

CLARIFICATIONS ON STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Violence in Jammu and Kashmir

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): Sir, the Hon. Home Minister has made a Statement before this House on 4th August, 2010. The Statement broadly gives a list of events and some very serious developments which have taken place since the 11th June this year. It does not reflect the enormity of the seriousness of the situation and what roadmap the Government has in mind for resolving the current impasse that is taking place.

Sir, we get an impression that the situation is slowly slipping out of control. And, it is clear from the Home Minister's statement, as also various pieces of information that we are getting from media organisations, as also the citizens of the Valley, that in the last few months, particularly in the last two years, there has been a significant change in the strategy by both, the ISI, various agencies across the border, as also the separatist forces who act at their behest in the Valley itself. Sir, earlier, the strategy used to be to have illegal infiltration into the Valley and other parts of the country to indulge in acts of sabotage, acts of terrorism, blasts, killings, destruction of public property, etc. I think, somewhere, in the strategic thinkers amongst those who are the handlers across the border and their friends within, there seems to be a realisation now that the global acceptability for these kind of events does not exist. Even domestic support, when incidents of this kind take place, starts reducing and vanishing. Also, Sir, in the last 20 years, two decades, our own security forces, our own intelligence network has also been considerably strengthened and we have dealt with large number of these incidents, and, therefore, if I may, without meaning to be arrogant about India's potential, say that the potential of Indian State itself was increasingly becoming more powerful in tackling these incidents of sabotage. The changed strategy, therefore, appears to be that instead of these individual acts of terror and violence, instigate people for the purposes of mob violence and this entire strategy of mob violence, which has taken effect in the Valley since 11th of June, when some efforts were also made two years ago when they tried to create a controversy on the issue of pilgrim facilities in the Amarnath Yatra. But, gradually, it has been building up since then in the last two years.

From young children to women, youth, elderly people, are all being trained in acts of sabotage by way of stone pelting and mob violence wherein large crowds collect. Sir, women are organised by several separatist groups. The name of Dukhtaran-e-Millat is being regularly mentioned. Regarding school children, there have been incidents which have been reported that when they go to their schools, besides textbooks, their bags are also filled up, by some vested interests, with stones and the target is public property, the target is security forces. The Home Minister, in his statement, has mentioned that more than 1200 security personnel have already been injured. Now, the entire strategy appears to be that somehow indulge in these acts of mob violence and provoke the security forces, damage public property. Now, after all, public property has to be protected, human life has to be protected. And, every time, a defensive action is taken by our security forces, obviously, in a confrontation of this kind, lives will be lost. Even innocent lives will be lost. The Home Minister has rightly said that we sympathise with all those who have lost their lives even if they were a part of the agitating crowd because we do not want even a misled citizen of India to meet his end in this manner. Now, the entire strategy appears to be that through these acts of mob violence, instigate violence, create tension and then use the emotive content of that confrontation in order to spread it further.

Sir, today, we are faced with a situation where, as I said earlier, that our security forces, our local police, our CRPF, our other security forces, were actually, for the last two decades, tackling individual acts of terror and violence. This is a new situation which has emerged today. Unfortunately, and I say this with a sense of deep regret, even when efforts are being made by separatist groups to escalate the situation, and we had evidence of it which was broadcast by national television where handlers across the border are informing the so-called organizers of this mob violence, as to what the start point of the protest would be, as to what actions they are to take, they were even measuring the size of the crowd which was collecting for these particular purposes. Therefore, how do we handle a situation of this kind? What has, unfortunately, happened is that the political parties, which operate in the Valley within the political framework of India's democratic polity, have, unfortunately, taken a back seat. Their ability to reach out to the people in a situation of this

kind has somehow suddenly got diluted. Also, Sir, there is a reasonable sense of worry that we have, as to what is the preparedness of both our intelligence agencies and our security agencies to deal with this new situation which is now emerging where mob violence as a substitute to the isolated terrorist attacks is now the strategy of the separatist groups. The biggest worry, Sir, is that today, the State Government within the Valley, and this is the information which we are getting, has increasingly got alienated from the people.

In the two other parts of the State, that is, Leh Ladakh and Jammu, there is a huge amount of anger as these two regions have a feeling that they suffer from having been discriminated against historically. And, today, these two are feeling helpless as the entire concentration of the State and the country is on the Valley, and within the Valley, where large parts of our national resources are spent, and this kind of a situation has taken place. I mean no personal disrespect to any individual, but I am given to understand that forget the State, the Home Minister has to ask his own party, the Chief Minister is getting alienated even from his own party and even from his own alliance partners, and that is one of the reasons that the activity of the mainstream political parties within the Valley, I can understand his opponents in the PDP, who at times are making contradictory statements, probably want the State Government to go. But, today, even within the ruling alliance, the activity of all these parties which function within the framework of India's democratic polity in reaching out to the people has somehow got diluted and they are not making conscious efforts to do that. Whereas we have to prepare our intelligence and our security network to face a situation of this kind, we have also to be prepared to get together all the nationalist forces within the Valley for their politics so that they don't themselves get alienated from the people and are able to reach out to the people directly. When all this was happening, and as I said, this has been gradually building up, there is a deep sense of disappointment also. What have we done, as far as the Government of India is concerned? We experimented with new ideas every time without realizing whether those experiments will bring any return home or not. You had a political alliance with one group for six years. Then you switched over to a political alliance with a rival group. This kind of alliance hopping by a national party itself we thought perhaps is the political situation. But it has paid no dividends. The Prime Minister went there

around three years ago. He went recently also, just before the violence started. And, without considering the consequences of what he was going to do - there is no difficulty if you say that we stand for economic development, we stand for jobs, we stand for human rights - he thought that a round table conference and some working groups were a solution. Just consider what happened.

You constituted a Working Group to again work out a constitutional relationship between India and the State; the rest of the country and the State. The manner it went on was a complete farce. We got a retired judge of the Supreme Court for this. I say it with utmost respect for him. The Group hardly met. For twenty-two months, it did not meet. And suddenly without discussing it with the Group, without discussing it with the mainstream political parties, he produced a report. Who wrote the report nobody knows. Were these farcical experiments to be done with India's most sensitive area? Then we were told that this was a kind of autonomy document.

You then had a situation where the Home Minister has been maintaining what we have 'silent diplomacy,' which is on, for the last few months. What has the 'silent diplomacy' produced? Who are we talking to? I presume the kind of people we are talking to as a part of 'silent diplomacy' or 'quiet diplomacy.' The 'quiet diplomacy' has been going on for over a last few months. Because we are not finding the persons who are partners across the table in the quiet diplomacy. You are even going amongst the people in a situation of this kind which exists today.

Sir, before I come to the immediate issues involved in it, there are a few worrisome things. I would urge the Home Minister that while dealing with a situation of this kind, the Government of India certainly must not have a knee-jerk or panic reaction. We must realise this-my party has always believed it, and I have no hesitation in reasserting it even if many other parties don't agree-that our historical vision, or how the State's problems were to be resolved, was at fault. We started with a situation where we felt that, 'let us give them a separate status, it will please the people.' Please, stand up and honestly analyse this. Sixty-three years after independence, is the separate status journey moving towards separatism? Or is it moving towards integration? Has your vision been historically proved right or wrong? Therefore, every time there is a problem of this kind, the solution

which is suggested is that let us make a few more concessions; as it is you have authority over security, defence, external affairs, telecommunications, currency, and four or five areas of this kind.

Political parties within the valley may have their own compulsions. They speak in terms of pre-1953 status; they speak in terms of self-rule; and they speak in terms of autonomy. They have the freedom to advocate what they honestly believe in. But at the end of the day, are we going to go back to a situation where the Supreme Court of India has no jurisdiction or where the Election Commission has no jurisdiction? Therefore, when you decide how to deal with this, let there be no knee-jerk reactions, because you have to find a long-term solution. What did the President Musharraf, the former head of Pakistan, say after he went to London? This was a worrisome statement. We want somebody in the Government of India to clarify that this was not correct. In London, he said on Track-II we had almost come to a settlement on Kashmir. Now Track-II can be a step away from Track-I, but it cannot be diametrically opposite to Track-I. Track-I has visible diplomacy. What was the settlement that he was talking about. I only hope what he said was not an accurate version of what transpired.

Therefore, Sir, in a situation of this kind my queries to the hon. Home Minister or clarifications on the statement are: Does the Government of India have specific information that this entire change of strategy is being engineered from across the border and the handlers of this changed strategy of the separatist are across the border?

Secondly, there also seems to be some churning out of leaders within the separatist groups. Therefore, as a part of this churning out within the separatist groups, you have new leaders, who have suddenly emerged, who are leading the current agitation. And, therefore, if some of them, who have been traditionally involved in pro-Pakistan and separatist activities in the Valley, suddenly start giving statements one day which seem to be more conciliatory, is it a case of change of heart? I am particularly referring to Ali Shah Gilani's statement made yesterday. Is it a change of heart or is it part of a concerted strategy that these statements have been made?

Thirdly, Sir, would the Home Minister acquaint us with the extent to which violence has spread across the State and what steps the Government of India and our security forces are going to take to make sure that this mob violence comes to an end?

Finally, Sir, I hope, his answer is in the negative. When the situation is at such a sensitive point, no kind of political packages - and the kind of things which are mentioned in those political packages - be envisaged at this stage by the Government of India because packages of this kind will only indicate the weakness of the Indian State. Suggestions which are made are like dilute the border across the PoK which may become an option of legitimate infiltration; dilute the provisions of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act which will cripple the Armed Forces who are trying to save the sovereignty and integrity of India; take away the land meant for army cantonments. Your former partner, PDP, even goes to the extent of suggesting that allow both the currencies of both the States. And then, of course, there is the famous President Musharraf's suggestion that the Government of India has never accepted, irrespective of the party in power, to lose control of an area and go in for some kind of joint administration and control. Sir, I hope that there is no such proposal to make any concession of this kind because any concession made at this stage will further dilute the sovereignty and further make the separatists realise that their dreams are, at some point of time, realisable. Unless you give a clear strong signal from India that forget this being crystal-gazing or forget this being a distant dream, it's an impossibility. India will never compromise or bargain on its sovereign territory. It's only in that situation that you can go and negotiate from a position of strength rather than from a position of weakness. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Honourable Members, this is for clarifications on the statement. The Leader of Opposition has his own prerogative. But, don't take it as a discussion. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not a sort of discussion.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): It is very important. Sir, this subject cannot be taken up in this session for discussion. So, this is a sort of discussion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, already a statement has been made. Yes, it is an important subject. That is why, we are departing from the regular clarification rule. But, I want to remind the Members that don't take it as a discussion or debate. Now, Shri Saif-ud-Din Soz.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I express my deep anguish on the situation that is prevailing in the Kashmir Valley. See the deaths that have occurred during the last 20 days including youngsters. It's a colossal waste of property. Education system is in a shambles, and people there have suffered great frustration in spells of curfew and strikes. This is no occasion to describe the misery that the people of Kashmir have suffered in detail. Now, while I stand to seek some clarifications from the hon. Home Minister, I will ask: Will it be too much to expect that this House responds to the miserable situation which prevails not only on the ground but also dangerously in the mind of the young generation who have seen nothing but violence all these years of turmoil? I would request the Leader of Opposition also to care to understand and appreciate the content of my appeal. If this august House cares for my appeal, then it could support my suggestion that a Group of Parliamentarians, from all parties, may visit Kashmir soon and talk to a cross section of society besides visiting the bereaved families. It is, then, possible to understand better the perception of the Chief Minister, His Excellency, the Governor, and different segments of civil society. The people of Kashmir - this august House will, certainly, try to agree with me - deserve a message of compassion more than any package for economic well-being. Around this time, we should all be feeling to send a powerful message of irreclusiveness and togetherness, cutting across party lines. That is my appeal. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Thank you, Sir. With a deep sense of anguish at the situation in Kashmir and with a sense of anger that we, somehow, seem to appear impotent in dealing and settling with this issue, I want to seek certain clarifications. It is very difficult, Sir, not to say something before I raise certain questions, and that is connected with the fact that the hon. Home Minister's statement begins from the incidents that have taken place from the 11th of June. Now, the 11th of June incidents did not happen all of a sudden. There was a built-up to it, and in the built-up to it, various things were happening which were noticed by all of us and the fact that there

was no reaction to that and no anticipation that this is going to lead up to this. That itself is very worrisome. ...*(Interruptions)*... Yes, there are all sorts of information about cross-border support that they have received from the people who are not interested in the integration of Kashmir with India. The issue that needs to be addressed is, essentially, the capacity of people to enlarge the area of alienation between the people of Kashmir and India. How are we going to bridge that? The solution, Sir, does not - and that is apart from agreeing with the hon. Leader of the Opposition on many other things, but, on one aspect, I will have to disagree with him - lie in abrogating the provisions of Article 370. The solution lies, actually, in implementing it properly. The lack of its implementation has led to the alienation, and keeping that in mind, we have to understand, Sir, that it took nearly six months after the general indications that have come for an all-party meeting to be called in Kashmir. It is only after a month and 22 days, since these incidents began, that you have the Chief Minister issuing a statement! The political initiatives that we are all talking about and all that, at the moment, I think, can wait. What is actually required is to generate the confidence and remove that feeling of alienation. One important element of alienation is the role of our Army. I do not wish to undermine the role of our Army; they are doing a yeoman service in the integrity of our country. I mean, on that, there is no dispute. But whatever issues are whipping up the sentiments of alienation in Kashmir will have to be addressed, and, therefore, in this context, I think, the statement that the Army Commander - this is a clarification I would seek from the Home Minister - has made to declare the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, what is the reaction of the Central Government and how are we going to address this? At a time when there is a resentment building up saying that civilian deaths are increasing in the hands of Armed Forces, yes, there is utmost provocation; the strategic paradigm has shifted; the strategic paradigm is no longer the individual attacks of terror, but in order to incite mobs to violence; this has been happening; we have seen, this happened in the Amarnath Yatra period, two years ago; we have seen this happening even today - in such a situation, the most important thing is to show restraint, but, at the same time, to gain the confidence of the people as well. My party has been seeking, Sir, for a long time, since all these disturbances began, a solution;

we want - I fully endorse Prof. Saif-ud-Din Soz's suggestion - an all party delegation to be sent to Kashmir immediately, as soon as possible. And, there, the clarification I want to have is....

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : आप वहां जाओगे, तो वहां बंद होगा।

श्री सीताराम येचुरी : नहीं, मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ, we are not going; you are right. I understand. You are absolutely right. At the time of Amarnath Yatra also we all went there if you remember. Then the people came to talk to us. Now the point is to tell them that India is with them. We have to tell the people of Kashmir, "We are with you and you are with us". The whole political spectrum in India, not just the Government, all of us, is there together to solve this problem, to overcome this alienation and to give them the confidence, "Yes, you have this future there and we are all there to support you". We will all go there; we will sit there; we will tell them that whoever wants to come and meet us, please come. We will listen to everyone and we will generate that confidence. It is not as though we are going to come out with any great proposal. The proposals are there. The question is to create confidence among the people.

My last clarification is this. The Home Minister, in the concluding para 9, has stated and I quote:

"Once peace and order are restored, I am confident that we can explore the possibility of reactivating the political process that holds the key to solutions".

My point is that the process of restoring peace and order required the political process to go along simultaneously. It can't be one after the other. Therefore, in order to restore peace and order, it is necessary for the political process to begin and that should begin with an all-party delegation visiting Kashmir, and from there you start the political process and then your process of restoration of peace and law and order. I think that both must go simultaneously. That is what I urge upon him. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him seek clarifications. When the Minister replies, he will definitely consider it.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: On the last occasion, when we went at the time of the Amarnath Yatra, it was the then Home Minister who carried the all-party delegation. That could work. You

could work out your strategy, what could be the best. There is merit in first Members of Parliament going and subsequently the Government stepping in. There is also merit in the Government taking the lead and the Members of Parliament going later. I would suggest that first let the political process begin without the Government. Let Members of Parliament from all parties go first and generate the confidence amongst the people, and then the Government could step in on the basis of that. I think that would be a better strategy. So, that is what I will, therefore, suggest. Thank you.

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the whole country is anguished at the situation that is prevalent in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Home Minister's statement makes very clear the dimension of the crisis in the State.

Sir, as far as my party is concerned, we believe in the political process that can bring a solution to the problems of Jammu and Kashmir State. I hope the Government should reassure that everything possible will be done under article 370 of the Constitution. The question of full autonomy needs to be addressed and also regional autonomy to the three regions, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh can be considered in this process.

Having said that, I would like to ask the Home Minister and the Government, with due respect to the security forces: What is our attitude in applying the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act? In the case of Manipur, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act is not applied in Imphal city, if I am correct. It is not applied in Imphal city, but it was applied outside Imphal city. Why can't you think of such a thing in the case of Srinagar City? The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act need not be applied in the State of Jammu and Kashmir for experiment because the security forces need not be in the streets of Jammu and Kashmir State. Sir, the situation is grave. Women are pelting stones. I don't draw any parallel from the history of the world. It definitely reminds me of the situation once prevailed in West Asia. The Palestinian women and children pelted stones at the tanks of Israelis. Now the children are being killed; the women are being killed. As Prof. Soz has pointed out, there is colossal loss to the property. We should think radically to change the situation. I think the Armed

Forces can vacate the streets of Srinagar. There are many ways to control the people. I do not want to call them as mob. I differ from some of my colleagues calling them mob. They are people of Jammu and Kashmir. There are several methods to control the people when they agitate. Water cannons can be used; rubber bullets can be used. Now straightaway firing at the people, I do not think that can bring the people with us and it will help us to build confidence measures with the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

So, Sir, I think, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act will have to be relooked. Should it apply to the entire State? I think the Srinagar City can be kept out of the purview of this Act, as has been done in the case of Imphal. Then, Sir, negotiations will have to continue. Under article 370, the State must be reassured full autonomy. And there we can consider the regional autonomy to three regions. Finally, I tend to agree with what Prof. Soz has said. An all-party delegation can go there in order to win the confidence of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and to identify with them and they should also identify with us. When Shri Shivraj Patil was Home Minister, there was a Delegation to Jammu and Kashmir and there was a good response. I think there is a need for political process and the people of Jammu and Kashmir should understand that the whole country is concerned with their problems and is willing to address their problems and the whole country is with them. There, I think, the political process is must and the political process should begin by reassuring that the problems of Jammu and Kashmir will be addressed under article 370. Thank you.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we share the concern of the Government towards the escalating unrest in the Valley and also understand the restraint it has to adhere in restoring the issue. The Minister's statement says, "The Central Government initiated a 'quiet dialogue' with key political groups and individuals. I had hoped that the dialogue would open a window of opportunity to activate the political process in order to find solutions. However, that dialogue was interrupted on 4th December, 2009, when there was an attempt on the life of Shri Fazl-ul-Haq, a leader who favoured dialogue, and he was seriously injured." The problem now which is going on is not by militants for the statements says, "There is reliable intelligence that some armed

militants may have mingled with the crowds". So it is 'by the people' means, only a quiet dialogue could resolve the issue. What is the Government doing? Whether the atmosphere is congenial or not, you should have a quiet dialogue. Why has it not been restarted after December, in these eight months? Is it not the right time to initiate a quiet dialogue? I would like to know from the hon. Minister, before mooted the idea of sending an all-party delegation, whether it is on the Government's agenda to convene an all-party meeting to discuss and resolve the issue. I would also like to know the composition of the Unified Command in Srinagar. I would like to know whether it is similar to that one in Naxal affected areas, which comprises a retired Major General or it is different one. Thank you.

श्री रामविलास पासवान (बिहार) : उपसभापति जी, अभी तक जो बातें चली हैं, मैं उनसे थोड़ा differ करता हूँ। कश्मीर एक समय जन्नत कहा जाता था। वहाँ के लोग तलवार की बात तो दूर रही, रूमाल से तलवार खेला करते थे। आज वह कश्मीर खून से खेल रहा है। हम यहाँ फौज का experiment कर रहे हैं। हम जानना चाहते हैं कि सरकार के मुताबिक वहाँ कितने terrorists हैं? वह संख्या हजार में भी नहीं होगी, सैंकड़ों में होगी और वहाँ कितने लाख फौज है। हम फौज के बल पर वहाँ शान्ति-व्यवस्था कायम करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। फौज का दो काम होता है। एक यह होता है कि जो civilian है, उसकी रक्षा करना और दूसरा यह होता है कि जो terrorists हैं, उनसे लड़ना। लोगों का विश्वास सबसे बड़ा विश्वास होता है। आज लोगों का विश्वास हिल गया है। जो कार्रवाई हो रही है, उस कार्रवाई से अलगाववादी तत्वों को बल मिल रहा है। जेटली साहब ने ठीक कहा कि इसके पीछे अलगाववादी तत्वों का हाथ हो सकता है। अलगाववादी तत्वों का हाथ हो सकता है, लेकिन क्या हम ऐसी कार्रवाई करें, जिससे अलगाववादी तत्वों को और बल मिलता जाए?

पिछली बार श्राइन बोर्ड का मामला था, तो एक issue था, जिस issue के ऊपर वहाँ घटनाएं घटीं। आज कौन सा issue है? सबसे बड़ा basic प्रश्न है कि हम गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहते हैं कि जो इतने निर्दोष लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, बच्चे मारे जा रहे हैं, वहाँ issue क्या है? Issue सिर्फ इतना ही है कि एक civilian को फेक encounter में मार दिया गया। जब एक निर्दोष को मारा गया, तो उसके खिलाफ लोग सड़क पर उतरे। जब वे सड़क पर उतरे, तो बजाय इसके कि आप उन्हें सांत्वना देने का काम करते, बजाय इसके कि आप उसके परिवार के लोगों से मिलने का काम करते, आपने फौज का सहारा लिया और निर्दोष लोगों के मरने का सिलसिला जारी किया। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि यह सिलसिला कितने दिनों तक चलेगा। ये जो 39 लोग मारे गए हैं, ये 39 लोग आपके कथनानुसार civilian हैं। इनमें कोई terrorist नहीं है। सर, हम उन लोगों में से हैं, जो हर साल कश्मीर जाते हैं। हम उन लोगों में से हैं, जो

कश्मीर के डारुन टारुन एरिया में जाकर इफतार पार्टी करते हैं। जितना कश्मीर के terrorists के बारे में बताया जाता है, यह vested interests के लोगों का काम है। Terrorists के नाम पर बहुत लोगों की रोजी-रोटी चलती है। जिस दिन वहां terrorists खत्म हो जाएंगे, उस दिन बहुत से लोगों की रोजी-रोटी खत्म हो जाएगी। हमें इस बात को भी समझने की आवश्यकता है।

श्री उपसभापति : रामविलास जी, आप खत्म कीजिए।

श्री रामविलास पासवान : सर, मैं खत्म करता हूं।

इसलिए मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि हमें इसे सेना के दृष्टिकोण से नहीं देखना चाहिए। हमें इसे humanitarian point of view से देखना चाहिए। आज भी अमरनाथ की बस की यात्रा हो रही है। हजारों की संख्या में लोग जा रहे हैं। सैकड़ों की संख्या में बसें जा रही हैं। कहां attack हो रहा है? हमारे परिवार का कोई आदमी मारा जाएगा और हम उसके funeral में जाएंगे, तो क्या हमें जाने का अधिकार नहीं है? आप वहां जाकर उनके ऊपर गोली चलाएंगे! 4 आदमियों ने पत्थर फेंक दिया, तो क्या इसके जवाब में आपके पास प्लास्टिक की गोली नहीं है या और दूसरी चीजें नहीं हैं? क्या आपके पास सीधे firing करके लोगों को मारने का सिर्फ एक ही हथियार है? यदि इस तरह की कार्रवाई होती रहेगी, तो कभी घाटी में अमन-चैन होने वाला नहीं है।

इसलिए एक political will, इच्छा शक्ति की आवश्यकता होती है। नेता के पास दिल होना चाहिए। दिगाम bureaucrats के पास रहता है, लेकिन नेता के पास दिल होना चाहिए। जब तक हम दिल से काम नहीं लेंगे, तब तक कश्मीर की समस्या solve होने वाली नहीं है और न ही यह आन्दोलन रुकने वाला है। इसलिए हम चाहेंगे कि इस पर सरकार ने जिस तरह से संवेदना व्यक्त की है, उसी लहजे में सरकार, जो लोग मारे गए हैं, उनके आंसू पोंछने का भी काम करे और देखे कि भविष्य में किसी मां का बेटा या बच्चा उसकी गोद से नहीं छीना जाए और निर्दोष लोगों की हत्या नहीं हो, इसकी गारंटी सदन में देनी चाहिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : सर, पर्शियन का एक शेर है -

गर फिरदौस बररुए जमीनस्तो

हमीनस्तो हमीनस्तो हमीनस्तो

अगर इस दुनिया में जन्मत है, तो यही कश्मीर है, यही कश्मीर है। लेकिन सर, आज वह जन्मत जहन्नुम बनी हुई है। आज जिन हालात से कश्मीर गुजर रहा है, शायद पिछले 63 साल में उन हालात से नहीं गुजरा। एक महीने में 40-45 लोग मारे गए, जिनमें 17 बच्चे हैं और जिनकी उम्र सात, आठ या दस साल की है। यह चिन्ता का विषय है।

सर, मैं बड़े अदब से होम मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसका जो इम्पैक्ट हमारे यहां हो रहा है, वह तो हो ही रहा है, लेकिन इसका इंटरनेशनल इम्पैक्ट क्या हो रहा है? वह और भी ज्यादा खराब हो रहा है। सर, अभी यूनाइटेड नेशंस के सेक्रेटरी जनरल का स्टेटमेंट आया है, Ban ki-moon ने कहा है। The Home Minister would have definitely gone through this statement. He has voiced concern about the prevailing situation in the 'Indian Occupied Kashmir'. He does not consider Kashmir to be a part of India. So, he has talked about the prevailing situation in the 'Indian Occupied Kashmir' and called for further resumption of Indo-Pak composite dialogue. We are unable to resolve whatever is happening in Kashmir, according to the Secretary-General of United Nations. He says that we cannot do it without the consent of Pakistan. हमें पाकिस्तान के साथ बात करनी पड़ेगी, तभी हम कश्मीर की समस्या का समाधान कर सकते हैं। यह बहुत सीरियस बात है। हम अपने घर में बैठकर कहते रहें कि कश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है, इससे क्या फर्क पड़ेगा, जब तक बाहर के लोगों को हम यह यकीन नहीं दिलाएंगे। पाकिस्तान के एम्बेसेडर ने अभी तीन दिन पहले ही बोला है कि कश्मीर की सिचुएशन तब तक ठीक नहीं हो सकती, जब तक पाकिस्तान के साथ बातचीत नहीं होगी। यह बात वहां का एम्बेसेडर बोल रहा है। अमरीका के अन्दर ह्यूमेन राइट्स ऑर्गनाइजेशन कॉन्फरेंसिंग कर रही है; the Home Minister must know this कि उन कॉन्फरेंसिंग के अन्दर रैजोल्यूशंस पास हो रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : आप क्लैरिफिकेशन पूछिए...(व्यवधान)... क्लैरिफिकेशन पूछिए...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी : सर, होम मिनिस्टर से मेरा पहला क्वेश्चन यह है कि: what shall be the impact internationally?

और मेरा सैकेंड क्लैरिफिकेशन है: The Home Minister has said in his statement that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir is actively considering a number of political and administrative measures that would help restore normalcy. The Chief Minister, while affirming his commitment to take certain political and affirmative measures, has made it clear that the current cycle of violence would have to end before he can take the initiative. Sir, my question is: what kind of initiative are you taking? Are you sure that these initiatives will help resolve the situation? The primary concern is that there should be peace in Kashmir. This is not the time to blame any political party. The party that is ruling Kashmir today, was ruling Kashmir in yesteryears with your help. Today, it is ruling with our help. It is not the question of who is responsible. The basic thing is, peace should be there in Kashmir.

1.00 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri H. K. Dua. I request all Members to be brief.

SHRI H. K. DUA (Nominated): Sir, there is, certainly a sensitive situation in the valley and the Home Minister's statement has a welcome hint of starting a political dialogue with "political groups and individuals". The dialogue was disrupted, unfortunately, last December.

It is just not a law and order situation. There is an urgent need for political dialogue with various elements in the State across the broad spectrum. I would like to know who is going to talk and when the dialogue is going to start. I am asking this also in the context of the previous promises we have made to the people of Kashmir, P.V. Narasimha Rao onwards. He had said sky is the limit for giving autonomy to Kashmir. Mr. Vajpayee, when he was the Prime Minister, said that there will be talks but "इन्सानियत के दायरे में"। Dr. Manmohan Singh has been repeating the promise of autonomy and the talks. The last time that he spoke about the dialogue, and a quiet dialogue, the Home Minister did not rule out the question of autonomy. Will the political dialogue he has in mind pick up the threads from where it had been left last time?

श्री मोहम्मद अदीब (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, होम मिनिस्टर साहब की रिप्लाय के बाद और अखबारों में पढ़ने के बाद यह अंदाजा हुआ कि कश्मीर के जो हालात हैं, ऐसे कभी नहीं हुए। लेकिन, अगर तसफिया किया जाए, अपने गिरेबान में मुंह डाला जाए, तो कहीं-न-कहीं हम भी कुसुरवार पाए जाएंगे...

श्री उपसभापति : आप क्लैरिफिकेशन ही पूछिए।

श्री मोहम्मद अदीब : मैं सिर्फ क्लैरिफिकेशन दे रहा हूँ, सर। जब यह मुल्क आजाद हुआ था तो ...(व्यवधान)... यह तय हुआ था कि ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : क्लैरिफिकेशन देना नहीं, लेना है।

श्री मोहम्मद अदीब : कौन हिस्सा किधर जाएगा तथा कौन पाकिस्तान होगा और कौन हिन्दुस्तान होगा? कश्मीर की अवाम ने खुद यह फैसला किया था कि वे हिन्दुस्तान में आएंगे। शेख अब्दुल्ला ने सन 1966 में अलीगढ़ में यह कहा था कि मैं अपनी कौम की लाशों पर से गुजरकर यहां गांधी और नेहरू से यह कहने आया था कि मुझे जिन्ना के तास्सुब से बचा लो। हमने उन शेख अब्दुल्ला को दसियों साल जेल में रखा। यह बुनियाद पहले पड़ी। आज तक कश्मीर के साथ यह हो रहा है कि वहां के बच्चों को आज भी यहां शक और शुबहे की नजर से देखा जा रहा है। मैं सिर्फ तीन सजेशंस के साथ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ...

श्री उपसभापति : आप सजेशंस नहीं दीजिए, क्लैरिफिकेशन पूछिए।

ش्री موہممد اددیب : سر، کشمیر کے بچوں کو ہندوستان میں، یوں کی مین سٹریم میں، نائکریوں کے لیے سپیشل مرآات دیے آئے، تاکہ وہ لوگوں کے ساتھ interact کر سکیں، لوگوں سے ملیں اور یوں وہ یہ سمجھیں کہ وہ ہندوستان کا ہی ایک حصہ ہیں۔ یہ ایک بونیاد ہکومت کو بنانی چاہیے۔

دوسری بات، پاکستان کو یہ باآور کر دینا چاہیے کہ وہ اگر اس میں مداخلت کرے گا تو ہم اسکو برداشت نہیں کریں گے۔

تیسری بات میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ Human Rights Activists کو بھی کشمیر بھجنا چاہیے۔ جیسا ابھی ہمارے سوجن بآئی نے کہا، یہ ایک بہت اچھا کدم ہے، لیکن ہمکو شک اور شوبہات کے دایرے سے نیکل کر کسی نہ کسی سورت سے کشمیر کے لوگوں کو یوں لانا پڑے گا، فوج پر پابندی لگانی پڑے گی اور یوں کے جو اکیٹیویسٹس ہیں انکو یوں بھجنا پڑے گا۔

میں ہم مینسٹر سآہب سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جیسا ہمارے رآجہ ڈا. کرن سینگ سآہب نے ایک شور پڑا تھا کہ "نفرت سے نہ دیکھو دشمن کو، شآد وہ مہببت کر بیٹے"، تو یہ وکت ہے کہ وہ مہببت کریں گے، وہ ہمارے ہیں اور ہمارے رہیں گے۔ ہمارے پڑوسی کو کئی-ن-کئی سوچنا پڑے گا۔ ہم نے کئی-ن-کئی گلتی زور کی ہے۔

جناب محمد ادیب (ائر پردیش) : سر، ہوم منسٹر سآہب کی رپلانی کے بعد اور آخبروں میں پڑھنے کے بعد یہ اندازہ ہوا کہ کشمیر کے جو حالات ہیں، ایسے کبھی نہیں ہونے، لیکن اگر تصفیہ کیا جائے، اپنے گریبان میں منہ ڈالا جائے، تو کہیں نہ کہیں ہم بھی قصوروار پاتے جائیں گے۔

جناب اپ سبھا پتی : اپ کلیرفکیشن بی پوچھئے۔

جناب محمد ادیب : میں صرف کلیرفکیشن دے رہا ہوں، سر۔ جب یہ ملک آزاد ہوا تھا تو... (مداخلت)... یہ طے ہوا تھا کہ... (مداخلت)۔

جناب اپ سبھا پتی : کلیرفکیشن دینا نہیں ہے، لینا ہے۔

جناب محمد ادیب : کہ کون حصہ کدھر جائے گا کون پاکستان ہوگا اور کون ہندوستان ہوگا؟ کشمیر کی عوام نے خود یہ فیصلہ کیا تھا کہ وہ ہندوستان آئیں گے۔ شیخ عبداللہ نے سن 1946 میں علی گڑھ میں یہ کہا تھا کہ "میں اپنی قوم کی لاشوں پر سے گزر کر یہاں گاندھی اور نہرو سے یہ کہنے آیا تھا کہ مجھے جناح کے تعصب سے بچا لو"۔ ہم نے ان شیخ عبداللہ کو دسیوں سال جیل میں رکھا۔ یہ بنیاد

† Transliteration in Urdu script.

پہلے پڑی۔ آج تک کشمیر کے ساتھ یہ ہو رہا ہے کہ وہاں کے بچوں کو یہاں آج بھی شک و شبہ کی نظر سے دیکھا جا رہا ہے۔ میں صرف تین سیشن کے ساتھ یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ---

جناب اپ سبھا پتی : آپ سیشن نہیں دیجئے، کلیر فکیشن پوچھئے۔

جناب محمد ادیب : سر، کشمیر کے بچوں کو ہندوستان میں، یہاں کی سین اسٹریم میں نوکریوں کے لئے اسپیشل مراعات دئے جائیں، جس میں وہ انٹریکٹ ہوں، لوگوں سے ملیں اور یہاں وہ یہ سمجھیں کہ ہندوستان کا ایک حصہ ہیں۔ یہ ایک بنیاد حکومت کو بنانی چاہئے۔

دوسری بات، پاکستان کو یہ باآور کر دینا چاہئے کہ اگر وہ اس میں مداخلت کرے گا تو ہم اس کو برداشت نہیں کریں گے۔

تیسری بات میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ Human Rights Activists کو بھی کشمیر بھیجنا چاہئے۔ جیسا ابھی ہمارے سوز بھائی نے کہا، یہ ایک بہت اچھا قدم ہے، لیکن ہم کو نہ شک و شبہات کے دائرے سے نکل کر کسی نہ کسی صورت سے کشمیر کے لوگوں کو یہاں لانا پڑے گا، فوج پر پابندی کرنی پڑے گی اور یہاں کے جو activists ہیں ان کو وہاں بھیجنا پڑے گا۔

میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جیسا ہمارے راجہ ڈاکٹر کرن سنگھ صاحب نے ایک شعر پڑھا تھا کہ "نفرت سے نہ دیکھو دشمن کو، شاید وہ محبت کر بیٹھے"۔ یہ وقت ہے کہ وہ محبت کریں گے، وہ ہمارے ہیں اور ہمارے رہیں گے۔ ہمارے پڑوسی کو کہیں نہ کہیں سوچنا پڑے گا۔ ہم نے کہیں نہ کہیں غلطی ضرور کی ہے۔

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार) : सर, कश्मीर वादियों का एक खूबसूरत स्थान है और हम लोग उसको...

श्री उपसभापति : आप क्लैरिफिकेशन पूछिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... कश्मीर बहुत अच्छी जगह है, यह सब को मालूम है।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद : सर, कश्मीर वादियों का एक खूबसूरत स्थान है। वह जहाँ में सबसे सुन्दर जगह है। वहाँ की एक साधारण-सी घटना पर इतना एजिटेशन हो गया कि वहाँ इनकाउंटर में एक बच्चे को मार दिया गया और उसके बाद ये घटनाएं घटी हैं। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से क्या यह पूछ सकता हूँ कि क्या इस समस्या का कोई और समाधान नहीं था या यह केवल मिनिस्ट्री भेजने का ही मामला था?

सर, दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारे एल.ओ.पी. साहब ने कहा कि वहाँ बच्चे स्कूल के बैग में पत्थर रखते हैं, तब यह तो अच्छा हुआ कि वे पत्थर ही रखते हैं, उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि वे उसमें बम रखते हैं। खैर, मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समस्या का बंदूक के अलावा क्या और कोई दूसरा समाधान नहीं था कि चार वर्ष के, सात वर्ष के बच्चों को मार-मार के वहाँ सुला दिया गया? उसके बाद आप खुद कहते हैं कि हमें दुख है। यह * जो आपने वहाँ बच्चों को मारने के लिए, innocent लोगों को मारने के लिए किया और राम विलास जी ने सही कहा कि उसमें कोई आतंकवादी नहीं मारा गया, कश्मीर बॉर्डर को क्रॉस करने में कोई नहीं मारा गया। तो आप जरा इस पर विचार कीजिए कि क्या गोली के अलावा कोई दूसरा भी यंत्र था जिससे आप वहाँ की स्थिति को काबू में कर सकते थे या नहीं कर सकते थे? यही मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ।

श्री जी.एन. रतनपुरी (जम्मू और कश्मीर) : सर, मुझे थोड़ा-सा टाइम दीजिए because I represent Jammu & Kashmir.

श्री उपसभापति : आप clarifications पूछिए।

श्री जी.एन. रतनपुरी : सर, मैं clarifications ही मांग रहा हूँ। होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि हम कश्मीर में political process शुरू करेंगे और यह मसला हमें सियासी तौर पर तय करना है। 1947 से यह political process चल रहा है। Between the States and Centre, कई agreements हुए हैं। पहले हमें यह देखना है कि उन agreements का क्या हश्र हुआ, उनका क्या अंजाम हुआ, ये दूरियाँ क्यों पैदा हो गईं और यह mistrust क्यों पैदा हो गया। अगर वहाँ कोई Parliamentary Delegation, कोई भी टीम या मिनिस्टर्स जाएं, तो पाएंगे कि वहाँ credibility नहीं है, लोग एतबार नहीं करेंगे। You have to offer something other than talks. 1947 से बात चल रही है, लेकिन बात में से कुछ निकलना चाहिए। 9 अगस्त, 1953 को, जब शेख अब्दुल्ला वज़ीर-ए-आज़म थे, उन्हें depose किया गया। शायद कश्मीर उनसे बड़े stature या उनसे बड़े following का लीडर future में नहीं देखेगा, लेकिन अगर Govt. of India को लगा कि उनकी वजह से security of India किसी तरह से, चाहे यह गलतफहमी हो...(व्यवधान)...

*Not recorded

श्री उपसभापति : देखिए, आप clarifications पूछिए। There is no time for all this.

श्री जी.एन. रतनपुरी : आप मुझे दो मिनट अपनी बात कहने दीजिए, प्लीज मैं ज्यादा बोलता नहीं हूँ, लेकिन यह एक ऐसा issue है कि इस पर हमें बोलना है, क्योंकि इस पर लोग हमें यह कहते हैं कि आप बात क्यों नहीं करते, जब आप हिन्दुस्तान के सबसे बड़े ऐवान में हैं तो आप वहां बैठकर क्या करते हैं? हमें वहां भी जवाब देना है। तो अगर उस autonomy के बावजूद उस वक्त इतने बड़े लीडर को हटाया जा सकता था तो मेरे ख्याल में आज सबसे पहला स्टेप यह होगा कि आप autonomy को बहाल कीजिए। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से over the last 57 years जो भी ईख्तियारात लिये हैं, उनको लौटाने की बात कीजिए तो शायद आपकी बात पर वहां कोई ध्यान देगा।

दूसरी बात यह है कि Govt. of India सिर्फ पुलिस, security agencies और intelligence agencies पर बहुत ज्यादा rely करती है। जब political process की बात हो तो आप अवाम के नुमाइंदों से बात करें। हम यहां दिल्ली में हैं, कभी हमें भी बुलाएं और हमसे भी जानने की कोशिश करें। Security Forces में सभी फरिश्ते नहीं हैं। यह प्रॉब्लम सिर्फ कश्मीर में नहीं है, अब यह पूरे मुल्क में हो रहा है। Security Forces या पुलिस के खिलाफ कोई criticism बर्दाश्त नहीं की जाती, यह बिल्कुल blasphemy के बराबर माना जाता है। वहां भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो points score करने के लिए, अपने ACR को बढ़ाने के लिए या किसी और मकसद के लिए गलतबयानी से काम लेते हैं। कल मेरी constituency में हालात खराब थे। मैंने बात की तो मुझे बताया गया कि crowd में militants हैं, उन्होंने फायर किया। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी यह कहा है कि crowd में militants होते हैं। स्टेट पुलिस जो हर शाम को briefing या handout देती है, उसमें उन्होंने आज तक यह mention नहीं किया है। मैंने कल शाम को उस incident के बारे में mention किया और independent sources से पता करने की कोशिश की। I am inclined to presume, क्योंकि आजकल आर्मी हेल्प को नहीं आती है, लेकिन अगर militancy का जिक्र करें कि militant है तो शायद आर्मी निकल आये। वहां हालात ज्यादा खराब थे और वहां security forces and Police इतनी नहीं थी कि वे उस situation को tackle कर पाती। इसके लिए District Magistrate और District Superintendent of Police ने रिक्वेस्ट की थी। आज कश्मीर में आर्मी बुलाने का यह मकसद नहीं है कि उनको cantonment से निकलना है। तकरीबन हर टाउन में आर्मी मौजूद है और normally वह निकलती है और इसका हल करती रहती है। मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता कि पिछली बार चीफ मिनिस्टर को क्यों रिक्वेस्ट करनी पड़ी। Normally, District Magistrate की रिक्वेस्ट पर आर्मी निकल आती है और law and order situation में भी हेल्प करती है। जब खुद होम मिनिस्टर साहब यह कहते हैं कि crowd में militants होते हैं, it becomes a sort of their duty. Armed Forces Special Power Act के तहत हेड कान्स्टेबल से ऊपर के लेवल के किसी भी ऑफिसर को वहां जाने और intervene करने

का इख्तियार है। यह समझ में नहीं आता कि जब जरूरत पड़ी और आज जब सूरत-ए-हाल बहुत ज्यादा गम्भीर है तो चीफ मिनिस्टर को क्यों लिखना पड़ता है। आज वहां हर गांव में सूरत-ए-हाल खराब है और अगर local administration request करती है, तो इसमें आर्मी को हेल्प करनी चाहिए थी। ऐसा हर कहीं होता है, मुल्क के किसी भी हिस्से में होता है, तो यह क्यों नहीं हो रहा है? मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से एक तो यह जानना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने किस आधार पर यह कहा कि crowd में militants हैं? क्या कहीं फायर हुआ है या कहीं यह रिपोर्ट हुआ है? दूसरे, यह कि अगर Parliamentarians या politicians का कोई delegation जाता है तो वे क्या offer करेंगे? सिर्फ talks से कुछ नहीं चलेगा, यह उन्होंने clear कर दिया है। हम 1947 से अब तक talks करते रहे हैं, agreements का तो बुरा हथ्र कर दिया, talks की तो बात ही नहीं है। थैंक यू।

SHRI Y.P. TRIVEDI (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on this issue. The situation in Kashmir seems to be perennial. There are times when there is peace, but some incident takes place, and suddenly, there is violence, largely inflamed by forces from across the border. The situation, if not alarming, is certainly quite serious. What is the need of the hour is that the entire House, the entire country is behind the Government cutting across all the party lines. We believe that the Government's hand should be strengthened. What should be attitude of the Government, what should be the policy of the Government, political solution is one thing, but the first and the primary duty of any Government is to maintain law and order. What is the need of the hour, according to me, is twin-fold. We need action of the sturdiness of Abraham Lincoln who said that 'in spite of violence we will see to it that there is no further division or there is no further bifurcation.' Attitude of Abraham Lincoln should be adopted in the first instance. The second thing which is the need of the hour is what Mahatma Gandhi did when he went to Noakhali. A delegation from all of us, from this House should go there, should sit there, talk with people, inspire confidence in their minds and whatever is the problem, you should try to understand that. For all this, I think, the Home Minister should be assured that the entire House cutting across all the party lines is behind his action. Thank you.

सरदार सुखदेव सिंह ठिठसा (पंजाब) : उपसभापति जी, जैसा कि हमारे साथियों ने कहा कि कश्मीर का मसला आज से नहीं, बल्कि 1947 से ही चल रहा है और आज जो हालात हैं, बहुत बुरे हो गए हैं, बद से बदतर हो

गए हैं। सारे देश में इस पर चिंता है और सारा देश इस पर एकजुबान है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पहले तो बहुत देर तक पाकिस्तान और हिंदुस्तान के बीच में कोई बातचीत नहीं हुई। जैसा हमारे साथी ने कहा कि श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी, प्रधान मंत्री होते हुए खुद बस लेकर गए और उन्होंने कहा कि मैं हर विषय पर बात करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन उसके बाद कुछ नहीं हुआ। फिर डा. मनमोहन सिंह आए हैं, इन्होंने कोशिश की है, लेकिन अभी तक कुछ नहीं हुआ, बल्कि वहां के लोग और ज्यादा खलल डाल रहे हैं। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इन हालात को सुधारने के लिए एक ऑल पार्टी मीटिंग बुलाई जाए। मैं सोज साहब के सजेशन के साथ हूँ कि वहां पर सभी पार्टियों के एम.पीज़ का एक डेलीगेशन जाना चाहिए। पहले एक ऑल पार्टी मीटिंग होनी चाहिए, उसके बाद कोई फैसला होना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कश्मीर के पंडित तो पहले ही आ गए हैं, लेकिन अभी सिख लोग वहां पर हैं। पहले एक दफा उन पर हमला किया गया, ताकि वे वहां से चले जाएं, जिसमें बहुत से सिख मारे गए। अभी हाल ही में उनके बाल काट दिए गए। इस पर बहुत एजीटेशन हो रहा है। हो सकता है कि वे यह चाहते हों कि सिख भी यहां से चले जाएं। सिख लोग हमेशा भाईचारे और एकता में विश्वास करते हैं और किसी के खिलाफ नहीं हैं, उनको भी वहां से निकालने की कोशिश हो रही है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि ऑनरेबल होम मिनिस्टर क्या इस पर कोई ऐक्शन लेंगे?

मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब में मिलिटेंसी की गतिविधियां बहुत बढ़ गई हैं और यह बात होम मिनिस्टर साहब जानते हैं। क्या उनका कश्मीर के militants से कोई नाता है, क्या उनको वहां से कोई सपोर्ट मिलती है, क्योंकि दोनों की बात पाकिस्तान से चलती है। मैं एक क्लेरिफिकेशन यह भी चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के सी.एम. हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब से मिले थे और उन्होंने कहा था कि अभी इस स्टेज को संभाल लो और हमारी जो para military forces हैं, उनको आप modernize करो, यदि आप इनको modernize नहीं करोगे, तो स्थिति और खराब होगी। पाकिस्तान से पंजाब में और कश्मीर में terrorists आ ही रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पुलिस को modernize करने का सरकार का कोई विचार है?

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I have only one point to make. I want the hon. Home Minister to keep in mind that the holy month of Ramadan is coming. So, before that whatever initiative is to be taken should be taken.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have heard the hon. Members, who have sought clarifications on my Statement that was made day before yesterday, very carefully. I am grateful to the hon. Leader of the Opposition as well as all other

leaders who have joined me in expressing our deep sense of regret and anguish at the loss of lives in Jammu and Kashmir. Sir, the problems of Jammu and Kashmir are problems that have remained with us since 1947. It was not my intention when making a Statement to lay out a road map to the solution of those problems. It could not have been done in a Statement that describes the current situation nor is it possible to deal with those problems while replying to clarifications on that Statement. The statement was intended to capture the current situation, how we intend to deal with the current situation and, therefore, with your permission, Sir, I should be very happy to answer questions that pertain to the current situation. Sir, it is often forgotten that beginning 2004 and up to the middle of this year, except the year 2008, Jammu and Kashmir has not witnessed serious civilian strikes. I underline the word 'civilian'. We have had incidents involving terrorists and infiltrators on the border, maybe even inside the border, but, if you leave that out, the State has been largely peaceful and there has been no civilian unrest since 2004. Sir, 2008 was an exception when the Amarnath Yatra triggered a controversy and lives were lost. In fact, a hundred lives were lost that year. But, otherwise, I think, it is well to remember that very, very few lives were lost in those years. In 2005, it was actually one, in 2006 it was six, in 2007 it was two and in 2009 it was only seven. I think, in large measure or at least in substantial measure the fact that there was no civilian unrest in Jammu and Kashmir is owing to the policy pursued by the UPA-I Government and the ' policy that was pursued by UPA-II beginning May 2009.

The Amarnath strife was a separate issue and I don't wish to go into that now. I do not think raising issues like abrogate Article like 370, do not offer a political solution to the Jammu and Kashmir issue or send more paramilitary forces, send in the Army, I think, this is not the policy of the UPA Government and with great respect to the Leader of the Opposition, some of these demands were articulated in a memorandum submitted by the principal opposition party to the Prime Minister yesterday, we beg to differ. This is not the approach that we should adopt for Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India under very unique circumstances. That is why on my first visit to Jammu and Kashmir after I took over as Home Minister I said, 'this is a unique problem. There is a unique history to the problem and therefore, we must put our heads together to find a solution, a

unique solution to this unique problem'. That is what I said. Be that as it may, I think, it is important to win hearts and minds in Jammu and Kashmir. The fact that there is no civilian strife for five out of six years gave me a lot of encouragement when I embarked upon the path of quiet dialogue. The quiet dialogue did yield results. Between May and December 4, 2009, there was hardly any civilian strife. I am not attributing it entirely to the quiet dialogue. But, certainly, the quiet dialogue contributed to the fact that there was, largely, peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir. The dialogue was interrupted on December 4, as I said in my statement, when Fazal-ul-Haq Quereshi, a moderate leader who favoured dialogue, was very seriously injured. Since then, I confess, we have not been able to resume the quiet dialogue. But, it is my intention to do everything possible to resume the quiet dialogue.

Sir, it is true that Pakistan appears to have altered its strategy in influencing events in Jammu and Kashmir. I do not think there is any let up, as such, in filtration nor is there any let up in sending militants into the Valley. But, as the hon. Leader of the Opposition pointed out, our capacity to deal with infiltration and militancy is, certainly, much higher today than what it was a few years ago. Our intelligence is, certainly, better equipped. And, therefore, we have been able to foil these designs. Sir, it is possible that there is an altered strategy. It is possible that they believe that relying upon civilian unrest will pay them better dividends. But, I am confident, if we are able to win the hearts and minds of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, even those designs can be foiled.

Sir, there are a number of issues which deserved to be addressed. The most important is, our own pronouncements and our own promises to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The larger issue of solving the problem of Jammu and Kashmir, the problems that are raised by Pakistan, is a larger issue. We will keep that aside for the time being. But, there are our Government's pronouncements and our own promises to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in that part of Kashmir which is with India. And, I think, it is important that we deliver on our promises and we follow-up on our own pronouncements. There is intense debate on these issues, as they should be. There is an intense debate in the country. There is an intense debate in many fora, including Parliament. There is intense debate within the Government too and that is only to be expected. In a coalition Government, intense

debate is to be expected. But, I have not yielded on the argument that Government must deliver on the promises that were made, the Government must follow-up on the pronouncements that were made. One amongst them is the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act. I cannot brush aside other points of view. But, it will be my endeavour to work with everyone else and find a way in which we can deliver on our promise on the AFSP. Likewise, we have said that we would like to reduce the presence of security forces if conditions improve. In fact, we did it in 2009. A significant number of armed forces personnel were moved out of the valley. A significant number of paramilitary forces personnel were also moved out of the valley. When the situation warrants, we may have to send more forces. But, when the situation warrants, we may have to withdraw the forces too. And, that is the policy of the Government of India.

Sir, the UN Secretary General did not make the statement attributed to him. In fact, it was made by one of his staffs who happens to be a national of Pakistan. The UN Secretary General's office has flatly denied any such statement. In the immediate short-term, this is an area in which I agree with the Leader of the Opposition and many others, we must bring to an end the violence on the streets of Jammu and Kashmir. I think it requires firm action by the security forces as well as the Government of Jammu and Kashmir reaching out to the people. It is not my purpose to find fault, to apportion blame, but I think some lessons have been learnt. I think the Government of Jammu and Kashmir is now reaching out to the people. The Chief Minister has visited the injured people in the hospitals. Ministerial delegations have been sent to various district headquarters. We have advised the Government to ensure that the District Magistrates and other civilian officials are more visible, more present and more accessible to the people. In the last 48 hours, there has been a declining trend of incidents. I am not saying that this is the beginning of the end of violence, I hope it is sincerely. There is, certainly, a declining trend, but there is no comfort in the fact that there is only one death a day. Even loss of one life diminishes all of us. The loss of one life diminishes the credibility of governance in this country, but it is my sincere hope that our appeal, the appeal made by all the hon. Members belonging to all sections will be heeded by the people of Jammu and

Kashmir. Sir, there was a period in 2004-05 when the streets of Jammu and Kashmir did not hear the word 'azadi'. On the contrary, youth came and said, "we want an MBA programme in the University. We want an IIT to be established here. We want an IIM to be established in Jammu and in Sri Nagar." It is unfortunate that those voices have been muted and the voices of azadi or Quit India have been raised. But I sincerely hope that this is only a passing phase and we will hear the voices of young Kashmiris saying that their destiny lies with India and that they want to be part of India. I am sure that the voices that we heard in 2004, 2005 and 2006 will be heard once again on the streets of Jammu and Kashmir. The immediate task is to restore law and order. No Government can allow the law and order to collapse. That means, the Government has collapsed. So, we have to restore law and order. The Security Forces have acted, as I said in my Statement, with a great degree of restraint. Over a thousand security personnel have been injured. And, they have been injured in the eye; they have been injured in the head; they have been injured in other sensitive parts of the body.

Stones have been thrown by crowds running into a few thousands and if a few thousand stones are raining on police post or a platoon, you can imagine the kind of injury which they will suffer. I think they have acted with restraint. They have used lathis, they have used tear gas; then, they have used rubber bullets. In fact, some of the deaths have occurred because the rubber bullets can also kill if they hit a wrong spot in the body. Pushed to the bitter end, they have used the regular bullets too and they have killed. We continue to advise our security forces to act with restraint, but security forces, as I said in my Statement, have to act not only in self-defence but also to protect police stations, police outposts and Government offices. So, we will resume the political process. The answer to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir lies only through the political process and only through dialogue with all sections of the people.

Sir, we will resume the political process. Yesterday, we received a message that an All Party Delegation from Jammu and Kashmir wishes to call on the Prime Minister and I am happy to say that the Prime Minister has agreed to receive the All Party Delegation. We hope the delegation will come soon. In fact, we will be very happy to receive the delegation even as early as Monday.

Secondly, we are contemplating convening a meeting of leaders of political parties in Parliament. The date and time will be fixed by the Prime Minister's Office. We will let you know. So, let us meet here first, and, certainly, we will take on board your suggestion that a Parliamentary Delegation should visit Jammu and Kashmir. All this is part of reactivating the political process. Simultaneously, I have once again pressed upon all our interlocutors in Jammu and Kashmir that I am willing to resume the quiet dialogue. What happened on December 4 was indeed a rude interruption but we have to get over that. We have to pick ourselves up, we have to find the courage that allowed us to hold a dialogue earlier, and I sincerely hope that moderate leaders will resume their dialogue with the Government of India.

If Mr. Gilani's statement of day-before-yesterday marks a shift in his position, I do not know, but if it marks a shift in his position, I think, we should welcome that shift in his position. I think we should accept at face value his statement until the contrary is proved. I don't think there is any reason to doubt people's statement. If it is a shift in his position, I would welcome that shift in position and I would be very happy if Mr. Gilani also joins the group of leaders that wishes to hold a dialogue with the Government of India in one form or the other.

Sir, there are some good signs. This year up to the 3rd of August, we have had 5,10,781 tourists visiting the State. That is a larger number than last year. This year until the 3rd of August, 4,11,407 yatris had darshan at Amarnath shrine. Last year the total number until the end of the yatra was 3,92,000 and we still have another 17 days for the yatra to conclude, and I think that the number will cross 5 lakhs. So, there is something else happening in Jammu and Kashmir also that, the people of that State are welcoming the yatris, are welcoming tourists, people who depend upon tourism for their livelihood, people who depend upon the yatra period for earning their income for the rest of the year, those who supply ponies, those who supply food and those who carry the dollies. I think there is something else also happening in Jammu and Kashmir, a story that is somehow not reflected in our discourse or in our media. So, while, unfortunate events have happened on the streets of Jammu and Kashmir, something else is also happening in Jammu and Kashmir.

It is important that the cycle of violence must come to an end, and, let me conclude, Sir, by once again warmly thanking all hon. Members and appealing to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, especially, young men and women, especially parents. Please work with us and put an end to this current cycle of violence so that we will pick up the threads, we will reactivate the political process and we will through dialogue find solutions that will bring equity, justice and honour to all sections of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

MESSAGE FROM LOK SABHA

The Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 2010

THE SECRETARY GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:

"in accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 2010, as passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 5th August, 2010.

The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-five minutes past one of the clock.

The House re-assembled after lunch at thirty-nine minutes past two of the clock,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI KALRAJ MISHRA) in the Chair.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS

Resolution to constitute an environment adaptation and mitigation fund

SHRI N.K. SINGH (Bihar): Thank you, Sir. I had, while making an intervention on the last occasion on this subject, made some suggestions for the constitution of a fund for mitigation and adaptation on environmental challenges. In that first intervention of mine, I had given an overall global