

14.38 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at
Thirty Eight Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

JAMMU AND KASHMIR BUDGET

*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS - JAMMU AND KASHMIR

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We shall now take up

*Moved with the recommendation of the President

the discussion and voting on Demands for Grants in respect of Jammu and Kashmir for 1995-96. The time allotted for this discussion is three hours.

Motion moved

That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the Third column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1996, in respect of the heads of Demands entered in the first column thereof Demand Nos. 1 to 27.

LOK SABHA

Demands for Grants - Budget (JAMMU AND KASHMIR) for 1995-96 submitted to the Vote of the Lok Sabha

No. and Name of Demand	Amount of Demands for Grants on Account voted by Lok Sabha		Amount of Demands for Grants submitted to the Vote of the House	
	1	2	3	
	Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. General Administration Department	10,60,70,000	4,55,20,000	10,60,70,000	455,19,000
2. Home Department	120,50,62,000	2,83,91,000	120,50,61,000	2,83,92,000
3. Planning and Development Department	189,91,000	85,83,000	1,89,91,000	85,83,000
4. Information Department	2,24,57,000	28,11,000	2,24,58,000	28,10,000
5. Ladakh Affairs Department	54,11,81,000	29,48,93,000	-	-
6. Power Development Department	218,41,23,000	145,82,37,000	218,41,22,000	145,82,37,000
7. Education Department	167,02,61,000	8,18,78,000	167,02,61,000	8,18,78,000
8. Finance Department	90,87,45,000	92,50,000	90,87,45,000	92,50,000
9. Parliamentary Affairs Department	83,70,000	-	83,70,000	-
10. Law Department	4,96,99,000	-	4,97,00,000	-
11. Industries and Commerce Department	19,81,85,000	30,06,09,000	19,81,85,000	30,06,08,000
12. Agriculture Department	39,98,22,000	32,03,88,000	39,98,23,000	32,03,88,000

1	2	3		
13. Animal Husbandry Department	22,32,83,000	5,59,36,000	22,32,83,000	5,59,35,000
14. Revenue Department	39,26,17,000	1,02,25,000	39,26,18,000	1,02,25,000
15. Food Supplies and Transport Department	21, 57,94,000	276,90,14,000	21,57,95,000	276,90,15,000
16. Public Works Department	63,03,08,000	34,21,93,000	63,03,08,000	34,21,93,000
17. Health & Medical Education Department	74,06,42,000	13,39,45,000	74,06,41,000	13,39,46,000
18. Social Welfare Department	13,95,75,000	2,14,80,000	13,95,74,000	2,14,79,000
19. Housing & Urban Development Department	13,28,69,000	31,20,98,000	13,28,70,000	31,20,97,000
20. Tourism Department	5,07,84,000	6,56,22,000	5,07,84,000	6,56,23,000
21. Forest Department	22,96,45,000	13,10,51,000	22,96,46,000	13,10,51,000
22. Irrigation & Flood Control Department	30,47,49,000	19,87,44,000	30,47,50,000	19,87,44,000
23. Public Health, Sanitation and Water Supply Department	37,66,50,000	23,62,22,000	37,66,50,000	23,62,21,000
24. Estates, Hospitality and Protocol and Gardens and Parks Department	6,85,60,000	1,36,50,000	6,85,60,000	1,36,50,000
25. Labour, Stationery and Printing Department	5,35,16,000	8,82,75,000	5,35,16,000	8,82,76,000
26. Fisheries Department	2,11,67,000	1,14,28,000	2,11,67,000	1,14,29,000
27. Higher Education Department	25,53,08,000	6,34,87,000	25,53,08,000	6,34,86,000

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I have to raise an objection. When this debate for Demands for Grants of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was fixed, specifically the hon. Speaker said that this is not a simple discussion to be handled by the Ministry of Finance and this is not a routine Demands for Grants. As it involves the State of Jammu And Kashmir, the overall political situation of that State will also be examined. Hence, he said that the Home Minister will be present and the Home Minister shall also intervene in the debate, though it is not a very effective way of functioning. But that is a different matter. There is a separate Minister for the State of Jammu and Kashmir who is dealing with that State. The Minister for Jammu and Kashmir Affairs is absent. The Home Minister, despite the hon. Speaker for the State of Jammu and Kashmir who is dealing with that State of Jammu and Kashmir State. The Minister for Jammu and Kashmir Affairs is absent. The Home Minister despite the hon. Speaker having said that he would be a part of this debate, is also absent.

Sir, I mean no disrespect to my esteemed colleague, hon. Shri Chadrashekhara Murthy. He is a very capable Minister of State for Finance and he will effectively answer matters relating to the Finance Ministry.

[Translation]

This entire debate has vast dimensions, Political issues are involved in it. Atalji will say as to what is or what is not happening in Kashmir. The Government, here, is not only at its nerves but the hon. Minister is also conspicuous by his absence. This is gross injustice to us.

THE MINISTER OF CIVIL SUPPLIES, CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : It is not so that the hon. Minister is absent.

[English]

Some Ministers are here. There is no dearth of them. We are fully responsible. The hon. Home Minister is coming and he will reply to the points to be made as promised to the august House. The Home Minister will be available.

He will come and reply to the issues referred to by the hon. Members on Kashmir. So, therefore, let us start the debate.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : No, Sir. With regard to what hon. Shri Buta Singh ji said I am not raising the point regarding absence of Minister. Actually, I have not the clearance from my leaders to say this. But what I do say is that when the Leader of the Opposition is initiating a discussion, I think it is elementary courtesy on the part of the Government to have the leader of the House present. I am really amazed at this casual manner.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : He has come. He has listened to what you said.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Jaswant Singhji, your desire has been fulfilled immediately.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH (Balrampur) : Chavan Sahib is not the Minister of Kashmir Affairs. Kashmir affairs is alien to hon. Chavan Sahib.

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, kindly ask him where he was? Where else has he got a more important work than in this House?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I said that he is coming.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN) : Sir, I was in the Rajya Sabha as I have to reply to another issue there. That is why I have been delayed.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (LUCKNOW) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the Jammu and Kashmir Appropriation (No.2) Bill here. There would have been no need of bringing forward this Bill here had the situation in Jammu and Kashmir been normal but it is not so and that is why the Parliament has to perform and undertake many such responsibilities as would have been

otherwise performed by the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly.

About 44 thousand crores of rupees are being drawn from the Consolidated Fund of Jammu and Kashmir for undertaking different developmental activities there and this House is giving its approval to that. These include the General administration, Home, Planning and Development, Information, Power Development, Education, Finance, Parliamentary Affairs, Tourism, Forests, Labour, Stationery and Printing, Fisheries and Higher Education. A perusal of this Bill gives the impression that everything is all right and going smoothly in Jammu and Kashmir and there is the only need of releasing the funds. But who will spend the money? Will the funds be utilised in a proper way? Is there any thing called Administration at the village level, the district level and the State level?

The delegates, that visited Kashmir, have submitted reports on their return saying that a lion's share of the funds released for the development of Jammu and Kashmir goes into the hands of the militants. Partly due to the terror unleashed by them and partly due to the connivance of the administration with them but the people for the welfare of whom we are releasing the funds are hardly benefited with that money. Now the objective of this House can never be to fulfill the need of money of the militants nor can this be the objective of this Government but this is happening which only confirms that the situation is not conducive there as yet.

Sometime back it seemed that the situation was returning to normalcy. The people were fed up with militancy and want to live a normal life but after the incident of Char-e-Sharief, the militants had once again got an opportunity to regain their stronghold. Today while taking part in the debate here, I visualise the predicament of those four foreign tourists who have been held hostage since July, 4. They had come to visit Kashmir in India which is called the "Heaven on earth" but their condition is worse than that of hell now. One tourist has been murdered and nobody knows the fate of the rest four. The brutal murder of the Norwegian tourist has attracted the attention of the whole world. The world public opinion has condemned it. The Security Council has raised its voice against it. The Muslim countries, the Arab countries have condemned his murder but we could not stop this murder from taking place. We could not get them released from the clutches of the militants before this murder could take place. In reply to this debate, the House would like to know as to what steps are the Government going to take to deal with the mercenaries holding the four foreign tourists hostage? According to the information available with me, the

abductors include some Pakistanis and Afghans whereas the number of Kashmiri militants is very less. The tourists were abducted near Pahalgam on 4th July and now they are shifting from one place to another and are demanding ransom. They want to get other hard-core militants released in lieu of assurance of the tourists' release but the firmness of the Government so far is quite appreciable. It should continue to remain firm on its stand. We will also be able to get international support for it. One mistake was committed during the Janta Dal regime which we supported and that was the agreement reached with the militants to secure the release of the daughter of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. That incident gave boost to the militants morale. Subsequently, this Government also released some militants from jail in exchange for an officer.

I was glancing through an observation made in the British weekly, 'Spectator' in this regard. The paper advised us to remain firm and not to kowtow before the militants otherwise militancy will raise its ugly head elsewhere. The spectator writes that as a result of surrender before the militants in Labenon they are resorting to ugly activities in Kashmir now. I would like to cite the paper -

[English]

According to the 'Spectator',

"The strategy of doing nothing which looks callous and heartless is founded on the insight that the only way to protect the British citizens against hostage taking is never to give in to the hostage takers."

[Translation]

The best remedy is not to yield before the abductors but the matter does not end here. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, what measures are we taking to secure their release? Whether our foreign guests held hostage by them are in the Kashmir Valley or they have been shifted to Doda? Why have we not been able to get access to them? Will the Government remain firm but callously inactive in this regard?

They killed a foreign hostage. They can commit more murders. It should be stopped. If they succeed in killing all the other hostages, then we can say that we did not succumb to their pressure and took a firm stand. It may be an achievement in itself but we are to get the hostages free and those who have abducted the tourists and tortured them are to be arrested and punished. Has the Government made any scheme in this regard? If some

friendly countries want to give suggestion in this regard then there should be no hitch in accepting such suggestions. Terrorism is an international problem. All those, who believe in democracy and peace should get united to face this challenge. But I think that the machinery available with the Government is competent enough and we can take steps to get them free. It seems to me that there is a lack of will power in taking necessary decision in this regard. There is a need to take steps with a strong will power. There is no question of party politics in it and you will get the support of the entire House and the country.

But unfortunately, the Government does not have an policy with regard to Kashmir. This question will be raised later on as to who will implement the policy and it is but natural what is the policy? It can not be the policy that every thing is left to the future and it is hoped that everything will be all right with the passage of time. Similarly moving from one crisis to the other cannot be the policy. Taking *ad hoc* decisions can not be the policy. What after all is the policy of the Government in this regard? What message do we want to convey to the god fathers of the terrorists sitting across the border? If we want to convey them a message of our firm stand then we have to follow it strictly. There should be clarity in forming the policy and the target should be accessible.

These days there is a Governor in Jammu and Kashmir. I have come to know that now he says that he should be called as Chairman of the Crisis Management Committee and not the Governor. He and his advisors do not hold talks. The Governor does not talk even to the hon. Home Minister but he directly talks above this level. How much he talks we do not know. Till now Shri Pilot was there in the Home Ministry. He might have not done anything but sometimes he used to visit there by air. Now, this also is not going on. Now the hon. Home Minister is free to form the policy and to implement it. But what will be the role of P.M.O.? To what extent the P.M.O. helps in formulating the policy. I do not think that there is any expert on Kashmir, or any experienced officer from Kashmir or anyone holding continuous contact with Kashmir in the P.M.O. I do not think that the hon. Prime Minister will be sparing time for it. At the time of the crisis he might be holding talks.

I would like to submit one thing that whenever we meet the Hon. Prime Minister on the Kashmir issue - the other people also need the Prime Minister and give their own suggestions - we have suggested that there is no use of the present

Governor in Jammu and Kashmir and if he wants to open a new chapter there then a new Governor should be appointed. After meeting the Prime Minister we think that the Governor is likely to be changed very soon but it never happens. I am not against the Governor, as a person. It is a question of an institution. If he can not take his advisors into confidence then how will he mobilise the public support there.

Now there is a talk to bring about normalcy in the State for this purpose we will have to go to the common people. We will have to remove the fear from the minds of the people. They will have to be inspired to follow the path of prudence. There are no political leaders and those who are there are not active. Earlier the hon. Home Minister had accepted that an advisory committee would be set up in Delhi. It was not formed. Sometimes, meetings are conducted in Jammu, Laddakh and Srinagar and after that the matter is hushed up. There should be some administrative machinery to monitor that the amount being given by us is utilised properly for the welfare of the people. The funds allocated for Jammu and Kashmir should be spent properly. There has never been any delay on the part of the Central Government in sending money to Jammu and Kashmir. I would not like to furnish the date as to how much amount has been given during last 40-45 years. Jammu and Kashmir is our integral part and if we spend something for its safety then we are not doing any favour to it but merely doing our duty. But for the proper utilisation of this amount there should be some administrative machinery. We need honest people in administration. We neither want those people who are afraid of terrorist and nor those people who have nexus with terrorists.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, in the deteriorating situation of Jammu and Kashmir there is a bright aspect also. This aspect was visible at the time, when thousands of pilgrims from every nook and corner of the country staking their lives and giving challenge to the terrorists and their leaders sitting across the border, started Amarnath Yatra and crossed the Kashmir Valley. Snow was falling. It was raining. People were not having sufficient clothes even but on one hand their devotion helped them to reach their destination and on the other hand their pilgrimage made it clear that from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari India is one. Even the terrorists were surprised to see the number of the pilgrims. The local people helped them a lot. I would like to congratulate the Government. At first it seemed that perhaps the Government would not be able to make the arrangement but the arrangement

was made and no chance was given to the terrorists. It means that if the Government determines firmly and if there is sufficient pressure of the Parliament and the country then something good can be done by a Government. This is the bright side of the Amarnath Yatra. As I have already said that the common man wants peace. He is fed up. He does not want separation from India. The slogan of freedom might have tempted to some youths, but now they are understanding that this freedom does not mean anything. Pakistan will not allow them to remain free. The situation in Sindh, the miserable condition of the mujhirs and the treatment given to the other language speaking people in Pakistan have opened their eyes.

15.00 hrs.

The international opinion has also changed, but we should first set our house in order. We should make our policies effective and also make the administrative machinery effective which may implement the policies. Sir, we are fighting within insurgency. Insurgency has been going on there for the last 5 years and as yet we have not been able to setup an effective machinery to fight insurgency. There are different authorities working in Jammu and Kashmir such as the Governor, his advisors, the administration, the army, the C.R.P.F, the B.S.F. and the Jammu and Kashmir police who does the coordination? Is there any unified command of different authorities? Our Governor is the retired C-in-C from the army but he does not have to deal with the army alone but he has to use agencies also. Is there any coordination among these agencies? We do not know till date, as to what happened in Chrar-e-sharief and what had happened earlier in Hazratbal? Where do we commit mistake? The mistakes committed by us should be analysed honestly so that in future these do not recur. Therefore, the Bhartiya Janta party is urging upon the Government to issue a white paper on Jammu and Kashmir. It should be made clear in the white paper as to how Jammu and Kashmir become a part of India voluntarily. It must be mentioned in it as to how a neighbouring county is interfering there and how it is abetting terrorism. At present Pakistan is in a defensive position in International Court. Pakistan is defending itself, but the aggressive posture which we should have adopted is not there.

The way these foreign tourists have been made hostage and the way they are being kept is a challenge to us. Two- three persons cannot do so, there must be 15-20 people. Food and medical care have to be arranged for them by the terrorists. Although they are not worried about the tourists but cannot be find out where they are? Can not the command action be taken.

Mastgul escaped from Charar-e-Sharif. Dargaha could not be saved and Mastgul also ran away. Now, he has appeared in Pakistan. This thing has once again exposed the nefarious design of the Pakistan. But we have given him a chance to run away. I am afraid that these abductors may also run away and if they escape after killing the tourists then we will be in trouble. There is no question that the Government should succumb to the pressure tactics of the terrorists. This should be our resolution and it is there. But besides, the determination, the Machinery is also required to get them free and as I have said earlier all should sit together to formulate any scheme and take the House into confidence. If everything can not be disclosed in the House then the leaders of the opposition should be consulted and they should be kept informed about the latest development. It is not concerned with any party. Today, you are in power and tomorrow we may be there. Sometimes, some one else can come. But the process of exchange of ideas should continue. Tradition should continue.

Mr. Deputy-speaker, Sir, the matter regarding more autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir has been raised. I think Jammu and Kashmir enjoyed autonomy and it continues to do so. Regarding the extent of autonomy and the reasons for giving more autonomy to the State. It can be done in consultation with the elected representatives, after peace is restored and elections are held there. Development activities have not been affected due to the lack of so called autonomy. The benefits of autonomy were reaped by a handful of leaders and not by the common men, be it the case of subsidy or the case of Article 370. When the constituent Assembly was discussing Article 370, Gopaldaswamy Ayenger had termed it as a temporary provision. This was the statement he made in the Constituent Assembly. I had made a proposal in the House to do away with Article 370. The then Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru while replying to it said, that I was being hasty. Article 370 is undergoing erosion and it will be eroded completely. He did not say Article 370 was inviolable and it cannot be done away with. The role of our Constitution makers was clear, because they knew that the common men of Jammu and Kashmir would desire the protection of the Supreme Court. The common men of Jammu and Kashmir would desire the Comptroller and Auditor General to audit the fund given to the State. The common men would desire the elections to be free and fair. For this they would prefer the jurisdiction of the Election Commission in the State. These facilities are covered under Article 370. There have only been extended. This is not a hindrance or an obstacle.

I am aware that some people desire autonomy. But remember, autonomy is desired not only by the people of Kashmir, but also by the people of Jammu and Ladakh. You have taken certain steps to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Ladakh. But the people of Jammu and Kashmir are unhappy. There is no limit to the pains of the people of Jammu.

When the terrorists come under pressure in the Kashmir valley, they cross over to Doda, Kishtwar and Bhadarwah. They are kidnapping and killing the people there. I have full information but I do not want to take more time of the House.

Recently on 14th August, the terrorists killed an ex-serviceman Ratan Chand in the Thakrai area. One terrorist was also killed. Then on 17th August Shri Duli Chand was also killed. He was hacked to pieces and his eyes were taken out. The incident in which a foreign tourist's head was severed was not the first of its kind. But it was the first time this happened to a foreign tourist. This proves how heartless brutal and merciless the terrorists are. They kill the people, hack them to pieces and force their parents to eat the flesh of those killed. They take out the eyes. Numerous such incidents have taken place. At present, about two dozen people have been kidnapped. They have been taken away by the terrorists. About 100 Muslims youth were forcibly abducted from their homes by the terrorists to force them to become terrorists. The Government has not been able to secure the release of those abducted 100 youths. Today the Hindus residing there feel that there is no one to think of them.

I am not narrating all the incidents. Bomb blasts took place in Jammu. On 22nd July, they attacked a picket of the Assam Rifles. First the terrorists befriended them and then killed the soldiers treacherously. The wireless operator was killed. A chief was beheaded. Two hand grenades were thrown in which five soldiers who were sleeping in the tent were killed. Five other were injured and two later succumbed to injuries.

There is a disconcerting aspect to the news being received from Doda. What instruction have been issued to the security forces? In a recent incident the terrorists attacked and killed a person. Nearby was a picket, manned by BSF or some other force. The security personnel of that picket did not do anything. When asked the reason for not doing anything the security personnel replied that they did not have the order to intervene. What instructions have been given to them.

The people of this area are getting demoralised. They are migrating from this area. About a thousand families have shifted to Ramvan. The situation has improved in the cities but terrorists are coming freely in the villages. They have their hide-outs in the mountains. They loot people and abduct women. No stringent steps are being taken to counter this menace. It is not so that our security forces are not ready to face the challenge, but they are not given clear-cut guidelines about it. If they take any action, they are blamed for that and also put in an embarrassing situation. Therefore, they become defensive. It is, therefore, very necessary to boost their moral.

The Government should pay attention towards Jammu. This trend of incidents should be checked. A large number of ex-servicemen live in Jammu. They are ready to extend their services to counter terrorism. They do not need any training. What they need is weapons. They are patriotic people. Today they are very distressed over the plight of people in this part of the country. Security forces cannot take any action in the absence of any clear-cut guidelines. Even if they want, they have no weapons. Terrorists have killed several ex-servicemen. The situation has become very critical. These people could be organised at local levels for the security of the region and countering terrorist activities. The Government has not been able to take any such measure either in the valley or in Jammu.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would not take much of your time. We wanted that detailed discussion should be held on Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, the hon. Minister of Home Affairs was invited to hon. Speaker's Chamber to listen to our suggestions and clarify the policy of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. At present the Government has no Kashmir policy. It is just an ad hoc policy. Steps are taken to solve these problems in parts.

The question of election is being discussed but still fear of gun is prevalent in that area. How elections could be held in such a situation. We want that free and fair elections should be held there. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir deteriorated due to large scale rigging during 1989 elections. The Government should make arrangements to create an atmosphere that political parties could hold election campaigns and people should have the confidence that they would be free to exercise their franchise. It is the responsibility of the Government, but the Government has not been successful in it so far.

So far as the question of Appropriation Bill is concerned, we have no objection to give our approval to it. But it should be ensured that the funds allocated are spent for the specific purposes and not for strengthening the terrorists.

SHRI UMRAO SINGH (Jalandhar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am happy that Shri Vajpayee has made some constructive suggestions in regard to Jammu and Kashmir and asked the Government to make its policy clear in this regard. He also offered the co-operation of his party in this regard. The situation created in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and other places of the country would have not become so serious, has such a consensus arrived a few years ago. I belong to Punjab and there is much similarity in the situation of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. There would be no irregularity if I made a mention of Punjab here. In context of Punjab I would like to say that the steps that had been taken for improving the situation there could be tried in the case of Jammu and Kashmir. There are no two opinions as to why such a situation took place. Pakistan misguided and trained our youth and infiltrated them into Punjab, Assam and other places.

15.15 Hrs.

[PROF. RITA VERMA in the Chair]

It not only imparted training but also supplied most modern weapons to them which were even not available with our police and security forces. These weapons include A.K. 47, missiles and such bombs which could be exploded from far away through remote controls. These weapons were not used by terrorists earlier but now they have started using them. People sympathise with them not for encouraging them but out of fear. It is due to religion and opposition at the political level that these things took place and aggravated the situation. What was the role of the Congress Party? The Janta Party Government was in power for a considerable time. I donot know about Jammu and Kashmir but in the case of Punjab, the situation worsened during this period. At that time the Barnala Government was in power in Punjab and all the arrested terrorists were released at that time. A committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Beant Sahab who calls himself Human Rights' expert. Later on he lost his deposits in the elections which he contested against me. He considers himself the human rights expert of the world. A committee of such type of persons was constituted and terrorists were released on their recommendation. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir also deteriorated with the worsening of situation in Punjab because the terrorists had links with one another in these two States. The terrorists used to come to Punjab from Pakistan via Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we had to face all these problems as has been mentioned by hon. Shri Vajpayee. We saw all these events with our own eyes. I would like to say that people of Punjab were brave. They did not run away and faced terrorism. Thus Punjab is safe today. We have to install the same confidence in people of Jammu and Kashmir. Vajpayee ji was talking of the moral of security forces just now. They have security of their service. But no benefit is given to them in case they are killed by terrorists. They have been given sufficient benefit in Punjab. A sum of Rs. 2/- lakh is given to the next of kin along with employment to one member of the family and pension to the widow of the deceased for the whole life. It has boosted the moral of our security forces and they have started fighting against them. Who would have fought terrorism, had our security forces not prepared to do so. The terrorists have sophisticated weapons in large quantities and they instigate people on communal lines. I feel that the whole country demands that stringent measures should be taken on Jammu and Kashmir. Stringent measures must be taken. We will face the same problem in Jammu and Kashmir what we have faced in Punjab. Security forces will have to present themselves before the Supreme Court or High Courts if any body filed a writ petition. Now how to defend them. It is not terrorism but a proxy war between India and Pakistan. It is a war against the country and conspiracy to grab some parts of our territory. It is evident that Pakistan is giving financial assistance and weapons to them. These things are happening at the international forum. Vajpayeeji have also gone there. Muslim countries have also supported our stand and commended our policy on Jammu and Kashmir.

I understand that when we talk about country, religion is never relevant. If it has been a matter of religion, then there would have been no war between Iraq and Kuwait, if it would have been a matter of religion, then Bangladesh would not have seceded from Pakistan. This is a matter of two different nations and if we take this matter among people then the time is not for off when we will win this battle.

The battle against terrorists gets prolonged several times. Terrorists get as weaker as the battle gets prolonged. Their life span is very short, never more than 3-4 years. Besides, they have got various other problems. If the pressure of police continues then many of them retires from this movement. They are with the movement unless and until

they are coerced. When we are fighting this battle then my understanding is that there must be some unanimity among we all and nothing like that should happen in this country. Whereby stand of the people fighting there gets weakened.

The speech delivered by Vajpayeeji was very constructive, I do not want to mention this thing, which could adversely affect Hindu-Sikh relationship. If we keep all of them as Indians there, then there is no reason that the people of Jammu and Kashmir will not stand with us.

The budget of J&K has been presented here, I understand that many development works are taking place in Jammu. It is necessary to involve people in it where good work is going on. First, it was discussed in the House that elections should be held there. Elections to panchayats and local bodies should also be held there. We should gear up the machinery to this effect. But more than this, it is the responsibility of we politicians and our political parties. This is the duty of political parties that they should go there and start the political process. I will urge upon Hon. Prime Minister and Hon. Home Minister that they should take MP's to visit there in groups, all should meet them. People should also get opportunity to talk to us. We should usher peace through interaction. Along with this, political activity should be started there, and small programme be organised there. When there was terrorism in Punjab, we had continued our political activity and so many of our colleagues were killed there. I do remember that they would kill the organiser of the celebrations just the next day of organising the programme. But the situation in Jammu and Kashmir is a bit different. This is better in the sense that the rate of individual's killings or civilians' killings is less. Not a single day would pass in Punjab where specially civilians, who had nothing to do with anything, like bus and train passengers, or motorists and by cyclists would be killed every day. This kind of killing is not being witnessed in Jammu & Kashmir. The fear that had gripped the mind of people in Punjab is less in Jammu and Kashmir because the rate of killing civilians in J&K is far less than in Punjab.

Its is okay that people of a community has migrated from there. We should work for reposing confidence among them also. Most of them are still in Jammu and some others are shifting in Punjab. They should be given relief and the Government of India and the State Government of J&K should arrange to give them relief. I too have visited one & two camps, their condition is very miserable more particularly, this time heavy rain has lashed at

Punjab and the condition of the migrants is very pitiable. The government of India should pay its affection towards this problem. We could take them back only when we keep up their morale. Now people have come back to Punjab in larger strength than they had gone out of Punjab. Similarly, the entire country and the entire Parliament will like the migrants to return to their homes.

We should also start political activity along with this. I understand that besides initiating a political process we should also constitute such committees in the local administration which must comprise of people's representatives. If we cannot hold election immediately, then definitely we should find out the kind of persons who are ready for giving cooperation to the administration. If they are once associated with the administration then their morale could go up and if election are held tomorrow, then they could contest the elections as well. But one thing I must say that we should hold elections there. And we should also see as to which party is coming into power. I think that the parties which don't have confidence in Indian Constitution, should not be allowed to contest the election. This was the situation in Punjab where it was once said that the election in Punjab will prove to be referendum for Khalistan, but this never came true. Similarly, you must conduct elections atleast to panchayat level, local bodies and then to State assembly and that kind of people started come there in whom we could repose our confidence. Had there been any male of courage and conviction, then he could have announced that he would not allow terrorism in J&K.

We have to strengthen the people who are there. We have to give them more power so that they could work with might. Now Vajpayee ji has said that there it is Governor's rule and nothing like administration is there, tomorrow if we have to give power into the hands of the people there, then it is necessary that the administration should discharge its responsibility. We should talk of strengthening the responsibility of administration.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak at least while supporting the budget. I rise to say that the Government of India should deal with the situation in Jammu and Kashmir very strongly. Not only Indians are there with it but such a kind of atmosphere is emerging that the entire international community is coming with us. Steps should be taken to check the terrorists infiltrating into Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) :
Madam, it is unfortunate that this House has to discuss and adopt the Demands for Grants for Jammu and Kashmir. But it cannot be avoided in the present situation. We appreciate it. But the question is what is the Government of India's policy? Has it got any policy about Jammu and Kashmir? How long will this situation continue? Has the central government any role, any plan of action?

Madam, the biggest problem that we have is a complete inaction on the part of the Central Government. We heard of the Prime Minister's Independence day peroration and there was high sounding rhetoric about Kashmir. Last year he also showed some bravado. But then he goes into the shell unless some grisly and ghastly incident takes place we do not find the Government at all is concerned about Jammu and Kashmir; then the matter is raised in Parliament, then the matter is raised in this House and this washy statement is made by the Prime Minister that we shall give autonomy, short of azadi to people of Jammu and Kashmir. What has happened to that? What sort of autonomy is it? Has any single action been taken? Now, you have sidelined the Home Minister. He is also absent. Naturally he has no interest in Jammu and Kashmir. Why should he be spending time here? This is the respect which is being shown by the Government to this House. To the discussion on this important subject the Minister for Kashmir, who happens to be the Prime Minister is not here. Who is the Minister for Kashmir?

[Translation]

Shri Chaturvedi

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND DEPARTMENT OF SPACE AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI BHUVENESH CHATURVEDI) : I am your Assistant.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Then you would have been performing better. You have chosen a wrong means. Well, he is a nice man. We tolerate him. But he cannot control Kashmir. Your leader, as I said, periodically comes here and makes some sort of a statement. Nowadays, I find, he is becoming angry. Probably this is the last end of tunnel and that is why he is becoming angry ... (interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa) : Angry with whom?

SHRI SOMNATH CAHTTERJEE : Angry with everybody.

Yes, what was his reply yesterday? However, I do not know. I do not wish to go into that. Now the question is : What is happening and what is going to happen? We know this is in a sense a situation which has arisen particularly after this recent hostage issue and the ghastly inhuman killing of a Norwegian tourist. His only crime is that he had come to India as a tourist to visit a beautiful part of our country and that is why he had to pay the price through his life. Now what is the position today? At least the world has woken up. Now the situation today is that some of the terrorists are on the defensive. Pakistan is on the defensive. But what is our Government doing ? How are you trying to see that this situation is utilized for the purpose of making the people of Jammu and Kashmir brought back to the mainstream, to make them involved in the process of normalization? We do not find anything . It has been found - I believe this is the perception - that the whole action on the hostage issue, has been counter-productive so far as the terrorists and Pakistan are concerned. And now this pro-Pakistan Kashmiri groups are on the defensive as I say and also the world opinion is being formed against them .

The Guardian of England has said :

"Pakistani and Afghan fighters have been moving into the Valley in greater numbers over the last year. Its editorial says that no solution to the Kashmir crisis is possible unless Pakistan agrees to stop supplying weapons and fighters yet no Independent observer believes that this would bring an end"

However *The Times* says :

"Pakistan was feeding the uprising with covert money and guns and with overt political and diplomatic support. Its activities have encouraged the kind of fanaticism that led to the murder of the Norwegian tourist. Its guns, money and men will continue to breach the so-called cease fire line, keeping both nations on the edge of war while Kashmiris look on helplessly".

As I said , the recent demand for the release of the prisoners has been made by these kidnapers, a new outfit, Al-Faran, which was not known earlier. These arrested persons, whose release they

are demanding , belong to Harkat-UI-Ansar and Hizbul-Maujahideen, the groups which are raising a war for annexation of Kashmir to Pakistan . Now these are the perceptions and that is why the situation has arisen when the people are also getting fed up with these terrorists' activities, with the absence of peace there and they want it back. Now what are you doing so far as this Jamat-i-Islami and JKLF are concerned ? Jamat-i-Islami are out to demand annexation. They are demanding the annexation of Kashmir to Pakistan. The JKLF, after the present attitude of Shabir Shah, at least are not fighting for Pakistan. It is true they have been demanding also independence. But they are very serious or conscious about maintaining the identity of Kashmir the people of Kashmir, their culture their tradition. Therefore, in these areas also, we have seen that Shabir Shah is able to get a lot of support from the people there and at least he has openly said that so far as he was concerned, he was against fundamentalism. He had opposed mixing religion with politics.

That has to be kept separate ; at least he wanted that and he has been openly fighting against it, denouncing the policies of Jamat-i-Islam. But so far as our Government is concerned, it has no policy. Is there any interaction? Is the Government trying to convince them and bring them back to the participative politics in Jammu and Kashmir ? Well, no action is being taken.

We all know the role of Pakistan. It is now totally exposed. Everybody knows about it. They have been funding, they are training, they are arming the extremists and the terrorists and they are sending in mercenaries. Of course, now the only answer of our Government is to depend on the security forces. Without the people's involvement, without the people's mobilisation, against terrorism. Yes, it happened in Punjab because the Punjab situation was different. The people were against the terrorists. That was a great help. Once terrorism was controlled the people were there. They took part in the normal activities. But in the Kashmir Valley the situation is different. Therefore, it is essential to see that they are not divorced from our mainstream.

We must remember that the people of Jammu and Kashmir had voluntarily associated themselves with us and Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. We have always announced and we do announce that it will remain an integral part of India and no power in the world can separate them from us. That is our commitment. Once they had taken that step, they had to undergo lot of suffering, be-

cause of their joining or merger with India. Those people had undergone torture and sufferings because they wanted to remain in India and we cannot disown them that is our commitment that we must do everything for the purpose of standing by Jammu and Kashmir and helping them in that manner.

Therefore, what we feel is that is merely occasional lip service that is being paid by the Government. Showing concern without any follow-up action, talking of autonomy but not taking any steps. What was the concept of autonomy, I would like to know from the Government. What was the concept of autonomy the Prime Minister had in mind when he mentioned that on the floor of the House?

It has been mentioned in writing by a well-known journalist-after the Prime Minister took charge of the Kashmir Affairs-what happened in Char-e-Sharief and how the PMO handled it. The net result of operation was that the shrine was burnt to the ground, the town was destroyed the militants escaped to hold victory rallies in Pakistan and everyone in Kashmir believes that the Army was to blame for everything. This is the contribution of the PMO. And today the Prime Minister is committed on the floor of this House, committed to the nation, that all steps would be taken for the purpose of rehabilitation of those affected in Char-e-Sharief. What has the Government done? How many people have been rehabilitated? How many houses have been constructed? Some money has been spent. But that is utilised more for looking after their own service people. Has the Government of India no responsibility? How does it expect that the people of Kashmir will have faith in them? Such a tragedy has occurred, so many innocent people suffered and Mast Gul is enjoying there as we all know, in Pakistan. We must say that he was allowed to go away.

What is the good of all these security forces, if you could not apprehend him? Then, the hon. Prime Minister made a commitment but nothing has been done now, bomb blast took place to disrupt the Amarnath Yatra. What has happened? This is also a deliberate attempt by the terrorists to create differences between the people of different areas. We also sympathise with the people of Jammu. What is their fault? So, anywhere these terrorists can go and work with impunity and they can do whatever they like. As is being said, we do not want any action which will only complicate the issue so far as the hostages are concerned. The Governments, in a sense have not so far capitulated. But we do not know what are the steps taken for their release. But we feel that Pakistan is on the defensive. The terrorists are on the defensive. Because the world opinion has gone against them.

I am quoting from an article of Shri Harish Khare.

"For the first time in recent years various 'Pro-independence' political organizations in Jammu and Kashmir gave a call for a bandh against the activities of a militant group, the Al-Faran outfit, which last week decided to kill one of the five foreigners it was holding hostage. "

Now, this protest was there against this kidnapping.

Madam, we have our own perceptions. We all know why a large section of the people in the Valley is alienated from us. It is here that we have to initiate political activities and we have to take the people into confidence.

Now, we have a Governor there who does not move out of his palace. He is hardly accessible to the people. There is no political administration, in the sense that no democratically-elected body is there no people's representative is there. There is some body as a Governor whose tenure has been a period of mitigated disaster. As Shri Vajpayee said, the Prime Minister indicates that that person will go, but he is more ensconced. How the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the Administration is even trying to keep contact or maintain contact with the people? Everyone is not a terrorist. What sort of method has been adopted? What is the feedback? Is there interaction between the people and the administration? Where will they go to tell their difficulties? Who will listen to them? These are some of the matters which you can not just bureaucratically decide in Delhi. Some occasional meetings are held in the P.M.O. I do not know with whom the honourable Prime Minister is confabulating. I do not know how far the 'Rao-Chaturvedi nexus or axis will be able to achieve anything (*Interruptions*) you are the master in mismanagement. Is it the Government's intention that the terrorists will bail themselves out? How are you contemplating that by mere passage of time they will become so disgusted and frustrated and, therefore, they will wither away? If that is your conception then you are in a fool's paradise and you are taking the country for a ride.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : They may really be disgusted.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : They are disgusted with their own opponents.

Now, therefore, we would like to know the details. You are at the helm of the affairs. You have been telling us that you are going to solve it. A good deal of a brave posture has been adopted that you are going to hold elections just now. In one month's time, in two month's time. How can you do it? We said, "we do want elections, normalization and introduction of the democratic rules. But the question is" : is it the proper time and is the condition there conducive for it? Can election be a beginning of a normalization process or should it be the end of a political process? But where is that political process? That is why we have been repeatedly suggesting that you have to think of the ethos of the people in the valley. They have their own identity, they have their own culture and they have their own feeling and you just cannot ignore this. Why have they been alienated? You have to win over them because less and less people there are getting enamoured of Pakistan. As I said, there are large elements who do not wish to go to Pakistan at all, who do not wish to ally themselves with Pakistan. But they are not being allowed to come to the main stream. And I can tell you that every day of inaction on the part of the Government means you are playing into the hands of Pakistan and you are trying to, sort of, give them sufficient time to again resume their activities, continue with their activities and that means the situation is never settled and you go on increasing the number of security forces and the consequence of it is that, as you know, complaints are there about some of the activities of the security forces. I do not wish to go into the details. That has also alienated the people. And there are some people's organisations which wish to fish in the troubled waters.

Madam, I, therefore, do not wish to take a long time. It is essential that the administration is overhauled. You have given sufficient opportunity to this Governor. Let him gracefully go and let somebody else come. What about the Advisors also? Why are there no political people and local people as Advisors? Why do you not involve them? Why must you always export them from other places as Advisors?

All sorts of things have been heard. I do not wish to say that on the floor of the House. Therefore, you must have those people who have real commitment to Jammu and Kashmir, the well-being of the people who are suffering tremendous hardship. Their economic condition is pitiable. There are no jobs and there are no industries. What are the development activities that are being carried out?

Now, I want to speak about the Public Distribution System. A lot of grievance is being made. I think Shri Buta Singh is in charge of it now. I hope he is doing something. Probably he made a visit. But the Public Distribution System has to be comprehensive and has to be strengthened. Today I was reading about the soul-hurting condition of the people there. The hospitals are not working properly. The schools and educational institutions are not working properly. When the flood came, really nobody was there to reassure the flood-affected people. Is this the way you are trying to bring back normalcy? By this apathy and inaction and by this cruel neglect are you trying to win over the people there?

Now, so far as developmental projects are concerned, we would like to know as to what are the developmental projects that are taken up. Yesterday, some representatives of the Union Carbide Employees Union came and saw us. It is a private sector unit, no doubt. There is a unit of Union Carbide in which 262 people have been working. They are still getting their salaries, but the company has decided to close down. The Government has not given permission for the closure and they have gone to the court. But any day it can be closed down. There are only two or three industrial units in the State. If this unit is closed down, another 262 employees and their family members will starve. They have been repeatedly representing to the Prime Minister and the Industry Minister. Why do you not take it up. It manufactures batteries and there is a ready market for it. For the sake of Kashmir at least, please pay some attention on this aspect. On the pretext of liberalization you cannot put them on the streets. What is being done now? Mr. Home Minister, may I request you to kindly talk to Prime Minister to see that this Union Carbide unit, which is called NADCO in Srinagar in the Kashmir Valley is not closed down? At least this will show the Government's determination that it is really serious about solving the Problems of Kashmir.

Now, three or four representatives have come to Delhi and they are here. They told us that they will be waiting for the result of this discussion so that they can go and tell their people. This is a unit of Union Carbide in Srinagar and I earnestly request you to do the needful in this matter. It is in the private sector over whom you have no control. But if it does not wish to carry on, please nationalise it, take over the management it is not such a huge establishment that you cannot carry on. That will give a message about your commitment to the people of Kashmir and to the working class there. As it is, there is hardly any scope for employment. Therefore, I demand that this unit should be, if necessary taken over by the Government and should be run.

Now, so far as the electoral process is concerned certainly all efforts will have to be made. But that will have to wait until normalcy returns. For that, it is necessary that the political process should start. Here also we have to find out which are the people to start that process. There are good people and there are people who wish to do that. They want a little initiative. The Government of India should make it possible for them and congenial atmosphere should be created. Then, they will attempt to get the people into the political process. But there is total inaction. Madam, it seems that the Government of India does not exist there. I say that, because the Government of Jammu and Kashmir is controlled by the Government of India. The Government does not exist there, except for the security forces and the Governor who remain inside his residence.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Somnath Ji, is that Government elsewhere?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE : Why do you refer to obvious things?

Now, at least in Parliament let us stand and commit ourselves that this Parliament and this country is committed to the maintenance of identity, the culture, the language and the ethos of Jammu and Kashmir.

16.00 hrs.

We shall stand by them. They have a feeling that they will be swarmed over and their identity will be lost. Therefore, we demand that maximum autonomy within the framework of the Indian Constitution should be provided to them. It has to be given. May I tell that the Prime Minister is saying something and then going away but nothing is happening. It is becoming a joke. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister's assurances have assumed the appearance of a joke. He says something and does not do like his day-to-day investigation on Bofors. Therefore, I have no doubt that I have to support the budgetary demands. Of course, how much will go to the genuine people of Kashmir is very much in doubt. I am sure that even the Home Minister cannot assure that far less our very good friend Shri Chandrashekhara Murthy whose pockets are being lined where do they go, I do not know. Therefore, least you can do is to let us know how the money was utilised last year. What are the achievements? What are the development projects? What has happened regarding providing employment? Are you providing market to them for their products? The situation is that although they are the exquisite crafts men of the world fame and are able prepare

such beautiful things yet they do not have capital or they do not have the wherewithal. They do have the market. Nobody bothers for them. The tourist traffic has shrunk and trickled down. They are the biggest sufferers. And therefore all the resentment has started. They are fed up with this.

16.02 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

Here we should have come in a much bigger way, much more effective way, much more systematic way, much more pro-development way and pro-people way. This is what this Government has failed to do. There are certain issues which we would like to keep above politics and Jammu and Kashmir is one of them. But once we find that there is a Government which has got the primary responsibility is doing nothing and allowing the situation to drift and drift and drift? There is no plan of action, no objective, no time limit provided and there is no emergency approach. If the administration is totally divorced from the people then we cannot but point out that you are fooling the valiant, great and friendly people of Jammu and Kashmir who are part and parcel of our nation. You have no right to play with them.

So far as terrorism is concerned, mere security forces will not do as I said, you must bring the people together. These are the essential activities which you will have to carry out. The administration should provide maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution, carry on necessary development work, provide strong PDS system, and should take up the construction work. The rehabilitation of the victims of Charar-e-Sharief incident should be expedited since a long time has elapsed. Now, the weather is changing and they will be facing bitter cold. So, immediate action should be taken to rehabilitate them. Then, I have to repeat because of the importance of this unit, viz., Indian Union Carbide that please see that it is not closed down. It is necessary that it is revived. The election should be held after the situation is controlled and normalised.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I want a brief clarification. We were informed that the hon. Union Minister for Home Affairs will intervene and that the hon. Prime Minister will also say something and then of course Mr. Chandrashekhara Murthy will reply to the debate because it is his subject.

Now, there are three speakers. To facilitate the attendance and presence of our Members, I would like to know whether this debate is over spilling into

tomorrow or all these interventions are going to take place today; and if it is today, what sort of time we have because we gathered from the Speaker's direction that everything has to be concluded today. But the manner in which we are going today does not give me a sense of reassurance about that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In fact, the time allotted is three hours and we have sufficient time left. I think we can finish the discussions today and that is how it was decided to. The Home Minister is here. If necessary, we can extend the time and facilitate the participation of all the members.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Tomorrow, we have a debate on Vohra Committee Report and that is why instead of two days, we are going to have only one day now. It also means that a large number of members would like to participate in the discussion and, again, the same the problem will arise tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is good that Shri Jaswant Singh has pointed this out now. It is only 4'0 clock now and I think we can finish the discussion today.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, I only wanted an indication. Can we get an indication as at what time the hon. Prime Minister will intervene?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : The Prime Minister is not going to reply to the debate.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : Sir, I would like to raise a point of order. We were under the impression that the Prime Minister is going to reply, but now the hon. Home Minister has dispelled it by saying that the Prime Minister is not going to intervene in the debate today. It is certainly his prerogative where he wants to intervene or where he does not want to intervene. But there is a slight difference in this case. He happens to be the Minister in-charge of Kashmir Affairs. I can understand that the constitutional exigencies have given the right to the hon. Minister of State for Finance to present the Budget. He is fully entitled to do that and we are supporting that Budget. There is no point of difference on that. But the basic issues that the leader of the opposition has raised, Hon. Somnath Chatterjee has raised and which many of us want to raise are the basic issues of policy, basic issues that are affecting not only the well-being of that unfortunate part of our country, but I think, they impinge upon the future of this country. Now, I think, it would be very very unfair to this House if the hon. Prime Minister were to remain absent. I have the highest personal regard for our Home Minister. He was competent to do it, but now he has no charge of it. He has specifically been deprived of the charge. Now Sir let

us not play with the things. Is that empty chair going to satisfy us? Is that empty chair going to speak to the country or to this Parliament? That is why yesterday, I had said that he had utter disdain for this Parliament bordering on the contempt. I would like to have your ruling whether this House can proceed with this important discussion in the absence of the Minister In-Charge of this subject.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In fact, the subject matter of discussion is the Demands for Grants in respect of Jammu and Kashmir for 1995-96 and the proper person to reply to this debate is the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister is very much in the House and he is the person who will reply to the debate. Of course, this has other tones also. The hon. Leader of the Opposition pointed out that the Home Minister also should be present. In spite of the fact that the hon. Home Minister was besieged with the discussion in the Rajya Sabha, he got himself relieved and he came and thus respected the sentiments of the Members. The Finance Minister is available in the House and so also the Home Minister.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : This is very unfair.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Certainly, we will be very happy if the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan intervenes in the matter. Against his wishes, he has lost his Kashmir Affairs portfolio, I am sure. Now the question of intervention and the reply are two different things. He can intervene as a very senior and respected member of the Government, but the reply has to come from the Prime Minister who is also the Minister In-charge for Kashmir Affairs. This was agreed to as we are not only discussing the Budget also the general situation in Kashmir. Therefore the reply has to be given by the Prime Minister, by the Minister concerned. Otherwise, the Home Minister can only intervene in the debate.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV : Let me bring one important fact to the notice of the Home Minister and to the Chair also. When the Speaker called the meeting of all the leaders, our demand was that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir should be discussed separately.

It is an important issue and it needs to be discussed. Then the suggestion was made from the Government side that both should be combined, the Budget and the discussion on political situation in Jammu and Kashmir. It was also decided that when the discussion will take place, the Hon. Minister and also the Minister in charge will be present. It is not only the Prime Minister but there is a Minister of State in Prime Minister's office who is looking

after Jammu and Kashmir. At the movement, he is also not present. I do not know whether he is going to speak. May be after all he is there. Shri Jaswant Singh ji is saying that it is not very important. But I think he happens to be important. I have great respect for our Home Minister. We must be grateful to him for he was also present in the last meeting and he said that "I will be present in the discussion." He is present there. Shri Arjun Singh ji has made a very important point that Prime Minister is in charge of Jammu and Kashmir and it is a policy matter which is being discussed. It is not correct to say that the basic thing is discussion on the Budget. It is not. It was decided that the Budget and the Political situation in Jammu and Kashmir will be combined and therefore, it was said that. "We will pass the Budget." The discussion is not going to be on the Budget. We are seeing from the speeches of opposition leaders like Shri Somnath Chatterjee that is not on the Budget. We are not objecting to passing the Budget. It is important. So, the thing is that it will be in keeping with good parliamentary tradition that the Prime Minister should reply.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Mr. Chairman , since Shri Charndra Jeet Yadav referred to the BAC, I am sure that he recollected everything which transpired there. And there was no demand that the Prime Minister has to be there. On the other hand , in fact hon. Members asked me to present here and I am here . To the extent possible, I will try to explain the position and there after, if you are not satisfied I can ask Shri Chaturvedi to come and explain to you.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : We will some day hear that the Principle Secretary to the Prime Minister will satisfy us. If that is going to be the state of affairs, I think it is a very sad day in the history of this Parliament. I am only requesting the hon. Home Minister. As I said, we all have the highest regard and respect for him. He is competent to do it. But unfortunately he has been divested of that responsibility and that too publicly. How can we embarrass him? It is not proper to do that. I think the hon. Members would very much like that the hon. Prime Minister may consider his presence here to be of some significance and he would be the best person not only to satisfy the hon. Members here but he has also to make use of this occasion to say something to the country, to the troubled people of Kashmir. Are they not fit enough to be addressed by the Prime Minister of this country? He has not cared to go there for four years. But certainly he can sit here in Parliament and say something to them.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I think the hon. Home Minister is entirely right . Yes, we did, Though normally the reference is not made, now that it has been made, yes, we did request in the meeting of the Business Advisory Committee that the Home Minister should be with us on this particular debate. He had some practical difficulties about certain dates. But date was also changed in that respect. Our case is not the presence of the Union Home Minister. Our case rests altogether on a different ground. Firstly, the Union Home Minister today, as we pointed out repeatedly, is actually not dealing with the matter relating to Kashmir. I do not wish to point it out. In fact , if we look at the anomaly, we find that the Union Home secretary deals with Kashmir, but the Union Home Minister does not deal with it. The Prime Minister's office and the Prime Minister directly deals with Kashmir.

[Translation]

It is his greatness that he is present here.

[English]

When the Union Home Secretary deals with what the Union Home Minister does not deal, the Minister dealing with the subject is the hon. Prime Minister's office, I think, the House is entitled to know from the Minister concerned, who is the Prime Minister, as the what his views are on various issues that have been raised by the Leader of the opposition, the leaders of various parties that are now going to participate.

[Translation] -

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi) : Leader of opposition?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Yes Sir, leader of opposition is also here in the House, Kalp Nathji, you are acquainted with him?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI : He is not speaking.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : He has spoken , it is he who has started this debate.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You Please make your point.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : My point is made, I think, it is only fair. That the feelings of the House are taken into account and the Prime Minister be requested to come. On a matter like Jammu and Kashmir.

[Translation]

Let no one take us for a laughing stock, let us not be an object of mockery.

[English]

It would be a tragic situation if the Prime Minister does not find it convenient to answer the discussion on Jammu and Kashmir on such an occasion. What else can I say?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Two things have been raised. One is the matter of propriety for which the hon. Minister has already replied. The discussion in the BAC was very clear. In the BAC Meeting the hon. Jaswant Singh ji might remember that he had raised the objection and he wanted the Home Minister to be present. You did not say that you wanted the Prime Minister to be present in the discussion. You wanted the Home Minister to be present and the Home Minister came to the House. We cannot go on changing our stand. According to the rules, what the House needs is a reply from the Finance Minister.

The other point was that Shri Arjun Singh wanted the Chair to give a Ruling in this matter. I want to give that ruling. According to the requirements, the Finance Minister is a person to reply to this. According to the spirit of the discussion which had taken place in the BAC and also in the House. I think, the Home Minister is here and there is no question of anybody putting a question which is embarrassing to him. The Home Minister is here representing the whole Government with all the authority. So this cannot be taken as a disrespect, the absence of the Prime Minister. The point raised by Shri Arjun Singh is about the absence of the Prime Minister. I say it cannot be taken as a disrespect. Let us not continue the discussion.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : Are you leaving it to the Prime Minister either to come or not to come?

MR. CHAIRMAN : It was decided earlier. It was decided earlier that the Home Minister would be present and the Home Minister will intervene.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : Is there any harm ? Let him come.

MR CHAIRMAN : There is no harm in the Prime Ministry coming. I am not saying that the Prime Minister need not be here. I am only saying that the Home Minister is authorized and he is here.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum) : I want a reply to one question.

MR CHAIRMAN : The time at our disposal is very limited.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : I just want to make one point that is being flouted here. The point is that a certain message has to go to the people of Kashmir. Do you think that a message from the Home Minister or anybody else and the message from the Prime Minister stand on the same footing?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will understand that after the reply of the Home Minister. Please take your seat.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : No, it is not a matter of 'after hearing.' You can clearly say that a message coming from the Prime Minister to the People of Kashmir stand on a different footing. We accept your ruling. There is no question of not accepting it. At the same time, is it not possible for us to request you to send a message to the Prime Minister that this is the wish of the House and he should try to come here? This is the point that I wanted to draw your attention to.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Only after the reply of the hon. Minister, we will know what kind of message is going form here to the people of Kashmir. Let us hear that. Now that you have accepted the rulling. Let us continue the discussion.

*SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay South Central) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, soon after India attained Independence, Pakistan launched attack against India and forcibly took large part of India. Indian army certainly had the capability to thwart that attack of Pakistan. But, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru committed the mistake and took this question to U.N.O. That is why Article 370 is imposed on us. The killings which are taking place in Jammu and Kashmir everyday are the result of meek and submissive policy of this Government. That is why enmity exists not only between India and Pakistan but also between the two communities.

Everyday people are killed in Kashmir, Recently a Norwegian tourist was killed. So far, 13000 persons have been killed in Kashmir. Entire security system itself is assassinated there everyday. Recently, Norwegian and other foreign tourists were kidnapped and threatened with killing and one of them was killed. UN. Security Council has now raised voice against large number of killings which have taken place. We heard Mr Padmanabhaiyya on Doordarshan who was telling the senator that tourists will not be touched. We have taken care of

* Translation of the speech originally delivered in marathi.

their security. They are safe. On what basis he was saying this? From what he said it was clear that Pakistan was behind this act. When Prime Minister spoke, we thought that he would refer to it. Everyone knows that Pakistan is supplying arms to terrorists in J & K. In last years address Hon. Prime Minister had said that the task before the country was to free that part of Kashmir which was occupied by Pakistan. Have we forgotten this slogan which we gave? When killings are continuously taking place in Kashmir, we have to recall the word of Lal Bahadur Shastri which he uttered from the Red Fort "Pakistan is abusing us. But we will retaliate not by abuse but by bullet" but at that time we went in for friendship with Pakistan.

We are sanctioning Budget for J & K. But I want to point out that funds are not reaching there. Young people are not getting any assistance. That is why the situation in J & K has come to this pass. Many young persons have been killed there. I would like to make a demand that everybody who is killed in terrorist attack should be given at least Rs. 2 lakh as compensation. As I said, this situation has arisen because Article 370 is imposed on J & K. I would like to express my views on Article 370. When Pakistani army attacked, Raja Hari Singh entered into an agreement on 26th October, 1947. In fact, Raja Hari Singh had made an agreement with Dogra Community as early as 1920 that no foreigner or intruder would be allowed in J & K. But even then that agreement was signed in 1947 we helped J & K to remain in India but we could not abrogate article 370 and the provisions therein which are not in the interest of the nation. In fact, Article 370 was a temporary measure according to the direction of the Constitution. In fact, the President is empowered to issue order for abrogating this Article. But the consent of the Constituent Assembly is necessary for this purpose. But since the Constituent Assembly itself was dissolved in 1957, how can the President issue such an order? That is why, I want to point out that for solving the impasse, we have to invoke Article 378, under which we can make amendment in the Constitution or abrogate Article 370. At that time, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel took the step of merger of Princely States. All the Princely States were merged in 1949 only with the exception of Jammu & Kashmir. Therefore, for improving the condition in Jammu & Kashmir, it is necessary that this restriction should be removed. The elected representatives of J&K have time and again endorsed their approval for merger of J & K. Therefore, we do not need this outdated and temporary provision in the form of Article 370 which stands in the way of merger. This article is against the interest of our nation and because of this Article, J&K is slipping out of our hands. So, I request that the Government should complete the procedure of merger which has remained incomplete so far.

I also request that we have to take care of problems of migrants. Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyer said in his speech that more Muslims were killed than Hindus. But the Government could not protect the property of those Muslims of J & K who want to live in this country. If other people would have been allowed to live there, more patriotic people would have been there in J & K. In 1948, 1965 and 1971 only these people have rallied behind India at the time of crisis and they came forward to defend the nation when Pakistan attacked India. But many people have been driven out of Kashmir. That is way, I would like to request Hon. Minister through you that those migrants and refugees whose land and property have been taken away, should be given due compensation by the Government. The Government should also discharge the responsibility of rehabilitation of migrants who had to leave Kashmir.

It is surprising that the Government is toying with the idea of holding elections in J & K. Every day so many persons are killed, bomb explosions are taking place. I want to know from the Government how many bomb explosions have taken place in Kashmir since the imposition of president's Rule. So many innocent people are killed every day. Before holding elections, it is necessary that we have to approach Kashmiri people and take them into confidence and instill confidence in them. Otherwise, how is it possible to hold elections there? If you really want to hold elections there, you have to understand feelings of the people who live there.

I request the Government to clarify one point "AL Faran" the terrorist outfit which abducted tourists, is an organization belonging to Jamat-e-Islam of Pakistan. How could the Chief of this Organization come to Kashmir? Who issued visa to him? This should be clarified by the Government. Stringent law should be passed for dealing with the terrorists. Yesterday, a news item appeared in a Newspaper that seven security Jawans were abducted. But six of them managed to escape. Therefore, we have to free Kashmir from the clutches of terrorists even if we have to hand over Kashmir to army we should do that. But in taking any stern action, we have to rise above partisan interests. This is the only request which I want to make.

I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGHAHI (Deogarh): Mr Chairman, Sir, there is another unpleasant task before us, that is, to discuss and pass the Jammu & Kashmir Budget. The vote on Account was

adopted a few months ago in this House. At that time, it was looking as if we could go in for elections in this beautiful part of our country which is called 'the Paradise on earth.' At that time, it was also thought that passing a second vote on account for the current year would be the duty of the State legislature. The Government of India under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister who also happens to be the Minister in charge of Jammu and Kashmir affairs, was moving in that direction of conducting the elections. When things were looking up, again as a desperate beat, the militants burnt down Charar-e-Sharief, as you know and as a result, obviously the temperament ran very high, there was excitement all around in Kashmir and some terrorists held five foreigners as hostages.

It is a matter of gratification that ground situation in Jammu and Kashmir is improving; things are looking up; and the successful Amarnath Yatra is the evidence to it. People are determined now. Amarnath Yatra is an annual ritual and last year local people did not cooperate with the result the forces have to be procured from outside, it was not available locally; and local Government employees went on strike. But this year despite the issue of Charar-e-Sharief and the episode of foreign hostages, everyone has cooperated; and a record crowd of pilgrims, about 60,000 to 75,000 went to Amarnath to have darshan of 'Ice lingam.'

There is a criticism from the opposition that we do not have a policy on Kashmir. I do not think that it is wholly correct. There has been an increase in the Budgetary allocations. There have been determined efforts from the Government side to start economic activities, to carry on the developmental activities and also to see that the funds meant for development are not diverted to see how the unemployed youth could be recruited in different jobs, etc. Besides this, there is a policy of transparency adopted. This is a very significant policy adopted by the Government. Even the people from the Human Rights Commission have visited Jammu & Kashmir, foreign journalists have visited. There is no ban on them, there is no restriction. Even they have been invited. They have gone and made trips, moved around and they have filed independent stories. In that way, the policy of transparency adopted by the Government has begun to yield result. As you know, recently the US Ambassador, Mr Frank Wisner went there, spent four days and came in touch with different groups there.

And reportedly, now the US policy also appears to support India's efforts to hold polls in Jammu and Kashmir and check militancy. Incidentally this was the advice given by Mr. Wisner to all Hurriyat leaders in clear terms. Not only the US Ambassador, even the High Commissioner of UK and envoys of other Western countries also visited Kashmir. In keeping with this policy of transparency, they counselled the leaders of various organizations there that they should eschew violence and resort to negotiations. In a democracy, it is a dialogue which matters and not militancy.

Mrs. Thatcher is currently on tour to India. Her statement is very much welcome. The militancy or terrorism is on the increase in different parts of the world. It is not confined to India only. That is naturally a matter of grave concern for democrats. She said that this militancy or terrorism is an attack on independence. She has also categorically called for an end to this type of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir.

Today, whatever the opposition may say here Pakistan is encouraging terrorism on our borders abetting terrorism, sponsoring terrorism, militancy, creating trouble. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is in turmoil for the last four or five years. Because of this policy, Pakistan stands isolated today. Pakistan stands isolated even from the United States. They also do not appreciate the role of Pakistan. You know what is happening in Pakistan. There is ethnic problem in Karachi and at other places.

There is no doubt about conspiracy. The fundamentalists are trying to get their foothold in Kashmir with a potential to create an Afghanistan-like situation in the Valley. The advice given to them by the US Ambassador is a significant development. But that organization is divided. Whatever it is, other terrorists outfits also condemn the Al-Faran who have taken the foreign tourists in hostage. That has also been condemned by others. This way there are differences amongst the terrorist groups there. In such a situation and particularly after the Amarnath Yatra it is obvious that local people are for normalcy to be restored. There are indications that normalcy was returning bit by bit. It is a national problem. Politically, nobody should try to take advantage by politicizing this issue.

It is not that such a situation was created in one day only during the Congress regime. You know that in 1989-90 or in 1990-91 whichever party was at the helm of affairs here, even a Home Minister's daughter was taken in hostage. What had happened then? The entire county had to pay a heavy price for that. She was released in exchange of several top militants. Several dreaded militants had to be released. From that day, the things have deteriorated very fast. That was going on as a matter of habit. Now also, they have taken foreign tourists in hostage. They are demanding that 15 or 20 or 25 top terrorists should be released.

But it is good that the Government is not heeding, not conceding and not surrendering to the terrorists and instead they are carrying on diplomatic footings, channels as to how these people could be released. In 1988-89 and 1990-91 that Assembly was dissolved. Today we do not have any organisation there. The important part that there should be a policy, that some more autonomy to be given to Jammu and Kashmir people is underway. That is being formulated. Its formulation is underway for economic package and political package. But unfortunately, there is no credible organisation with whom negotiations can be there, discussions can be there or any dialogue can be held. At present there is not a signal credible organisation or a fully represented body in the valley with which the Centre can negotiate. It is a great problem for us.

Today the climate is gradually becoming congenial and at that point of time what is required by all our political parties is to start activities there instead of only making statement and speeches on the floor of the House. I do not say that it is very much important; this is the national Parliament and the policy has to be discussed here.

But besides that, all major political parties have a role to play on the ground, in the field, in Jammu and Kashmir. The BJP has its presence, particularly in Jammu portion. I would like to appeal to the leaders of the BJP that apart from other parts and provinces so far as the Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, they should also be very careful that what ever they do, that should not embitter another community living in the valley. They should take the total picture of the valley and they should not talk partially.

So, Sir, this political activity I underline political activity' should be started and it should be intensified.

Sir, I am inclined to make a suggestion about the office of the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir. Being the sole authority there, he has to be properly assisted by his Advisors having military and other experience. I think it is high time that we have somebody in the office of Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, with a political background and experience in public field, with a political skill, political knowledge and political acumen. That way, I think, the Government should consider this aspect about the office of the Governor there.

At the same time, to start with, some local elections can be held there. I again say, instead of making speeches and criticising the Government we should have some political package and economic package. It will go a long way in assuaging the feelings of unemployed young men. Kashmir is one State where the rate of unemployment among the educated is the highest in the country and every peace-loving, disciplined and educated young men should be provided with suitable jobs insofar as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned. If such an announcement is made, with all sincerity, I think that will go a long way in assuaging the feelings of the youth sections there. They are not cooperating with the militants and the indifference from their side will disappear, and they will join the mainstream. So, that way, it is time for all the political parties to address together to this grim situation. There is a lot of improvement spectacular improvement in the ground situation.

Despite the events of Charar-e-Sharief and abduction of the foreign tourists, there is an improvement in the situation. The successful completion of the Amarnath Yatra, visit by foreign journalists, our own journalists and diplomats bears testimony to this fact. The journalists--both Indian and foreign - diplomats etc. have the impression and the local people have a feeling that it is time for all political parties - of course the leadership is provided by the Prime Minister - to find a solution to this problem. So many times we come across news items referring to the holding of various conferences, meetings etc. and visit of delegations of the Members of Parliament to the Valley. This has to continue. This being a national problem, there should not be any attempt by the opposition parties to politicise this issue and try to draw political mileage out of it when things are on the right track. All should join collectively to make this endeavour a success so that coupled with the determination of the Government and the Prime Minister, elections could be conducted in Jammu and Kashmir.

I think, in future, we would not have this unpleasant task of discussing and passing the Budget of Jammu and Kashmir any more in this House. At the same time the subject being a sensitive one like the, law and order, prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir and also a problem which is causing headache everywhere, this offers us an opportunity to discuss the law and order situation. In that context it is very useful.

With these words, I wholeheartedly support the Budgetary proposals and Demands for Grants for Jammu and Kashmir as brought forward by the Finance Minister.

[Translation]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the budget of Jammu and Kashmir has been passed by this House since 1990 but as the leader of opposition Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has stated that this budget should have been passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State. The whole country is looking forward for solution of the Kashmir problem. The House is also supporting the Money Bill worth Rs. 4,222 crores introduced by the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance but the main issue raised by the speakers, prior to me is the corruption prevailing there.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to start my point with an example indicating the extent of corruption prevailing in J & K. Recently allegations of corruption were levelled against some officers of Forensic Science Laboratory there. Additional Chief Secretary observed that misappropriation of funds cheating and forgery had taken place. Therefore, the case was handed over to the department of vigilance. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you will be surprised to note that the said enquiry is still in progress but the director of Forensic Science Laboratory, against whom the charges were levelled, has been given promotion and rewarded with the post of special Home Secretary. The case is pending with vigilance and enquiry is still going on but he has been promoted.

Mr. Chairman Sir, the same enquiry was in progress against a store keeper of the same department but he has been promoted to the post of Science Officer though he does not possess technical and essential qualification to be a Science Officer. One Accounts officer is posted in the department but the works related to account is looked after by a senior store keeper. He is also performing the duty of cashier. The Additional Chief Secretary who raised the issue has been posted to the post of Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University. I think

that hon. Home Minister must be having it in the mind as to whom he is handing over the funds passed by the House. It should also be kept under control. The person against whom the said enquiry was in progress, has become Special Home Secretary and now he is harassing the officers who stood as witness against him.

Mr Chairman, Sir, if the sanctioned amount worth Rs. 4,222 crores is handed over to the persons who adopted corrupt practices against whom the enquiry is in progress about the decision is yet to come and the Government is promoting such persons, how will the corruption be eradicated? Anti corruption Movement in J & K has sent its report in detail to the Union Home Secretary since the Union Home Secretary under Prime Minister, is looking into the matter. I would like the case to be enquired into and instead of promoting a persons against whom the clear allegation have been levelled should be penalised.

Mr Chairman, Sir, there was a news item in the recent past that terrorists are being trained to speak Punjabi and Haryanvi by Pakistan supported 'Markaj Dawate Arshad' because many of the soldiers in army are from Punjab and Haryana and they converse in either Punjabi or Haryanvi. These terrorists disguised as army men are indulging terrorist activities. Is the Government aware of it? If the Government is aware of it, then what action is being taken by it to curb such activities. The leader of opposition has raised the issue of constant neglect of Jammu region. The people of Jammu region have been facing the problem of refugees since 1947. Around two and half lakh people from Kashmir have migrated elsewhere. Many of my colleagues have opined to rehabilitate those people and rebuild the houses of those whose houses were set ablaze in Charar-e-Sharief. I would also like that the people whose houses were set ablaze in Charare-Sharif due to fault on the Government's part, should be provided with the houses. What is the reason behind not discussing the problem of refugees and around two and a half lakh migrants?

I would like to thank Shri Umrao Sing for making the House aware of the conditions of migrants as witnessed by him in refugee camps. Why did they migrate from Kashmir to Delhi? Had they shouted slogans of freedom, had they become yesmen of terrorists, they would have stayed there itself. They are patriots and as they wanted to see tricolour unfurled here, so they came here. They used to shout "Bharat Mata Ki Jai" and therefore they were ousted from Valley. Does this nation not bear any responsibility towards these patriots? Does the Government not contemplate for their rehabilitation?

[English]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, not only this, Dr. Karan Singh once a Congress Leader and a Union Minister has written that the most serious problem, he was experiencing in Jammu region is political domination by the valley people.

[Translation]

Jammu is over populated. The government has just executed the work of delimitation and increased the number of Lok Sabha constituencies in the valley and now it is giving sermons. Perhaps hon. Panigrahi ji, after finishing his speech, that we should not politicise the matter has left the House. None of the Hon. Members in the House has made mention about the party-politics but started the speech with the mention of BJP. If you start such practice, you should be present in the House for reply. I would like to know as to why the Government does not intend to fulfil their demand when it executed delimitation work and the number of constituencies were increased in the Valley? Their demand is only to include Dogri in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Government included Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri in the Eighth Schedule but what is the reason behind not including Dogri in it. Sahitya Academy Award has been provided for Dogri and it has been recognised but the Government is not ready to include it in this schedule. The people of Jammu has always received step motherly treatment.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am aware of the scarcity of time, therefore, I will not go in detail. After the murder of a foreign tourist- "Ashtro", the Government of India has received the world wide support for not surrendering before the terrorists and to counter them boldly. I myself visited Doda. I have been writing to Hon. Prime Minister and Hon. Home Minister since 1990 till date. Whatever representation I receive from J&K, I pass it on to the Government, You will be surprised to note that no action has been taken by the Government as per my suggestions. I challenge any Minister to let the House know that this work for refugees and migrants has been done as per my suggestions. No reply is given. Tell us any problem that the Government has solved. Actually I would like to state that not only Ashtro was murdered but the ladies belonging to minority section of the society were raped and molested also. The Government is also aware that something was tattooed on their forehead with a hot iron rod. We could not make the world aware of this incident and failed to put across Indian stand there as to what the terrorists are doing in J&K we could not motivate world-wide support against them.

During the period I visited Doda, Kishtwar and Bhadrawah, terrorists had kidnapped some youths. The day when we reached there, their dead bodies were handed over by terrorists. Their hands were chopped off, eyes were taken out and bones were broken. This has been happening for the last 4-5 years. Atalji has just stated that many times it happens there that children are butchered and parents are completed to drink their blood and eat their flesh.

Hon. Ghulam Nabi Azad a Cabinet Minister some time makes tall claims. People from his own village have migrated to Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. Hon. Panigrahi ji was saying that BJP workers should go to valley and start political activities there. I would like to know about the activities that hon. Ghulam Nabi Azad can start there after visiting that place. I challenge that he cannot start any activity there. Shri Ghulam Rasool Kar, President of PCC, J&K had stated that Hon. Pilot Sahab had done very good job but Hon. Ghulam Nabi Azad was not doing any praiseworthy job. If Hon. Pilot Sahab was doing laudable job then why the charge of Kashmir was withdrawn from him? Whether Hon. Prime Minister and Shri Kar Sahab have difference of opinion? I wanted to bring one point to the knowledge of the Government that had our government made the world aware of the ruthless killings of innocent Indians, it could garner support of the whole world against the terrorists earlier as today. The powers of the world, after brutal killing of Ashtro, developed a feeling against the terrorists and are suggesting India to counter them boldly.

There had also been a mention regarding 'Amarnath Yatra'. Our leaders have thanked the Government for successfully completing the Amarnath Yatra. Last year, on the instigation of Pakistan, many employees of Anantnag district administration had denied to cooperate for Amarnath Yatra but no action was taken against them. In comparison to terrorists, a foe in the guise of a friend is more dangerous then why are they being cherished? We are providing Rs. 4222 crores to that State but what is reason behind not taking any action against the persons having affiliation with Pakistan even today? It is good that I had already praised Pilot Saheb before he came.

Hon. Members who had chance to speak before me, mentioned the unemployment problem of the State. This problem poses serious threat before Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Haryana. Earlier, willing soldiers were recruited in military and para-military forces i.e. those who wanted to join army, they could join. Now the recruitment is made in proportion to the population of the State. This is not the question.

[English]

Whether he is a willing soldier or not,

17.00 hrs.

[Translation]

Whether he is deserving or not? Due to terrorism, there is no activity in tourism sector and unemployment has taken a sizeable shape. Hon. Prime Minister is sitting here and is engaged in discussion. I would like to request him again. I would like this point to be noted by Hon. Rajesh Pilot that in military and para-military forces...[Interruptions] those youths from Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, who want to join it, should be recruited on priority basis. It will solve the problem of unemployment and army too will get good fighters, soldiers who had been fighting for country as tradition.

At the end I would like to quote a statement of hon. Prime Minister which appeared during his visit to Nandyal. He stated.

[English]

"Solution before Lok Sabha polls for Kashmir problem."

[Translation]

When hon. Prime Minister visited his constituency, Nandyal, his statement was published in the press in the bold head lines.

[English]

"Solution before Lok Sabha polls likely."

[Translation]

I would like the polls to be conducted earlier but please find solution of the problem, which is being demanded by everyone. We want a clear policy on Kashmir to be declared by the Government and make the House aware of it and I would like to suggest that a stern action should be taken to curb the corruption prevailing there so that the development works may continue.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Mr. Chairman, Sir I am glad that in response- I hope it was - to the several entreaties and appeals which were made by the Members here, some of them through you also the hon. Minister incharge of Kashmir Affairs is now present here in the House. In fact, there is a galaxy of Ministers which is rather unusual and I am hopeful that this galaxy of Ministers will be able to throw some light on what is actually the strategy that the Government is employing, or intends to employ in tackling the Kashmir problem because we are in the dark. We are in the dark. This President's Rule was extended for a period of six months only and from the record I can see that by the Fifth or Sixth of next month we are almost there now, three months will be over. Half the period of President's Rule will be over and during this period, we have been assured that the political process leading up to and culminating in the elections, would be complete. Even now I do not know whether the Government has gone back on its commitment to hold the elections. If it has not gone back, then they have to spell out how within this remaining period of three months or a little more than three months, the things as they stand today, how they intend to carry out the elections.

We, nowadays are hearing a lot about transparency, lack of transparency and so on. So we would like to know from the Government since so may hon. Ministers are present here, who are directly concerned with this matter that what is the policy or strategy which they are now intending to pursue so that some meaningful outcome may be there before the country within the next three months. Three months is a very short time. And I, of course add my voice to that of the other colleagues who have spoken here before me. I do not wish to take up the time.'

About the whole affairs that have taken place of the taking of the foreign tourists - tourists taken as hostages - whom we have not been able to get released so far, I do not expect the Government to reveal in details here what methods they are following, in their endeavors to get these people released. One of them has been already brutally killed but they are on the job, so we gather from the press reports and negotiations are being conducted perhaps over the telephone. But we should have some idea whether the Government feels confident or optimistic, at least, that some positive results may be forthcoming.

The longer these hostages are held, I do not think that it will do any good to the terrorists, this

particular outfit Al-Faran. It is for them. But unfortunately, the physical control of the hostages is with them. They are capable of doing anything. But I hope now that at least the world community and those people who are concerned very much with human rights will now realise that human rights in the Valley are not being violated as is so often said only by the security forces. Something is going on here which the world cannot ignore and it will certainly show that these terrorist outfits are not at all concerned about human rights of anybody.

It is a positive sign that Hurriyat called for a *Hartal* in the Valley as a protest against the action of these people in holding these foreign hostages, killing one of them and refusing to release the others. The Hurriyat is quite an influential organisation and they are an umbrella organisation claiming to represent some 47 organisations and when they call for a *Hartal* in the Valley it is not directed, for once against the security forces or against the Government but against those Al-Faran people: I think there is a silver lining in this. We should take stock of that we should take note of that, and work on it. But now the basic question remains as to where the Government intends to take the country as for as the revival of the democratic process is concerned.

I would like to get one thing clarified. This talk about autonomy and the assurance given by the Prime Minister sometime ago that we are prepared to give autonomy; in fact, 'sky is the limit' he had said once when asked a question, autonomy within, the framework of the Indian Constitution. I think we should be clear in our mind that it will apply only to the Valley. The other people have not asked for autonomy. Jammu has not asked for autonomy. Ladakh has not asked for autonomy. As far as I know Jammu wants to be a part and parcel of India. Their complaints and grievances are in a different direction. They complain of discrimination against them, of pampering as they say, being done of the valley, at their expense. It should be remembered that Jammu and Laddakh taken together represent 51 per cent or so of the total population and about 90 per cent of the land area of the whole State. So, why should we do things which give an impression abroad or any where that the whole of the State-- which means, Ladakh, Jammu as well as the Valley - is demanding autonomy or *Azadi* or something like that? They are not. We have to work out tactics in our approach, in our negotiations, in our talks and all that, taking into account the fact that these three parts, these three regions of Kashmir are not the same in their outlook or in their demands or in their past history.

Incidentally, I would like to know what happened to that gesture which was made that we were prepared to talk to anybody, without conditions, provided they are not the people who want to be a part of Pakistan. Short of that, a statement was made and made perhaps once there in Kashmir on behalf of the Prime Minister by Shri Chaturvedi that 'We are prepared to talk to anybody without conditions.' Have any talks taken place after that with anybody? Of course, the answer will be that nobody comes forward to talk because of the fear of the gun and all that. So, how we proceed from here?

So, Sir, one Member was very happy at the fact that the American and the British envoys who had visited Kashmir or were allowed to visit Kashmir had advised the Hurriyat people and other groups there to cooperate in the matter of elections

I do not know what they advised us.

As far as I am concerned, I do not consider them to be competent or Authorised Advisors at all. Who gave them the authority to advise the people-- the Ambassador of America or the High Commissioner of Britain? In my opinion, he has no business. He can go and visit the Valley if he likes, if he is allowed to go and see for himself what is happening. But certainly they have no business to hold close-door meetings with groups of people in Kashmir and to advise them what they should or should not do. I take strong objection to this. They should not behave as though they are the people who have got some kind of special authority here to advise our people as to what they should or should not do. However, now the question I want to get back to, because I do not want to take much time of the House is: 'Please tell us what is the Government's strategy now at this point when three months are already over and only three months are remaining'

The hon. Prime Minister before the Charar-e-Shrief incident, as I remember, was on the point of making a comprehensive statement in Parliament covering all aspects of this Kashmir problem and what the Government proposed to do. That is what we were told. After that the Charar-e-Shrief incident intervened. The talk was put back considerably. But after that also a considerable time has passed and this House has been discussing this matter on a number of times. Once we discussed this matter on the 15th of May. I have the records here. After the Charar-e-Sharif incident, there was a prolonged discussion here on 15th of May. Again on 3rd of June, the Statutory Resolution for approval of continuance of Proclamation was discussed and today, the third time, in the month of August, we are again

discussing this matter. So, there is no lack of discussion and the Government cannot say that they are not aware of the opinions of different Parties in this House or what suggestions and opinions have repeatedly been given to the Government. Of course, they can ignore them, if they like. But, after all, you have to move along with the Parties in this House. The major Parties here are all committed to this idea of reviving the democratic process and holding free and fair elections there.

I had made a proposal that the Government of India along with major political Parties here, all of them together and not separately, should, at an appropriate time, make an announcement saying that they take jointly the responsibility of seeing that the elections, whenever they are likely to be held, will be free and fair. This is very necessary in view of what has happened in the past history of Jammu and Kashmir which has embittered people and done quite a lot in alienating them. We know very well the history of rigging which went on. Many people there do not believe that free and fair elections will ever be held there. I believe that it is the duty of the Government and all the parties here jointly to make the statement and to undertake that responsibility that whenever elections are held no rigging or that kind of thing will be allowed and there will be free and fair elections. At least let them have some sense of assurance from all the different political parties in this country.

Last time when I had spoken on the continuance of the Proclamation of the President's Rule, I had said and I may be permitted to quote one or two sentences from my own speech:

"What are we going to do during this period of six months or five months or four months or whatever it is? Every time this has happened here, we were assured that this period of President's Rule will be utilised for the purpose of starting a political process and trying to normalise, as far as possible, the situation in the Valley and every time, at the end of six months, it was found that nothing has been done and the situation is back to where it was and even worse than what it was. This time, if that kind of thing takes place again, I think the consequences will be extremely tragic. Therefore, the Government owes it to the country and to this House that now when we are again on opting for this President's rule, the Government should tell us clearly how they are going to utilise this time for the purpose of the political or the democratic process to be revived.

Some concrete steps must be taken. Some specific measures must be taken. Otherwise, we do not want this President's rule just for the sake of President's rule. The people there must be made to feel that the Government is seriously preparing to give them the opportunity to elect their representatives. There is no representative in the State Legislature. There is no representative in Parliament, which is why we are having to pass the Budget here, which, of course, we will pass. At least this situation should change. It is a situation which cannot be tolerated now for any length of time."

So, please inform us. I know there are many problems in organising the elections. The whole situation is actually bristling with problems and difficulties. But you have committed yourself to holding elections. People were saying this is not a proper time to hold election. But it was the Government which ultimately said: 'No, election is the only way out; even if a very large number of people do not participate in election, election should be held and when the elected representatives are chosen, then we will discuss with them the details and specifics about autonomy'. All right, you go ahead. We are willing to go with you in this thing.

17.17 hrs.

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair)

But you must tell us how you propose to do it within the next three months.

Then Sir, not now but for a long time all the Parties have been asking for a change of the Governor. In fact, after Charar-e-Shrief incident, if you excuse my saying so, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister had both separately--when I reported to them as to what our delegation had seen there and what interaction we had with the people in Charar-e-Shrief--given us the impression that they also feel that this Governor is not able to tackle the situation at all and we were hopeful that they were seriously going to pursue this and see that some political-minded person, who is capable of mixing with people, listening to the people, talking to the people will be brought. But, I regret to say that, nothing has been done.

A package--economic and political package--was promised. I do not know whether it is still being worked out or what. I am seeing a startling contrast with what is going on in our neighbouring country of Sri Lanka where also a very very difficult condition

is there and armed hostilities are going on between the Army of Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil Tigers. But, as you can see, I think one has to praise the President of Sri Lanka, Shrimati Chandrika Kumaratunge--she may or may not succeed-but one has to praise her for the great courage and initiative she has taken in spelling out a detailed package and now put the ball in the court of the Tamil Tigers by saying about devolution of powers and so many other concessions which she is prepared to make so that an autonomous Tamil region in Sri Lanka comes into existence where the elected representatives will have powers which they never had before. She has unilaterally made a package offer of that type. But our Government, which is promising a package of some sort of economic or political package for a long time, I regret to say, has yet not been able to spell out anything.

Then, all I want to say now is that we are all very eager today in the House to hear something new, something encouraging, something positive, something which will open up some kind of a perspective, before the people of the country and the people of Jammu and Kashmir so that in the remaining period of three months we can have some positive targets before us by which we can proceed towards this goal of restoring democracy, for whatever it is worth. Last time also I had said that if the Huriyat calls for a boycott of the elections, as they have threatened to do, I am very much doubtful as to what percentage of people will participate in it. But anyway, you have said that: 'even if two percent or five percent of the people participate, let there be elections and let there at least be elections and let some elected representatives be available to whom we can talk and then things will gradually be worked out.'

So, we would like to know what you are proposing to do now, whether you have any package ready, whether your running an election is no joke, because you do not have any machinery, you do not have any infrastructure, you do not have any officers, you do not have any Polling Officers and you do not have Presiding Officers. No local people there will agree to do this job. You will have to take people from outside as we tried to do once in the case of Assam, where people had to be airlifted from outside Assam. Even then, the people boycotted the elections, the same fate may overtake us this time also. But you should tell us as to what preparations you are making. And then about the Governor, have you changed your mind again? Do you not think that this unanimous opinion which is being expressed by so many people of so many parties here - I know that many

people in the ruling party also feel like that - is important? I have nothing personal against the Governor. But the trouble is, he is not a suitable person for discharging this particular job. What is to be done? He may be a very good soldier or have been a good soldier at one time. I do not know. We had met him and we had long talks with him. But I am afraid we all got the impression that this is not the way to break the ice in Kashmir. Somebody of a different type and a different outlook is required. I hope that the Government would seriously consider this matter and do something about it.

Please do not go on talking about autonomy for Jammu and autonomy for Ladakh. They do not want autonomy. When did they ask for *azadi*? They are not asking for *azadi*. In Ladakh you are duty bound or you are committed to give them some sort of an Autonomous Council. Well and good. In Jammu the people say that they want to be with India. They do not want *azadi*, as they do not want autonomy. In fact, they want some sort of independence - I do not agree with them - from the people of the Valley. They think that the people of the Valley are getting more than their due share. What are they getting? They are getting bullets at the moment. What else are they getting? But anyway, they say that when the majority of people in the whole State are not in favour of this kind of autonomy or *azadi*, then the Government should go ahead. I am not against dividing up Jammu and Kashmir into three independent States or something like that. Some people are advocating this. Mr. Wisner may also be advocating this, I do not know. Mr. Wisner may have some game also. They would like Kashmir to be divided further, which would help some kind of forces of intervention from outside, perhaps. So, we have to be careful and cautious, no doubt. But that does not mean that you also force autonomy on the people who do not want autonomy. If some section, some region of that State wants to remain with India, there is no reason why you should not encourage them and find ways and means of doing that.

But as far as the Valley is concerned, which is our principal headache, you have got to work out the logistics of how to present a package of autonomy along with other things to them and without that, the elections will not be a success at all. Therefore, I hope that you have had enough time to think about the whole matter and work out some strategy. The only point is, you refuse to take anybody into confidence about it. Since this is the Parliament of India, I think, this is a good occasion, a suitable occasion when the hon. Ministers, who are present here, can tell us what is exactly in their mind and how they are going to solve this problem with a proper, comprehensive package.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Azamgarh) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will not say that the Government does not have a Jammu and Kashmir policy, but I will say that it lacks coherence and it also lacks a vision to solve this long-standing problem, which is a national problem. Unfortunately, some people see it as a problem of India versus Pakistan or a problem of only terrorism. It is basically a problem of Jammu and Kashmir and a problem of Kashmir Valley. This problem is not a new problem. This problem is there since we became independent. Unfortunately, from the very beginning I would say that a proper long-term policy for this most sensitive region of our country, which is called the Himalayan Wonderland and a paradise on Earth, was not there.

Certain things happened later on and the common people of Kashmir Valley started feeling that they were discriminated, they did not enjoy the fundamental democratic rights to use their franchise. The elections were rigged not only once but several times and therefore the feeling started aggravating. Ultimately, it came to a point where people lost faith in the democratic system, faith in Government of India's handling of the situation and also in the economic situation which deteriorated continuously. The younger generation who came on the scene was not treated with understanding. Its problems were not gone into depth. I myself had gone several times there. I had the opportunity to go and address the youth of Kashmir University. The officers and local authorities at that time were preventing me and said that you should not go to address them because most of the students are pro-Pakistanis. Mr. Loninow who is on the other side and is one of the important members of the Hurriyat- himself advised me that, Sir, you should not go there. But I insisted and went there. I addressed them for about an hour. After the address I invited questions. But no questions came. I felt that something is wrong and when I insisted on asking questions then he pressed my leg and whispered in my ears that most of them are pro-Pakistani students and they had been in jail, therefore, do not insist on asking questions. But I did and saw the response was extremely cooperative and those students came up to my guest house and they told that whenever we used to raise matters like increase in fees or increase in bus charges or when we went for some kind of agitation which most of the University students tend to go very often then the authorities used to call us pro-Pakistani and put us in jail. I am just citing one example that how they had a feeling that they were not treated properly and they were not being understood properly. Really speaking, their problems are not gone into depth and they are not taken care of. These kinds of things went on accumulating. Unfortunately

before this terrorism business came on the scene on a large scale, there were serious charges of corruption. There were serious charges of misuse of administration. There were serious charges of atrocities. There were charges that their industries are not properly aided and taken care of and unemployment was growing. Sir, now it has become a serious problem and I hope that we should have a long term coherent Jammu and Kashmir policy in the framework of our national policy having this in mind that this is a very difficult region of our country. It is surrounded by the lap of the Himalayan Valley. They did not have much opportunity to be in the main national stream. They have less opportunity to move in different parts of the country and be a part of the people. Lately, some steps were taken and some Jammu and Kashmir students were admitted in different State Universities, some medical colleges, some engineering colleges and some jobs were also reserved. But it was too late. I will say that we should not get into the trap of Pakistan which they want to lay out for us. They want that this issue should be taken as an international issue.

This should be taken as India *versus* Pakistan issue. Yes, of course, Pakistan is very much involved there. Therefore, we cannot just close our eyes and say that Pakistan's presence is not there, that we do not mind and we will totally ignore Pakistan. We cannot do that. In fact, Pakistan is at the back of this terrorist movement which is going on by giving money, by supplying armaments, by using every possible forum internationally to raise its voice against India. What we have been saying is to involve the people and to find some methods. Mr. Prime Minister, I am very sad to note how the credibility goes down sometimes. More than a year before, while participating on the Jammu and Kashmir debate, I had suggested that let there be an all party Advisory Committee. The Home Minister was kind enough to accept the suggestion. The Committee was constituted, but not a single meeting of that Committee took place. Later on, the Committees' term was over and again on 3rd June, 1995, while the hon. Home Minister was speaking, I asked this small clarification. I said :

"Perhaps, I may remind you that one year before, the demand was made in this House that you should have an Advisory Committee on Jammu and Kashmir Affairs. You agreed to it. The Committee was constituted, but not a single meeting took place and the Committee became ineffective. So, will you consider this proposal again to form the Advisory Committee?"

And the reply of the Home Minister was :

"Sir, I feel guilty about the Committee not being consulted. There is no doubt about it. We will definitely reconstitute it and try to take their advice in the matter. I have made a public statement, so also the Prime-Minister had made a public Statement that whosoever wants to advise or give their opinion, we will welcome it within the framework of our Constitution."

But I am sorry to say that the Home Minister has failed to fulfil his solemn assurance given on the floor of the House. It is a matter of how the credibility goes down. If this Parliament, this House, the political parties, the national parties are not taken into confidence, the feeling of the Jammu and Kashmir people is that you want to rule over them only through security forces, through military, through bureaucratic machinery; after making several announcements publicly, both nationally and internationally, that you are going to hold elections, you found yourself in such a situation that you had to postpone the elections. Shri Indrajit Gupta has rightly said that this time, at least, this House was given a very strong assurance that this was the last amendment, that within six months you would hold the elections. Three months have gone; so, please do not do that. If you find that the situation is not very amicable, if you feel that it is not possible to hold the elections, then do not announce that. Please try to work with the people, try to find out a proper time and hold the elections. After all, we are committed for a democratic process; we will hold the elections. But if other people are not allowing us, the situation is becoming difficult, and also, your credibility goes down internationally. This should not be done.

Sir, I will say that this is also not a Hindu *versus* Muslim question as our Pakistani friends try to make it. India is a country where we are fortunate that people belonging to all religions of the world live here with equal rights, with full dignity, with full freedom to perform their religious duties and to believe in their religions. Now, it is a major thing which is a great asset to our country. Therefore, whatever policy you make for Jammu and Kashmir, make it a comprehensive one for Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh.

One thing which affected us very badly and which I know again from my personal experience is that when serious communal riots took place in different parts of our country and we were not able to control them effectively and a lot of people belonging to minorities had to suffer, the large-scale killings had also affected the mind of the Jammu and Kashmir people. I have seen the strong faith of the

people of Jammu and Kashmir in secularism. When Sheikh Abdulla died, the most important slogan which the people were raising there was - I have seen the entire Valley was with him and I was also participating in that funeral procession - that "Secularism is our faith. Our leader who had great faith in secularism has died. We will preserve his great heritage of secularism." These things have come to a point where it is not that they affect only the people in the city or in the locality, but they affect many other places in the country. That was one reason why in future effective steps should be taken. Why should communal riots take place and people go scot-free? We appoint Commissions and people are not punished. Why should not there be a provision for death sentence to those who are actively involved in organising and committing murders in communal riots? It is time that we should have a serious thought on this that those who organise communal riots, those who participate in communal riots and those who kill innocent people in communal riots, should be punished and it is our duty to punish them and they should be given capital punishment and only then we will be able to stop this communal virus.

Lately, the Government of India has done some good thing. For example, they had time and again said that "We are prepared to talk to Pakistan and if Pakistan even wants to talk including the Kashmir issue, we have no reservation about it." They have also time and again said that those misguided people who had become militants or who have become terrorists, if they give up violence and if they accept Indian Constitution, they are invited to come and have a dialogue. But it is not enough to make appeals through newspapers only. The Home Minister and the Prime Minister should try to find certain ways through which a kind of confidence could be created in them so that they can agree to come and have a talk around the table. That situation should be accepted. I was reading a Pakistani article about Kashmir. Some of the Hurriyat leaders and JKLF leaders were allowed to come to Delhi when on the invitation of Pakistan ambassador, they wanted to participate in their national day celebration. They were allowed to come even to meet the Pakistan President when he was present in Delhi. That was appreciated in Pakistan that this is a good gesture on the part of the Government of India that they did not prevent them from meeting the President of Pakistan. If we, as Indian citizens, can go and participate in Pakistan's national day celebration, why should those who are invited from Kashmir be prevented? It was a good gesture. It has been appreciated in Pakistan by Pakistan's intellectuals because we have to see that our message goes across to different countries also.

I will also say that today is the right time to initiate the dialogue because whatever the Al-Faran militants have done by abducting and kidnapping those four, five foreign tourists, they have been exposed to the whole world. Who are they? They came very recently on the scene. Nobody knew what is Al-Faran. It is well-known now and it is an established fact that they are helped and incited by Pakistanis and they are the ones who have committed this kind of act and, therefore, they have been exposed today.

I think, it is right time when, in the international opinion, Pakistan stands exposed today. India's policy of entering into dialogue, India's policy of open discussion on even Jammu and Kashmir including the other discussion, India's initiative of inviting many conferences in South Asia including the latest Speakers' Conference where fortunately Pakistan Speaker did come and participate and Pakistan delegates came and participated, has created a good impression. They have themselves seen, how much of openness is on our side on this issue. I think, therefore, you must try to find out some method of getting them involved in a dialogue. Hurriyat is also increasing its base. More people are joining it. Those who were earlier against it, are joining it and they are advising that may be on an appropriate time, we should not reject the invitation of a dialogue. I am told that there is a serious discussion going on within the Hurriyat about it. And when a proper opportunity comes, we should not shun from the discussion. Therefore, I will emphasize that we should try to find a channel. We should also take into full confidence the National Conference. The National Conference was a major political party. It is the party of late Sheikh Abdullah Sahib. This party has a mass base there. Maybe today they do not have that kind of a mass base. But it is a party which has always stood by India. I have addressed many meetings in the border areas of the Valley with Shri Sheikh Abdullah where he used to tell the people with a lot of patriotic sense, "you are looking beyond the border. Are you not saying that you want to be crushed by the army boots on that side? Is it a religious issue? Pakistan and Bangladesh became two countries. But why are you looking towards Pakistan? You have every right to fight here, raise your voice and be like a good Indian citizen." So we should not really abandon such friends. They stood by us at all times. We should see that they also increase their political activities.

We should revamp the administration. I do not know about it. This demand has been made earlier also and this time also to have another Governor. It is for you to decide whether you want him or you

want to replace him. But revamping of the local administration in Jammu and Kashmir is a must. There is a doubt about what we call of a united command of our intelligence and of security forces which is really not there. There are sometimes open differences. You should pay greater attention that they become, really speaking, a homogenous united security command. Differences should not come in the open because that harms us badly.

I will also say that some suggestions have been made. It is for you to consider them. Let Srinagar become a dry port. We have made some dry ports in the country. Let Srinagar become a dry port from where people can import and export their things. All the way, they should not have to come to Bombay or Calcutta. They should have all these facilities available to them at Srinagar.

I will also tell you to kindly pay greater attention to educational system. Today we should see that young boys and girls of Jammu and Kashmir get proper modern education. Otherwise in such a situation, many fundamentalist forces come and intervene and they really try to poison the minds of people. Many sentimental issues are raised. Therefore, attention should be drawn to other things. I also request you to think whether it is possible that these refugees, Pundit refugees or Hindu refugees from the Valley who left, came and settled down either in Jammu or in different parts of the country, can be taken back to their respective places.

17.45 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is possible that they can be taken back to their respective places with proper full security guarantee and also steps to rehabilitate them, to rebuild their livelihood which has been destroyed because of this unfortunate thing? Therefore, let us think that that will give greater credibility if we are able to persuade them to go back with proper full security and also with proper help.

I will also request the Prime Minister - it is a policy matter - that I will not like that autonomy for a particular State should be given separately, but I will request that this is high time that the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations should be seriously examined. Many other States which are demanding the redefinition of the Centre-State relations with greater right for the States. In that context, we should think of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir also. Of course, Jammu and Kashmir State has Article 370. It was a special Article and that Article

should be retained. This is not the time, in any way, to raise that issue because that will again make the people suspicious rather in a situation when we are trying to deal them with greater sympathy.

Sir, I think that with some of these suggestions I will request the Home Minister again that he should now form Jammu and Kashmir Advisory Committee - which he promised but could not form that - he should reconstitute it. They should consult the people and he should see that those necessary steps are taken. The Prime Minister has rightly sent some of our Ministers to Jammu and Kashmir with some financial help, to give them special help, the package or whatever it is, they should be effectively implemented.

With these words, I hope that we will be able to keep the people of Jammu and Kashmir fully satisfied within the framework of our Constitution and they should be happy to be in the national mainstream of our country.

MR. SPEAKER : I have a very big list of hon. Members names and it was decided that we should pass this Budget today itself because there are many other things to be done tomorrow, day after tomorrow and the remaining period. May I request the hon. Members to be very precise and not to repeat the points. I have about nine hon. Members to speak. The hon. Minister would like to reply and then the Budget has to be passed. So, you please cooperate.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Sir, the Minister for Coal is present. I would like to know when he is going to make the Statement.

MR. SPEAKER : He has sent me a copy of the Statement. I have allowed him to make the Statement. But, let us complete this.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : But, I want to know the time so that I can be present.

MR. SPEAKER : I cannot give you the time because it depends on how much time the hon. Members take it.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COAL (SHRI AJIT PANJA) : Sir, I am ready. It is a very short Statement. If you permit me, I am ready Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : It derails everything you know.

.....(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT PANJA : Whatever is convenient to you. Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : Please do it afterwards. If you do not mind, you can go out and come back a little later.

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN (Gobichettipalayam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Kashmir has been a problem since the birth of our nation, but there is a radical change in the problem of Kashmir in 1947 and the problem of Kashmir in 1994. We have to recollect proudly that the people of Kashmir, where the majority of the people were Muslims, did not express their desire or intention to go with Pakistan, they declared that they would stay with India. These are the Muslims of Kashmir who stood by us and today we talk of the misled youth, terrorists and all that, who is responsible for this situation?

Instead of consolidating the best of the intentions and desires expressed by the people of Kashmir, we are trying to alienate them.

The Government's claim regarding improvement of conditions stands contradicted by hard facts. Bombs have been exploding in the Jammu and Kashmir region frequently. Since 1989, the security forces have suffered the most and the highest number of casualties were in 1994. Encouraged by the worthless concessions given to the militants at the time of the Hazratbal crisis, the militants misused the Dargah of Charar-e-Sharief.

The Charar-e-Sharief incident has added to the complexity of the Kashmir problem. It has once again brought into focus the inadequacies of strategy planning. What is important is, the people of Kashmir, more than anyone else, should know the violence does not pay and that violence breeds violence. It has not solved any problem anywhere in the world. Ultimately, it becomes necessary to come to the negotiating table to solve the issue.

Now the barbaric and brutal killing of a Norwegian tourist, who was taken captive by the militants has given us shock waves, especially because till that incident there was a lingering hope that the foreign hostages would somehow be set free. It is true that the Government was in a dilemma, but the hard lesson that it must have learnt by now is that there are no soft options and that it must be prepared to take the most drastic and vehement action against the militants to deter them from indulging in violence and killing of innocent persons. Now since the hostages, all being foreigners, should not be harmed the Government will have to consider how best to save the lives of the hostages

The point is that it is true that Pakistan is not only supporting but also lending moral support, lending men and material to the Kashmir terrorists. There is ample proof that they have been able to internationalise the Kashmir situation and that they are drawing support from various quarters of the world.

The Governor's rule with the active assistance of the Army has, to a great extent, alienated the people from the administration and this has to be reversed if the political process is to make a worthwhile beginning. The answer to this depends on the extent to which the Government is in a position to eliminate terrorism.

Before I conclude, I would like to submit that wherever Pakistan goes and says that Kashmir is a disputed territory, we should not relent, but should fight that propaganda by using our diplomatic sources and intermediary agencies so that Pakistan's sinister designs in creating a law and order problem in the name of Kashmir can be solved.

With these words, I conclude.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you. Arjun Singh ji, would you like to speak?

SHRI ARJUN SINGH (Satna) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to say something on this very very crucial and important subject, which has a direct bearing not only on a part of this country, but in my view which has a bearing on the very ethos of this nation and very much on the future polity of this country.

Kashmir, as we all know, has been the crucible where the true character of the Indian nation was forced after Independence. Kashmir is the place, where the pernicious 'two nation theory' - which unfortunately led to the division of this country - was suitably given a burial. As my colleague, Shri Yadav has pointed out, Kashmir, in fact, showed us the way how we could make ourselves impervious to the communal strain, which had been sought to be injected in the body politics of this country. Time and tide have gone through many phases in that part of the country.

What is happening there today, cannot but sadden all those who would like India to be a great country, India to be a democratic and a secular country and above everything, India to be a model of a democratic system which we, the people of India, adopted for ourselves when we gave ourselves a Constitution. The fact that many of these premises are being questioned today in Kashmir should be a

cause for serious concern not only to the Government of the country, but I think, to the citizens of this country. The interaction that normally takes place between one part of the country and another, some how does not exist with India or other parts of India and Kashmir. Why this has come to a pass, is a part of a very very lamentable catalogue of missed opportunities, deliberate mistakes and sometimes even miscalculations which could easily have been avoided.

I will not repeat what the hon. Members have already stated in the House; and it has covered a very wide range. To repeat those points would be only taking up the very valuable time of this House. There are two or three points which I would like to make. But before I go into that, I would like to join everyone here to express our deep sense of shock at the brutal killing of the Norwegian tourist who came to India and went to Kashmir to see a land which is famous for its beauty and for its hospitality. We are also equally sad and concerned about the fate of the other hostages who are yet to be released.

The question of 'Policy on Kashmir' was raised. I am as much in the dark as any other Member of this House, about what Yadav ji said, which is about a coherent policy. Only a coherent and a well-devised policy can be articulated. Otherwise, you can only talk in fits and starts; something which happens some day, will bring out some remarks, some reactions and then, time will again cover up our claims. Unfortunately that has been what is happening recently. It is something which saddens us. But still I feel this sadness should not lead to despair. There are some very redeeming features in the dismal picture of Kashmir even today. Since this aspect hardly ever surfaces, we do not notice it.

I am talking of the lines of communication between Kashmir and the rest of this country. Kashmir does not produce all the consumer items that it consumes. Where do they come from? They do not come from Pakistan; they are not imported from abroad. They are coming from India. The same channels which communicates all these articles to any other part of the country are also bringing those items to the people of Kashmir. I would like that this channel should be further strengthened and should be made much more perfect; and if there are any handicaps, those handicaps must be consciously removed.

The second point is about the structure - the structure as to whether giving more autonomy or anything short of everything under the sun.

18.00 hrs

So long as it is within the framework of our Constitution, I think, we are not the people actually entitled to that kind of discussion. That kind of discussion and conclusion must come from the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We cannot be thinking for them and prescribing things for them. That dialogue, which is a very salient feature of any functioning democracy, somehow has been - I would not say irretrievably but gravely - disturbed. That dialogue must begin.

I claim no expertise. But I can also observe as a layman that somehow it has gone into the psyche of our compatriots in Kashmir that the authorities and the representatives in Delhi can only communicate or can only refer to a dialogue through a gun. Guns are needed to protect the basic interest of a country. Guns are needed when there is a threat to the liberty and integrity of the country. But guns cannot become the vehicle of communication between the people of a country.

If that happens to be the case, then so many unfortunate developments come out of that which will take decades to mend. Anybody going to Jammu and Kashmir today, if he keeps his eyes and ears open, cannot but come back with the impression that there is total lack of communication between the people and those who are responsible for the running of the administration. How has this happened? I am sure nobody in any authority in India would direct this to happen because I just cannot think of it.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal) : Sir, the time should be extended.

MR. SPEAKER : I think, we had agreed to sit here and complete the business today.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Today?

MR. SPEAKER : Today. Otherwise, the entire schedule will be disturbed.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : But the fact remains that it is obtaining there. I would like to know what precisely has been done to break this impasse in Jammu and Kashmir. If somebody is responsible for creating this situation, has he been held accountable whether it is the Governor, whether it is the Secretary, whether it is anybody. And if no questions have been asked and no answers given then where do we go from here?

I do not want to say anything about the Governor. Last time also, I said, I know him as a very upright man of integrity a fine soldier. But in the very nature of things, when you have to command an Army in a troubled situation as a civilian and as being a soldier the former C-in-C contradictions are bound to occur. And they are inherent. Are we unable to look at them? Are we unable to identify them? Most of the problems that have arisen in the administrative sphere are born from this basic contradiction. The sooner we look at it dispassionately without any prejudice against any individual, the better it would be for the administration of that State to come to an even keel.

The other point which has been mentioned by other friends but I would like to underline it also is the abysmal depth to which integrity in administration has gone in Jammu and Kashmir. You travel anywhere. There are roads for which crores of rupees have been spent and there is no road.

Our hon. Minister of State for Finance is asking this House for some amount for which everyone has said that we will give blindly. Can anybody give us some kind of an estimate as to how much of that amount will go into the pockets of the militants and the corrupt elements in the administration? I would not like to hazard a guess because your guess will be far wide the mark. These are things which are basic to any administration and if such basics are ignored and overlooked in a disturbed area where a foreign country is breathing down our neck, doing everything possible to square the pitch, to disturb the normal channels of functioning, they can only be done at the cost and peril of the country.

The last thing which I want to say is that the policy, I hope, emerges sometimes out of serious cogitation, meditation or by chance. But there are certain points which you must take note of, as Mr Vajpayee has mentioned in his speech, there is a growing hiatus between the people of the Jammu area of Jammu and Kashmir and the people in the valley which is not a healthy thing to permit. It has not yet reached a proportion which cannot be managed but if it continues to be ignored, I think, we can have very serious problems there and by this perhaps a new dimension will be added to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir. We have experimented with an autonomous unit in Ladakh. Perhaps, some thought could go into the desirability or the undesirability whatever will be the ultimate result of establishing autonomous regional councils for each region with equitable, fiscal administration and development powers with the State as a compact unit under the Constitution. I do not want to go into the Constitution as such but this is an idea which many people there have mooted. It is in the wisdom of this House and the efforts of the Government if they could see some way out in this line.

Recently, we have had many prescriptions from friendly powers and their representatives in this country. We have always cherished very close and friendly relations with all the nations of the world. But we must draw the line where prescriptions become directions. If that impression goes, I think, that is not only demeaning to us but could ultimately open up avenues which have long been closed because of the determination and the farsightedness of the great leaders of this country. We cannot afford this kind of what you may call diplomatic adventures. I hope this debate today will help all of us to think seriously about the points made here and we would be able to devise a line of action, a policy which will have all the ingredients of a coherent policy. We all hope that tormented part of India will join the democratic framework of the country, obviously under conditions which favour restoration of democracy, not democracy under the shadow of the bayonet. Thank You, Sir.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Mr. Speaker Sir, the Kashmir problem has become a persistent problem. It has assumed and acquired, with the passing of the days, multi-dimensional character and it affects the country's unity, integrity and even the independence. Therefore, this august House - I think - in the past and even today have given all the considerations to see that we can really bring out a political solution of Kashmir. In order to work out the political solution of the problem, I strongly feel that we should know, we should weigh and we should identify the basic ingredients of the problem.

Sir, to be very brief I only refer to certain aspects of these basic ingredients and components. The alienation of the Kashmiri people is one of the basic components and ingredients of it. Inadequate response of the Government to the proxy war conducted by Pakistan and its enduring efforts of Pakistan to internationalise the issue.

The cynical apathy of the Government to strike at the very root of the problem, alienation of the people and lastly, we want that we should take note of the systematic erosion in the spirit of Article 370 which was inscribed into the Constitution of the country with a far sight and vision.

Sir, if we can really understand the basic ingredients of the deterioration of the situation, it is only through dialogues, it is only through winning the hearts of the people of Kashmir and that we can work out a political solution.

Sir, it is not the intention of the Government - I suppose - to conquer Kashmir. But we want to win the hearts of the people of Kashmir. In this respect, I want to remind the Prime Minister that in the last Session

he made a Statement saying that 'The Government was ready to negotiate anything short of *Azadi*'. This does not concretise the issue of autonomy. But may I know from him, what he really means by this 'autonomy short of *Azadi*' it is time that we should know about it and it is time that the Kashmiri people also understand, what the Government means, particularly the Prime Minister.

Sir, there was also an indication that the Government are contemplating about the economic package and political package. There is a considerable volume of public opinion here and in Kashmir that these political and economic packages should precede the elections. Naturally, this may be one of the conditions fulfilled for creating a condition suitable for holding the elections, which is the object of the Government. I want to know, what is really being done with regard to that contemplated economy and political package.

Sir, dialogue is the only way out and there is commitment from the side of the Government that the Government does not shun any possibility of having any dialogue. In this case certain changes have taken place in Kashmir. Many militants, particularly I can mention Yasin Malik and Shabbir Shah who were strong advocates of militancy and violence, now, after being released from the Government say, they have made public commitment that 'they want some solution through dialogue' They say that 'religion is to be delinked from politics'.

They have abandoned the idea or repudiated the idea of secession. Should we not take advantage of this? Should we not seize this opportunity? The Government should find out some mechanism to have some interaction with them.

Sir, I know the limitation of the time. So far as the economic condition of the Kashmiri people is concerned, I think, they had been given a raw deal. Even today, the products they produce, particularly fruits which constitute the only avocation of life of the majority of the people of that State do not get the opportunity of coming to the Indian market in a proper and easy way. Unless we take certain economic actions in order to help them to earn their living, I think, terrorism would get a fertile soil for its development.

Sir, flood has visited a part of the Kashmir Valley. I am told that the flood victims have not been given proper economic and other rehabilitation relief. This aspect should also be addressed to. So far as the restructuring of the administrative set up is concerned, it must be attended to. All these conditions taken together could create a healthy condition for conducting free and fair elections which may be one of the instruments of bringing about peace and normalcy in the tormented part of our country.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of sorrow that we should be discussing this issue again in this House today because it was our hope that the last discussion on a Supplementary Budget Grant for Jammu and Kashmir would be the last one because it had been our hope that by now we would have an elected State Assembly in the State of Jammu and Kashmir which would address itself to the issues which we are now having to address ourselves to.

There was a process that had been set in motion, which was a process that was unfortunately derailed by what happened at Charar-e-Sharief and subsequently, we are left with no alternative but to continue with the Central administration of Jammu and Kashmir while persisting upon the path of eventually arriving at a democratic, political and secular solution of the Kashmir problem.

Sir, to find such a solution, we have had a policy to which we have consistently adhered in the last four years and more. I respectfully beg to disagree with our senior leader Shri Arjun Singh about our not having coherence in the policy. I believe that the Government, of which he was a Member, had evolved a coherent policy which it is continuing to stick to.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : I would like to say what I said last time when I spoke in this House that for the four years that I was in the Government, in spite of my best efforts and the efforts of other colleagues, the Cabinet did not discuss the Kashmir policy.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : I am grateful to my senior leader for revealing on the floor of this House the secrets that out to remain inside the Cabinet room. The coherence in our policy evolves from the point of departure of 31st May, 1990 when the Governor who was responsible for the mess in Jammu and Kashmir was removed. After that we have always looked for a political, democratic and secular solution of the problem. This must necessarily involve certain steps. First, continuing the battle against the terrorists so that terrorism is marginalised in the Valley; second, trying to convert as many of the militants as possible to the democratic path and third, engaging them in a dialogue which will lead to the kind of solution which we have envisaged. I think on all the three counts we have succeeded remarkably well. It is clear that militancy in the valley is certainly on the decline and although they are able to stage dramatic events such as the one that took place in the Charar-e-Sharief, yet taking a long term view of the situation that obtains in the Valley, the extent of militancy is marginal compared to what it was four or five years ago, indeed compared to even what it was one or two years ago.

Secondly, we have approached the militants with an open heart and this is shown by the release of several people who on most-wanted lists only a few years ago and their emergence on to the political scene has enabled us to see that behind the wicked visage of the militant lies the human heart of a Shabbir Shah or a Yasin Malik or a Syed Gilani with whom it is entirely possible to communicate as one Indian to another.

We have had, Sir, in India in the past, many experiences of dealing with people who took to militancy because they felt that the extant political system was unable to give them the answers they sought and it was within that we find answers. One of the most dramatic examples of that was in Tripura in 1987, 1988, 1989, when we succeeded in defeating the then CPI(M) Government of Tripura, installing a Congress Government and under the aegis of the very gentleman who has been dismissed as a mere "former Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army" working out a political solution in Tripura which has endured till today. Equally, Sir, it was under the aegis of the same gentleman that we were able to keep Nagaland well under control, and I think everyone in this House would agree that the situation in Manipur has worsened rather than getting better ever since he left the area. We have, Sir, considerable experience in the Government, within our Party, in this country as a whole of being able to undertake dialogue with militants.

The irony of the situation today is that Shabbir Shah, Yasin Malik, Syed Gilani, and Abdul Ghali Lone have nothing to fear from the Indian Army. The Indian Army is the only thing that stands between them and certain death at the hands of the fellow colleagues in the Hurriyat. This is the extraordinary irony of the situation. It is coherence that has brought us to the position where the leading spokesmen of the Hurriyat depend upon the Indian Security Forces for their continued life and their continued political activity. And it has been possible to identify which are the elements in the political scene in Kashmir who stand in favour of Pakistan and those who wish to see Pakistan not involved in a solution to the problem. It is now becoming clear that it is the Jamat-e-Islami, it is the Harkatul-Ansar, and it is the Hizbul Mujahiddeen who are the three pro-Pakistan elements who constitute the enemy. Apart from these three, everybody else, whether he likes the National Conference or hates the Congress, as far as we are concerned are Kashmiris, they are Indians. They have a right to not agree with us. But we now know who are the enemy and it is only against the enemy, or increasingly only against the enemy, that force is being used. The kind of indiscriminate use of force against the people of Kashmir, the launching of a war, the unleashing of a war against the people of Kashmir which took place between January and May 1990 is now happily behind us and we are in a situation where in a much more targeted fashion we are going after the militants, and we are going after the terrorists.

Insofar as dialogue is concerned; the real problem with Kashmir is "whom to talk to, and to understand whom do those we talk to represent?" The Hurriyat itself is like an amoeba. It is also like a hydra. The amoeba reproduces itself by self-dividing, and the hydra reproduces itself by reproducing with itself. We keep having additional factions being born; we then have these factions dissolved; we then have them being reborn. At any given point of time, the Hurriyat consists of sometimes 27 factions, sometimes it is reduced to 15, then it grows to 30. Now, we know that all these factions inside the Hurriyat represent someone or the other in Kashmir, above that there is no doubt. But how much do they represent, whom do they represent, what segment of the population do they represent that we do not know. And it was the Government's coherent policy to attempt to discover through the ballot box who represented what. Now, that process has been derailed, at least in terms of time? We have not succeeded in having the State Assembly elections by July, 1995 which was our original objective. Where do we go from here?

I take the liberty, Mr Speaker Sir, of resubmitting to the House a proposal of mine which our Government has rejected two or three times in the past but which, fortunately since we are a democratic Party, I am allowed to re-submit once again for the consideration of the Government, which is, we need to ascertain who represents the will of the people.

Since holding State Assembly elections on the basis of Party politics is proving to be an extremely difficult if not impractical way, why do we not begin with partyless Panchayat elections? If we could have partyless Panchayat elections, then individuals may emerge from among the great mass of the people whom, then all of us can woo. Let the Congress woo them; let the National Conference woo them, let Mr Shabbir Shah and Mr Yasin Malik woo them; let everybody who wishes to woo them, woo them. But we will have, then, an Administration elected by the people with whom we can, at least, deal within respect of development matters.

The problem today is that with the crores and crores of rupees being set-aside for Jammu and Kashmir, a large amount of it is being swallowed, as Shri Arjun Singh said, by the Administration before it reaches the people. That is because, in Kashmir, as has been the case in the rest of India, it is the Administration which swallows 85 paise of every rupee that reaches the people, 15 paise, is from where the cream of corruption is taken and only a few, 6 paise or 7 paise, reaches the people. This is as true of Kashmir as it has been true of the rest of the country. The systemic answer to that problem is to have elected representatives of the people at the grassroots to whom this money goes and who will

then spend it to the benefit of the people. While we cannot rule out corruption in the Panchayats I think, taken in its totality, the amount of corruption which a series of atomistic Panchayats can conduct, is much smaller than what is possible by an oligarchical bureaucracy. This, then, is the answer - Panchayat elections. I also agree with Shri Arjun Singh that may be we do need to think in terms of Autonomous Council for Jammu and Kashmir on the lines of what we have had for Ladakh. It is because the Ladakh experiment has not only been extraordinarily successful, it has also returned something like 22 out of 26 Congress Members. So, it is only to be welcomed. I am sure, the same results will be obtained in Jammu and Kashmir.

While we set about bridging the hiatus, as Shri Arjun Singh said, between the people of Jammu and the people of Kashmir through the mechanism of the Autonomous Councils, we will have a second tier of elections to these Autonomous Councils which will be on a Party basis and once we go that far, then it becomes very simple to move to the third stage of having elections to the State Assemblies and Parliament which could perhaps take place simultaneously with the rest of the country some time in the spring of 1996.

In the meanwhile, Sir, we must have, we must continue to have, what I think, Shri Arjun Singh has mistakenly called diplomatic adventurism. It is not diplomatic adventurism for the Prime Minister, in October, 1993 to have taken the single most significant step that we have taken in foreign policy with respect to Kashmir, since 1947. It was his letter to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto offering to discuss issues related to Kashmir. Now, until 1993, the Pakistanis were insisting that we must discuss Kashmir with them. What Prime Minister, Rao did was to tell them "Okay, we are ready to discuss the Kashmir issue". What did the Pakistanis do? They have run from the table every since. We have brought ourselves on the right side of the international community by saying that we are ready to undertake a bilateral dialogue on Kashmir with Pakistan, which is provided for in the Shimla agreement and the big mistake that we did between 1972 and 1993 when Kashmir was an issue on the back burner, is to have not discussed Kashmir with Pakistan. We should, then, have done it but again there is no point in crying over spilt milk. We can still discuss it with them. We can still claim to be ready to discuss it with them. If they do not discuss it with us, well, then, the onus is on them. It is not on us. This demonstrates diplomatic vision and the consequence of that is that never before as in the last two years - and thanks in large measure to the Leader of our Opposition, who accompanied Shri Salman Khurshid to Geneva and ever since the beginning of 1994 India has been on the upswing in the International circuit on questions relating to Kashmir. Now

that the Pakistanis and their agents in Kashmir have revealed their ugly face through the assassination, the beheading of this young man Hans Ostro, I, for one, am certain that never has the world, not since about 1947, has it been as much on our side on the Kashmir issue as it is today. It is not diplomatic adventurism that has brought us to this position, it is diplomatic vision, and it is diplomatic imagination.

I urge upon the Government through the Prime Minister, who is present here, to please persist on the path of dialogue both with the people of Kashmir as well as with people of Pakistan.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me this chance to express our views on the Demands for Grants in respect of Jammu and Kashmir.

On behalf of my party, RSP, I rise to express the views and I appreciate the Budget under constitutional compulsion only.

Sir, I have heard many valuable speeches in this House on this subject. I do not want to make any lengthy speech but I beg your leave to quote a very famous poem of Thomas Moore. I will quote one or two lines only.

It says :

Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave.
Its temples and grottos and fountains as clear,
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave,

With these lines, the poet, Thomas Moore, introduced Kashmir to the people of the Western world. This is Kashmir, a gifted land of nature and beauty. This is Kashmir a gifted land of peace and tranquillity. But that Kashmir is burning today; that Kashmir is bleeding to destroy itself and the people of Kashmir have lost the heritage of their culture today. This is, I think, the situation, which stands in this way for the mishandling of this situation by the Central Government since the imposition of the President's Rule in Kashmir in the Year 1953.

Sir, today the bright and beautiful children of Kashmir are misguided and that is the main problem. Today they are misguided not of their own choice but they are misguided for the mishandling of the situation by the Central Government. This Government could not make employment generation for the unemployed youths. This Government could not utilise the inherent potential of the State of Kashmir. This Government could not utilise the natural resources of Kashmir like hydel potential, forestry and agro-processing.

Sir, the Government is committed to start the political process. But the political process does not imply holding elections only. Before you start the political process, we must have to start the economic activity; we must have to restore the economic life of the people. But what is the policy of the Central Government to regenerate the poor economic condition of the people? If we analyse the situation, what we will find is that the Government could not create any self-sustaining economy of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. They could not use this hydel potential; they could not use the social forestry; and they could not use this agro-processing, the natural resources of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the economic development of the people. Had there been any economic satisfaction, the people of Kashmir must have been bent towards the mainstream of the society.

Sir, during the last Budget session we demanded from the Government just to place the focus on the intensive investment in the area of Industries, especially the cottage industry. What is the situation of the shawl weavers today? What is the condition of shawl traders today? What is the condition of the people living on horticulture and living on handicrafts? What is the condition of the poor people living on land?

This Government did not take into consideration the poverty and crisis of the poor people. So I urge upon the Government to take into consideration the whole economic situation of Kashmir today and then decide to do something for bringing them back into the mainstream of the Indian society.

MR SPEAKER : Mr Yaima Singh, please be very brief as you often do.

....(Interruptions)....

MR SPEAKER : I have called Mr Yaima Singh and not Mr A. Ahmed.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Sir, my name starts with 'E'.

18.35 hrs.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur): Sir, I am not opposing the demand of the Member.

I understand that the circumstances demand a debate while supporting the Demands for Grants in respect of Jammu and Kashmir. In this discussion, I can express my opinion on the issue of Kashmir.

I am of a strong view that the elections should be held in that State. We must hold elections and elect the representatives of the people there. It will only solve the problem. If we remain waiting for conditions conducive for elections, then we cannot have the elec-

tions. I have my experience in Manipur and also I have my experience in Punjab. When Punjab was boiling with a situation that has arisen out of the terrorists' activities, elections were held there and then it was managed. As regards Manipur also.... (*Interruptions*)

MR SPEAKER : It is on Kashmir.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM : Sir, I will take only two or three minutes. It will be very important for him because it is my experience. In Manipur, there was such a situation that nobody agreed to hold the election there.

MR SPEAKER : Yes, that point has been made by many that there should be elections.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM : We proposed to hold the elections there and then the elections were held. So many candidates were threatened and even candidates were shot dead when they were campaigning. And even a leader of the BJP was shot dead in broad day light. So those were the conditions but elections were held because when hectic campaigning was there the workers breasted the bullets of the underground elements who boycotted the elections. It is very important. This is what I wanted to say here. So let us not wait for a conducive circumstance or condition to prevail there. Let us have the election under any circumstances.

But I am quite against Mr Mani Shankar Aiyer when he proposed for a Party-less elections. We must have election on Party basis. Parties must be involved. We must involve. When there were contests among Parties, automatically the workers of the Parties, when they wanted to win the election breasted, faced the grenades and faced the bullets. You know in Manipur, bombs were blasted. Hand-grenades were thrown into the Polling Station. People were killed. Still more than 90 per cent of the people turned up to cast their votes and election was held there. So the same is the situation. Even in Kashmir, within two or three months we shall be able to hold the elections (*Interruptions*)

MR SPEAKER : Please come to next point. About the elections, there is no doubt.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM : Sir, my second point is in the press I have seen that some foreign powers might be proposing for a referendum in Kashmir. If we accepted, it will be a suicidal to the nation. In the earlier period also, it was accepted during Nehru's period. We must oppose it and we must not agree to that.

Sir, because of the time constraint, I am compromising and coordinating with you. Otherwise I have a long list. I can also speak like any other Members. But whenever my turn comes, you give only two three minutes. So how can I explain? My last point would be, awarding of autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir.

I am not opposing it, but I would like to state that we should think over that if autonomy to a certain extent is given to Kashmir, then we will demand it for us also, for our State. That is our condition. The Government may please think over that. So, in such circumstances I hope that the Government will think over it.

My last point will be that I will join the others in condemning the brutal killing of the foreign tourist in Kashmir and I urge upon the Government to try its best to secure the release of all the other foreign tourists in Kashmir.

With these few words I thank you again.

SHRI E. AHAMED : Mr. Speaker, Sir, due to paucity of time, I would not like to make a repetition of what my Hon. friends have mentioned here. However, I may be permitted to make a few point within a short period.

At the outset, sense of I express on behalf of my Party, the Indian Union Muslim League, the deep sense of shock and agony on the brutal killing of Mr Hans Ostro at the hands of these foreign militants known as Al-A-Faran. As a citizen of this country I share the sentiments of the bereaved family and the people of this country and as a Muslim, I condemn this un-Islamic Act in the name of Islam. These people have absolutely no respect to the tenets of Islam and they have absolutely no consideration to what Islam has preached, peace and tranquillity and respect for human beings. As such, I express my solidarity with my brothers in the Kashmir Valley who have amply demonstrated by observing a *hartal* to condemn this brutal killing.

Quite unfortunately, we do not have that much of interaction with the people of Kashmir, the ordinary men and women of Kashmir. I just would like to say that Kashmir has to be viewed by two angles, one is the propaganda unleashed by Pakistan against this very same country, where this House and the people of the country to stand as one and are fighting back the sinister propaganda. We will have to say that Pakistan has absolutely no right to talk about Kashmir in the name of Islam. If they have any respect to Islamic principles it should be shown to their own people. I do not want to say any thing about the internal affairs of another country. It is not correct. But

I am compelled to say that when a country speaks in the name of the religion of that country and then interferes in the affairs of the people of this country, in the name of religion as Muslims of India are their fellow-religionists the Pakistanis have to show some respect to the people of their own country first. That is what I say; Pakistan has no moral right to speak of Kashmir.

As a matter of fact, I am very sorry to mention this. I have received a letter from a Pakistani brother of mine from London yesterday of an international set up known as MQM, Mohajir Quami Movement the leader of which is Mr. Altaf Hussain. I am very sorry to read this one. The last sentence reads--"I do not want to take much of the valuable time to this House to read the entire letter--" If the court orders are issued in favour of the victims of State repression every perceivable obstacle is caused to get into existence the execution of such court orders. And they request me, "We request you to please take notice of these gross human rights violations perpetrated by the Police State of Pakistan." How sad is their condition, Sir?

This is the country which is now telling or propagating in the international field that because Muslims are in majority in the Valley it should go to Pakistan! There are 15 crore or 150 million Muslims living in this country, the second largest Islamic population after Indonesia. If 150 million Muslims are here in our country and I say that we have problems. In a democracy it is quite natural that we will have problems. In a democracy we have a system to address these problems. What ever Muslims have, we are living with 150 million Muslims and we are being supported by an overwhelming majority of this country and if 150 million Muslims are able to live in this country this way, what is the difficulty for the three to four million Muslims in the Valley?

This is what I am asking. That is the difference between this country and Pakistan. Incidentally, I may mention that in Pakistan the discrimination of the State is against their own people, who belong to same religion, and they are dividing their people into various ethnic sects. But here if there is any discrimination against a particular minority community, the overwhelming majority of the Hindus are opposing that discrimination and support their minority brothers. That is what I have seen on the 7th of December here when the Babri Masjid was demolished. It was not Mr E Ahmed or Mr Syed Shahabuddin or Mr E. Suleman Sait who defended the right of the Muslims and fought for the Muslims against the demolition. It was my dear brothers on my left side and right side, barring BJP Members of this House, who fought for the cause of

the Muslims and against those who demolished the mosque. How can I forget it? But, unfortunately, this has not been put across to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. I would not blame the hon. Prime Minister. The hon. Prime Minister had taken some steps which has helped this country to boost its image to nail the propaganda unleashed by Pakistan on Kashmir.

I was a member of the Indian Delegation which went to the United Nations. Last year Pakistan prompted some of the Islamic countries, who were members of OIC like Saudi Arabia and Turkey - with whom we have good relations - and Senegal, to move a resolution against India. I was interacting as a member of the Indian Delegation with the Islamic countries. The statement of the hon. Prime Minister had helped us to win over the countries in favour of India. It was the statement of the hon. Prime Minister that he was prepared to discuss with any country including the Pakistani Prime Minister, without any pre-conditions, which defused the situation and the resolution was not moved at the United Nations. It was a great success due to that timely statement of the Hon. Prime Minister.

Again, Sir, let us take the views of the Kashmiris. Earlier, there was an overwhelming majority favouring Pakistan. But, now, a majority of them has been disillusioned by the policy pursued by Pakistan. Basically, the people of Kashmir are very good. They do not have water facilities; they do not have good roads; they do not have basic amenities; they do not have employment opportunities and they do not have education facilities. These facilities are enjoyed by the people of different States but they are denied to Kashmiri people. Therefore, the Central Government have to sincerely consider their grievances.

Another thing is that we have to respect the Kashmiri people, their "Kashmiriat" feeling. What is wrong in it? There are people from Andhra Pradesh having the pride of Andhra; the people of West Bengal having their own pride; Keralites have their own pride and Asamese have their own pride. Then, why should not the Kashmiri people have the feeling of "Kashmiriat"? There is nothing wrong in it. We have to honour their "Kashmiriat" feeling.

Some of the senior hon. Members like Shri Indrajit Gupta, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Shri Arjun Singh and Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar have said that the people of India should uphold the principles of secularism. That is the most important thing in our dealings with Kashmir. We have to convey this message to the people of Kashmir.

With these few words, I want to refer to what a prominent journalist, Ms. Tavleen Singh, has written after her visit to Srinagar. I quote :

"Srinagar already resembles a town in terminal disrepair, the streets are filthy with uncontrolled garbage heaps and sandbags, roads have not been rebuilt in years, electric supplies are erratic if there are at all, and the worst flood in more than 20 years have swallowed up whole areas. They have also killed nearly a hundred people and washed away crores of rupees worth of crops but these things do not matter (to the civil administration)."

So, I appeal to the hon. Prime Minister to take immediate steps, initiating a political process and to declare an economic and political package so as to enable to hold a meaningful election in Jammu and Kashmir.

Sir, this is the thing. Therefore, I humbly request the hon. Prime Minister to address these matters affecting the people of Kashmir. The people of Kashmir will be with India and India will be with the people of Kashmir.

Sir, with these few words, I support the Demands put forward by the hon. Minister.

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me a chance to share some of my thoughts on Kashmir with this House very briefly. Several friends from across the floor have sought to accuse the government of not having a clear policy on Kashmir or a coherent policy on Kashmir. I venture to submit that this criticism is grossly unfair and wide off the mark. In fact, if I might say so, this criticism is astonishing and absurd.

Sir, our Government has been following a clear-cut policy, a coherent policy on Kashmir, a policy initiated by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and subsequently followed and upheld by Indiraji, Rajivji and other Prime Ministers. Sir, the framework of this policy is absolutely clear. Legally and constitutionally Kashmir is an integral part of India in fact, I venture to submit that it is also morally an integral part of India. As an integral part of India, this Government and previous Congress Governments has sought to uphold the best principles of democracy and secularism in Kashmir.

Over the years, elections have been held regularly. I know there is criticism about the elections in 1989. But, Sir, just because something unfortunate happened in 1989, it does not mean that we condemn the whole lot of elections. In fact, I venture to submit that in condemning the elections which were held for

constituting the Constituent Assembly for Kashmir we have been anti-national. Those elections were fair; those elections were unanimous and the whole lot of people of Kashmir voted for Sheikh Abdullah and gave him their total confidence. So, when we criticise elections in Kashmir I beg of this House to draw a clear line between the elections that were held in the Sixties and the Seventies and those that were held subsequently. It is grossly unfair not to do so.

Sir, the next point about our policy is very clear. We stand for a special status for Kashmir and in this we have accepted this view that it should have autonomy I shall come a little later to the point about what kind of autonomy should it be.

Next, we are also clear that we seek a final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir issue with Pakistan. But that has to be done under the Shimla Agreement and on a bilateral basis. We have also a very clear policy on the subject of transparency. We have sought to introduce this concept and we have gone in for total transparency. In fact, it is a matter of great pride that not long ago we had no objection and we allowed the leaders of the Hurriyat to come down to Delhi and meet the President of Pakistan. My complaint here, Sir, is that we did not take adequate advantage in projecting this transparency to the world abroad. So, in other words, very briefly, we have a clear-cut policy. We have a coherent policy. One may agree or one may have one's own views in regard to the implementation of this policy. But to say that we have no policy is not correct and it is grossly unfair.

I come to the second point. Where do we go from here? There has been a lot of talk about dialogue. We are all for a dialogue. A dialogue is very very necessary. But I want to share with this House about a talk. I had with Mr. Yasin Malik in Delhi four days ago. Mr. Yasin Malik was here and I met him. He wanted to know what I stood for. I said, "I am all for talks, with everyone, no matter who is and for talks without pre-conditions". In fact, this is what we did in the case of Darjeeling as some friends would remember. Sardar Buta Singh ji is here. We said that then we would talk to anybody and everybody without pre-conditions. So, I wanted to know from Mr. Yasin Malik whether he accepted this proposition. Sir, I was deeply distressed and shocked to find that he does not accept this proposition of talk without pre-condition. He turned around and said 'Yes, we are ready for talks but you must have Pakistan also to join those talks'.

I turned around and said: I am sorry you are laying down conditions while we are not laying down any condition." So I want to compliment this Government for having come forward courageously to say that it is prepared to talk to any body and everybody without preconditions.

Sir, in this context when we talk in terms of Mr. Yaseen Malik's attitude, his response shows as to the way things are going. I think this House needs to take note of the fact that recently Mr. Yaseen Malik has also joined the Hurriyat. What does it imply? It implies one thing that in so far as the Hurriyat leaders are concerned and Mr. Yaseen Malik is concerned, they are no longer free agents. They are no longer in a position to come and talk to us on their own. The moment we talk about talking to them, having a dialogue without preconditions, they turn around and say: "You must have Pakistan in". Therefore, Sir, to my mind the first and foremost task we have is to help these leaders to get out of the clutches of Pakistan and to ensure that these leaders are no longer prisoners of Pakistan. They and all the other leaders presently in the clutches of Pakistan, because of the law and order situation.

So, I venture to submit that the most important point that we have to take note of is the law and order and the fact that Pakistan continues to wage a proxy war against us. I emphasize the words "war", because these are the words which I used way back, four years ago in this very House. Sir, first and foremost, this proxy war has to be defeated. We talk of a dialogue and we talk of the political process. Nothing is possible in the Kashmir Valley at present. I have very old and very found links with the Kashmir Valley. So, I say that unless we are able to end this proxy war, there is little that we can do when it comes to holding a dialogue or holding elections. We should go ahead and have elections. But the point is that this proxy war must, first, be ended.

Sir, we want a poll. I know it is not going to be easy. We get lectures from all kinds of people, all over the world that we must hold elections and we must have the political process. But they ignore the reality on the ground. What is the ground reality? Sir, it was my privilege to be in Geneva for the Human Rights Commission meeting. Some Western Ambassadors waxed eloquent and said to me, including the British Ambassador: "Why do you not have the political process." Sir, if I may be permitted to say this, I turned to the British Ambassador and said: "I know you are a great democrat. But I ask you, if there were some militants in your constituency and they were threatening to gun you down in case you tried to exercise your franchise, would you still go and cast your vote? Sir, in a typical British way he hummed and shawed, then said, "Well, I would surely have liked to go along and cast my vote, but I do not think my family would let me go." That, Sir, is the crux of the matter it is all very easy for these people to sit in their ivory towers and lecture to us. But we have to take notice of the reality. I think your first priority has to be to restore law and order and reinforce it. Law and order is our top problem. But merely resolving the law and order problem is not going to take us to a solution. Simultaneously, many other things will have to be done.

We have to overhaul the administration. Sir, some friends have talked in terms of what is happening in Kashmir I would like to share with this House what the three Western Ambassadors, who had been to Kashmir, told me, the other day.

MR SPEAKER: You can make points, but you should not refer to your discussions and conversations with others.

SHRI INDERJIT: I will not mention the conversation, Sir, the point they made was that they had gone along in a taxi to meet the militants and, to their great surprise what did they discover? As soon as they arrived there, the security men accompanying them were hugging the militants and kissing each other and so on. They were horrified to find the kind of closeness between the security forces and the militants there. That was one aspect. Sir, I was also told that over the last six months they had seen unprecedented building activity. Some friends have talked in terms of corruption. The Ambassadors said that 50 per cent of the money that was being sent there went into militants pockets. I am now told that this was an underestimate. So, Sir, we have to overhaul the administration.

Then, we have to send out the right signals. I am very happy to see that we have recently sent out some right signals. The Government has taken a very tough stand on the question of the hostages and I am glad that the Leader of the Opposition was kind enough and gracious enough to compliment the Government for having taken a tough stand.

19.00 hrs.

I think we have to continue taking a tough stand. We must not compromise on that. The right signal must be sent out. I am also glad that the Government has taken a very strong stand on the question of Amarnath Yatra. I think we must be very clear about what we want to do.

Sir, I will not take much more of your time. But I want to come to one other important aspect. Time and again we talk of autonomy. I am glad the Prime Minister clarified in the other House that the sky was the limit. He also clarified that there was no question at all of Azadi. What could be discussed was the quantum of autonomy. But when we come to the quantum of autonomy. I would like to submit a very important point to my friends all round the House. I venture to submit that we have come to the present tragic pass in Kashmir mainly because Kashmir over the last four decades has been given total functional and financial autonomy. My friend Mr. E. Ahemad, has just now said

that there are no roads, there are no hospitals and there is nothing. There is nothing because Kashmir enjoyed total functional and financial autonomy. All the money which was sent went into the pockets of the elite and the poor man was neglected. So, when we talk in terms of autonomy, we must bear this in mind as to what is to be done.

Sir, there is one other aspect of autonomy. My friend, Yaima Singh Ji, has rightly said something which I have heard times out of number in Nagaland, in Arunachal, in Meghalaya and other North-East areas which I have visited time and again. I would beg of the Prime Minister that whatever is the quantum of autonomy, we must remember that the whole of the North-East is waiting to see the autonomy which we will give to Kashmir. In fact, every time I have gone there, they have asked me as to "what is going to be the Kashmir model". Mr. Yaima Singh has just asked for it and other have also asked. When we talk in terms of autonomy we must be very clear as to what it has to be in the national context.

Sir, I will just conclude now by saying that I am glad that in accordance with the Darjeeling model we have introduced a Council in Ladakh. There has been talk also in terms of introducing a Council in Jammu. Whatever we do, Sir, the important thing is that we must be very bold and clear about it. We have a clear and coherent policy. This must be implemented boldly and courageously. That is my plea to the Government and the party to which I have the honour to belong.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJENDRA KUMAR SHARMA (Rampur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Appropriation Bill is going to be passed for 12th time by this House. I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister how the thousands of millions of rupees are being utilised, which is being given by the Central Government? Various hon. Members have also raised fingers at it. Could we have this information from the hon. Finance Minister through you. As far as I know 30 per cent out of the total expenditure is being done properly and the remaining 70 per cent is being pocketed by the people, including the militants. Just now our colleague Shri Dhumal ji has said the people on whom the charges of corruption were levelled have been promoted. It is a big question before the House and the public and the youth of that area are opposing the misutilisation of thousands of millions of rupees, if they do not do it then what they will do. Unless, we check that we will not be able to do justice with the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The people are starving there and they are enjoying this money.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to know that Mastgul was hiding in Charar-e-Sharief and later on it was set ablaze. What worse role our secret agencies can play? Not only this, celebrations are going on in Pakistan and he is being given welcome there. Pakistan is exposed before the international forum as to how it is involved in all those activities. I would like to congratulate the hon. Prime Minister for solving the Punjab problem. The main reason of it was that Director General of Police was given absolute powers to control that situation. Earlier also Shri Gill had been the DG Police there. I would like to submit that the terrorists in Kashmir valley should be faced in the same way. I do not believe in, what our hon. Member Shri Aiyar ji was saying. Has an agreement been reached with the terrorists anywhere in the world merely by holding talks? There is just one solution of the terrorists, crush, crush and there is no other remedy. The reason behind success in Punjab is only this.....(Interruptions)

I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister if any industrialisation has been undertaken there. Keeping in view the condition of that area around 40 types of industries can be set up there. Thousands of families can be engaged in these industries and lakhs of people can be given work. Why does not the Central Government announces its policy regarding setting up of industries in a year with this money so that the unemployed persons can get jobs. Why are not the industrial experts sent there?

There is only 30 thousand police personnel in Jammu, out of it 20 thousand are deployed for the VIP security and only 10 thousand personnel are inactive force. There is a demand of 40 thousand force. My submission is that if 40 thousand policemen are appointed then that money would be utilised properly. The role of our secret services is proving to be poor. The people of Jammu-Kashmir Valley can help our secret services to solve this problem.

There was the scheme of erecting barbed wire fencing on our border. When we started this work, firing was done from other side. Our Government decided to erect barbed wire at 300 meter distance instead of 100 meter. Why it should be done? If it is so then it is very unfortunate and it should be reconsidered.

The people of Kashmir have been given 5 years age relaxation in Government services. The people of Jammu and Ladakh also demand for the same. Such a discrimination causes resentment among the people. Besides wealth tax exemption has been given to the people of Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Ladakh also have this right. Lakhs of families have

been rendered homeless in Kashmir Valley. Perhaps there can be no other such example that we are refugees in our own country. So special scheme is being made for them and the situation there is also not so good that they can be sent back to Kashmir. My submission is that the Finance Ministry should take special interest in it and create a sense of belief among the people there so that the atmosphere of election can be created there.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The Minister may reply now.

.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, let them decide as to who will start first. In the mean time, Shri Hannan Mollah may be given a chance.

MR. SPEAKER : Okay, he appears to be the last gentleman to speak. Let him also speak. Mr. Mollah, you may please take just two or three minutes.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia) : Sir, I will only ask four or five questions and will not make any speech.

MR. SPEAKER : At the time of making speeches, you ask questions and at the time of asking questions, you make speeches

19.09 hours

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : Thank you, Sir. We have discussing this issue not for the last time; we do not know whether it is the twelfth time or the fifteenth time, but we are continuously discussing this issue. Last time, after the Charar-e-Sharief incident, we had demand that the construction work should be done. The Government promised to do it, but I know that nothing has been done. I want to know how much construction work has been done.

Secondly, we demanded that Rao-to-Rao affair should go and that the Governor should go. What action has been taken up on that matter?

Thirdly we demanded that we must distinguish between the pro-Independence forces and the pro-Pakistan force and start proper negotiations. What negotiations have they started and where they have reached now?

Fourthly, we demanded that on the political package on Azadi, you should at least call all the political parties and arrive at a unanimous opinion. What has been done in that regard?

Fifthly, we demanded that we should propagate our views all over the country. Pakistan has got one point propaganda against India. Our propaganda is meek. Doordarshan is apologetic to the task which has been given to it.

They have totally failed and, because of that, I raised a question and the hon. Minister replied that it is not a machinery for propaganda. They are making propaganda about the Prime Minister every day for election. But they are not able to give a reply to the Pakistani mis-propaganda and wrong propaganda. The hon. Minister said, it is not a propaganda. I want to know how they want to use the electronic media to counter the mis-information campaign by our enemies.

I pose these five questions to the hon. Minister. With these words I thank you.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should express my grateful thanks to all the hon. Members on both sides who have participated in this discussion and made very useful suggestions. How far they are practical is a matter that we can take stock of later on. But at least everybody sincerely felt that Kashmir should feel one with India and what we call Kashmiriat, if they have to raise that issue, we react in a different manner. At least I do not remember that we have ever said or ever objected to Kashmiris calling themselves to having special status of Kashmiriat. Special status is different from Kashmiriat. Every State Government has been doing the same and there is nothing wrong if the people of Kashmir were to ask for Kashmiriat. Hon. Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav referred to Sarkaria Commission. I have not been able to understand what exactly he wanted to convey, whether the idea is what is being offered to or proposed to be offered to Kashmir, does he want to convey that something should be extended to all other States or what is being suggested for all the States should be made applicable in the case of Kashmir? Of both the things certainly I would like to understand what exactly his idea is.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Neither of the things is known to him. How can he tell?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : He knows the Sarkaria Commission recommendations.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV : Mr. Home Minister, if you want to know right now what I meant when I referred to the Sarkaria Commission, I have to make it clear that I have said that it is now sometimes being talked that Kashmir will get some kind of autonomy. I was saying that when there was a high-power Commission appointed to go into the Centre-

State relationship, many States are demanding and they should get more power. Whatever you have to do for the whole country, now please take into account the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and keeping in view the special status given to Kashmir under Article 370, you think about the same thing in totality and take a decision.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : I think, we will have to do something more for Kashmir, it is not merely the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations or the kind of model that we evolve for all the States. If the same model is going to be applied in the case of Kashmir, I am sorry to say that it will be a total failure and we will lose the credibility with the people of Kashmir. I have no doubt in my mind that the people at large have lost faith in the terrorist activities, merger with Pakistan or independence of Kashmir. Neither of these things is to their liking now. They are more interested in seeing that their daily avocations are started. Banks have given them a lot of money. In spite of all the concessions that have been offered to them, the people have practically lost all that they had, in fact, the necessity is to create conditions where they should be allowed to carry on with their professions. They should be able to earn their own livelihood. Whatever money is given to them, it is not for developmental purpose. I have no hesitation in saying that some of that money is definitely in the hands of the terrorists. But I cannot possibly say, what percentage it is. Everything is all right. The vouchers are all right. If you want to audit the same, you would not find any defect. But at the same time, there is not denying the fact that officers, workers and other people who are working there are working under coercion. The threat of gun is there. The money is being spent on a particular project at the point of gun. I would not be surprised if they are asked to part with ten per cent, twenty per cent or thirty per cent of their money. That is happening there. I am not denying that thing. I have no hesitation in accepting that proposition. We have to remove this kind of atmosphere and revamp the administration. At one time, I was feeling that they were totally alienated. Now slowly there is a change which is being brought about and they are feeling confident about it. If they are to discharge their duties properly, certainly there is nothing to fear about it. But as in the case of the ordinary people they also have this fear of gun. Because of this fear, they cannot possibly discharge their duties as they should. Though in the heart of their heart they want to do it, yet sometimes they are being prevented from doing the same at the point of gun. So we have to create an atmosphere. That atmosphere has slowly been changing. They had given a call for *hartal* and it was hundred per cent successful. They never had this kind of courage before.

The kind of Amarnath Yatra that we have witnessed this time, we never had seen so many people participating in the Amarnath Yatra. In spite of all the threats given to them by some of the terrorist outfits, they were not afraid of it. Almost 70 to 75 thousand people had gone to Amarnath and came back safely. They did not have the fear of gun. As Shri E. Ahamed pointed out and he is very correct, we have been watching the situation as it is developing in Pakistan. They have lost of all moral rights to talk in terms of Islam. In fact, Mujahiddens were mainly responsible for this. They were some of Muslims from the U.P. who in fact, were having different kinds of dreams; they were mainly responsible for the creation of Pakistan. And now the situation is that they are not more than what we call, the refugees. They are being beaten; they are being killed mercilessly; they are not even treated as proper citizens of that country.

They are second-class citizens. The gentleman from MQM written a letter to him saying that all the human rights are being violated in Pakistan. So, it was a bogey which was raised by them. This has no substance. They fought wars. They could not win. It is the proxy war which they have now undertaken. At least I have no doubt in my mind that with the cooperation of the people and with the involvement of the people in the administration we have proposed to generate a kind of atmosphere. We have set up different Committees at different levels. Grievances Redressal Committee has been set up at the district level, at the State level and at the taluk level. Some time they participate; some time they do not. But the fact remains that they are concentrating more on having new kind of roads, a kind of infrastructure which they require.

Previously when we used to go there, they always used to say something against the Army, something against the para-military forces that they have violated the human rights. One of the Ambassadors has gone to the extent of saying that there is not enough proof available for declaring Pakistan as a terrorist-sponsoring State. He himself and all other Ambassadors have seen the situation. We have shown them different weapons which we are unable to recover. Most of them have gone there and if that is not sufficient proof: Gul Mast goes there and he is given a treatment of a hero.....(Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Mast Gul.

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN : I am so sorry, Mast Gul goes there and he is given a hero's welcome.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Why do you allow him to go?

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN : What more evidence is required for Pakistan's deep involvement in this matter?

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : This is what I call 'diplomatic adventurism.'

SHRI S.B.CHAVAN : Oh! I am sorry. I was not present when you were talking. That is why I lost what you must have talked about it.

But anyway, there is more than enough evidence now available and all the different countries are also fully convinced that there is a deep involvement of Pakistan and Pakistan is encouraging this. This very fact that the Hurriyat people also gave a call for *hartal* is very significant. That clearly shows that movement has gone out of their control. Now it is being controlled not by the local militants but it is foreign mercenaries who are, in fact, controlling the entire things and I do not think that they need to be given any kind of mercy, any kind of generous treatment. We are trying our level best to expose the whole thing and to expose Al-Faran, who in fact was mainly responsible for abduction of some of tourists who had gone there. Out of five, one was killed. We are trying our level best. In fact there is nothing to hide from this House. We are trying our level best to see that no harm is done to them and they are being released. Rest of the things I will not be able to disclose as to how things are being tackled, but to this extent I can say that we are trying our level best through diplomatic channels through direct talks with them, negotiations with some of them. But, at the same time, our policy is absolutely clear. We are going to be firm on this. We are not going to release any of these people in exchange of other criminals who are in our possession. I do not think that we can afford to do that sort of a thing because that will be encouraging the kind of terrorist activity which is being undertaken by these people.

I have no doubt that the Government would get the kind of support that it requires for this purpose.

Some hon. Members were thinking of calling a meeting of all parties for discussing matters with them. We should take a decision about it beforehand. That is the main thing about which the Government has to deeply consider as to what line we have to adopt. Can anybody possibly say that he is the real representative of the Kashmiri people and we have to talk only with him? Even in the Hurriyat, there are 70 to 74 small organisations which are their members. Now, if each one of them were to say, "Why discuss with Yasin Malik only? We have equal right. He is not the only one person then, there are a large number of other parties too. So, we do not have anyone in the representative character, who can possibly claim, I

represent Kashmir." You discuss Kashmir issue with us, the kind of political package that you would like to give, the kind of autonomy that you have in mind'. After the elections are over, there would be an elected representative Government. Those are the people who would be in a position to discuss with us and we cannot unilaterally take any decision. That becomes the starting point for further negotiations. We cannot possibly take that kind of a risk in this matter.

First, we have to take steps to see that normal conditions, as far as possible are created. Let us be absolutely clear. I would like to take the House into confidence. If the people were to think that we can stop this violence and hold the elections, we can never do it because Pakistan is always creating that condition in order to see that we do not succeed in holding the elections. These are the diktats that Pakistan has given to all these terrorist outfits. And certainly we do not want to oblige Pakistan. In fact, with the kind of risk involved, we could like to see that we go ahead with the elections. The percentage of voting is going to be less. But that is the only solution. I do not think that any other solution can be considered as ever lasting. This is the only solution under which we can take the people of Kashmir into confidence without making any distinction between the Valley, the Jammu area and the Laddakh area.

In the case of Laddakh, it was a commitment and that is why we had to honour the same. We have given them the District Councils for Leh and Kargil. I do not think that any other experiment needs to be done in that area. If we do it, then we ourselves will be carving out 'valley' and giving them a different kind of treatment. I do not think that we can possibly, at this stage, think of it. If the elected Government comes and, thereafter, if it thinks that something needs to be done on those lines, that is the proper authority who can possibly take a decision in the matter.

There were some more points which were raised. I am trying to be brief as far as possible. I hold the view that the people of Kashmir should get a feeling of confidence. A large number of youngsters are involved but they are totally disillusioned now. More employment opportunities will have to be created and we have started with the para-military forces. A large number of them have been recruited and we would also be giving orders to all big public sector undertakings, where the possibilities do exist, to absorb as many of them as it is possible for them.

About the policy issue, I fully agree with my friend Mr. Inderjit. He has clearly enunciated as to what needs to be done in the case of Kashmir.

We have been following a policy where the implementation is the same. Of course, there may be some defects because of the conditions prevailing in that area. But there is slight improvement in the situation and you will find that the policies are being implemented in the proper manner. We will also have to generate the kind of confidence which is required.

Talking about Article 370 of the Constitution every time is not going to serve any purpose. I have made the Government's position very clear that Article 370 is going to remain till the people of Kashmir say that we do not want this Article 370 and you may now remove it. Till then, if we were unilaterally to take action on Article 370, we will be necessarily providing one more excuse for some people who would like to misguide the youth of that area. I believe that greater opportunities will be available and they will be able to fully participate in the democratic set up of India. They were never against India; and on the other hand, what Pandit Nehru said is correct that Kashmir is a sign of our secular polity and if by any chance Kashmir is to be separated then we have no right to talk in terms of secular polity in this country. We will never allow Kashmir to be separated from India and that is our solemn promise to all the Members of this House; and through this House we would like to convey to entire country that Kashmir is a part and parcel of India and there can be no question of any compromise on this issue, whosoever might be the authority who is trying to dictate, rightly or wrongly; but certainly the Government will not fall prey to any of these machinations.

This is the only thing I wanted to say and I thought that I should make these points clear. I do not think that in the matter of interventions, more time is required. I am really thankful to the hon. Speaker for giving me this much time. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : Is the hon. Finance Minister going to adopt the same kind of thing.

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : What has happened to autonomy?

[English]

He has said earlier that, sort of *azadi*, autonomy will be given.....(Interruption)

[Translation]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : He has told every thing and you have also understood.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank all those Hon. Members who have participated in the discussions.

I wanted to touch upon the financial position of the State and the developmental activities particularly in Jammu & Kashmir. Whenever we discuss the Budget - on the earlier occasion also - many hon. Members raise their voices about the misuse of funds and corruption in implementing the developmental activities. The Government have constituted committees for the eight districts, headed by the District Development commissioner and they have to physically verify those works costing more than Rs. 10 lakhs.

Last year 700 works were physically inspected and this process is being continued in the current year also; and they are going to inspect 841 works done by the State Government at random basis. In addition to this, two high level teams from the Centre have visited the State in June and in July. They have also visited some of the important works physically and they have expressed satisfaction about the execution of the work. In addition to this, a team of union Secretaries headed by the Secretary to the hon. Prime Minister has been visiting the State quite frequently and this team has visited various areas and seen the progress of important works.

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Please speak about the Union Carbide case also.

[English]

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : These are the steps that the Government has taken to monitor the proper utilisation of funds.

Many Members have said that because of militancy in the region, the food production has gone down. It is not correct. It has recorded an all time production of foodgrains of 19.73 lakh tonnes during the last year as compared to 16.41 lakh tonnes during 1993-94.

The production of fruits has gone up substantially. It was 7.7 lakh tonnes during 1990-91. During 1994-95, it is about 9 lakh tonnes. The production of handicraft items has also increased substantially. In 1990-91, the production level was only Rs. 200 crores. During 1993-94, it had reached Rs. 245 crore.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : After the recent floods, crops worth crores of rupees have been washed away. They do not have a representative here. I would like to know whether the Government will give compensation to the farmers who have lost their crops.

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : When Charar-E-Sharief will be constructed(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : About drinking water supply, we have almost achieved total coverage. Now there are only 46 villages....(Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMED : I would request the Prime Minister because it is a very important matter.

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : Let me finish. Now there are only 46 villages left without piped water supply. We are going to cover these villages during the current year.

Regarding rural electrification out of 6,477 inhabited villages, we have so far electrified 6,198 villages under the Rural Electrification Programme.

Accent is being on employment generation schemes in the rural sector. The generation of wage employment under Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Employment Assurance Scheme and Intensive Nehru Rozgar Yojana was 153.33 lakh mandays during 1994-95. In addition to this, under the Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana, 1,950 units were sanctioned last year. During the current year, it is proposed to set up 3,100 units under our Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana and 6,200 units under the Self-employment Scheme. We have completed several ongoing projects.

The Abdullah Bridge on the Jhelum river has been completed at a cost of Rs. 6.68 crore. The bridge over Kathua Nullah has been completed at a cost of Rs. 1.41 crore. A 300 KV Micro-Hydel project has been commissioned in Ladakh. 60 Kms of double circuit transmission lines have been completed. 61 Bailey bridges have been commissioned in the Valley to connect the villages.

We have increased the generation of power. A 220 KV line from Kishanpur to Pampore would be commissioned during the current year.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Is it only on paper? How many pages have been left?

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : No. No. Regarding the development industries, we have declared the State as "backward." They are entitled to income tax exemption for five years.

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : The way the terrorists have damaged the Government Buildings(Interruptions) what the Government has done in this regard.....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : Somnath ji has raised about the closure of the Srinagar unit of Union Carbide. I have no information about it, Sir. I will find it out.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You give an undertaking that it will not be allowed to be closed. Please do that. 262 people are involved in it(Interruptions)

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : It is an industry run by a private company, Sir. How can I give that undertaking?.....(interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The biggest fish is keeping quiet what can I do Sir? I have to catch the small fish only.....(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : It has come for the first time(Interruptions) all right.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Alright then.

[English]

Then I will tell the people that the Prime Minister has assured. Thank you.

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : Regarding the loss of crops due to flood, compensation will be considered by the State Government under Calamity Relief Fund.

With these words, I appeal to the hon. Members to pass the Demands for Grants in respect of Jammu and Kashmir for 1995-96.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put the Demands for Grants in respect of Budget (Jammu and Kashmir) for 1995-96 to vote.

The question is :

*That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the Fourth column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to complete the sums necessary to de-

fray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1996, in respect of the heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands No.1 to 27".

The motion was adopted.

19.42 hrs.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR APPROPRIATION (NO.2)
BILL

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY) : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the services of the financial year 1995-96.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the services of the financial year 1995-96."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : I introduce the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the Minister may move the motion of consideration.

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : I beg to move :

"That the bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the services of the financial year 1995-96, be taken into consideration."

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the services of the financial year 1995-96, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up Clause-by Clause consideration of the Bill,

Clauses 2 and 3

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That Clauses 2 and 3 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Schedule, Clause-I, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

The Schedule, Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY : I beg to move :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you very much for the co-operation.

19.45 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: ACCIDENT CAUSING DEATH OF
SOME STRIKING WORKERS BELONGING TO
BIHAR COLLIERY KAMGAR UNION AT DUGDA
NEAR DHANBAD

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now, Mr. Minister to make a statement, please.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COAL (SHRI AJIT PANJA) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union affiliated to CITU had staged a *Dharna* in front of the Administrative Building at Dugda Coal Washery of Bharat Coking Coal Ltd, (BCCL) at Dhanbad in Bihar. This *dharna* was part of the All India strike called by CITU in the coal companies on 21st August, 1995. At about 12.30 PM on that day, a truck belonging to a transport contractor carrying cement for ACC, Sindri, for Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation Ltd., (MAMC), who were installing a deshaling plant in the afore mentioned washery, ran into a *pandal* where there were some striking workers and others. The resulting accident