

(e) if not, the corrective steps taken/being taken by the Government in this regard?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI R. L. BHATIA) : (a) and (b). Our Missions give due attention to the grievances of Indian workers which are brought to their notice.

(c) to (e). All officers posted to our Missions abroad particularly in areas where there is large number of Indian workers e.g. the Gulf, are given necessary orientation through attachment with concerned Divisions in the Ministry, and where necessary, with the other branches of the Government, to familiarise them with Government's standing instructions and to equip them to deal with Indian worker abroad.

Hindustan Copper Limited

5728. SHRI GOPI NATH GAJAPATHI : Will the Minister of MINES be pleased to state the number of underground mines under Hindustan Copper Limited (HCL)?

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF MINES (SHRI BALRAM SINGH YADAVA) : There are seven underground mines under Hindustan Copper Limited.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

Situation arising out of Burning down of Char-e-Sharif in Kashmir

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Roseram) : Sir, I had given a notice to suspend the Question Hour ...(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : Now I have received the notices for suspending the Question Hour. I think, Shri Paswan has given the notice. I am suspending the Question Hour.

We have received 14 notices of Adjournment Motion regarding grave situation arising out of the failure of the Government to put down with an iron hand Pakistan sponsored terrorist activities in the State of Jammu and Kashmir leading to the total destruction and desecration of the shrine of Char-e-Sharif and large scale killing of innocent persons and burning down of the whole township from the following Members.

Shri Somnath Chatterjee
Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi
Shri Hannon Mollah
Shri Basudeb Acharia
Shri Srikanta Jena

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee
Shri Indrajit Gupta
Shri Jaswant Singh
Shri Bhogendra Jha
Shri Ram Vilas Paswan
Shri Venkateswara D. Rao
Shri George Fernandes
Shri Sharad Yadav

I give my consent to Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who has secured the first place in the ballot to move the Adjournment Motion. Shri Somnath Chatterjee may ask for the leave of the House. ...(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, in the contents of my notice I had written about the failure of the Government.

MR. SPEAKER : It is mentioned herein. Perhaps you have not heard it.

[*English*]

It says : "The Adjournment Motion regarding grave situation arising out of the failure of the Government..."

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : I beg to seek the leave of the House to move the Adjournment Motion on the failure of the Government to protect the shrine of Char-e-Sharif, which has been destroyed by acts of vandalism carried out by... (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : You will ask for the leave of the House first please.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, I seek leave of the House to move the Adjournment Motion.

MR. SPEAKER : I think, nobody is opposing it. So, the leave is granted. Shri Somnath Chatterjee may move it.

Generally, the rule is that it is taken up at 4 p.m. in the afternoon. But now that we have suspended the Question Hour, we will start the discussion immediately. The discussion may continue, maybe upto 4 p.m. or 5 p.m. in the afternoon and after that the Motion may be put to the vote. The Members may be ready to speak on this topic in the House and the voting may take place around 4 p.m. or 5 p.m. depending on how many Members are there to speak.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I beg to move :

"That the House do now adjourn".

Mr. Speaker, Sir, although we are in the midst of a Budget Session, we have been constrained to give this Adjournment Motion because the country is today facing a very serious situation and our unity, integrity and secular structure are now at stake. Therefore, it is necessary that even the important Budget discussion

has to wait so that the country's attention could be drawn to this very explosive situation that has been created in a part of our country.

This Parliament and through parliament the people of the country have a right to know why and how this vandalism has taken place at Char-e-Sharif Shrine, what the Government both at the Centre and at Srinagar have been doing or had done, to avert what has been rightly described as a shameful disaster. In the last few days, although a meeting has been held by the hon. Prime Minister with leaders of political parties after the Shrine has been destroyed, but till today really no Government version has come out; whatever has come out is so vague and so scanty that the people are now having different versions from newspapers, from other sources and it is creating more and more confusion in the country as a whole. There is a feeling that the Government is trying to whitewash its responsibility which is, according to me, a clear failure on the part of the Government. We would obviously like to know in detail what the Government did in the matter.

So far as the Shrine is concerned, it has been one of the most respected shrines associated with the name of one of the Sufi Saints and it used to be visited not only by the Muslims but by people of all religions and communities and it has been one of the most venerated shrines and which had come to symbolise what is known as the essence of Kashmiri. Unfortunately—and it is a matter of shame — this Shrine is no longer in existence.

For the last two months we have been told that the Army has been moved there, that the Shrine had been occupied by militants whose number was varying, from 28 to 230 as we understand it now. Different versions are coming up. What precautions were taken during these two months by the authorities in the State and also by the Central Government to see that the Shrine was fully protected? We have had the experience of the Hazrat Bal where of course it has been happily and successfully tackled, but since then — that was a warning signal — what steps have been taken to see that similar situations do not develop with regard to other shrines? The Government owes this explanation to the people of this country. Why should important shrines or important places with which the feelings of the people are associated be left at the mercy of the extremists and the militants knowing that Pakistan is there to foment trouble every minute?

Why were they not protected and made it impossible for the extremists? Such a situation was not created to make it impossible for the extremists, terrorists to come and utilise these places as places of their activities. The Government and the Prime Minister owes this explanation to the people of this country.

We have been told that there are quite a few battalions of Army and they were all supposedly posted around on the outskirts. What steps were taken during these months? So many weeks have elapsed to flush

them out. The country was kept totally in dark as to what was happening. That is a very serious matter. Even only when on 6th and 7th May the fire broke out, it was raised by the Opposition Members in the House. I had been humbly submitting not now but for so many years that there are some issues—national issues—when the Government should on its own come before the House and take the House and the country into confidence and give a proper version, the Government version at least, as to what was the situation. Now, we have to discuss it interrupting the Budget Session — the important Budget discussion — to really ascertain what has happened there and to express not only our greatest concern, but our criticism, censure of the Government in its abject failure, total failure and comprehensive failure in protecting this important shrine.

So far as two months that have gone by are concerned, publicity was being given that the armed terrorists from Pakistan had taken over the place and the cordon had been there of the Army. But till today nothing is being said as to what the local authorities or the State Government were doing or what the Governor and his Advisers were doing to flush out those people or to even build up a contact with them or to even apply what may be described as Hazratbal formula. We do not know even anything is being done or not. What steps were taken to disarm them? Some militants go into a very important shrine and they operate in any manner they like. They take over a particular place and for two months — not a small time — there seems to be a total inertia on this side. Neither a political attempt nor any military attempt is being made to solve the problem. Therefore, it is important for the public to know what the authorities, the Armed Forces, the intelligence agencies and the Kashmir Government did during these very vital weeks.

As I said, the nation has a right to know as to what specific steps were taken during this period. We have been having some disquieting information that different agencies are acting differently for different purposes and with different perceptions, and there has been neither any unity of views nor unity of action so far as the Government is concerned.

The Home Minister is no longer the Kashmir Minister. The Kashmir Minister is our Prime Minister now. The two Ministers have been holding different views.

The Prime Minister took over the Kashmir Affairs but since then what has happened? How has the situation changed? What improvement has been brought about? What did the Prime Minister's office do during these two months? Today, I am sorry, standing in the Parliament of India, we have to put so many questions to know this because we, in this country, do not know anything. Parliament does not know anything, people do not know anything. Is this a matter which has to be kept under secrecy? You have to involve the people. They should know what is happening. There are some

occasions when the country has to stand up unitedly. But how can it be done unless the people are taken into confidence by the Government? Now we find a particular political party, the ruling party sending its members there to find out the situation. The other day, there was some demand for a Parliamentary delegation but there was no response. But the two Ministers had gone yesterday. For what purpose? For aerial survey! It is given a much worse publicity, if I may say so, that the Ministers go and cannot get down, and they have to have only an aerial survey. They are not even able to talk to anybody in Srinagar. These are very unfortunate signals that have been given. Why had these two senior Ministers gone there?

We have always been warning the Government of Pakistan's role. Pakistan is not letting the situation to become peaceful or normal. We know that and we just cannot explain that Pakistan is behaving only to disturb the electoral process. I do not know why the Government has come to this decision. Large sections of the people and the political parties in this country feel that this is not the situation for holding elections. During his reply to the Motion of Thanks on President's Address, the Prime Minister spoke of autonomy. But what steps have been taken for providing any more autonomy there? What was the perception of the Prime Minister's concept of autonomy on the day he spoke in the House? There, Pakistan is out to destabilise the situation and some other countries are also there to give encouragement to Pakistan. But can we explain away that because Pakistan is trying to destabilise the situation, therefore, these things are happening? It cannot be the answer. It will give a very serious signal to the country that we are depending only on Pakistan's wishes. Whatever they do, we only follow the events. Can we not anticipate the events? Can we not take action to prevent certain situations developing? Shall we always run after the events and try to do a sort of a repair work? At least the Prime Minister has been good enough to say that he has provided for Rs.15 crore grant for rebuilding. Rebuilding alone cannot assuage the feelings. Of course, something is better than nothing. And the record of this Government's promise of rebuilding of religious shrines has been dismal, as has happened in the case of Babri Masjid. Therefore, there is lack of credibility of the Government on this.

Then, Sir, what has this military Governor, an ex-Army man, been doing and what have his Advisors been doing all these days? Did they inform the Government of India as to what was really the situation and how things were going beyond control? It seems, mines had been planted at the sweet-will of the extremists throughout the town. Today we cannot even operate there because of the mines and we are having casualties. Therefore, they had occupied the shrine. They had gone on mining that area, and for days and weeks and months, we were just at their mercy. Was it expected that they would walk away on their own

volition? Was it expected that they would lift up these mines and go away peacefully? Therefore, these are issues on which we want a categorical reply from the Government and the Prime Minister.

Sir, we charge that there has been a dismal and total failure on the part of the State Administration. The Government of India's failure is no less in protecting this shrine and in protecting, thereby, the unity and the integrity of the country and also from preventing the situation becoming so explosive.

Sir, on the 8th and 9th of this month, the fire had taken place outside the shrine and a large area had been destroyed. The shrine was destroyed on the night of 10th and 11th. And there were very vital 48 hours. What was being done during that time? That issue was raised on the floor of the House. I believe that on 10th it was raised on the floor of the House. We expressed our concern. But it seems that the army was just a bystander of watching it from a distance. Sir, subject to correction, we have been told that even the Friday prayers were not allowed and on the day of *Id*, which is such a holy day, this sacrilege had been committed. The obvious intention is to rouse the felling and the passions of the followers of the great Sufi Saint and of the people, as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a part of the country which is very dear to us. It is unalienable part of our country. We know that to affect India's unity and integrity, to disturb our progress, our neighbours across the border are bent upon creating this situation. Now, from Afghanistan also these mercenaries have come in. Major Mast Gul had come there and taken over the place. He was supposedly in constant touch with his mentors in Pakistan. What were our Intelligence people doing there? What has been their activity? Did they find out what was happening. So far as the activities of Major Mast Gul are concerned, he was openly holding out threats. So, what steps were taken to get the willing cooperation of the people of Charar-e-Sharief? Sir, we know nothing. A part of our country is being treated as a sort of free area by some militants and extremists and we are watching the situation from here. Therefore, Sir, we had to interrupt the Budget discussion for this very important debate.

The other aspect, Sir, I cannot but refer to is the Prime Minister's decision to hold the elections there. We had said that it would be a serious gamble. Unless people are allowed and are able to vote, how can you hold the elections? If you talk of international reaction for not holding the election, what will be the international reaction if the people are not able to vote freely and fairly?

How will the talk of elections help? Today, the position is that Pakistan is also trying to utilise the situation. They will say, "No; This is not a situation where elections can be held and the Prime Minister cannot hold elections after his declaration". Then what is this

decision to hold the elections when almost all the political parties have been opposing it. This is really because some Governments are saying that we must hold elections otherwise international public opinion—like the USA—will be against us. Therefore, we should accept this decision. Sir, it cannot be. This is now when the integrity and unity of the country is involved, when the sanctity and safety of these important shrines are involved, we cannot play about as to what A or B or C will feel or will not feel and what will be their response. We have to think on the basis of our own perceptions, of our own interests and therefore the talk of elections now has not helped us in any way in bringing about normalcy there.

Sir, my Party has been saying, "You have to involve the people in the normalisation of political activity there". You have to point out that their demand for autonomy is a matter of commitment to the rest of the country. We must take those people into confidence. But such activity is not taking place. There is no normalisation of the political activity and this Governor is carrying on merrily with his Advisers. Probably, he has left all his Army intelligence and Army knowledge after he has retired. Then, of course, his continuance has become meaningless because he is unable to do anything and the Prime Minister has to give his response. Therefore, this is the position today. And what will happen in future also, we do not know. We do not know what steps are being taken even now to protect other shrines and to see that our secular credentials of the people there are not disturbed further by the activities of these mercenary extremists. We do not know what the Government is seeking to do. As I said, Kashmir Affairs have been given the importance by having brought the Department under the Prime Minister himself. But since then, no overt step has been taken for the purpose of controlling the situation. I would request the Prime Minister to be very categorical in clarifying as to what he meant by 'autonomy' when he spoke in his reply. Therefore, we say that the political process has to be revived, people will have to be involved and negotiations should take place with people, saner people and saner sections who are at least against Pakistan. There are large sections of the people who are against Pakistan and do not wish to join Pakistan. Sir, let an impression be not given that the Government of India's role has ended with an aerial inspection and sanction of Rs. 15 crore.

We cannot hold aerial election. Except aerial inspection, how can we have an election at the ground level? Now lot of time has elapsed and we must not allow any further time to be wasted. The Prime Minister can not absolve himself of the responsibility. Let there be a functioning Government here. Let the Government take decisions. We cannot allow things just to drift.

Changing of portfolios does not help. What is needed is action. It is not public perception that is to be taken seriously. I would like to know what is the Government policy, the Prime Minister's policy, of dealing

with the Kashmir situation. How do you wish to solve this problem? How do you propose to take the people into confidence? Do you have a policy based on consensus? The consensus cannot be a matter of pious wish. Consensus has to be a reality and it has to be preceded by overt action and a political will on the part of the Government also. What is lacking today is political will. There is total administrative bungling. Our Army has already played a glorious role. Let that feeling be also not created that there is atrophy there. That will be a very serious situation. Therefore, we demand sternest possible action and we demand that let there be a functioning Government. We cannot but express our total opposition, total protest, as to how things have been totally mismanaged, the situation has been totally allowed to drift and the country is proceeding rudderless today. This cannot be permitted to continue.

Therefore, I cannot but express my strongest protest against the Government's failure in protecting this important Shrine.

We would like to know what is the commitment of this country and of the Government of India and of the Prime Minister of India to see that no similar incident can take place in this country. Hazaratbal formula should have landed the Government into inaction and stupor. It appears even that formula was not applied here.

Therefore, we would like to express the deepest concern of the people of this country. I would like to mention how Government media react to this situation. Why the people were not told as to what was happening? Now we get information through news telecast from other news agencies giving certain versions by showing pictures totally different from what our Doordarshan is saying. Therefore, Doordarshan's credibility today is zero. This is very unfortunate. How are you using even this media? You are having Metro channel, entertainment channel and all other channels but no information channel, no truth giving channel. This is a very serious situation. People form their opinion getting information on the basis of the other news media and other agencies all over the world. Therefore, I believe that the people of this country deserve a functioning, well-run, credible Government which our Prime Minister is unable to provide this country. As has been said by a very celebrated correspondent, this country deserves better.

With that note, I wish to conclude. Again I am expressing our deepest anguish at what has happened and our heart goes to our brothers and sisters in Kashmir. We wish to tell them that the rest of the country are with them in their hours of agony. And, all the saner sections, all the secular sections of the people of Kashmir should know that the country is with them in their fight against extremism and terrorism. But the Government must function and that is what we demand.

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That the House do now adjourn".

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, every Member of this House, whether he sits on the Treasury Benches or whether he sits on the Opposition, will share the deep sense of anguish expressed by Shri Somnath Chatterjee at the destruction of one of the most sacred shrines of India. Chrar-e-Sharief, in the cultural life of this country, in the civilization and ethos of this nation, has exactly the same place as the Temple of Meenakshi, Madurai or of Vaishno Devi. It is, therefore, a matter of great shame that a shrine which has bejeweled our nation for the last six hundred years should today be gutted.

Having said that, however, I would plead with Shri Somnath Chatterjee and his colleagues in the BJP that this is not a moment for partisan opposition but for national consensus. I regard it as a matter of partisan opposition on his part to bring what he described himself as a Censure Motion against a Government which had no hand whatsoever in destroying that shrine...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Azamgarh) : For your information, the Parliamentary Affairs Minister agreed to this Adjournment Motion...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Certainly, Sir, Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav pointed out just now the Government immediately agreed to discuss the Adjournment Motion. I am glad. I congratulate our Minister of Parliamentary Affairs for not indulging in procedural wrangles with the Opposition. It is a good thing that this Adjournment Motion has been admitted by the unanimous will of this House. We could, if we had wished, have opposed and succeeded in opposing this Adjournment Motion.

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

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : But we chose not to because we are in no way behind the Opposition in regarding this whole matter as a matter of national importance, a matter in which it is essential that India speak, if it is at all possible, with one voice. I said, Sir, that the destruction of this shrine...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) : Have you gone through the Statement of Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad?...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER) : Please let him speak. Did anyone interrupt while Shri Somnath was speaking? You speak only when you have your turn.

[English]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : This shrine has been destroyed by militants who have been holed up in it for the last two months and more. I think it is essential for us not to give any aid and comfort to the

enemy by drawing either directly or by implication any parallel between the destruction of the Babri Masjid which was done by Indian nationals supporting an Indian political party and the destruction of the Chrar-e-Sharief which is the work of foreign mercenaries working against not only the interests of the people of Chrar-e-Sharief but also of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and of the people of India.

If this is a matter of national shame, it is not as in the case of the Babri Masjid, a shame brought upon our nation by our own people. This is a shame that has been brought upon our nation by foreign mercenaries working against the unity and integrity of this nation and working against the sanctity of our shrine to which Shri Somnath Chatterjee drew attention...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : May I please request you to hear what the hon. Member has to say. All of you will have an opportunity to rebut if you want to, but do not interrupt please...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

DR. G.L. KANAUIA (Kheri) : Mr. Speaker, Sir...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please resume your seat. This is no good manner that you do not follow me unless I speak in a loud voice. You must understand some hints also, I am repeatedly saying 'please'. Yet you keep rising and interrupting time and again.

[English]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : In our recent history, there have been at least two other instances where violence had desecrated important places of worship. One was the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The second was the Hazratbal...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Paswanji did not you hear what the hon. Speaker said just now?

[English]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Please listen to me. In both these places, action of various kinds was taken. And I think, it is important that we should learn the lessons of the past. In the case of the Golden Temple, a decision was taken at the beginning of June 1984 that we would attempt to paralyse those militants who had taken over that very important Shrine by the use of nerve gas. The Operation did not, however, conclude at that time and it involved armed assault, violence on the spot involving Government forces and militant forces, killing of several people, saving of the Harminder Sahib but the destruction of the Akal Takht. And the process did not lead to a solution of the problem, it did lead to the assassination of a Prime Minister.

There were lessons both of a positive and a negative kind to be learnt from that. Equally, there was

the Operation that was conducted in Amritsar subsequently under the next Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi which is known to history as 'Operation Black Thunder-II' where the techniques adopted were different to the techniques adopted at 'Operation Blue Star'. While there were many more successes attendant on 'Operation Black Thunder-II' than there had been on 'Operation Blue Star', nevertheless, there were some negative features of that Operation too and lessons were to be learnt from that.

Thirdly, we had in October 1993 the occupation of the Hazratbal Mosque and the peaceful vacation of that Mosque. There were lessons again of a positive and a negative nature to be learnt from that Operation. I do not think, the Prime Minister regards himself as a Pope, so he makes no claim to infallibility. He agrees that there are lessons to be learnt, lessons for instance, to be learnt about trusting the Sangh Parivar just as there are lessons to be learnt about how one deals with foreign militants. We have to learn lessons about how to deal with the enemy without as also..... * And it is on this basis of continuous learning that a strategy was evolved for Charar-e-Sharief. That strategy has not resulted in saving that Shrine at Charar-e-Sharief, for that Shrine today lies gutted.

But any alternative strategy would only have led to the gutting of that Shrine several months ago. The alternative of an armed assault on a Shrine that has been occupied by militants holding explosives in their hands and having mined the area around the Shrine could only have resulted in what happened now, the gutting of that Shrine. Furthermore, the gutting which has taken place today is the consequence of actions taken by the militants occupying the Shrine and not as in the case of Operation Blue Star,—Indian Armed forces entering a Shrine; or, in the case of the Babri Masjid, where Indian vandals entered the Shrine. Therefore, instead of resting the argument at the point that the Shrine today stands gutted, it is essential that if the Government is to be censured, we be told what third alternative they want, to either a militant assault upon the Shrine or trying to use the Hazratbal technique of flushing out the militants.

Sir, Shri Somnath Chatterjee's prime complaint against me or, let me say, his first complaint against the Government is that the Government had apparently been keeping the country in the dark. I do not know that is so. Until this House was in Session on the 10th of May, the Shrine was in tact. At the very first opportunity that has been presented to the country of being told what happened, a very detailed statement was issued by the Union Home Secretary and at the very first opportunity after Parliament has reconvened, no one on the Treasury Benches has had the least objection to joining hands with Shri Somnath Chatterjee in discussing the issue that is not only before this House but also before this nation.

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

There was, of course, a period ever since the occupation of the Shrine when the matter has been agitated in this House. I had the privilege of moving the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. I dealt at considerable length with the situation obtaining in the Valley including the situation obtaining at Charar-e-Sharief. It is not my fault, Sir, that almost everyone sitting today on the Opposition Benches claiming to be agitated over what has happened, were absent from the House on the occasion. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Government spokesman, as well as people like myself who are merely Treasury Bench spokesmen, have on every available occasion, not only not shrunk from, but come forward in this House to inform the House as fully as possible of what is known of the situation obtaining in Jammu and Kashmir and also in that context, the situation obtaining in Charar-e-Sharief. It is impossible to delink the former from it. It is not as if that there was no militancy in the Valley for all the years that preceded the unfortunate event of the early hours of the 11th May, 1995.

For the last four-a-half years, Sir, we have been faced with the situation of insurgency, terrorism and militant activity in Kashmir and in the adjoining areas of the rest of the State. Those events were unprecedented in the years that went till November, 1989. At the end of November, 1989 the then the Government of India demitted office, having been defeated in an election in which the Kashmir was not a singularly important issue. It took less than one week for the Government which came in our place to set the Valley on fire; it took them a year to set the country on fire.

The fact of the matter is that militancy assumed the character it did in the Valley not in the period up to November 1989, but in the period immediately thereafter. This is extremely important to remember. Sir, there is one simple statistic which establishes what I am attempting to say. It is a statistic I have used before in this House. With your permission, Sir, I would just like to repeat it. In the autumn of 1989, when all the *Chinar* leaves turn golden and everyone who can wants to be in the Valley, Kashmir had the largest intake of autumn tourists ever in its history. So effectively in control of the militant situation was the then Government of Jammu and Kashmir that not only the people of the Valley but the people of India at large, indeed the world at large, expressed their confidence in their ability to go in and out of the Valley without being killed by going there in the largest ever numbers. A week later the place blew up. When it blew up, at the instance of a political party that was supporting the then Government of India, a gentleman whom I cannot name because he happens now to be a Member of the other House and it is not necessary for me to take his name because it is already infamous in the annals of India, that gentleman went in as the Governor of Kashmir on the 29th of January 1990 and without let or hindrance the whole thing blew

up. We had never faced a situation as terrible as obtained in the Valley from the 20th of January 1990 till the 31st of May 1990 when the very Government that had sent that gentleman as the Governor of Kashmir was so horrified, so appalled by the way he handled the situation that they summoned him back and prevented him from henceforth having anything to do with that Valley. It is during that period that militancy began.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla) : He was very much your friend before he was sent there.

[English]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : It is the militancy which began in that period which we have been contending with ever since we returned to power. But while the situation only deteriorated between December 1989 and June 1991, those Members of the Opposition who today are so agitated, if they would care to look at the record of the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, would find a detailing of the various steps that have been taken to improve the situation. I mentioned in that speech that I was neither inventing these figures nor taking them from secret records of the Government. I brought with me the monthly publication of the Ministry of Home Affairs available to anybody who is interested to see how in terms of quantified figures militants are being killed, what is happening to politicians in the Valley, how many people are being kidnapped, what is the nature of the arms that are being captured, who are the security forces, what are their losses. All these are facts and figures available on the record. Those who doubt the veracity of these figures are in the distinguished company of our friends from Pakistan who are the other lot who refuse to accept the veracity of these figures. I do not wish to repeat them. For one thing, I have not brought that document with me here, not having anticipated this Adjournment Motion and I am speaking completely unprepared on my feet and in reaction to what Shri Somnath Chatterjee has said. So I am not in a position to repeat all those figures that I gave in the course of that debate. But as those figures are a part of the record of this House, let me boldly state that whereas the situation had grossly deteriorated between December 1989 and November 1990 and had gone even worse between November 1990 and June 1991, there has been a steady and slow progress in containing militancy in the Valley over the last four or five years... (Interruptions)...

It was our experience when Punjab was inflicted with militancy for a period from 14 to 15 years that it was always darkest before dawn.

It was precisely at this point in the history of Punjab—when it seemed as if we would be able to establish our control over militancy—that the militants resorted to some dramatic act, which would give hope

to their cadres and derail the process of normalisation, in which the Government of India was involved. And the same thing is happening in the Valley.

There is simply no doubt that whereas in December, 1989 there were a large number of Kashmiri civilians—I do not know what proportion, but certainly a large number of Kashmiri civilians—supporting the militancy, supporting the cry for *azadi* and believing that with an incompetent Government in Delhi they would get their independence very soon, there is simply no doubt that today the morale of the militants is at an all-time low. The support for them from the civilian population of Jammu and Kashmir is at an all-time low. Their own political leaders—I am not referring to the National Conference and I am not referring to the Indian National Congress, I am referring to the political leaders who constitute the Hurriyat and the one gentleman who is outside the Hurriyat—are so confused about what they want to demand of India, what they want to demand of Pakistan and what they want to demand of the people of Jammu and Kashmir that in the Hurriyat there are lose to 30 different political parties represented. Out of 30 different political parties, whom are we going to negotiate with? You cannot negotiate with a hydra that has 30 different heads; nor can you negotiate with an amoeba that keeps splitting and re-forming. We have to find out whose is the authentic, if not sole voice of that element of the Kashmiri population which is not satisfied with the way in which things have been going over the last 50 years. And it is with a view to determining whether it is the totality of the members of the Hurriyat of certain sections of the Hurriyat or to name the favourite independence demanding politician of that Governor, the in famous Governor that I referred to, Shabir Shah, that we have to find out what is the level of support which these people have in the Valley. I have no doubt in my mind that the people of the Valley, in their vast majority would, if given the opportunity, stand four square behind the unity and integrity of India as they have done for the last 50 years. They did it in 1947, when communal passions were at their highest; they did it in 1965, when 'Operation Gibraltar' was launched by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; they did it in 1971, when this nation was subjected to a third war by the Pakistanis. They have been doing it in every year so long as the Congress was in power.

The collapse took place within one week of the new Government coming into power in December, 1989 and resorting to the cheap populist trick of picking up a defector from the Congress ranks in Kashmir, making him Home Minister and giving him such poor security that his daughter was kidnapped. And there was the total incompetence of that Minister of Information and Broadcasting who decided that he was going to show *glasnost* on Indian television by first picturing the celebrations at Lal Chowk of the release, completely unjustifiable, of five major terrorists, whom we had captured.

The collapse of the intelligence agencies, of our entire intelligence network in Kashmir began, if I may inform Shri Somnath Chatterjee through you, Sir, during that period. It was in January, 1990 that, for the first time, Indian intelligence agents were getting picked up and shot; picked up and shot in such a way that with a bus containing 30 or 40 passengers, it was possible—owing to the leakage of information about our intelligence network from that Government to the militants—to get into bus and say, 'twenty-nine of these people are not informants, but one is; pull him and shoot him out in front of everybody else,

12.00 hrs.

This is the background against which the incident at Chrar-e-Sharief has taken place. ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : How elections were held there in 1988?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Please, you listen first and speak only when your turn comes. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

Sir, are you not allowing him to speak? He is doing as if he is not going to get a place to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Jena, you can inform the House afterwards.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North) : The hon. Member though he has not exactly taken the name, has indicated about the Information Minister. I suppose, the same Information Minister is with him now! ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Sir, they want to blacken out the history...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Sir, I now come to the specifics of what has happened at Chrar-e-Sharief. It was impossible to do so without first painting the background. That is why, I have taken the time of the House, and I have sought your indulgence to paint in that background. The incident at Chrar-e-Sharief has two aspects. One is the 'events themselves' and the other is the 'political implications' of those events, both national and international. I would like to take up each of these separately.

As regards the events themselves, it would have been best if Shri Somnath Chatterjee would have cared to read the Union Home Secretary's statement—and I have absolutely no doubt that so competent a Parliamentarian as Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who was declared by one newspaper as the best Parliamentarian of the year, in the same issue I was declared the biggest wind-bag in Parliament, would have read the statement made by Shri K Padmanabalah—and then come before the House. But for him not to admit that he has read this

and not to acknowledge that the statement sets out almost every piece of information which he has now sought from the Treasury Benches, is of a piece with the kind of running around that he has been doing in economic policy, to tell us that what he is doing as Chairman of the West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation is on all fours with what Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorbachev and Yelstin have said. Therefore, since Shri Somnath Chatterjee has decided to make Shri Padmanabalaiah's Statement into a State secret, may I unveil the State secret and place it before the Members of this House?

Sir, it has been told to the nation, on behalf of the Government by the Union Home Secretary that Mast Gul, an Afghan national, along with some of his mercenary companions entered the shrine about two months ago in the guise of a mercenary companions entered the shrine about two months ago in the guise of a pilgrim. I do not know and I suspect Shri Somnath Chatterjee cannot know since he is an atheist and has presumably never been to a shrine how you can differentiate one pilgrim from another when both come in with an aspect of worship? They entered the place. We knew that they could enter the place. The Communist solution would have been to close down the temple, as they have closed down all their Temples, all their Mosques and all their Churches in the Soviet Union. But, since we are a secular country and not an atheistic nation, we could not close down the Chrar-e-Sharief. Various pilgrims came in; thousands of pilgrims came in; and of the thousands of pilgrims who came in, Mast Gul along with two or three others were not honest pilgrims. They brought in or they smuggled in arms into the Temple or into the shrine. I used the word 'Temple' in the broadest sense of the word, as a 'place of worship'. They went in there; and the minute they were inside, they had in their hands, the power which a terrorist, any terrorist and every terrorist has over had over established authority, which is the capacity to destruct that which he claims to revere.

Bhindranwale did it in Amritsar and now. Mast Gul, in the name of Islam, has destroyed a revered Islamic shrine. Mast Gul went in with his explosives. If we had been lucky, we could have intercepted him as we have intercepted numerous attempts all over the Valley to destroy places of worship. In this particular instance, they got in and obviously, despite being a communist, Shri Somnath Chatterjee—since he is a democratic communist which I have heard is a contradiction in term—has learnt nothing about the laying of mines. He says "They were laying the mines for weeks and even months."

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Aiyar, would you like to deal with Somnathji or his points?

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : I stand corrected...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, to mine the entrance to a small rickety wooden structure, it takes next to no time; it does not even take a day; it takes a matter of

several minutes, perhaps several hours. The fact of the matter is that the minute these innocent pilgrims had shown their face of not being innocent pilgrims but ruthless terrorists, we were faced with a Hobson's choice, either we could assault the Shrine and thereby ensure that it would be gutted or we could try to starve them out of the Shrine, as had done very effectively in Operation Black Thunder-II. In other words, the choice before us was : Do we adopt the Operation Bluestar model or do we adopt the Operation Black Thunder-II model?

Since Operation Bluestar had terrible consequences for this country whereas Operation Black Thunder-II was undoubtedly the turning point which has resulted in the restoration of normalcy to Punjab, we learnt our lessons from the past and we decided that we would attempt the solution of flushing the militants out without destroying the Shrine. And once that decision was made, that we would flush them out without destroying the Shrine, firstly, we could not guarantee that the outcome would be successful, although we could make it successful and the second thing was to work out ways and means of flushing out those terrorists. There are two ways and means always available to any Government. Sir, they are called, in an ordinary layman's language, the carrot and the stick. The carrot offered to the militants who were holed up within was that they could have safe passage outside this country and we made this offer to save the Shrine, if not Shri Somnath Chatterjee, at least his colleagues to his right were up in arms, screaming in this House several times about how giving a safe passage to militants is a great breach of every principle that every patriotic Indian should stand for. The fact of the matter is that that was the only hope of flushing the militants out before they exploded their devices. What we did not know, what we could not know is the extent to which these terrorists were suicide-minded. If they were sufficiently suicide-minded, we knew that they would be ready to blow themselves up along with the Shrine, if it came to that. But as we had the previous experience of the Golden Temple during Operation Black Thunder-II and the experience of the Hazratbal Mosque as recently as in November, 1993, it was a risk well worth taking. If the carrot was that they could have safe passage out of India, back to the home from which they came, equally there was the stick. As soon as it was known that the Shrine had been occupied by foreign militants, the Indian Army encircled the town and put it under siege. It is not possible to conduct a siege without inflicting a certain amount of hardship and danger upon the civilian population. You cannot have it both ways. You cannot say that not one single civilian life will suffer and not one single limb will be blown apart and, at the same time, say that you are going to lay a siege. It was known that the military would lay siege and that the civilian population of that town was both in danger of getting caught in the crossfire as well as in danger from the militants who had occupied the Shrine.

Every single piece of information which we have received then or since, indicates that there was no popular support among the civilian population of the town for what these mercenaries were upto, inside the Shrine. And it is because they were completely fed up with being made hostage in battle which was not of their making, that so many of them, in hundreds leading into thousands started fleeing or attempting to flee town. And those who did flee the town were given succour by the Government of India which was the right thing to do, which was the humane thing to do. It is those who chose to remain inside the town, or those who for no fault of their own could not escape or flee, have become the innocent victims of a form of violence which has been undertaken, first and foremost, by the militants and to which there had to be a response based on force.

I remember, Sir, when we were debating the Babri Masjid issue, a very important point was made by our former Prime Minister Shri Chandra Shekharji who said, "why do you have Armed Force, if you are not ready to use force in situation which demands force?" I must say I had sympathy with the point that he made. I myself would have liked a great deal, more force to have been used at the time of the Babri Masjid than was actually used, but taking the lesson taught to us by a former Prime Minister, an honoured and respected Prime Minister of India, I would have thought that everybody would agree that when the situation went beyond control, when we found that the militants were escaping from the Shrine, first in order to set parts of the town on fire and then when they started setting parts of the town more or less adjacent to the Shrine, more or less abutting on the Shrine, on fire, then it was absolutely essential for the Indian Armed Forces to discontinue their waiting role, centre the field and become active, and they did it. Now, Shri Somnath Chatterjee asks me—well, not me, he asked the Treasury benches, he never dares to ask me anything he always asks the Prime Minister, but he wanted to know, what happened after the night of 8th, 9th when the militants started setting fire? Well, if he had read or cared to the Statement of the Union Home Secretary, what happened was that "16 fire tenders were rushed from various parts of the Valley but the militants opened fire on the approaching fire tenders and prevented them from reaching the spot for some time. The fire tenders ultimately, could manage to reach the spot and brought the fire under control after about six hours." That is what happened. In other words, the town was accessible not only to the military authority of India but also to the civil authority of India. There was never any question that we could go into the town which houses the Shrine of Char-e-Sharif. The question was, should we use our capacity to access the town, to access the Shrine with force? And if we did, then what would happen? What would inevitable happen? Again I quote from the Statement of the Union Home Secretary who has described the Shrine as 'a

fragile wooden structure'. Wood is the most combustible element on Earth. There is no way in which an assault on that Shrine could have taken place without gutting it. And, since it would then have been, as it now is, a national shame to see such a major Shrine being gutted, we stopped ourselves from taking the very easy step of sending in the Indian Armed Forces to round up the half-a-dozen or dozen militants who were holed up inside that Shrine. But it is the nature of terrorism that it takes on established governmental forces, it takes on the establishment by threatening the establishment with the very consequences which the establishment is attempting to avoid. And, therefore, it was in the nature of the thing that either we would succeed in flushing the militants out or the Shrine would get gutted possibly by militant action, possibly as a result of an assault. I think it is a matter of pride that there is no Indian hand involved in the destruction of that Shrine.

Let us remember whom we are to censure. First and foremost I would say let us censure a part of India that was broken from our country in the name of Islam; let us censure a Republic that dares call itself an Islamic Republic and indulges in so anti-Islamic and act as burning down a shrine that is dedicated to one of the greatest saints of Islam that this country has known. Let us censure those mercenaries who fought in Afghanistan in the name of religion and who have now infiltrated into our country in the name of Islam and are pretending that Islam in India could be saved by burning Islamic shrines. Let us understand whom we should censure. For, if we censure the wrong party, we would be letting the culpable escape. We cannot let the culpable escape. The culpable in this case are the foreign mercenaries; the culpable in this case is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; the most culpable in this case is that terrible organisation, the ISI, which has been wreaking havoc in this country for the last several years.

Shri Somnath Chatterjee asked : What were our intelligence agencies doing? The Union Home Secretary has replied that :

"our intelligence agencies have been so able that they succeeded in intercepting messages sent by Mast Gul to the ISI not only from within the Shrine but also subsequently when it appears that Mast Gul has escaped."

We have no better proof of the involvement of the ISI in what is happening than this. At this point in time, it would be impossible for even the most complacent American Congressman to pretend that Pakistan is not a terrorist State. We are faced with terrorism; and we are faced with dedicated terrorism. We are faced with terrorists who are willing to give up their lives in their nefarious cause. Therefore, these kinds of situation are bound to arise. But we have not yet carried conviction, or, at any rate, we have not yet carried sufficient conviction with the world community about the nature of the terrorism that is taking place in Kashmir namely,

that it is foreign inspired. I do not think it is possible for any self-respecting Government anywhere in the world today to look at the transcript of the kind of messages that are being exchanged between ISI and Mast Gul and claim that there is no Pakistani hand in the events in the Valley. This is a major achievement. It is an achievement that we absolutely must build on.

Sir, we are told by this motion before the House :

"that the failure of the Government of India lay in not using an iron hand"

Sir, it was the mindless use of violence by the Government in January, 1990 which led to so sharp a deterioration of the situation that what happened during the five months of that infamous Governor's rule, we had to take close to five years to find a solution for that. An iron hand, in sensible civilian administration, in a civilised society is always put inside a velvet glove. An iron hand of its own accord is a resort to the kind of meaningless and mindless violence which the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi deplored. I cannot understand, how an Opposition which claims to revere the Father of the Nation as much as we, who are the inheritors of the mantle of that Mahatma, could bring forward, in all solemnity, a resolution before this, the highest tribune of the nation based on saying that we failed because we did not use an iron hand. I could have understood it if you had a resolution which said that we had relied too much on the velvet glove, but that you do not even know. All you want to do is to go and blow the brains out of everybody in the Valley. That is not our way; that is not the Gandhian way. That may be the kind of way that you resorted to when you wished to destroy the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. But it is not the way that we are willing to accept when we are attempting to protect one of the great shrines of India. There could not be mindless violence. We have to allow the use of force in a way in which Shri Chandrashekar suggested.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Balija) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, there should be some limit to distortions. I do not want to interrupt the hon. Member. I never asked to use violence in any situation. The hon. Member thinks that if one situation is ready for using coercive power, in another situation also the same method could be applied. I do not know if such advisors are there with the Prime Minister...(Interruptions)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : No Sir. I can assure the former Prime Minister that I am no advisor to the Prime Minister. Had I been, I would have been put in the Council of Ministers. I am just a Member from the back Benches.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, buffoonery is permissible in certain circumstances. We are discussing about a much more serious national crisis. When we are trying to have a reconciliation and want that the whole nation should put its head together,

is it necessary that he should bring in all that had happened in the last five years? If everybody goes on replying.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Sir, I am not yielding any more. When I am speaking, you cannot speak without my permission. You have to take my permission because I am on the floor. I am on the floor with the permission of the Chair.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the Parliamentary rules have changed. I have yet to learn a Parliamentary practice which says that I should take permission from the speaker. My knowledge is that I should take your permission, Mr. Speaker.

I only said that in such a situation we should not try to bring in matters which create more discord, disharmony and antagonism among the Indian people or among the political parties. If he wants to rake up everything, I am not going to reply back, but certainly it will not be good for the country, it will not be good in tackling the situation that we are facing today. Sometimes Members get up and say whatever they like but that is not the way to deal with a very delicate situation which we are facing. If they think that by accusing each other they are going to solve this problem, I have nothing more to say.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : I am grateful for this homily directed at me. I wish to get on with the subject at hand and the main important subject at hand was that the iron hand, the use of coercive force, which is legitimate for a Government, must be allied with the velvet glove. It is this combination of the iron hand and the velvet glove that was evident at Chrar-e-Sharif and which has been evident right through the time from June 1991 till now when we have been handling the Jammu and Kashmir problem. In this process, Sir, I said that the events that took place, as recounted by the Home Secretary, are a matter of record. There is not much dispute about it. I do not know what it is that the Mover of the Motion seeks in terms of additional information. But if there is additional information to be provided by the Government, I dare say that the Government's spokesman will be doing so.

What I would now like to turn to is the political aspect to which I had drawn attention when I began my intervention here. Sir, we are told that it is wrong to think in terms of elections in the Valley. It is an opinion that can be held honestly or dishonestly. It is honestly held by some Indian political parties that the time is not ripe for elections in the Valley. It is dishonestly held by Pakistan and its spokesman that the time is not ripe for elections in the Valley. Whatever be the intentions of Pakistan, *vis-a-vis* those Opposition parties of India who do not want elections in Kashmir — and the intentions of those political parties in India *vis-a-vis* the Pakistan's position — the fact of the matter is that if you abstract from the label, the position of those who do not want

elections in Kashmir is exactly the same as the position of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This is exactly the same position of all the 30 Members...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH : He is talking about abolishing TADA.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : The political parties of the country who are talking of holding parleys with Pakistan.

MR. SPEAKER : Please first listen to his full Statement. He has stated that some political parties which sincerely feel that elections should not be held there. Whereas there are some other parties which feel that election should be held there. He was distinguished between the two.

SHRI UMRAO SINGH (Jalandhar) : He has not referred to any names. He is speaking in vague terms.

[English]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Sir, we do have an agonizing choice to make. It is quite clear that if we do hold elections in Jammu and Kashmir in the month of July, we cannot hope to secure the same turnout as, for instance, we had in Maharashtra. I do not think it is the position of anybody that 85-90 per cent of the electorate will come out to vote. At the same time, we need to learn another lesson from recent history. What happened to the advice that the time was not ripe for elections in Punjab?

Yet, in all honesty, can it not be said that however inadequate was the turn-out for the Punjab elections in 1993, if my memory serves me right, the presence of elected representatives of Punjab in this House has played a major role in restoring in Punjab?

I am willing to concede that, possibly as a consequence of restoration of this normalcy, there may be fewer Congress Members of Parliament from Punjab after the next election than there are today. Possibly this may happen. But there can be no doubt that in spite of an inadequate turn-out of voters in Punjab in 1993, sorry it was 1992, I stand corrected, those that got elected and started representing the voice of the people here — if I may have your permission, Sir, I just would like to mention one of my party colleagues, Shri Jagmeet Singh Brar who, on more than one occasion, has spoken for the voice of Punjab in a way which is not in consonance with the view taken by the Government of India. What we want is elected representatives; representatives who may not in some ideal sense represent all the people of Jammu and Kashmir but who would represent a substantial section of that voice, to begin the process of restoration of normalcy.

We do not have a political process in Jammu and Kashmir only because one particular Government decided to suspend an elected Assembly; and then one particular Governor decided, even without consulting his Government, to dissolve that Assembly. There has been no voice, no elected voice of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for the last five years. I cannot, in all honesty, say that there is nobody in Kashmir who does not want independence. I know that there are many. What I do not know is, "how many?" I do not know what proportion they are of the people. I am told that there are major political parties belonging to the Hurriyat who want Jammu and Kashmir to become a part of Pakistan. There are others within the same Hurriyat who say, "above all we do not wish to become part of Pakistan, we wish to remain an independent country"; and there are yet other groups inside that same Hurriyat who talk in terms of a greater measure of autonomy within the Constitution of India placing Jammu and Kashmir forever on a different footing to that of the other States of the Union of India. Then we have the Indian National Congress in the valley which stands four-square for the total unity and integrity of India; and we have the National Conference which wants to have certain adjustments in the existing Constitutional arrangements. An election, and an election alone will enable us to find what the French call an *"interlocuteur valable"*, a valid interlocutor.

Whom do we talk to? What do we talk about? We cannot do this any more with the existing Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir because someone in his lack of wisdom dissolved that Assembly and after that we have attempted to start a political process by, for example, having the National Conference holding one working committee meeting in Jammu. I do not think that is right. I personally believe — and I know that this is not view accepted by the Government of India — that we should begin with a party-less election to the Panchayats in the Valley. I know this view is not accepted by the Government of India. I put it forward as my view. But if my view is not accepted, then what alternative is there to holding elections to the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly?

No, it is nobody's case it is not the Prime Minister's case; not the Home Minister's case; not our somewhat fractious Minister of State's case. It is no case of anybody in this country that elections in the present circumstances in Jammu and Kashmir will be similar to the election that took place in Maharashtra. But let us begin a process there, for if we do schedule elections, then various political parties including some of those that belonging to the Hurriyat.

MR. SPEAKER : How much more time are you likely to take?

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Another ten minutes, Sir, because I am now coming to the constructive

part...*(Interruptions)*... If we have these elections we will have ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I need eleven minutes to finish.

If we do hold elections in Jammu and Kashmir, as we apparently are planning to do, the very fact of elections coming will the force militants to become politicised; the absentee landlords of vote banks to become present inside the Valley to cultivate their voters; and political parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party which has so far been virtually non-existent in the Valley, to show their flag. The Bharatiya Janata Party as much as the CPI (M), the CPI as much as the Samata Party and the Congress as much as the National Conference, let all of us try and go into the Valley and see whether the people of the Valley stand for the unity and integrity of India or not. If one goes by past experience, it would not have possible for Jammu and Kashmir to have remained an integral part of India for half a century unless, through almost all that time, the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their large numbers had not desired to be part of India. Let us also never forget that the only element in India that desires a disruption of our unity if not to be found just in the Valley. We have had insurgency in Mizoram; we have had insurgency in Nagaland; we have had insurgency in Tripura; and we even had a major political party in my home State of Tamil Nadu asking for an independent Dravidastan until 1965. So, it is not unknown in a country as diverse as ours for people to think that opting out of the Indian Union is one solution to their problems. It is because our nation is not an artificial construct of the last fifty years but is a nation that has existed for 5,000 years of human civilization, that the strengths of India are always greater than its weaknesses. What we have not had an opportunity to test in the Valley for the last five years is the strengths of India against the weaknesses of India. What the election is going to afford us a opportunity to do is to go in there and ask the people of Kashmir — "Are you in favour of those who destroyed the Char-e-Sharif" It will give us an opportunity of going into the Valley and saying — "Are you in favour of those who tried to destroy the Hazratbal Mosque?" It will give us an opportunity of going into the Valley and saying "Are you in favour of those who wish to wreck Kashmiriyat by driving all the pandits out of the Valley?" It would give us an opportunity of going into the valley and say — "Are you in favour of Pakistan suborning your independence and your freedom?" It will give us an opportunity of going into Kashmir and asking them whether they wish to continue to be ruled by foreign mercenaries, thugs like Mast Gul. It would give us an opportunity of demonstrating, not to the United States of America — I do not know why one particular political party is so obsessed with the United States of America that we can hold elections there. We want to hold those elections to demonstrate, first and foremost to the

people of Jammu and Kashmir, then to all the people of India, and only finally to the world, that the real will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir is to continue to be indefinitely into the future what they have been over the last 50 years, free-independent citizens of the Union of India.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, prior to saying something in support of the comment on the lengthy speeches of my predecessors from the Congress party and conclude.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you might be remembering that some days ago the Secretary General of Common Wealth had visited our country. He came to see me also. He told me during that meeting that all the Commonwealth countries have democracy but the democracy of India is sui generis. He cited an example and stated that in India a political adversary is not considered an enemy. This is a feature of Indian Democracy. But had he heard the speech of Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar today, he would not have nourished such illusion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the mover of the Motion has rightly stated that this Adjournment Motion has been moved in extra-ordinary circumstances, and it is perhaps unprecedented incident. The Annual Budget is being discussed. The Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence are being discussed after so many years. The hon. Prime Minister was to reply to the debate but the Opposition considered it proper to suspend the other business of the House and discuss the Charar-e-Sharief tragedy.

We have been discussing the Kashmir problem in this august House and often we have been raising the issue unanimously. I would like to remind you the unanimous resolution of February 22, 1994 which reflected the sentiments of the entire House. We had sunk all our difference and asserted unanimously.

[English]

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been and is and shall be an integral part of India and any attempt to separate it from the rest of the country will be resisted by all necessary means.

[Translation]

Further we stated :

[English]

India has the will and capacity to firmly counter all designs against its unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

[Translation]

Thereafter we had put forth two demands :

[English]

Pakistan must vacate the areas of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir which they have occupied through aggression and resolve that all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of India will be met resolutely.

[Translation]

That Resolution reflected the sentiments of the entire country.

Thereafter the Standing Committee on the Ministry of External Affairs took evidence and collected facts regarding the violation of human rights in Pak occupied Kashmir territory and submitted its report. It was a report prepared by a Committee which comprised representatives of all parties. We also emphasized that it should be endeavoured to get back the Pak occupied Kashmir territory some parts of which have been given away by Pakistan to other country. At least the Pak's approach towards human rights must be exposed.

This House has been unanimous on Kashmir issue. The ruling party need not be misled by different tones being heard today. Here we are not to support whatever stance is taken by the Government. We will fulfil our obligation of the Opposition. If there is any lapse on the part of the Government, if it fails to protect the Charar-e-Sharief and allows terrorists to escape and if we criticise you therefor, then should we be considered enemy of the country...(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, does the Government expect us of felicitating it after the Charar-e-Sharief was gutted down to ashes? The Government should go among the public to know its reactions. After knowing their reaction the Government will certainly understand why we have been repeatedly stating that it cannot safeguard the interest of people here and hence should step down and hold fresh Lok Sabha election.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to drag this dispute to this level. But let me express my own opinion. You did not speak anything when they stooped down to that level, and now you are laughing and grinding your teeth. Why Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar was to speak as the first speaker from the Congress party? When I was the Minister of External Affairs he was in that very Ministry. I know everything about him. But what I know about him are not bad things. They are rather good things. The only problem is that sometimes he is off the track while speaking.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Adjournment Motion has been introduced with a heavy heart. When the hon. Prime Minister called us in the all party Parliamentary sitting, we had stated that we were in great distress and anguish. The allegation is being made only because you are in power. Who else will be responsible for this?

Shri Aiyar has rightly stated that this development did not take place in ten days. The Government has

confessed in its Statement that in December terrorists were sneaking into Char-e-Sharif in disguise and took arms there with them. Now this is the month of May. The Government has also admitted that on a particular date of the month of February Mast Gul in disguise sneaked into the shrine. Now there is a question as to why Char-e-Sharif was demolished? Its demolition is the beginning of a tragedy. We are not seeking the account of the beginning. We just want to know details about the beginning from the Government. It must reply.

After getting the information from the State Government in the month of December that the terrorists well equipped with arms have sneaked into this shrine and they were making the city their base what preventive action was taken by the Government. Why were they allowed to concentrate there? Why were not they arrested? How did the Centre react on getting the information from the State Government? The Union Government itself admits that it had got authentic information in this regard in February itself. What did we do then? It is also very clearly mentioned in the statement of the Government. It has been mentioned in the statement of the Home Secretary that army was deployed to circumvallate the shrine at the distance of one and a half kilometres. The army was pressed into service but the movement of people was unchecked. Terrorists were making all their preparations inside the shrine. They were laying land mines. Traffic was being closed not only around the *dargah*, but also on roads but what was the Government doing? The Government asked army to maintain distance from the *dargah*, lest the terrorists should go berserk and set it ablaze.

We should have understood the point the very first day that the Pakistani outfit to which the terrorists belong has no regard for Char-e-Sharif. The persons of this group had opened fire in Shia mosques in Karachi and killed those offering namaz. So, they will not come to Kashmir to protect Char-e-Sharif. Alas had the Government realised it at the very outset. Have we chalked out any strategy taking this fact into consideration? The present Government is inactive and ineffective as it did nothing for Char-e-Sharif and the saint there.

It made no endeavour to create proper public opinion inside and outside the country through the media before the occurrence of this tragedy. After the day the shrine was set ablaze, it appeared in newspapers that the saint of the shrine Narooddin was a Sufi saint. He was called Nund Rishi and his songs, his composition were called Rishi-kalam. He followed the tenets of Kabir and did not believe in rituals. He often criticized Mullas and Maulavis. So, it is of little surprise that the terrorists had no consideration to protect this shrine. They did not bother even if it were to be set ablaze or demolished. Our concern as to how to protect this shrine was natural. It could have been protected with all our efforts. But the drama ended with a tragic note. The shrine was burnt to ashes. Along with the shrine a mosque was also

ruined. The flames of fire engulfed the guest house also and one thousand houses were also gutted down. The smokes are still emitting from those houses.

Now the question arises as to what are the repercussions of the burning of Char-e-Sharif on the Kashmiri Muslims. Here a new controversy has started. Allegation is levelled against the army today. Who is levelling this allegation?...*(Interruptions)* Just now Shri Aiyar has stated that the army has discharged its duty assigned to it. No Indian is involved in burning the *dargah*. But such news is appearing frequently on the front pages of Indian newspapers and army is being held guilty of it. The Government has not contradicted it so far...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : This is totally wrong...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The army cannot come here for explanation. But it should be understood as to under what circumstances the army functions there. We are best upon making it a scapegoat ...*(Interruptions)*... Is it judicious? The democracy demands that the hon. Prime Minister should have accepted his mistake and failure to protect Char-e-Sharif and nab terrorists and their leader. He should have further confessed that he is holding Jammu Kashmir portfolio and has failed to fulfil his obligation and will accept whatever punishment the country awards him for his failure. But he did not do so. He is not ready to own any responsibility. But today search is on for a scapegoat. Shri Pilot is also safe, otherwise, he too would have been sacrificed on the Bakr Id ...*(Interruptions)*... I do not know whether he would have been sacrificed with a 'jhatka' or a 'halal'...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DATTA MEGHE (Nagpur) : Just now you have stated that sacrifice is made on Id. This is right...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The hon. Prime Minister is in charge of Jammu and Kashmir affairs. He himself should reply as to how did this all happen. Could it not be averted? Could the terrorists not be prevented from congregating there? After the terrorists assembled there. What was the duty of the army there? I am surprised to read it. I am quoting the Statement of the Home Secretary.

[English]

"The security forces, therefore, occupied the high features of the surrounding hills at a distance of one and a half kilometres and kept a watch over the militants to prevent further infiltration of militants into the Shrine and further smuggling of arms and ammunition."

[Translation]

How could it be possible that they had occupied the high features of the surrounding hills at a distance of one and a half kilometres and claimed keeping a watch over the militants to prevent their infiltration. How

can the infiltration be prevented until army reaches the close quarters of the shrine and resist, smuggling of arms and ammunitions and infiltration without resorting to skirmishes was very much noticed. The army remained a mute spectator because it was asked to do so and to take any action. Today this should be made clear in this august House. What role can be played by the army under such circumstances? There is no unified command. Decisions are not taken in collectively.

The Government is there with his advisors. Apart from them the army, the BSF, the Kashmir police and civil administration are there and the PMO at Delhi. I do not know whether it is possible to contact the hon. Prime Minister in the PMO on every occasion. The Prime Minister is too much busy. Then who takes decisions? Who made the decision to ask the army to remain at a distance of one and a half kilometers? The army should not be entrusted with the responsibility of preventing infiltration and smuggling of arms and ammunition. How could the army do it? Who was there to take decision? It is a gross injustice to army that attempts are being made to hold the army responsible for all the odds...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Home Secretary's Statement has very clearly said at what time the Army reached. The Army reached early morning there, after the incident had taken place. So, the Army has not been involved. What the hon. Member is saying is totally wrong. The Government has verified it in very clear terms.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I agree to whatever Shri Pilot is saying. The army was not involved at all in setting the dargah ablaze. The question of the involvement of army in this act does not rise at all. The terrorists had deliberately chosen the Bakr Id day for burning the dargah. It was also the birthday of saint Nurooddin. They knew its repercussions on the valley, India and Pakistan. They knew it very well that it will help mislead the Islamic countries. The incident took place in a planned way. What they wanted they did, but the problem is that what we intended did not materialise. We wanted to protect the dargah and also that the terrorists leave the dargah and go across the border safe and sound. It was emphasized very frequently. They were terrorists, killers and mercenaries. The desperadoes chose Kashmir after committing their misdeeds all over the world. But we were very much concerned to protect the shrine and we were no less concerned to send them back safe and sound. The Government itself has admitted in its statement that it endeavoured for the same for three months. It requested the terrorist with utmost humility to leave the shrine and assured them of safe return. What sort of image the

country has been presented there that time? What will be its effect on the people of the Kashmir valley? The population of the country is 90 crore. A country with such a great army could not tackle 35 or 40 odd terrorist, could not protect the dargah and could not safeguard its tradition. Will it have a good affect on the people of the country? Will it inspire them to think in the favour of India? They are already scared of terrorists. Now they will be more awe stricken. Still Mast Gul...

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : He is queer personality.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mast Gul has not been arrested as yet. He is absconding. How did he manage to escape? Isn't it our failure?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : An Army General has stated that he is lying injured there only. Do you have this information?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I have got it. In this first day's reaction, he admitted that Mast Gul is lying injured somewhere in the very town that was set ablaze. Now it is being said that Mast Gul has sneaked into Pulwama town. The main culprit has escaped and the shrine has been razed to the ground. In view of this, Shall we pat our backs and congratulate each other? I feel humiliated in my own country.

There is another queer aspect of it. Tall claims are made about the efficiency and alacrity of our intelligence agencies so much so that they intercepted the wireless communication between Pakistan and the militants. With whom were they communicating in Pakistan? Was it the ISI? Have you got any proof? Did the Government confront Pakistan with this proof? Was the Pakistan's ambassador to India summoned? The Pakistan's ambassador had been summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to register India's protest against the disregard shown to Bhatia Sahib. According to your version it is a mighty proof. The wireless messages intercepted should have been flashed either from Pakistan or the Pak occupied Kashmir. Who was there operating the messages at that end? As is clear that the messages were transmitted from Pakistan, then would it suffice that the country, the Parliament should only be informed about it? Should not this have any international implications or fallout? Should not a letter of protest be despatched to Pakistan? Should not the representatives of other countries be called and told that this is another proof to substantiate what we have been saying so far. If I am to believe you, they were saying from across the border, "Well done; now, let us watch and enjoy; carry on with your mission." There is also the information that they declined the Governments offer of a safe passage because Pakistan had told them that there was no room for them to return to Pakistan. They have to do or die on Indian territory only. If the Government was aware of this fact, then it was clear that it had no alternative left to save the shrine.

I agree that had some strict action been taken in a planned manner in the beginning itself, the possibility of gutting down the whole shrine could have been averted and the subsequent destruction and devastation around the shrine site probably prevented. But this Government is indecisive, weak, inactive, inefficient and impotent. How can it give the reply? I want to give one. I had been to Geneva with Indian delegation. I rise above party politics where the question of national interest is involved. But, I am agitated today. What have we done? Could not this situation be averted?

I do not want to recapitulate the past history. Had the past history been faultless, there would not have been this turbulent situation in Kashmir today. Neither our party nor our allies had been in power there.

13.00 hrs.

The Kashmir situation deteriorated by and by and reached a point that even Sheikh Abdullah had to be arrested and put behind the bars for years together. However, the situation in Kashmir did not deteriorate beyond a certain point because New Delhi pursued right policies and acted with firm determination. The situation goes out of hand today because New Delhi is not able to take a decision. The Prime Minister depends on the Governor and I do not know who the Governor depends upon.

The army is being blamed there. The Lieutenant General, Shri Dhilon rightly observed that the Indian army exercised maximum restraint but it could not save the shrine. An Army General reacted that what was the need of waiting for three months if this was the expected end result? It was not a political reaction. On a war front many army jawans become martyrs. They sacrifice their lives for the country. Are we, in such a situation, doing justice to them. Are we trying to uphold their morale?

MR. SPEAKER : Vajpayee ji, I do not think that any responsible person has blamed the army.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mani Shankar Aiyar ji did not commit that mistake. However, he has committed many other mistakes. I am citing what is being reported in the press. We should uphold the morale of the army. This responsibility lies on the Government. Whether the decisions are being taken on time or not, whether adequate decisions are taken or not...(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was talking about accountability. Is not the Governor accountable? On whose advice does he act? He only talks to the Prime Minister directly on telephone, though, earlier he used to talk to the Home Minister. There seems least possibility of his contacting the Minister of State for Defence. What is the Governor meant for? I might agree with the view of our Congress friends that Shri Narasimha Rao is an indispensable person but I am not ready to agree that General Krishna Rao has also become indispensable. He should go. Moreover, the Government proposes a

new package for Kashmir. There are differences of opinion on the question of restoration of political process there. These differences are authentic in the present context. Doubting our bonafides on every issue, levelling allegations of unauthenticity on the opposition may be a cheap method of conducting a debate but it is no way of building a national consensus. Do not we have the right to say that it is not the right time to hold elections in Kashmir. You may say that the situation is congenial for the purpose and elections will be held. That is a separate thing. Since Pakistan is not favouring elections and we too are not favouring it, then should we be called as Pakistanis...(Interruptions)... Look, he is nodding his head. He is saying like that...(Interruptions)... He says that he did say so.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF POWER (SHRI N.K.P. SALVE) : Sir, he said that there are honest opinions which do not want elections there and there are dishonest opinions from Pakistan which do not want elections there.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Now they are talking in terms of dishonesty...(Interruptions)

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE : He has talked of your honesty...(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member.* He also called Pakistan as an enemy of the country. He said that both Pakistan and BJP are not favouring elections there. Everything will be clear if his speech is read thoroughly. I am also against holding elections in Kashmir though I do not belong to the BJP and am opposed to them. So, should I also be termed as a supporter of Pakistan? If speaking out openly and supporting every move of the Congress; alone is the politics...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Sir, I have been personally named. I never ever described — whatever my inner feeling may be — the BJP as.

What Mr. Chandra Shekhar has said is totally wrong. I do not agree with him mainly because I was not a supporter of the Government headed by Mr. Chandra Shekhar. But he keeps on hitting me. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, who was he to support me? He was a non-entity in the Congress Party; whether he supported my Government or not, it did not matter to me. I never knew that was a person by name, Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar. (Interruptions)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Sir, I insist that he withdraws the allegations made against me. I did not say that the BJP is.* I never said that. (Interruptions)

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad) : You said that the BJP*...(Interruptions)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : *...(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, they are incompetent. I am not the Prime Minister.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : **

MR. SPEAKER : No, no; it is not going on record...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am sorry, These kinds of expressions should not be used in the House please.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Sir, I withdraw that remark. (Interruptions)

[Translations]

MR. SPEAKER : When I am on my legs, you please take your seat. You too, please. Please let me deal when I am on my legs or you deal yourself.

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was referring to his speech. In his speech, he said that* and the enemy outside destroyed Char-e-Sharief. What does it mean? He was saying that they destroyed the Babri Masjid. I condemn them for the destruction of Babri Masjid. But I do not consider them * He is not the only patriot in this House...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : Look, both sides are putting forth their views in a very good manner.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : It will be very kind of you if you keep quiet for a minute or two.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You too keep quiet please.

I will expunge any expression which I deem might hurt the feelings of any person. All the Members sitting in this House are friends, notwithstanding our different ideologies, and nobody is an enemy here. This should be borne in mind that I will not allow any such reference in anybody's speech to go on record. It may come from Chandra Shekharji, Somnathji, Vajpayeeji, or Mani Shankar Aiyarji. View points are being expressed very nicely on this issue. If something has gone wrong somewhere, there is an endeavour to locate and rectify it. Simultaneously, we all are unitedly trying to face and combat any such critical situation that may arise. That is more important. From the very niche of my heart and with all humility, I request you to take care to see and

ensure that nobody utters something that might pique anybody. What Vajpayeeji said is totally right I am going to expunge such expressions.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You take your seat please. This diminishes the dignity of the House. Taking an overall view of the situation I will do what I have to do and what I have undertaken to do. Please do not interrupt a good speech.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : It was from Mani Shankar ji, Vajpayeeji and also from Somnath ji.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to draw my speech towards its peroration. Our national President, Advani ji, will partake in the debate on behalf of our party. I would touch upon only one issue.

I fail to understand how could we afford to forget so soon the experience we gathered from the Hazratbal episode two and a half years ago?

There was no reason to presume that because the policy of laying a siege around Hazratbal succeeded, therefore, it will also prove to be successful in case of Char-e-Sharief. Hazratbal was an isolated, segregated site. There was no food, no drinking water facility available inside Hazratbal whereas the shrine of Char-e-Sharief abuts upon the township and thus there could be no dearth of food and water. Therefore, there was no reason to think that we could get control of the situation by laying an army siege at one and a half kilometer diameter. I do not know how was this decision taken?

Now, you may ask what else could we do other than laying a siege. This can be debated and many *via medias* can be suggested but the *via media* the Government chose was not feasible and was bound to lead to failure because we were ready to leave the situation to the mercy of the militants' whims and fancies in abject capitulation. If the shrine could be saved, it could be saved because of them and if they wanted to set it ablaze, how could we thwart it? We wanted to give them a safe passage but how could we help if they were out to die? This whole incident portrays a helpless, policy-bankrupt, unresolved picture of the Government, we do not approve of this portrayal because this does not reflect the picture of the Government alone but that of this country as well. What shall the people of Kashmir experience? We agree that the militants are gradually beating a retreat there. People are getting disenchanted. People are in favour of normalisation of situation but the militants resorted to such a heinous incident so as to reverse all the endeavours made towards normalisation of the situation. We did not anticipate this incident and prepare ourselves to face it. Now the Government will have to bring the people together and win over their confidence afresh in Kashmir. However,

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair

** Not recorded.

I do not think that this Government will be able to accomplish it. Therefore, we censure this Government and urge them to bow out of power.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SALMAN KHURSEED) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, I stand today with a heavy heart and perplexed mind whether I have to reply to the allegations made against our country, our nation and our people by an enemy country or to reply to the allegations made by the hon. Members from the other side of the House. If there is a serious concern about Jammu and Kashmir, it must be a concern that goes beyond the tragic incident that faces us today. If there is a serious concern about Jammu and Kashmir, it must be a serious concern about the state of our nation and about the perceptions of where we are to take our nation in the coming century. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir cannot be blamed entirely on any single event, on any single person, on any single decision. The Jammu and Kashmir has become the battle ground of two major perceptions that go back to 1947 and without understanding this particular issue, any attempt to shed light on the present strategy in Jammu and Kashmir will be an attempt that would undermine our resolve at national unity and national integrity. Essentially, Jammu and Kashmir has been and remains today a battle ground for two perceptions. One perception is that we have of united India and that was the perception that India will be a home of all people, of all religion. This perception was challenged by the two-nation theory. This perception was challenged by a belief that a nation can be formed on the basis of religion; on the basis of belief that people following one religion could have one nation on the subcontinent. The Congress Party historically stood up against this belief. The Congress Party led a campaign against this belief and the Congress Party was poised in this belief when a majority of Muslims decided to stay on in India and said proudly, 'India is our home and this is where we will remain'.

In 1947, Pakistan disagreed with majority of Muslims of India. In 1971, we have proved right. We have said that the sub-continent cannot be divided on the basis of religion, the sub-continent cannot be divided by artificial walls and artificial boundaries and yet, in 1947, an attempt was made to create artificial boundaries. We saw the uncovering of this in 1971 and 1972 in the birth of Bangladesh when it became apparent that not vision but other beliefs, of the feelings of nationhood, of the feeling of camaraderie, of the feeling of one large family, was to be the basis of religion. The same disease in Bangladesh, the same disease in 1947, now continues to frustrate Pakistan. Instead of having created for themselves out of the unhappy history of 1947, a new modern liberal State which is concerned about its citizens, Pakistan continues to attempt to redefine India in the hope that it will be able to redefine itself. India

will not be and must not be allowed to be redefined by anybody else because we and our forefathers in 1947 defined India as a home of people of all religions, irrespective of where it is from and where we want to go.

Today if there is an atmosphere that questions this perception, it is an atmosphere that has been created in different parts of India. Do not think that Jammu and Kashmir is in isolation. The young people of Jammu and Kashmir watch every word that is spoken in any part of India. Every time you speak of separate culture, every time you speak of sub-regionalism, every time you speak of a special culture of a special people for a special India, people in different parts of India begin to question the perception on the basis of which they had agreed to be part of the Indian family and that is the basic question today that stares us in the face in Jammu and Kashmir, not the question of who decided how far the Army would cordon Charar-e-Sharief. We are not here and we are not capable of going into operational decisions about how the Army was to operate, at what distance it was to operate and what kind of force the Army was going to use. We have never made any disclosures about secret operations of the Army. We cannot make disclosures about operations of the Army because that would put us with the very lives of the men who have dedicated themselves to protect this nation even with their lives. We cannot be so irresponsible to satisfy the ego of the hon. Members of the Opposition and in order to satisfy the ego of the hon. Members of the Opposition put at risk the lives of the young men who have worn the Indian uniform, who have taken Indian tricolour and who have stood at its doors to say that this land shall never be violated again.

There are fundamental questions about Jammu and Kashmir which this Government has tried to tackle in the last few years. I am afraid that history may have to be rediscovered one day to decide who made mistakes and what mistakes were made. It is true that whoever is in Government, they share the greatest blame, but then whoever is in the Government would also be given credit for what they have achieved. I do not want to look back at history to read once again and to reiterate who made mistakes. As a young Indian, I want to put one simple question and age in this country. Have we shown enough concern, thoughtfulness and consideration to young people of Jammu and Kashmir? Today by asking questions about what the Government has done and what the Prime Minister has done to save Charar-e-Sharief, have we absolved ourselves of our responsibility? What is it that we have done for the young people of Jammu and Kashmir? There are on this side of this House those who have risked their lives in going out to reach out to the young people of Jammu and Kashmir. The question in Jammu and Kashmir is the alienation of younger people. Why have the younger people left us? Why have the younger people provided fertile ground for foreign mercenaries to come and

operate and to question the integrity of this nation? Why have the younger people felt that they are not part of this family? These questions will have to be answered and we are attempting to answer these questions.

Do not say, if you do not know, that nothing has been done. How many of us have got up? There are no restrictions. This Government has had a courageous policy of transparency. We have allowed the world to come in and see what is happening in Kashmir. We have allowed the international media. We have allowed the representatives of foreign Governments. We have allowed the Human Rights Commissioner of the U.N. to come and see what is happening in Kashmir. We have allowed tourists to go freely to Kashmir. What stopped the Indian Members of Parliament, especially of the Opposition, from visiting Kashmir? Once an attempt was made and the attempt was made to go and fly the Indian Flag as though the Indian Flag has never flown in Kashmir. Even then, how was it flown? It was but by asking for special assistance from the Indian Army and asking for a special aircraft to fly that particular group into Srinagar and under the protection of the gun the flag was flown. The flag has flown in Kashmir not under the protection of gun but by the support and the inspiration of young people in Kashmir, who, over the last fifty years, have stood by us and in fact have again said: "We are Indians and we are proud to be Indians."

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota) : You can't do even this bit. You don't have the guts to do so.

[English]

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : The trouble in the perception that has thrown doubt in the hearts and minds of young people of Kashmir is that Kashmir has to be won with guns. We have tried to win the people of Kashmir through their hearts and not by forcing them on the point of a gun...(Interruptions) We have forced the gun when it is necessary to fight the gun. But we have not pointed a gun at the hearts of people of Kashmir. What do we say to the young people of Kashmir when we go there? When we go there and when we want to speak to them about devolution of power, when we want to speak to them about giving them rights to decide about their own future, when we go and speak to them about respect and participation in the mainstream in India, then they ask us whether we will abide by the constitutional guarantees. What stares us in the face is that a constant policy statement is being made by a major political party in this country that Article 370 should be abrogated. When the whole country is speaking of giving autonomy, speaking of reaching out and giving them confidence, then there is one major political party which says "You have given them too much and take it back." Today, when we seriously come to this House to discuss about what the future of Kashmir will be, let it be clear that we are here

to discuss the future of Kashmir and not the future of this Government as has become apparent in the speeches that have been made. We are here not to protect the future of this Government. We are here to protect the future of this country and this country includes the State of Jammu and Kashmir. And, when a serious effort is made to decide the future of this country and the future of Jammu and Kashmir, we have two political parties standing up, two major movements in this country standing up one saying abrogate article 370 and the other saying give them great autonomy and yet both saying: "You are wrong." We are wrong if we support Article 370. We are wrong if we abrogate Article 370. We are wrong if we use force. We are wrong if we do not use force. We are wrong if we find a *via media*. We are wrong if we do not find a *via media*. We are wrong if we send the Forces. We are wrong if we do not send Forces. We are wrong if we do not hold elections. We are wrong if we hold elections. What is that we have done right? If there is something which we have done right and if we have not done something right, then why would even today people in Jammu and Kashmir, the young people in Jammu and Kashmir be prepared to come and talk to us? I have been to Jammu and Kashmir. Shri Rajesh Pilot has been to Jammu and Kashmir. Shri Chavan has been to Jammu and Kashmir. I want to know how many people from the Opposition have been to Jammu and Kashmir. Who stopped them from going to Jammu and Kashmir and talking to those young people? Do not compare and do not come to conclusions about how to deal with terrorists. Terrorists have to be dealt by methods of psychological warfare. A terrorist is not a soldier. A terrorist is a psychological warrior and you have to reply a psychological war with a psychological war. The terrorists that we have in Hazratbal may not necessarily be the kind of terrorists we saw in Charar-e-Sharief. I have myself met the terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir. I have met them...(Interruptions). If this is not a serious enough matter for the Opposition, I am prepared to keep quiet. The Opposition does not want to hear me tell what I have seen with my own eyes. I had talked to the young people in Kashmir. I have talked to seventeen year old boys in Kashmir who said that they have come from Pak or they have come from another part of Pakistan because they were told that shrines and mosques were being burnt in the Valley; they have come because they were told that the Muslims in India do not have the right to pray because they were told that India does not provide equal rights to all of its citizens. I said to them? "What did you see in India?" They said : "We have seen a different world."

"We have seen the equality. And the first thing we heard when we came on to the Indian soil was the sound of the Aazan given from the mosque in India." This is what a young boy of 17 said to me. Equally, I spoke to a man of 35 years. He was a hardened criminal. He saw nothing right. Like the Opposition, he saw

nothing right with this Government. He saw nothing right with this country. He saw nothing right...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur) : Is he comparing the Opposition with the hardened criminals?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK : You are spoiling your own case. Use some good words, use some parliamentary words...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : I beg your pardon. I have done some study. I am not yielding...*(Interruptions)*

[Translations]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is this happening here—Opposition like hardened criminals? Is everybody under the spell of hemp...*(Interruptions)*... let us talk about some solution.

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI : This is not a subject for criticism. Let us discuss it seriously. The discussion is lacking in seriousness...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : If I have understood the debate correctly, while finding fault with something, they are trying to see that some consensus is developed so that this matter is dealt with properly. Let us understand that spirit and let us use the language, the phrase and the sentences in that manner.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : I shall abide by your ruling...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI : He is engaged in party politics when the whole country is concerned. That will perish, sink, nobody can avert that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAFUL PATEL (Bhandara) : Vajpayee ji called us inapt, inefficient...*(Interruptions)*... His words strike proper to your ears...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum) : According to them, everything we say is wrong here. I would like to know whether they abide by the Constitution in respect of Article 370 or they want to abrogate Article 370. Let them clarify it...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : I have got an indication that those who speak in our mother tongue are free to use such words whereas these are prohibited for speakers speaking in English.

MR. SPEAKER : I said what I felt. You are free to choose any language for delivering your speech.

[English]

Let us understand that there is a difficulty before the country. We all should try to face that difficulty. And while criticising, if somebody is trying to help you, you should understand that.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : Sir, I welcome and ensure that our Government in agreeing to this debate has welcomed any constructive criticism of our policy, our intentions or of our conduct. I wanted to put on record that what has come so far did not indicate and could not have indicated a constructive criticism of our policy or of our intentions.

MR. SPEAKER : You say that. Nobody is going to object to that.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : They did object. That is all I said.

With the greatest respect to our former Prime Minister Shri Chandra Shekhar, I would like to clarify this. I said, 'like them, he also found nothing right with this Government.' 'Like them' is only a similarity and has nothing to do with reflecting upon your character. It was only your behaviour, your conduct...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barrackpore) : He has likened the Opposition as 'hardened Criminals.'...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Do not put the words which he has not used. He did not say that.

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR : You go and see the records please

MR. SPEAKER : I will look into it. If it is there, I will remove it.

Now, please take your own line.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : If the Opposition is sensitive to my formulations, I regret it. But I would like the Opposition to understand when they are sensitive only to these words, how sensitive the young people in Jammu and Kashmir would be when it is said that Article 370 should be abrogated and the rights given under the Constitution should be taken away...*(Interruptions)*

I am on the same side as my hon. friend is. I think we just are at some distance, that is why, I could not understand him properly.

I want to say that a major effort has been made in the last year and this is serious. Kashmir in the Valley was in a state of total destruction and disrepair. Many many facilities have been destroyed and have been deliberately and unconsciously sabotaged so as to bring life in Kashmir Valley to a standstill. A very major effort has been made, which other States, especially the Opposition-ruled States, would be envious of the amount of money that is being poured into Kashmir this year in terms of Central Grant - Rs. 600 crore going entirely to rehabilitation and reconstruction work, not relying upon

the usual account of States of giving Rs. 600 crore and drawing back Rs. 400 crore because of an overdraft of previous year. This is the first time that a clear effort has been made to pour in enormous amount of money to give the basic infrastructure that is necessary to instill the kind of confidence that the young people need when they go out to face an election, to decide about their own future.

For the first time, a private effort has been made by public schools in Delhi to give 100 seats to deserving Kashmiri children, who cannot find good schools within easy distance of their residence in Kashmir to come and stay, in residence, in hostels, in schools, in Delhi, grow up with the people from other parts of India and stand up tomorrow as people who say we have grown up together in the family of India, we will not let this family break. Wherever these poor people, wherever the meritorious students do not have money to pay for hostel fees, the Government of India has taken steps to ensure that they are provided scholarship. This is the way we will join hearts of people of India and not by saying that we should have used weapons, not by saying that we should have flushed out people earlier, which are operational decisions, as you know, in which even civilian Governments are incapable of taking the right or wrong decisions. Those decisions have to be left to the people in uniform; they have to be left to the people who know what is happening on the ground. It is very easy to say that you have a cordon at a kilometre and half away. But anyone who has served in the Army will know that you have a terrain, like the terrain around Charar-e-Sharief. You cannot show as to where the cordon will be effective. You have to take positions at vantage point in order to ensure that the cordon will be successful.

Sir, as far as the entire incident of the burning of the Shrine of Sheikh Nooruddin Wali is concerned. I am reminded of a famous adage 'hat came from, a namesake of Sheikh Noor-ud-din Wali, Sheikh Khurja Naseeruddin of Uzbekistan, whose books are now made very popular by an Indian Television series. Sheikh Khurja Naseeruddin has asked his family to design and to build a *mazhar* for him even during his life time and he has given the design of the *mazhar* to be specific. It was a massive mausoleum building; it has walls around it; it has no boundary wall, but a massive gate on which there was to be a massive lock. When people asked him why would you place a lock on the door that does not even have a boundary wall to support, he said that this lock is to indicate to all the honest people that they must not enter without permission. A thief will even climb the wall to enter mausoleum, but this lock is to remind the honest people.

What we did in Charar-e-Sharief was to remind the honest people that you have a compassionate Government; that you have a passionate Government;

that you have a Government that cares; that you have a Government that will go to the absolute brink to ensure that homes will not break. But you have a Government which will act when the time comes to act. We did it. This time we did not succeed. We did not succeed in saving the Shrine. But in not being able to save the Shrine, let us not cave in; let us not to proclaim that people who want to destroy India, have been successful.

What is reported of the debate in this House today will be reported across the globe. Let the world not say that Indian Parliamentarians have said that India's policy on Kashmir has failed. Let the world not say that Indian Parliamentarians believe that elections should not and must not be held in Kashmir. Let the world not say that even Indian Parliament and the representatives of the people of India do not believe that Kashmir can be brought back to the street or narrow path of democracy. The elections have to be held in Kashmir not as a solution, but as a panacea that would begin the solution. The elections have to be held in Kashmir not to say that everything will then be perfect, but to indicate that this is the beginning of normalcy. The elections are to be held in Kashmir because we do not want to be held accountable for the slightest wrong that is done by an ordinary policeman walking the streets of Srinagar. We want elected representatives of the people of Kashmir, we want the elected representatives sitting in the Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, taking oath under the Indian Constitution, to be answerable for anything that goes wrong. We want the representatives of the media, we want the world representatives to go and speak to the elected representatives and take answers from them and accountability from them as to why things have gone wrong, and not to come here, thousands of miles away, and ask us why things have gone wrong. If they are to ask us why things have gone wrong, I am afraid, that answer will have to be given by the entire Parliament, not just by us alone because it is the totality of atmosphere that we have created in the country and in Jammu and Kashmir, that is the basis for the present unrest in Jammu and Kashmir. It is that totality of atmosphere which has to be reversed before we can hope to bring normalcy to Jammu and Kashmir. The elections are to be a part of that attempt to reverse that totality of atmosphere and to introduce a sense of confidence and normalcy. Believe me, the hon. Members on the other side of the House would have known that dreaded terrorists who, in the past, have been held responsible even for murder of Servicemen in the Valley of Jammu and Kashmir, were released. You see their Statement, their reconciliatory Statements. They went out and they said things that were not necessarily palatable to this Government. But we were glad that now dissent was taking the path of democracy.

We want even to lose in Kashmir. If we lose Kashmir to honest Indians who stand up and say that we disagree

with the Government of India, but we do not disagree with the people of India, we want to give them a chance to express their dissent. We want to give them a chance to feel that they can contribute something to India. We want them to feel that they are part of India. We want them to feel that they are valued members of the Indian family.

Sir, while we are saying that we want the young people of Jammu and Kashmir to be valued members of the Indian family, we are accused of having no policy, we have no courage, we have no conviction, we have no vision and we have no desire to implement what we want to do. Why do not they see for a change the style or sound that we have to face with Pakistan? Why do not they give us this opportunity of an *Agni Pariksha*? The *Agni Pariksha* that has started in Charar-e-Sharief must end with elections in the Valley. We must go through this *Angi Pariksha*. What sense does it make when we are ready to face this *Angi Pariksha*, for anyone to stand up and say, 'Do not face this *Agni Pariksha*' when we want to destroy ourselves, what sense does it make for them to say, 'Do not destroy yourself'; when we want to kill ourselves for the nation, what sense does it make for them to say, 'Do not kill yourself for the nation'? We are prepared to make the highest sacrifice that this nation calls for today to keep this nation together. We have done it with sagacity. We have done it with sense, we have done it with analysis.

We know that the political infrastructure must be based on an economic infrastructure. The economic infrastructure will take a period of three to five years to get into place. The political infrastructure will provide the gravitational pull for the economic infrastructure to get into place. There will then be no charges that civil servants are purloining all the money or deciding where that money will be spent. Then questions will be asked and they will be asked of the representatives of Kashmir. They will be asked of MLAs and MLCs and they will be asked in the Assembly in Srinagar, in Jammu; they will be asked of an elected Government of Jammu and Kashmir and not of civil servants appointed from the Centre. If we want to give the people of Jammu and Kashmir a chance to decide and take their own decisions about their lives, why then are we being told that we have no policy? It is no policy; it is a commitment. It is a constitutional obligation on us which we want to fulfil. We want to stand up in the world.

Vajpayeeji was with me in Geneva and I stand and pay tribute to the great service that he did to this nation at Geneva. But I want to remind Atalji also of the eyes that are watching India, of the expectations of India not because any country wants to dictate how India should run itself, but because every country that has upheld India as a major model of working democracy today wants to see India at the forefront of the movement of democracy.

Every country wants India to participate at the forefront of the human rights today; every country wants India to lead Africa, Asia and Latin America. They want India to lead at the horizon of human rights and democracy. Why then should India make an exception; why should India say that we are weak; why should India say that we are unable to fulfil our obligation within our own country; why should we go to the United Nations year after year to answer Pakistan and not lead the democratic world into a brighter future in the 21st century? This is the question that we have to answer today and not the question of how many soldiers were deployed; what were the ranks of the soldiers who were deployed; what were the armaments given to them; when did they move in; whether they moved in firing shots or whether they moved in shouting slogans, only of 'Jai Hind'; whether they moved in the warn people or whether they moved in to let people escape across the border.

The negotiations with people who are militants, who are extremists and who are terrorists have to take place at a psychological level. What you say and what appears in the Press is not necessarily what we are doing within. And that is exactly how terrorists have to be handled. They are not hon. people; they are not hon. people as are the people across the floor of this House to whom you can speak openly with your hearts and with your minds. Those are people with whom you have to be careful; those are people whose every move, you have to counter. If they are deceitful, you have to watch their deceit; if they have a sleight of hand, you have to watch that sleight of hand; if they are ready to betray, you have to watch the betrayal. Those are people who have come here to destroy; those are people who have not come here to negotiate. But there are many, many young boys in the Valley, who are our boys, who have left us, who have gone away from Mother India, who are disenchanted, who are today frustrated, who are today confused. We have to reach out to them. The question is not 'why', but the question is when will we get them back; the question is how will we get them back. Today it is not for us to ask, why this has happened. Today, it is for us to ask when will they be back in the fold; today, it is for us to ask why Kashmir has reached where it has reached; today, it is for us to ask how will we get Kashmir back and when will we get the representatives of the people of Kashmir sitting in this House, speaking about Kashmir and not having to relegate it to all of us, who come from other parts of the country. We have problems enough in other parts of the country to be able to address. Forget about the problems of Kashmir, let their own representatives come and sit in this House with you. And then you ask them 'why', they will answer 'why'. We should not answer 'why'; let those answer, who are best qualified to answer. Today, let those govern, who are elected by the people of India to govern. Today, let India lead itself to prosperity and peace. Today, let not factions and factions divide India; let not egos divide India; let not personal discumfiture divide India. Let us

today just simply remember that one simple *shayar*, one simple poet, who felt for this country, who felt for such tragedies said. And let those be the words that ring in our hearts, in our minds and in our ears as we go to solve the problems of Kashmir.

Dil Na-umeed to nahin, nakamyab hi to hai,
Lambi hai gam ki sham, magar sham hi to hai.

MR. SPEAKER : Well, I think, let us sit for some time. I think, Chandra Shekharji wants to speak. And after that, we will break for lunch.

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will only take a few minutes to put forth my views before you. The Kashmir question was a vexed question for many years but for the last 5-7 years it took such a turn that I thought that we would sit together and do some serious deliberations on how can we pull the country out of this crisis. However, it seems from the way the debate is going on as if we have no knowledge, no perception of the crisis we are passing through today. The question is not who committed or who did not commit the mistake? Whosoever committed this mistake, it has become a national crisis today.

We gave this suggestion because we thought that the Government ought to be seized of the probable crisis. At occasions, I might have said that the Government should deal with the situation with an iron hand but I never said that we should wield arms and resort to firing unnecessarily. Yet, cannot we ask from the Government as to what was the need of deploying army there for three odd months if it was not to be used, if no bullet was to be fired?

While Atalji was delivering his speech here, many of our friends were saying and defining the jurisdiction, the limitations of the army and the difficulties likely to be faced in that particular terrain but it should be borne in mind that the army can do very little from a distance of one and a half kilometers. Why were army jawans deployed there and what was the need of sending them there if army had no role to play? What directions were given to the army jawans deployed there? This question will be posed to the Government not only by the country but the whole world. It has not only proved our failure but also put a question mark on the army's competence and efficiency, no matter if somebody raises this question today or not. The army also shall be on the horns of a dilemma. I have said it earlier also that the army jawans should not be unnecessarily deployed at some place and if at all deployed they should be used judiciously. Can I know from the Government whether it had any premonition of the ensuing turn of events two months earlier that some people were going to set that shrine ablaze? Why was, then, permission granted to all and sundry from around the world to visit the shrine after withdrawing army from there? The Government is allowing foreign media coverage in Kashmir. The

Government says that it will allow persons from any corner of the world to visit Kashmir. But at the same time why Islamic countries were not intimated that certain unscrupulous persons with their ulterior motives to demolish the shrine are staying there? Why did it keep mum for two months? Had the Government invited persons, media persons and ambassadors from various countries to see how foreigners were infiltrating into the border and attempting to create disturbances in the country, the image of the country abroad would have been different today. Did, it not strike the mind of the persons in the Government, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of External Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office the Prime Minister's advisors that if the use of army was impossible, the matter required to be treated in a very sensitive manner? Had we invited the representatives from Islamic countries to Kashmir, the Organisation of Islamic Conference would not have turned against our country.

Our hon. friend Shri Khursheed Alam made here a long Statement and claimed that we would lead in the UNO. If we can create such an atmosphere and the country has a leading role in the UNO, it will be a matter of great happiness for we all. But we are distracted to learn that even Maldives and Nepal are not standing by us in the SAARC. Therefore his loud rhetorics would leave no impact on us. The Government must clear its intentions and contemplate as to what action should be taken to meet the present situation. It also should think as to where we are going and in which direction we will lead the nation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it would be better if we had discussed the Kashmir issue in some other manner instead of bringing the Adjournment Motion. The manner the discussion is going on gives impression as if it is essential to make allegations and counter allegations. My predecessor here pointed out that the blunders committed during the 11 - 12 or 17 months has led to the disintegration of the country. I do not want to pass any comment on it. But it seems as if the country had attained the highest prosperity and there had been peace and harmony everywhere in the country earlier and the situation worsened just within 17 months and we should forget those mistakes for some days. But till when the Government will continue to attribute the present deteriorating condition to previous developments and justify its style of function?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question is as to what significant steps the Government is taking in Kashmir? It wants to hold elections there, and we are also not opposed to it. But I would like to know as to who will come forward to participate in the elections? Has the Government ever thought over it? One of the speakers here stated that we should not mind even if we lose Kashmir in the process of experimenting democracy.

But it should be noted that we will lose not only Kashmir....(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir it is claimed that since there is no other party of the B.J.P. in Kashmir, in that case if you do not vote the Congress Party to power, there that will mean handing over Kashmir to secessionists who want to disintegrate it from India?

While speaking in his capacity as an hon. Minister, he must have his clear outlook. To whose hands does the Government wish to hand over Kashmir? I do not want to make it a point of debate, but the world would ask the hon. Minister making such statement in Parliament as to whom does we propose to hand over Kashmir. Does he want to hand it over to those who want secession from India?

I told my hon. friends in the Government that to held elections there is a welcome idea. But I fail to understand why elections are announced to hold there in advance? If the Government is at all interested to hold elections there, first it should do its spadework. Thereafter it should consult the Election Commission and fix a particular date for the election. But when the Election Commission makes announcement of holding election there, the foreigners claim that

[English]

Election is also an alternative to referendum.

[Translation]

Some pressmen and also some persons in the Government say that the policy of the Government is succeeding. Some foreign countries are also supporting it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as a common man sometimes I am afraid whether none would turn up to cast his vote there or any secessionist elements are elected there. Would it not become another referendum? In such a situation what explanation would we provide to the world? Does it mean that we are traitors or antidemocratic and is it the reason that we are supporting Pakistan? Mr. Speaker, Sir, don't we have right to state it? What is the Government doing in Kashmir? Can it protect the sovereignty and unity of the Government? Had we asked the Government to provide separate regions for the Buddhists and the Muslims in Ladakh? In the name of providing autonomy the Government bifurcated it. Hon. Shri Advani, I want to ask you also whether it is essential to provide autonomy to some parts of Jammu by launching Liberation Movement in Jammu? Today those seeking separation from the State are bolstered individually in various circles of Kashmir. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am distressed to state that it is known best to the Government itself as to why it is extending its support to them. Perhaps it is under the impression that by doing so it would be able to win the voters to its side.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must keep one thing in mind that if we lose Kashmir we would lose not only a territory but also the unity, secularism and the tenets of the country on which basis India fought the freedom struggle. These were the tenets on which basis Gandhiji stated that we could become poor yet we are able to lead the world spiritually.

Today we have hurdles, predicaments and we are gradually losing our power to lead the world spiritually because we are dividing ourselves in smaller bits. You know my opinion on the Article 370 and other issues. I do not support them. Atalji, I admit that the movement should be suspended for a short time. But nobody is ready to do it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, therefore, I am very anguished.

The present development there is very serious. It is the Government and not we who ever suggested firing there. Had we consulted in this regard we would have suggested to withdraw the army and invite ambassadors of all the countries there. We would have suggested to withdraw the army and invite ambassadors of all the countries there. We would have suggested to ask the Islamic countries to examine as to what was happening there. This could have compelled the Militants to leave the site and we would have raised our head before the world with pride. But the Government does not bother to consult us, and it is under the impression that whatever it thinks is the last word of history. The ruling party has been running the country for last 50 years on the basis of this very 'last word' but everything went wrong in 17 or 18 months. Something went wrong during the regime of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and something during my regime. It seems as if there was the Ramrajya before it and lord Rama is again going to rule the nation.

The Government must note as to why every constituent of the country is seceding one by one. Shri Syed must inform us about the developments in his regard. It is a small state. Shri George Fernandes had raised an issue just now that the names of some persons are being excluded from the voter list. I do not know whether he is aware of the fact or not. But everywhere there is the same unrest, and discontentment. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the Government is at all determined to hold elections there, it must make all necessary preparation so that it may not meet an embarrassing situation that no voter turns up there to cast his vote. Otherwise, it will be a matter of great ignominy on international forum ... (Interruptions)

SH. UMRAO SINGH : Shri Chandra Shekhar, you committed the same mistake in Punjab when terrorists demanded referendum on Khalistan. Why did not you halt election that time? Did you forget it?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : No, I did not forget it. I did not suspend the elections there I never thought it improper. That was a different thing. It is different matter as to what happened in Punjab at that time and how correct the policies on Punjab were adopted and how many mistakes were committed by me. My predecessor mentioned this issue in his speech. But today the Government is put into an embarrassing situation. It had its high ambition that time and still it is nourishing the same. But I warn the Government against committing

mistakes. It should get alert before it is too late. The annals of last 10 years indicate that the Congress confessed its mistakes after four months of committing the same. But those mistakes were minor ones. But if it commits any mistakes presently, it will thwart the identity and the unity of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, even today I would like to point out that if possible an incontrovertible solution to the Kashmir problem should be evolved so that the entire nation is brought to unanimity that we can overcome these crisis. We are ordinary persons. We do not have the power that the Congressmen have. The leaders from the opposition party may be criminals but such elements are very much present in the Parliament.

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV : What suggestion do you wish to give therefor?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : I am talking about two things. First I want to submit that elections should not be held in a haste. Before holding election the Government must ensure itself whether people are ready to participate in elections. I would not like to mince my words that those persons should not be allowed to participate in electoral process who want to secede Kashmir from India. I tell it very frankly.

Secondly I would like to suggest that army should not be pressed into service without proper deliberation and just to display the might of the Government. Thirdly I would like to suggest that we all should sink all our differences on Kashmir issue and make our efforts to resolve it. This initiative will have to be taken by the Government and not by the opposition because its onus is on the former. The Government did not do it and therefore, we have come across the present situation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe that the Government will think over it with cool mind and display its sagacity to resolve the problem. History is a very strict judge. I am afraid that it announces its judgement in 10 days that the onus of the disintegration of the country rests on the Government itself. I, therefore, very politely warn the Government, not as a criticism but as a suggestion.

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to meet again at 3.00 p.m.

13.58 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fifteen of the Clock.

15.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Three minutes past Fifteen of the Clock.

(MR. SPEAKER in the Chair)

SITUATION ARISING OUT OF BURNING DOWN OF CHARAR-E-SHARIEF IN KASHMIR

[English]

SHRI P.C. CHACKO (Trichur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I would like to express by deep shock and sorrow over the destruction of the Charar-e-Sharief. Today, the whole country feels so much desperate and disgusted at the dastardly attack of the mercenaries on a very famous shrine of this country which has, for the last many centuries, been the symbol of real secularism; or in other words, was the essence of *Kashmiriyat*. That shrine is no more today.

Sir, today in this House we have witnessed a very rare situation. Those people who, almost on a similar situation in the past did not even express their regret when a very famous shrine was pulled down, are at easy showing their sympathy and their feelings on this issue. It is good that at least sometimes, some Parties take a right step on such matters.

Sir, this is an occasion for all the political parties in this country to ponder over as to what is happening and what united action and step could be taken by all Parties, irrespective of their Political differences.

This House has got an opportunity to deliberate on an issue which is before the whole nation before the calamity happened. It is a sad fact that even though it was very much in the knowledge of this House and the Government, we could not save this shrine. The Opposition parties can rightly blame the Government for not being able to save this shrine. I am not prepared to brush aside this allegation at the first instance. I would like to go a little deeper into this allegation. I would also like to request all the Members to sincerely approach this issue and find out whether there is truth in this allegation. They should find out whether it is really the failure of the Government which has led to the destruction of such a reputed shrine which was a symbol of secularism as not only Muslims but people belonging to other religions also used to offer prayers there. If it is due to the indifference or failure on the part of the Government, it really is a serious matter.

Our past experience tells us that a situation like this should be dealt with utmost care and planning. Today the Government of India is being criticised for its action in this regard. But we find that the mover of the Adjournment Motion, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who is the best Parliamentarian and the most effective speaker, could not put forth his argument forcibly. I am not making any insinuation but I feel that this shows that the Government alone cannot be blamed for what has happened to Charar-e-Sharief.

The situation that is prevailing in Kashmir is known to everybody. The Government of India is trying to solve this complicated problem with a definite and concrete plan. That plan is to be accepted by all the political

parties. Shri Somnath Chatterjee has said that all the political parties were not taken into confidence. I request the Government to take all the political parties into confidence and discuss such matters with them in detail. This issue was debated in the House on several occasions and every time the Government came forward with its suggestions openly. The political differences never stand in its way to come to the right conclusions. Today I feel very much distressed to hear from seasoned politicians like Shri Somnath Chatterjee and Shri Chandra Shekhar that in the background of what has happened in Charar-e-Sharief the proposal for elections in Kashmir should be postponed. This probably would be the greatest mistake which we may be committing if we accept this proposal at the present moment.

I recall, Sir, more or less a similar situation was prevailing in Punjab which was also highlighted by Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar. An allegation was made in this very House by the very same Members that less than 20-30 per cent of the voters would be able to participate in the elections. We were criticised for the way in which the elections were conducted in Punjab. I feel the democratic process can start only in this way. We all know the situation which is prevailing now in Punjab. There are by-elections in Punjab. We are getting the newspaper reports that various Opposition parties are contesting against the Congress Party and they claim that they will win the elections. Today, various Opposition parties, especially the Akali Dal, are taking part in elections. They are certain that there will be free and fair elections and they also claim to win the elections. It is all because of the determination of the Government which held elections in Punjab despite the threat of the extremists.

Sir, even after the occurrence of this unfortunate incident the Prime Minister has deliberately made a declaration that we are not going to go back from our decision of holding elections in Kashmir. In the background of this unfortunate incident, a suggestion is being made in this House by very respectable, honourable and experienced Members that we should postpone the election. There may be complaints in respect electoral rolls. There are avenues and opportunities to rectify the mistakes if there are any anomalies and discrepancies in the electoral rolls it can be corrected and this can only be done when holding elections.

Sir, the world opinion on Kashmir has been changing. We have been watching that a few countries in the world who were lenient to Pakistan have stopped being so. They have watched India functioning neutrally and democratically. That kind of situation is helping us. Probably, we have to make use of that situation and decide to go on with election in Kashmir. Probably, just before the Charar-e-Sharief incident the atmosphere was becoming so conducive that the Government was hopeful and was going ahead with determination for holding election in Kashmir. Steps were being taken.

All political parties were taken into confidence including those political parties who were supporting the enemy from across the Border. Many Opposition Members also had discussions with some of the members connected with the Hurriyat who came to Delhi. The new leadership which has come in up the valley had discussions with some of the Opposition parties of this House.

Sir, the Government did not keep quiet. The Government held discussions. The Government had initiated deliberate discussion with the political parties. Not only those political parties which were supporting the Government's view but those which were opposing the Government's view also were taken into confidence. The new leadership which has developed in Kashmir was also consulted. We should not lose sight of the facts in Kashmir. The people who have so far been supporting those coming from across the Border have lost hope in them. Those who were totally dependent on the aliens started realising that their promises no more hold good for them and the independence of Kashmir or the Kashmir becoming a part of Pakistan is no more going to be a reality. Having realised this, they began thinking that election process probably is the only thing which is the solution for Kashmir issue. Conducting free and fair polls as far as possible is probably the only solution to the Kashmir issue.

In creating the situation, Sir, this Government did not keep quiet. On many occasions this issue has been discussed in this House. Mr. Rajesh Pilot, the Minister who was in charge of the Kashmir issue till recently, on a number of occasions, visited Kashmir and started political initiative there. Before all kinds of force, before all kinds of challenges, before all kinds of difficulties caused by the extremists with their foreign supporters, the Ministers of Government of India were going to Kashmir and they were initiating a political process.

Now, the Home Minister and the Finance Minister, on the advice of the Prime Minister visited Kashmir and had an aerial survey of the Charar-e-Sharief. Shri Somnath Chatterjee's allegation was that they could only make an aerial survey. Sir, I am surprised that some Members are making this kind of allegations. Everyone knows that Parliament is meeting today and we are going to discuss the issue. It was the duty of the Home Minister and the senior member of the Government to go to Kashmir to have first hand information and come back to report to this House.

Sir, another notice was given by Shri George Fernandes for this Adjournment Motion. We cannot forget what happened in the past when Shri George Fernandes was the Minister-in-Charge of Kashmir in the previous non-Congress Government. I still remember that a Vice-Chancellor was butchered. One of the most dignified personalities in Kashmir lost his life. Shri George Fernandes may recall that his plane could not land in Kashmir. He kept flying around in the sky. We remember what happened during those days.

But, they take objection to Shri Chavan and Shri Manmohan Singh not making *padayatra* there. How can they make *padayatra* when mines are being planted near Charar-e-Sharief by the extremists? If they say that is the mistake of the Government, then we are prepared to admit that mistake. Kashmir is such a place, where danger is lurking in every inch of land. There, we are prepared to risk our life. This Government is prepared to take any risk. I would like to say that the Opposition Parties in this House are duty bound to support this Government not only on this issue but also on such other issues. Let them use some other opportunity to pull down this Government and not now. I would like to mention here that the hon. Leader of the Opposition, Shri Vajpayee and his Party had tried on all previous occasions to pull down the Government, but, Sir, today, he, with his folded hands, requested the Prime Minister to resign. Of course, it is a good strategy to request the Prime Minister, with folded hands, to resign. Probably they are looking only at the Chair, of the PM. But this is not the way to deal with the political issue and that too an issue which is so sensitive as the Kashmir issue. Shri Chandra Shekhar has said that probably we are not taking the issue with that seriousness which we are expected to take. Particularly this dastardly act of destruction of this Shrine was committed with a definite intention of postponing the elections in Kashmir.

Sir, I condemn this action and express my sympathies to the people of Kashmir. Sir, the Prime Minister had already declared that Rs. 15 crore will be provided for rebuilding the houses and the Shrine which Noorani Wali have been destroyed. In addition to this Shrine in the name of Nooruddin about one thousand houses had been gutted in this small town. So, it is the bounden duty of every Indian to re-build the Shrine which is the symbol of love and sacrifice. The offers which had been made by the Government are being treated very lightly by the Opposition Parties. I can understand any other differences. I can understand their pointing an accusing finger at the Government on the economic policy or any other issue but not on this issue.

With deep anguish and sorrow, I condemn this dastardly act. Although I appreciate the spirit behind bringing forward this Resolution, I would like to tell Shri Somnath Chatterjee who brought forward this Resolution that this is not an issue on which he should try to grill this Government. This is not an issue on which he should blame the Government. Irrespective of your differences - the whole world is watching the Indian Parliament from outside — to see that, we are standing together and we should take a position which will defeat Pakistan's machinations. Such a message should go from the Parliament of India to the people of the world.

With these few words, I oppose this Resolution.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission this question was raised in the House on the 10th of this month and we had been permitted by you to raise it first. Charar-e-Sharief was gutted down at 2.30 on the 10th.

I listened to all the speeches delivered today by the Members of the Treasury benches. A tradition of sorts had developed for the last four years to first commit a mistake and thereafter have a detailed discussion aimed at finding out the factors leading to that mistake and then continue with it going the round about way. If mistake is committed once, twice or even thrice, that can be understood but our no step has led us towards any kind of success in case of Kashmir. Terrorists or those external forces which do not want India to progress are chalking out an agenda and the kind of agenda or policy being chalked out by us are such that later we try to wriggle out of it. In other words, we are not formulating any agenda ourselves, the people of India have no say in it. This agenda is being chalked out by those external forces which want to create troubles in our country. The Hazratbal incident or whatever happened in Amritsar should not have taken place. This country thrives on religion, that is our country is the only country in the world where religion has such deep roots. I think barring 1-2 gods all other gods were born in our country only. There are innumerable graves of great men in our country. The number of gods in our country is 33 crores. Our population is of 70 crore people that means there is one god for every two persons.

Shri Chandra Shekhar rightly said just now that we can lead the world only in one field. I have never studied spirituality seriously but it must have been linked with God then in this way maybe we can lead. So far as the Hazratbal incident is concerned, we are aware that the extremists of this country have only acted this way. The people of this country have great faith in God and graves of their holy men. They are so obsessed with these things that they strongly believe that they get everything including their children from God. No other place attracts such crowds elsewhere in the world as do these places in our country. These days such places are drawing more crowds than even petrol pumps. This country is the most aberrated country in the world. I do not understand as to where is God. I do not dwell deep into this malaise but I would like to say that the biggest of all our social malaises is the blind faith of our people in all the temples and mosques.

Sir, the extremists create trouble in our country. People belonging to North-Eastern areas are though, extremists but I must congratulate them for not having over-indulgence in gods or idol-worshipping, etc. These people seem good to me to some extent otherwise people in all other parts of our country are having very bad tendencies. I am including myself. We can make use of anything. I mean to say that whatever took place

in Charar-e-Sharief amounts to treason. Now, we have all seen what happened in the case of golden temple, how people got embroiled there. The soldiers deserted army. Such was their faith. In other words, if you want to run the country, it must be done according to the sentiments and whims of the people. These are the people whom you have to improve. People take refuge in these shrines.

Sir, what steps have been taken by the Government in the aftermath of the Hazratbal incident to ensure that extremists do not take refuge in Charar-e-Sharief. We are not aware but people of that area are telling that it was difficult to tell as to who were in larger number—Hindus or Muslims? The hon. Member has just said a very interesting thing that only the Gods are Hindu or Muslim in this country. Atalji just mentioned that like it is not known to which community the Saint of Charar-e-Sharief belonged to - Hindu or a Muslim, as is the case with Kabirji. In this country a human does not take birth, a Hindu, or a Muslim or some other belonging to some other caste takes birth. Here in Parliament we keep shouting that casteism should be done away with. We are unique people and this present discussion is also unique. That is why I want to say that Hindus and Muslims had equal reverence and faith for Charar-e-Sharief. Why did they not pay any attention to Charar-e-Sharief earlier. They detailed military only later why was it not done earlier? Shri Chandra Shekharji said something useful as to why some transparency was not allowed. Shri Chandra Shekharji does not remember one thing that the world media had reached Srinagar on the 18th but they were stopped-till 21st, they were not allowed to enter. When we knew that Charar-e-Sharief was surrounded by military, and militants were holed up inside and in the event of a military attack the wooden grave would be burnt and would turn in pieces by rifles, then the only sensible thing was to allow them to enter. Those people went there but they were not allowed to enter.

Sir, the statements made on behalf of the Government, including one from our External Affairs Minister, Shri Salman Khursheed reminded me of my college life when we used to have debates in college and we would be required to give synonymous words of a given word, e.g., for the word love, words like affection, passion, etc. would be given and the person who came out with maximum number of words would receive the first prize. His speech gave me a *deja vu* feeling. The same thing was repeated that elections would be held and it would usher in democracy. Hey, somebody is asking you about religion. When our Prime Minister visits the US he does not find a mention on the front page of news-papers. I do not mean to say that if a Member of our party becomes the Prime Minister he will get a warm welcome in the US but nobody gives it a serious thought. It happens because we have made our country weak, poor and helpless. It will not do by singing national song and the song of democracy will

not strengthen our country, the democracy will not strengthen, it will continue to be barren. By 'barren' I mean by a country which does not generate employment, does not think about the poor, is indifferent towards farmers. If a country does not do any work then such a democracy will be called barren only. You want to hold elections in Kashmir to usher in democracy and we listened to the speeches of both the brothers in this regard and Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar ji also spoke just now. He is a very unpredictable person. He can insult anybody any time. He likes to insult people. Sir, we have been contesting elections since our university days. We really used to do funny things in those days but the times have changed. But the speech of Shri Aiyar reminded us of our old days. If we had met in those times then he would not have got other people to create trouble. He says anything to anybody. It is not a good thing. He also said that the elections should be held. When Charar-e-Sharief was burned down, in respect of which we are having discussion on the Adjournment Motion moved, Masjid was also pulled down in Ayodhya. The whole country is on the verge of ruination, petrol is not available.

Diesel is also not available, there is unemployment and factories are lying closed. Now a days the places of worship are also being destroyed. Therefore, the issue of Charar-e-Sharief has been raised here. How the elections will be held there when Shri Pilot could not save the Charar-e-Sharief! When I listened to his speech and for the first time I felt that no one else can be more gossipy than him in this world. He was making big claims that Pakistan will be set right. It will be given a befitting reply... (*Interruptions*) Now you both can reply to each other.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEPARTMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY) (SHRIMATI KRISHNA SAHI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, gossipy is not a parliamentary term.

MR. SPEAKER : This will be excluded from the proceedings if it is an unparliamentary term.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will withdraw the word 'gossipy' if Shri Pilot has any objection to it. Though it is not an unparliamentary term.

MR. SPEAKER : I have not heard clearly what he said.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : What I have said is a meaningless term.

MR. SPEAKER : This is my ruling that it is not an unparliamentary term.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I have said this because I consider Shri Pilot a brave man. He works hard to extract results. But he also convened a meeting involving the same officials who were responsible to spoil the

matter. Even after that he warned that Pakistan will be set right, no disturbance, do not move ahead of it. You have burnt Charar-e-Sharief but no other disturbance will be tolerated. It is alright that you entered Hazratbal but do not move further. Newspapers have published the news items that Mastgul has left Charar-e-Sharief and gone to Gopia town and now he is preparing to enter the sacred shrine 'Asare Sharief' in nearby Tizara village. What will happen if he enters there. Our military will sit outside that shrine. Mr. Speaker, Sir, now in this incident of 'Asare Sharief' if we have nay bravery we can call our neighbours to show that how this person is troubling us and why he is chasing us. Mastgul is a determined and tough man. He kept on running even after he was shot. He is a tough man and it will be difficult if he escapes. He has been fighting for the last seven-eight years. He is a foreigner and we could not overpower him. Our records show that we do not know how to fight and if I would say anything in this regard, all the members will stand to interrupt me and I will have to conclude my speech. I agree with the views expressed by Chandra Shekhar ji and you should do that if you want to control the situation. All the authorities viz. Military, BSF and General Krishna Rao have diffierent modus-operandi. They work on different line of action. You should have deputed a brave political person like Dwarka Prasad Mishra or Shri Govind Narayan Singh. There are several brave persons who can solve this problem but they are unemployed, sitting idle and leading a poor life in U.P. and Bihar. Such people could have solved this problem efficiently. Mani Shankar Aiyarji is an articulate in his opinion and say something good and useful...(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This is not going on record.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI KRISHNA SAHI : You keep on speaking whatever you like. Every time you use unparliamentary language.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Sister, I accepted what you have said. I am afraid of you. Please sit down.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no, this will not go on record.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I withdraw my word if it is unparliamentary. Mr. Speapker, Sir, I would like to say that the Prime Minister was wholly responsible whether it is a matter of Kashmir, Ayodhya or any other matter. Now I would not like to go deep into the controversy that how it happened but that further deteriorated the situation. Now he is dealing with the Kashmir issue. His hands are really efficient and today condition is that any object touched by his hands that becomes a stone.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : Bofors issue is also in his hands.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : No one is going to touch that issue because several other bigger scandals have taken place after that. We are raising the Bofors issue tomorrow. We are not going to leave this issue. But several other persons have left this issue because if a hue and cry is made against one issue today, next day another big and sensitive scandal comes before the people and earlier issue is left behind. Thus people are tired of selecting the scandals to be debated.

People from ruling party have suggested elections as solution for this situation. I would like to make 3-4 points on it. People like us are also in favour of elections. My party has given a suggestion that elections should be held if the situation there is normal. I am of the firm opinion that elections are the only remedy to set the things rights anywhere in India. If elections are held in a village where only one Panchayat is functioning, that Panchayat will be divided into ten because there are thousands of castes whether a person is Hindu or Muslim it is difficult to get rid of casteism. I would like to know as to what efforts have been made to create a cordial atmosphere for holding elections. Today he has focused his attention on the statement made by the Home Secretary and read it here. It is wonderful. Has he not found any other person or whether his statement will serve the purpose? Whether you have taken any political measures in this regard? He was asking that how many people among us have visited the area. My leg was broken but even then we had gone there and stayed for five days. One of my friends who studied with me in Engineering College was also there. While speaking to a waiter we came to know that around 30 thousands girls have been sent outside. Extremists are involved in this work. Alongwith extremist activities they also earn money by doing this work. For this reason, people are sending their daughters outside the State for studying. They told us that they were the people who were leading this movement but now the situation has taken such a turn that the person working as a cook in the family ask the head of the family to marry their daughter to him. Therefore the people have sent their daughters outside the State for study. As per the estimates I would like to say that 30 to 40 thousand Hindu families and around two and half thousand Muslim families have migrated from Kashmir. Whether you have made any arrangements that how those people would be able to cast their votes at the time of elections in the State. I have heard that Shri T.N. Sheshan has met the Prime Minister yesterday. They may be serious on the issue of elections. I would like to ask from the Government as to what efforts it has made to bring back those Kashmir people to their homes who have migrated, if at all the Government wants to complete the political process for the elections.

Weaving is the main occupation in Kashmir. There is not hotel in any city of the country which does not have Kashmir emporium. You can gather all those people, who are relatives of the migrated people. You

can talk to them and can start political process for holding the elections. I have discussed this issue with the Minister of Home Affairs for half an hour that Kashmiri people living in other parts of the country should be involved in this process but no attention has been paid to it.

Shri Salman Khurshid is saying that we have to show to the world that there is democracy in our country and we are the largest democratic country. I will be happy if he could show. I will consider him as great person when all the Kashmiri people will take part in the elections. Suppose elections are held there and only five votes are cast and some dangerous situation is created as has been said by Shri Chandra Shekharji and myself. So it is essential to improve the law and order situation there first. We are not avoiding elections but leaders from my party have asked to provide some package for Kashmir. We all are demanding autonomy. You should discuss it with people as to what package you are going to offer for Kashmiris? Mr. Speaker, Sir, our country has been sick for centuries, we can solve this problem with determination, patience and wisdom as we are not much powerful. We are weak and even then we challenge others and that is the reason for our betrayal, Kashmir is an example of it. China is adjoining to it which has annexed the whole Tibet but no country is ready to raise this issue. Though everyone discuss this issue but no one dares to say anything against China because it is powerful and thus the issue is under discussion. We are weak, so we should solve our problems cleverly. Our whole Cabinet dance and sing to their tunes when any US Secretary of State visit our country because we are not much powerful...

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Sharadji, do you remember that during the rule of your party one ambassador had gone out of way to clean the shoes of visiting foreign dignitary.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are not listening to me carefully. In this context I have said that we would have been in the same position if we were dealing with this problem. I am accepting it and telling fairly because I also had been in the Government. We know about the reality and plight of the Government. There will be no change and the situation will be same whosoever is the ruling party. But if we were in power, we will use our ability and wisdom to solve this problem. We also think for welfare of the poor.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Do you feel that we are so weak as has been told by you?

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I am not saying that you are strong. You should be more powerful but powerful person is not allowed to stay for long. You are strong but not other. I am not saying it only about you but say it for all. I would like to say that Charar-e-Sharief was burnt due to their idleness even after the incident of Hazratnabi. Now Mastgud will enter some another Asare Sharief and after 15 days you will say that it has also been burnt but it should not be so. You should make

arrangements to protect other shrines, which are centre of people's faith. Military should be deployed around those and people entering there should be searched. When you can put metal detector in Kashi then what is wrong in using it in Kashmir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you wish to hold elections in Kashmir but why the people of Kashmir protested against you even after the incident of Charar-e-Sharief. You have faith in them and not in us. I would like to make a suggestion that reservation quota should be fixed for Kashmiri youth in medical and engineering colleges to inculcate faith and confidence among them. When those people will come here to study and know the reality and tell it there to other people which is essential for the integrity of the country. It is alright that you wish to hold elections in Kashmir. I have warned you about the obstacles that could post a problem during the elections. Today you are ruling the country and you can bring a good name or bad name for your Government. I have said what I felt. Earlier both these issues were with the Prime Minister. Pilotji was not holding the charge of this Ministry. For the first time you have become active on Kashmir issue. You have evicted terrorists only after the incident of burning of Charar-e-Sharief. Chavanji visited the place for the first time. Hon. Prime Minister is also looking into the matter. Now he should care for the country. He had ruled the country efficiently for last four-five years. Now what is the problem if another person is given a chance to rule, so that the future Government will have a fear that he has to leave the chair if any Charar-e-Sharief is burnt. The person who is accountable for such incidents should leave the chair himself otherwise the public will remove him during elections. I would like to say that Kashmir problem could be solved and elections could be held there if the Government works with the cooperation and consensus of other political parties. The only punishment for Charar-e-Sharief is that you should go there and select some other person to deal with this sensitive issue so that no Charar-e-Sharief could be burnt in future. With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI ARJUN SINGH (Satna) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity ... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Please speak in Hindi.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : It is not the last chance.

[English]

Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words. I have no intention to match rhetoric with rhetoric or polemics with polemics because I feel it is a very sterile effort. The situation that has emerged after this unfortunate event is far too grave for an exercise of this kind. I do not have to remind this hon.

House that Kashmir was the place where all the basic tenets, precepts and postulates, which the great leaders of this country and the people who followed them during the freedom struggle, evolved, and it is this soil where it was put to a final test, even as the tragedy of the partition of India was unfolded. Therefore, in my humble opinion, it is not merely a question of failure of an administrative set up, nor of the political entities, we have to look at this matter in the background of what India went out to become, where we have come and where we have to go. If we do not have this wide canvas, then we might get caught in the passions of the moment and the prejudices of the moment and try to raise fingers against each other. I was really saddened when some senior leaders of this House had to stand up and request your intervention to bring the debate to a certain level.

That necessity should not have arisen. What are we facing in Jammu and Kashmir? it is not only the fragility of a shrine which has been reduced to ashes. I would like to say in anguish and humility that what we are facing not only in Kashmir but in the entire country is the fragility of our beliefs, commitments and faith in the basic tenets of this Republic. If that is fragile, we cannot impart an artificial strength to any part of the country. This is what has happened. That moral fibre which enables us to stand up and face the mightiest of adversaries — as we have done in the past — that courage of conviction which gives us the imagination which gives us the capacity to take initiative to resolve matters of conflict under very trying circumstances are, in my humble opinion, now lacking. And unless we have that, whether it is an Ayodhya or whether it is Charar-e-Sharief or whether, as my dear friend Shri Yadav has said, it is some other place tomorrow, we shall only be counting the sad demolition of the places of worship where faith is reposed by ordinary people of all religions in the country.

I know some people would say that what I am saying hardly has any relevance to the situation which this House is discussing today and I say this also because it was very evident that accountability which is the keystone of any democratic institution has now acquired a very sullied condition. I do not want to invoke that. What I do want to point out, with your permission, is that we have not given thought and have not attempted to comprehend in totality what is at stake in Kashmir. The sporadic initiatives which come now and then because something is happening or because something is forced on us do not in themselves constitute a Kashmir policy.

I would like to inform this House of a very embarrassing moment I faced in Jammu a few years ago. When an all-party delegation met me, and after discussions on the subjects which were under my charge at that time, naturally they asked me : 'What is the policy of the Government of India on Kashmir?' It is the matter of record because it appeared in the press even

then. I said : 'I cannot, as of now, answer this question in all sincerity'. Coming back from there, we made an effort that the Cabinet system of Government which evolves strategies and stratagems and takes decisions must have a comprehensive discussion on the problems of Kashmir and we should all be involved in evolving a policy on Kashmir. I am not letting out a Cabinet secret because nothing was discussed, at least to the best of my recollection. There was never any comprehensive discussion on Kashmir in the Cabinet and no policy framework emerged out of such a discussion till I was a member of the Cabinet.

Sir, I am not complaining, because against whom can I complain? And to complain is not the essence of what we are facing today. We cannot have a piecemeal approach to a problem of this dimension.

I agree with Mr. Aiyar that after all, we have, first, to devise the contours of the crisis, then devise the strategy that we have to evolve and then see how that strategy is to be implemented. If the contours are not yet clear, the strategy is bound to be halting or half-way; how it will be implemented is now being witnessed day in and day out in the events that are following in such quick succession in that tormented piece of our country.

Sir, he was waxing eloquent and pointing a finger at a former Head of State over there. I do not want to go into personal factors. Every person who occupies an office, must presume that he tries to do his best according to his own perceptions. He may go wrong, his decisions may be wrong, he may commit mistakes, but there are certain basic parameters which a democratic system has laid down for itself which we should not ignore, because that can lead to certain incongruities which could cause problems and which will then become difficult to address.

Sir, we have a very distinguished soldier of this country as the Head of State in Jammu and Kashmir. He is a man of great honour, ability and his services to the Motherland, I am sure, are second to none. But he is heading a civil administration and that civil administration is controlling, to some extent, the operations of the Army in that State of least guiding them, if not totally controlling them. Certain psychological factors have emerged which should be taken note of, without creating an impression that somebody is right and somebody is wrong. We have very defined parameters in this regard. I am not against any former General or Officer of the Army assuming office. That is all right. But in such troubled places where decisions are of such great import every day, the delicacy of relationship between a former General and an officiating General, working General has created problems and that must be taken note of. I am not apportioning blame either on this one or that one.

The second thing, Sir, is about how do bring about a sense of normalcy there so that we could have elections. Every single person sitting here in this august

House has entered the portals of this House only through the mandate of the people. There cannot be any doubt that each one of us is not only beholden, but is the end result of a democratic exercise. How can anyone here say that there should not be any democratic option open in Jammu and Kashmir? But the question is very simple. A democratic option, Sir, is exercised under two very overriding situations. Firstly, there should be peace and tranquility. Secondly, there should be an unfettered opportunity to exercise one's right to vote. If the Government is satisfied that these pre-conditions exist there, not only to their satisfaction, but to the satisfaction of the entire country all sections of the political framework, certainly they can go ahead with the elections. But we should not try to have an election only because we have a strategy to perform. This country, Sir, is too vast; its problems are too complex to lend themselves to any kind of simple manipulation.

16.00 hrs.

This has to be borne in mind. Only then a decision to hold the election can be taken. A lot of comments were made but as I have already said at the beginning, I have no intention of involving myself. I do believe and I concede that we are not prepared to ask why the people of Kashmir have gone away from us. If we cannot ask this question, I do not think we can equip ourselves properly and then involve ourselves honestly and sincerely to find an answer to the satisfaction of the alienated and if the satisfaction of the alienated is not an objective, then I believe, it means that we would like the situation to go on as it is and somehow correct itself and enable us to claim credit for it. Such miracles are dreamt of but the world has not seen any such miracle happening in practice. In a country which is run democratically, decisions have to be taken under very difficult circumstances. In places where we have perhaps the whole framework of decision making in a shambles because of terrorism, militancy, fundamentalism and yet those decisions have to be taken. In all humility, though I am not making any comparison, there was a situation in Punjab where we were faced with practically the same question, the same scenario, the same option but two things were very clearly available. One, the line of command was clear and unambiguous - the decision to be taken at what level and by whom. There was no ambiguity and the time framework within which such decision have to be taken was not inconsistent with the requirements of the moment. If a decision has to be taken in the time span of two hours, it cannot be taken fruitfully in the time span of two weeks. A similar situation arose where just on the day when nominations to the Assembly elections were to be started, Sant Longowal was assassinated. The terrorists there wanted to see that the electoral democratic process is vitiated, thwarted or abandoned because all these people cannot withstand the force of the will of the people which can only be demonstrated by democratic elections. Many hon. Members who are sitting here

were present in this House that day when the then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, while taking counsel from everyone decided that in spite of what had happened, the election would go and he made a statement in this House. One sentence of which still rings in my ears - 'whether we win or lose, democracy will win' and democracy won because even in the shadow of such a dastardly assassination, not a single life was lost, not a single act of violence took place and the elections in Punjab may not have suited one political party or the other but at least the people of Punjab were satisfied that they have been given an opportunity to exercise their democratic right and work according to their own conviction. Is this thing possible in Jammu and Kashmir today? Let us in all honesty ask ourselves, if it is possible and I am sure, the responsibility is that of the Government. They will satisfy first themselves, then they will satisfy this House and then they will satisfy the country.

But the dangers that lurk ahead which have been very pointedly brought to the notice of this House by Shri Chandra Shekharji are not figments of imagination.

So far as relations with Pakistan which are inextricably linked with the situation of Jammu and Kashmir are concerned, I am not equipped to say much on it. There were two things which must be borne in mind. Pakistan has not been able to overcome the trauma which they are not themselves able to define. Which is the trauma that still grips their mind? Is it the defeat of the two-nation theory in India even though Pakistan was born? Or is it the fact that a vast majority of the minority community accepted in good faith and with open conviction the fact that India is a land of peace, is a secular place where their rights and their future are safe? Or is it the trauma that is born out of the three unsuccessful aggressions they have launched on this country? The Government of Pakistan have not been able to get out of it. But that is not so, so far as the broad mass of the people of Pakistan are concerned. It is time that we made conscious and genuine attempt to build bridges with the people of Pakistan. I know there are a lot of hurdles on the way. Even simple things like trade, cultural and educational exchanges are not allowed. But there has to be a sense of determination in that effort.

There are certain things which we must also take care of. Pakistan knows and we know that at any point of time if they choose to challenge the might of India, the result will be what it has been in the past. There cannot be any other result. But why should we expose people here to the wild of visiting dignitaries from Pakistan who openly try to convince these people that what they see is in the real interest of India and not what we in this country feel is in the real interest of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The Hurriyat leaders had an audience here in New Delhi. They were given a lecture and I perhaps feel more that a lecture. Was that necessary? Or was it a part of diplomacy which has some other objective in view? Maybe. But we do not know. We have to be careful about this.

In the end, I would like to conclude with one observation. As a very famous Roman philosopher said, no country and no leader can do justice to himself or to his country unless he is aware of the limits of power. This is a heady and a very intoxicating drug. I think crossing these limits, opening up such dark and sinister attitudes ultimately cause great damage to nation's psyche and future in a democratic set up which really saps the energy, saps the initiative, and saps what it takes for a democracy to work, with its total participation, total self-confidence and balance and ultimately an urge, a desire and a commitment to serve country and the people whom we have the honour to represent in this House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall be quite brief. We are perforce engaged in a painful exercise as they are sitting in a *post mortem* over the ashes of Charar-e-Sharief - not only the Shrine but also the houses, the homes of hundreds of people. It has been a monumental failure of our Intelligence. I do not wish to go into details about this because so many other colleagues have spoken about that. And I say it because we also come to this judgement. We can only come to this judgment on the basis of whatever information is available to us. We do not know about that. The Government has not told us what feedback the Government was actually getting from our Intelligence Services during this prolonged period when these insurgents or terrorists has entered the town of Charar-e-Sharief and later on entered the Shrine and were busy with their activities of laying mines and so on. We do not know about that. But this was going on since February. People are asking why the security forces were not able to prevent these people from going in or from storing the arms there and so on. If the Intelligence has provided them with the warnings, then, perhaps they could have done something. I do not know about it. I remember even at the time of the Golden Temple affair in Amritsar, plenty of arms were carried into the Temple and stored there although the Temple area was surrounded by security forces. To this day, we do not know how this was permitted unless of course there was some collusion. But it did happen.

Sir, I wish to emphasise some general realities, broad realities when we are dealing with this kind of a situation. It has also been stated that this is a multi-religious country; people are very much exercised by religious sentiments and different communities are there with their own places of worship. And in such a country if you are concerned with maintaining the unity of the country, the protection of such shrines, whichever religious community they may belong to, must be a must, a top priority. Our record in this matter has not been too commendable, whoever may be to blame. I am not blaming anybody. I could, of course, start accusing various people who are involved in this. The fact of the matter is that starting from the Golden Temple issue, we do not mind - and we cannot mind - if some

lives are lost, if some terrorists or even members of the security forces have to make a sacrifice. But the Shrine should be preserved, the Shrine should be protected because it has a much wider connotation.

In the case of the Golden Temple, many lives were lost. The main Shrine of Harminder Sahib was protected but the Akal Takht could not be protected. I need not repeat here again what its fall out was. It is one of the most tragic and dismal chapters in our history. In the case of the Babri Masjid, we could not protect it from being demolished although a whole number of public assurances had been given by the Chief Minister, by the Prime Minister saying that no damage would be allowed to come to the Babri Masjid, but those assurances could not be kept.

And now we have come to Charar-e-Sharief where the whole township including the Shrine has been burnt to ashes. Our security forces were there in position. But they were not able to intervene and not able to protect the Shrine. My first contention is that in a country like this, if the protection of places of religious worship cannot be effectively carried out by the Government, then if a whole series of mishaps takes place, as has happened in this country, the unity of our country, which after all has a history of running into thousands of years - we have a composite culture; we have so many religions, so many different cultures in this country - will not be preserved. That unity is in grave danger of fragmentation. One of the key points is the protection of these religious shrines. We have passed an Act also in this House. But the question is, what happens on the ground.

The second point I wish to make is that while dealing with the situation in Kashmir, we have to remember whether we like it or not, that we are behaving with an alienated people, we are treating with an alienated people. Who is responsible for that? I am not going into that also. The long history of alienation - how it came about, how people who virtually compelled the Maharaja to accede to India against his wishes and did not go to Pakistan, how the people who almost bare-handed fought back the first wave of Pakistani invaders, tribal invaders and drove them back, how such people have now become completely alienated from us - is, of course, a matter of much pain and sorry. But the fact is that you are dealing with an alienated people. I regret to see from the press reports, if they are to be believed that the general mass of people there in Charar-e-Sharief and maybe in other towns of Kashmir are reportedly putting the blame for the burning of that town on the army, on our army. Nobody says that Shri Mast Gul or his other mercenaries have done this. Is it a fact? Is it a fact that the masses of people there do not put the blame on these people and all are accusing the army of having set fire to the township, of blaming the army helicopters for having scattered some sort of powder or something over the town which was an incendiary powder? I do not believe it. But I regret that some of our top journals..

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Helicopters cannot fly in the night.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : ...leading media in this country who are enjoying the atmosphere of liberalism, should also know what limits they should not go beyond. Yesterday, I read a newspaper, I was in Calcutta, where the front page, the whole eight columns was covered by one headline which said that this powder had been scattered from the air by the army helicopters and also that people everywhere were blaming only the army. Nobody blame Shri Mast Gul and his friends. If that is a fact, if people are really in that mood, then the extent and the depth of the alienation that has come about should be seriously taken by us.

I am not suggesting that there should be censorship of the newspapers. We are not in favour of censorship. There should be some self-censorship. In a critical period like this, there should be some sense of restraint or responsibility on the part of many leading newspapers of this country. I regret to say this. These leading newspapers go on giving news not only to the people of our country, but also abroad. This will be taken as an evidence. Indian newspapers constantly write that the people in Kashmir are convinced that everything there - setting fire to this old township and all that - has been done by the Army. No contradiction comes from the Government's side. I do not know why the Government keeps quiet on these matters. It is an intolerable state of affairs. It is these Indian newspapers which are quoted as evidence abroad. What better evidence could there be? I do not want to name those newspapers. Not all newspapers behave like this, but, some have.

The third thing I want to say and I say it with conviction, is that our Army, because of the duties that are being imposed on that Army has become a much maligned Army. I do not say that the Army personnel here and there do not commit things which they should not do, but a general picture which is held out of an Army which is interested in nothing except committing atrocities on people, an Army whose prime job is to defend our borders against external aggression, whose prime job is not internal security duties, that Army is more and being pushed into playing a role which is the worst possible thing for the Army's discipline. It is not its job to go rounding up people from civilian areas, taking people away for interrogation, looking for some people who are supposed to be absconding and so on. This is not the job of the Army. Why? One reason is that it brings them more and more into direct confrontation with the civilian population, a thing which should be avoided at all costs.

After that it is *Jawans* who are blamed for everything that follows. The *Jawans* have their own training. We know what the Army training is and you cannot expect them not to behave in a particular way if they are attacked and something like that. But, this is not the way to run the Army in these areas where they are

constantly being brought into confrontation with the civilian population and the thing which is more detrimental to the Army's young morale and discipline in the long run.

Fourthly, I would say on the date which is approaching fast. If we do not go in for election - I am coming to that later on - the only alternative left to us is to pass a Constitution Amendment and further extend the period of President's Rule in Kashmir. Our experience of this, so many times we have done, in my view is that is entirely unproductive. It has not solved any problem. It has further alienated the people from us. It sends out the message that all we got for them, in store, is this President's Rule which is *danda*. We talk about democratic process, this and that. But, every time what we have been doing is just extending this President's Rule and now if we again go through that exercise, I think, at this particular point of time, nothing could be more disastrous. So, the signal sent out will be a very wrong one, if we opt for that course.

Now, Sir, the only option left is to go in for elections. All the difficulties bristle with difficulties. The path to elections in Kashmir bristles with difficulties. There is no question of having any illusions about it.

But the point is whether it is in the long run going to be better for the people to feel that they are being ruled by their own elected representatives or they are being ruled only from Delhi. There is every chance. We do not want an election in which people will not participate. That will be ridiculous. It will become a farce, a mockery. We have to have an election in which at least a substantial number of people can participate, will cast their votes.

The Hurriyat which claims to represent 27 organisations, the leaders of the Hurriyat have been reported to have said recently after their meeting here with the President of Pakistan, which was allowed, that they will not participate in any elections. I do not know whether this is a correct version of their statement or not. If the Hurriyat comes out with a call for a boycott of the elections, as things stand at present, do we really feel that people will go and vote? Earlier, you see as in Punjab, at one time it was the fear of the gun. Anybody who goes to vote was in danger of not getting back home again. Perhaps that fear of the gun has not entirely gone away in Kashmir. It may be there surely. But I think stronger than that would be the fear of defying a boycott call given by a body like Hurriyat.

So we want election, but an election which will not be a mockery, an election in which people participate. My main grouse with the Government is that they are not doing anything so far. They are not doing any ground work; they are not doing any spade work; they are not taking any measures which would try to reconcile the people to the idea of an election. We would like to hear from the Prime Minister whether he has any idea about these things. I do not know.

Sir, we had some talk, quite a detailed talk, a prolonged talk with Shabbir Shah when he came here. We called him, we wanted to talk to him. The Government, as far as I know, does not talk to these people at all. They are still clinging to the illusion of a former leader who I think has got no ground now to stand on in the Valley. One time he was all powerful. At one time his party had cadres in every village in the Valley. But now they feel abandoned. Some of them have been killed; some of them have had to leave their homes; some of them are so demoralised because of lack of leadership that their party does not exist except in name now. If the Government of India thinks that by linking their fortunes with that gentleman again something is going to happen to their benefit, I am afraid, it will not. So many new forces have emerged in the Valley. They have to be taken into account. You may not like their views. They are younger people, true. They began their careers as part of the anti-Government forces. They took to arms. Some of them were arrested. They spent long years in jail. Then some of them were released. From what I know, they got very big public receptions outside when they came out of the jail. Such people are there. Now they are not for the gun. Now they are for negotiations. Do you negotiate with them? You have not negotiated with them as far as I know. Negotiations may fail. But it is a hundred times better than standing aloof from everybody. How will you manage to get closer to the people whom you expect to participate in an election?

The Government knows very well that one - not the only one, but one principal factors which has led to this alienation is the way in which elections have been held over the years. There has hardly been an election except one perhaps, which was not patently rigged. Once an election was held, which was not rigged, or not so much rigged, and a Government was formed as a result of that election. And that Government, shortly afterwards, was destabilized and chucked out by the machinations of people in Delhi. So, how are you going to bring about any credibility about elections, if you do not do some serious hard work? My suggestion is that, after talking to various people, who are there in the Valley, the Government of India and the parties in this House - all of them together, jointly - should declare from this Parliament that we take the responsibility jointly, of ensuring that the next elections whenever they are held will be free and fair and will not be rigged. It is for the Prime Minister to make it clear that he and his party are not interested in seeing to it or in insisting that some Government must be elected in Kashmir, which will be a Congress Government or pro-Congress Government. In that case, of course, there will be no credibility left at all. They should elect whomever they want to elect. But the question arise, supposing they elect an Assembly and after elections a majority of them want to secede to Pakistan, what will you do? I think, we cannot

proceed on the basis of such an apprehension. If people participate in the election - if they do not participate, it is a different matter - in a sizeable number and an assembly comes out of that election, I myself do not think that the majority would then opt to go to Pakistan. But you would still have to discuss with them, with those elected representatives, the extent to which you are prepared to give them more powers. Autonomy within the framework of the Constitution can be augmented. Article 370 and some other assurances given over the years have been eroded. This requires going into all the relevant documents and papers and the three agreements which were signed. The extent of erosion has to be identified and people should be assured that wherever there has been erosion, that will be restored. We have to discuss with them whatever more autonomy they want.

They talk about *Azadi*. I asked Shabbir Shah, 'The people across the border, who are living in the Pakistan Occupied part of Kashmir, are they not your brethren?'. He said 'Yes'. I said, 'We do not hear them clamouring for *azadi* from Pakistan. You want *azadi* from India, but they are not saying anything about *azadi* from Pakistan. So, what is the point?' He said 'This is why I want to visit Pakistan to talk to them, but the Government of India is not allowing me to go'. What are the facts? I do not know. So, I do feel that ultimately - not immediately - a long-term solution cannot be worked out unless the people of the Valley, the people of Jammu, even the people of Ladakh and the Government of India, and also perhaps the Government of Pakistan jointly work out a solution. I do not think that Pakistan will agree. But then, at least the world should know. The world should now who has made what proposals and who is obstructing or preventing any solution. At the moment, it is we who get a dog's name everywhere.

I think, long ago, it was assured to the people of Ladakh that they would be given an Autonomous Council or Autonomous District Council or Autonomous Board. That was their demand. But, that is not being implemented yet. If it is implemented, then, perhaps in the Ladakh portion there may not immediately be a need for election. I do not know, what is the Government's stand on that now. I am in favour of the Governor being changed. It is not that I have anything personal against him; I do not know that gentleman; I have never met him. But from all the feedback we get, the records that we get — he may have been a very distinguished soldier, I do not doubt it — he is apparently, ill-suited for the responsibilities which he is called upon to discharge as a Governor. The main malady from which he is suffering - from the reports that we get - is that, he does not meet people. He meets hardly any people. You cannot have a Governor in Kashmir who is not opened up to the people. He should be prepared to hear them, talk to them, hear their complaints and grievances and have an open way of dealing with things.

So, I will say that, as far as Charar-e-Sharief is concerned, we should own up that there has been a monumental failure. Failure of whom? Please do not blame the *Jawans*. Please do not blame only the Intelligence Services. I do not know what reports they are sending. But the responsibility ultimately is of the Government; and the Prime Minister who himself is handling J & K affairs, must be morally accountable for what has happened. I agree with Shri Arjun Singh when he said that the accountability is the test of any democratic Parliamentary system which we are slowly giving up, as we have seen over the last year or two. Nobody is prepared to be held responsible for anything which happens, which is proved, which is brought to light and which is verified by a Parliamentary Committee. Nobody is accountable; nobody loses his job; nobody is held guilty; nobody admits that he is to blame and nobody claims that he is responsible. If we go on like this, there will be nothing left of the system itself. Therefore, in this particular case which has sent shock waves throughout the country and shock waves which are being felt abroad also, I would welcome very much if the Prime Minister admits that the conduct of the Government and the forces that it was controlling in this matter of Charar-e-Sharief, has failed. That would be something which would let a breath of fresh air come into the whole situation.

Finally, I want to say something about the distorted Press campaign. I can only appeal to the Press people or the friends in the press; and nothing else. I do not know what purpose this distorted type of press campaign serves, except to help our enemy. But this distorted Press campaign should be stopped. It is an insult to our Intelligence; it is an insult to the security forces; and it is an insult to the people who are there in the town both Hindus and Muslims alike who are the worshippers of Nooruddin Noorani at his time. If they go on saying that, nobody believes that these terrorists have anything to do with this arson and it is all due to the Indian Army. Is this the type of responsible journalism which is going on? Should we provide ammunition to foreign agencies and foreign parties to blackmail us and to slander us?

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling) : Could you identify as to which newspaper is that?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You are an old journalist. I am sure you read most of the papers. Why do you want me to identify that?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He has given up reading!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Has he given up reading?

What is already over is over; we cannot do anything about it. I hope, Sir, that the offers that have been made by the Government — that we will rebuild the burnt houses at our cost and we are giving a large sum of money and all that — have been rejected.

It is being rejected; the Hurriyat Conference has rejected it. They said, "Nothing doing, we do not want

your money. Our own people will collect the money." A couple of days ago, the IOC, in its meeting, have also passed a resolution and given a call for collection help, finances and all that for rebuilding the town and to help the people who have become homeless. So, the sentiments of people have to be respected and taken into account because religious matters are involved and for the future, I would say that the Government should take it on itself, as one of its primary duties, that religious shrines, to whichever religion they belong to in this country, should be protected. It does not matter what the cost is in terms of life. If they are not protected, the ultimate cost is much heavier to the society and the country. In view of the dismal record that we have in this matter, since the Operation Bluestar down to this latest episode, I think the Government should do some serious soul-searching and come out with a firm commitment — a commitment which is meant to be honoured and not to be violated. So, this is all that I have got to say and I hope that the whole House will stand with the Government if it really takes some meaningful steps which we have not heard about as yet.

It is quite easy to say that the Prime Minister should resign but then who will come? Some other Bloc will come. I have no confidence on him beforehand. I do not know who he will be. The point is, Government is Government and it has the responsibility of administering the country. Therefore, since we are now on the brink of elections, both perhaps in Kashmir and general elections in the country, this Government has to see that the ground is prepared in a way which will give the civilian population, the voters of this country, a feeling of self-respect, dignity, honour and confidence that their rights will be respected. Without that, many murky things may happen, many unpleasant things will happen which we will not be able to control ultimately. So, this all what I have to say.

I support this Motion because I consider it to be a Motion primarily criticising or condemning the Government's behaviour in handling this Charar-e-Sharief. There can be no two questions on that. The rest that I spoke about is dealing more with the future than with the past. And I hope that it will be considered.

[Translation]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal) : An adjournment motion was brought forward on the situation in Kashmir. I would like to throw light on the Kashmir situation for some minutes. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the year 1989 Janata Dal formed the Government and during the period of Janta Dal regime there was the incident of kidnapping of Rubbalah Sayeed in Kashmir. At that time, the situation had not taken the present turn in Kashmir. There were no communal strifes nor had lakhs of people come in the open the way that...."

After the Rubbaiah incident, the wrong and weak policies pursued by the then Government gave that impression as if the Government did not exist at all,

consequent upon which the local people were encouraged and the situation in Kashmir deteriorated. The Janta Dal Government lasted for 18 months only and it was during this period that the situation in Kashmir acquired its present dimensions. I listened to Atal ji very patiently. He delivered a rhetoric speech. He used every possible adjective for the Government. He has every right to do so, but, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is no crime to call a spade a spade. The ground realities are to be seen. The Hazratbal episode is fresh in the memory of the Countrymen. The Governments's farsight, restraint and sensibility brought the situation under control. It took time but it was devoid of bloodshed. Hazratbal was a secluded shrine. Charar-e-Sharief was situated amidst dense population. Such elements found their way, by and by, into the shrine in the name of Islam. There is no ban on anybody's entry into a temple, a mosque, a Gurudwara or any other shrine. One could not even imagine....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Excuse me, Sharma Ji. I am sorry to disturb you. But then, I have a very long list of Members who want to speak. As far as possible, please come directly to the point so that many Members may participate in the debate.

[Translation]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : I will not take much time. I have just started. I will conclude within five minutes if you so desire. If you allot me ten minutes, I will conclude in ten minutes. The hon. Members who spoke prior to me....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The policy we have adopted is to allow the first speaker a little more time.

[Translation]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : I will obey your orders. I will take my seat if you so direct me.

MR. SPEAKER : I did not ask you to resume your seat. I asked you to come to the point directly.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : I am giving the background of the matter under discussion, the situation that prompted to bring forward this adjournment motion. I will not dwell at length on it.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee asked whether his party was in power, whether it was their Government there, why was not the situation handled? I would like to respectfully tell him that it was during their regime that the Babari Masjid was demolished. The Chief Minister of their Government had filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court. The leaders of the BJP had given an assurance in this House. The leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party

had given an assurance in the National Integration Council. Wasn't that a breach of trust? The Prime Minister can only be blamed for reposing his confidence in you and your Government betrayed him. Then, the plea was advanced that two lakh people gathered from all over the country and the mob went out of control. You have besmirched India's name by pulling down 462 year old mosque.

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR (Faizabad) : There was no mosque and prayers were not offered as well.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : If there was no mosque, then, why did you leader tender a public apology saying that you had committed a mistake. I remind you of Atalji's statement. He admitted that a mistake was committed. Your leader, Shri Advani ji also resigned from his post of the Leader of the Opposition. That was not our mistake.

SHRI LAKSHMI NARAIN MANI TRIPATHI (Kaiserganj) : The demolition of Babari Masjid took to toll of four Governments and, now, as a result of Charar-e-Sharief incident, the Prime minister should resign and this Government should go.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : Your intentions behind pulling down the Babari masjid were malafide. It was a pure conspiracy, a pre-planned mischief. Your obnoxious designs sullied the atmosphere of love and homogeneity. Your valorous chauvinism was manifest in folding hands before the para-military forces requesting them to send buses for ferrying your workers to their destinations. Two lakh people fled from there and nobody got even a scratch on his body. Who died? What was the situation that followed in Kanpur, Allahabad and Bombay? You people demolished the very character of Bombay. The vicious atmosphere prevailing today is the result of Babari Masjid demolition...(Interruptions) We listened patiently when your leaders spoke. We listened to you, so, you should listen to us.

"Haqiqat ashiyana aashana bakafe israre hasti haon Samajhta haon magar dunig ko samjhana nahin aata."

Mr. Speaker. Sir, please ask them not to interrupt my speech. You can shut their mouths.

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA (Kanpur) : You speak on the Charar-e-Sharief incident and they will not interrupt you.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : I am speaking on Charar-e-Sharief. There was a 600 year old 'dargh'. The Government could very easily order a military assault and shoot people but it was situated in a densely populated area. The wolves in human skin set a thousand houses ablaze there. Subsequently, they razed to the ground this 600 year old shrine on the auspicious occasion of Id-ul-zuha. Now, it may be asked as to why was the army deployed at a distance of one and a half kilometers? Those who run the administration

there and shoulder the responsibility also formulate the plans. This is not my or your job. It is they who make such strategies. The army could lay a siege around the mosque there but they abstained from this foolish act. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is the remedy? As Chatterjee Sahib, Shri Indrajit Gupta and our partymen are saying that elections should be held there and a popular Government installed because there is no other remedy.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the situation in Punjab was such during 1982-92 that 50-60 people were killed mercilessly every day...

MR. SPEAKER : Nay, all that is the story of the past now. There is no need to repeat that story.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, my submission was that it was our Government here at that time. The hon. Prime Minister lost no time to decide that elections should be held in Punjab. Akali Dal boycotted the elections. Elections were held, no matter there was a low percentage of votes polled. Nobody was to be blamed for that. Elections changed the face of Punjab where there was bloodshed, where people preferred to remain indoors after the sunset and during the night. After election were held, peace and tranquillity returned to Punjab and a popular Government came into being.

As a result of that Punjab has attained its earlier glory. Ceremonies and festivals are celebrated in Punjab today as was done earlier. The cities of Punjab have regained their grandeur and Punjab is rejuvenated now. Elections to Panchayats and Municipal committees were held there. A democratic set up was established. The District Council and other elected bodies were constituted there. The Narasimha Rao Government wants to hold elections in Kashmir after creating an atmosphere congenial for elections and install a popular Government and for this everybody's co-operation is solicited. It is true that the situation is not favourable at present but unfavourable situation will be controlled. The situation was unfavourable in Assam, Mizoram and in every nook and corner of the country and the day is not far away when this Government will bring the Kashmir situation under control, conduct elections there and install a popular Government. Then, the slogans etc. being raised today will die their own death.

With these words, I oppose the adjournment motion.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISE (Hyderabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we will have to go into the details of the Charar-e-Sharief tragedy, since we attained independence our policy on Kashmir has not been clear, which can be confirmed from the speeches of our different Prime ministers since independence and that is why the people of Kashmir have been in confusion. We will have to examine the reality as to how we treated the person under whose leadership Kashmir was merged in our country. Article 370 was introduced by us but gradually we, brought an end to it and the result is

that the people there became disheartened. Today, we will have to take a firm and positive step. Then the issue of Charar-e-Sharief Came before us, it should have been solved by the Government. There are issues like Hazrat Bal, the Golden Temple, the Babri Masjid and the Charar-e-Sharief before you. Forthright outsiders came there leading to exodus of 40,000 locals and later on all the houses are damaged there. Now you can guess as to what had happened with those people. Afterwards it is said that the election is the solution to this problem. Definitely we also want the elections to be conducted there. But what sort of election would that be when thousands of Kashmiries are roaming in the country. Do you want that election should be conducted through two percent people only like that in Punjab. Please do not do like that. It will be a blunder and the situation in Kashmir will worsen further after elections. Do not be under this impression. We do want election to be conducted there but prior to that settle down its natives there. Bring those schemes, and after it give the people their right to elect the popular

17.00 hrs.

Government there. It is understood that there are only few Muslims, who belong to aristocrat families. Excuse me, I am habitual of calling a spade a spade, you think that only these are sincere but you do not pay any heed towards the public. Think of the public. Do not keep few faces with you. You are facing the results of it. If you love Kashmir, then, do love the public there. The issue of Kashmir will be solved on the day you start doing so. What have you done for the public there? There is a restriction on begging by the Maha Kashmiries, living in Hyderabad in thousands and if they do so, the police arrest them. The children are going from door to door in engineering colleges and medical colleges. But if I say so you will think that I am spreading communalism. But it is a fact and keeping it into consideration you can solve this issue. A number of our ministers know about it. Today a Muslim youth do not get admission anywhere. If you want then I have their list, with me. What can a man do under disappointment? If he wants to study, he can not do so and if he wanted to resort to begging, he cannot do so. Then what he should do. When a man becomes fed up, there is a saying, "scarcity gives way to rift." We should think about the reality. Instead of doubling anyone we should think over the reality and we should think towards solving the problem. The people there are love hungry, they will run towards you but you think that only a few people are all in all to you, then remember that that's no going to solve the purpose. I would like to submit that these are your birds, until you feed them. Until they get to eat, they will be there, and thereafter they will fly away. Think about the public and solve their problems.

I would like to know if you are aware to the problems of Kashmir and the hardships, the people are facing

there. Today the people of Kashmir say that if we raise voice against terrorists, we are shot down. They come and ask for food and shelter. If we do not give them shelter they open fire on us. If we discard them, again they open fire on us. If we give them shelter, then the Indian Army opens fire on us. Then what can we do? Anyway we go there are bullets all around. The result is that they are leaving Kashmir. We should pay attention towards it. Then there are so many people, the governor is there who had been the Commander-in-Chief of our army. I should not say so, since he belongs to my State but when he has failed, bring someone else. But we fail to understand why do you keep the matter pending.

I would like to submit that he is my good friend but the condition of our Home Ministry is very amazing. Whose Statement should be considered to be factual? We fail to understand, what is the policy after all. Whatever the Minister says, whether that is based on facts or that Minister says is based on facts. What is the matter after all? There is a saying in Urdu, "many a cook spoil the broth." It is an amazing situation. We fail to understand as to where they should go.

I would like to submit that improve the condition. It is a national issue. We do not have enmity with anyone. We want that you should adopt a national policy after discussing with all to solve this issue and if you try to solve this issue after all this then that will be good. I am among those who move such a resolution therefore I support this adjournment motion. I would like to submit that a proper policy should be adopted to solve this issue and all of us, and all the parties should try to solve this issue. It will be far better. I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Saharsa) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have risen to oppose the Adjournment motion moved in the House. When I came to know that the Adjournment Motion had been brought I was happy that our hon. leaders would come out with effective and useful suggestion on the Kashmir imbroglio and the motion moved would lead the Government towards a new direction but I am sorry to say that the problems kept raising their heads one after another but all of us used all our strength only on condemning the government and no light was thrown on the aspect as to how this problem should be solved.

I listen to Shri Vajpayee ji very attentively. He is an honourable Member and I hold him in high esteem. When he started his speech with tears in his eyes I felt that a number of useful suggestions would definitely be put forward to help us in solving the Kashmir problem but he only lamented it and did not come out with any concrete suggestion which could be implemented by the Government. I am distressed about that. I would like to submit to the hon. Vajpayee that Kashmir imbroglio has not started today. When we were attending a meeting of the members of Parliament and Shri V.P. Singh was in power then Shri V.P. Singh ji himself had

said that if he knew that Kashmir imbroglio was so complicated then he would not have chosen Bofors as an issue. He had stated it in the House, the proceedings are there. Were you not in the government at that time, in the national front Government... (Interruptions) Please have patience. Please listen to me first. I was also in the same party and that is why I am expressing my distress to you. He had said it specifically that if he had known about this imbroglio then he would not have made Bofors an issue. At that time also we had a discussion here on the Kashmir issue and then the discussions on the same issue had been held in 1990 and 1991 but no concrete solution was found to this problem which resulted in worsening of the problem.

Today we have the problem of Charar-e-Shariff and some force has also been assembled outside the mosque. Whenever an incident takes place somewhere then the government takes action thereon and, Sir, you are all witness to that, that the leader of the Opposition and the hon. Members ask as to how could the Government take an action without consulting them and the Government has done injustice. When the Ayodhya incident took place then everybody said that this Government had done injustice though an assurance had been given in the House, in the judiciary and in the Executive. so, if the Government had taken any action in Kashmir then you would have again raised a similar issue stating that the Government had taken a wrong step and they had done injustice. I, therefore, would like to submit to the Government, through you, that Kashmir problem is not a problem of anyone party but of the whole country. We have several leaders present here today and I would like then to bring a unanimous motion in this regard and give suggestion to the Government as to what action should be taken in Kashmir. Our Government are taking an action and want to take more action but there should be a unanimity at first.

Sir, if the country lives, Lok Sabha will live. We will continue to come to Lok Sabha as its Members and hold discussions. If Kashmir is not there then what will remain? We have been hearing that this problem has been there for the last 47 years but no solution has been found so far.

An hon. colleague of ours was just saying that the unemployment problem is prevailing there and there is a large number of unemployed there. Those people are not given admission in Medical and Engineering Colleges. Then is the trouble created there by students and are those, who have created trouble there, students? Have they infiltrated from Pakistan or Afghanistan? Rendering of such speeches can mislead people, so it should be checked. I therefore, would like to submit to the House, through you, that such misleading speeches should not be delivered. If such misleading statements, will be continuously delivered in regard to Kashmir issue then it may lead to the

raising up of Uttranchal issue followed by Gorkhaland and LTTE issue, you are requested not to do injustice to the country with such misleading speeches.

MR. SPEAKER Sir, Charar-e-Shariff problem of Kashmir is a very serious one. Our colleague Sharad ji was just talking in a very lighter vein but he put forth several points in a very proper manner. Vajpayee ji, if the elections will be held there but there would be not held in a proper way and the discussion will be continuously held in Lok Sabha then it will not solve the problem. That is why, I would like to appeal to the leaders of all the parties that every body should have a unanimous view and then participate in the elections and hold free and fair elections.

MR. SPEAKER : You have put forth very good points. Now, please conclude and let others also have a chance to speak.

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Goswami Tulsi Dass has said "Samarath Ko nahin dosh Gusain" which means a person who is powerful and resourceful keeps doing his work gradually. I consider myself resourceful. Despite the gherao done by army Charar-e-Shariff was burnt down. Sir, through you, I would like to submit to Shri Rao that this incident which took place in Kashmir was not right Shri Chandra Shekhar ji has rightly said that even if you were forced to shoot or use force even then you should have not delayed. We need to come forward in the interest of the nation and we should not have any objection in this regard. Mr. Speaker, Sir, thirdly, I would like to say something to the opposition party, respecially, to Shri Ram Vilas Paswan. He has said that all Governments are guilty. I feel that the way Shri Vajpayee ji has said it in a roundabout manner, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan ji has also held the Government responsible and had levelled the charges against the army. You are right in saying that if the Narasimha Rao Government is responsible for this deed, then you point a finger towards that but I would like to submit not to resort to levelling charges against the army in an attempt to gain cheap publicity. Please do not do anything which harms our country... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I would like to submit to you that whenever we criticise the actions taken by the Government it does not constitute the criticism of the army. Please do not say it. I have never criticised the army.

MR. SPEAKER, Sir, when we are making the Government answerable to us, are we criticising the army? Sir I would like you to give a ruling on this subject. If such kind of discussion takes place on the issues raised by us then how will it function... (Interruptions)

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, if Shri Paswan withdraws his stance they I will also take

my words back. It is a healthy practice that he has withdrawn his stance. He has at least withdrawn... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Surya Narayan Yadav ji, he has said anything against the army. Please, you are also requested not to say anything. Please come to you next point.

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV : The part of Kashmir which is in India belongs to India. The terrorists are infiltrating from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. I would like to say to the government that if the number of such incidents is in on an increase and you have all the reports with you. Then you must take control of Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir. It should be dismantled and merged with our country. The whole world knows that they have sent terrorists to create trouble not only in Kashmir but in Bombay also. so, whatever action you want to take in the interest of the nation, you must. I feel that all other leaders have not given their consent to you for taking any such action. You should not be worried about that because the masses have expressed their trust in you and brought you in power and that is why, the whole accountability of the country lies on you. You must do this work in the interest of the nation... (Interruptions) while opposing this Adjournment Motion I would like to heartily congratulate Shri narasimha Rao that he has himself taken charge of Kashmir... (Interruptions) By taking affairs of Kashmir in his hands he has tried to prove that this is a very sensitive and serious matter and he is taking it with all seriousness. In the end I heartily thank you and oppose this Adjournment Motion.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzzafarpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we would like to associate ourselves with the feelings of the people of Kashmir who are pained, aggrieved and agitated because of burning down of Charar-e-Shariff. I was thinking that this discussion would be useful and some important points regarding Kashmir would be high lighted and it would not be politicised but I am sorry to say that the two Speakers who have been asked by the ruling party to speak on it have only talked about politics and nothing else. They have, especially Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar, has also furnished some new information. This information creates some new questions and we would like the hon. Prime Minister to keep these points in his reply to the discussion. Shri Salman Khursheed has asked several questions and we would definitely like to answer those because both these speeches have been delivered from the ruling party. But by accepting previous mistakes in regard to wrong policies what kind of direction are we going to take in future? Nobody was there to guide us about that. Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar has repeatedly said on thing in his speech about the Charar-e-Shariff incident that we took such and such decisions. We took those decisions after studying all the aspects. He kept using some english phrases in his speech like "We decided, we felt, we did," etc. We would like to know

from him as to who are these "We"? Since he was speaking on behalf of the Government. All those decisions made were by the Delhi Government. There is Government in Kashmir also. No matter that it is run by the Governor. He has advisors who enjoy the status of Ministers. Everybody might be aware that at the time of this shameful act all the three Advisors were missing from the state. There can be any reason for that but they were in three different parts of the country at that time. The Army is the centre-point of the whole matter. That is why we must have the hon. Prime Minister's reply to what was mentioned by Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar, as, "we decided". There were several alternatives before us — first, we could approach it straightway and attacked. But it was risky. We had experiences from Golden Temple to Hazratbal. Therefore we decided not on the basis of those experiences but on the basis of some other experience that we should use the other alternative. Now, in regard to past experiences I would like to put a couple of questions to the hon. Prime Minister whose replies we want. I want to categorise these questions in two parts. The first question concern the military intervention. What happened before and on the day the military reached the spot on the 8th of March and what happened after 8th of March. These were two different decisions. When military reached there on 8th of March, who constituted "we" and who had taken his decision as to what would be the behaviour of military. The hon. Prime Minister, who holds the defence portfolio also, had politically declared it from here that he had given his discretion to act to the army. Today the Ministry of Home Affairs is not interfering with the Kashmir issue but was the consultation of the Ministry of Home Affairs had been sought because we have heard that in the Kashmir Department in Your Ministry there is only one Joint Secretary and nobody else. We would like to be informed about this also from the hon. Prime Minister. Was only one Joint Secretary in charge of such an important matter which concerned the future of several other matters of this country? The Minister of Home has not played any role in it so far because when an hon. Member talked of two Ministers' visit to that state then it was stated here that the Minister of Home had been sent along the Minister of Finance so that he could collect the information and furnish the same to the House. The Minister of Home is yet to come back to the House...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I had been told that the Government was ready to give a statement but his Adjournment Motion was brought before that statement.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Is there no contradiction between the statement and the Adjournment Motion?

MR. SPEAKER : No, we did not have time.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : They could have made the statement at any time. Then our discussions would have put on a more meaningful look

...(Interruptions) I am really distressed to say that they did not consider it proper to make a statement. The statement should have been made.

MR. SPEAKER : They had told me that they were ready to make a statement but I decided that if it looked necessary then the statement could be made midway also. We did not view it from that angle. We only thought or policy matter.

[English]

In all fairness I must say this

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Alright, I am concluding that topic here but my today's question is a direct one, to which the hon. Prime Minister must reply, that on 8th March the army was deployed one and half to two kilometers. The people who have visited there know about it. The army has to take the position there in much difficulty, but it is meant for this purpose. Sometimes I feel as if every issue has become painful for part of any Government, be it the questions of the security of the country. The army is meant for that exclusive purpose. The he should not do such a job, he should have gone for IAS, he should have done necessary paper work. People go indifferent industries and different professions. The army has a special responsibility. It performs its duty. We applaud it. But I do not think so that a class should be adorned all the times. If the army men do something wrong then it should be discussed both in the House and outside the House.

[English]

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal) : Would you yield for a minute? Sir, the Army is being referred to in an improper manner.

[Translation]

Hon. Fernandesji, if army is assigned a task then it is her prime duty to fight with the enemy. The army is not assigned such a work and secondly, if she is given clear direction and freedom, then you ask for her explanation. Please do not talk in the fashion in which you are speaking right now.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : General Sahib, I am not asking any question from the army but from the Hon. Prime Minister. I am doing the same thing and asking the same thing as you are saying.

I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister as to who had taken the decision on 8th March to ask the army to take a position at a distance of one and half to two kilometers. Was that the decision of the military or was it a political decision? Since many things are associated with it. hon. Prime Minister, Sir, your army reached there on 8th march, then is it a fact that when it had reached there, the governor had complained that army should not have been sent there. Does it mean

that the governor was unaware about it. The governor was not taken into confidence. Why did the governor object to it? Had he conveyed his objections to you?

Well, my question is that on 15th March, after seven days a unanimous decision is taken and not a single journalist is allowed to go near Charar-e-Sharief. It was restricted why this restriction was imposed? What was the reason for it? Later on they army, which was at a distance of one and half to two kilometers, how it surrounded the area at a distance of 800 meters on 22nd March? We want clarification on it since, who is responsible for levelling charges against our army personnel? We would like to know as to who are responsible for it?

We would like to know if they were given the clearcut instructions to fight with the enemy and to complete the task, were they allowed a free hand or were they given instruction at every step?

I have said that there is another aspect of it. All this happened before 8th March. I would not like to repeat it since it has already come before the House, but since we want the reply therefore the House, but since we want the reply therefore, I would like to submit that Mastgul reached Charar-e-Sharief in the month of December which was duely. I reported by the Home Secretary. I have not seen the document but Mani Shankar ji had delivered a long speech on the document and it was said that he came there on a pilgrimage. So, when did you come to know about it, when did your intelligence came to know about it. Did you and your intelligence came to know about it on 8th march or when he had left from there? He did not enter Kashmir on 8th December, he reached Charar in the month of December it means that he was in Kashmir before December. Today I have heard the statement of General Sahib that all the arrangements have been made lest Mastgul run away from the country throught the line of actual control in Kashmir. The army has been deployed there. It is a peculiar statement. I fail to understand as to why this statement has been made? Line of actual control is very long. Thousands of our children from Kashmir go to Pakistan and return back after having the training. Thousands of people cross the line of actual control to enter our country with arms and amminations. We cannot stop it. Today the statement comes all of a sudden that there is full arrangement of the army and he will not be able to run away. He will be apprehended. Did you have the information, when in December he entered Charar. If so, when did you have the information? Did not you have the report of the Intelligence Bureau in which it was written that Mastgul will use Charar for his protection? He decided to use that holy shrine to accomplish the assigned by the ISI and Pakistan. Did not this report come to you by that time? Was the governor ignorant of it? Did not he conduct a meeting in this regard? Was it not decided during the meeting that he would leave by the end of the winter, therefore there is no need at all to use power. Was not this

decision taken by you? While the governor and his consultants took this decision, did they do so after consultation with the hon. Prime Minister? Was the army aware of it. Who took the decision that he was to go back and Pakistan is also angry with him. One or two hon. Members have told that Mastgul was in severe trouble. Pakistan had asked him not to come back, do and die there, that was all for him. Did not you have this information?

Salmanji has repeatedly said that for many things discussion is to be held. You ware disscussing with Mastgul. He had said that Pakistan is behind him and he will go back after Id. It is not the Id of 3rd March. Did not the governor take the decision on that issue that all the arrangements should be made, well before 3rd March? 3rd March had passed, Id had passed, and the asked to reach there on 8th March. We would like to know

[English]

who are the "we's" who took the decison before 8th March and after 8th March? Are they different "we's" or the same "we's"

[Translation]

These are such questions, without giving reply to these, there is no use of this discussion. I am not ready to accept that discussing all these issues openly will harm the security of the country. Things are altogether different. When the political leaders, the bureaucrats and the generals of the military, who take the decision and on whose shoulder the responsibility rests, do something wrong them it should not merely be, discussed but they should be punished suitably. Such practice is there in other countries of the world, but nothing happens in our country. Do anything here. No Bureaucrat has been sacked here till date. If someone has staged a dharna against the set up, refused to accept the bribe and was not ready to corrupt himself only then he was sacked otherwise the bureaucrats, the politicians and anyone in army have never been punished for their mistakes. We presume that everything goes on here. Therefore, I would like to submit that all these things should be discussed here clearly. Some facts should come forth before the people so that in future we need not have to fact any problems in determining the policy for building the nation.

Whatever has been said by the ruling party here, two or three things become clear of it. The first thing is that there was no option in Charar-e-Sharief issue except the governor and the military. Chandrashekhar ji has spoken ditto to Indrajeet ji. Did we put forth the facts before the people of Kashmir and beofre the people who take interest in these things. Today when you are saying that there is no need at all to postpone the elections due to Charar-e-Sharief incident and there is nothing to be worried about since the whole of Kashmir is with us. Aiyar Sahib, you have used a few words. You have said:

[English]

"In November, 1989, there were a large number of civilians who thought that they could get away with their demand for freedom. Today the people of the Valley, in their vast majority, stand for the unity and integrity of India."

[Translation]

We want that each of your words should be based on facts and you are associated with the situation. When this was the situation they why did not you allow the people of Kashmir even to enter Charar-e-Sharief? Leave aside the journalists, since a ban had been imposed on them but at least you should have allowed the people of the town Charar to go there. This is their temple, their holy shrine, had they were given the opportunity to go there, they could have made it clear that the outsiders have come and are putting our Dargah in danger. They want to demolish and burn our Dargah. It could have been said to the whole of the country. The people of our country as well as the other nations should be aware of it. The responsibility should have been given to the people of Kashmir, whose holy shrine it is and they should be told that it is your holy shrine and today they are going to attack it, there is a conspiracy to set it ablaze, so will you merely keep on watching it or will you throw them out. Why did not you do so? Had there been some facts in your sentences then in November 1989, everyone wanted to run away but today all are standing behind you, then why did not you take this step. It seems that you do not have any policy or any resolution.

I would like to ask a question from the hon. Prime Minister. The President of Pakistan had paid a visit here some 15-20 days back. The hon. Members of this House had an opportunity to meet him one evening. Atalji, Jaswant ji, our Agriculture Minister Balram Jakharji and one or two hon. Members, who are not present here were also there. Mani Shankar Aiyar ji was also there. We had been with him for two and half hours. During that period, he expressed only one fear i.e. Prithvi. He was much worried about Prithvi. He was so much worried at the power of our country that I felt as if Pakistan is afraid of our country.

If the President of that country expressed this apprehension for two hours out of his two and half hours discussion with us and spoke on no other issue then, during his 3 or 4 hours meeting he must have raised the issue of the 'Prithvi' missile and also must have expressed his concern over our military capabilities etc. On the same lines as he expressed his apprehensions to us. Did you not say anything to him on Charar-e-Sharief as we know it very well that Pakistan is meddling with our affairs. The Pak President has also refuted this charge vehemently, though he has not confessed it openly also. He did say that they are

worried over the matter. He talked openly on TADA in Pakistan as also to us. He referred to all these issues. Then why did you not raise the issue of Charar-e-Sharief with him as this issue was likely to explode in near future? Did you not raise any issue at all? We, therefore, want that the hon. Prime Minister must reply to these questions so that it becomes easy to reach any conclusion. The present debate is unlikely to provide any solution and no policy is going to be formulated during this discussion under the Censure motion. However, this debate may help to reach any conclusion.

Sir, Shri Salman Khursheed raised several points here. He stated that the Government has provided Rs. 6 crore for Kashmir for providing an extensive infrastructure. How did the Government start thinking about providing infrastructure after the 48 years slumber? Again, the Government stated that it spent a huge amount there. A very pertinent question was asked by an hon. Member.

[English]

What have you done for the young people of J&K? Why have they left us? Why have they come to believe that they are not a part of us?

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was dealing with Kashmir affairs for some months. At that time, we used to meet the 'young people' he has talked of. You met only one 17-year old boy but we had met thousands of such boys. Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar is under the impression that we went there in disguise, sporting moustaches and dyeing our hair or donning a 'burka'. No, it was not so. We went there in our usual attire of Kurta and pyajamas. The only person who accompanied me was, Shri Ashok Subramaniam, my Personal Assistant in the Ministry of Railways. We used to persuade the young people, when they asked questions. Shri Salmanji, you will get the answer to your questions in those queries. The first question as to where the amount of Rs. one lakh crore has gone, which the Government claims to have spent on Kashmir? When the question was asked for the first time, I replied that the amount was not Rs. one lakh crore; it was Rs. 50 thousand crore because we come some figures in mind. But they did not agree with me. Whenever we used to meet the President, we used to inform him of the developments in Kashmir. This time, when we met the President and narrated our experience to him that the people in Kashmir claimed that Rs. one lakh crore had been spent on Kashmir, whereas I tried to convince them that this figure was Rs. fifty thousand crore only the President told us.

[English]

'George, they are right; you are wrong.'

[Translation]

The Government has spent Rs. one lakh crore. But to those young boys, we used to say that it is well-known to them is to us as to where that amount had gone. Some of the amount had gone. Some of the amount had been spent on erecting bungalows in the garden, some in constructing skyscrapers, some in constructing a house with marble, swimming pool in South Delhi and some of the amount has been diverted to Swiss Bank. But this issue is not confined to Kashmir alone. This has become a countrywide phenomenon. People are enjoying with that money therefore, this issue is not limited to Kashmir alone but this issue relates to India as a whole. I asked them as to why they were not fighting unitedly. They asked another question about corruption. I explained that corruption is not confined to Kashmir and its bureaucracy. I further added that had there been no Bofors scandal, we would have never become Ministers. The then Government collapsed due to the Bofors issue. Therefore, I told them that corruption had spread everywhere.

Then they asked about their employment. They said that when the amount meant for Kashmir had been swallowed by corrupt persons, then what will happen to their employment prospects. You have stated that children from Kashmir were brought here to educate them. But what has been done for the employment of youths there during the last 45-47 years? This point did not strike Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar. Only 10 per cent of the 93 per cent Muslims in Kashmir have got employment... (Interruptions)

The Government has made tall claims of great achievements and has also said that it made the country great and accomplished welfare works in Kashmir but Shri V.P. Singh got the credit for all those works. Actually, it were the misdeeds of the Congress Government during 45 years, which led Kashmir to the present situation.

Sir, the fourth and the last question that they asked was as to why elections have not been held in Kashmir after the elections held there during the Prime Ministership of Shri Morarji Desai? As such, how can they support us to ensure the progress of the country. I tried to convince them that such things usually happen in many parts of the country. But it could not have been a satisfactory answer. And this cannot help find out any solution. Thus today, it is not easy to answer those young people because we have harmed them as much as we could.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we cannot forget what we experienced during the visit to Kashmir in the 1987 elections. Perhaps none of those who accompanied there is present in the House at present. Those who went there that time were Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar, Shri Jaswant Singh, Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi and many other hon. friends. I do not want to reproduce experience we had at that time. But I know the pangs and anguish of the young people of Kashmir for a long. Following the

dismissal of duly elected Government there in 1983, all the opposition leaders from here, including me, had visited there. I do not want to repeat here what the military, the paramilitary, the police did there at that time. However, I jumped the handobast of Governor, took Shri Ashok Subramanyam with me and reached the old Railway Guest House and called these old acquaintances and young people. Firstly, two youths came to me. I knew them. It was a small room and we sat on a sofa on the one side and they sat on another sofa on the other side. There was a tripod in between. They took out their guns and place before us on the table. I went on persuading them. There were no tears in their eyes. Their eyes were red hot. They uttered certain words which cannot be quoted here. When I raised the issue of elections, they stated that elections had already been held there. They named the area they had gone as polling agents. They narrated that some persons reached there to cast bogus votes and when they were stopped by them, candidate in the fray reached there with his people within few minutes. He was the brother-in-law of a very influential leader. They caught hold of their hair, pulled them out, kicked them with shoes and asked them to bring their sisters. I would not like to narrate as to what happened thereafter. They took down their guns and asked whether we were talking of that very India where they got such treatment. They were my old acquaintances because they were sometime in the National Conference. You compelled me to speak out these things by asking the questions. Otherwise I would not have mentioned these things.

Shri Salmanji, you will have to feel the agony of Kashmir. He could not understand this by talking to a 17 years old boy. The Government will have to accept mal treatment meted out to them. We must muster courage to apologise; otherwise, the Government cannot be in a position to hold talk with them. I want to tell it very categorically whether one likes it or not. I can tell you the names of dozens of Generals, but I will not. They always asked us whether any discussion had been held with the ultras because it was not the duty of military. They used to say that it should be done by political leaders. Hon. Prime Minister, to save Kashmir is to save the country. I have been asserting from the very outset that elections cannot be held in Kashmir. I heard Shri Indrajit very attentively. We know the opinion of the Congress Party in this regard. Shri Chandra Shekhar has raised certain very pertinent points. He asked what will the Government do if the decision goes against it. He says that if the decision goes against it, this should be treated as their decision. I hold that nobody will participate in elections there. I cannot believe that the young people of Kashmir will be ready to contest elections there just to prove what they want. I am also not ready to accept that they will fight elections and tell a lie because a candidate in elections has to take oath of protecting the unity and the constitution of the country. In my opinion, the situation there is not favourable for holding elections. It is easier to talk of

holding elections there while sitting in Parliament or in the party forum that to hold elections in real sense. Leaders hold meetings there only after blocking all the roads there by security men. Police is deployed there on every inch of the area-round the clock. In such a situation the Government decides to hold elections there. One hon. Member challenged me about any version of the murder of the Vice-Chancellor. I may tell you that I had gone to Delhi airport to have his dead body and I was attacked there. I had gone to take the dead body of the assassinated General Manager of BHEL and I was roughed up there. I have experienced all these things. I did not go to the airport just to roam about and come back. I do not know from where did Shri Chacko get this information that he revealed here. The leaders of those parties who demand elections there are living in Delhi, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Bangalore and London. During summer they rush to London and come back during winter. Mr. Speaker, Sir, political activities should be started before political process is begun. Mr. Home Minister, how can political process be possible without political activities and the Government is not in a position to start political activities. I, therefore, request to find a way out to hold discussion with the young people of Kashmir. This has been suggested by the youths who come here and those who have released from prison. They also admit that violence is no solution to the problem. They should be convinced that what they have experienced as related in my answer to four questions, will not be repeated. Then alone one can talk about holding elections there. I, therefore, support the Adjournment Motion and demand the immediate removal of the Governor there. My second demand is that whatever may be the fate of the Motion, a new system should be evolved so that even after the present Government is defeated, the system may continue for the progress of the country. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is five minutes to 6 o' clock now. For how much time should we continue this debate? I have a long list of names with me and I have allowed all the Leaders of the Parties to speak for as much time as they like. But afterwards it may not be possible to give a very long to the Members who want to speak. How much time should we continue this debate?

[Translation]

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA (Firozabad) : You may please continue till night or even upto tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER : You do not know that the Adjournment Motion cannot continue till next day. Please keep this in mind that the points that have already been mentioned here, should not be repeated. I have no problem to allow you to speak on new points for whatever time you want. History is known to all. This need not be narrated again. Please think of the present and the future. I request you all to cooperate with me by speaking in brief. Now Shri Sudhir Sawant.

SHRI ABDUL GHAFUOR (Gopalganj) : We are extending you our full cooperation.

MR. SPEAKER : The Adjournment Motion is for two and a half hours only but the present one was started today at 11.00 a.m. and it is now 6 p.m. and it is going to continue still. However, you need not repeat any point that has already been mentioned by your predecessors.

[English]

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI : Only one speaker has spoken from my Party so far. From Congress-I Party, five Members have spoken.

MR. SPEAKER : I know who is to be allowed. Why do you think that I am insensitive to these things?

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL GHAFUOR : We will cooperate with you and the hon. Prime Minister as well. I would like to say one sentence only with reference to what Shri George Fernandes and Shri Vajpayee have stated here. Once I went to Shri Jinna and asked him whether we also will have to go to your Pakistan. He remained silent for a minute and then raising his head told me that let there be no confusion about the minorities of India and the minorities of Pakistan. He further added that he would treat the minorities in his regime in such a manner that the Prime Minister of India will hang his head in shame. I would like to point out to the Government and my hon. friends, especially Shri Vajpayee that the facts are known to everybody. But I would like to suggest to find a new solution of the problem. But perhaps nobody can find the solution.

I, too, have heard that Many of our hon. friends are present here. Their party has been annihilated from the map of the world. The Congress is treading the same path and the new party is engaged in infighting. This House should pass a resolution and appraise the Prime Minister of Pakistan of it.

18.00 hrs.

I have pointed towards another thing and this animosity is not going to end. We will be totally bogged down because we are pained to know what happened in Mazar-e-Sharief and Mecca-Sharief. The Saudi Arabia administration only filled the whole mosque with water to trap and punish the gun-wielding men who had entered the place of worship for killing people because killing is forbidden there. Anyway, leave that all aside because many things are happening in the world; there is lack of courage. Arjun Singh ji said, and I repeat to all of you that no step is worth taking if you are devoid of courage. With regard to the Babari Masjid issue, Shri Vajpayee ji feels guilty at heart but what is his fault? His party's leaders had gone there. I am not talking of the

BJP alone. There were men of all hues, who did what they intended to and Vajpayee ji was left crying. They are all the birds of same feather. The same story is being repeated in the other party as well. I will not name anybody. I am clean at heart. I may tell you that some people had tried to forge a unity among you. Somebody said, the Minister said you were afraid, were hatching a conspiracy against them. Will Shri Balram Jakhar ever hatch a conspiracy? No, he will not. But a particular Minister whom I will not name went there and said so. This is a very bad world. We should not bother much. Everybody says that India is great and strong. Today's citizens of India should listen carefully that people were not so coward and weak. I may tell you that when I was a member of forward block in Calcutta and worked with Subhash Chandra Bose, there was a bomb explosion, consequent upon which the strength of the British army was increased as they thought that we were gaining courage. So, Narasimha Rao ji, this is a very strange world. I may tell you the truth that the Kashmir issue is not such. People say that Muslims do not speak. What should they speak? People have started speaking a little but as I said earlier that Shri Jinnah had said that such treatment will be meted out to the minorities in Pakistan that the head of Indian Prime Minister will hang in shame. This alone is the remedy.

[English]

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT (Rajapur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion. I oppose this Motion precisely for the reason that some respectable Members have indulged in castigating the Government ... (Interruptions). When the debate started, I had expected, as you had brought out very well, that while discussing this very serious issue, we would come to some consensus.

I treat Jammu and Kashmir as an issue which is above politics and which is vital to India's national interest and vital to national security. That is why, it was expected that all Members of the House would treat this issue as vital to national security, as has been the tradition, and deal with it in a manner where there would be consensus. So that is why, I am disappointed because this debate has ultimately ended up in mudslinging. I want to just ask those people who have charged this Government in various forms, whether the situation in Charar-e-Sharief would have been any different had any other Government been there. This is a question I want to ask. If they say 'yes', then I want to charge that the seriousness of the matter has not been understood because in Charar-e-Sharief what happened - the deplorable as it is - is the outcome of certain circumstances. Probably it has been a trend when militants have taken up to these tactics of entering religious places and then holding the State to ransom. It is something like kidnapping. When hostages are held, then the security forces dealing with the issue have to take a decision. For example, in Charar-e-Sharief, if any decision is taken by the man on the spot, say to attack, it works as a double-edged weapon. It can cut both ways. If the decision is proved right on hindsight, then there will be glory and laurels shown by

everyone. But if the decision is proved wrong in hindsight, then some neck has to be chopped off. This is the game. In Kashmir, the problem essentially is that we are not dealing with the conventional enemy, but we are dealing with terrorists. 'Terrorists', as the word suggest, are like fish in the sea, in the sea inhabited by civilian population. And that is why, whenever the security forces operate in the circumstances, they have to operate with one hand tied behind their back. And that is why, in this delicate situation, what decision is to be taken, is a matter which can be debated.

For example, Vajpayeeji has brought out that if Charar-e-Sharief had to be destroyed, then why was the action not taken three months ago. But the situation does not emerge like that. The security forces or the Government is faced with the situation, has to take a decision and while taking that decision, the man on the spot has to decide what should be done. So in the process, his decisions are delayed. To create a situation to make the operation successful, the delay has to be accepted. In Hazaratbal, the same thing happened. The security forces operating there showed patience and restraint and ultimately they emerged successful. The other thing could have also happened there. We cannot ignore that aspect.

One thing that this House has to decide is, how to deal with the situation because you cannot blame the security forces in this case. When they are going into the operation, you must take into account the risk that the religious places can be damaged. And if that is to be accepted, then the Government and the security forces can do it any time by flushing out those entering the religious places. But the consequences of that action must be accepted and realised by everyone.

What we have to decide here is whenever religious places are used by terrorist or fundamentalists, how we are going to deal with it. If there is destruction, that it is propagated all over the country. Again, the Government is in the dock. This is a dilemma which we will have to address and in future we will have to take action in this regard. Notwithstanding what I have said, I would like to say something about Kashmir and how the situation emerges. Shri George Fernandes has eloquently tried to justify the young people taking up the militancy. But this situation we have encountered on our border States right from Independence. That is why when Shri Indrajit Gupta has suggested that the Army should not be employed, I have my differences because we know from history that in fact, India had been plagued by insurgency all along the border and the Army is the only capable machinery in this country which can tackle insurgency. The Army knows how to use force with compassion. The Army has a string of successes. If you go to the North-East, you can see today that legitimate Governments are in place. The second thing that has to be realised, when we talk of insurgency is that it has got a time period. These cannot be resolved in a day. There is a theory behind it. When the insurgency rises, when local support is gained, when external power supports the insurgents, it comes to that thing. When insurgency is at height, it is that point when security

forces have to be employed, many times ruthlessly. It is after that when situation comes down, the political process can start. We have seen in Punjab. The situation started going bad in 1979-80 and it took 12 to 13 years, that is in 1992-93, to resolve the problem. In Kashmir, the problem has started in 1987. It will have to go through the logical process. The time-table will have to be met and that everybody must realise and not at every instance because terrorists are terrorists. In Oklahoma, there was a bombing of the federal building. So, President Clinton should resign. Is this the language? Terrorists can do anything. There are Bombay blasts, serial blasts in Bombay. So, the Government should resign. Is this the solution? Is any other Government in place capable of handling the situation. We are not tackling terrorism. It is not tackling any civilian problem. We have to deal with that mechanism. But, definitely there are certain actions required to be taken. I think with this incident, time has now come for us to take action and it requires ruthless action. Sir, I have said that the foreign countries or foreign powers are trying to interfere into India's internal affairs by using the angle of human rights. The other day I mentioned that the issue in Jammu and Kashmir is not that some people have been alienated from this country, but the issue that we have to address, as the Parliament here, is the right of any State to secede from the Union. Do we accord that right or not? That is the question. In America, there was a civilian war where lakhs and lakhs of people died on this very issue. When the Southern States wanted to secede from the Union, the Government stood firm and employed Armed Forces at its command to destroy the rebellion. In America itself, the civil war got failed. So, India today is in the process of making and any country, nation will have to be moulded by blood and iron not with bricks and this is what I said the other day.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI : You advise your friends sitting behind you.

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT : That is why this process will have to be undertaken and what I have seen in my experience - I myself have stayed for five years in Jammu and Kashmir. Basically there are two problems. There is total lack of coordination between security forces, even today.

I have to say this with great sadness because what is required there is that security forces should work together in conjunction. We have paramilitary forces and the Army. We have demanded that there should be a unified command. The unified command has been established. But the unified command leaves much to be wanted.

The second thing is the integration of the intelligence agencies. The other day when I was talking about internal threat during the course of my speech on Defence Budget, I had brought out this point and also demanded that we must try to bring about integration because now every person in every different agency rushes to Delhi with his information. There is no local arrangement. There are some coordination meetings held; but they are not effective. So this is a fact. These

two factors have to be gone into and a situation created where I think we will have to come to a decision today as to how to employ our security forces.

As I have brought out, unlike what Indrajitji has said, the Indian Army has faced insurgency in all our border States with great precision. Today in Jammu and Kashmir there is no civic administration. There is no Patwari. There is no Tehsildar. These have to be established. It is very difficult to do in these circumstances. How is it to be done, how to reach the money given by the Central Government to the villages?

Just two years ago I have seen people had to carry a jerrican of kerosene of 20 kgs. on their back for five hours, so that they can survive in winter. Money is not reaching them. This fact has been acknowledged by everyone including our Government. So this civic administration has to be established. How can it be done? If it cannot be done in the normal course, I had said last time while speaking on Jammu and Kashmir that we must initiate a civic action programme through the Armed Forces because in Jammu and Kashmir, Army has been there for many years and they have established a good rapport with the civilians. Civilians trust Army more and that is why in certain programmes of civic action, when Army uses force, it has to use it with compassion. If it has to go on cordon and search mission, it has to go and do welfare activities also. Then only will the goodwill emerge.

Now Vajpayeeji talked about another factor that Army was one-and-a-half kilometres away from Charar-e-Sharief. I want to dispel this doubt. This is a simple tactic of cordon and search. When the security forces go on cordoning, they can go from various directions and stay away. The cordon does not go into the site. It stays away one kilometre or one-and-a-half kilometres away, as has been done, depending on the terrain. Then the search party goes inside. So the fact that the Army has been deployed one-and-a-half kilometres away is no sign of inefficiency. This is the normal tactic. That is why we do not understand these operations.

My only request today is - I do not want to go into great details - to bring one fact to the notice of this House that in spite of the allegations that have been made, I mentioned the other day that the single most achievement of this Government has been that unlike the situation of 1991, today India's prestige and power in this world has been established again. That was the situation when India had to bend on its knees and give refuelling rights to the American planes going to the Gulf War. That is the situation we have come from. But this Government has worked up to the situation now, that today in spite of being alone in a post-cold war situation, we have been successful in establishing our power and that too by very intelligent, articulate and activist diplomacy.

That being what it is, I would like to give a suggestion here. No doubt, the Government has come up to this stage. I have also demanded that elections should be held in Jammu and Kashmir. But elections cannot be held in a void. Before elections are held, I would request the Government to consider whether the actions of

Pakistan have to be countered effectively or not. As has been brought out and as has been seen, Pakistan has interfered in the internal affairs of this country for the past many years. That has been their tactic. Pakistan's entire operational plan is to employ the soft options while initiating and creating divisions among the Indian population and the Indian States on the lines of religion and on the lines of caste.

That is why Pakistan's intention has been to divide India on the lines of religion. And who has supported them knowingly or unknowingly, we all know. We all know who has taken up the chord; we all know who has worked to create this communal divide in the country. I would like to ask our BJP firends what happened when they started the Ram Janmabhoomi issue. It has divided the people on the lines of religion. That is exactly what Pakistan wanted, and that is what Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar probably meant when he spoke this morning. That is why I would say that that is not a question of Jammu and Kashmir alone, but we have to address it nationally. We have to work towards bringing all the communities and castes together because the first priority in national security policy has to be setting our house in order. And for this, all of us have to contribute.

Sir, what has happened in Charar-e-Sharief is very sad and indeed deserves total rejection. But I want to bring out that the Government has tried to show its sincerity by bringing in a situation where there could be elections in the State. Pakistan has deliberately initiated action to create a situation, where elections cannot be held. Today, this House should unanimously condemn the action of Pakistan, the militants and unitedly call for action that can restore normality in Jammu and Kashmir. It is that sort of resolution which is called for to be passed by this House today.

MR. SPEAKER : Well, may I request hon. Members not to treat this discussion as a question-answer hour? For, if too many questions are asked you are not likely to get replies to all the questions as the time is going to be very limited for the reply. Also, there shall not be any discussion on this discussion itself. Thirdly, let there be no repetition of the replies to some of the points which are raised by other Members. And fourthly, I would like to request you to directly come to the point so that within the available time, we can give more time to others.

May I request Jaswant Singhji to speak please?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will endeavour to abide as faithfully as I can by your observations. I shall, therefore, speak only on the Adjournment Motion, unlike the principal speakers of the Treasury, who, as you have yourself observed, narrated to us the history and the philosophy of the partition of this country.

MR. SPEAKER : My remark applies to Members from all the sides.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Yes, Sir. It applies to everyone. I have said that they have narrated the history and the philosophy of the partition of the country only because the central issue involved about the incident at Charar-e-Sharief is what has indeed persuaded some of us to move the Adjournment Motion or to support it. And I support the Motion moved by Shri Somnath Chatterjee.

There was another caution which was voiced earlier, before this decision was taken. And subsequently also, this kept on coming up in various interventions. It was about the need for a consensus to emerge from this discussion. I am pained to point out that indeed a consensus already existed. Giving voice to that consensus, the Government was empowered by both the Houses of Parliament by a unanimous Resolution on Kashmir. That unanimous Resolution is not simply a piece of paper. That was an expression of the concern of both the Houses of Parliament. It was a document of unanimous consensus.

No further additional consensus need to be expressed by this House. It is that consensus which this Government has betrayed; and it is since that consensus and that responsibility which have been betrayed, we have this Adjournment Motion here as a mark of the censure of this House, as a mark of censure of this Parliament and as a mark of betrayal of a consensus which was handed over to this Government as a responsibility. That is why, in a very mild term that this Adjournment Motion has come about. There were indeed other ways by which the same censure could have been expressed; but we chose the mildest of the three. We chose it because around the 'mildest of the three', there was the maximum equation of agreement.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am necessarily mindful of the caution that you have voiced. I am rushing through the points that I have; and I shall endeavour not to repeat anything that has been said earlier.

I did not have the benefit of attending the meeting of the Leaders of the Opposition that the hon. Prime Minister called, if I am not mistaken, on the 12th of May. In that meeting, the hon. Prime Minister, as reported by the newspapers, believed to have said this and I am quoting as accurately as I can, The hon. Prime Minister is indeed here; this is an occasion to verify. I quote :

"... maybe the State Government adopted a certain approach which perhaps did not succeed. But this should not be viewed as a failure, etc. etc."

I am stunned by the sophistry of these words and by the total evasion involved in using words to communicate nothing! He says : "... maybe the State Government adopted an approach." What was the Union Government doing, if still on the 12th of May, after the incident, the Prime Minister has to say "... maybe the State Government"? Is the State Government an autonomous organisation? Is the Governor of Jammu &

Kashmir, a representative of an autonomous will, free from the directions of the Union Government; and therefore, even on the 12th of May, there is still a question of, "... may be"? Every blame is being transferred on to the head of the State Government, as if the Union Government had no responsibility whatsoever in the matter. Thereafter, he says, "... perhaps did not succeed." He says "... perhaps did not succeed", after the *dargah* has been burnt down to ashes; he says "... perhaps did not succeed", after the rubble of the total policy on Jammu & Kashmir lies down there smouldering. The final irony of that is, the hon. Prime Minister informs the nation and the Leaders of the Opposition that, "... this should not be viewed as a failure." I would like very sincerely not to view this as a failure and if I continue to view it as a failure, perhaps it is a deficiency in my understanding! It is a failure of such a major dimension because in this what has failed is not simply the Government. What has been burnt down indeed - whether you consider it as Nand Rishi or you consider that as the Mazhar of the Nand Rishi or the *dargha* of Nooruddin Wali in a sense, Sir, is a sense of honour of this country. We gave you the consensus as our responsibility; you hold that responsibility; you betrayed that consensus; you betrayed our trust; you betrayed the trust of the Parliament; and you betrayed the trust of the nation.

I will go to the chronology of the event. The Government's stand is explained by the spokesman fielded by the Treasury Benches. I would not like to rely on the statement of the Union Home Secretary because he cannot stand up and answer for himself; that has not been an authoritative statement by anyone from the Government. Therefore, I have to take recourse to either that or the statement repeated here in the House.

There are three things particularly said : What else could we have done - please tell us now. There was no other option. It was a fragile structure of wood, etc. After the event, after the failure of that policy and after the burning down of the *Dargah*, it does not lie on the Treasury Benches to turn and tell us as to what else could have we done now? This is precisely your responsibility because you ought to have thought out not only one option but ten options or if necessary, all the possible 100 options or the contingencies that could have arisen to prevent this humiliation from being inflicted on the country. You are responsible for having humiliated the nation in the process that has happened and that is why, Sir, we are charging them with dereliction of this duty. That is why, we have come, in collectively, with this mildest form of censure. The chronology, even now being explained by the Union Government, through the agencies of various speakers who have intervened, is filled with either total evasion, history and philosophy or inaccuracies or half-truths. The problem lies here because what was a total failure, for publicity sake, you have conveyed it or tried to convey it as a great success. You did everything possibly wrong in the management of the situation in Hazratbal.

Even then, I had mentioned in Parliament : "You did everything wrong; it was the creator's great grace upon India that permitted out of that mess a resolution to emerge which conveyed an impression as if a great success had been achieved by this Government." It was not a success, Sir. It was a great failure, and the root of what has taken place today in Charar-e-Sharief lies in that misconception, in that total misreading of that situation.

Though you have said not to ask too many questions, I would like to say that there are some questions which cannot but must be asked....(*Interruptions*)...I am given to understand that this self-styled Major Gul had been operating in Jammu and Kashmir since mid-1991. This has been in the knowledge of the Government since mid-1991. This very self-styled Gul was, through intelligence agencies, reported to be in Hazratbal, when Hazratbal was seized. You have to clarify this. You owe this to us because now, anything but total candour will not do. On mendacity, consensus cannot be built. Consensus is the distillation of collective thought. When you are sharing only a quarter thought, you cannot expect from us complete and full cooperation based on fractions of truth. Were there no intelligence reports that the self-styled Gul was in Hazratbal? Thereafter, when you arranged for the so-called capitulation or surrender of those who were inside the Hazratbal, you arranged it through the local policy and not through the Army which had been entrusted with the responsibility which you again repeated in Charar-e-Sharief. And when the intelligence agencies asked for him there, after the so-called surrender, he, alongwith six others, was not there. If this is not correct, tell us about 1991. Tell us about Hazratbal. Even till today, we do not know what happened in Hazratbal. What were the lessons of Hazratbal? What went wrong and what went right? Parliament does not know that those lessons were.

Sir, we move now in December, 1994. I am not referring to Doda; I am not referring to Kishtwar; I am not referring to continuing incidents of foreign mercenaries - Sudani, Afghanistan, Palestine, others whose presence was known to this Government in Doda repeatedly. A foreign mercenary on the soil of India is an invader and this Government showed weakness, the slackness and cowardice in standing up against the invasion of India, which is not an invasion of six months old, six days old. This invasion has been going on for the last four years. For four years repeatedly we have been saying, 'you have foreign mercenaries sitting on your soil. They do not deserve any consideration because they are invaders. A citizen, a countryman he is meriting. He will certainly deserve to be spoken to even if he is in error, but a foreign mercenary not. You did not heed it.

In December 1994, Intelligence again reported to you that the activities of foreign mercenaries are now seen in Charar-e-Sharief. Intelligence again repeated to you and I think this was mentioned by hon. Shri

George Fernandes too. He quoted to you that what was done in Hazratbal is likely to be repeated in Charar-e-Sharief. What did you do? What directions were given from the Government of India? What additional coordination was arranged?

Thereafter, in February 1995, incident started multiplying around Charar-e-Sharief like spark. It became apparent that Sharar-e-Sharief is going to become a focus; Charar-e-Sharief is going to become that area around which yet another question is going to be posed to India, we raised it in Parliament. I recollect very well coming in pleading with you in your Chamber that I be permitted to raise Charar-e-Sharief because I think that it is a very important issue. We raised it in Press. Repeatedly, we asked you to explain to us; repeatedly, we cautioned you that what is coming about in Charar-e-Sharief is yet another very big challenge and question to India. On the 2nd or the 3rd March 1995 - I could well be mistaken on the exact date an encounter takes place between BSF and this very group of self-styled Gul. In that encounter two BSF, other rank, are killed. Soon after the killings, of these two BSF personnel, the first ingress and shelter taking into Charar-e-Sharief takes place. Yet, at the beginning of March, there is no further action from this Government. We again asked the Government, 'what is happening?' Kashmir Valley is begun to simmer with anxiety about this. The Government is silent. The Government does not share information; the Government does not even share our concern when we voiced it.

The Jammu & Kashmir Ministry raises my next concern. The Union Home Ministry unable to cope with the situation of its internal feuding is split apart. Controls are taken up one from another. The affairs of Jammu & Kashmir, of prime importance to the country become the direct responsibility of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister thereafter is good enough to inform the nation and the Parliament, which was an expression to my mind, of lack of confidence in the Ministers that were there in the Union Home Ministry.

I do not mean it to be individual's slur. But when the Prime Minister took away those responsibilities from the Ministry itself, it was an expression by the Prime Minister of a lack of confidence in the totality of his Union Home Ministry. Yet, the Home Ministry continued to be as such. The Prime Minister took on an additional charge of Jammu and Kashmir. Implicit in that was that he would now-like he had earlier said once about Bofors - pay day to day attention to it as done in Bofors. The other day he was good enough to inform us here in this House that it was very important for him to be also his own Defence Minister. I was not convinced. I still am not convinced. Even when he took direct charge of the Ministry of Jammu and Kashmir, I personally was not convinced that the hon. the Prime Minister had the time to pay heed to the complicated challenges that Kashmir throws up, not on a daily basis but almost on an hourly basis.

SHRI UMRAO SINGH : There was a demand from the political Parties that the Prime Minister should take up the charge.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : But then certainly, I was not a part of that political consensus. That is not the point. The point that I would like to know is, ever since - there being only one Joint Secretary in it, is one point; perhaps the hon. the Prime Minister, the Minister in charge of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs does it all himself and there was a cell created for looking after the Jammu and Kashmir Affairs - that cell, since the creation of that separate Ministry has had an opportunity to meet only once. Since the creation of that Cell directly under the charge of the Prime Minister to look after the Jammu and Kashmir affairs has had an opportunity to meet only once! Leave alone all other aspects of Jammu and Kashmir; leave alone every other aspect of the deteriorating situation - whether it be in Jammu, or Doda or Kesra or the Valley or anywhere; and considering the great experience in public life that the hon. the Prime Minister has, his individual, personal learning and his super-humanability, how is it possible that the hon. the Prime Minister, the Minister in charge for Jammu and Kashmir Affairs has managed the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir for the entire duration of that direct charge with only one meeting of that Cell?

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : I do not know what you are talking about. I thank you for the sarcasm. But I would like to tell you that the Department, those who are concerned with the Kashmir matter have been meeting, have been consulting on a daily basis - in fact, more than once a day whenever needed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, that is my question. My point is precisely that. The Prime Minister objected to my sarcasm. Yes, I was being sarcasm. I am being sarcastic. I am being sarcastic because what otherwise we are unable to reach the thick hide of this Government. I am deliberately being sarcastic. The hon. the Prime Minister says that this Department has been meeting on a daily basis; has been meeting, if necessary, twice a day. My charge is that that department has not access to the Prime Minister.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : No.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : They have not been able to meet the Prime Minister.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : When I said the Department, I included myself in it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : If the hon. the Prime Minister says that he has been meeting this Department twice a day and if despite that the Charar-e-Sharief burns down, then this is precisely why we are talking about it.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : You can turn it around in any way you like.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, if the Prime Minister says that he is meeting the Department twice a day and if the consequence of that meeting twice a day is this national humiliation, then this Adjournment Motion is really not enough. Then it is really not enough because what it calls for is much more severe and much greater censure. These things do not delight us. I have had an occasion to say this earlier. Why do we have to say all these things to a man of great learning? Why are we compelled to say all these things?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I have only informed you the facts. Now, you made a comment. I have no objection to your comments at all. I am not going to make any comment on your comment. You said, we have not met; you said, in spite of the Prime Minister being in charge, things have not happened; there have been no meeting; there is only one meeting. I said, this is not correct. We have been meeting whenever necessary, if necessary, more than once a day. That is all I said.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I will proceed, Sir, because my point is established. I am really on the chronology of events and they will speak for themselves. I spoke about 1991 and came up to 1995. I am now on the situation that was there after the occupation of Nand Rishi Mazaar also called as Dargah Charar-e-Sharief.

These are well-known facts. The inner cordon around the Nand Rishi Mazaar was composed of paramilitary forces, Jammu and Kashmir Police and Civilian Revenue and other authorities. The Army, as pointed out, was on pickets but the pickets were to attempt to overlook the township. It is a small township. I have had the benefit of visiting the township on numerous occasions and paying homage to Nand Rishi Mazaar or Dargah Charar-e-Sharief. The army was never given any task. I would like to know what task was given to the Army. It was, as claimed by somebody, to prevent ingress and egress. We would like to know what task was given to the Army. The Army did not go there on its own.

It is well known now at this stage that a Joint Command was to set up. It did not work. I remember the courtesy which the then Minister of State for Home Affairs extended to us. He called up to his house and shared the information with us that the establishment of a Joint Command will take place and so many other things will happen but nothing happened. At this stage we know that the Dargah has been occupied. There is no coordination. You visualise for yourself a small township and there is an inner cordon of outer picket at some distance away, necessarily because that is the deployment pattern. There is absolutely no coordination. I would like to know what tasks were given to the Army.

I am, Sir, on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, that is Eighth-Ninth May. A mention was made here by hon. George Fernandes that the Army was asked to move on the eighth itself. I would like this to be clarified because if I recall correctly the first fire took place, which was

like a warning, on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, that is on the night of Eighth-Ninth May. There were numerous reports and we raised it in the House also. There was some response that 300 or 500 houses were burnt. A very casual cursory sort of a response came from the Government and a statement of the sort was given which was completely evasive. The Government did not even then recognise the enormity or the seriousness of the impending problem. I charge, Sir, that even at this stage no effort was made either by the State Government or the Union Government to ensure that at this stage at least a coordinated action between the paramilitary forces, the Civilian organisations and the military which was eventually called, was taken. The first fire in Charar-e-Sharief ought to have made both the State and the Union Governments to think as to what is to be done as elementary precaution of what is obviously a tactic to set on fire when it comes to the wooden township. They could only say, Sir, that the fire tenders which came from Srinagar could not enter because they came under fire. It is misleading and it is only the half truth.

Firstly, after Hazratbal, once the Dargah had been occupied, why were not fire tenders placed on permanent duty in Charar-e-Sharief as a requirement, as a contingency? Secondly, it is insulting the intelligence of those that have suffered for fire tenders which cannot go into the narrow lanes of Charar-e-Sharief because it is a small township of wooden shacks and you want to send big trucks which cannot go in any case. Why were not other contingency plans made? Why were not alternative arrangements to fight fire made? Not made because no thought was being given.

MR. SPEAKER : Jaswant Singh Ji, there are many other Members who would like to speak including those of your party.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI : Sir, these are the only two from our party.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, I have made the point on fire fighting. I am now moving to the night of 10th-11th May because it is the 11th May, early morning. By all accounts, the fire starts in the vicinity of the Dargah at around 0230 hours that is 2.30 in the morning. Between 2.30 and 5.30 the fire rages with no one in control. No one is in control; no one is fighting it; no one is going to the help of the township, the civilian or any one. The Army is finally called. In that Sir, I differ with the dates given by hon. George Fernandes. The Army is finally called to help the situation at 0600 hours that is at 6 A.M. on the 11th of May. By the time the Army is called, the Dargah has been reduced to rubble already. By the time the Army is called, the self-styled Gul with whatever others has already left Charar-e-Sharief. From Wednesday, the first incident, till 5.30 on the morning of the 11th of May, from 8th of May till 11th of May, the Government was literally fiddling while the fire was burning. That is my charge, Sir.

Now, Sir, I have a point to make about, I think, of a very great wrong that has been done by the Union Home Ministry and the Government of India as a whole. The Army let the Government know that their Signal Intelligence has intercepted wireless communication between the self-styled Guls and their mentors across the Border. In an act of unbelievable irresponsibility, the Union Home Ministry made that knowledge public. By making that knowledge about the Signal Intelligence intercept by the Army public, they have compromised a source, an ability, and I charge the Government of having done that after the incident as if there were some more demonstration needed of how irresponsibly and how senselessly and continuously mindlessly this Government can act despite all that now lies as rubble.

Sir, very briefly let us look at it from another angle. What could possibly have been our adversary's aims? This is an elementary assessment and appreciation that ought to have been conducted by the Government. The adversary's aims were clear. They must occupy, Hazratbal, some other similar place. They must embarrass India in that some other such religious site, place of worship or whatever. They must stand there and defy us till the whole world sees that they are defying us. They stand there and defy us for 60 continuous days. Thereafter the aim could well have been that they will do as much damage as possible in those 60 days to further internationalise, to show us down.

They do that. Thereafter, their aim could have been to destroy it. They indeed, declared it that they will destroy it. The knowledge of the declaration is with the Government. They destroyed it and the Government did nothing. The Government came here today and told us what else could they have done? What their aims ought to have been? Their aims ought to have been to have assessed all these things from the very beginning. They ought to have prevented it. They ought to have prevented it from internationalising it. They ought to have thwarted it. They ought to have prevented the slap directly on the face of India. An *aira gaira nathu khaira* of a foreign mercenary comes and stands there for sixty continuous days and defies India and all that the Indian Government, carrying the responsibility of our consensus, was able to do was to say that they will give him safe passage to Pakistan. What was their aim? What was your Government's aim? What was your appreciation? How did you, while planning, aim to counter the aims of our adversaries? I charge you with that failure too.

Now that Pakistan has done what it wanted to do. Have we expected anything else from Pakistan? It is not a new input. If you wish to hang your own failure only on Pakistan, then please be cautious. It is because in the process you create a nation which is one-sixth in every sense of India. Pakistan is one-sixth of India in every sense. When you give it a kind of superhumanability by constantly referring, either to their third rate Intelligence Agency or to think as they are

responsible for every difficulty that takes place with us, then you demoralise or denigrate the country and you in fact, instead of transferring the responsibility, add on to your guilt. What has the Government done after the 11th May? For the first time, after coming into being of the Ministry on Kashmir Affairs under honourable the Prime Minister, finally sat with the entire opposition. Sir, he had deputed two of his Ministers to go to Jammu and Kashmir. I have no difficulty with whom the Prime Minister deputed to go to which part of the country. The direct involvement was in Jammu and Kashmir. The issues involved related either to the Ministry on Kashmir Affairs or to the Ministry of Defence. Honourable the Union Finance Minister is looking after the finances of the country. And with great technical ability, honourable the Union Home Minister is supposedly looking after, at least in theory, the affairs of the Home Ministry with as much ability as God has granted him. After all, where is the Ministry of Defence? Where is the Ministry on Kashmir Affairs? Incidentally, Sir, we were informed through newspapers that they were to go for an on-the-spot study. I mean no disrespect to the person of the Union Finance Minister. I know how he must have gone. I know that because I have had to do this myself. On both sides of the road were lined up either the paramilitary or military commandoes with bullet proof cars whizzed from Srinagar Airport to the Governor's beautiful residence overlooking the placid and wonderful spring lake of Kashmir. There, in the well-appointed drawing room, he must have sat and conferred with the Governor and a few others, a select handful; thereafter they go in a helicopter and over-fly Charar-e-Sharief and come back.

MR. SPEAKER : Some other time.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I know, Sir. He should have gone some other time.

MR. SPEAKER : I said that we will discuss it some other time.

19.00 hrs.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, I will conclude. We say what we say in pain and we say in anger because you fail to act in time; because you fail to act with courage. In Doda last evening three people were killed and three were seriously injured. In a village near Kishtwar six people were killed. This will continue to happen for as long as you are there. Sir, this Motion of Censure through the Adjournment is not enough for this Government. I appeal to you even now if you do really want to change, time has come. Display one great commitment to India. Give up the Chair which seems to be your principal pre-occupation. That is the only way a new beginning can be made in Kashmir.

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN (Gobichettipalayam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Charar-e-Sharief was the shining symbol of Kashmir's secular traditions and was respected by the people of all faiths. Sir, there have been several instances where the militants attempted to damage

mosques to rouse passions as part of their design of engineering large scale disturbances to thwart the process of normalisation for which the Government has been actively working. After the occupation of Hazrat Bal, there have been several incidents where militants have indulged in the acts of vandalism.

Sir, this shrine of Sheikh Noorudin is the second most venerated shrine after the Hazrat Bal and lakhs of people visit there every year. The occupation of this shrine by the militants and the mercenaries has not been received well by the Kashmiris in general and the people of the Charar-e-Sharief in particular. On the night of 8th May, 1995 the militants set on fire the residential houses in the town and in utter frustration and desperation tried to thwart the political process by creating terror. The militants opened fire and prevented the fire tenders from reaching the spot. On 11th May, at about 2 a.m. the militants set a cluster of houses on fire which are very close to the shrine. After setting the whole shrine ablaze, the militants opened fire and launched racket attacks on the posts of security forces.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Narayanan, that is known to all of us.

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN : Sir, I will not take more than five minutes. I will be very brief. The militants, conscious of the public resentment of their occupation, has promised the local residents that they would leave the town as soon as the weather improves. But they did not do so as they were guided by the dictates of their mentors across the border. Now, the entire country is in deep anguish over the tragic development culminating in the burning down of the famous shrine. The 600 years-old shrine was set afire in the early hours by the foreign mercenaries holed up in its premises. The fierce battle engaged by the militants is yet another proof of the sinister attempt made to create chaos and confusion all over the State. While the Government was successful in flushing out the militants from Hazratbal, why did not the security forces flush the militants out in Charar-e-Sharief? Sir, the Government has once again failed to honour its commitment to the nation, particularly the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The irony is that the Government did not initiate any step to protect the shrine even after the threat to its survival became real on 8th May when the militants began torching *mohallas*. Besides reducing the shrine to ashes, the militants have also torched the historic place of Khankah and the green mosque. Sir, moreover the shrine was burned down on the day when Bakrid was being celebrated joyously world over by the Muslims. This is the clear indication of the total mishandling.

This is a clear indication of the total mishandling by the bureaucratic administration involving a sacred place held in high reverence throughout the Valley. The Prime Minister will have to explain the reasons for repeatedly rejecting the popular demand for replacing the*

It was also ironical that even till yesterday, the Home Minister, Shri Chavan had held out the assurance that the Shrine was fully protected. The Government is claiming that the situation was improving in Jammu & Kashmir. I wanted the Government to explain how the fire started and what it proposed to deal with the militants holed up in the Shrine. I also suggest that in view of the Government's plan to hold elections there, a parliamentary delegation should visit the State and assess the situation.

Sir, the Prime Minister should have taken the Parliament into confidence, but he failed to do that. It is a national issue. The Prime Minister has to explain as to why he has not taken the Parliament into confidence. I submit that inefficient handling of the situation by the Government is the cause for this total destruction. The affairs of Jammu & Kashmir are directly handled and looked after by the Prime Minister. He cannot escape the responsibility. He should own moral responsibility for the burning down of the Shrine and the entire town.

With these words I support the Adjournment Motion.

MR. SPEAKER : The derogatory remarks to the Governor may not go on record. I will look into it and then remove it.

SHRI D. VENKATESWARA RAO (Bapatla) : Sir, I do not wish to take much time by repeating the same events. I rise to support the Censor Motion moved by Shri Somnath Chatterjee. The reason being that I have been seeing the events that are being taking place in Kashmir for the last five or six years. We have been told time and again that the situation in Kashmir Valley was under full control and the time has come for us to hold the elections.

But here with this Charar-e-Sharief incident whereby the total Shrine is being destroyed as well as thousands of houses are being destroyed in the same process, the particular situation is revealing nothing but the present situation that is existing in the Kashmir Valley. All the time the Government was there and the Government was here, that is, the Prime Minister's office that is directly handling the affairs is responsible for this kind of activity that has happened.

Sir, one lakh crores of rupees have been spent in the Kashmir Valley for the last few years. But so far what had happened over there? It is very much sad that people are not getting education; they are not getting proper food; and they are not getting employment there. This is the result of the last four or five years of activities that have taken place in this Valley. Now these events in the Kashmir Valley are highly objectionable.

Now, the present situation is not the only thing that is happening over there. Right from the Hazratbal incident if you take, these events are taking place. As Shri Jaswant Singh has said that we should not take the Hazratbal incident as successful handling of the

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

situation where the seeds were sown at that moment itself. The self-styled Afghan leader was there right from that time onwards. The Government could not catch that man and he, after blasting the Shrine, was able to go away.

This is the failure of the Government. We can directly say that this Government could not handle this situation properly.

Sir, when this incident is being taken place, so many people around it also have been affected, for which the Government could not say anything. On the one side the Government is telling that this act is being done by the militants and foreign ISI and other activists but at the same time the local people are not believing this. As has been said earlier, the whole area is being dominated by the military operations and all that. The people who have gathered over there in thousands and thousands protest against the Government that this destruction is being done by the military. But the Government is not in a position to convince the people here as well as outside the country that this is being done by the militants alone. Sir, in this particular situation, the Government has to take the responsibility for this incident. The sentiments of the entire Muslim community are being affected in this particular situation as well.

Right from Ayodhya to till now, this Government could not instill confidence in that community that we are dedicated for the secular system and the secular activities in this country. And to the world, we should also give our responsible slogan that we are secular.

Sir, with these few words, I support the Adjournment Motion moved by Shri Somnath Chatterjee and this Government should take the responsibility for the failure to prevent this incident.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will be very brief and come straight to the subject.

Sir, I also want that the Prime Minister and the Government should realise seriously the implications of this Adjournment Motion because the Adjournment Motion amounts, with all its implications, the censure, the spirit of censure against the Government's activities and performance particularly in regard to Jammu and Kashmir problem.

Sir, we also take this opportunity to express our gravest possible concern over the dismal and utter failure of the Government in tackling such a very important vital national problem of our country.

Sir, I take this opportunity of participating in this debate to appeal to the people of our country belonging to all religious faiths to see that peace and amity prevails all over the country and nobody should be allowed to take advantage of this kind of peculiar and frequent situation to disrupt the normalcy in the country.

Sir, coming to the main problem, once again I reiterate that the Jammu and Kashmir problem is not

the problem of a particular Party and the Party's philosophy cannot be with the guiding principle of solving such an important national and vital problem, which concerns the security perceptions of our country and which concerns the external relation and manifestations in the field of country to country relation. Therefore, it must have an all comprehensive policy framework. My charge is that this Government has failed to evolve such a policy framework. As a matter of act, there is no Jammu and Kashmir policy of the Government of India.
...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : That point has already been made.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : If there is anything, that is a policy of drift, a policy of procrastination and a policy of simply evading the issues. I think, the Government should take this into account and reformulate the Jammu and Kashmir policy is that the emerging danger can be met effectively.

Sir, the basic problem is the alienation of Jammu and Kashmir people from the mainstream politics of our country. Unless their hearts are won, unless they are persuaded to join the mainstream politics of our country, I think the problem will continue to fester. This alienation is the result of the policy of procrastination and drifting.

So far as the holding of elections is concerned, nobody has so far objected to the process of political functioning. But elections should not be the beginning of the process. Our Party is of the view that the elections should be the end-result of a series and continuous political process and not the beginning of the political process. Moreover, the present situation is not conducive to hold a fair and free election. If a free and fair election is not held it shall prove being counter-productive and it may also become an instrument for anti-media propaganda in the international fora.

Therefore, I still feel that since it is a political problem, a solution should be sought politically and there cannot be a military solution to the problem, to be very clear and plain. Therefore, the political solution can be arrived at only by a continuous dialogue with all those who are concerned in the matter. I hope that the Government will take proper notice of it and continue the efforts of bringing about a political solution and not take up the matter from a law and order point of view and a solution should not be sought militarily.

[Translation]

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL (Godda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Charar-e-Sharief incident has been a very painful incident in this country. For the past four years, we have been hearing that the political process is going to be set in motion in Kashmir. Now, Kashmir has experienced this sordid incident. Prior to this, the hon. Members had drawn the attention of the Government towards the Babri Masjid issue but despite the Government's assurances till the eleventh hour that nobody will be allowed to demolish the Babri Masjid, it was pulled down and the

Government could not protect it. The same story has been repeated today. No decision has been taken regarding this incident.

On Wednesday, Shri Sharad Yadav had expressed his concern in the House over the tension prevailing at Charar-e-Sharief. Many hon. Members had drawn the attention of the Government towards this issue on the very same day. Despite that, Charar-e-Sharief was set ablaze on Thursday. Does the Government intend to take action after occurrence of an incident like this in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam or anywhere else? I think that this ugly incident could have definitely been averted if these questions were addressed seriously at some forum. Pakistan takes some action against India and we keep on sitting merely contemplating on that. You know everything. Why didn't the Government take any action when it was aware that Pakistan or some terrorists were bent upon burning down Charar-e-Sharief? An hon. Minister of the Government of India made a statement that the Government was aware of it in advance. When the Government was aware....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : All this has already been asked.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL : So, let India be set ablaze as well. Such incidents are taking place despite diverting all the funds of India to Kashmir and deploying all the army there. An hon. Minister visits Kashmir, sets the things right. Then another Minister goes there and reverses the whole process. Have you turned Kashmir into a political arena where you may play game of power? In Pakistan such things had been suppressed for quite a long time....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mandal ji, you may speak at a later occasion. That is enough. All that has already been said.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL : It seems that the Members of smaller parties are of no significance in the eyes of the Government.

MR. SPEAKER : What you are saying has already been stated.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL : Whether it is Kashmir or any other problem, the Members of the major parties were called to deliver their speeches and as Shri Jaswant Singh ji was saying that the hon. Home Minister visited the place and talked to the officials in a closed room, here, too, the same pattern is followed and the matters are disposed of by talking to certain leaders in a room.

MR. SPEAKER : They have already said what you intended to say.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL : I am restricting my speech to the confines of my knowledge. I want to say that the Government should take action before an incident takes place. The Government is talking of starting the electoral process but how will elections be conducted there? Like they were held in Punjab or in Assam? Who will cast votes there? The public or those who will snatch

the ballot boxes? The Government should first prepare the people for the exercise, instil confidence and courage in them, go in for the development of the region. Nothing has been left for the people of Kashmir and 4-5 percent people have exploited whole of Kashmir and you are talking of initiating the political process with the involvement of these very people. The representatives of the Government should go and meet the common man and involve them to find a solution to this problem. In our country, be it Bombay or any other place, the way the religious places, both of the Hindus and Muslims are made targets, it hurts the feelings of the people....(Interruptions)

Nothing has been said about Jharkhand. This Government does not believe in solving the problems; instead, it wants to hold them in abeyance so that people may hanker after it. The Government has completed four years and, as such, is in office for 5-6 months more. It can pass this period also by procrastinating things. Yet, my submission is that there is still time to take the Kashmir issue seriously and save what is left of Kashmir from destruction and loss.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I think now the hon. Prime Minister should speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : As the Mover, I did not take much time. So, please give them time.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Bhogendra Jha, I am not going to give you the last word.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I will give two minutes' time to each Member.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, with deep anguish I condemn the brutal and criminal assault on the Charar-e-Sharief, the symbol of Indian secular faith.

I also support the other points made by my other colleagues regarding the attack on Charar-e-Sharief.

I want to mention only two or three points.

I had the opportunity to visit Kashmir on several occasions, individually as well as in delegations. After coming back, we pleaded with the Prime Minister not to talk of elections in Kashmir but to prepare for a situation there. We told him that all the political parties in Kashmir had become irrelevant and requested him to first bring the political parties into relevance. We suggested to him that before meeting the political leaders, he should win the confidence of the people. But instead of that, he called some discredited people in Delhi, had talks with them and announced elections. This is just a mere eye-wash to find a solution of the problem. This Government is totally insensitive to the ground realities and the situation in Kashmir. We made a representation saying

that with the money being sent in Kashmir, a building is being constructed in Noida. We requested the Government to look into it. Only one officer in Anantnag was caught with Rs. 4 crore defalcation but crores and crores of rupees are being defalcated like that. The boys in Kashmir told me - and Mr. Jaina also who is here - repeatedly when we visited Kashmir. The Government did not protect those people who met us and gave some information to us. One after the other they were killed. How can we depose faith in the Government? All the political parties had deposed faith in the Prime Minister. He had promised that he would protect the Babri Mosque but he failed. This time again we had all deposed faith in him. It was in his hands to protect this Charar-e-Sharief because he is looking after the Department. But again he failed. It is a total failure of this Government. I condemn this act of failure and this assault on the people. This Government has failed to protect our Constitution and the unity of this country. This Government has, therefore, no right to stay and rule this country. This Government has taken the country to the brink of destruction. I condemn this Government with all the might at my command and thank you for giving me the opportunity.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay-South Central) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the hon. Somnath Chatterjee was moving Adjournment Motion in the House, there was a sudden darkness all around in the House. I would like to say that the Government has been keeping the House in the dark in regard to Kashmir. Charar-e-Sharief is not the first mosque which has been gutted down. Through you, I would like to inform the House, that Maqdoom Sahib masjid was burnt down in Srinagar on 21st September, 1992, then Naqshband Sahib Masjid was burnt down on 25th September, 1992 and Shameshwari's masjid was burnt down on 28th October, 1992, the Maqdoom masjid was once again attacked on 3rd November, 1992. I would like to say that several masjids have been attacked time and again. Jiarat Rishi Sahib in Anantnag was attacked on 11th November. Then, an attempt was made to burn down Sopore masjid. The Library was burnt down in Hazrat Bal area. Then, there was a big blast in Jamia Masjid on 6th of May.

An hon. Colleague of ours just said that if some incident had happened there then the Government would have been asked to resign. I would like to ask whether we are supposed to congratulate the Government for what happened in the Charar-e-Sharief. This Government has proved to be a complete failure in regard to Charar-e-Sharief. They would not even save one masjid!

Shri Salman Khursheed just mentioned that elections should be held in Kashmir. Then, Shri Chandra Shekhar remarked as to in whose hands we want to

entrust Kashmir by holding elections there. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs who belongs to my state has also said something like this just now. I would like to ask whether you propose to appeal to Hizbul Mujahiddin, which is an official organisation of the ISI, to contest elections. Do you want to hand over Kashmir to them?

Sir, I do not want to take much time but I must say one thing that if you are really planning to hold elections in Kashmir then you should hand it over to Army and free Kashmir of militants and then hold elections. Only then the elections can be free and fair and people would also be able to cast their votes without any fear. Our hon. Prime Minister is present here, he has announced an amount to the tune of Rs. 15 crore for re-building Charar-e-Sharief but if he can provide Rs. 15 crore for re-building Charar-e-Sharief then who will provide funds for re-building 5 temples which have recently been burnt down there. All these temples were burnt in the wake of Charar-e-Sharief incident only. As per my information a total of 750 temples have been burnt down. You should provide funds to re-build all of them.

You are aware that Sri Lanka Government has sought help from an organisation called MOSAD to deal with LTTE. I suggest that our Government should also seek the help of MOSAD organisation to deal with the conspiracies hatched by the ISI Organisation and to deal with terrorists.

Sir, I would only like to submit that it is all politicised. Hon. Indrajit Gupta and Atal Bihar Vajpayee have said that it is being propagated there that the Indian Army had sprinkled gun-powder from Helicopter and then set it afire and this way Charar-e-Sharief was burnt down. This kind of propaganda is being indulged in. The people in that area are shouting slogans against India. That is why, I feel that it is all due to politics.

Sir, there were bomb blasts in Bombay. I consider Shri Rajesh Pilot brave. We may have differences. When there were attacks in Kashmir, he had gone there. He was attacked, and four of his colleagues got killed but he remained there. He went there. Similarly when there were bomb blasts in Bombay, he went there also. I was witness to that. I was also there. Shri Mukul Wasnik went along him. Shri Rajesh Pilot had said it in this House only that ISI was behind it all and it was masterminded by Pakistan. 257 persons got killed and 713 were injured in the Bombay bomb blasts. The people who were behind these blasts had been trained in Pakistan. It was confirmed by the CBI also. The Bombay Police also said it. The CBI Chief also supported it but a Bombay police official said it in the High-court that it did not constitute treason. So, Sir, what kind of message is directed to the country and Pakistan by them? This way they have given a message to the whole world... (Interruptions)*

* Not Recorded.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : These things are not going on record.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is this? They should speak with full responsibility that it was not master-minded by ISI. They said it only in accordance with the public sentiments. They are afraid of them.

Sir, I would like to say only one sentence about Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar.

MR. SPEAKER : No, you may sit down.

[English]

You do not have to comment on each one's points.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would conclude by saying that be it a mosque or a temple, if our soldiers are killed in a temple or a mosque then since our country is big enough, we should kill those who want to kill our soldiers.

I would conclude and express my gratitude to you for allowing me to speak.

SHRI BHOGEN德拉 JHA (Madhubani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today I rise to support the Adjournment Motion introduced by Comrade-Shri Somnath Chatterjee. I had also given a resolution condemning the burning of the Charar-e-Sharief, the fire that broke out in the city in which several temples were demolished and houses of those persons belonging to the minorities those who have been left were torched. The Government failed to protect them. I, therefore, condemn the Government with these words.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, followers of almost all main religions of the world live in our country and we cannot rule and save it by resorting to favouritism to anyone of them. Gandhiji could not save the country from disintegration when he tried to appease a particular religion and the country was divided in 1947. He used to say :

"Ishwar Allah tere nam, sabko sanmati de bhagwan".

But he was shot dead in the name of 'Ishwar' and the country was divided in the name of 'Allah'. Therefore, secularism is the only way out in our country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have stated that religion is just like a ball. If it is kicked at particular direction of the wall, it will rebound at the opposite direction. I, therefore, have stated in 1991 that the incidents of disturbances at Ayodhya are echoing as threats in Kashmir. It has its effects. I, therefore, repeat it even today that the failure of the Government is now known to all.

The Government could not prevent the Pak trained terrorist gangs equipped with Pak and American arms who perpetrated lakhs of murders in Afghanistan and who fought in the name of anti-communist rule. This is the failure of the government. The august House should unanimously censure the failure of the Government. Mr. Speaker, Sir, again I would like to point out that every individual in India has his right to follow the religion of his choice. However, a person like myself who is non-mythological and secular cannot survive in the most of the nations in the world. No suit will be filed against a person like me and rather I would be beheaded. Our constitution has been framed taking the concept of secularism into consideration. Every individual has his right to adopt religion of his choice. Faith and religion are totally personal matter. There is no legal binding. The faith and religion cannot be imposed on a person through any decision by majority or law. People, suggest on the basis of faith to chalk out solution after holding a dialogue first. What solution should we evolve? Should we find out a solution by making Kashmir independent? Can this decision be swallowed by those who want to migrate to Pakistan? They would smuggle arms from abroad. Just now Shri Salman Khursheed and my other hon. Members have stated that this seed was sown in 1947. But we will have to prove it.

Shri Ghafoor had told... (Interruptions)... Mr. Speaker, Sir, usually forget very soon.

MR. SPEAKER : We have not time to recall history. Much time has passed. It is 7.30 p.m.

SHRI BHOGEN德拉 JHA : Now the Kaide-Azam Jinnah had stated in his capacity of the first President of Pakistan on August 14, 1947 that Pakistan was made and persons of all religions will enjoy equal rights there. He added that the Pak Government did not give publicity to it... (Interruptions)

The base of the mythological state will collapse. Our Government does not give publicity to it so that people may not know the truth. But this was his speech in his capacity as the first President. If the Government does not have this with it, I do have and I can provide it. I would like to request the Government to implement hundred per cent secularism today and we should not as well yield to the disturbances created by the publicity of holding elections there. We should be firm and well-determined to attain our objective. 90 crore people of our democratic country cannot be held hostages by a handful of armed gangs. Nobody can check us if we all assembled at a place unitedly. India is faced with disintegration. I, therefore, would like to request other hon. friends that they should not remain in fool's paradise, that everything will be resolved without any efforts. The election process should be initiated without any fear. This should be passed with voice vote. Nobody should provoke and excite. We should not be trigger-happy and eschew violence. But if the situation demands we should not hesitate to make use of our arms. If

democracy is to be saved in India..(Interruptions) I say this only because some people live in fool's paradise. The situation can improve only when political process is started there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to refer to myself. I have some old friends. We never anticipated that some day we would contest elections...(Interruptions)... I was also imprisoned. Our hon. colleague...(Interruptions) Our hon. colleague in Telangana..in four places...(Interruptions)..Democracy changed us and it will change Kashmir also. We adopted that process and went ahead. My request is that we should not give in and be perturbed. we should proceed further with courage and determination....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI P.V. NARSIMHA RAO : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in the debate. They have criticised the Government. They have also offered suggestions, in some case criticism mixed with suggestions and I would like to assure them that the Government will take into account each and every point raised by the hon. Members.

Sir, all the facts that are available with the Government have been brought before the House. I would not like to repeat them. The options as were available to the authorities at the spot have also come before the House. They have been commented upon. The same strategy which worked in one place in one case did not work in another case.

That is why, I pointed out to the hon. Leaders of the Opposition when I met them that : "You cannot condemn the strategy; you can only say, 'in this case it has not worked' ". Three-four strategies have been followed in the past by the Government - first in the Golden Temple, second in the Hazaratbal and the third which was repeated in Charar-e-Sharief. There were successes; there were failures. I also told very humbly to the Leaders of the Opposition that 'in a matter like this you cannot expect to succeed every time. There will be partial successes, total successes but finally we have to go with the full faith that the success will be ours, victory will be ours'. That is the faith with which the Government is going ahead. I cannot guarantee that in the future also we will come out with unqualified success in every incident and every case. This is a long drawn out struggle and in this long drawn out struggle we will get some casualties and at the same time, we will make many more targets of our attack and between four-five thousand terrorists have been killed during the last three-four years. Let us not forget that. We have not been just pussyfooting here and there. We are **not being** chicken-hearted. But when it is a question of **saving the** lives of civilians, even in a military operation, I am not ashamed to say, I do not regret saying that **even in a military operation, the lives of the people are sacrosanct**

and as far as possible, the military operation also should take into account this and try to avoid it as far as possible.

Now, the town is just like a kind of beehive. It abuts more or less on the shrine. I understand that if people go in as ordinary pilgrims, concealing their weapons and suddenly say that they are in possession and we find that they are in possession and in this case, Sir, I am quite convinced in my mind that there is only one option left and that option is one of not attempting to storm the place, storm the shrine but to wear them out as far as possible. There is always this risk. It has been said many times. many speakers have said it. We cannot do anything in these operations without taking one risk or the other. What I would like to very respectfully submit to the House it, the greater risk has been avoided, a smaller rise has been taken, but the smaller risk has resulted in a tragedy, in a disaster and we feel that the whole country, the Government, Parliament, everyone concerned, is feeling the anguish of this disaster. I have no doubt that whatever has been said in this Parliament today, in this Lok Sabha today every word is full of anguish and anger also but anger against those who have perpetrated this. I have no manner of doubt in my mind that despite whatever disinformation is being created, it is these terrorist from Pakistan, these militants from Pakistan trained, armed, funded and sent by Pakistan - are responsible for this tragedy. I have no doubt at all - now, no doubt on any account on this and this disinformation, I would like to submit, is atrocious. It cannot be done without someone agains fanning this from behind and we know who is fanning it. So, let us not all in this trap.

Sir, on the operational side, I was asked to explain as to who took the decision on the 7th of march to send the Army and BSF to occupy certain high features around the town.

May I submit that in operational matters, no instructions are sent from Delhi, neither now nor any other time in any other operation? The decisions are taken by the authorities there in which the BSF, the other Forces, the Army, the Governor, Administration, all of them are involved. They have a mechanism there and that was the way the decision was taken. There was no question of sending any operational instructions from here. That is never done. That has not been done. That will not be done. That I can assure the House.

These are the facts and this is the result. So much has been said about elections. Why is it that I did not talk of elections last year? Why is it that I did not talk of elections year before last? We only talked about terrorism. We only talked about casualties. We only talked about what the Government was doing or not doing, about terrorism. We all agreed that this terrorism is being sent from abroad, from across the border. We were fully convinced that this is so. There has been any amount of evidence which has been shown internationally and there is hardly any doubt in anybody's

mind today that this is being done by Pakistan. I do not any point in going back on that or questioning that. Why is it that only this year we have started a kind of atmosphere, we have started the effort to create an atmosphere of a political process? Two years back also, I had a meeting with the Leaders of the Opposition. Every one of them said 'No, nothing doing. We will have to now control terrorism. That is the first thing to do. You think of other things later.' I was convinced that was true. Therefore, we concentrated on controlling terrorism and this year when it was found that the control in the aspect of terrorism had advanced a little — advanced even considerably, let me say — and the atmosphere has changed, we just started thinking about the political process. Today in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, what is the talk? The talk is about elections. The talk is about the political process. It is occupying everybody's mind. Does this not really denote a total change from the previous years? Somebody says 'No. Election cannot be held.' Another Party says 'No. It should be held. Another Party says It can be held only if you give us a package. What do we take to the people? So, please give us a package.'

All these questions are engaging the attention of the Government. I have been overtaken by events. I agree. I confess. But I was having talks with the Leaders of the Opposition on the desirability or otherwise of having elections. It is not that elections or dates of elections have been announced. That has to be done by the Election Commission. The Election Commission has made it clear that unless they are satisfied that free and fair elections can be held in Jammu and Kashmir and conditions there are under control to their satisfaction, they will not have it. It is up to them, up to the Election Commission. What we are trying to do is to create the atmosphere. That atmosphere has been created and I want to submit to the House that while creating that atmosphere, we were all the time aware of two facts. One is that at the last moment it may be that something will happen.

The second is that it may be that there is a neighbour of ours who abhors these elections, who is so frightened of these elections that they will go to any extent to frustrate the elections, to thwart the efforts of the Government to hold elections.

These two things were known and today, as it is, this incident, I would like to submit once again with all the sincerity at my command, should not become the reason for reversing our decisions on the political process.

I would like to very respectfully submit to the House that yes, leaders have their own views. They have been expressing those views. I am taking those views into consideration. And I told this House the other day, Sir, that after talking to all the leaders, I would come back to the House and make a statement in regard to the political process. We all have been overtaken by events.

So, the time has not come, the day has not come. But I will still do it. I will continue my efforts and I will come back to the House with whatever strategy the Government thinks is proper. We are amenable to advice. We are prepared to sit with you. But merely because a particular strategy in one case has not worked, we cannot really say that it will never work. I am quite clear in my mind, Sir, that from time to time, from incident to incident, from case to case, we have been examining the pros and cons of everything. What happens if the poll is so low that people will start reading meanings into it. I would like to inform the House that this has been discussed not only within the Government but with other Governments also, internationally also — the possibility of a low poll. What are the implications of a low poll and what are the implications of a no poll? You do not have wonderful options before you. The option is 'low poll and no poll', let us say. Now, we were calculating it. I am amenable to guidance, to advice from hon. Members. Shall we have no poll at all? There are examples in the world where no polls have taken place for twenty years under similar conditions. But we think that President's rule, according to our experience, becomes rather counter-productive after some time. It may be one year; it may be two years. Now, it is five years. You will stay where you are. In fact, things go back, slide back. I do not want that slide back. And, everyone agrees in principle that there should be the political process. It is nobody's case that there should be no political process there. It is a question of whether at a particular time you think that the conditions are ripe to start it, to take the plunge and as Shri George Fernandes has said political activity should precede political process. Elections will come last. We are trying to encourage the process by releasing the leaders who were incarcerated for a number of years by allowing them to come here, talk to everybody. I was talking to the leaders to whom they have talked. I am getting the feedback from the leaders in regard to what they are saying. I have not yet started talking to them because once I start, then, there is nothing else. You come up against a blank wall. So many leaders have been helping me. I am grateful to them. On talking to them they are giving me the feedback. That feedback is available with me. The process is going on. This is how things are being done step by step. Now, we have a setback. I have said it openly. I have said it to the Press that this is a setback. But we feel that in spite of the setback, the atmosphere created will not be vitiated for ever. Let us see to what extent it has been vitiated. We are taking all the reports into account. In fact, the operational details, I am not in a position to divulge to the House. I am not in possession of the details because operation is still continuing in the sense that only as of this morning, the cross-firing has stopped and the Army is screening up the place. I am told that the latest report is that the place will be made over to the civil authorities.

some time, tomorrow. We are going to have the opportunity of an all-Party Delegation of Members of parliament going to Jammu and Kashmir. I have agreed to that. They wanted it and I am very happy that we are going there. When we go there, that will be the time when operational details etc. can be presented. There can be a presentation by the authorities there of what happened at what hour, at what minute and where and at what spot.

Now I have no idea of the spot. They are all said to be seven or eight places which are all around the town. Now why is that they were at one and a half kilometres away and not at one kilometre? I cannot say. It is possible that at one kilometre you do not have a hillock. You have a hillock only at that place. It is the strategy of the military people. I am quite sure that they will be able to give you all the facts in regard to the operation, then we can come to our conclusion. What I am saying about the responsibility is, yes, nobody is disowning responsibility, Sir. Nobody is disowning responsibility. I am not. The point is that in a matter like this, we will have partial successes, total successes and failures as well. We have to be ready with all these. We will be killed, they will be killed and ultimately with the hope, with the full faith that the triumph is going to be ours because our cause is the right cause. Jammu and Kashmir is an inalienable part of India. I do not know what else one can say about the Jammu and Kashmir Policy apart from what we have all resolved here in that Resolution unanimously. That is a Jammu and Kashmir Policy of the Government. From time to time, we are acting on that Policy. Whether we continue with one part of the Policy or the other part of the Policy, is a matter of strategy. Given the circumstances, we have to take the decision. And this is what we have been doing. There is no need of making this a party issue. It has never been party issue. It will not be a party issue. I would like to say that I would continue to make it an issue of national consensus. I will do nothing to change that position. I would like to continue with that position. So, this is what I have to say.

Now for the rest, I cannot deny that Charar-e-Sharief has been burnt down. I cannot deny that a tragedy has occurred. I cannot deny that this should not have happened. But I cannot also deny that all options available were considered and the option of not interfering in the Shrine, not storming the Shrine was taken after due consideration. If we had really interfered, if they had really interfered or stormed, the Shrine would have gone and casualties, civilian casualties would have been abounding. Now they thought in their wisdom, in their operational meetings and consultations that this should be avoided. Now I have no way of saying that this was wrong. We do not operate that way. We do not function that way. So this is the position.

Sir, whatever I have to say, I have said. I am ready to take the House into confidence, the Members of the parties into confidence on every detail, on every

decision to be taken on Jammu and Kashmir as I consider it a matter of National consensus
...(Interruptions)

As I have said, these questions can only be explained by those who are incharge of the operation - when did anybody leave, when did anybody not leave, how many left with him? I only know that there are Pak nationals in this. This has been confirmed and reconfirmed. The number two man has been caught alive. He has been captured alive. The number one man had escaped. When and how, who is responsible for the escape, I just cannot say. I must please that I cannot say. I am completely ignorant of what happened. I am only reading from the report which I am getting from the field. Beyond that I cannot say. I can certainly find out by tomorrow, maybe they will be able to tell us more details. But as an operation which is in progress, it is impossible for any person, any Government, any member of the Government to come up with all the details. All those details are just not available. Please bear with me that it will take some time for taking those things....(Interruptions)

20.00 hrs.

I do not want to bring in Ayodhya. If the House is kind enough not to insist on that, it is better we avoid that. But, I would like to say that where a Government in charge of the State is involved in particular tragedy, the complexion is totally different. Beyond this, I do not want to say anything. I can only say that the complexion in the Jammu and Kashmir case is totally different. There, it was done by some one having come from across the border, here it was done or got done by some one who was holding the Babri Masjid in his hands. Beyond this, there is nothing more to say. So, the difference is very clear.... (Interruptions) That is why I did not want to go into the details of Ayodhya beyond saying the pith and kernel of the whole thing- what is at stake there, what is at stake here and what is the difference between the two. For the rest, Sir, I am at the command of the House...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : If I give chance to one Member, I shall have to give to all.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa) : That the Shrine was burnt down due to cross-firing between the militants and the Army.

MR. SPEAKER : Please help us.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : What is the reaction of the international community? Have you anything to say about it?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I have given my very clear conviction, conclusion that this was done by the militants and no one else.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : But , what is the reaction of the other countries?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : The other countries have understood and appreciated the position because we have been given...*(Interruptions)*....Sir, we are in possession of the background materials copiously supplied to them over the years. I have no doubt about that, about the international community.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Mr. Prime Minister, I want to say one thing. It is true that whatever you have said is said. But, one thing you did not clarify on that day when you called the leaders of different political parties, I raised that issue and also today I am raising that issue. It is stated in the Home Secretary's note, that various measures of tackling the militants and their Pakistani masters who were holed up in the Shrine in the past few days are being intercepted by Intelligence agencies. When it was intercepted? This issue was raised on 10th May and the House sat up to 6 o'clock on 10th May. You say that 'we got this message intercepted a few days back, i.e., before 10th May.' What prompted you not to divulge that issue and show that information to this august House? That is number one. Let me complete... *(Interruptions)* Number two is about the economic package, leave apart the political package. We were sent to the Valley in a parliamentary delegation two years back. We came from the Valley, we met you, we met the Home Minister then and Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad was there. There was a discussion about the economic package - which was again said by Shri George Fernandes today - what is the actual ground reality? Why is the Young man there...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : That will require a lot of decisions.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : You did not mention about the economic package only, the political package without the economic package. Will you please elaborate about the economic package today, if not the political package?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : The economic package has been increasing over the years and this year the economic package is Rs.1,010 crore*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : But, it is not reaching the people.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am talking of the package. Several very large projects going into hundreds of crores have been now operationalised, including the dulhasti project. These details are available. Dulhasti project had gone into inoperation, a mode of hiberanation, for the last three or four year, if I am not mistaken.

There have been claims and counter-claims between the contractors and the operating agencies. Those have been decided. Those have been resolved now. In the next one or two months actually the work is going to start. All orders have been given.

The developmental activity in Jammu and Kashmir has picked up so well. I am not claiming it because we have done it. But this is a fact. More than four hundred schools were burnt down by the militants. All the four hundred schools are being constructed, even now, this minute, while I am talking here. Culverts, roads and all these activities have been taken up, That is a package which is well in hand. Now this has come as a setback. This setback is something which we have to get over, the nation has to get over, all of us have to get over, the Parliament has to get over. If we do not get over, go under, I think it will be a great shame for this country. That is what I say. I have the guts to say this. I shall not stop the political process, maybe slow, maybe fast, in spite of anything that these people are doing because that is exactly what they want. I do not want to oblige Pakistan. I do not want to oblige whoever is getting these things done. Whatever is the sacrifice, we will go ahead because we think that the time has come to shorten the duration of the President's rule now ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : About my first question, Mr. Prime Minister, about intercepts.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : In regard to intercepts, hon. Member Jaswant Singhji has just said and I agree with that point of view, that the moment you talk about an intercept, you are taking a risk, not for yourself maybe, but for one source which you have; maybe several sources. Therefore, I would not like to talk about intercepts.

MR. SPEAKER : Intelligence is not disclosed in the House.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : That has been disclosed already.

MR. SPEAKER : After it is used.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : This was not used. If it was so, that would have been better.

MR. SPEAKER : Let us not argue, please.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : We have heard several speeches from the Treasury Benches, including the hon. Prime Minister's reply. He said facts have been brought to the notice of the House. That is precisely what we have been asking. Two leading speeches on the Treasury Benches - I may be excused for saying this - were full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. Nothing was disclosed. We waited for the hon. Prime Minister to tell us. He said that facts have been brought to the notice of the House and that he need not go into them. Will the House be governed only by the Home Secretary's note? Even the Prime Minister has accepted the responsibility of that on the floor of this House. The Prime Minister said, 'What can I do, the same strategy did not work in this case?' What was this strategy? In Hazratbal you succeeded. There was no

application of that strategy anywhere else. Whatever may be the ground realities, whatever may be the condition in respect of another event, you say, 'Because I was following a particular strategy, what could I do? It has not worked this time.' Is this the only answer by the Government of India, by the prime Minister of this great country?

He admits now that he has been overtaken by events. He has said it twice. Precisely the job of the Government is not to be overtaken by events. As I said, you are running after the events, you are not able to regulate the events, influence the events, you are not either able to anticipate the events and influence them.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I said it only in one respect, Sir. I said it only in respect of the electoral process or the democratic process. Nothing more. That was the only point one which I said we have been overtaken by events.

SHRI SOMNATH CHARRERFEE : Well, then the position — I am sorry to say — becomes worse for the Government because then there is nothing, neither remorse nor apology to this country, nor any explanation to the House as to how things have happened. You have only answered that you have evolved a strategy for Hazratbal and that 'it did not work here, I am sorry'. He said, 'I cannot guarantee...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think, the failure has been compounded now. It has become almost a criminal neglect. What we thought to be a mere failure, or a monumental failure - to use the expression of my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta - is almost a criminal neglect on the part of the Government. If, today, places like this Charar-e-Sharief shrine are completely at the mercy of militants or extremists, then anything can happen at any place. Shri Sharad Yadav referred to some other place - Asar-e-Sharief. It may happen there also. Now, what strategy will you apply, one strategy having failed? What is the strategy? Is it being taken as a routine matter?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : It is not being taken as a routine matter.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : This country has gone through the trauma of the demolition of the Babri Masjid, a day of lasting shame for us. I wish my friends on my right had that feeling when it was demolished. Well, the Leader of the Opposition has now gone to the Press saying he did destroy the Babri Masjid. That feeling was not there, then. This is the tragedy in this country. For the purpose of narrow political ends, some people here in this country are demolishing shrines. now pakistan is instigating others to do that and our Government are sleeping Buddhas, as I have been telling many times. Very good, you remain peaceful, but the country in getting into the flames.

Sir, we have been referring to the question of beginning of a political activity or political process in Kashmir. How is this to be commenced? How do you begin political activity there? Merely announcing will not do. The hon. Prime Minister says that efforts have been started to create an atmosphere of political process. How? This is precisely what we are saying. The political parties are not functioning. Nobody, no political leader is available there. The all India parties have hardly any presence there, except the Congress. How are you going to bring about the political process there? Now, It has been referred on the floor of this House how alienated the people are, the young people are. They feel deprived of their minimum entitlements. There is not even a reference to what Shri George Fernandez and others have said on the floor of this House. Today, we find that the Prime Minister is still sticking to his idea of holding the elections. Now his only addition is that the Chief Election Commissioner will decide. Now, therefore, in a place like Jammu and Kashmir, is it a matter only for the Chief Election Commissioner to decide? The Prime Minister and earlier agreed that the time has not come, even to think of elections.

Today, you are saying, "Yes, the time is becoming ripe for the election or has become ripe for the election; and it will be finally decided by the Chief Election Commissioner." I referred to the Prime Minister's own reference to the grant of autonomy in his reply to the debate on the Presidential Address; but he does not refer to it at all. What sort of autonomy he has in his mind, Sir?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Sir, I have said that after consulting all the political parties' leaders, I am going to come back to the House with a statement, of what the autonomy is, what it could be, what we would like to offer or not to offer. I am coming with all those details. That is why, I am continuing this consultation.

About the young men that is referred to, I just forgot to mention one fact. It is not a very big thing. About eight to nine thousand young men, have been, in one year, recruited in our police forces.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question is this. As we are saying, so many important issues and questions have been raised during this debate. The Prime Minister today said this. He is very humble. Naturally the Prime Ministerial Humility is always there; we appreciate that. But everything is for the future. This contry is not entitled to know how such a sacrilege could take place. We have got everything. We have got the Army; we have got Administration there; We have the Governor there. You have nothing to say about the Governor. It was almost a unanimous demand on the floor of this House that he should be asked to take rest elsewhere. It was almost a unanimous demand and enough is enough. But there is no response to that. Today I was hearing very carefully what the hon. Prime

Minister has been saying. He say, "I am now ready to talk to the political parties; I will discuss with them; I will decide what to do thereafter; I am always willing to hear; there is a setback no doubt."

But he is prepared now to allow an all party delegation to go there. So, everything is for the future. But what is the result of it? What do you anticipate, Mr. Prime Minister, to come out of this? Will it help in normalising the process now? You will start talking now, but in the meantime what will happen to Asar-e-Sharief, I do not know. Charar-e-Sharief is gone now. Where is this Mast Gul? Anybody can come in and anybody can go out; and you can say, "This is operational and therefore, I cannot disclose anything." What will happen then? What has been the achievement of this Ministerial visit? I do not know, the Finance Minister was taken there to find out how much money can he spare probably? But you cannot assure how that will be spent. you cannot assure how that money will be spent. Serious allegations are being made on the floor of this House that the building is being constructed in Noida out of the funds meant for Kashmir. The type of attitude of the Government today is like nothing serious has happened; you go on abusing the Opposition; the Prime Minister is only referring to the future. But we have to decide about you future actions by what you have been doing so long. The inactive Government cannot suddenly produce some miracle tomorrow. In every sphere, you have been procrastinating; in every matter, you are delaying decisions and sometimes you are taking decisions to which the country becomes suddenly averse to; what is happening? Suddenly election is announced and nobody knows anything about it. You had taken a decision without consulting the Opposition. Now, suddenly you are thinking of the Opposition. It may be because you are now having difficulties in your game of numbers. But your number here or your paucity of number here cannot decide the future of this country. The future of this country will depend on what the Government of the day does and a proper policy has to be adopted.

Sir, we interrupted the debate on the very important subject of Defence. It was because a serious situation was developing in the country and the Government also admitted that. They conceded to the discussion on the Adjournment Motion. It was such a serious matter that even the discussion on the Demands of the Ministry of Defence could not take place.

MR. SPEAKER : But this should not be treated as a precedent.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Yes. I am unhappy that such a serious situation is developing. As an India I am unhappy. We are worried. We are in deep anguish. This is an expression of that. This is not only to score a debating point.

We are a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural country and we want that everybody should enjoy his rights and privileges. Today if one shrine is

demolished, and tomorrow if another shrine is demolished, then you know, how far the religious feelings of the people are being affected? The Parliament of India cannot sit idle and watch. In the Kashmir Valley, the situation is already volatile; we are unable to normalise the process there; and then this Shrine had been demolished. Everybody is saying that there is alienation of the people. This is the State with respect to which the hon. Prime Minister has taken up on himself the responsibility of looking after the Kashmir Affairs. That shows the importance that had been given to it by this Government. We appreciate it. But the Prime Minister is overworked. I do not know whether he is able to devote proper time on Kashmir affairs. He says that he is able to devote proper time. In that case, is this the result?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been demanding that until political activity or political process starts, the question of election should not come. We wanted to know from the Government, how could this heinous crime be committed there. We have not been told about it. When these militants took over one shrine after another we were unable to deal with the situation. There was really no answer.

So far as the situation prevailing in Kashmir, the economic activities and other activities are concerned, the Prime Minister has said certain thing. He said some money is being spent. But we are hardly satisfied with this. We remained totally in the dark as to how this thing had happened and we remained totally uncertain about the future that nothing like that would happen or would be allowed to happen in future. Nothing has been said about the plan of action for such future eventualities, if any. We have not been told anything about it.

Therefore, there is no reason and I shall be failing in my duty to this country and the people of this country if I do not press this Motion. I am constrained to press this Motion and I request you to put it to Vote.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, I am putting the Motion to the vote of the House. Please do not change your seats because the machine is not working and if the vote has to take place, then we shall have to take by slips.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : May I request the hon. Members to take your seats and not stand at other places than the seat which is allotted to you because if the slips are distributed to you and they are to be collected in proper manner, it becomes very difficult, if you are standing, talking or moving in the House. So, please cooperate.

Let the Lobbies be cleared—

Now the Lobbies have been cleared. Now, let the slips be distributed to the Members.

The question is :

"That the House do now adjourn."

The Lok-Sabha divided :