensus can be really evolved. *(Interruption)*. Sir, I am not yielding to him. If the fight continues, if the Congress party means what the resolution of Mr. Shiv Shanker contains, we should not consider Kashmir as a lost cause. Hope is still there. There is no reason to be totally disappointed at this stage. There is still hope and that hope, if we stand united, can be 2onverted into practice. I hope the Government will be able to evolve a consensus on this. *(Interruptions)*. I also assure that our party is committed to it. Thank you.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the outset, let me extend my felicitations on your becoming one of our Vice-Chairmen. And I am confident that with your very pleasant disposition and patience, you will bring distinction to this high office. Let me now go to the subject in hand.

When I rise this afternoon, Sir, I hav$_e$ a very heavy heart. In my memory, i do not think I have participated in a debate which concerned the nation more seriously than today's debate on Kashmir. Kashmiris undoubtedly the most beautiful and peaceful part of our country. I remember to have gone there way back early in 1952 as a student leader and had an occasion to address a public meeting. I had an occasion to address a public meeting along with the late Sheikh Abdullah and the meeting was held in a women's college with so many girl students present there. I then saw that there was a tremendous up surge of national feelings and I therefore, regret when I find the same ladies, beautiful, healthy and vibrant, going on bicycles to their schools and colleges, saying today that there should be observance of purda. When we talk of this issue everybody say$_s$ that we must cut across our political differences, there must be a national consensus. But in the process, we have merely tried to lay the blame at others' doors. I think that that process must stop because we must look into the problem in totality. The process may be necessary for the purpose ^{0l} an introspection by us to find out—a little later I am going to point out a couple of things—whether we ar$_e$ going in the right direction or not. Now the first and foremost thing is this: I thought that my dear friend, hon. Mr. Morarka, was quite

[Shri Murlidhar Ckandrakant Bhandare]

naive—I was quite shocked to listen to his statement—when he said that terrorism is not a problem of Pakistan, but it Is our problem. Now if you have that perception I can tell you, Sir, that nothing can happen to solve the problem of Kashmir. Today, I want to invite the attention of the House which has not been pertinently fo'cused on this issue to satisfy the entire nation that the root cause of all these troubles lies in Pakistan and we will have to take adequate and appropriate steps to weed out that root cause from there. Let me deal with the perception of Pakistan. Many Members have referred to what the Prime Minister, Begum Bhutto, has said which has appeared today. She is open and clear about Pakistan's perception. Between November and end of January, the Pakistan Army conducted certain exercises The Army exercises were code-named as "Berb-e. Momin". There were simultaneous jNaval exercises by the Pakistan Navy under the code name "Sea Spark". The Pakistan Air Force conducted an air exercise under the coda name "High Mark". Following these exercises, there were middling exercises. The name chosen for the Army exercises "Zerb-e-Momin" is significant. It means assault or punch of the faithful. In the Naval exercises conducted by the Pakistan Navy, the American Navy has participated. The exercises have been on a scale hitherto never done before by the Pakistan Armed Forces. By these exercises, they have evaluated their chances and are now ready for an offensive-defensive attack. These exercises have given a big boost to the morale and prestige of the Pakistan Armed Forces, at the same time arousing great public expectations. Thi$_s$ has been accompanied by passionate[1] articles appearing in the Pakistani newspapers. These are all ample proofs of the intention of Pakistan. Now Pakistan knows very well that by itself it cannot touch us. Now what is their strategy? Firstly, they are garnering the support of the entire Islamic world, the Islami Council as it known. And, they have already pas sed resolutions in both the Houses and Mrs. Bhutto's remarks are there on record, and they ha ye adopted a policy of defiance so far as our re quests, our appeals, to them not to support the terrorists and secession ists in Kashmir and Punjab are con cerned. They know very well that only if there is internal subversion they stand to gain an edge over our country and, to my mind, their objec tive seems to be to create another Mukti Bahini in the Valley and av enge for the 1971 war. When Shahib-zada Yakub Khan came here, I was totally shocked to note the way he talked and, in this context, I would like to quote the "Time" magazine. He talked in terms of perils, he talk ed in terms of dark clouds and he talked in terms of crisis, that could lead anywhere. A little later, even a small country like Iran, ticked [us] off and I must express my disappoint ment at the manner in which our Foreign Minister and the Government have acted in this matter. A little later, of course, amends have been made and the Prime Minister has made very categorical statements. Gen. V.N. Sharma the Chief of the Army Staff, has also made various statements and I hope that that stiff ness will continue. I may tell you, we are not an expansionist country; we are a peace-loving country; and we are the leading light for development for all the third world developing countries. We also know that war means that it will affect our development, that it will affect our progress and that 't will affect our prosperity. We are not an expansionist country at all- Therefore, even after winning the 1971 war— I am extremely proud and happy that my hon. friend, Gen, Aurora, is here to whom the Pakistani forces surrendered in the 1971 war— we handed back Bangladesh to the new nation that was born. But *let* us make it very very clear that though we are not for war, though

we abhor war, though we will try everything to.avoid war, if war has to be fought, it will not be a short war this time. Please give that message, Mr. Home Minister, that it will not be a short war, that it will not be a fifteen-day war, but it will be a war for which, well those who provoke us for fighting that war will have to pay very very dearly.

In this world, after what has happened, particularly in the eastern world, intolerance to religion has disappeared or is fast disappearing. But it is unfortunate that in some parts of the world, religious intolerance is growing even at the cost of basic human rights and I think—this has also been mentioned by many M'embers— that it is only when economic advancement is less, when equality of opportunity is denied, that religious fundamentalism overtakes many of the other national urges, in a society. At this stage, I must say that the Government has done well in launching lan effective diplomacy, and I shall be failing in my duty if, from the floor of this House today, I were not to communicate a very high degree of appreciation of myself and this House, both to the USA and the USSR, for the support which they have given to our cause, to us on this issue. They know that India is the light-hpusp of democracy. If democracy is being restored in a major part of the wold where there was no hope or chance of democracy looking up, it is because people realise that even in a developing country like India where there is a paucity of shelter, food or clothing, one can fully enjoy freedom and liberty. It is this realisation that has started the movement all our. It is not the realisation of the richer nations which exploit, it is not the nations full of multinationals. It is a nation which las an ethos like India which has :aused this stir in the whole world and, therefore, everybody realised that India will continue to be the ighthouse for democracy, for peace md for development. And, therefore, I express my gratitude to all the nations who have supported us in this hour of trial. I am quite sure that the Government will continue to actively and effectively deal with the diplomatic moves in future also. That brings me to the (internal/ position. Well, 1 have great regard for Dr. Farooq Abdullah. I have seen him playing golf. I have played golf with him. I have seen him regulat ing traffic in the streets of Jammu and Kashmir though I did not like it. I have known Jagmohan personaly. And everybody knows that if Dr. Farooq Abdullah was the darling of the Kashmir people, Jagmohan also won a lot of esteem and affection of the Kashmiri people. I have known because I visit Kashmir almost twice every year. This is not a forum nor an occasion to decide who is good or who is bad. The occasion is to find out whether we are proceed ing in the right direction. Now I am glad that for the first time everybody here says and there is a national consensus that it has to be a political process. It cannot be only an adminis trative process. And one knows the difference between a democratic pro. (Cess! and jan administrative process. My friend, Mr. Morarka, said that we musit act within the Constitution. And nobody should forget that our Constitution is based on democracy rooted in the rule of law. And I am not attacking the Government, let me tell you. I am merely analysing to see what should be done in future. I am totally disappointed that this Government has destroyed that demo cratic process and today we are at a sitagje where for months together[1] there is curfew; even on Friday-people cannot come and offer their *namaaz.* You 'find that a stage has reached—only the day before yester day somebody told me he was asked in Srinagar "What is the time?" And he gave the Indian time and he was slapped. "No, no, we are half an hour behind". I don't have to multiply these things. I am told and I do not know whether it is true, in the presence of the

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high-powered delegation, the all-party delegation, which went to Srinagar, *in* their hotel lobby, in the presence of everyone, whether it was the Governor or it was the Deputy Prime Minister, they shouted slogans, *"hamaari maang Hai aamadi aazaadi"*. Why? Because the Governor had the audacity to dismiss the Assembly without reference to the Centre. *(Interruption)* Let them explain it. I want a specific answer from him. To what extent was it correct? 1 personally feel the correct thing for them to do was, for Muftiji to have done was or Mr. George Fernandes could have done was, to call Dr. Farooq Abdullah before Jagmohan was sent. There could have been a rapproachment 5 P.M. between the two and very, very sincere and serious effort to see that the two worked to remove the difficult situation. But the manner in which it wag handled, it was very clear that the Governor was sent there only to dismantle the popular Government. And, now I have a statement of the Governor; I have given them *azadi* by dissolving the Legislature. I have nothing personal against him. But which man who swears by the Constitution—we have all taken the oath of allegiance—can be a party to this? And what *azadi* is he going to give when you hold the next election? We all know that we have put ourselves in a grave constitutional trap, out of which how we will come out I do not know. I have grave reservations whether the Governor could do it on his own. But if it is true that this decision was taken by the Governor who is a vital link, and not an agent of the Centre, between the Centre and the State—if he took that decision on his own, it is most unpardonable. And if it is true, not only he must be called back but even the Prime Minister is answerable in a big way the whole nation for allowing this highly undemocratic, unconstitutional and illegal act done.

I do not want to prolong. But I have myself drafted the 15 point programme, action programme, plan of action, because everybody says and nobody talks.

SHRl V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Make it 25 point.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: If you want you make it 25. It is not a matter of joke, Mr. Gopalsamy. I am a very humble man I am. . . . *(Interruptions)*

SHRl V. GOPALSAMY: I do not want to hurt you, please.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA KANT BHANDARE: Thank you. 1 am grateful to you. In the words of tne Governor, the Administration has been hijacked. I am only using his words. Now please trt to find out how you can restore that adminis tration. Now, it is going to be a political process. People have to be involved. And that is why 1 was ver proud. Muftiji was then with us. In 1983 elections Congress Party got may be 25 per cent or 27 per cent of votes. But we kept the national .feelings.....(Intermption'). I do want the national feelings to come up now. There will be a resurgence of national feelings. Not only 27 per cent, but another 30 per cent in the near future. If we have to have an administrative process, you must have an effective administration; you must have a responsive administration. I have spoken on numerous occasions about the inefficiency, even about the corruption, of the State Government. I d_0 not want to say, but it was very good of you when you were holding all those Opposition* conclaves. Even there was an Opposition conclave i_n Srinagar. You were very happy that there were *madarsas* and Urdu education with a large dose of religious education which has been inculcated which has resulted in a child going on the street and asking a Hindu lady, 'why are you wearing tilak Please don't wear tilak You do not realise. And

when we talked of Gurmit camps which were there to train terrorists in Punjab it was thought that we were fools. Whatever may have been the perception of the last Government, I must say that my friend, Mr.' Tirath Ram Amla, my friend, Mr. Matto; everyone of us had raised it and we did not like it when we were told that we were trying t_0 exaggerate the situation. But, at the same time, the fact remains. My friend said:

He wag a Kashmiri friend of mine. Why has it happened? Did anybody know on the 24th of November that we would be so bad in the next week? Why has it happened? As I said, it has happened because of a' calculated plan of the neighbouring country It has happened, a_s I also said, because of the weakness of our Government. But after today's debate, please remember that you are r.ot a weak Government. The whole nation is behind you and you are a strong Government. You are not a minority Government so far as Kashmir is cocerned. You are a fully national government. Let me assure you that everyone, even a child, will lend full l support to this patriotic cause. For this I suggest that in every Engineering College, in every Medical College and in every educational institution where boys and girls like to study, whether it is in Bombay or in Hyderabad or in Madras, we should create additional seats for the Kashmiri students and give them free education. When they go to Bombay and study there, they will forget everything. They will become 'secular like us. They will become modern like us. Then they will shun this religious fundamentalism.

I suggest one more thing and it is that answer to terrorism is not State terrorism. Please don't indulge in excesses. It is very easy to get provoked and indulge in excesses. But you must apply what is known as the degree of proportionality. Your action must be proportional to the disease. It cannot be greater than that I do hope that the reports which we are reaching us are not correct. Please send some of us to verify whether these reports are correct $_0$r whether they are just imaginations. I do not particularly like it because all the foreign journalists have been sent out of the valley. i know and the Government should also know that the bayonets and the bullets are n_0 answer. It is only the involvement of the people and getting them into the mainstream. I entirely agree with the suggestion .of Shiv Shankerji that we should activise the social groups. Please remember that many are sitting on the fence just out of fear. It will be possible if we gather strength and we encourage those 5 per cent or 10 per cent nationalist-minded people to come out and speak. I would also request the Government to consider sending teams of Muslims from other parts of our country so that they realise that we are one country. My friend, Shri Tirath Ram Amla, always says: spsrfTT ^ZZ % \ That is the feeling you must give to the people of Kashmir and you must give it to Pakistan that Kashmir will ever remain an integral part of India. Continue with your active diplomacy to win world opinion in our favour and against Pakistan. \ will tell you that we have got four trump cards on which we can have the entire world on our side. One is the nuclear arsenal which Pakistan i_s building up. The second is the drugs. Nobody like drugs. The third is the .religious fusndamentallsm and the terrorism which flows out of religious fundamentalism. All the world, East or West, is fed up with all these four things whether it is drugs, whether it is terrorism or whether it is religious fundamentalism or whether it is nuclear proliferation. And, I think, we are leaders in all these things. We are leaders for secularism: we are leaders for peace. We have a history of growing opium freely, and not one abuse is known. Then, please refrain Pakistan from internationalising the issue. And I am glad that the Gov-

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eminent has acted Jvery firmly in asking the United Nations not to send any Observer.

Then, Sir, I come to one point which is mentioned in paragraph 6 of the statement, viz "the Central Government is fully alive to the situation and keeping a close watch. While we have taken necessary steps to counter our neighbouring country's offensive, we reiterate our resolve to defend the country's integrity and secular institutions." There is also a refernece to improving the Intelligence'. In this regard I want to place before the House, and I may tell the House why I feel that the Government is n'ot sufficiently vigilant. And I will be failing in my duty if I were not to point it out. We have a Consultative Committee which is attached to the Defence Ministry. On the 5th of February, we had a meeting of that.- ConsultaSive Committee in which, of course, the Prime Minister as the Defence Minister presided. And what is said here was also in the Brief because he said that he is fully alive to the situation and keeping a close watch; we were told how the Committee have been formed, how the situation is monitored from minute to minute an^ day .to day. And this was on the 5th of February. And at about 12 o'clock we were assured that they were keeping a close watch. And to my horror, I read in the next day's papers on the 6th of February that 10,000 Pakistanis gathered on our borders, and 4,000 in fact crossed the line pf actual control. And then on the 6th of February, anguished as I was dazed as I was, shocked as I was, 1 wrote to the Prime Minister, and I beg your permission, Sir;' to read this letter. I wrote:

"My dear Prime Minister

At the meeting pf the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Defence held on Monday, the 5th Fbruary, 1990, Members were assured that the Government was keeping a close watch and assessing the Kashmir situation on day-to-day basis. In this context, there was a reference made to possible flare up on Hth February, 1990, the day on which Maqbool Bhat was executed. , However, no mention was made in the meeting of the possible attempt by large Pakistani crowds to enter our territory. To my surprise and anguish, today's newspapers carry the report of over 4,000 Pak nationals attempting to crcs$_s$ to the Indian side of the line of actual control at Ranbirsinghpura in Jammu and Kashmir. If the omission was inadvertent, it Is bad enough. But if it was because of lack of intelligence on this very serious incident, it is worse. I have to request once again to tighten up the vigil and intelligence on our borders.

With warm regard..."

Till today, I have not received a reply to this letter.You say that we will keep a close watch. But you do not know what is happening under your eyes. Therefore, to go back to this, there are two or three mPre points which I have to mention...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE:... and with this I have done. As 1 have said, please have better intelligence. Please keep vigil on the border and persuade the United States of America tO put pressure on Pakistan, and as mv friend, Fotedarji has said, also take care of the refugees. They are our own citizens. And I will only end up by saying that no Indian will consider a sacrifice too large to keep Kashmir within India. Thank you .

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the agenda of the National .. Front Government accorded top priority to the Kashmir problem. This is the inheritance of a malady of the previous Government of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Sir, today the situation in Kashmir is very grave and alarming. Thousands march in the streets raising slogans against India. Even women, in thousands, take part in the processions putting on white veils and saying that blood from the injuries should be exposed to the public.

Sir, after the partition, the decision of the Kashmiri people to join India was taken by Hari Singh, he was responsible for it, but the Muslim masses, they also opted of their own accord to join lndia because they were afraid of the neighbouring Islamic country, because they felt that the Kashmiri identity may get lost. This was their fear. The Muslim population in Kashmir wanted to preserve and protect the Kashmiri identity. Therefore, they thought that it would be wise on their part to join India and that is how they felt their identity would be protected and preserved.

Sir, the great Sheikh Abdullah, who championed the cause of the Kashmiris, what reward did he get from India, from the Congress Gov ernment. His reward was imprison ment. For 22 years he was put behind the bars, but still he was the Lion of Kashmir. He had to be brought back to power after the accord, after the agreement, with him. The National Conference which was championing the cause of the Kashmiri people, to protect and preserve the originality and individuality of the Kashmiri people occupied the throne. But when the trouble started, the Congress is fully responsible for what is happening in Kashmir or what is happening in Punjab, because they wanted to rule from Delhi with an iron-hand, bulldozing the States, burying the concept of federalism in the country. They inherited many things from the British, not only the colonial laws, but also the policv of divide and rule. Divide the parties. Divide the political parties, create splits in the regional parties, disturb them and try to destroy them. The ultimate result is, the persent chaos. Earlier, Dr. Farooq Abdullah's Government was dismissed and the Congress (I) created a quisling in the person of Mr. G. M. Shah. They tried this everywhere. They tried it in Andhra Pradesh. They tried to divide the Telugu Desam Party but they failed miserably. They tried it in Tamil Nadu also. To a certain extent, they were successful. But they could not destroy the organisation. *(Interruptions)* . Of course, we were out of power for thirteen years. But they could not destroy the organisation.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR, G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Mr. Narayanasamy, please allow him to speak.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We are a cadre-based party with certain convictions. Therefore, we have come back again *(Interruptions) You do not* understand what you are doing *(Interruptions)* . The Congress (I) was against Dr. Farooq Abdullah at that time because he was with the Opposition parties then. Therefore, his Government was dismissed. *(Interruptions)* . The National Conference was split.

When I met him in Chandigarh where I had gone to participate in the all-party conference on Punjab, I remainded Dr. Farooq Abdullah of the words uttered by his great father. It was in the year 1981. I met. Sheikh Abdullah in Srinagar. Dr. Farooq was sitting by my side. Sheikh Abdullah said, "There is no place either for friendship or gratitude in the dictionary of the Congress (I)'. I reminded Dr. Farooq Abdullah of these words. I told him 'Do not commit the mistake of joining hands with the Congress (I), You will not be forgiven by the people in the Kashmir Valley, you will lose your credibility." Yes. The credibility of

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not only Dr. Farooq Abdullah, but the credibility of the National Conference also is lost. He was the buffer. The extremists were trying but they could not gain control. The National Conference was the buffer. When the Kashmiri people, who wanted to preserve their identity, who expected that their autonomy will be preserved, saw that the concept was being compromised by Dr. Farooq Abdullah, they lost faith, in him and the credibility of the National Conference is lost now. At the same time, the extremists gained momentum and strength.

Therefore, Sir, it the Congress (I) which is responsible for this malady. Of course, you could provide jobs. The unemployed youth are frustrated today. Fortytwo years of rule, your rule. What charity have you given to the people in the Kashmir Valley? Crores and crores of rupees you have spent. But you could not provide jobs for the unemployed. Today, you can provide jobs. You can put up industries and factories. But these things will not win the confidence of the people in the Kashmir Valley. You should inject confidence in their minds that the ' Kashmiri identity will be preserved. That is, the focal point. Today, the winds of change are blowing throughout the world; in Eastern Europe and even in Russia. We should not shut our eyes to the reality. They want to preserve their identity. This is the reason. Meera Sharma, a reporter in the 'Indian Express', has written an article titted 'Why Kashmir is burning?' Th- is dated the 11th February. I would like to quote from the article. It says:

' "It may be the adolescent on Shri Hari Singh High Street in Srinagar who plucks your sleeve to get your attention, the doctor at the Sher-e-Kashmir Medical Institute who drags you from bed to bed to see the vict!ms of police brutality, the lawyer who is walking in procession in violation of prohibitory orders,...

.. • the housewife who has abandoned the warmth of her hearth to sit in protest at a streetcornor, the grief-stricken youth whose brother has just been gunned down by a Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) jawan—they all speak as one, Go and tell them in India, we don't want roads, jobs, aevelop-ment, concessions, only freedom."

This is the reality of the situation there. There is the feeling of alienation. They are getting alienated from the mainstream. India is a multilingual State, multi-cultural, multi-religious State. Unless you accept the concept of federalism to protect and preserve the originality and individuality of these groups, unless you protect their religious and cultural identity, this feeling of alienation will be growing day by day And it is the Congress Party which has taken unforgivable steps to destroy the regional parties, regional political forces. This is the situation which this Government has inherited from the previous Government, but I will fail in my duty if I do not applaud the commendable efforts and j strides made by this Government.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN; By Mr. Jagmohan?

I

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am not j talking about Mr. Jagmohan. It is a political philisophy. Whoever, as a Governor, misbehaves we do not support him. And article 356 should not be applied, it should be scrapped from the Constitutoin. This is our policy.

Coming back to Kashmir Valley, Sir, it is a Himalayan talk. I am happy that a capable person, able person, Mr. George Fernandes, has been chosen for this job. This is a Himalayan task challenging task because you have lost the confidence of the people in the Kashmir Valley. How to inject confidence? Follies have been committed by the

Congress Government for the last 42 years and now we have to repair the damage. Sir, It was paradise won — the Kashmir as it was seen to be the Switzerland of India—but today as Milton put it, will this 'paradise lost' be lost for ever? This is the biggest question. We are sitting on a val-cano. Even when Sheikh Abdullah was languishing in the jail, he the he lion, the greatest leader of Karti-mir, but today people think, I am told, that because of Sheikh Abdullah only they joined India. They thought that because of Sheikh Abdullah their identity will be preserved and so they joined India. Now the misguided youth have developed some prejudice it seems and that is why the mausoleum of Sheikh Abdullah has to be protected by the guards. My friend Dr. Farooq Abdullah, when he used to drive his matador van in Srinagar in the year 1981, people flocked to see him. Today he could not even go to a mosque to offer his prayers. This is the situation in Kashmir. The break in point came not on 12th December, as my friend Mr. Fotedar put it. The break-in point came in the year 1987 when Dr. Farooq Abdullah struck a deal with the Congress (I) and rigging took place in the elections in 1987. The Congress shared power with the National Conference. The day the people came to know that the National Conference had compromised with Delhi, aU their hopes which they had in their minds all these years, vanished. Why should the Congress play such a role there? Why did the Congress make a split in the National Conference? They could have let them rule. That should have been the view, had they been prudent. But because Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had a brutal majority at that time, the like of which even Pt. Nehru and Madam Indira Gandhi did not have, he felt as if he had got some diving power; so he could bulldoze any territory. That is why they tried to destabilise the National Conference. This was the crime committed by the then Government of the Congress Bauty. Yasui tried to destroy a party which was chasrcpiea-ing -the cause of the Kashmiri people, which enjoyed the confidence of the people. You destroyed the confidence of the people.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu); What is the solution.?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: For the follies committed by the Government for 42 years, we are now finding a solution. The solution is ,the concept of federalism. Even in the President's Address last time, it wag mentioned that this Government is committed to the concept of federalism. That is the solution. You have to win their confidence.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN; Without the Chief Minister's consent, you appointed a Governor in Jammu and Kashmir.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The erosion took place because of your policies.. *(Interruptions)* You played the communal card there in the elections.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY) j Please, you will get your chance. Please cooperate. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We are very clear in our minds. You are speaking about federalism. Did you listen to me? We are against dismissal of the State Governments. We are very clear.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu); If real federalism had prevailed in this country, this situation would not have arisen at all.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: What about this Government?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This malady we inherited from the previous Government. Sir, the Government is goingj in the right direction. Consensus approach was unheard of

[Shri V, tropalsamyj

in the previous Government. We are adopting that approach. This Is the attitude of the present Government. Even then some people, when they go in an all-party delegation to Srinagar, there also they indulge in. cheap popularity and gimmicks. But the present Government...,..:

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN[1]: Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: $_{T}$ did not name Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Why are you telling all this?

SHRI T. R. BALU: He has not mentioned anybody.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; There-lore, today various steps have been taken and we wish the Government succeeds in its attempts. Solutions are not put on a platter. You have to admit the ground realities. I am putting the realities before you. The feeling of alienation is growing. This is the consensus approach. We have to win back the confidence of the people. We have to inject the confidence that Kashmiri identity will •be protected and preserved. This is a Himalayan task. That is why a Minister has been designated and entrusted with the job of coordinating with all Ministries.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Kashmir has been taken away from the Home Minister.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; You are confused. The Home Minister is very much there. Just because the problem is a Himalayan problem created by the previou$_{s}$ Government, ■it is the duty of the Government to solve the problem. That is why these steps have been taken.' Anyhow, Sir, I would like to thank Mr. Shiv Shanker and Mr. Bhandare, because these are the people who want to cooperate with the Government. Of course , there are some hawks also. .... *{Interruptions)...* This resolution of Mr. Shiv Shanker also is an acceptable one. Therefore, Sir, on behalf of our party I would like to extend our full support to all the steps being taken by Mr. V. P. Singh's Government. Thanfe you,

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the genesis of the explosive situation in Kashmir goes far beyond 13th of December 1989, to which a reference has been made by many speakers on this side. The vicious communaliza-tion of the electoral process in this country by one communal party, its emergence with impressive electoral victory on the basis of a manifesto in which it had given a powerful thrust to the abrogation of article 370 of the Constitution and the formation of the Government at the Centre with the active support and backing of this political party, could not but have very serious repercussions in the situation in Kashmir.

Sir, the time has come when we must give a burial to the political, constitutional and historical monstrosity of this demand for abrogation of article 370 of the Constitution because it is to no mean degree that this demand was played up to arouse the communal passions of the people in this country during the elections that the situation in Kashmir has come to the present impass. I say that we must give the final burial, in the course of this debate, to this monstrous demand. We cannot speak the language of secularism in Kashmir and play up the communal passions in the rest of the country, and this demand is nothing but replete with the communal attitude of $_{a}$ particular communal party which has played up with the communal sentiments of the people during the last elections. For that we have to go to the constitutional history.

In 1947 the Indian Independence Act was ■ enacted, as a result of which the British paramountcy came fo an end and the Princely State

***ecame** independent. I would like to draw the attention of this, honourable House in regard to section 6 of the Indian Independence Act. Section 6 says;

> "All Indian States shall be deemed to have acceded to the Dominion if the Governor-General has signified his acceptance of an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof whereby the Ruler, on behalf of the State, declares that he accedes to be dominion."

Then there is sub-section (2):

> "An Instrument of Accession shall specify the matters which the Ruler accepts as matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for the State and the limitations, if any, to which the power of the Dominion Legislature to make laws for the State and the exercise of the executive authority of the dominion in the State are respectively to be subject." .

This was an option given to the princely States. So far as the Stats of Jammu and Kashmir was concerned, it did not even execute the Instrument of Accession. . Other princely States did. They followed it up by signing the Instruments of Merger which means that they merged their States with the dominion of India, and they just became princely figureheads. But it is only when the marauding hordes were hurled against the valley df Kashmir by Pakistan that the Instrument of Accession was signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir. The terms contained in that Instrument of Accession are most vital. I would like to draw the attention of this hon. House to two paragraphs of this Instrument of Accession. Its paragraph 8 says:

> "Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future Constitution of India or to **lettK** my discretion to enter into any arrangement with the Government of India under any such future Constitution."

Then it says:

> "I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of the State".

Then it says about matters with res pect to which the dominion legisla ture may make laws for the State, and there were only three subjects contained in the Instrument of Acces sion, One was defence, the other was external affairs, and the third was communications. This was the basis on which Kashmir acceded to the Indian dominion. There was a clear declaration in this Instrument of Ac cession; "I do not agree to abide by the Constitution of India if I choose to do so, and so far as the dominion of India is concerned, its writ will lie only with regard to the three sub jects". It was against this back ground that the founding fathers of the Constitution included Article 370 in the Constitution of India. Its pro visions are most vital. I draw atten tion to what Article 370 says, and for this purpose 1 am referring only to clause (d). It says: -

> "For the purposes of this article, the Government Of the State means the person for the time being re cognised by the President _____ "

Further it says;

> "such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify:"

These provisions of the Constitution shall apply to' the State of Jammu and Kashmir as may be decided upon by the President. But then, there were two riders. The first rider was;

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

"Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government."

This Constitution of India could not be made applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir by the President of India unless there was concurrence from the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The second rider was much more vital. It said:

"If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing of the Constitution of the State is convened..."

Which Constituent Assembly? The Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision ss it may take thereon."

After Article 370 was promulgated, it is by virtue of Article 370; with the concurrence of the State Government that the President made an order in 1954 applying the Constitution of India to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Do you want to destroy the very source -of power by which the Constitution of lndia was made applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir? Is this your understanding of the Constitution of India that you are making the demand for the abrogation of Article 370? But, as I have said, there was a second rider. Notwithstanding the concurrence given by the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the promulgation of the Constitution of India shall be placed before the Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir which represented the people of Kashmir. It was a solemn pledge given *to* the people of Kashmir for the purpose of inviting the people of Kashmir to accept the Constitution of India. And then in 1956, the people of Kashmir, through the Constitution[1] of their own Constituent Assembly framed their own constitution. Here the Preamble is important. It says.-

"We, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir having solemnly resolved in pursuance of the accession of the State to India, which took place on 26th day of October, 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the State with the Union of lndia as an integral part thereof and to secure to ourselves justice, liberty, equality, fraternity in our Constituent Assembly this 17th day of November, 1956, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

This Constitution was sanctified by the pledge which was given by the founding fathers of the Constitution of India. It is on the basis of that pledge that the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir adopted this Constitution and enacted Article 3 and Article 5-

Article 3 said:

"The State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India."

What was the foundation of this declaration in the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir? The foundation of this declaration that the State of Jammu and Kshmir shall be an integral part of India Was the solemn pledge which was uttered by the founding fathers of the Constitution of India to the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

Then Article 5 said:

"Extent of Executive and Legislative -Fewer of the State state

executive and legislative power of the State extend to all matters, except those with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws for the State under the provisions of the Constitution of India."

By virtue of Article 5, which they enacted and included in their own Constitution, sanctified by the pledge given by the people of India through their own Constitution, they gave the power to the people of India tO extend laws so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir was concerned and to exercise executive authority so far as the Union was concerned in respect of the particular subjects.

Article 370 is integrated with the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir. The Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is not separable from Article 370. If one goes, the other stands destroyed. If you destroy Article 370, you destroy the pledge which has been given.

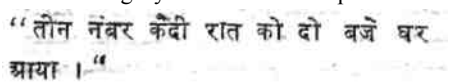
THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I will request just for a few minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAY MOHAN REDDY): There are quite a number of speakers.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Since I am on a vital point, I hope you will accommodate me.

If you destroy Article 370 you destroy the pledge you destroy the foundation of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir; you break your faith with the people of Kashmir; you break the very existence of the relationship between the people of India and the people of India living in Kashmir who are people of Kashmir and volunteered to become the citizens of India by virtue of the solemn pledge which was handed out to them by the founding fathers of the Constitution of India. **And** this was the demand which was made b$_{y}$ one of the political parties in order to arouse the communal passions of the people by vitiating the electoral process of the country ag a result of which the situation in Kashmir was bound to deteriorate. It was bound to create feelings of uncertainty, feelings of doubt and feelings of alienation in the people of Kashmir. Sir, in political history, one incident I will' give. One incident one episode, one event gives a dramatic exposure to the shape of things which are prevalent. Sir, Jagnath Sircar, a famous historian, writes in his book "Legacy of the British Empire".



"Number 3 prisoner returned home at 3 o'clock in the night." Who was that man? He was Rabindranath Tagore. Sir, Jagnath Sircar writes "If it was really necessary to keep Rabindranath Tagore under surveillance, there can be no greater condemnation of the British empire." What do we see today? The Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Jagmohan dissolves the Legislative Assembly), the last political instrument which had survived in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. We hear it from the Prime Minister of the country that he was neither informed nor was he consulted before the Assembly was dissolved. Here is a Governor who take$_{s}$ such a momentous political step by destroying the last vestige of political instrument in the State ana he does not have the decency even to consult the Prime Minister of the country, much less to seek his advice. If he could neither consult nor could he inform the Prime Minister of India before taking the step, and he could get away with it, there cannot be a greater indictment of the Prime Minister of this country and- the Government which he leads. I submit, Sir, either it is a total abdication of political responsibility of it is a total slippage of the authority from the hands of the Prime Ministei' into the hands of those on whose crutch**

[Shri Madan Bhatia] he is trying to survive. The Assem bly has been dissolved. There hav< been opinions which 'have been ex pressed that it is unconstitutional The President was not consulted Under the Constitution of Jammu anc Kashmir, under article 53, before dis \ solution the Council of Ministers hai to be consulted. The Council o Ministers was not consulted but leave that aside. Maybe, it may be embar rassing for the Government now t< say that this order was unconstitu tional and we shall withdraw it. But Sir, there is a Constitutional doctrim of necessity and that Constitutiona doctrine says: "If there is a tota! breakdown of the Constitutiona! machinery in a country if there is *i* total breakdown of administration then, the Government or the admi nistration which comes into being tt grapple with that situation irrespec tive of whether it comes into being under any provisions of the Constitu tion of law or not, that will be considered as a legtimate Government." That is the doctrine of necessity. The foundation of this Constitutional doctrine of necessity is the ancient dictcm *"vox popul suprema lex[1]"* which means "welfan of the people is the supreme law." We can resort to this doctrine of necessity in order to resurrect this Legislative Assembly which is the voice of the people. It may be a weak voice bu1 it can become a strong voice. It is not that we are without any Constitu tional basis. This is a Constitutional doctrine. For heaven's sake if you have to initiate political process to the necessity of which you have now belatedly awakened, then if you cannot withdraw this order on grounds of privilege or otherwise, you have the power under the doctrine of necessity to resurrect the Legislative Assembly. You can co-opt into the Assembly, people who represent the secular voice of the people of Kashmir. I will take only two minutes, Sir[1], In this regard, I would drawl the attention of the hon. House to one description of one Mr. Sherwani. Tha description was given of Sherwani by one Margaret White, who gave a vivid account of the tribal invasion of Kashmir. Who was this Sherwani? She writes:

> "I$_n$ Baramula the towns people told me of a young Muslim shop keeper who had sacrificed his life rather than recant in his creed of religious tolerance. His martyrdom had taken place almost under the shadow of the convent walls, and in the memory of the devoted Kashmiris he was fast assuming the stature of a saint. It was a curious thing that the tribesmen did next. I don't know why these savage nomads should have thought of such things, unless the sight of the sacred figures in St. Joseph's Chapel on the hill just above had suggested it to them. They drove nails through the palms of Sherwani's hands. On his forehead they pressed a jagged piece of tin and wrote on it: "The punishment of a traitor is death". Once more Sherwani cried out, 'Victory to Hindu-Muslim unity,' and fourteen tribesmen shot bullets into his body."

There are hundreds and thousands of Sherwanis who are flung cross the valley of Kashmir whose voice has bee$_n$ stilled by the narrow administrative approach of the Governor, who was sent there and who has now come to symbolise as an instrument of oppression in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Let us reach out to these hundreds and thousands of Sherwanis who will rise and cry, Hindus and Muslims, whether they are in Kash-mir or in the rest of India, they are one, one nation, one people and they will remain one nation and one people. Thank you. '

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय; जम्मू-कश्मीर की बिगड़ती हुई स्थिति पर सदन में आज जो चर्चा हुई है, वह सत्ता पक्ष और प्रतिपक्ष के घातों-प्रतिघातों के बावजूद एक उल्लेखनीय बहस हो गई है।

जम्मू-काश्मीर में हम जिस संकट का सामना कर रहे हैं, वह एक राष्ट्रीय सकट है । जम्मू-काश्मीर में कई बार स्थितियां बिगड़ी हैं, लेकिन उन्हें सभालने का प्रयत्न हुआ है । आज भी हम आशा करते हैं कि जो स्थिति काबू के बाहर जाती हुई दिखाई दे रही है, उसको अंततः काबू में कर लिया जाएगा, लेकिन स्थिति की गंभीरता के संबंध में दो रायें नहीं हो सकतीं । मुझे संतोष है कि सत्ता-पक्ष और प्रतिपक्ष इस राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न पर मिलकर चिंतन कर रहे हैं । कौन से कदम उठाने चाहियें, विचार विनियम के बाद इनका फैसला कर रहे हैं । अच्छा होता कि इस विवाद में जो बातें कही जा चुकी हैं, जो आपकी पर कही जा सकती हैं, उन्हें दोहराने की आवश्यकता न होती । मैं उन मित्रों से सहमत नहीं हूं, जो यह कहते हैं कि काश्मीर की घाटी में स्थिति इसलिए बिगड़ गई क्योंकि डा० रूबिया की रिहाई के सबंध में सरकार ने एक विशिष्ट दृष्टिकोण अपनाया । सचमुच में डा० रूबिया का अपहरण बिगड़ती हुई स्थिति का एक परिणाम था । यह ठीक है कि जब आतंकवादी छोड़े गए तो घाटी में जश्न मना, हौसले बढ़े और उससे हमारे राष्ट्रीय हितों को क्षति पहुंची, लेकिन जब विरोध पक्ष के सदस्य इस बात को बार-बार उठाते हैं तो मुझे लगता है कि वे भूल जाते हैं कि आज आन्ध्र में, जहां उनका शासन है, जहां आतंकवादी कुछ अधिकारियों का अपहरण करके ले गए थे, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको मालूम है, वहां जेल में बन्द नक्सलवादियों को छोड़ना पड़ा । यह ठीक है कि उन नक्सलवादियों की कश्मीर की घाटी के आतंकवादियों से तुलना नहीं होनी चाहिए, लेकिन मैं सरकार के दृष्टिकोण की बात कर रहा हूं । पंजाब में भी जब अफसरों के कुछ लड़के आतंकवादी उठाकर ले गए थे, तो उन लड़कों को छुड़ाने के लिए कुछ आतकवादी रिहा किए गए थे । मैंने उस दिन भी कहा था, मैं इस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूं कि अगर मुफ्ती साहब की जगह मैं गृह मन्त्री होता तो शायद मेरी प्रतिक्रिया कुछ अलग होती ।... **(व्यवधान)** ...

6 P.M.

श्री विश्वजित पृथ्वीजित सिंह (महाराष्ट्र) : एक मिनट मुझे देंगे, आपसे गुजारिश कर रहा हूं । मैं इस बात को ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं कि यह जो कुछ आन्ध्र में हुआ और जो कुछ पंजाब में हुआ, यह कश्मीर के काण्ड के पश्चात् हुआ, उसके पहले नहीं हुआ ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह ठीक नहीं है । आप अपनी तारीखें जरा फिर से देख लीजिए । मैं कोई डिबेट प्वाइंट स्कोर नहीं करना चाहता । मैं चाहता था कि अगर यह रूबिया वाला मामला न उठाया जाता तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता क्योंकि अगर उसी पर बार-बार जोर दिया जाता रहेगा तो निष्कर्ष गलत निकलेंग और यह सोचना कि उसी दिन से कश्मीर की घाटी की स्थिति बिगड़ गई, अपने को धोखा देना होगा और उस स्थिति को संभालने के लिए सही दिशा में आगे बढ़ने का भी वह तरीका होगा।

दिसम्बर क्यों, अगर पीछे जाना है तो हम 1983 में पीछे जायें जब चुनाव जीतने के लिए जम्मू में हिन्दु कार्ड खेला गया। मेरी पार्टी घाटे में रही। उस समय जो भाषण दिए गए, उनकी टेप मेरे पास मौजूद है। मैं उस सारे मामले को उठाना नहीं चाहता ।... **(व्यवधान)** ...यह तरीका आज मैंने शिव शकर जी से सीखा है ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : यह आप उठायें, 1990 वाला हम आपको सुना देते हैं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय; नेशनल कांफ्रेंस जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत में मिलाने के लिए एक औजार थी, एक राष्ट्रवादी संगठन था, जनवादी संगठन था और नेशनल कांफ्रेंस में इतनी शक्ति थी कि अगर एक मुख्य मंत्री गलत रास्ते पर चला जाता था तो उसको हटाकर दूसरा मुख्य मंत्री ले के जम्मू-कश्मीर की स्थिति को नेशनल कांफ्रेंस संभालने में समर्थ थी । यह ठीक है कि नई दिल्ली का भी उसको समर्थन प्राप्त था, अब नेशनल कांफ्रेंस की वह स्थिति नहीं रह

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

है। यह एक दुर्भाग्य है। आखिर नेशनल कांफ्रेंस को विभाजित क्यों किया गया? नेशनल कांफ्रेंस को बांटने में नई दिल्ली की क्या भूमिका थी? फारुख को हटाकर गुल शाह को क्यों लाया गया? गुल शाह के जमाने में क्या हुआ। कोतेदार साहब जानते हैं। नेशनल कांफ्रेंस बांटी गई। फारुख अब्दुल्ला अगर प्रतिपक्ष के साथ जुड़े हुए थे, अगर वह हैदराबाद में कान्क्लेव में भाग लेने के लिए गए थे, अगर उन्होंने जम्मू में विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को निमंत्रण दिया था तो इसका स्वागत होना चाहिए। जम्मू-कश्मीर भारत में मिला है, कांग्रेस पार्टी के साथ नहीं मिला है और भारत किसी एक पार्टी को बपौती नहीं है। यहां लोकतंत्र है, सरकारें बदलेंगी, पार्टियां बदलेंगी, मगर फारुख अब्दुल्ला अगर प्रतिपक्ष के साथ मिलते हैं तो फारुख अब्दुल्ल परसना नान ग्राटा हैं, फारुख अब्दुल्ला को सरकार को नीचे गिराना चाहिए। यह बात कहां से आई? तो जितनी ज्यादा स्थिति आज जम्मू-कश्मीर की बिगड़ी है, उसका बहुत सा कारण इस वृत्ति से पैदा हुआ है। अगर हम सब नई शुरूआत करना चाहते हैं तो उसका स्वागत है, मुझे खुशी है। यह मामला सचमुच में वाद-विवाद के परे चला गया है। कभी-कभी मेरा दिल घबराता है कि क्या होगा? लेकिन हमें उम्मीद नहीं हारनी चाहिए।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा। 370 की चर्चा हुई। मैं थोड़ा समय लूंगा 370 के बारे में बोलने के लिए क्योंकि 370 को लेकर जैसे मुझे कटघरे में खड़ा किया जा रहा है। 370 में कोई आग नहीं है, कोई चिंगारी नहीं है। 370 पर पहले से कहता रहा हूं। जब संविधान परिषद् बठी हुई थी तब 370 पर मतभद था। मैंने सारी कार्यवाही प कर देखी है। मौलाना हजरत मोहानी ने उस समय सवाल किया था कि 370 की क्या जरूरत है? यह धारा तो जम्मू-कश्मीर के साथ डिस्क्रिमिनेशन करती है। किसी और सदस्य ने नहीं, हजरत मोहानी ने, समय कम है इसलिए उसको मैं पढ़ना नहीं चाहता। गोपालस्वामी आयंगर ने क्या उत्तर दिया यह मैं प ना चाहता हूं। डा० गोपालस्वामी आयंगर ने कहा :

"This diaciimlnatioa is due to the special conditions in Kashmir. That particular State is not yet ripe for this kind of integration. It i_s the hope of everybody here that in due course evea Jammu and Kashmir vrill bafcorne ripe for the same sort of integration as has taken place in the case of other States."

श्री गोपालस्वामी आयंगर ने यह नहीं कहा कि धारा स्थाई है। इस धारा के आधार पर जम्मू-कश्मीर भारत का अंग है। यह धारा अगर तोड़ दी गई तो जम्मू-कश्मीर भारत से अलग चला जाएगा मैं संविधान निर्माताओं की बात कर रहा हूं और उसके बाद लगातार, मैं फिर पूरी कार्यवाही में नहीं जाता, 1963 में स्वर्गीय प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री ने पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू से, जो हमारे आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री थे, सवाल पूछा था कि धारा 370 की क्या स्थिति है? मैं पंडित जी का भी उत्तर पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूं। यह तारीख है 27 नवंबर, 1963, पंडित जी ने कहा, मैं उद्धृत कर रहा हूं :-

"हमारी राय है कि धारा 370, जैसा कि संविधान में लिखा है, ट्रांजिशनल अर्थात् अस्थायी है"

फिर किसी सदस्य ने कहा कि आपने हिन्दी में क्या कहा है, हम समझे नहीं। पंडित जी से अनुरोध किया गया कि आप जरा अंग्रेजी में कहिए। पंडित जी ने जो कुछ अंग्रेजी में कहा, मैं उसे भी उद्धृत करना चाहता हूं :—

"Article 370, as the House will remember, is a part of certain transitional provisional arrangements. It 5a not a permanent part of the Constitution. It is a part so long *as* it remains so."

इसके बाद मन स्वय 1968 म एक गैर-सरकारी प्रस्ताव दिया था जिसके

अंतर्गत मैंने कहा था कि जम्मू-कश्मीर को अन्य राज्यों के दर्जे पर लाया जाना चाहिए और इसके लिए 370 को रद्द कर दिया जाना चाहिए। उस पर बड़ी लंबी बहस हुई और मुझे याद है इस सदन में जो सदस्य मौजद थे, उसमें डा० लोहिया थे, उन्होंने उसका समर्थन किया। कांग्रेस पार्टी के और सदस्य थे आप चाहें तो मैं सबके नाम पढ़ सकता हूं। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सदस्य थे सरजू पांडे। आज मेरे कम्युनिस्ट मित्र इससे सहमत होंगे, यहां नहीं हैं, मैं जानता हूं मगर सरजू पांडे ने कहा कि धारा 370 तो पहले खत्म हो जानी चाहिए थी। छागला साहब विदेश मंत्री बनकर युनाइटेड नेशंस में कश्मीर का मामला रखने के लिए गए थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि धारा 370 खत्म होनी चाहिए। किसी ने उन पर यह आरोप नहीं लगाया कि वह जम्मू-कश्मीर की बिगड़ती हुई स्थिति के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं। क्या इस सवाल पर ईमानदारी से मतभेद नहीं हो सकते? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि यह धारा एक मनोवैज्ञानिक दीवार खड़ी करती है? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि इस धारा का आधार लेकर और लोग भी अपने लिए विशेष स्थिति की मांग कर रहे हैं। आप पंजाब की राजनीति को जरा गहराई से देखिए। यह मांग की जा रही है कि जम्मू-कश्मीर में तो पूरे प्रदेश को एक विशेष स्थिति दी गई है, अब पंजाब के बारे में भी स्वर सुनाई दे रहे हैं कि पूरे पंजाब को नहीं, पंजाब में रहने वाले एक वर्ग को विशेष स्थिति दी जाए। क्यों दिया जाना चाहिए? इस भारत में सब राज्यों का स्वरूप समान होना चाहिए। सबके अधिकार बराबर होने चाहियें। मुझे याद है एक बार यह मामला फिर उठा। पंडित जी ने उत्तर दिया कि धारा 370 घिस रही है, घिसते-घिसते घिस जाएगी। यह नहीं कहा कि धारा 370 बनी रहेगी, मैं इसको रखने पर तुला हुआ हूं। घिस रही है, घिस जाएगी यह एक दृष्टिकोण है। इस बारे में हमारे और जनता नेशनल फ्रंट में सैद्धांतिक मतभेद हैं। मगर हम उन मतभेदों का लाभ न तो काश्मीर में जो भारत विरोधी तत्व हैं उन्हें उठाने देंगे, न आपको उठाने देंगे। आप इनका लाभ उठाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। आप नेशनल फ्रंट पर यह आरोप लगा रहे हैं कि हम उन्हें समर्थन दे रहे हैं और हम 370 धारा को समाप्त करने की बात कर रहे हैं। 370 समाप्त करने की बात हमारी नीति के खिलाफ नहीं है।...

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे : अटल जी, आपने जो पढ़कर सुनाया वह सही है, वह ठीक है, ट्रांजिशनल प्राविजन है 370, वह सही है। आपने जो कहा यह सब मालूम है। बुनियादी सवाल जिसको आप को ऐड्रेस करना चाहिए, उसमें हमारी कोई रुचि नहीं है कि आपमें और उनमें मतभेद हो।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : पूरी रुचि है।

श्री एन०के०पी० साल्वे : रुचि इसलिए नहीं है कि हम अभी इलेक्शन नहीं चाहते। चलिए कुछ दिन तो चलिए कम से कम और आप लोगों को तोड़ने के लिए हमारी जरूरत नहीं है। लेकिन सवाल जो आप उठा रहे हैं और आपका सवाल जो टच किया मुझे कि प्रामाणिक मतभेद हैं, तो मैं एक सवाल उठाना चाहता हूं ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आपने बहुत अच्छा सवाल पूछा। मैं इस पर आना चाहता था। 370 पिछले 40-42 साल बनी रही। हालत क्यों बिगड़ी? 370 हट गई इसलिए हालत नहीं बिगड़ी? 370 रहते हुए ही हालत बिगड़ी। हो सकता है 370 पहले खत्म कर दी जाती तो यह हालत न होती।

श्री विट्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : तीन महीने में सबसे ज्यादा बिगड़ी। ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : साल्वे साहब, मैं विवाद में नहीं पड़ना चाहता हूं। मगर इस विवाद में हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्रों ने कुल मिलाकर जो रचनात्मक भूमिका निभाई उसे निभाते हुए भी उन्होंने एक तरफ हमारे मंत्री साहब

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

को निशाना बनाया और दूसरी ओर गवर्नर पर बड़े जबरदस्त हमले किए और उस हमले में भी बी.जे.पी. को लपेटा गया। अरे गवर्नर नियुक्त करना हमारे हाथ में नहीं है।

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : आपके हाथ में बहुत कुछ है।... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Kindly listen, please.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He is your nominee. It is in your hands. (*Interruptions*)...

श्री विट्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : आप करवा सकते हैं आप हाथ पकड़कर करवा सकते हैं ... (व्यवधान)

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : आपकी पार्टी का मास्टर रोल है ... (व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय, जम्मू-काश्मीर के गवर्नर जगमोहन को किसने हटाया ? क्यों उनको हटाया ? वह वहां अच्छा काम कर रहे थे। फारुख अब्दुल्ला भी उनसे संतुष्ट थे। यह बात अलग है कि गवर्नर जगमोहन ने फारुख अब्दुल्ला को बरखास्त किया था लेकिन यह भी सच है कि उन्हीं गवर्नर ने फारुख अब्दुल्ला को शपथ दिलाई थी। दोनों में मित्रता थी। गवर्नर जगमोहन को काश्मीर से बुलाकर एक बड़े पुराने सेनापति को काश्मीर में लाने की क्या जरूरत थी ? जरूरत एक ही थी कि दिल्ली में भारतीय जनता पार्टी का सामने करने के लिए उनको कोई योग्य उम्मीदवार नहीं मिल रहा था और आप जगमोहन को खड़ा करना चाहते थे ... (व्यवधान)

महोदय, मैं जिम्मेदारी से बोलता हूं। फोतेदार जी मुझे टोकिए मत, मेरे पास बहुत जानकारी है। तब श्री जगमोहन बड़े सैक्युलरवादी थे। अगर नेशनल फ्रंट की सरकार ने उन्हें काश्मीर की बिगड़ती स्थिति को संभालने के लिए भेज दिया तो उस कारण वे संप्रदायवादी तो नहीं हो गए ? मुझसे सलाह ली गई थी। हमारी पार्टी से सलाह ली गई थी। और भी नाम थे। हमने कहा कि अगर आप जगमोहन को भेज रहे हैं तो हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। उनकी योग्यता है, उनकी सक्षमता है। यह कोई छिपाने वाली बात नहीं है, यह सही है और इसलिए आपने उनको पहले वहां भेजा था। मैं कोई छिपाने की बात नहीं करता। मगर फैसला सरकार का फैसला था।

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे : वह घबरा गये आपके कहने के बाद। एक मिनट में चलता कर देंगे आप उन्हें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : साल्वे साहब अब आप थोड़ा गम्भीर हो जाइये। अब कहा जा रहा है कि जगमोहन जब तक कांग्रेस के साथ थे, कांग्रेस सरकार के साथ थे तब तक वह पूरे सेक्युलरवादी थे, मगर जब वे नेशनल फ्रंट का संसर्ग हुआ है तो साम्प्रदायिकता के कीटाणु विषाणु ने उनको भी लपेट दिया। इसके लिए बात एक यह कही गयी जो बहुत आपत्तिजनक है। सर्वदलीय बैठक हो रही थी उसमें कहा गया कि जगगोहन को इतनी भी समझ नहीं है कि उनसे मिलने के लिए राज भवन में कुछ लोग आये, वह थे तो मुसलमानों मगर हिन्दू वेश लेकर आये और उनसे जगमोहन ने मुसलमानों के बारे में पता नहीं क्या-क्या बातें की। वह ऐसे चतुर थे जो मिलने आये थे कि वे टेप रिकार्ड करके जा रहे थे और फिर उन्होंने लौट कर जाकर सब जगह टेप रिकार्ड बजाया। मेरे मित्र श्री जार्ज फर्नाडीज श्रीनगर गये थे, हमारे और सदस्य गये थे। हमने इस बारे में पता लगाने का प्रयत्न किया। ऐसी कोई घटना नहीं हुई है, ऐसा कोई टेप रिकार्ड मौजूद नहीं है। क्या इस तरह की बातें कहीं जायें ? जगमोहन की नियुक्ति के बारे में यह प्रचार किया गया। बम्बई के एक साप्ताहिक ने लिखा कि उन्हें बी०जे०पी० ने नहीं, आर०एस०एस० ने भेजा है।

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : फोतेदार साहब के पास टेप है वह।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मुफ्ती साहब और अरुण नेहरू, जगमोहन को लेकर

आर०एस०एस० के चीफ देवरस के पास गये कि इनको आशीर्वाद दो । देवरस जी ने कहा, "जाओ मेरा आशीर्वाद है ।" यह बम्बई का साप्ताहिक लिखता है । जगमोहन की नियुक्ति की घाटी में पहले इतनी प्रतिक्रिया नहीं थी । माफ करिये, घाटी में ऐसे लोग हैं जिनमें बड़ी संख्या में मुसलमान भी हैं जो जगमोहन के काम से प्रभावित थे लेकिन जब उनके कान में यह जहर घोला गया कि यह तो आर०एस०एस० के नामिनी हैं और यह कत्ले आम करने के लिए आये हैं--- उनके जाने के दिन एक कत्ले-आम हो भी गया---यह जांच का विषय है, मुफ्ती साहब सदन को विश्वास में लें---इतने बड़े पैमाने पर तलाशी लेना, इतने बड़े पैमाने पर लोगों का मारना, यह कैसे हुआ ? क्या यह पुरानी सरकार तय करके गयी थी ? लेकिन यह धब्बा भी जगमोहन के माथे पर लग गया ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, एक बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि डा० फारुख अब्दुल्ला को जगमोहन भले हों पसन्द न हो लेकिन डाक्टर साहब को उस समय इस्तीफा नहीं देना चाहिये था । इस देश का चलन रहा है कि गवर्नरों के नाम बताये जाते है, मुख्य मंत्रियों की स्वीकृति नहीं ली जाती । इस चलन से कांग्रेस पार्टी भी बरी नहीं है । अगर डाक्टर फारुख अब्दुल्ला को अपना विरोध प्रकट करना था तो उसके और तरीके भी हो सकते थे । इस समय जो कश्मीर की घाटी में लड़ाई चल रही है उसमें कोई मैदान छोड़ कर नहीं आ सकता । (व्यवधान) मैं मानता हूं फारुख साहब ने कह दिया था कि यह आयेंगे, मुझ से उन्होंने नहीं कहा था.... (व्यवधान)

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : ताज्जुब है, गवर्नमेंट को आलरेडी मालूम था इस बात का कि अगर उनको भेजा जायेगा तो इस्तीफा दे देंगे ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : गवर्नमेंट को मालूम था मुझे तो नहीं मालूम था । मुझे जो मालूम था वह इतना है कि फारुख साहब मिलने आये थे, कई नामों की चर्चा हुई । उन्होंने कहा कि जगमोहन साहब को हम पसन्द नहीं करते । मगर मैं यह नहीं सोचता था कि अगर जगमोहन को भेज दिया गया तो वह इस्तीफा देने तक चले जायेंगे । वह ठीक नहीं हुआ । मुझे लगत है इस समय जम्मू-कश्मीर में राजनीतिक गतिविधि को आरम्भ करने की जरूरत है यह केवल गोली का मुकाबला गोली से करने से काम नहीं बनेगा । जो आंतकवादी हैं, जो विघटनकारी हैं, जो कश्मीर को भारत से पृथक करना चाहते हैं उनका दृढ़ता से सामना भी करना पड़ेगा लेकिन उन्हें अलग-थलग भी करना पड़ेगा ।

मैं मानता हूं कश्मीर में एक पुरानी परम्परा है, सूफी परम्परा । मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगा जब फोतेदार साहब कह रहे थे कि सन आफ द सॉइल । अगर सन आफ द सॉयल कोई है तो हम सब हैं और अगर सॉयल कोई है तो भारतमाता की धरती है, यह कश्मीर की अलग धरती नहीं हो सकती । मगर सूफी परम्परा को जगाना होगा । एक जनून सवार हो गया है । यह जनून इसलिए सवार हुआ है, जैसा शिव शंकर जी कह रहे थे कि बहुसंख्यक समाज में एक फंडामेंटलिज्म पैदा हो रहा है । यह ठीक नहीं है । थोड़ी प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है और इस प्रतिक्रिया के लिए कौन दोषी है, मैं इसमें इस समय विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं ।

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I did not want to use the word 'Muslim'. It does not behove. By 'the eon of the Boil' I meant that a Kashmiri Muslim should be the buffer between the country and Kashmir.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय फण्डामेंटलिज्म किसी का हो उससे लड़ना पड़ेगा । फण्डामेंटलिज्म माइनोरिटी और मेजोरिटी का नहीं चलेगा । इस देश को सुधारवादी होना है और भविष्योन्मुख होना है । मगर मुझे अफसोस है कि जो सैकुलरवाद की सबसे ज्यादा बात करते हैं जब उनको फैसला करना होता है और विशेषकर जब चुनाव नजदीक होते हैं तो फैसले ऐसे करते हैं जिनसे सैकुलरवाद मजबूत नहीं होता । सैकुलरवाद को नापने के गज अलग-अलग नहीं हो सकते । तराजू

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

एक होगा और उस तराजू के पलड़े बराबर रखने पड़ेंगे । लेकिन हम चूके हैं और जम्मू और काश्मीर में भी चूके हैं । श्री भंडारे जो अभी यहां हैं नहीं, उन्होंने अच्छा भाषण किया । श्री तीरथ राम आमला उस तरफ बैठते थे, उन्होंने जब काश्मीर की बिगड़ती हुई स्थिति के बारे में कहा तो श्री चिदम्बरम् ने वहां जा कर उनको डांटा । तब चुनाव नहीं हुए थे, नेशनल फ्रण्ट अस्तित्व में नहीं आया था । डा० फारुख अब्दुल्ला ने उस समय कहा था कि जम्मू-काश्मीर में युद्ध जैसी स्थिति हो गई है । फारुख साहब को शिकायत है । उन्होंने कहा कि यहां के अखबार जहर उगल रहे हैं, उल्टी-सीधी बातें लिख रहे हैं, मैं इन पर अंकुश लगाना चाहता हूं, लेकिन सारे देश में बवण्डर खड़ा हो गया, उनको शिकायत है । फारुख साहब के दिल में जो दर्द है उसको हम समझ सकते हैं । उस दर्द के साथ जब तक सारे देश का दर्द नहीं जुड़ेगा तब तक समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है । राजनीति करने के लिए, वोट की राजनीति करने के लिए, बहुत वक्त पड़ा हुआ है । काश्मीर के साथ खिलवाड़ न करें ।

प्रधानमंत्री की बड़ी मुश्किल है । प्रधानमंत्री अगर सब की राय लेकर चलना चाहते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि उनकी कोई नीति नहीं है । नीति बनाकर चलें तो कहा जाता है कि नीति पहले बना ली है तो हमारी राय लेने की क्या जरूरत है: चित भी मेरी, पट्ट भी मेरी, यह नहीं चल सकता है । आज श्री शिवशंकर जी ने कहा कि वार फोबिया पता किया जा रहा है और यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि यह गवर्नमेंट वीक है । प्रधानमंत्री जोर से कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान की चुनौती का मंह तोड़ जवाब दिया जाएगा। एक तरफ तो कहा जाता है कि वार फोबिया है और अगर वे नहीं कहते तो कहा जाता है कि यह गवर्नमेंट वीक है। बार-बार वीक मत कहिए । आप जानते हैं, गवर्नमेंट वीक नहीं है, देश वीक नहीं है । इस देश को शक्तिशाली बनाने में आपका भी योगदान है, बड़ा योगदान है। मगर जब आप बार-बार वीक कहते हैं तो कहीं पड़ौसी को भ्रम न हो जाय और वह गलती न कर बैठे और क्या काश्मीर घाटी में इस बात का अच्छा असर होता है कि केन्द्र में जो नई सरकार आई है वह किसी मायने मे कमजोर है? किस मायने में कमजोर सरकार है ? क्या बन्दूक का उत्तर बन्दूक से देने के लिए बहुत बड़ी बहादुरी की जरूरत है? बहादुरी की जरूरत नहीं है । मगर यह सरकार नये ढंग से समस्याओं को देखना चाहती है । उसके साथ कुछ मामलों में मतभेद होते हुए भी जिस ईमानदारी से कश्मीर के सवाल और पंजाब के सवाल को हल करने की सरकार कोशिश कर रही है, उसकी तारीफ होना चाहिए, उसमें ईमानदारी से योगदान दिया जाना चाहिए।

अब चुनाव समाप्त हो गये हैं । सरकारें बन गई हैं। आप बिगाड़ना जब शुरू करेंगे तब होगा । लेकिन यह प्रश्न ऐसा है जिसमें मिलकर बैठने की जरूरत है । मुझे खुशी है कि इसका आरम्भ हुआ है, सही दिशा में कदम उठाये गये हैं। एक समिति बनी है, उस समिति में अच्छे लोग हैं। उनका दृष्टिकोण रचनात्मक है । श्री जार्ज साहब को यह जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गई है ... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री विट्ठलराव माधव राव जाधव : हमें पता नहीं कि वे कोआर्डिनेटिंग मिनिस्टर हैं या क्या हैं?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : थोड़ा इंतजार कीजिए, आपको सब पता चल जाएगा ।

मेरा निवेदन है कि एक नई पहल की गई है, नई शुरुआत की गई है । इसमें श्री राजीव गांधी का भी योगदान है। काश्मीर में जो कुछ हुआ वह अच्छा नहीं था । मगर बार-बार उसको दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। आइये, हम सब मिलकर एक नया अध्याय आरम्भ करें और जैसा शिवशंकर जी और श्री भंडारे जी ने भी कहा कि आज दुनियां के लिए काश्मीर घाटी में जो राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्व हैं उनके लिए सदन की तरफ से एक संदेश जाना चाहिए कि भारत अपने जीवन मूल्यों पर दृढ़ है, भारत एक

असाम्प्रदायिक राज्य रहेगा। भारत कभी थियोक्रेसी नहीं बनेगा, भारत मे कभी मजहबी राज नहीं होगा, भारत में हर नागरिक को बराबर का अधिकार दिया जायेगा। मगर किसी भी कीमत पर भारत के किसी हिस्से को भारत से अलग होने की इजाजत नही दी जायेगी। इसके लिए जो भी बलिदान करना पड़ेगा वह सारा देश करेगा। धन्यवाद।

रेल मंत्री (श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज) उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कश्मीर की समस्या पर कुछ ऐसे मुद्दे हैं जिन पर हम सब लोगों की सहमति है, चाहे सदन के किसी भी हिस्से में हम बैठते हों। इस बात मे कोई विवाद की गुंजाइश नहीं है कि कश्मीर की समस्या अति गंभीर है। मेरी खुद की यह राय है कि यह इतनी गंभीर है जिसको पिछले 42 वर्षों के इतिहास में दूसरी किसी भी परिस्थिति से तुलना नहीं की जा सकती है। इस देश पर विदेशी आक्रमण हुए मगर तब हम शत्रु को पहचानते थे और उसका सामना करने के लिए सारा देश एक आवाज से खड़ा हो गया। कश्मीर में जो स्थिति है उसमें एक तरफ से तो विदेशी शक्ति का हस्तक्षेप है। कल ही जब इस विषय पर हम लोग लोकसभा में बहस कर रहे थे ठीक उसी समय मुजफ्फराबाद में, पाकिस्तानी हिस्से में, पाकिस्तान में जो कश्मीर का हिस्सा है, वहां पाकिस्तान की प्रधानमंत्री की ओर से यह भी कहा जा रहा था कि कश्मीर मे जो अलगाववादी शक्तियां हैं उन्हें हम हर प्रकार का सहयोग देंगे।

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I am sorry I have to interrupt. The Minister has said just now:

पाकिस्तान मे जो कश्मीर का हिस्सा है, इसको पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में जो कश्मीर का हिस्सा है यह कहना चाहिए।

Please make it clear. We do not want any wrong message to go.

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : मैं अपने शब्दों को दुरुस्त करना चाहता हूं। पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में जो कश्मीर का हिस्सा है ...

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : भारत का हिस्सा है।

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : जो भारत का हिस्सा है वहां पाकिस्तान की प्रधानमंत्री की ओर से यह बात कही गई कि अलगाववादियों की हम हर प्रकार की मदद करेंगे और कश्मीर के मसले को जहां भी उठाया जा सकता हो वहां उठाने का काम करेंगे। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, दूसरी ओर कश्मीर में अलगाववादियों ने न केवल काफी अपनी ताकत बढ़ाई है बल्कि उस ताकत का कितना इस्तेमाल होता है इसका अनुभव प्रत्यक्षरूप में अभी पिछले हफ्ते में जो देश के तमाम राजनैतिक दलों का एक प्रतिनिधिमंडल वहां पर गया था उस प्रतिनिधिमंडल के सदस्यों को हुआ। अब कोई यह कह सकता है कि यह अभी हुआ अनुभव है और तीन महीने पहले जाने में कोई तकलीफ नही होती थी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं उस विवाद में नहीं जाना चाहूंगा क्योंकि अतीत की चर्चा यदि हम करेंगे तो फिर कहां से वह चर्चा हम लोग शुरू करें यह बहुत बड़ा परेशानी का विषय बनेगा और उसके चलते उन विवादों को फिर यहां छेड़ना पड़ेगा जिन विवादों को टालना चाहिये। यह मेरी राय है कि एक स्थिति का सामना करने के ख्याल से आज हम लोग यहां पर इस बहस को चला रहे हैं। मुझे खुशी है कि सदन के तमाम सदस्यों से जिन्होंने भी अभी तक इस बहस में हिस्सा लिया है यह बात बहुत ही साफ तौर पर कही गई कि समूचा राष्ट्र इस प्रश्न को हल करने के सरकारी प्रयासों के साथ खड़ा है। भंडारे साहब का जो यहां पर भाषण हुआ उस में उन्होंने इस बात को मजबूती से दोहराने का काम किया कि सरकार यह न समझे कि इस प्रश्न को हल करने के लिए वह अकेली खड़ी है बल्कि यह मान कर चले कि सारा देश और हम सभी लोग सरकार के प्रयासों के साथ जुड़े हुए हैं। यह मामला केवल इसी बात तक सीमित नहीं है बल्कि कई दिनों का जो प्रयास रहा प्रधानमन्त्री ने इस पहल की, सारे राजनीतिक दलों ने सहयोग दिया और

[श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज]

उसी प्रयास का यह नतीजा है कि आज एक सर्वदलीय कमेटी है जिसमें पक्ष-विपक्ष, सरकारी पक्ष, सरकार के समर्थन वाले पक्ष सभी के प्रतिनिधि बैठे हैं । यह सभी सामूहिक तौर पर इस प्रयास में लगे हैं कि कश्मीर की स्थिति को कैसे हम लोग मात करें । कई सुझावों की भी चर्चा पिछले कई दिनों में हुई है और यह सुझाव कश्मीर में जो जमीन पर आज परिस्थिति है उस परिस्थिति को मद्दे नजर रख कर उसका अध्ययन करने के बाद ही आए हुए सुझाव हैं। कश्मीर में केवल प्रशासनिक तौर तरीकों से समस्या का इलाज नहीं है, इसमें हम सभी लोगों में सहमति है, कहीं कोई विवाद के लिए इसमें गुंजाइश बिलकुल नहीं है । कश्मीर में राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया, पोलिटिकल प्रोसेस जो संवैधानिक प्रक्रिया होती है, उस प्रक्रिया को जल्द से जल्द शुरु करना चाहिये । इसके बारे में कहीं कोई विवाद नहीं । मैं यह भी मानता हूं कि अगर राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया को शुरू करना हो तो उससे पहले वहां पर राजनीतिक कार्य भी शुरू करने की आवश्यकता है, इस पर हम सब लोग सहमत हैं । हम लोगों को अभी यह अनुभव हुआ, जब हम लोग श्रीनगर गये थे । वहां के लोगों से बातें हुई, प्रशासन चलाने वालों से और जो मिलने आए थे अलग अलग लोगों से मिलने आए थे उनसे बातें हुई । हम तो बाहर जा कर कुछ लोगों से मिले थे मगर जो बाहर नहीं जा सके थे उनसे भी मिलने के लिए कुछ लोग आए थे । तो प्रशासन चलाने वालों से जो बातें हुई और जो बातें सुनाई गई उनसे एक चीज तो सभी के अनुभव में आ गई कि कश्मीर में आज किसी भी प्रकार का राजनीतिक कार्य, कश्मीर के उस हिस्से में जिसको हम लोग कश्मीर की खाड़ी कह कर मानते हैं बिलकुल ही ठप्प है। और एक वजह जिससे कि सारे अलगाववादी आज सारे मैदान को अपना ही मानकर चलने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं वह यह भी है कि राजनैतिक कार्य, राजनैतिक दलों का हो या और किसी प्रकार के जनसंगठन का हो, उदाहरण के लिए ट्रेड यूनियंस होती हैं, काश्मीर में बहुत मजबूत ट्रेड यूनियन आंदोलन हैं, वहां के सरकारी कर्मचारियों का जो संगठन है वह देश के और किसी सूबे में ऐसे जो संगठन होते हैं उनसे मजबूत संगठन माना जाता है, मगर आज वे सभी चुप हैं, बल्कि इस बात को कहते हैं कि हम कुछ भी करने की स्थिति में अपने को नहीं पा रहे हैं । मैं उनके अनेक नेताओं से मिला, श्रीनगर में मिला पिछले हफ्ते और उनसे जब यह बात छेड़ी गयी कि ठीक है राजनैतिक सवाल है, राजनतिक समस्याएं हैं, लोगों में गुस्सा है, नाराजगी है, आतंक है, ये सब चीजें अपनी जगह पर ठीक है मगर आप लोगों की अपनी जो समस्याएं हैं कम से कम उन समस्याओं को लेकर क्यों नहीं आवाज उठायी जाती है । क्य ऐसी कोई बात है कि चूंकि अलगावाद का एक अभियान चला है इसलिए आप लोगों की कोई समस्या नहीं बची है तो उन लोगों ने बहुत स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा कि हम लोगों की हिम्मत नहीं हो रही है कि आज हम अपनी किसी बात को लेकर खड़े हो जायें और जब मैंने यह पूछा कि हिम्मत नहीं हो रही है इसके पीछे क्या प्रशासन की तरफ़ से कोई हरकत है, वहां से कोई डर है, तो बात इस तरह सामने आ गयी कि प्रशासन से डर नहीं है । डर यह है कि हम आज लोगों के बीच में जाकर किसी भी ऐसे मुद्दे को छेड़ने की स्थिति में नहीं है जो अलगावादियों की तरफ़ से उठाये हुए मुद्दों के बाहर का मुद्दा हो । मैं इसलिए इस अनुभव को सदन के सामने रख रहा हूं कि राजनैतिक कार्य, राजनैतिक प्रक्रिया को शुरू करने के पहले जिन राजनैतिक कार्यों को शुरू करने की आवश्यकता है इन्हें शुरू करना अत्यावश्यक है क्योंकि इसके बगैर कोई राजनैतिक प्रक्रिया, पोलिटिकल प्रोसेज वहां पर शुरु होना और आगे बढ़ना मेरी अपनी राय में असंभव हो जायेगा । लोगों की समस्याएं हैं, जिनका हल होना भी जरुरी है, शायद राजनैतिक कार्य को भी शुरू करने के पहले . . .

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : राजनैतिक कार्य से आपका क्या मतलब है ?

श्री जार्ज फ़र्नांडीज : पोलिटिकल एक्टिविटीज या रानैतिक कार्य का मतलब

लोगों के बीच मे जाना, उनकी समस्याओं के बारे में जो उनकी अपनी भावनाएं हैं उनको समझना, उन्हें प्रशासन तक पहुंचाने का कार्य करना, उनके लिए लड़ना, जहां कोई ऐसी ताकतें आज मैदान में कम करती हैं जो अलगावाद से अपने को जोड़े हुए हों, जो काश्मीर को अलग करने की बात करती हों उनसे टकराना, वैचारिक तौर पर उनसे टकराना, ये सारे कार्य राजनैतिक कार्य हैं ।

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI: Mr. Minister, who will go there? You have dissoved the Assembly, you have dissolved the Legislative Assembly. Who will go to the people?

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : मुझे अफसोस है उपसभाध्यक्ष जी कि माननीय सदस्य इस बात को समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं। राजनैतिक कार्य केवल चुने हुए लोगों तक सीमित नहीं रहता है और हिन्दुस्तान में आज कुछ हम लोगों में, सभी लोगों में कुछ कमजोरी पैदा हो रही है कि हम लोग यह मानने लगे हैं कि विधानसभा और लोक सभा या किसी अन्य किसी सदन में हम नहीं पहुंच गये हैं तो फिर हमारी कोई औकात नहीं है, हैसियत नहीं है और हमारे लिए कोई काम नहीं बचा है सिवाय इसके कि कुछ सदनों में जाकर अपनी बात कहें (व्यवधान)

श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव: चुने हुए लोगों का मुख्य कार्य यही होता है जो आपने अभी बताया (व्यवधान) यह उनके तक सीमित नहीं रहता, यह बात सच है मगर उनका मुख्य कार्य यही होता है ...(व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): All these points have been raised in the discussion. Please take your seat.

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, राजनीतिक होने हैं, इसलिए हम यहां पर पहुंच सकते हैं। अगर राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता न होते, तो फिर हम लोग यहां पर पहुंचने में असमथ है । हम विश्वास करते हैं कि माननीय सदस्य इस बात को जरूर मानगे ।

तो इसलिए मेरे कहने का मतलब केवल इतना ही है कि अगर राजनैतिक प्रक्रिया को चलाने का काम करना हो, तो वह राजनैतिक कार्य का स्वरूप ....(व्यवधान) अलगाववादी राजनैतिक कार्य को हमें निश्चित तौर पर समाप्त करना होगा ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिह : माननीय मंत्री महोदय जी ने खुद कहा कि जनता या ट्रड यूनियन का कोई सेक्शन या कोई पोलिटिकल वर्कर इस स्थिति में नहीं है कि अपनी समस्या को लेकर सड़क पर कोई बात कहे, यह बात खुद मंजूर करते हैं। प्रशासन से कोई बाधा नहीं पड़ रही है, यह वह खुद कर रहे हैं। तो फिर राजनैतिक कार्य किस तरह से कैसे शुरू किया जाए, यह मंत्री महोदय बतायें ?

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) आपकी बात टेलीविजन पर नहीं आ रही है।

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं कि राजनैतिक कार्य के बारे में आज हम लोगों को नये सिरे से कोई भी समझाने की जरूरत है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिह : आप अपनी रोशनी में ही बताइये ना कि आप कौनसा काम करना चाहते हैं ?

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : तो, हम यह मान कर के चल रहे हैं कि जो राजनैतिक दल जम्मू-कश्मीर में अपनी-अपनी शक्ति के साथ, अपनी-अपनी ताकत के साथ काम कर रहे थ और जिनका काम पिछले कई दिनों से ठप है, यह बात आज बहुत स्पष्ट है, तो इस कार्य को उन राजनैतिक दलों के माध्यम से, उनके कार्यकर्ताओं के माध्यम से और उन संगठनों के जरिए भी, जो जनता के प्रश्न विशेष को लेकर काम करने

[श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज]

बाकी संगठन हैं, जिनमें मैंने मजदूर आंदोलन, ट्रेड यूनियन का तो यहां पर जिक्र भी किया, हम चाहेंगे कि इन सब को सक्रिय करने की दिशा में हम लोग मजबूत कदम वहां पर उठायें और उसके लिए सभी लोगों को जुटा कर, सारी ताकतों को जुटा कर, जैसा कि आज यहां वह विभाग जिसे सरकार ने बनाना तय किया कि जम्मू कश्मीर पर आज जो आपत्ति आई है, इस मसले के सारे कामकाज को कोआर्डिनेट करना, इस पर जो एक सलाहकार समिति सभी लोगों को मिल कर यहां पर बनाई है और वह जो एकता हम लोग यहां देख रहे हैं, तो उसी प्रकार की एकता को कश्मीर में भी सभी लोगों को एक साथ लेकर उस प्रक्रिया को शुरू करने का काम, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमें करना है और उस काम को हम अभी शुरू करने की योजना को बनाने में लगे हुए हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : क्या सवाल किया और क्या जवाब आया।

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : मैंने बताया कि कुछ लोगों की तात्कालिक समस्यायें हैं, जिनके हल की भी जरूरत है। एक तो जैसा अभी अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि अगर अलगाव वादियों की तरफ से बंदूक की बात होती है, तो फिर बंदूक का जवाब केवल बंदूक से ही देकर काम नहीं बनेगा। लेकिन बंदूक तो चलती है, और दोनों तरफ से चलती है, कई निर्दोष लोगों को भी दोनों तरफ से इस वक्त बंदूक के चलते, अपनी जान से हाथ धोने पड़ रहे हैं, अनेक लोग घायल हुए हैं। अनेक लोग अनेक किस्म की परेशानियों में फंसे हुए हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इस भयावह स्थिति को आप कैसे दूर करेंगे, यह बताइये आप? यह राजनैतिक कार्यक्रम कब शुरू होगा, इसका जवाब अभी नहीं दे रहे हैं। यह तो सारी बहस का केन्द्र बिंदु—आपने कहा कि राजनैतिक काम शुरू करना चाहिए, राजनैतिक काम शुरू करने में भय बाधा है। तो भय दूर करने के लिए जो ठोस उपाय हैं, उसको भी आप बताइये। और उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इसके चलते जो लोगों को तकलीफ है, उसे दूर करने के लिए भी सरकार ने कुछ ठोस कार्य हाथ में लिया है। अभी जब हम श्रीनगर पहुंचे तो लोगों ने जो शिकायतें बतायीं, प्रशासन की ओर से भी इस मामले को लेकर जिन मुद्दों को बताया गया तो लोगों की उन तकलीफों को दूर करने के लिए सरकार ने अभी कदम उठाए हैं और मुझे विश्वास है कि उसका कुछ अच्छा असर काश्मीर की स्थिति पर निश्चित तौर पर होगा।

महोदय, अगर काश्मीर के विकास की बात कही जाय तो एक प्रश्न उठाया जा सकता है कि इस पर तो दीर्घकालीन बहस हो सकती है क्योंकि तत्काल जो परिस्थिति है, उसमें विकास के कौनसे प्रश्न को उठाया जा रहा है जहां कि कोई राजनैतिक कार्य नहीं है, जहां किसी प्रकार का काम नहीं है वहां विकास की कौनसी बात हम छेड़ रहे हैं। मगर यह मैं इसलिए छेड़ रहा हूं क्योंकि काश्मीर की समस्या को लेकर जिस चीज को हम कहते हैं उसके पीछे जो सबसे बड़ी दो-तीन शिकायतें हैं, उनमें मेरी राय में सबसे पहली और सबसे बड़ी शिकायत यह है कि विकास का काम जिस रफ्तार से होना चाहिए था वह कभी नहीं हुआ। साथ ही एक प्रकार का मानस वहां बना हुआ है कि हम लोगों के साथ धोखा हुआ है। अब यहां मैं कुछ बात कहूं तो ऐसा न समझा जाय कि इस बात को मैं किसी को परेशानी में डालने के लिए कह रहा हूं, मगर इससे लगी हुई बात मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। कि वायदा किया था कि काश्मीर के विकास के लिए हजार करोड़ रुपया लगाया जाएगा। यह मजदूर लोगों ने कहा, अफसरों ने कहा कि सौ करोड़ रुपया नहीं आया। एक प्रस्ताव लोगों ने विशेषकर नौजवानों ने और एक माननीय सदस्य ने यहां पर किया कि हम लोग वहां से बच्चों को यहां तक लाए। मद्रास में भेजा, हिंदुस्तान के अनेक

विश्वविद्यालयों में पहुंचाया वहां से अनेक बच्चे पढ़ने के लिए कर्नाटक और तमिलनाडु तक आते हैं । वहां से और भी आएं, उनका स्वागत करना चाहिए काश्मीर के बहुत पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान आज इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में बेरोजगार हैं और जो बात बतायी गयी वह यह है कि इसमें नेतृत्व करने वाले ऐसे ही नौजवान हैं । वे इस बात को बड़ी मजबूती से उठाते हैं । वह बोलते हैं कि हम लोगों के साथ किए वायदे पूरे नहीं होते । बिजली के बारे में एक अरसे से बोलते रहे, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ । औद्योगीकरण की बात कहते रहे, लेकिन एक टेलिफोन का और बाल बनाने के मध्यम श्रेणी के दो कारखाने छोड़कर और कोई विकास आपने नहीं किया । वहां विशेषकर सरकारी लोग जो विकास के काम के अमले के साथ जुड़े हुए है, वे नौजवान और मजदूर जो इन सारी चीजों से आज परेशान हैं--वे लोग इन बातों को बहुत ही मजबूती के साथ छेड़ने का काम करते हैं । वे आज इस वक्त भी कहते हैं, इसलिए मेरी यह मान्यता है कि विकास का काम वहां शुरू करने में, इन सारी चीजों में कोई ठोस जमीन तैयार करने में वक्त जरूर लगेगा मगर कुछ ठोस योजना तैयार करने की दिशा में कदम उठाना चाहिए ताकि काश्मीर का वह नौजवान जो बेरोजगारी का शिकार है और जो समझता है कि हमारे साथ आपने इंसाफ नहीं किया वह यह मानकर सोचे कि इंसाफ करने के लिए आज सारा देश एक साथ मिलकर खड़ा हो रहा है । कोई केवल मुझको दिशा दिखाने के लिए नहीं बल्कि मेरी जो परेशानियां रहीं और जिन परेशानियों ने मुझे किसी एक और जगह पर धकेल देने का काम किया हो तो उससे भी बाहर निकालने के लिए सारा देश एक होकर हमें मदद करने के लिए हमारे साथ खड़ा हो रहा है, यह भावना लोगों में आनी अत्यावश्यक है । यह इसलिए आवश्यक है क्योंकि रोजगार और विकास एक दूसरे के साथ जुड़े हुए मसले हैं जिन्हें आज मेरी अपनी राय में काश्मीर में परेशानी के एक सबसे बड़े मसले के तौर पर हम देख रहे हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जिस प्रकार का प्रचार काश्मीर की घाटी में चल रहा है, उस प्रचार का भी सामना करना जरूरी है । परिस्थिति आज वहां पर ऐसी है कि काश्मीर का रेडियो और टेलीविजन, दोनों ही काम करने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं । वहां पर लोग क्या सुनें, क्या वहां पर लोग पढ़ें, यह तय करने का काम भी अलगाववादियों की तरफ से चल रहा है और उसका विरोध करने की कोई ताकत वहां पर नहीं है । हम अखबारों के संपादकों से मिले । जो अखबारों के संपादक ने अलगाव-वाद के पक्ष में अखबारों में कुछ लिखा था, वह हमसे बोले कि हमारे अखबार में जो छपा है, उसको मानकर आप मत जाइएगा, हम जो आपसे कह रहे हैं कि अलगाव-वादियों का सामना होना चाहिए... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA (Delhi): Sir, the Press has no protection in the Valley. That is one of the important things that the Press must be protected otherwise there is no second picture.

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : हम वही बात कह रहे हैं कि वह एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र है । वहां पर आज जो प्रचार का एकतरफा मामला चला है, उसका जवाब देना भी जरूरी है । हम आज इस कमेटी की ओर से प्रयास में लगे हैं और उस कमजोरी को दूर करने की एक योजना बनाने का काम भी हम लोग कर रहे हैं ।

श्री ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह : आदरणीय मंत्री जी, यह तो जल्दी-जल्दी हो सकता है । ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : अगर जल्दी-जल्दी हो सकता तो अध्यक्ष जी, मैं समझता हूं कि आज हम इस माननीय सदन में इस बहस को न करते । चूंकि जल्दी-जल्दी

[श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज]

नहीं हो सकता, जल्दी-जल्दी होने की स्थिति नहीं है, इसलिए हम आज यहां पर इस गंभीर मसले पर बहस कर रहे हैं ।

महोदय, जैसा मैंने कहा, जो कमेटी बनाई गई है, उस कमेटी की अभी पीछे दो दिनों में बैठकें हुई है और इस मसले पर एक कार्यक्रम बनाने का काम शुरू किया है । वहां से आए हुए जो लोग हैं, चाहे जम्मू में हैं या दिल्ली में और कल जब लोकसभा में बहस होकर हम बाहर निकल रहे थे तो जयपुर के माननीय सदस्य हमसे बोले कि आप लोगों को जयपुर भी आना चाहिए क्योंकि जयपुर में भी साढ़े तीन सौ परिवार आकर बसे हुए हैं, उनकी समस्याओं को भी देखना चाहिए, जो इस तरह से हिंदुस्तान के अनेक हिस्सों से खबरें आ रही हैं, लोग कश्मीर से आ रहे हैं, एक प्रकार से कश्मीर के लोगों को रिफ्यूजी होकर बसने की नौबत आ रही है, उनके लिए दो काम हमने करने है । एक काम तो उन्हें तत्काल वहां राहत की मदद पहुंचाना है । दूसरा, उनके मन में जो डर है, उसे दूर करना है ।

महोदय, यह सही है कि जो वहां पर जे०के०एल०एफ० नाम की संस्था है, वह बार-बार एलान कर रही है कि हम सबको यह आश्वासन देते है, सबको आश्वस्त करना चाहते है कि आप आइएगा, किसी प्रकार की कोई हरकत हमारी तरफ से नहीं होगी । वह भले ही ऐसा कहते हों, लेकिन उनके कहने के बावजूद भी लोग वहां से निकलकर जम्मू में आकर या दिल्ली में आकर या दिल्ली से आगे जाकर बसने के प्रयास में लगे है । तो ऐसी स्थिति में वहां पर जो एक इतना भय का वातावरण है, उस भय के वातावरण में लोगों का वहां जाना अगर संभव नहीं तो जैसा मैंने कहा--एक उनको राहत पहुंचाना है और दूसरा यह भय उनके मनों से निकालने की कोशिश करना है । इस काम में भी हम लोग लगे हुए है । अभी जो दिल्ली में शिविर है, उन शिविरों में हमारी कमेटी जा रही है और शनिवार व रविवार को जम्मू में यह कमेटी जाएगी । शिविरों में जाकर कमेटी लोगों की परिस्थितियों का वहां अध्ययन करेगी और जो भी कदम उठाने की जरूरत है, उनको उठाने का काम हम करेंगे ।

महोदय, मैंने कुछ चंद बातें, जिस प्रयास में जिस काम में हम लगे है, उसके संदर्भ में माननीय सदन के सामने कही । आज सारे सदन ने, जो सदन जहां समूचे देश का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है तो समूचे देश ने कश्मीर के मसले पर अपना मन एक बनाकर चिंता जाहिर की और इस देश के इस अविभाज्य हिस्से को किसी प्रकार कोहानि न पहुंचे इसका संकल्प किया है । मैं निश्चित ही आशावान हूं कि जो भी संकट आज कश्मीर पर हो, उस संकट से हम लोग कश्मीर को और कश्मीर के लोगों को बचाने का काम करने में कामयाब हो जाएंगे और जो विदेशी ताकतें हैं या देश के भीतर हैं, ऐसी कोई भी ताकतें हो जो कश्मीर को आज एक ऐसी परिस्थिति में धकेल देने का काम कर रही हो, हम इतना ही कहेंगे कि चाहे जो कुर्बानी करने की जरूरत हो, चाहे जो परेशानी उठाने की जरूरत हो, हम इस कुर्बानी और इस परेशानी को उठाने के लिए तैयार रहेंगे और जो दायित्व और जो जिम्मेदारी मुझ पर प्रधान मंत्री ने डाली है, वह जिम्मेदारी कोई अपनी ही सोच में नहीं, बल्कि सभी दलों ने उनको जो सलाह दी थी, उस सलाह के आधार पर जो उन्होंने जिम्मेदारी डाली है, मैं सदन को इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि उस जिम्मेदारी को निभाने का हर तरह का प्रयास हम करेंगे । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I would like to know one thing from the honourable Minister. We are very happy about some of the things which you are doing. In Kashmir, whether it is the Congreas or the National Conference, it is irrelevant. How are you going to activize the political process?

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस बात को कह चुका हूं कि जो राजनीतिक दल वहां पर है, उनमें नेशनल कांफ्रेंस और कांग्रेस पार्टी अपना एक विशेष स्थान रखते हैं। तो जब में इस बात को बार-बार कह रहा हूं सदन के भीतर और सदन के बाहर कि इन सबको सक्रिय करके, सब लोगों को एक साथ लाकर के राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया को फिर आगे ले जाना है, उस प्रश्न का जवाब मैं दे चुका हूं।

श्री ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह : अगर पॉलिटिकल एक्टिविटी आप शुरु कराना चाहते हैं तो इलैक्टिड प्रिजेन्टेटिव जो वहां पर है उनको रेस्टोर करके क्यों नहीं कराते आप ?

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA: Mr. Minister, one thing that can be done immediately with regard to the media is that with the official media, at least the electronic media, somethings can be tione from here to make sure that the correct picture is projected to the Valley, and I think this may need your immediate attention.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: This is being done and more steps are being taken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAY MOHAN REDDY): Shri Vishvjit P. Singh, Please...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Sir. I know what request you are going to make.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): I think everybody should get a chance, and so I request honourable Members to cooperate. Please confine to the time.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I agree, Sir, I will confine to the time before anybody else.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It should be according to the size of the Member. .. *(Interruptions)*,

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: First of all, before he leaves, I wish the honourable Minister very well in the onerous task which has been put on his shoulders. I will come to that a little later... *(Interruptions).*

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there are many speakers yet to speak. Do you think we will be able to conclude by 8 o'clock? As the matter stands, there are many speakers and I think we will have either to postpone till tomorrow or sit beyond 8 o'clock. I think we will not be able to conclude by 8 o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): It is not possible.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The original position was... *(Interruptions)* .

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It should be continued tomorrow... *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR: G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): The House will sit upto 8 o'clock.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Our chance cannot come even by 8 o'clock. And the Home Minister has to reply also. Then what are we going to do? That is what we want to know. There is no point in sitting upto 8 o'clock if we are going to have it tomerrow also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Already the consensus was that the House would sit up to 8 o'clock.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: What I want to say is that we will not be able to conclude by 8 o'clock. Are we going to continue it tomorrow or not? We are anxious to speak... *(Interruptions)* ... Other parties have no say in this matter. As a matter of fact, I will not get my chance by 8 o'clock.

7 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Up to 8 o'clock we will sit. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What are we going to do? Are we going to sit tomorraw or not? *(.Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Then we will decide. Why are you anxious now about that? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Are we going to sit tomorrow? We want to be very clear about your answer. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are ^s many 17 speakers. Speakers will still be speaking at 8 o'clock. You cannot finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Whatever it may be. Let us continue up to 8 o'clock.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH; Tomorrow agreed. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHJIT P. SINGH; Let us adjourn the House now and continue the discussion tomorrow. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There are umpteen speakers.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: There are 17 speakers. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH; I am agreeable to that. Let us adjourn the House now. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY) Let us do justice to the **time given to** the House (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: All of us agree that we can continue tomorrow, Let us please adjourn now. (Interruptions)

• SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG (Gujarat) : Kamalbhai is also supporting this. Thank you. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA:' Have patience. (Interruptions)

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH:- I do not mind sitting up to 12 o'clock, midnight. I don't mind sitting till tomorrow mo'rning. It is entirely up to you.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): As it stands, there are many speakers. " Even tomorrow also there will be a little difficulty to find time. Let us sit up to 8 o'clock and then decide. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: There is no point. Why can't we adjourn now? The Minister will take atleast half an hour. *S»,* you are left with only half an hour. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I am in your hands. You decide.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): You please carry on. There is no opposition to your speaking. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: You are no more a bachelor. How are you prepared to sit late? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: You seem to forget that my wife is also working.

SHRI DIPEN GROSH: So, she ca. • also work overtime?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: While we are debating on Kashmir, she is sitting and looking after Afghanistan affairs. *(Interruptions)*

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): Sir, we thought the debate will be over today, and we also thought that the :time could be extended up to 8 I o'clock. We thought that the whole

thing would be finished by that time. Now there are several speakers more.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Seventeen.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I know. I am not mentioning the number.

All are anxious to speak on this issue. This is a very important debate, I concede, I do not want to strifle the debate at all. So, I yield to the demand of the House. This may be taken up tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): The House is adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at four minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the " clock on Thursday, the 15th March, 1990.