

tones. Even-though a strict law was enacted by the Government to stop exploitation of child labourers, it has not been checked fully till now. The owners of the units force the labourers to work for 12 hours instead of the fixed period of 8 hours. I would like to request the Government that it should make arrangement for providing gumboots to the labourers working in front of the hot furnaces and should prepare a draft in consultation with the private factory owners, under which they should be provided free medical aid. When hot glass is taken out of furnace, it is equivalent to hot iron. Earlier, there had been incidents in which the labourers died as hot glass fell on them.

I would, therefore, like to request the Central Government that it should take necessary steps

14-08 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at eight minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

(MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

### JAMMU AND KASHMIR BUDGET—1993-94 AND DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (JAMMU AND KASHMIR), 1993-94

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House shall now take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants (Jammu and Kashmir) for 1993-94. The time allotted for this is two hours and the time taken is two minutes by Shri Madan Lal Khurana. Shri Madan Lal Khurana was on his legs and he will continue his speech.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS) AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK): Sir, I have one request to make. Yesterday, as per the Business Advisory Committee decision, we were supposed to sit till 7 o'clock in the evening. But, ultimately because of some Members saying that today we should not sit and from tomorrow onwards we should start sitting late, we adjourned early. I would like to request that today at least we should continue the business before us minimum till 7 o'clock in the evening.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack): One amendment Sir. The minimum should be maximum.

for the welfare of these exploited and downtrodden labourers.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: The next item in the agenda is the Jammu and Kashmir Budget. I think Shri Khurana can speak on this after lunch otherwise there will be break in his speech.

12-54 hrs.

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

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Somehow yesterday the House was not in that mood; but today the House is in a mood to sit for long hours.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHIALA (Kottayam): What about the Departmental Committees? At 6 o'clock there is a meeting of the Departmental Committee on Commerce. That should also be postponed.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us take it up now.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (SOUTH DELHI): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to start discuss on the third Jammu & Kashmir Budget. We had discussed this budget, including the supplementary Budget, six times but without any outcome. The suggestions given by us are merely printed in the books and are not implemented.

I would like to give two examples here. We have been making a demand for several years that until the performance report of last year is given, this budget has no meaning. What was the amount allocated during 1991-92 and

1992-93. The performance report tells about the Budget allocation, the items and the amount of allocation made under them, whether it was spent or not and if diverted, the reasons therefor. We do not get this information. We get performance reports regarding the Budgets of the Centre or other states. But despite our repeated demands, we did not get the performance report of Jammu & Kashmir, through which we could have known how much of the allocated amount has been spent. The Government adopts the same casual policy towards the Budget as it adopts towards Kashmir.

We saw a very surprising thing in the current Budget. The total Budget is of Rs. 2800 crores and the deficit is Rs. 1240 crores. Nothing has been said about how this deficit will be recovered and from where funds will be taken. This is fraud because no one knows about it. If any state is in deficit, it has to take loan from the Reserve Bank of India. But the state of Jammu and Kashmir takes loan from J.K. Bank on an interest of 20 per annum. Last year, it gave an interest of Rs. 250 crores to the Bank. This money, which should have been utilised for development works and for improving the situation of farmers is being paid by the State to the bank as interest. The Jammu Kashmir Bank should have provided this loan to the small industries and for the development of the State, but it is being taken by the State. So, no development is taking place in the State.

This Budget also does not show the revenue earned on electricity and sales tax. So, a budget should be prepared in an honest and disciplined way. Nothing has been told as to how the deficit will be recovered and interest will be paid. It is not known how much recoveries made out of the total liabilities.

We raised the issue of Laddakh also. Our team had gone there. The people there have a very small demand that butter should be freed from sales tax. The people of north-eastern states do not pay any sales tax, but this tax has been levied on the people of Laddakh from this year. The traders there have business only for 3-4 months, but they have been asked to pay lakhs of rupees as sales tax. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as I said earlier, the Government adopts a very casual policy towards Kashmir. I would like to give an example.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it was announced last year that a Parliamentary Delegation will go to Jammu & Kashmir and Laddakh to review the situation there. After 9 months a delegation

of 20 members went there on 27th and 28th of October. Our Mullaji was also in the delegation. Although, they were informed two days in advance, they could stay in Jammu only for few hours and then went to Leh. So every thing is taken in a very casual way and as a result thereof, the situation in Kashmir is getting worse.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs was very proudly saying that the terrorists in Kashmir valley have become frustrated due to pressure from the security forces and the incident of 14th August, which took place in Doda district and in which 15 innocent persons were killed, was an act of frustration. It was also said that the Pakistani flag, which was hoisted on 14th of August, was removed within one hour. So, this is your achievement. In fact the reality is that Pakistani flags are being displayed in the streets of Kashmir valley.

The Government may have removed the flags displayed on the poles in the city. I would like to give another example. Every year, on 26th of January and 15th of August, Indian tricolour used to be hoisted at the stadium and at the Lal Chowk by BSF to prove that this territory is also ruled by our country. But they did not had the courage to hoist the Indian tricolour there this year. This is the present state of affairs in Kashmir. I would like to submit that the terrorists have not become frustrated, but they have spread their activities in Doda, Kathua and Udhampur districts of Jammu also in the last two to three years. The terrorists have set up their training camps in these districts. The fact is that the Union Government has reached a blind alley. Either it never considered the seriousness of the situation or it is hiding the facts from the people of this country. It is surprising that even though the situation in Kashmir is getting worse, the Government is not at all concerned.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the views about Kashmir change with the change of season. The main problem is that we are grouping in the dark. Like a pigeon, the Government simply closes its eyes after seeing these grave problems. The hon. Minister has recently stated that today, Jammu & Kashmir is not only facing the problem of law and order, insurgency is also there, which is being propagated by some misguided persons. If the disease has been diagnosed, it should be cured. I, therefore, would like to submit that this issue should be considered very seriously. Are you taking it

seriously? I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether Kashmir is not apart of our country? None of the Prime Ministers, whether it is Shri V. P. Singh, Shri Chandra Shekhar, Shri Rajiv Gandhi or Shri Narsimha Rao, have ever visited the State of Jammu and Kashmir. If an incident takes place in any other State, all go there. The country had four Prime Ministers during the last few years, but no one ever tried to understand the situation of Kashmir by going there.

The Government should adopt a clear cut policy towards Kashmir. A national policy should be framed. In our Puranas, the God is described as "Neti-Neti". That means He is not this, He is not that. He is many things at a time, He is with qualities and He is without qualities etc. The same can be said about your Kashmir policy. Sometime you say elections will be held there, sometime you say these will not be held there; then, will be held when the situation improves or will be held in December if the atmosphere is congenial. When the situation improves? Therefore, please do not say 'Neti-Neti' about Kashmir also.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, whatever happened there on 14th and 15th of August did not happen suddenly. I have the Delhi edition of newspapers of 12th of August. These national newspapers are 'Pioneer' and 'Dainik Jagran'. The photographs on the front page of the Pioneer shows that the terrorists are doing rehearsal for 14th of August. They are holding a large banner in which it is written—

"Bharat tere hathon mein woh lakir nahin hai, Kashmir tere lea aap ki jagir nahin hai. Ambala Khalistaan ka, Kashmir Pakistan ka, Crush India, Crush India—JKLF".

By covering their faces, they parade in Srinagar and raise such slogans and the Government says it does not know anything. The newspapers are aware of it and they take photographs also. I have several cuttings. This is the cutting of the 'Pioneer'. What I want to say is that although this news came out in the newspapers on 12th of August, no step was taken by the Government to prevent such things. This is the first time that pilgrims going to Amarnath were fired at. The Government should have known about the situation prevailing there at that time. It was only said that a red alert has been sounded, but whatever happened during the red alert has been mentioned here. For the last two and half years, such incidents are continuously taking place in Doda district. Another similar incident

also took place on 14th of August. Two months ago, the Dak Bunglow and the Sheep Breeding Centre situated on the border near the Kathua district, were torched by the terrorists. The forests are infested with the terrorists. They forcibly took 300 sheeps from the shepherds. The shepherds made a request to the District Magistrate there in this regard. But he sent them a letter replying that that area was very dangerous and so they should come through the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. The D. C. of Chamba region is sent a letter asking him to allow these shepherds to pass through this region. Then, on the 14th of August, passengers of a bus were asked to get down and were massacred in the same region. This makes it clear that that area is not ruled by the State Government or the Union Government, but is ruled by the terrorists. What more evidence do you want than the letter of the District Magistrate which states that the situation there is not under the control of the Government?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, several serious events have taken place there. One of our activists and the General Secretary of Doda district, Shri Sontosh Thakur was openly gunned down. One week before his death, he had written to the Deputy Commissioner expressing danger to his life. Similarly, the General Secretary of the Hindu Suraksha Samiti of Jammu & Kashmir, Shri Satish Bhandari was also murdered, but his murderers have not been apprehended till now. Several of the police posts in Doda district were attacked by the terrorists last year and arms were also looted from there. It is a matter of great concern. One of the police post was attacked three times and all the weapons were looted. This is taking place in Doda. Two months ago, a B. S. F. patrolling party was attacked by the terrorists on Doda-Srinagar road in which 15-16 soldiers were killed and the same number of soldiers were injured. The hon. Home Minister was saying here yesterday that the security forces have increased pressure in the Kashmir valley, but I would like to submit that the terrorists there have become bolder and had spread their activities in several places in Doda district under Jammu Region. I would like to know about the steps taken by the Government to check the terrorists and I would like to demand that the Government should take immediate action in this regard.

I would like to express a few things about refugees also. We say a lot about the observance of human rights in other countries, but we have

never paid attention towards the two and half lakh refugees in our own country, who had to leave their homes and hearths and are living a hellish life for the last four years. None of the Prime Ministers ever went there to enquire about their situation. Two families live in a single tent. They have been ruined. When male and female members of both the families live in single tent, how they can take bath etc. and go through their daily routine. They are being given Rs. 1000 per month. If there are 5 members in a family, it comes to Rs. 200/- per person per month. I would like to ask whether they can rent a house or bear their expenditure with this money?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs Shri Sayeed, is sitting here. He had went with us and had promised that he will again go there to review the situation during the session.

I would like to say that you should see their plight with your own eyes.

10 per cent, families, i.e. 4500 families out of the total 45 thousand families in Jammu are living in tattered tents. Their plight could be imagined in rainy season. Students, who took examination from Kashmir University three years back has not yet got their results. They have already met you and have apprised of their difficulties. They cannot appear in any competitive examination and thus their career is being ruined. I urge upon the Government to pay attention towards their problems and help them in finding jobs. Traders movements has entered into the 10th week. They want to earn their livelihood honourably. The former Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs had assured that bank loans will be made available to persons who have left their property in Kashmir so that they may stand on their own feet. The bank loan which was assured to them in lieu of their property, has not been provided till date. For this they have been sitting on hunger strike and launching an agitation. You have promised to meet them. Their only fault is that they have not raised the Pakistani flag while living in Kashmir. Had they been raised Pakistani flag and raised slogans of Pakistani Zindabad they would have been living there comfortably but they were not prepared to do so. Is the act of patriotism crime in this country? I would like to know whether the Government has any duty towards the people who have become refugee in their own country. I would like to know whether the Government

has ever raised the issue of human rights in U.N.O. Pakistan is talking of Human Rights today, then why our Government has not raised the issue of Pakistan's undeclared war against India in UNO. Pakistan is providing training to terrorists as a result of which 2.5 lakh people have become refugee in their own country. Pakistan is responsible for the violation of human rights and therefore our Government should raise this issue in UNO.

I would like to say that the double standards as also pointed out by Shri Advaniji, should not be adopted in the country because it causes resentment among the people. It is very good decision and we have no objection to it if the Government gives compensations to people whose houses were set on fire in Sopore but it is objectionable if no compensation is paid to those people whose houses were burnt in Srinagar. Similarly you have promised to provide economic package for Kashmiri youths. We also want that each and every youth of the country should get employment. But why it is for Kashmiri youths only and not for the patriotic persons who have become unemployed for the last three years. I would like to know from the Government that how long it will go on practising double standards in this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir. I would like to make some suggestions in this regard without taking more time of the House. My first suggestion is that the Hon. Prime Minister should convene a high level meeting of all the political parties for framing a clearcut national policy regarding Jammu and Kashmir and before this meeting the Hon. Prime Minister should visit Jammu and Kashmir for on the spot study of the situation. The third point is that the Government should change its ambiguous policy towards Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the changing scenerio in the State. I would like to say that the Government should present a White Paper in the House describing the present and past situation in Jammu and Kashmir and the measures it is going to take for normalisation of the situation.

My next suggestion is that the Government should make a categorical announcement that no elections will be held in the State before normalisation of the situation. We, alongwith the Home Minister, had gone to meet the Governor of the State. I would not like to discuss the treatment meted out there but he ordered the paramilitary forces that elections should be

held in Jammu and Kashmir by December, 1993. But when I met the Home Minister, Shri Chavan, here, he categorically stated that in present situation, holding elections in Jammu and Kashmir is not in the interest of the country. The Home Minister of the country says.

**THE MINISTRY OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. M. SAYEED):** No, it is not correct. He has said that situation in Jammu and Kashmir is improving and elections will be held at earliest after normalisation. He has not given any orders to the Army and paramilitary forces for holding election at the earliest. What you are saying is not correct.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** Mr. Sayeed, you can read his statement published in the next day 'Hindu' newspaper, in which he has said that he told all this while briefing the M. Ps. The new item report as if we had gone to meet our boss. Next day the news was released to newspapers, radio and T. V. and I myself had read this news item in 'Hindu' in which he said that he had ordered to hold elections in the State by December next.

I would like to say one thing that Pakistan should be warned against interfering in Jammu and Kashmir or it should be prepared to face consequences. In addition to the warning an action plan should also be formulated in this regard.

The Parliamentary Committee should be sent to Jammu and Kashmir to solve the problems of refugees. We have also visited Laddakh. The agreement made regarding Laddakh for setting up Autonomous Council should be implemented immediately.

The Minister of Home Affairs who is sitting here, has promised to make statement on Kashmir. The Finance Minister will reply to the discussion on the budget and alongwith that Home Minister should also make a statement on the conditions prevailing in the State.

With these words I thank you for allowing me to speak.

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Mr. Sharad Dighe, as Mr. Indrajit Gupta wanted to go to some Meeting, if you oblige, Mr. Indrajit Gupta may speak now.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore):** Thank you. Actually, I can speak a bit later if you want. The meeting is at 3.30 p.m. Let Mr. Dighe speak now.

14-37 hrs.

**SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central):** Sir, both of us going to the same meeting.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the discussion on the Demands for Grants for Jammu and Kashmir for the year 1993-94 had already started. I would like to take this opportunity to speak on the situation in Kashmir itself. Really speaking, this is an opportunity to speak on this subject because while passing the Demands for Jammu and Kashmir, we can express our views as far as the Government is concerned.

Now, Sir, the only difficulty is that the Demands are put by the Finance Ministry and really speaking, the problem of Jammu and Kashmir is dealt with by the Home Ministry. So, whatever we shall say, though, it would be addressed to the Finance Ministry, really speaking, it would be addressing, the Home Ministry itself. But, there would be no reply from the Home Ministry. The burden of meeting the criticism would fall on the Finance Minister.

**SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia):** Yesterday, Mr. Rajesh Pilot promised us that he will be here, listen to the debate and intervene. But, he is not here.

**SHRI SHARAD DIGHE:** That would be gratifying, if he does so. Now, the time has come when we should seriously put an end to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir. We must seriously have ways and means to come to that particular result because as far as the Constitution provides, now July 1994 will be the dead end so far as this proclamation is concerned. Therefore, we would like to see that day when proclamation comes to an end and popular Government is restored as far as this State is concerned. But that depends upon the policy of the Government and the ways and means adopted by the Government to achieve that objective.

While discussing this demand, I would also like to see whether these demands have anything to do with the Government policy. Whether they reflect these signals which the Government is giving from time to time when these demands are being formulated and put before this House? That apart there are certain

signals given by the Government from time to time. The last one was, of course, the speech of the hon. Prime Minister on the 15th of August where he reiterated that Kashmir was an integral part of India and Pakistan should have no illusion on this count. So that should be, really speaking, sufficient warning to the terrorists and militants that this Government means to have a policy by which the extremists and terrorists will be dealt with seriously and very severely.

However, on a day before itself, unfortunately there was a very serious incident where 16 people were killed by stopping a bus and asking the commuters to come down and then they were shot dead on the spot itself. On the next day also there are reports of the sporadic attacks by these militants. Therefore, the situation continues to be very serious, nobody can deny it.

As far as the Government policy is concerned, as I said, there are sufficient signals, but this Budget also, in consonance with those signals and the announcement and pronouncement of the Government, should be seriously pursued as far as the Jammu and Kashmir is concerned.

We were very happy when the Governor was changed and Gen. K. V. Krishna Rao was posted in the State. That was also a warning to the militants and terrorists that very severe action will be taken as far as the militants are concerned.

Now, Sir, the Centre's too proud strategy of pursuing the relentless drive against militants and pumping in massive funds to repair the shattered economy of Kashmir valley no doubt appears to be yielding some results and there are reports that the people of Kashmir themselves are coming forward to meet the situation. I read the reports that at some places even the women came forward to fight with the terrorists and beat them when they were trying to lay the bombs or other explosives as far those villagers are concerned.

So it is a good sign that people are taking courage and trying to come up to meet the situation. That was our experience as far as Punjab is concerned. When people themselves came forward to help the Government to meet the terrorist problem. Then the situation started changing very rapidly. Here also there are some signs that people are taking courage not only to meet the terrorist challenge but now they are coming forward, as the reports go, to meet the Ministers to put their grievances before them.

They are taking little courage as far as the solution of this problem is concerned.

But that indication should be taken advantage of. More and more people's agitations should be encouraged and wherever there are grievances when they come with the grievances, the Government should seriously follow them and try to tackle them.

I see that some attempts were being made to organise even cooperatives in these areas. Even the Governor had taken some initiative to organise ex-servicemen's cooperatives and that is also a good sign.

I am told, that now decisions are taken at high level meetings held at Delhi to evolve a pack of comprehensive measures to restore normalcy in the tourist-ravaged State and, therefore, the four monitoring groups that were set up to work on different sections of the States's economy are expected to go into the various aspects of reviving industrial units. Therefore, from this point of view, the Budget also should give some indication of implementation of these policies.

I find, when I see this paper that is circulated here — I think this is the only paper that is circulated — that there is a List of Demands for Grants-Budget Jammu and Kashmir 1993-94 to be submitted to the vote of the House. It is divided into two parts. The first part refers to the Vote on Account taken on the 29th of March, 1993 and the other part refers to the amount of Demands that would be submitted to the vote of the House. Of course, the figures are identical; they are common. I am told that this was for six months and the Demands which are being presented to us are for the remaining six months. Therefore, the figures are absolutely identical. There is no change at all. Therefore, I doubt whether any serious application of mind has been there as far as the appreciation of this Budget is concerned. Has it anything to do with the solution to the Jammu and Kashmir problem? Does it at all reflect the proposed measures the Government wants to take for the solution of Jammu and Kashmir as far as the remedies are concerned?

For example, here I find that even though the Government policy pronouncement also is to pump in monies for industrial development, a comparatively low figure has been provided for Industries and Commerce Departments. It is Rs. 15.57,35,000 as far as the first six months were concerned and a similar amount is provided for the next six months.

Now comparatively the Department of Industries and Commerce has not found that priority, which it should have found, considering the Government pronouncement as far as the encouragement of industries is concerned. Similarly, I find that the main question in Jammu and Kashmir would be tourism. Tourism is the main — I should say — occupation as far as Kashmir is concerned and here also we find very little provision as far as tourism is concerned. I find only Rs. 36,29,000 for the first six months.

And the similar amount as far as these six months are concerned. Therefore, when we say that we have got prolonged attack for the solution as far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, we do not exactly see reflection of that policy in the Budget itself. Therefore, I feel that this Budget is casually prepared. It has no relation to the solution of the problems of Jammu & Kashmir. Some figures are prepared and put before this House. Then I say that we should be committing a grave mistake if proper funds are not provided for the proper heads and we shall never see that when the Jammu and Kashmir problem is solved and elections would be held.

Every time we say that elections would be declared as soon as the situation would improve. But what are we going to do and how do we formulate our Budget to solve those problems, that is not clear from the demands which are put before this House. Therefore, I would also request the Finance Ministry to apply its mind from this point of view and put before this House, as demanded by the opposition member, the performance budget also. We must know, casually putting this paper before this House does not show, does not indicate anything as far as the Government policy is concerned.

Therefore, even though we say that there are good indications in the pronouncement of the Government policy but the actual implementation depends upon the Budget, upon the money we spend as far as that State is concerned. Therefore, I feel that at least next time the Finance Ministry will apply its mind from that point of view and formulate the Budget as far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, of course, we are discuss-

ing this subject within the constraints of Budget, the problem is actually not a financial one but a political one.

As far as the financial provisions are concerned, I do not have much to say because this kind of Budget is really illusory in the sense that the massive amounts which are having to be spent on security are coming from the Central Government and obviously not reflected in the State's Budget.

We would like to have know though how much is being spent in the last year, purely for security operations, even though it is provided by the Centre. I think the amount is going up, it is not going down. Recently, from what we are seeing everyday the security situation, I do not know how the Government goes on saying every now and then that it is improving, it seems to me that it is getting worse. Recently, there has been, what appears to be a spurt in the activities of the militants or whatever you like to call them and some serious incidents have taken place.

As far as the financial point goes, I have only one point to make because I may forget it later on. I do not know if the Government has paid any attention for some years now to the long demand of those refugees, I do not refer to the recent spurt of refugees but those who had to leave what is now Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir as long ago in 1947.

They are still waiting for some kind of a settlement to be given to them. They have received neither compensation, nor rehabilitation, nor was any arrangement for settlement announced. A delegation on behalf of those refugees is at present again trying for the umpteenth time to get some succour from them. They have estimated their claim at a very minimum modest amount of Rs. 112 crore altogether as compensation, rehabilitation and so on. But up to now they have not received a single penny. So, I think when discussing this Budget the Government might also tell us something about how they propose to deal with the problems of these Pak-occupied territories. It is such an old story. In fact, they came away in 1947.

Now, as far as the other side of the question is concerned, I only want to draw the attention of the Government to the very sinister game which is being played presently behind the scenes in which an attempt is being made to bring about another partition of Kashmir, purely on communal lines. In this game is involved — are involved I should say — not only certain

interests which are speaking from this country, but I think my BJP friends also sometimes are adding fuel to the fire.

For example, they are demanding at this critical juncture — they go on repeating — that this Article 370 should be revoked. I am not one who thinks that Article 370 should be there forever and ever, nor when Article 370 was introduced in the Constitution was it said that it was something permanent for all times to come. But is this the time to raise this demand? That is a thing which will encourage the militants more than anything else to re-double their efforts.

[Translation]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur) : Today, Khuranaji, did not say this thing what you said.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He did not say. He might have forgotten. But this is one of their permanent demands. What I am saying is, recently — I hope you have seen it — Mr. John Mallot, U. S. Principal Deputy Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, who came here, has said that a new settlement is necessary in Kashmir and that this settlement should take into account the views of both Muslims and non-Muslims in Kashmir.

First of all, I would like to make it clear that in Kashmir there is a thing called 'Kashmiriat' which cuts across Hindus and Muslims. That is an entity of Kashmiri people irrespective of the religion which they may be professing as Kashmiris. Today, unfortunately, an idea is sought to be fostered that it is no longer possible for Hindus and Muslims to live together in Kashmir, because some refugees, of course unfortunately have had to come away from Kashmir recently. Nobody has said that they would never go back. But I think conditions should be created in which they can go back. Otherwise, if a situation is sought to be engineered in which people believe that Hindus and Muslims can no longer live together in Kashmir it will be an end of all that old tradition and history of Kashmiriat.

The large number of Muslims, in Kashmir, for example, the Muslims in Kargil, Muslims in part of Laddakh are not taking part in this so-called insurgency movement at all. They are part of the old Kashmiriat tradition. Now, the Americans — I would like my BJP friends to note this and not to unwittingly fall into this

trap — Mr. Mallot has suggested, that the cease-fire line, the old cease-fire line which is later on called the line of Actual Control divides Kashmiris from non-Kashmiri communities.

15.00 hrs.

The idea is that the Muslim communities of the Valley — the Muslims of the Kargil part of Laddakh and the Muslim majority districts of Jammu, that is, Rajouri, Poonch and Doda — should be bound together in a new State. This can only be done, as far as I understand it, on the basis of an appeal to Muslim fundamentalism. Only Muslim fundamentalism, if it makes headway, can bring together these different Muslim communities into one State, if you like to call it, or one region. But the formula, as it is being mooted, suggests the division of the State along communal lines afresh. Even Mr. Selig Harrison, who is a very well-known judge, who is supposed to be an expert on India, has suggested that as a first step towards the solution of the Kashmiri dispute, India would have to split the State, integrating most of Jammu and Laddakh with the Indian Union, by giving status of a new State, in which the Valley would be united with the sizeable Muslim pockets in Jammu and Laddakh. A new game is going on. It is a sinister game in order to further divide the people of Kashmir and split that whole State again into two different regions, seeking to polarise the politics of the State between Kashmiri Pandits, Jammu Hindus and the Buddhists of Laddakh on the one hand and the Muslims on the other.

(SHRI NITISH KUMAR in the Chair)

15.02 hrs.

There was a report in the Papers some time ago when an official delegation from Israel came here for the first time. They had a meeting with Mr. Advani and Mr. Advani is supposed to have suggested to the leader of the delegation, the Foreign Minister of Israel, — or may be it is the Israelis who suggested it to Mr. Advani — that why not you think of a solution in Kashmir along the lines that we had tried to do in the occupied territory. . . . (Interruptions).

PROF. PREM DHUMAL : You are not sure whether it was the Israeli leader who said it or Advaniji said it, but you find it necessary to quote every time BJP for something.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : There is no question of every time. The point is, this was an issue



that was discussed, that is, how to bring about a change in the composition of the population in Kashmir — the demographic change. The phrase used was 'the demographic change in Kashmir may help to bring about a solution of this problem which has been vexing us for so many years'. Since one of the parties to the discussion was Israel, which, we know, has been carrying out demographic changes by force in the occupied territories of the former Palestine, it does acquire a very sinister significance. I do not know what Mr. Advani's response to this was. Whether he rejected it or whether he is willing to discuss it further with them or discuss it some time here in the House, we would like to know because demographic change in Kashmir is something very sinister. It means that the basis of Kashmiriat is sought to be destroyed in favour of a purely communal alignment of Hindus and Muslims, which is not a safe thing at all.

So what I would like to say is that apart from this cut and dried financial accounting of the budget, and all that, the Government of India should tell us something about what is happening there now and what is our policy. I do not find any policy. Has the Government of India got any policy, apart from carrying out security operations and periodically saying that when the situation improves, if it improves, then we will consider starting the democratic process in the Valley? But the point is that there are so many factors intervening. I think we should be very conscious of the conspiracy which is going on. The Americans or at least a part of the Americans, seem to be again showing interest in Kashmir in a new way in which they would like to divide and split up that area, in a way in which they would make foreign intervention much easier. Therefore, I take this opportunity only of warning the Government that they should be sufficiently wide awake and vigilant about the moves which are going on behind the scene in which we find the Pakistani Government is also involved.

Pakistani Government also wants this area to be divided up further. A section of the Americans are involved — policy-makers — and I do not know what my BJP friends want. They also might like that. This is the first time I regret to say — that the selective killing of Hindus in Doda district by the militants has taken place. Previously there was no selective killing of Hindus as it was being done some time ago in Punjab by the militants in Punjab. In Kashmir

it was not like that. But now we suddenly find — with the spurt of the terrorist activity — that there have been selective killing of the Hindus in Doda district, this is nearer to the border. Therefore, I feel that certain American policy-makers plus the Pakistani Government plus some friends of the BJP — perhaps for other reasons because they think of nothing except communal alignment. . .

PROF. PREM DHUMAL : Not C.P.I.?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : No, not the C.P.I.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL : You align with the ruling party at the appropriate time.

(Interruptions).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They are trying their utmost to divide up Kashmir again. That was the previous thing. Now they have come back to it again. That is what I am saying. But the Government of India does not seem to be awake to this danger and vigilant enough to forestall it by some counter move. They should tell us what they are trying to do; how they propose to meet this new threat. It is not simply a question either of security forces or of providing some money for some constructive or development works. That, of course, is necessary; no need to dwell on that.

But in this present international scenario, where India's position has obviously become much more weak than before, we should all realise that the change in the balance of forces in the world is such that no doubt India's position is much more weak than it used to be. We know that previously India was confident that whenever any move was made in the international fora against us using Kashmir as a handle for that or bringing up the Kashmir issue against India, certain forces used to stand with us, behind us. The Soviet Union — time and again — in the Security Council and in the United Nations firmly defended India's position on Kashmir and voted every move by the Americans or British or other western power to isolate us on this issue. Unfortunately now the situation has changed completely. We are without that support. We are without that big super power supporting us on this issue of Kashmir. Therefore, our position is relatively much weaker than it used to be and taking advantage of that — I have no doubt — that those people who consider themselves to be the only remaining super power in the world now,

namely the United States of America — with the support of Pakistan and I hope not with the support of the BJP will again try to intervene in this region for their own sinister motives and for that reason all these things which Mr. Mallot or Mr. Selig Harrison and others are putting forward these new theories and ideas of how to divide up Jammu and Kashmir again on Muslim and Hindu lines is something which is very sinister.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: You have a B.J.P. phobia.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I call upon the Government to study this matter much more seriously than they are doing and to come before the country with some strategic idea of how we propose to counter these threats and how we propose to safeguard the integrity of Jammu and Kashmir.

This is all I wanted to say on this occasion. I thank you very much. I hope the Government will pay some attention to what I have been saying. They may not respond to it just now; perhaps they will not. But they should at least give some thought to this matter and later on when an opportunity permits during some debate on External Affairs and all that, I hope the Government will be in a position to throw some light on these moves and counter moves which are going on—strategic moves in this region—which are sought to be done at the expense of India and India's sovereignty over Kashmir.

1510 hrs

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to condemn without any reservation the massacre in Kishtwar in Doda District. As I have said in the House in the past no civilised society can accept terrorism or use terrorist methods as a means of resolving political situation. However, Sir, I also recall at this moment that there have been many a massacre in our country which have gone unnoticed. At this specific moment I recall the Hashampura massacre in 1987 in which a group of our young citizens were taken away in a police vehicle and taken 30 kilometres away from their mohalla and shot to death in cold blood and many a Minister sitting on the Treasury Benches opposite have promised to me to look into it to find out the culprits and to punish them and express their remorse. But I am sorry to say that the governance of our country has gone to a

point where whether it is an act of atrocity by the terrorists or by the security forces, the citizen feels helpless before this reign of blood and tears. Therefore, I appeal to the Government that whatever Mr. Pilot has promised in this House day before yesterday, they must fulfil, they must find out the culprits who have tried to give a new turn to the situation in Kashmir.

Mr. Chairman, I listened to the Prime Minister's speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the 15th of August. I am sorry to say that his speech created the impression in me that he has lost all touch with reality. He does not have any feel of the situation any more. Either he has turned blind to the situation or he has lost sensitivity to what is happening at the grass-roots in Kashmir. The Government with all their diverse expressions from time to time give us a feeling that there are parallel policies being conducted at various levels. The Governor has his own policy, the Minister of State has his own policy, the Home Minister has his own policy and perhaps the Prime Minister has his own policy and they really do not know where they converge and meet or whether they converge at all. I would like to make a categorical assertion on the floor of this House, Mr. Chairman, that this Cabinet headed by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has never discussed the Kashmir question in the Cabinet. Never. Is that not a matter of shame that the most serious national problem of the country has never been formally discussed in the Cabinet of this country? I am making a categorical assertion and I would like the Treasury Benches to contradict me if they can. That is a measure of insensitivity and inactivity and inaction of this government. I am not going to tell you my source, I do not want any Minister to lose his job, but I am telling it to you as a matter of fact.

[Translation]

SHRI KARIYA MUNDA (Khunti): The Hon. Minister is present here.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: He has recently joined it and he is not aware of this matter. I am talking of the earlier days.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is not in the Cabinet (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: But he might be invited.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF NON-CONVENTIONAL ENERGY SOURCES AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI S. KRISHAN KUMAR): We are not supposed to discuss the details of discussions in the Cabinet but I would like to state that his statement is totally untrue.... (Interruptions).

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Sir, the government's statement shows, particularly the Prime Minister's statement, that the Government has no long-term vision, no sense of direction, it lacks will and courage and if I may say so, it perhaps lacks information, what to talk of wisdom. I cannot accuse this Government of wisdom, but at least it should have the necessary quantum of information. I do not think it has even the necessary quantum of information on which they can base a wise policy decision.

Sir, the ground reality is this that the alienation of the Kashmiri people in the Valley has perhaps reached the point of no return. The area of insurgency, as has been pointed out, has gone beyond the geographical limits of the Valley and has spilled over into the other parts of the State. The ground reality is that there is virtually a political vacuum in which only there is arms clash and bullets are exchanged. There is no political activity of any sort. All the known political leaders of Kashmir with great history behind them have all run away from Kashmir and they do not have the courage even to walk in the streets of the towns of Kashmir. That is the ground reality. And in this we are told from time to time that 'we propose to have elections'. I do not know what sort of elections are they going to have and we are all told. 'Look, how we have controlled Punjab? Yes, we had an election of sorts. We had a nominal election' if you might say so. But look how everybody has taken to Beant Singh. Somebody was projected, somebody became the Chief Minister. I am told a gentleman who secured only 130 votes in his constituency is now adorning the Punjab Cabinet. But you might have created a semblance of order in Punjab, but I have always maintained on the floor of the House that you must have the wisdom and sensitivity to see the difference between Kashmir and Punjab. The situations are not alike even in their broader framework. Punjab has no counterpart of POK. Punjab has no counterpart of an international or foreign claim. Pakistanis may have been intervening and have intervened and like twist-

ing our tails wherever they can; but at least in Punjab they have no claim. They do not occupy a part of Punjab. Therefore, the Punjab situation and the Kashmir situation are totally different. Punjab was never an international question in any sense of the term, while Kashmir has become more and more internationalised with every passing day particularly with all the horror stories emanating from the Valley about the atrocities being committed thereby the security forces and the Government machinery.

The whole world is looking at Kashmir and what is the greatest difference? When I go to Kashmir, they ask me: 'You say we are Indian citizens, but why you treat us like enemies? You say that Kashmir is a part of India. Why do you turn it into a theatre of military operations? You say that we are a democracy. Why do you submit us to military rule, army rule, police raj?' They ask me, Mr. Chairman, 'How many villages and towns have you burnt in Punjab? How many bazars, how many shops and houses have you torched in Punjab? And yet you come to us and say that we should call ourselves Indian and swear by the Indian Constitution.' This is the question they ask. So, these are the major points of distinction. The nature of internal repression, the sort of measures that we have taken over a long period of years, the way we have blotted our copy book in Kashmir, the way we rigged the elections and the way we threw out elected Government, I tell you, even the Mizoram and Nagaland insurgency cannot be compared to the insurgency in Kashmir and therefore, we have to apply our collective intelligence and wisdom to find the way out. They cannot merely say, 'Oh, we have succeeded in Mizoram and Nagaland and Punjab'. In Punjab we could establish a government of sorts and therefore, just hold an election, people will come to that government when the Government has so much power of patronage, so much capacity for doing good or evil.

And therefore people will come to them with their petitions and representations and they will like to take advantage of their so-called MLAs and so on. They think that peace will be established. I would caution the Government and I think there is a voice even within the Government which realises that premature elections will do more damage, more harm than good. It will not carry any conviction internally among the people of Kashmir or externally in the wider world.

Mr. Chairman, everyday when we open the newspapers, we see the daily toll that so many insurgents were killed and so many persons were killed. Sometimes the terms are interchangeable because nobody carries the mark 'terrorist' on his forehead. On 1st August, the police, the security forces ran berserk into a house in Srinagar and killed a father, a mother and their 10 year old son and the first report was, they had killed three terrorists. I would like to ask the Treasury Benches to recall as to what have they done in the last one year to pacify the people of Kashmir to give them a semblance of hope. How many Sopors do you need before you come to your senses? In Sopore, we were stirred. Was it in January? And a team of Ministers was rushed and the Ministers made recommendations. They even spoke to the Prime Minister and held a discussion with him and nothing has been done. You announced a Judicial Commission of Inquiry and that Commission is yet to take off. I am told that the poor Judge in disgust is about to resign his Commission. This is the way you move and from Sopore you come to Khaneyar.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I remember the last incident in Khaneyar when I went to Kashmir and I spoke to the then Governor. The then Governor—I am not revealing any State secret—told me, "we had made some progress". And there was a Sopore at that time also and 13 people were killed and in Khaneyar there was a firing on a funeral procession and people were killed in Chhota Bazaar at that time, there was a firing and innocent shopkeepers were killed, and he told me, "I am sorry Mr. Shahabuddin, but I must admit everytime one act of atrocity takes place, we go back to square one and whatever we have achieved is completely erased." And he was right. But we learnt nothing. A year later, we have a Sopore on a much larger scale, on a grander scale as if the previous one was merely a dress rehearsal. By Government count, we killed 52 people and we gutted. I donot know, how many hundreds of shops and houses and then you come to the latest Khaneyar in which once again, a place of worship has been desecrated. Two young men were killed right inside Khanqah-e-Moalla and the people allowed the blood to remain there for a week or 10 days and only recently it has been washed. Now, in this situation of continuing atrocities where do you see the light? Can we possibly see any light at the end of the tunnel? Do we propose to change the demography of Kashmir, not by inducting non Kashmiris into it, but by killing all the kashmiris? Is that the

final solution that you envisage? Are we anxious just to keep hold of the territory of Kishmir? I do not see any sign, any change of heart or any change of tactics.

Recently, you unified the operational command to make military control more effective. I thought the Army is far more disciplined and therefore, it will not only mean a more effective control, but it will mean more discipline, less confrontation directly with the people, less killing of the innocent people and less atrocities. I am sorry to say that even after this so-called centralisation of the command, nothing seems to have changed. We had the police revolt but I do not want to go into it. I know the atrocities are also being committed by the insurgents and the militant elements, but for the Prime Minister of India to stand up and compare the atrocities committed by the security forces and the atrocities and the criminal acts committed by the criminals and insurgents is, to my mind, an incredible piece of fiction which nobody will understand.

There are criminals in every society. The *raison d'être* of a State is the rule of law. The State rules by law. The State has no option but apply the law that it makes. Whose duty is it to enforce the law? Yes, by all means, punish the culprits, punish the militants; identify them. No criminal act should be permitted. Criminal action must have retribution. Nobody will disagree with that. But you cannot say, "No, no, we shall go on violating human rights, so long as terrorists violate human rights". This, nobody will buy. Forget the Amnesty International. Forget the Asia Watch. Forget everybody who is against you. Forget what Pakistan says. A common man with common sense will not accept that a Government will go down to that level comparing its acts with the acts of the criminal guys. That does not make any sense to me. One thing you must remember from the political angle. What is a loss for the terrorists is not necessarily a gain for the Government. That is the situation. Yes, some terrorists do get a bad name. People are not happy with them. People may even denounce them. People may want to get rid of them. Primarily people want peace; people want order; people want development; people want democracy; people want a corruption-free administration; people want light and happiness. Therefore, people will be against terrorism and against insurgency. But you do not think, when they get disenchanted with the criminal activities of the insurgents,

they will be happy to live as the target of your guns. No. They will not. This is the point you are missing. That is why, you have lost your way in Kashmir. That is why, you have come to the point where you do not see any light at the end of the tunnel.

I ask at least dozen colleagues today, supposing we were to advise the Government, what shall we say. It is easy to criticise, I know. I am telling you, Look at Kashmir as a national feeling, as a national problem. They are in power. We could have been there. And the whole House has to sit together and find a way, apply our collective intelligence and wisdom, if Kashmir has to remain a part of our country. But their statements do not give me any hope. While you say, you are prepared to consult the whole range of national opinion, you are not going to move even one bit away from the narrow groove in which you have placed yourself.

I would like to say one word about the Budget. I fully support Mr. M. L. Khurana's demand that when you come to us with a demand, please tell us what you did with the money that we granted you last. We know nothing about it. You talk about development schemes. At least tell us about major projects and what progress you have made. Where have you spent the money and what is the progress?

I am happy that some years back, when we were in power, we changed the pattern of Central loan to Kashmir. We made it 90% grant and 10% loan. But I made a demand last year on the floor of the House that equity and justice demand that in order to reduce the credit burden on Kashmir, You re-calculate it.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Now a days they take loan at the rate of 24 percent interest from the J & K Bank.

SHRI SYED SAHABUDDIN: That is what I am saying.

[English]

I said, please re-calculate or convert all the loans that you gave in the past to the Jammu and Kashmir Government on 50 : 50 basis into 90 : 10 basis of grant and loan and re-calculate the interest. Today, Kashmir like Assam and Bihar, is on the brink of a debt trap. Whatever

the centre gives is consumed largely in meeting repayment and service charge.

So, please tell us about what have you done about that gap. How are you going to meet this gap of Rs. 200 crores? That is an essential element in the Budget. Otherwise, you can as well make it not Rs. 2800 crores but Rs. 28,000 crores, for all we know. It is just a game of figures, adding a zero. Unless you tell us what you did with the money, how the money was collected what were the major items of expenditure, how do you propose to build and promote the basic economy of Jammu and Kashmir as a State and how do you propose to fill the gap this year, the demand debate will remain on paper exercise.

I am of the view that the State terrorism must stop. I am of the view that a dialogue must be established without any pre-conditions with the known, responsible, politically motivated Kashmiri elements. I have a feeling that we can sit across the table and convince them that in India they have a sort of life that they cannot have in an independence of State and they cannot have future with Pakistan. I am sure we can convince them that independence is not a viable proposition for the Valley of Kashmir. I am sure we can convince them that this future and destiny lies in being a part of Indian Union.

What happened in Ayodhya in December, 1992 has cast a shadow—Mr. Madan Lal Khurana, please don't laugh—a deep shadow, over our relations with Kashmir, not only with Kashmir, but with all the fringe areas of the country, with all the marginalised people of the country. This is the threat of chauvinism, this threat of facism which the demolition symbolised. But I am not here to talk about that situation. I am here to make the point "Don't place any conditions on talks or make any conditional offer for dialogue," I am sure the people of Jammu and Kashmir want to breathe the air of freedom and some of them shall prefer to be a part of the Union of India. I would say you must compensate all the victims, whether they succumb reportedly to the Police bullets or to the bullets of the insurgents. They lost their lives because the government failed to fulfil its primary responsibility of maintaining orderly life in the Valley. Therefore, let us apply a little balm. Let us give some compensation to everybody whose next of kin has lost his life, who has lost his house, who has lost his shop. And you must punish the culprits. Many a time, the Home Minister has made a statement. The

Prime Minister has made a statement. They said that no one shall escape punishment. I want to know from the Hon. Minister how many people have been punished during the last two or three years. We do not know. The culprits, whether they wear uniform or not, must be subjected to rule of law.

We talk about the regionalisation of Kashmir. We have been talking of it for a long time. But I would like to make one point. I would not like the Valley to be placed on a higher pedestal. I am one of those who prefer that if there is regionalisation, there has to be one Regional Council for Ladakh, one for Jammu and one for the Valley and the government of Jammu and Kashmir must be equally placed towards all. I would like the Kashmir problem to be treated as a national problem and I make a humble suggestion. I go a little beyond what Shri Madan Lal Khurana has said. We have a Standing Committee of Home Affairs where we have the presence and participation of all political parties. Let the Standing Committee have a Special Committee on Kashmir which should be continuously in session and which should be continuously available with the highest possible representation of all the important political parties in the country. Whenever it is opportune for the Prime Minister to exchange ideas with the leaders of the parties let them do so but, let there be an advisory body for the Government that before they decide on any crucial points, they take the opinion of this Committee.

I suggest that international pressure which is going up has one more aspect. Inderjitji pointed out one aspect.

I would like to caution the government. The Americans have a plan. The Americans have a strategic plan of using Hindu India along with Christian Europe to fight the Islamic Crescent. Now, they have become the arbiters of the destiny of the world. But, look at our neighbourhood. The Army has already become the arbiter of the political destiny of Pakistan. I would like to caution the government. You have to prepare yourself for the day when Pakistan has elections behind it, because, then, you might face tremendous, pressure on the question of Kashmir. Today, there is a transitory Government. They cannot do very much. But tomorrow, I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, when Pakistan has an elected Government but supported by the Army—in fact, keys lie in the hands of the Army—I do not know what course shall be adopted; I do not know how will they try to hot up the situation. Therefore, we do not have

much time to lose. I think the time has come when the Government must discuss Kashmir on the one hand in the Cabinet and on the other hand outside with all the political parties and come to a clear-cut policy in which not force and coercion but love and compassion will play their role.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is unfortunate that the Indian Parliament is taking the place of the State Assemblies in passing this Budget. We are doing what, in our democratic and federal system, the States should do. We are unfortunately performing the duty of the MLAs. Anyway, certain issues have been raised. I agree with my earlier speakers on the question of performance. We are granting the fund but we do not know what is the fate of that fund. Recently we have seen it. We have granted crores of rupees for JRY in Kashmir. One officer in Anantnag has siphoned Rs. 8 crores. We all know that. It is a very famous story. When you were also with us in the team, we had seen the situation in Kashmir. I am talking of the non-performance. We are granting indeed for the non-performance and because of that, there is no Performance Budget. That is very unfortunate. Without seeing the performance, how can we grant money? It is a very complicated situation.

Sir, I want to remind you that we together made some suggestions. Regarding economic aspects, certain issues have been raised here. I also want to know how much we are paying for keeping Kashmir as an integral part of our country. That has not been included in the Budget. But, at the same time, I would like to recall one thing. We all together tried to prevail upon the Prime Minister during last October. What he did is also before us. We impressed upon him that the situation was very serious and we should not think of elections. Even we said the talk of election also would send a very wrong message because earlier all the elections in Kashmir were rigged. The people of Kashmir have no faith in elections. In this critical situation, they will never accept the elections. They will think that it is another imposition of some favourite people over Kashmir. Because of that, they do not talk of elections. We came out of the meeting; But, within a week, the same talk of election started. Recently also, when we met the Governor, he also said that the government is preparing for the elections. But this is sending a very wrong message. We tell them not to talk of elections. It will take its own course, it will create

a situation. The election will take its own course. But nobody is there to listen to this.

Secondly, we suggested to the Prime Minister to start the political process. We unanimously suggested that political leaders in Kashmir from Valley to Jammu should be brought to establish an all party advisory committee. it is a useless committee, nobody listens to them. They do not have any power. We told them to give them power, real power to advise. Let them do some work based on their advice so that when they advise and things are done, then people will see their power and they will come to them, tell their problems and in that way, interaction will start between the political leaders and common people. In that way, political process will start. But instead of that political process, a few months back Shri Rajesh Pilot declared that such a powerful Advisory Committee would be constituted. But still that has not been done. On the other hand, they called all political leaders from Kashmir to Delhi. after our visit, and tried to see whether election was possible. They are going again and again in the same way. We suggested something unanimously and they did something else. They never listen to us. We, including Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad suggested unanimously on this. But there is nobody to listen to it.

Thirdly, we suggested about the question of autonomy within the framework of Indian Constitution and within the framework of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution—how we can convince the people, how we can start the dialogue with the people, how we can distinguish people of Kashmir, a section of whom are criminals, a section of whom are anti-nationals. But others are there with whom we can even start a dialogue and try to convince them. The question of autonomy must be the main agenda. On the basis of that only we can convince. But no effort is done on that also.

Then we have seen that about 500 army personnel have been killed and about 8000 common people have been killed. It is a situation of army versus common people. This is the most unfortunate situation and it cannot be allowed. I agree with my earlier speakers that we can stop that. How can these atrocities be stopped? One killing of an innocent person destroys and arrests all the achievements of earlier days. That is one major problem. When we meet the people, they always say that they are not treated as human beings, they are not treated as the countrymen, they are treated as enemies. Instead of criminals, anti-nationals,

terrorists, common people are treated as enemies. In the name of retaliation, in the name of cross-firing, all these things are happening. On that issue also, we said that cautious efforts should be made. But we have not seen much on that also.

We also suggested about an all-party meeting at the national level to try to reach at a consensus. We also suggested a meeting with the Kashmir level political party leaders and to meet them, discuss with them and try to come to certain consensus. We request our BJP friends also that for the dire need, for the national interest, they should keep themselves away from certain of their old demands and try to reach at a certain minimum consensus. A message should go that the Indian nation, the Indian Parliament and the Indian political parties are all together with the minimum agreement and they want to solve the Kashmir problem. In that way, we can try to find out a consensus at the Kashmir level and at the national level, But till date, that is not there. We all suggested that priority should be given to it. You also were there, Mr. Chairman and you had also suggested that priority should be given. Where is the priority? You know, even the Cabinet has not met on this issue. Only a Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs had a small discussion on Kashmir, as per my information. The Cabinet has not discussed this issue. This is the situation.

Pakistan has given first priority to Kashmir whereas, our Cabinet cannot discuss what should be our first priority. This should be our first priority. This is the situation. We demanded in the meeting that Kashmir should get first priority. But, what happened? We have not seen any such priority being given to it. We have suggested for the coordination of administration between the police and they army, But, I do not know, what is the situation today? We also complained that our media has failed. Pakistan's media is doing false propaganda and is taking the people with it. But, we are not in a position to counter even one per cent of Pakistan's propaganda through our media. That is the situation today. How are they doing? They are saying that we are killing the people, raping the women and that the Government is destroying beautiful places in various parts of Kashmir. Our propaganda machinery is not highlighting that it is a false propaganda.

Even in the recent meeting of the Human Rights' Commission held at Geneva, there also, Pakistan and other countries were propagating against India. There is a huge propaganda against India. Our counter propaganda on the issues of Kashmir was not properly organized. We failed both in the political forum and also in media.

We also suggested for announcing an economic package. That also was not done properly. There were only some announcements here and there. This is the situation. We all unitedly suggested in last October to the Prime Minister but those suggestions were not implemented. We have seen only the change of Governors, the change of Chief Secretaries. But, there is no application of mind in the functioning of the Government. As he was saying Nirgun, Sagun. I do not know, what this Government is doing? They are not applying their minds while functioning. They suggested that we would go there to see other parts. And you know, after nine months, suddenly they remember that we should go there, just before the session. I objected to it and I also wrote to the Home Minister. This casual attitude shows how much importance we are giving to the problems of Kashmir.

The second point which I want to make is that we are going in a particular way and our continuing with it will force Ladakh, Kargil and Jammu also to go in Kashmir way. That will be another new development and that should be stopped.

We have visited and discussed with the people of Ladakh and Kargil regions. People in Ladakh said that there is no development of whatsoever nature, where is the money that we are giving and that massive discrimination is there amongst Ladakh, Kargil and Jammu regions. People are very frustrated. They feel that injustice is being meted out to them and that the plan budget is coming down. The transport cost is tremendous there. We do not know about that here. One quintal of coal in the Ladakh region costs you Rs. 545. How can the poor people pay for it? We do not provide them with free transport. One quintal of coal there costs you Rs. 545. Why? It is because it is sent there by plane from here.

The schools are not there and if they are there, there are no teachers; in hospitals, there are no doctors and the people are not recruited in jobs. In the Kargil region, people said that

they were with India and that they were not joining hands with the Kashmiri militants, Kashmiri Muslims. Even then, they are not being recruited in army, in paramilitary forces and in other forces. Why? It is because, they are under doubt. If this is the attitude towards the people, how can they have any confidence in the country and how can they feel that they are part of it?

You will be surprised to know that the benefit of reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was extended to Kashmir. But, in Ladakh, Kargil and in other parts of that State, that benefit under Tribal Sub-plans and other programmes, they are not getting. This is the situation.

Regarding education, as already mentioned by the Member here, there are no examinations being held there, especially for those migrants, who are in Jammu. They are not in a position to study, sit for the exams and get their results. You will be surprised to know that there are seven flights in a week to Ladakh region but, there is no flight to Kargil. The people in that region are demanding an airport for a long time. But, nobody is there to listen to them. In Kargil, there is no power. In the city, only for four hours, in the evening, they get some power. Otherwise, there is no power there. For 25 years one Suru project has been going on; but its completion is not in sight. This is the way they are working. We are granting money in this Budget; but this is the situation there.

Agriculture and industry is not there. So there is nothing to say in that respect. Regarding language and culture of Ladakh and Kargil also they feel insecure. In Jammu they wanted the Dogri language to be included in the 8th Schedule; but nobody is there to listen to them.

In Jammu the question of migrants and the old refugee problem is there as Comrade Indrajit Gupta mentioned. The new migrants are about two lakh people and they are living like animals in tents. There is nobody to look after them.

If we do not take adequate measures to solve these problems and try to build up some consensus in this country to deal with the Kashmir problem, we do not know what will happen tomorrow.



I would like to make a few suggestions on the floor of this House in this regard. Firstly, there should be a demarcation between militants who are anti-national forces and other sections of the militants with whom we can pursue and some sort of a dialogue can be opened. By this we can try to solve the problem and keep Kashmir as an integral part of the country. Only announcements from the ramparts of the Red Fort will not solve the problem. We have to take concrete measures to keep Kashmir with India.

There is another problem. People are coming crossing the actual line of control. But the Government is saying that crossing of actual line of control has been reduced and from Pakistan terrorists are not coming and going. This is not correct. Our information is that it is increasing. We want to know the actual situation there. More militants are coming and going to Pakistan, getting trained and are coming back. That is the serious situation there. We want to know the Government's information and how they are combating it. Some terrorists from Afghanistan are also coming to that area.

About the political process, I would demand that political process should start; but not in the name of election because it will have damaging effect. A meeting at the national level of all political parties should be held immediately and leaders of the recognized political parties in Kashmir also should be called in order to try and reach a consensus approach to solve the Kashmir problem.

Shri Rajesh Pilot announced about the Advisory Council; but it has not yet been constituted. It should be immediately constituted with the leaders of political parties of Kashmir and their advice should be given some weight. The Governor just calls meetings but does not listen to their advice. This is the complaint. What is the use of the Advisory Council then? So a powerful Advisory Council should be there, so that the political process could be strengthened. There should be no talk of elections now. It will take time for the situation to improve.

Regarding the Kishtwar incident, it is a ghastly killing. It is one of the most inhuman and barbaric incidents. There is a conspiracy to divide and to inject a new type of communal problem in Jammu. If the Hindus from Dodha and Kishtwar start coming back to Jammu, then the communal problem will spread to Jammu

also. This is a very bad situation. That question also should be considered seriously to see how we can solve the problem.

The political problem should have a political solution. For that we need a comprehensive policy, a correct perspective, an unified understanding and a common approach, so that we can solve the problem of Kashmir. There is a new attempt of introducing a tribalism into the Kashmir situation, as if Ladakh, Kargil, Jammu and Srinagar all should be divided on religious line. That is a big conspiracy within the framework of our Constitution. Autonomy should be there; autonomous council can be formed for Ladakh, Kargil, Jammu and Srinagar within the framework of the Jammu & Kashmir Constitution and within the framework of our Constitution. That can be done; and without that this problem cannot be solved.

I will urge upon the Government that the Government should start acting on the lines of what we have suggested nine months earlier and what we are suggesting now, again, after visiting certain parts of the city, so that we can solve the Kashmir problem. Thank you for giving me the time.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Sahasara): Mr. Chairman, Sir, with great distress I again rise to speak on the Budget of Kashmir today. When the budget comes, everytime the Government says that elections would be held but in reality they are not in a position to hold the elections in Kashmir. It is not good to make such type of announcements time and again. This will undermine the credit of the Government with people. This budget is of Kashmir and it is being passed by the Lok Sabha. At the same time elections cannot be held. There is no co-ordination between these two prepositions. Therefore, we are helpless to bring forward the Budget here and hold a discussion on it. I would like to mention two three points. Is the money spent in Kashmir which is provided through the Budget. I have a doubt. The people of Kashmir are terrified, then how they will spend the money. Now a days tourists do not go there, So we have to make provision in the Budget to increase their number. We allocate at the rate of Rs. 12/- Crores after every six months. A meagre amount of Rs. 24 crores annually does not have any effort on tourism of

Kashmir. We have seen about agriculture? What much funds have been allocated for it. They grow fruit which is very costly. The funds allocated for this is not sufficient. It does not meet their demands. This money can be spent for bringing peace in the region. The situation is deteriorating instead of showing any signs of improvement for the last four years. Earlier it was confined to Kashmir valley alone but now it has spread to districts and towns. The incidents take place as and when Rajesh Pilotji visited the area. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you were also a member of the delegation that visited the area. When it was discussing with Rajesh Pilotji, I was also present. He implemented the suggestions. A meeting of all recognised parties of this country should be convened and discussion should be held with all the leaders. When Shri Rajesh Pilot visits the area, he makes a speech and comes back. It no way solves the problem. People come to talk to you. Do they live in villages or towns.

16.00 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

When we come to know in newspapers that Pakistani flag were hoisted there and after sometime they were withdrawn. It is a matter of shame for us that when we have entrusted Kashmir to our army and spend such colossal amount on it, it will be shameful if Pakistani Flag is hoisted there. The Government should resign and hand over power to some other agency to run the administration. I do not say that people should be massacred there but if anybody comes a forward then he should not be spared. Please take stringent action against them. I have said this thing many a time. Firm steps should be taken against those who do not have faith in dialogue or who do not want to understand the language of dialogue. The Government takes strong action only when many people have lost their lives. Government's action shows that there is no Government. There are only militants. If they kill people travelling in buses, the Government kills only 10 extremists. Peace can be established there through dialogue. I can say that the people of Kashmir should be given the right to pass their own budget as it was done in Punjab. Please go to the people of Kashmir and talk to them. Please talk to different political parties. If they were not prepared to stop extremism, please take stringent action against them.

Sir, Kashmiri refugees are coming here. People say that they are Pandits. They are Brahmins. No matter whether they are Pandits or they belong to some other caste. After all, they are refugees. The refugees who come from Kashmir, do not say that they want to live here in Delhi. They say that please maintain peace in Kashmir and they will go back. The Government has promised many times that people, who came from Kashmir, will get loan. They will get employment. Did they get employment upto now? You have given Rs. 1000 per family. I would like to know whether it is possible to run a family with Rs. 1000 in a city like Delhi? This way you are asking the refugee to become extremists. If you do not mean that then it is your duty to arrange for their rehabilitation until peace is restored in Kashmir. This has not been done. Today I repeat that you should make such arrangements for them. If you fail to do so then people will be misguided and indulge in wrong deeds.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I viewed on T. V. an interview that some extremists were nabbed. They were saying that they were taken forcibly blindfolded and after reaching a certain place they removed their fold and threatened them to kill if they do not turn extremists. I want to ask the Government if this is true, then what the Government is doing? Cannot it save them from becoming terrorists? Cannot you protect them? We have become so incompetent among the people of Kashmir Valley that we are not able to stop extremism even after deploying army there. Extremists are so daring that they get training from Pakistan and spread disturbance in this country. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister of this vast country cannot do anything in this regard. What could be more shameful than this? Balram Jakhar Sahib has come here. Earlier he was our Hon. Speaker. He delivers very good speeches and he is fond of travelling. I would like to tell him that he should visit Kashmir and can see the situation prevailing there. Sir, you should visit Kashmir. It is possible that the situation could improve there after your visit. I would like to submit that you must visit Kashmir once. . . . (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE  
(SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR) : I will definitely go there.

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV : Jakhar Sahib cannot take me with him. I will go there as per my convenience.

**SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR :** We are colleagues. We will go there like brothers. What are you talking?

**SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV :** Do you have such a notion... (*Interruption*)... I would like to submit that in regard to Kashmir, whatever is said or discussed about it, will be less. For God's sake you must do something to give them relief. I would like to make some suggestions but I have an appointment with the Hon. Speaker at 4.00 P.M. It is already 5 past four. Therefore, I conclude my speech here. I would like to add something while congratulating you. The Hon. Finance Minister is sitting here. Finance Ministerji, this time you have cut the budget for Jammu and Kashmir. Please increase it. The youths are unemployed. There are educated unemployed people. You should do the first job to give them employment. If you give them employment and trained them then they will have courage to fight against extremists, they will be capable of fighting them back. Today the situation is that educated unemployed persons have no means of livelihood and therefore they are bound to become terrorist. With these words, I conclude.

**PROF. PREM DHUMAL :** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Budget of Jammu and Kashmir is being presented in the Parliament continuously for the last few years and today we are making a discussion on it. The members who spoke prior to me stressed the point that the Parliament is doing this job which should have been done in the State Legislature there.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, from the treasury benches, you had initiated this discussion by saying that when General Rao was appointed as the Governor of Kashmir, a warning was issued to the terrorists that a strict action was for them in store but I feel that it went unnoticed.

If we go through the history of Jammu and Kashmir, we will come to know that the situation in Kashmir worsened when General Rao became the Governor of the State for the first time during the tenure of Farroq Abdullah as the Chief Minister of the State. The situation deteriorated so much that General Rao had to be replaced and Shri Jagmohan came on the scene. I want to bring this fact on record that it was General Rao, who was once responsible for the failure of administration there and now once again due to him only, the situation is wor-

sening there as a result of the statements being issued by him as well as his advisors. One of their statements is that our B. S. F. is a low paid mercenary, its level is low. This is something very strange that the reign of Kashmir has again been entrusted to such people.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now we can discuss the Budget of Jammu and Kashmir over here. Every speaker spoken so far have stressed that a performance budget should be there. What happened to the funds sanctioned previously. Nobody is there to keep a vigil whether the funds are being spent for the development works or it is being funded for the purchases of arsenals for the use of militants. Though providing Benami contracts, every State Legislature has a budget session, like ours. It takes the whole session to discuss the budget but here we discuss the State budget within two hours, which is a formality only in which we just put a stamp on it that it has been passed by the House and that is all.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the position of the Budget of Jammu and Kashmir. The deficit due to militancy prevailing in the State has increased this year to Rs. 1246 crores which was Rs. 1225 crores during the last year and the reasons responsible for it are given as such.

[*English*]

"Non-recovery of sales tax and other tariffs and the inability of the Government to resort to additional resource mobilisation in the Valley, besides an annual expenditure of over Rs. 150 crore on maintenance of security forces has resulted in a severe financial crisis in Jammu and Kashmir."

[*Translation*]

Not only this, the Jammu & Kashmir officials further say:

[*English*]

"Government suffered a loss of over Rs. 225 crore by way of non-recovery of sales tax and excise in the Kashmir Valley during the past three years".

[*Translation*]

How this deficit will be covered. The Member, speaking prior to me had also inquired about how the Government is going to cover this deficit, have any arrangements been made in this regard? The law and order situation has

deteriorated to such an extent that one does not see any hope of any sort of improvement is it in the near future. Further he says:—

[English]

"Excise tax on liquor and entertainment tax on cinema halls had been completely lost in the Valley since December 1989".

[Translation]

And you will be surprised to know Mr. Chairman that about the nominal income in the form of Excise Duty recovered in Jammu and Kashmir.

[English]

There was no excise collection in the Valley excepting 50 per cent of Rs. 6.5 crores paid by the Army and CSD on account of liquor supplies.

[Translation]

A sum of Rs. 6.5 crores has been earned as excise on the liquor supplied to the army. Besides, you neither earned any income from excise nor from entertainment tax through cinema halls.

Every time, the figures which we get here, gives this sort of feeling that you divide that amount by 2 and keep half of the amount for first 6 months and another half for the rest of 6 months. I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Finance, whether it is possible that the same amount equivalent to the amount spent in first 6 months is also spent in another 6 months period. Are we following a blind policy, are we preparing the Budget with blind eyes? Most of the Members, spoken prior to me enquired about your policy but you could not throw a light on it. I feel that you do not have a policy on Kashmir except on insurance policy for the Ministers.

I do not want to mention the name of our colleagues and leaders of opposition because they are very senior to me but I am helpless and I am compelled to mention their names. Shri Indrajit has mentioned in his speech that India has always been an expert in preaching the world, likewise our Communist colleagues complete their speeches by preaching B. J. P. people. He says that the situation there can be improved if B. J. P. people do not talk about the Article 370. I want to make him remember that in this very House when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee proposed to withdraw the Article 370, at that time

leave aside our leaders even their leader Shri Sarjoo Pandey supported this proposal. If Guptaji wants, I can make him available the particular records, he supported the idea of removing the Article 370 as its provision was made for a little period. And when our B. J. P. member reiterated, you started mentioning the statement of Jhon Mallot, the intentions of America, Pakistan and B. J. P., I want to make it clear in the House that B. J. P. takes everything from the national point of view. We are not guided by Russia and China as you are. Before Independence they were guided by the British and after Independence during the period of emergency they were guided by the Congress. They keep on changing sides at best available opportunity. The B. J. P. has an original thinking. We consider the national interest as supreme. The friends, who want to preach us, should first go through the speeches of their leaders.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I also happened to be a member of a delegation. Some delegations were sponsored by the Government and some were sponsored by our party. Thereafter some recommendations were announced, which also featured a politics economic package for Jammu and Kashmir which said:

[English]

"The package finalised at a meeting attended by Senior Central and State Government officials, last Wednesday, envisages construction of roads, bridges and generation of employment under a crash programme."

[Translation]

Hon. Minister of Finance, when you give reply please furnish information about the crash programme, I suspect that the programme has crashed even before its implementation.

Further, it has been stated:

[English]

"Tourism, the mainstay of State's economy, would be declared as Industry".

I would like to know have you really declared it as an industry?

"And, over 1200 Shikara owners could be rehabilitated in alternative vocations under special scheme."

I would like to know what is the alternative vocation that you have found out for these Shikara owners.

*[Translation]*

There are many points with regard to Kashmir. Whenever we discuss the Budget, it is less the discussion on Budget and more on the political situation of the state. What is the prevailing law and order situation in the valley? We have been pointing out again and again that not only situation in Kashmir valley is changing, but the proportion of the population of Doda district adjacent to the valley is also being made distorted; such a situation is being created deliberately. This situation has not emerged only today; it is being created for the last so many years. A Parliamentary delegation which visited the valley three years ago had warned the Government in writing that the circumstances were changing there and that deliberate efforts were being made to disbalance the proportion of the population. Some of the hon. Members pointed out that perhaps Israel had suggested that a little variation in the proportion of population might improve the situation. Though the State Government disliked the idea but the terrorists are trying to create such a situation particularly in Doda district.

Hindus have migrated from Kashmir either to Jammu or Delhi. If a similar situation arises in Doda district having about 45 per cent Hindus population, there would cause a demographic change as has been pointed out by the hon. Member; It distorts the proportion of the population.

I hail from Himachal Pradesh. When terrorists were active in Punjab, this state had to suffer. Though it is a peace loving state; yet it being an adjacent state has to suffer, and now the terrorists of Jammu-Kashmir have also entered Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has advised the people to divert their path because their cattle are not safe there. The law and order situation is not sound; they have been asked to seek the permission of DC of Chamba in this regard.

Recently I had been to Saluni in Chamba district. After 15 days of my visit I came to know that terrorists attacked a police station in the same area. The Government is of the view that the Kishtwad incident that took place on the 14th was just an effort to divert the attention of the Government. As a result of this incident all are worried; but worry is not the solution of the problem, we will have to adopt a concrete policy in this regard. Unless the terrorists get the impression that they are not going to be spared

for their evil deeds, the situation cannot improve. Otherwise, the general tendency is that on one side the Government gives assurances of starting a political process to solve the terrorist problem but on the other hand it releases the terrorists who have been apprehended for their terrorist activities. I do agree that the situation really deteriorated in those days when daughter of Shri Mohammad Sayeed the ex-Minister of Home Affairs in the Central Government was kidnapped. I do also agree to it that we also supported the then Government. Though there was no risk to her life, yet the terrorists were released to get her freed. This created an impression that the terrorists could do anything they could kidnap, black mail or kill anyone to whom they wish. The Vice Chancellor of a University was kidnapped and killed. But then the Government did not get ready to release any of the terrorists. The General Manager of HMT was kidnapped and killed but the Government did not bother about his life. However, when the daughter of a Minister was kidnapped terrorists were released at once. It was the blunder committed during the Janata Dal regime. The same thing is being repeated by the Congress Party. Therefore, we want the Government to adopt a clear cut policy. The Government should take stringent action against the terrorists involved in any untoward incident. While taking action, the Government should not make any distinction between the crimes whether it has been committed either against A or B.

Before concluding my speech, I would like to talk about the refugees. There are two categories of refugees the—refugees who came from Pakistan in 1947 have no right to vote till today. My previous speakers have talked about it extensively. I would no more like to go into those details. The situation is very bad in J&K. Nothing is proposed to be done for the people who have become refugees in a free country. The hon. Minister of Finance may give clarification in this regard while giving his reply on the Budget.

*[English]*

I would like to specifically know from you what are you going to provide for the rehabilitation of those refugees who have been forced to leave their homes in the Valley and are now living in Jammu or Delhi or anywhere else in India. There is no specific arrangement, no provision in the Budget as far as I can see it.

[*Translation*]

Secondly, there is not only the question of the result of the students of Jammu-Kashmir, the results of many students who go from other states to get education there and did their B. Ed. course, have not been declared so far. Three years have passed and they are still unable to know whether they have passed or not.

The Government should clearly state as to what provision has been made for the rehabilitation of the refugees. Unless the Government gives any clarification in this regard, the Members won't be satisfied. It was said that the matter had not been taken up in the Cabinet, now the hon. Minister may at least please tell what policy is proposed to be adopted? The Government should not present the Budget in respect of J&K just for the sake of formality. Next time there must be a performance budget. The details as to how the funds allocated have been used, may also be given. Regional imbalance should be removed. The Government should ensure that every region gets adequate grant. With these words, I am grateful to you for the time given to me to speak.

**SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA:** We are discussing the Demands for Grants, 1993-94 of Jammu and Kashmir. Khuranaji, during the discussion, pointed out that the Government made no reference to the performance of the State Government during the previous year for which the last Budget had been passed. I do agree with him. We have two hours at our disposal in the Parliament to discuss the Demands for Grants of a State. At least the performance report of the previous year's budget must have been issued, so that we could know as to how the funds allocated in this Budget in the previous year were used, what the shortcomings and how can they be rectified. But the House has got only two hours to discuss the Budget of a State. I am confident that the hon. Minister would take up this matter while giving his reply.

The problem of Jammu Kashmir is a serious problem which our country is facing. It has taken a serious shape for the last several years. It is a challenge to the unity and integrity of our country, it is a question mark. How the prevailing situation should be improved and confidence be created in the people as also how the life of the people may be made prosperous. All these aspects should be the issues of the discussion on Demand for Grants.

Detailed discussion has also taken place with regard to the incident of 14th August. Such incidents took place in Punjab earlier. But it is the first time that such a situation has arisen in Doda in which the Bus passengers were forced to get down and were fired upon. We will have to take the matter seriously, because it has been the first instance in Kashmir that people have been gunned down in the name of a caste or a religion. It is just the beginning. If the Government does not take strict action in this regard the situation may deteriorate further. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government not to take the matter lightly and the incident should be viewed as a first episode of the future story, so the Government should take stringent measures to solve the problem.

Our colleagues discussed various aspects of the incident, all of us are aware of the Pakistan's involvement in it. Terrorists are being provided sophisticated weapons and training by Pakistan. The statements made by the Government and the political leaders of Pakistan reveal their attitude. They are trying to separate Kashmir from India for getting political mileage. What is the reason behind their logic to separate Kashmir from India? The simple reason is that Kashmir valley is inhabited by majority of muslims.

We cannot accept this argument of Pakistan as ours is a secular State where people of various Castes and Communities are living together and being respected by each other. Will USA and Europe be included in North-East of India on the plea that christians are in majority in that region; while speaking from the Red Fort on the 15th August, our Prime Minister has warned Pakistan for its activities and the country's policy towards Jammu and Kashmir was also clarified. We should take seriously the challenges posed by Pakistan on this issue. We cannot decide the issue on the basis of religion, so this argument of Pakistan can be held baseless and irrelevant.

As you all know that during Zero Hour too, I have raised the issue regarding the statement made by the acting Prime Minister of Pakistan that it has developed the technique of manufacturing the Atomic bomb. It is a challenge before the country. India should take this statement seriously. Various newspapers have published the statement made by the acting Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto that Pakistan is planning to drop atomic bomb on that part of India where defence exercises are going on. So in the present

conditions I urge upon the Government to adopt suitable measures in this regard. We have enough evidences that Pakistan is providing training, protection and weapons to terrorists. Alongwith that it is trying to get passed a resolution against the Indian Government on international forum as well as it is also trying to develop an anti-India opinion in the world with the help of other countries, so we should try our best to take precautionary measures to check the Pak anti-India activities. People from BJP and other political parties say that Kashmir problem could be solved in one day but it is not so. In this context, I would like to mention the example of Punjab which has been a terrorist affected area. Now the Govt. is smoothly functioning there and it is the strength and desire of common people which has enabled the Government to take action for formation of Government in Punjab. The functioning of this Government is being praised by people all over India. Mr. Shahabuddin says that Kashmir problem is defferent but I would like to tell that Punjab terrorists were also getting support, protection and assistance from other countries. Our Government has taken several steps to solve the problems of the people of Punjab and is trying its best to solve the future problems too. Similarly, the Government is trying to solve Kashmir problem in the same way as it has solved the Punjab problem with the help of common people. It cannot be solved in one day. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are hard workers. They are honest; but the attitude of officers and the prevailing corruption on all levels in the valley have hurted their feelings because the officials there are looting the people in the name of progress. The feelings of the people of Kashmir also have been hurted due to demolition of Babri Masjid on the 6th December.

Tourism has also been affected by terrorism and several people have become unemployed. The problem of educated unemployment is increasing there. A number of people have lost their employment due to sharp fall in tourism. The Government have to think over this problem too. Corruption and loot have increased in the name of progress. The Administration has failed completely in every sphere, whether it is the problem of rehabilitation or any other problem. The plight of refugees is unthinkable. They are living in groups in the tents and several people are living in one tent. They have so many problems which are not being solved by the concerned officers. Despite lodging their

complaints with the Commissioner, they are not getting ration in time. The officers do tour those camps to have a look on the problems of these people but none of the problems is being solved. The Government should take every possible measure for rehabilitation of Kashmiri refugees.

Sir, the terrorism was earlier limited only up to Kashmir Valley but now it is spreading in Loda, Anaspura and Poonch-Rajori areas. The Government should think over this. I would like to congratulate our security forces which are working in such a difficult condition and implementing the orders issued by the Government. Mr. Shahabuddin has raised the issue of Human Rights but neglected the difficult condition in which our security forces are working there. He has completely ignored the problems being faced by these soldiers and their families. He has completely ignored the number of soldiers who are killed there while performing their duty in that difficult situation. He has not spoken any word about the plight of their widows and families.

So, I urge upon all the political parties to think over the Kashmir problem collectively. This problem relates to the whole country and not to one political party. We should think over the solution of Kashmir problem. The Government should convene a meeting of all the political parties to solve the problems of economic development, unemployment and rehabilitation. I hope that the Government will try its best to solve the Kashmir problem. I request all of you to work collectively for the solution of this problem.

[English]

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur): I rise to support the Demand although I do agree with some hon. Members who have asked for the production of a performance Budget alongwith the Demand. I am prepared to agree with them that it will be better for the Government if the Demand is placed alongwith the Performance Budget showing the amount spent in the last year. Still, I am prepared to support the Demand.

The Demand is for taking up programmes for the promotion of the welfare of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It is a good idea. So, we have to support it. But my query is whether the beneficiary will be benefited by the Demand. Are they happy in their State? Are we successful in winning over those people who are

hostile to the Government? That question crops up in my mind and on that only I rise to express my views.

Although almost all the leaders have announced that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the country, even though it is pronounced by the hon. Prime Minister on many occasions and even recently on the 15th August from the Red Fort, it is my impression, that the people think that something is missing. Something is missing from our side. That means some feeling of uncertainty in respect of Kashmir is in the minds of those people who do not think as the leaders feel.

So, this has to be taken care of. Otherwise, the public opinion would be very doubtful about the determination of this Government in restoring a popular Government in Kashmir.

Sir, it is my consideration that since independence of this country, we have been committing mistakes in respect of Kashmir. When the question of annexation came up, there were two opinions. One was led by Sardar Patelji, who wanted to deal with Kashmir in the style in which he dealt with Hyderabad. But, Nehruji's decision has prevailed. So, since then, there has been a confrontation in respect of the affairs of Kashmir.

Now, simply I would like to express my consideration in respect of making Kashmir an integral part of the country. Many bureaucratic officers who are posted in that State sometimes deal with the people as if they are masters; they dominate the people and they treat them as if they are in the occupied area. That attitude must be changed. They must change their outlook and their approach. Even in our State, in the troubled areas, when President's Rule was imposed, practically officers run the Government and with the bureaucratic attitude, they dealt with the people and their attitude was against the interests of the people. So, I would propose that when posting officers to such troubled areas like Jammu and Kashmir, we must select officers who would treat the people with a great sense of responsibility.

The sooner the popular Ministry is restored in Kashmir, it will be better and it will be in the interests of the nation.

With these words, I support the Demands.

(16.44 hours)

**SHRI SOBHANADREESWAR RAO VADDE (VIJAYAWADA)**: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill moved by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance.

With a heavy heart we are doing this because this Parliament has been burdened with voting on the Demands for Grants in respect of Kashmir since quite a long time. Each and every time, we were wishing that normalcy will be restored in Kashmir and Parliament will be relieved from this responsibility. Unfortunately, it is not happening.

The situation is going from bad to worse. You are aware, Sir, that Kashmir was considered as one of the most attractive places in our country and, in fact, many newly wedded people used to go to Kashmir to have their honeymoon there. But things have completely changed, as a result of which the revenue that has been accruing to the State, is going down and down. The tourist travel itself has almost come to a grinding halt. This also has a tremendous bearing on the financial condition of the people of Kashmir. Most of them are poor. In spite of the fact that the Government of India has been spending a lot of money for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, unfortunately, that money has been going into the pockets of the politicians or the bureaucrats. Not many of the common people of Kashmir derived the benefit. It is a fact. My only query to the Government is that is it not a fact that a considerable percentage of population in Kashmir appears to have been alienated from the mainstream? Is it not a fact that a very large number of people are having grouse, discontent and anger against the Government of India? And Sir, this to happen in Kashmir is really most unfortunate because that great man, Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah, had played a very pivotal role in seeing that Kashmir continued to be a part of India, apart from our great leaders Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We cannot belittle the stature of Sheikh Abdullah. He was the man who opposed Jinnah's two-nation theory. When Jinnah was touring Kashmir to lend support for that, it was Sheikh Abdullah who fought against that and who ultimately saw to it that Mr. Jinnah went out of Kashmir. In spite of that, why today a large number of people, especially the youth are acting in different ways? Has the Government analysed the reasons? I only appeal to the Government to give a deep thinking to the reasons that are behind this aliena-



tion of a large number of people in Kashmir.

Several omissions and commissions have taken place. Is it not as fact that many a time elections were rigged in Kashmir? Was opportunity given to the people to exercise their franchise freely and fairly? Except the elections that took place in the initial stage after Independence and the election which was conducted when Morarjibhai was the Prime Minister of this country, almost at all other times the elections were rigged. Is it not an unfortunate and ghastly mistake in bringing down the Government of Mr. Farook Abdullah? There are several reasons. I ask the Government to give a deep thinking to this and only then by taking some steps, you can bring back normalcy in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

My humble submission to the Government is that they should constitute an all-party committee, giving representation to different important groups, both in the Valley as well as in the Jammu area.

Because of that the administration which is now under the direct reins of the Union Government can pass on to the needy people. Sir, the tourism has come to a grinding halt in Kashmir. What is the position of the people of Kashmir today, especially the poor? You have allocated very small amount for social welfare in your Appropriation Bill—only Rs. 14 crores on revenue account and Rs. 7 crores on capital account. My suggestion to the Government is that there is a definite necessity to enhance the allocation under the head of social welfare. You must examine that and please help the poor people of Kashmir who, for no fault of theirs, are suffering.

It is only because of this mindless headless acts of these militants at the behest of our neighbour, Pakistan—that these innocent people, the farmers or the small handicrafts people, the weavers and the workers, are suffering. I also appeal to the Government to have a dialogue with various groups in Kashmir including the militant groups also. There is nothing wrong in it. There were days when in the North East insurgency had taken place and there were some groups and some parties and some outfits who were actually fighting our Indian forces. Later Government thought it fit to have a dialogue with them and they had been given power also.

My only suggestion is to interact with different groups and ascertain the reasons behind this alienation and then kindly take suitable steps to restore normalcy which will ultimately lead to conduction of free and fairpoll in Kashmir which will relieve this Parliament of approving the Demands for Grants again and again.

With these words I conclude my speech. Thank you.

**SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI (DARBHANGA):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, today the budget of Jammu and Kashmir is being discussed in the House and with a heavy heart I rise to speak in support of it. The reason being that not even a single M. P. from that State is in the House. I do not think that in a true manner we can hold a discussion about Jammu and Kashmir unless the representatives of the State make their suggestions and participate in the discussion. We can only know about the prevailing situation of Kashmir, the issues for which funds are required and the places where welfare activities are to be carried, when M. Ps from the state are also present in the House.

Some time back, the Government set up a committee on Kashmir issue. I was also taken a member of the committee from my party, but not even a single meeting has taken place in last 3—4 months since the constitution of the committee. This shows the seriousness of the Government to solve the Kashmir problem.

Under the prevailing circumstances, leave aside the idea of setting up of new industries, even the existing industries are on the verge of closure. The educational institutions are also facing closure. The youth of Kashmir have joined colleges in different parts of the country. Hundreds of boys and girls are studying in remote areas like that of ours. Now, the point to see is whether the budget being passed here is utilized in a proper way or not.

Under the prevailing circumstances the businessmen who deal in carpet export and other items are opening their offices in Delhi and other places due to the terror of the militants. They are unable to compete in the international market, which is causing loss of foreign exchange to the nation substantially.

Just now, one of our friends was saying that since trouble started in the valley, no Prime Minister has ever visited Kashmir. We do hear about the visits of the Home Minister sometimes by an aeroplane or a Helicopter. Some-

times he organises a meeting in the Governor's House or in an army camp but no Home Minister dared to go to the common people. Some days ago Shri V. P. Singh wanted to visit Kashmir but he was not allowed. Why the Government does not allow the former Prime Minister to visit and meet the people of the State. Shri Rajesh Pilot must make a clarification in this regard in his reply.

Mr. Chairman, Sir. I have visited Kashmir a number of times. I vividly remember that when Farooq Abdula used to be Chief Minister there the common people had a great faith in him. Even the aged people used to give him father like respect. During 1975-76, I had gone there on a school-tour. That time, I casually asked a boy returning from school as to what did he study. He told me that he studied Urdu, English and Mathematics. When I asked him whether he knew of the poem, "Hindustan Hamara" or not. He sang that poem for me. Now there is a need to go through the circumstances under which the youth of Kashmir have adopted the path of extremism.

Mr. Chairman, Sir. whenever terrorism spreads its wings, it is the common people who suffer most. You can go through the list of the people died in Kashmir due to militancy. The Vice Chancellor of Kashmir varsity was killed. It was all due to the political game played with Kashmir under which the election process could not take place in a proper manner. I want to submit that like Punjab a political process should also be initiated in Kashmir. Let it take 6 months or one year time but this is the only way through which Kashmir can be brought into the main stream. The people of the valley should be taken into confidence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir. our colleagues were also present in Budapest. We successfully presented the position of our country but they have their thinking regarding violation of human rights in Kashmir and Punjab. You may not agree to it but the World thinks that youth are being massacred in Kashmir on a large scale. In my opinion, the Government of India should take it seriously and start a large scale campaign in order to improve India's image on Kashmir. I do not think that the Government has so far done anything in this respect. A delegation of M. Ps. should be sent and a campaign should be initiated through our Embassies that we only oppose the people who create terrorism or support it. We do not oppose them who want to live peacefully in Kashmir. If it is not settled then it

will come to the international forum. The day this issue goes out of our hands will be a very unfortunate day for India.

(17.00 hours)

Our friend, Shri Khurana just told us that no arrangement has been made for providing accommodation to refugees from Kashmir. Some time ago, I had gone to Rajasthan. I saw them there also. I think that these refugees should be settled in Jammu only or at a safer place in Kashmir itself. The Government must rehabilitate them.

Shri Khurana Ji was just now showing a newspaper in which it was reported that the militants there are raising slogans in favour of Pakistan. There are three ideologies prevailing in Kashmir. The first type of people want to stay in India, the second type wants to join Pakistan but the people having third type of ideology want to have their own Kashmir, which is off course a new trend. Belated action will deteriorate the situation there. Merely passing the budget cannot solve the problem, we need to take political initiatives in order to maintain its integrity with India. I would like to request the Government to take steps so as to improve the situation there.

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (MURSHIDABAD): Mr. Chairman, Sir. whenever the Government presents a budget, we do oppose it but under the prevailing circumstances it is very difficult for us to oppose it. On the contrary we ask the Government to raise the funds. Who is responsible for all this? The Government is in the habit of taking late decisions which affects the whole of country.

The Ayodhya issue, which should have been settled during last 46 years is still hanging fire. Today, you can well see the happenings all over the country. When Pakistan invaded Kashmir, it was pulled back by the Hindus and Muslims alike. Then, Indian army came on the scene. At last half of the portion remained with India and another half went to Pakistan. They named it "Azad Kashmir," we called it Pak occupied Kashmir. A right step was not taken at the right time and as a result of that the situation worsened. Late action always leads to such results. When religion is taken as the basis, it deteriorates the whole thing. We saw the misuse of religion in Punjab. It was criticised. We understand the problem of Kashmir. This is not related with the Muslims only. We are also facing a demand for a separate Uttarkhand State.

The treatment meted out to them during yester years is a clear out come of the policies of the Government. The Government spent lavishly in Kashmir but it never tried to see as to how and on what accounts it was being spent. Even today, it is under President's Rule. Nobody investigated into the misappropriation of funds. The Governor does not see to it whether the deserving persons are getting financial assistance there. Buses are not being plied on the road due to the fear of the terrorists. The Government supplies wheat from here but it does not reach there. Arms are supplied from Pakistan now. Even ration is being supplied from there. You will have to give it a thought. I have already asked this question as to what percentage of foodgrains has reached the valley and Ladakh? You will have to be vigilant about it. The local population does not support the terrorists.

Kashmir has only one Industry i. e. tourism which is also almost closed. The locals are displeased with the terrorists. Some people are assisting them under pressure. I have a different opinion about terrorists. I think that the number of terrorists, as assessed by you is not correct. There is a difference between the determination of terrorists of Punjab and Militants of Kashmir. When you catch hold of a militant in Kashmir, you make him to make a statement on radio and television. They make their statement and admit their

17.09 hrs.

*[Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair]*

mistakes. We will have to think whether they are actually terrorists or ordinary people. You force them to make statements on television as well as to face the terrorists. Shri Pilot, even after 47 years of Independence it is happening under your nose. In order to control the situation, you will have to bring the army on the scene. When they feel that they have their own Government in power they start behaving arbitrarily. At present the army, BSF and local police are there. We have some information about the local police. When you replaced Farooq Abdulla with Gul Mohammad Shah, the latter instead of improving the administration, created a lot of problem for the Centre. He got the Jamayte-Islami people recruited into the police organisation. At present the police, the army and the BSF are there working without proper coordination among them. This is adversely affecting the situation.

The Government claims that the situation is improving there. We also want the situation to improve and start a political process so that elections could be held. There is nobody in the House to represent Kashmir since last two elections. Therefore elections are very much needed there. But it requires a certain atmosphere for this purpose. It is learnt that certain efforts are being made to hold elections there but I think if elections are held it will be very unfortunate. People will be elected either on the basis of merely 4 to 5 per cent of votes or by capturing of the booths but they will not be elected properly. Every national party has a responsibility that instead of asking for an election they should start a political process there. All party delegations go there but they do not visit the common people. By merely visiting the Dal Lake one cannot know how people are being exploited. They will have to go to villages and colonies there.

The Minister for Agriculture has come. Today, nobody is there to purchase apples and other fruit from there. They are selling apples at the rate of Rs. 1.25 per kilogram and walnuts for Rs 3-4 per kilogram. How can they survive? The Government is not taking any action in this regard. The Government at least will have to provide them marketing facility for the local produce of fruit. In order to meet the shortage of food supply the Government will have to improve the supply line. The people of Kashmir are with you if the Government takes initiatives in this regard. Some people, under the fear of militants, pretend that they are with terrorists but in fact they are not.

This budget has been brought under such circumstances. I know that you cannot increase the allocations made therein as you have paucity of funds, but if you do not put a check on proper utilisation of funds then the situation will worsen. The World Bank had allocated funds for cleaning the Dal Lake. Does the Government know as to how much of it was spent and what happened to the rest of the amount. The Government does not bother for such petty things. The Governor runs the show by simply sitting in his house and there is no coordination between the police and the army.

At present, I have heard that through satellites one can know the exact places of fish in the sea and catch them easily. Is it not possible that, we may adopt the same technique to catch hold of

the terrorists to know about their camp sites and the places where from they are sneaking into India? No doubt, its a technical matter, but when we can use it for catching fish then we can also use it for nabbing terrorists. The Government should do the needful in this regard.

One more point that I would like to submit is about the displaced persons. This is the tradition in our country. On the one hand I have seen people in Meenakshipuram spending money on the conversion of SCs and STs and on the other I have seen people belonging to upper castes begging on the roads in Calcutta. We spent crores of rupees on rehabilitation of refugees from Bangladesh but we have done nothing for one displaced bretheren from Kashmir. Everybody including the Members of B. J. P., our party and your party were vocal in the House is support of their Kashmiri bretheren, but what steps are you going to take for their settlement? The Government does not say as to what sort of relief and assistance, it intends to provide to them. These people as well as the Members elected from there are angry on this and you will have to bear their brunt.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with this warning I conclude and thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak.

Dr. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA (MANDSAUR) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the budget of J & K is being discussed in the House but when the Government does not have a fair intention, we cannot expect good policies from it. In the absence of a good intention and a good policy we can never expect of good results. The persons running this Government neither have clear policies nor clear intentions. Otherwise, this case would not have become so much complicated. Why the Government cannot deal it directly. Shri Khurana had raised the issue of Doda district. He had simply asked the Government to put a check on the activities of the militants. Why the Government cannot seal the boarders from the side of Doda district? Why the Government cannot gear up its security arrangements at Poonch-Rajouri border? The points where you have loosened your security arrangements, the Pak trained militants sneaked into the country from there and you always have to cut a sorry figure. The people of the valley also the people of Doda district have lost their confidence in the Government and I, therefore, request you to take steps which may restore their confidence in the Government as well as the Parliament of the country.

The Government should try to inculcate such feelings among them as if it is their saviour. Otherwise, they are developing just the opposite feeling.

Sir, now I would like to speak on the Budget. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Government has made a provision of Rs. 2800 crores in the Budget and shown a deficit of Rs. 1240 crores. Now, I fail to understand as to how the Government is going to meet this deficit. Will the Central Government meet this deficit and if not, who is going to bear it because unless you make some arrangements in this regard the budget, whatever amount it may have, is not going to ease the situation. Why the Government is deceiving us.

I have a report of the Auditor General for the year 1989-90 which speaks how the official funds were being misutilised in Kashmir. The Government claims that it is pumping a lot of funds into the valley. I want to know from the Government whether there is any machinery there to monitor the utilisation of funds or not.

It has to be ensured whether funds earmarked for providing employment to the youths are being spent on them or not. The funds earmarked for the welfare of women are reaching them or not. Actually these funds are not reaching the youths, women and the poors but the gangs of Pakistan supported terrorists, who are living at different places, manage to get the funds. That is why youths are feeling very disappointed and they are saying that their poverty and hunger have not been eradicated.

Sir, crores of rupees are being spent on them for providing foodgrains at cheap rates but even then the youths are not satisfied. They feel that they are educated but they are not having employment opportunities and that is why they should take rifles in their hands. The Government should take corrective steps. The Border Security Force has been posted there. Last year I went to Kishtwad, Bhadrawah and Doda districts from 14 to 17 August, 1992. My friend Prem Dhumaaji and Shri Khuranaji, who are in-charge of Jammu and Kashmir Cell, were also with me. We used to go there from time to time. We do not merely make speeches there but also make spot study of the prevailing situation. On 14th August, Pakistan's flag was to be hoisted there and our Government was saying that efforts were being made to prevent the situation.

The Government is still making efforts. It has been written on the walls that "Bharat tere hathon main wah lakeer nahin hai, Kashmir tere bap ki jagir nahin hai". Slogans of Pakistan Zindabad are raised there. Our Armed forces and para military forces remain silent spectators. When we discuss this matter with the officials, they said that they do not have order to open fire first. The incidents of firing and bomb explosions took place at Kistwad and on 15th August firing continued for 16 hours at Bhadrawad but no one was there to check it. When we asked the officials for not preventing the incidents, they said that they do not have such orders. If they are attacked only then they can counter-attack them otherwise they cannot attack first to foil their bid. If this practice continues there, our forces will not be able to do anything good. The women and children are very much annoyed there. When we were coming back on the morning of 15-16 August, they asked us not to move because our lives were also in danger. They said that if we moved from there, the terrorists would certainly attack on us. They asked us to get them arms and they would themselves deal with the terrorists. And it happened there. When we reached Doda, two bombs exploded near a bridge and some people sustained injuries. We were fortunate to have crossed that spot just three minutes earlier. Shri Rajesh Pilot might have seen that the area above the Rest House at Doda is a safe hideout for the jangjus or terrorists from where they can easily operate their activities in Doda. They are running a paralysed government there and the Government is unable to do anything.

It is all right that we would sanction budget to run the government there, to improve the situation and to improve the plight of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and we would support you in this regard. But in the prevailing circumstances we cannot move there freely. Timely steps should be taken otherwise the situation would slip out of the hands. The Government officials were travelling with their arms in vehicles of Health department. So long as we do not take stringent measures, we cannot check the situation. I would like to quote few lines from the 43rd page of the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India—"The aim of RLEGP is to provide employment for 100 days in a year to atleast one member of each rural landless family and under this programme priority is given to women and persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes. To ensure this, identity cards were to be

issued to each rural landless family and the details of the employment provided under this scheme from time to time would be recorded in it." The programme is total failure and the funds allocated for it are being misused. Rs. 60 lakh was sanctioned for this purpose but no work has been understood. The construction work of connecting a link road with Kistwad bridge has not so far been undertaken. Recently 16 persons have been died in that area. The local people told us that a power house is being constructed there with foreign assistance. But the Government is not able to provide proper security in that sensitive area. I have personally seen there that any person can move about freely in that area. Similar is the situation in Kistwad, Bhadrawad and Doda. Our Ex-Party President Dr. Joshi had undertaken an "Ekta-Yatra" and had hoisted Indian flag at Lal Chowk on 26th January. The Government might have assisted him or opposed him but this brave act had certainly encouraged the people. Why the Government has not taken steps to maintain that spirit. Our Party leader and former Party President Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee had said it much earlier that there could not be two symbols, two Pradhan and two Vidhan (Laws) in this country. We all know that what has been lost by our Party there, has not been lost by any other party. You should take timely steps. Our Bhartiya Janata Party workers are prepared to make any sacrifice for Jammu and Kashmir and for the country. You should see the report of Comptroller and Auditor General as to how funds are being misused there.

People are very much terrorised. They do not want to go there. Doda area can be developed from tourist point of view. There are kesar beds in Doda, Bhadrawah and Kistwar districts. At one place they have been destroyed so you should now think as to how other kesar beds could be saved. The Tourist places, which can be developed there, should be developed. I have visited those areas thrice. There are many places which can be developed as tourist places and that would help in protecting Jammu and Kashmir. It would give boost to other industries and people would get employment from it and they would earn their livelihood.

Just now our friend was saying that industries are being destroyed in Kashmir. In fact, carpet industry, cottage industry and other Central Industries are being destroyed there. If the General Manager of HMT can be killed, if Cen-

tral or State employees cannot be provided proper security, then what would be condition of industries. As I have said that we would support the budget but we would like to say that the promises made should be fulfilled so that every Indian could say that Kashmir is our crown and no one can dare to cast a hostile look at it. Pakistani rulers say that Pakistan is incomplete without Pakistan. What they think of themselves. Indian people are brave and our Army is powerful and we are proud of them that our Army is always prepared to face any situation but you are not giving them orders. Without order they cannot do anything.

People of Kashmir are facing certain problems. You should look into the problems of migrants. Kashmiri migrants whether they are living in Jammu, Delhi, Rajasthan or in any other place are facing a lot of difficulties. Why they become migrants? They are citizens of this country and now they have become migrants in their own country. What can be more shameful than this? You should pay attention towards their problems. They are not getting admissions in educational institution and the educated people are not getting jobs. There are Dogra people in the State who have sacrificed their lives for Kashmir. They say that when Manipuri and other languages have been included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution, the Dogri language should also be included. What difficulty the Government is facing in it? By doing so, they will also be satisfied and they will realise that the Government is also thinking about them and about the migrants.

In the end I would like to say that the Government should think about the happenings and gear up the intelligence machinery. Though you are getting informations from intelligence agencies but they reach you late. Had you got information on time the incident occurred in Rajouri and Srinagar areas recently would have been prevented. I would request the Government to take strong steps and we would support you. In the end I would like to say that Article 370, which is a discriminatory, should be abrogated. With these words I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The time allotted for this subject was two hours. We have already taken three and a half hours. So let us finish it early. Now Dr. Kartikeswar Patra to speak.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA (Balasore): Hon. Deputy Speaker Sir, I stand to support the Jammu and Kashmir Budget. Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of our country. It is told that India is one from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. When we are discussing this subject here some very relevant suggestions have come from the hon. Members and the Government should consider them.

Sir, one thing is that this House should echo the pronouncement of our hon. Prime Minister on our Independence Day last time. We should unanimously condemn the attempt of Pakistan, the activities of Pakistani terrorists and the tenor of Pakistanis in this House. So that the entire country will feel unified in its strength. That should be there. History says that when Britishers left India, they have played 'divide and rule' policy. When Lord Mountbatten was the last Viceroy of India, at that time, they have sown the seed of apple of discord between India and Pakistan. This is the main root and the main cause; and it is going on and on. But, we should uproot this sort of seed of apple of discord and Pakistan should learn a lesson from India as to how differently India played its role. This should be there. Before that, we have to be united. All the leaders of all the parties of our country, India, should be united in their opinion, in their action and in their thinking regarding the problems of Kashmir as to how the Kashmir problem should be dealt with because in point of defence, in point of integrity and in point of the country's democratic process, it is inseparable, the thought of separating Kashmir from India, which is very dangerous; and it should be dealt with seriously. Our hon. Prime Minister pronounced on that day and India should be united on this point.

Before that, the suggestions have come as to how the people of Jammu & Kashmir will be properly dealt with, how they will be satisfied, how they will properly feel that they are citizens of India, etc. They should fight against the Pakistan and their activities; if it could not be done, then all our attempts would be a farce. Here, some hon. Members argued; I only want to say that the problems which were faced by our Government in Punjab were quite different. Now, according to the announcement in this House, our Government and hon. Prime Minister had succeeded in bringing in a democratic people's rule in Punjab. Similarly, the situation should be created, a congenial atmosphere should be created in Kashmir so that elections could be held safely and peacefully. It should be

there. For that, we have to think properly. It is not the fact that some say that it is not the result of this Government and that this Government was not able to properly handle the Kashmir situation. It is not a fact because it has been proved in Punjab. The Government has properly handled the Punjab issue. Similarly, the Government is very serious. I am very thankful to our Ministers Shri Pilotji and Shri Chavanji. They are properly dealing with the Kashmir issue. There are some suggestions made by our hon. Members. My suggestions are also there. First, border sealing should be there and the Government is taking steps for that. It should be properly scrutinised as to whether there is any flaw or any lacunae in it. The attitude of the citizens should be mobilised to fight out with the terrorists. Through the process of Public Relations Department, every citizen of Jammu and Kashmir should feel patriotic. They should feel that India is their motherland. If this sort of feeling does not come, we cannot bring them into the national mainstream.

Our Department of Education should also be in process in such a way that patriotic education should be there. Every child and every teacher should have a patriotic sense of education. The economic stability of that valley should be brought back. Economic stability should be brought back means that the citizens, the educated unemployed youth, should feel that they earn their livelihood properly. That is what our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi told. Here a situation should be created inside or outside India so that everybody should feel that India has secularism, so that India has unity among religions and languages.

After 6th December, 1992, what happened there? It was continuing from Janata regime when it was told in the House that the daughter of ex-Home Minister was kidnapped. She was also returned back at the cost of Government's security and dignity. But one thing is there. It is going on. Here everybody should feel that there should be some sort of package of action plan for this valley. I thank Shri Rajesh Pilot. He has pronounced some package plan there.

Finance Secretary, Shri J. K. Khan, told that the growth of militancy had disrupted the collection of sales-tax in the valley in 1989-90. It has been arrested practically and collection of sales-tax and other taxes has been increased. Partially, collection has been created there.

Tourism should be declared as an industry. Over 1,200 *Shikara*-owners would be re-

habilitated in the alternative vocation under a special scheme. All these schemes have been declared by our hon. Pilot.

Rural development should be taken up on a priority basis so that rural people feel that for them some sort of development works are being taken up. They will feel that Government is at their rescue. It has been declared that a new telephone exchange of 5,000-line capacity would be installed. Dulhasti Hydroelectric project of Rs. 2500 crores will be there with French collaboration but the French people are very much afraid of militants and so, they have asked for security. Therefore, Government should come forward for providing security and strengthen the local industries. Now, how should we strengthen the local industries? For this, they have to open branches in districts and local industries which were closed should be reopened and refinanced. All the hon. Members are of the same opinion that employment opportunities should be created in the Valley and for the same, some programme should be drawn. Our honourable Prime Minister declared that working and poor ladies will be helped by the Government while depositing money. Similarly, there should be some scheme for ladies and workers who are working in the field of mulberry cultivation. Mulberry cultivation should be restored in that Valley and required supervision and frequent monitoring should be made. Central Government should set up a high power committee consisting of leaders of parties to look after that work and Members of Parliament should also move in that Valley. They should feel that we are watching the situation. More money should also be provided in the Budget.

I conclude by thanking you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: As per the list sent by the whips, Mr. Chhedi Paswan is the last speaker but subsequently, two more hon. Members have expressed their desire to speak. If you agree, I can accommodate them also.

*(Translation)*

SHRI CHHEDI PASWAN (SASARAM): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I cannot oppose the demands for grants brought here for Jammu and Kashmir but reluctantly support it. The main reason for my reluctance is that the Budget for Jammu and Kashmir should have been passed in Jammu and Kashmir but we are

passing it in Lok Sabha. It would be a matter of happiness for us had the democratically elected government of the State would have passed its own budget.

Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India but due to the wrong policies of the Central Government, terrorism is spreading there which is a matter of great concern. I would like to make direct allegation against the Central Government that at first it creates problem and then ask all parties to extend support in finding out solution to it. For example when Akali Dal was in power in Punjab they promoted Bhindrawala to get political milage but when he went out of their hands they started saying that he was a terrorist. Similarly they top pled a democratically elected government of Farooq Abdullah in Jammu and Kashmir and committed blunder by making Gulam Mohammad as Chief Minister. From that time the situation in Jammu and Kashmir started slipping gradually out of our control and terrorism started growing in the State.

In the Budget a provision of about 70-80 thousand crores was made for the development of Kashmir but that was not utilised properly. There is no improvement in the problem of electricity. No schools have been opened. No industry has been set up and no roads and new bridges have been constructed there. These funds have either been utilised by the persons sitting in power for their own comforts or swindled by the middlemen. It is an old saying that idle mind is a devil workshop. When a person does not have any work to do, he can go on a wrong path. It is said that muslims of that state have become terrorists. Muslims are about 98 percent there. In Central services, they are 35 per cent. The people who constitute 2 per cent of the population are holding 92 per cent Central Government posts. How far it is justified? Hindus who are 2 per cent there, are holding 65 per cent of gazetted posts and 45 per cent of non-gazetted posts. When such type of anomalies are there what the people of that State would do except going for terrorism. Now the Government is proclaiming aloud that political process has been started in Punjab and peace has been restored. Then why you have not started political process in Jammu and Kashmir? Why you are not sending DGP Shri Gill to hold election there? The people of Jammu and Kashmir are isolated from national mainstream and democratic process must be started there to bring them to the national mainstream. The youths have been misguided

and enticed and alured for the training. You should organise corner meetings to bring them to the national mainstream.

I would like to know whether the allocations made so far have been spend on development works or whether it has been swindled by the middlemen. Day by day the revenue is decreasing there. Tourists are not going there. The separatists forces should be dealt with strongly. The hon. Prime Minister has clearly said from the reampart of Lal Qila that terrorists are being trained in Pakistan.

Dr. Man Mohan Singh was saying that Bombay bomb blasts have caused a loss of Rs. 5000 crore. If every bomb blast will cause Rs. 5-10 crore to the nation then it would be very dangerous for the country. Why do you not challenge Pakistan for war? The entire public will be with you.

I thank you for giving me time to speak.

[English]

SHRI OSCAR FERNANDES (Udupi) : Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I may just take only one minute time and again, on this subject, whenever I have spoken, I have raised a point about the youth and students of Kashmir.

Sir, today we find that the students in Kashmir are not able to prosecute their studies. They have also been knocking at the door of different colleges in different State for getting admission. Our Minister of Internal Security is here and our Minister of Revenue is also present here. I feel we should make a study of the entire problem of the youth and students of Kashmir and draw up a programme for them. I suggest that in all the colleges all over the country, you may make a token provision for admission of these students, so that they get a feeling that they are a part of the country and that the people of the country are taking care of their problem. If we can do this, it will create a lot of good will. This is all that I have to say. Thank you.

[Translation]

\*SHRI SANAT KUMAR MANDAL (Joy-nagar) : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing the demands for grants for Jammu and Kashmir. This discussion could have taken place in the Jammu and Kashmir itself. Since there is no Assembly in the State the



discussion could not be held there. It is a matter of regret that we are discussing the demands for grants for Jammu and Kashmir here in the Lok Sabha.

\*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Bengali.

Jammu and Kashmir is an important State of India. We have been asking since long that terrorism is prevailing in the State and it is taking an alarming turn day by day. As a result, it is not possible to hold election in the State. There is lack of sincerity and honesty on the part of the Government. There should be political stability to hold election in the State. But, we are sorry to say that the Government has failed to create the congenial atmosphere to hold election in the State. The Centre talks of election but there is no honest initiative on the part of the Government. Thus, the people of Kashmir are not able to participate in the election and they cannot send their representatives here. So the demands for grants for Jammu and Kashmir are discussed in this House. When we are discussing the appropriation Bill for Jammu and Kashmir, we find that there is no representative of the State present here.

Today, we cannot but blame the Government for the situation. Had the Government been honest and sincere in their approach, their policy towards Kashmir, then we would not have discussed demands for grants for Jammu and Kashmir here in the Lok Sabha. We have to admit that the whole approach of the Government towards the problem of the State was wrong resulting in widespread terrorism. We cannot forget that terrorism has taken such an ugly dimension in the State that the people have become completely disillusioned about the administration. Today, we find the misguided youths have been gradually drawn towards terrorism. Jammu and Kashmir is the border State of India. The next neighbour Pakistan is taking full advantage of the situation. The misguided youths are lured and given training in Pakistan. They have no proper guidance and they are resorting to terrorist activities. Kashmir is now a volcano because of the wrong policy of the Government. The Government must see that the allocation for the State should be utilized properly. The Government must monitor proper utilization of the grants for Jammu and Kashmir. We feel that the Government has not paid adequate attention for the development of Kashmir. Had the Government

been sincere in its intention and approach for the development of Kashmir then the situation would have been completely different. The Government has failed to imbibe the sense of belonging to the mainstream, for the people of Kashmir. It has not discharged its duty sincerely for the overall development of the State. Had the Government paid adequate attention to the problems of the State, to the development of the educational facilities for the youths and provide them good education, the people of Kashmir then would have felt the sense of security, the sense of belonging to the mainstream. Then they would not have lost faith in the Government. The youths would not have gone astray and resorted to terrorism. Then the people of Kashmir could have an elected government of their own. The whole scenario would have been different there. They could have felt themselves to be the citizen of India. They could have felt themselves to be the part and parcel of India. But, today they have suspicious and apprehensions in their minds. They cannot be blamed for this attitude. All along the Government has been pursuing wrong policy regarding Kashmir. The responsibility and blame lie with the Government.

Now we must try to create an atmosphere of faith so that the people of Kashmir feel themselves to be the citizen of India, have the feelings of oneness. We must create favourable atmosphere to hold election so that the people can have their own elected Government. The allocation for education should be increased and the youths should be given chance and facility for proper education so that they can become responsible citizen of the country. They should be given assurance that they belong to India.

The Government should also reserve some responsible posts for the deserving people of Kashmir. The approach of the Government should be honest and sincere. Then only the people of Kashmir will feel themselves to belong to India.

Today, it is a matter of regret that the people of Kashmir cannot participate in the demands for grants for their State. Thus, I support this demands for grants with a heavy heart and conclude my speech.

Thank you.

18.00 hrs.

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH (Buxar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the allocation made for

Kashmir in the Budget of Jammu & Kashmir is inadequate. It is necessary to generate employment in Kashmir today, so that the unemployed youth are not misguided by the foreigners and taken to wrong path. So, the Government should generate maximum employment for the people there, which will engage them in work and will give them no time to think otherwise. I think that the Government is not considering in this direction and only thinks that it can control the situation through BSF and CRPF. I would like to submit that when the masses of the country are determined to raise their voice, they are not afraid of guns and bullets. The people of Kashmir want employment and until they are provided that, they are not going to be afraid of guns and bullets. So, the Government should increase the amount of allocation made in the budget. Besides, we also have to consider another fact. At the time of partition of India and Pakistan, the Muslims of Kashmir had not opted for Pakistan. They did not even say that they wanted a separate state. The Hindu King, Hari Singh had said that Kashmir would be an independent state. What are the reasons that those Muslims, who did not go to Pakistan or demanded a separate state at that time are looking towards Pakistan today? We should see our faults also. Only two per cent of Kashmiris are employed in the Government jobs in Kashmir. It is not good that instead of Kashmiris, people of other states are provided employment in that state. The Government should recruit Kashmiri youths for the posts available there, so that they could consider this country as their own. But instead of doing so, they are being treated as enemies. Employment is being provided to the people of other states. The Government should stop this practice.

Secondly, whether it is Hindu religion, Muslim religion, Sikh religion or Christianity, they all hold a very important place in our country. The people have faith in their respective religions. The Constitution also provides protection to all the religions. Religion was the main reason behind the incident of 1984. We should have learnt a lesson from it that religion holds a very important place in this country and people can sacrifice their lives for it. Besides, we should also understand that all religions are equal. There were sharp reactions in the country and outside also due to incident of 6th of December. What we are going to achieve by reacting like this? There will be only loss of lives in our country as well as outside. Both the Hindus and the Muslims had sacrificed their lives for the independence of this country. I do

not think it will be good for the country to kill its citizens. Those who are bent upon instigating riots in this country, in the name of religion should change their views. Otherwise, how we can ensure that the country remains united. It can only remain united when the rights and the religions of all its citizens remain protected. If the religion of a person is not protected, he cannot live in peace. I, therefore, would like to submit that both, the Congress Party and the BJP are equally responsible for the present situation in Kashmir.....(Interruptions) .....If they have worsened the situation while remaining in power.....(Interruptions).....The BJP actively participated in the incident of 6th of December and the Congress supported it, they both were equally responsible for it.....(Interruptions).....So, I would like to demand from the Government that under the new scheme, factories should be set up there which will provide employment to Kashmiri youths. Arrangements should be made for providing loans to the poor farmers, so that they can do cultivation and at the same time, arrangements for self-employment should also be made for the youths. Maximum number of security forces should be deployed at the border, so that the terrorists from other countries do not infiltrate and take the youths of our country to the path of terrorism.

Sir, I would like to demand from the Government that the amount allocated in the Budget should be increased, so that Kashmir can be developed at the maximum. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are already three hon. Members who want to speak. Now, Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri wants to speak for two minutes. If you do not have any objection, I can ask him to speak for two minutes. Today, we have to sit for a long time.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal): Mr. Deputy Speaker, thank you very much for giving me this surprise opportunity to speak. I will try not to repeat what has been stated. I will raise the issue which I think would lead to the real causes.

We have been talking about the budgetary provision for the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Apparently, everybody today is worried as to what is happening in Jammu and Kashmir.

Where have we landed? Why have we landed? What is the future of Jammu and Kashmir, is the main concern? Everybody, I am sure, all sections of the House and the entire Nation wants the problem to be resolved peacefully. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir is to be normalised. But I think we will not be able to succeed unless we truthfully and honestly understand and realise why have they landed in the situation in which they have landed today.

Unless we are honest with ourselves, unless we do not find faults with the action in the past, we will not be able to find any reasonable solution. My perception is that the trouble that is created in Jammu and Kashmir today is of our own doing; that it is the creation of political jockeying that went on. It is the result of disenchantment of the people with the political system that was being manipulated for individual political game. We need not go into the details. But we know how things were becoming abnormal. People started rigging in the election on a large scale. People were not allowed to vote; they were not allowed even to exercise franchise properly. Then you wanted to join with one party at the cost of others to make somebody the Chief Minister, who was favourable to a particular party.

In addition to that, rampant corruption went on there. This is the thing which people minded and slowly the feeling of alienation started for these reasons. There was no talk at that point of time about the independence or joining Pakistan; it was a small number of people who were doing this sort of a talk. But it is our own acts of omission and commission and mainly the political manipulation that went on which worsened the situation. Unless we realise this truth, unless we want to correct that situation, we are not going to succeed. In my opinion we must understand and realise that.

Unfortunately, today, similar things are happening. We are talking of individual political benefits rather than national benefits. We want to manipulate things in the manner that if elections are held, which party will come to power. I would like to put across to the hon. Members on the other side that how does it matter if in a particular State—one State out of so many States—the Congress Party does not come into power? For your information, if Dr. Farooq Abdullah is not the Chief Minister there, how does this matter? There are so many other States. If you are true to the nation, if you

go by the nationalistic feelings, then, after some time, your turn will also come there. Heaven is not going to fall if the Congress Party does not come into power in Jammu and Kashmir. But the whole intention has been to grab power and this has been the root cause of the problem.

There was a Governor who was working satisfactorily, militants were getting under control, people were feeling happy, corruption was being eliminated and then suddenly some political jockeying, you removed that Governor.

Now there is a Governor in whose earlier tenure resolutions were being sent to the UNO on various issues. You now sent back the same Governor. What do you expect from a person who was responsible for allowing communalism and disharmony? Now you sent the same Governor. How does it work? You have put an advisor to the Governor who was one of the signatories to the Resolution sent to UNO. What sort of message are you conveying to the people? You want to have an advisor who was a party to the memorandum against the Government of India to the UNO. You have an advisor to Governor who says that BSF is a low grade mercenary force. What sort of message are you giving?

Then there is information, right or wrong I do not know, that the Governor has stated, "I have ordered the security forces not to retaliate against terrorists." If this sort of messages are going on then you are not going to succeed.

Now I would like to repeat here that Our party MPs had gone to Doda from 6th to 8th May 1993, 3 days we spent there and met people there. On return, I had sent a letter to the Home Minister pointing out that not only from our party but from all parties people in Doda district had complained about the partisan attitude of district administration. You can call Congressmen from there, the District President, the office bearers and ask them what they have to say, what they want to say. We had met them and then sent the Report.

I had sent this Report to the Home Minister. It is a 4-5 page Report and some suggestions have been made. But nothing has been done. Same things are repeatedly happening even now. We had said that there is a District Magistrate, who has established links with terrorists, who has got relations there. The DM was still not being changed.

It is not that I am saying all this, Congress party people are also saying similar things. There was a requirement that ex-army persons should be given automatic weapons. Like in Punjab there has been an organised force of the ex-servicemen. There are 10,000 ex-servicemen in Doda district. They want automatic weapons. They do not want anything else. They say, they do not even want pay. They want arms and ammunition and they would look after the terrorists. I do not know why this sort of thing is not being implemented. Then there has been a long outstanding demand and it is not a present one. It was there during the earlier Government's time that there should be a Cantonment in Bhadrawar, but nothing has been done. Nobody wants to do these things. How do you expect these problems to be solved unless you want to sort out the basic issues?

I do not understand this attitude. That is why I say that the intentions of the Government, intentions of the party in power whether now or earlier, are not truthful from the national point of view and that is our trouble.

I can only request now to the hon. Home Minister who is an ex-serviceman, that if the problems, now under his guidance, are not resolved, then it would be very difficult in future. He understands the Services side as he has been an ex-serviceman. The communication with services is much easier now. The intentions can be understood but you should improve your basic intentions. You say that we want this problem to be solved in national interest, not in party interest, but give no outward indications of this.

Next, it has been repeated here that there are Kashmiri Hindus suffering. I do not see any reason that just because they are Hindus. You want to ignore them so that somebody else does not get annoyed. Is this how you are going to solve the problem in this country? Why do you not treat them as human being? Never mind, if he is a Mualim, a Sikh, a Hindu or a Christian, anybody. You treat them in same manner and I am sure people whether this side or that side, they may talk anything here but in the heart of hearts they will know that you are doing a right thing...*(Interruptions)*.....Never mind, let us get over this party politics. Let us talk of the nation. If I am doing wrong or my party is doing wrong, that does not justify that you also do the wrong thing? Why do not you do the right thing?

I had once, earlier in the No-confidence Motion Debate, said Congress has got a record of 45 years, they are the people who claim all the

time that they brought Independence to this country, so their responsibility should be much more than anybody else's. You are also quite an old party and you talk of all sort of things. You are blaming BJP for all the ills. Why do not you all sort the things out on this issue?

Instead of trying to blame each other on these National issues let us try to find a consensus or national agreement on such issues. We may talk here anything for what is going to be published in the newspapers and all that. But let us sit together and evolve a system.

I am told that when the Pope is elected all the Cardinals are put in a room and they are not allowed to come out till they decide and white smoke comes out of the chimney. They remain for one, two or three days till there is an unanimous decision on the election of the Pope. Let us not try to score points on national issues like this concerning the people. Let us decide collectively together. Let them not say that it is the decision of party A or party B. Let there be a collective decision. I am sure that these things can be done if there is a will and a special lead has to be taken by the Government which is power. They are the one who have to tell the people that they want to take them into confidence, that they want to do what is good in the national interests. I am sure that when national interests like Jammu and Kashmir are involved the opinions cannot be different.

I would not like to speak too much. I would request the hon. Minister to kindly once again to go through my Report. I have sent him also a copy. But I think he was too busy to see. Nothing has happened. I have made some recommendations in this Report. I have also included one point in the Report. There was a gentleman at Doda who was saying that his life was in danger and wanted to be protected. He was killed after seven days.

This loose talk about the forces, whether it is the BSF or the ITBF, needs to be stopped. They are working in very difficult conditions and it is not fair for people to talk about them and pass judgment on them like, that, that they are low grade mercenaries. It is not fair. It is not only demoralising, but it speaks very poorly of the person who made such comments. I would like to refer to the events that occurred in Kishtwar. I am again likely to go there. I would like to go. I would like to say particularly about the DM that certain people have been complaining. The hon. Minister may find out from his own sources, from his party sources. They have also been complaining that he was not the right

person to be there. Why can the Government not send some energetic fresh IAS officer with good credentials there who can do some impartial work there ?

Therefore, I would like to conclude by saying that my request to the House and particularly to the people on the other side is that we should try and resolve the Jammu and Kashmir problem on a national basis and not treating it as a party issue as everybody has been saying. The Government may kindly take some positive concrete steps to indicate to the people on this subject that they really mean business in this matter. They should take the Opposition leaders into confidence and accept their views.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir for the last two and a half hour I was listening to the sentiments expressed by my hon. colleagues. I wanted to reach here earlier from Rajasthan, but could not do so due to some reason. The officers have apprised me of all the views expressed by the hon. Members.

Kashmir has gone through a very difficult period from 1989 to 1993. I have said it in both the Houses of Parliament that Kashmir problem is not concerned with the ruling party only, but it is a national problem and all should try to solve it. Shri Khanduri was saying that everyone's sentiments should be respected. On behalf of the Congress Party, I would like to submit that we should not remain disintegrated. When Congress Party was in power in Kashmir and Shri Mir Quasim was the Chief Minister, it was agreed to hand over the power to Shri Shaikh Abdullah for the sake of peace and unity. When the Assam-Accord was done, there was our Government in State and Mizoram was also governed by our party. But whenever we saw that a state will be in peace with our political sacrifice, we sacrificed. We took all necessary steps in that regard.

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSAIN : Why Shri G. M. Shah was brought in and how Shri Farooq Abdullah was removed ?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : I am coming on it. Let me reply to one question. This is not the time to say how it happened and who did it ?

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSAIN : Please say that this is not the time to consider it. We

have to go forward and should leave the past behind. Accept your fault.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Kashmir has gone through a period of crisis during the last four and a half year. In 1990, when I was not a member, I had met Devilaji some where. Just before that, Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi and he had visited Kashmir. He was very much disturbed. He uttered that only God knows whether Kashmir would remain a part of India or not. These were his words. He was very doubtful in this regard. May be at the House of Muftiji, I had asked him and he told that they had gone to the Centaure Hotel there and had talked with the waiters. There he got this feeling. Such sentiments were there in 1990 itself. What the opposition is saying now, the Congressmen were of the same opinion, when they were in opposition. They also used to say that such things are happening there. The period from the last of 1989 to 1993 has been very critical. The situation has worsened as well as improved also. If this incident, in which 16 persons were killed, had not taken place, I would have claimed that a positive approach is going on. Stringent action was being taken against the militants. It is not so that I am trying to make claims for any side. I always had an inclination towards that area. So, I had always visited that area since I became the Mminister of Communications in 1991. From my visits at that time and the recent times, I could myself feel that there has been some improvement and the feeling of alienation among the people had been removed. When I used to visit the state in 1991, the officials had to collect people so that, I could talk to them. Now-a-days, people come by themselves. I had visited the State four-five days ago. People talked with me by stopping my vehicle on the roads. I felt that there is a change in the situation. But I would like to make it clear that the feeling of alienation is still there in a section of people and they are supporting the militants. We should not have this misconception that the people have become totally against the militants. But they are supporting only due to the fear of gun. Four and a half year has passed. Earlier, the people there were afraid to face the T. V. Cameras. They used to cover their faces with hand or with paper. But the situation has changed today. Now they openly talk about the situation.

It is regretful that such an incident took place in Kashmir recently and the militants tried to give it a communal touch. This has taken place in Kashmir for the first time. Shri Chandra

Shekhar has rightly said that the turn taken by this incident is more painful. The Government is taking concrete action in this regard. I would like to assure the House that alertness is being maintained, but you should understand the situation there. Shri Khanduri said that he is also an ex-serviceman. Military personnel are trained with a view to defend from the direct attack of the enemy. But today the paramilitary and military personnel are standing under the trees and doing their duty. They do not know from which side they will be attacked or how many persons will attack them. Sometimes the militants wear phirans. They take out grenades from underneath the dress, throw them and escape. Our paramilitary forces are working there in such adverse conditions. It has been asked several times what are the policy and action plan of the Government. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have repeatedly said that the action plan of the Government is very clear. It wants to take stringent action against the militants in Kashmir and at the same time efforts are also being made to bring the Kashmiris in the mainstream of the country. The Government has been successful in both the efforts. But how can we say that a positive approach is going on when such incidents as killing of 16 persons has taken place just two days ago. Recently, I had visited Kashmir alongwith 7 secretaries of the Government of India. We stayed there for two days and discussed the ways for removal of unemployment and providing employment to the people there. The pony riders and house boat owners had taken loans from the bank, but they are not able to pay it back now. Interests were continuously increasing. So, I called the bank officials, the Government officials and talked with the people. Their interest amounts were waived. A scheme was also implemented, which will save the poor people there from becoming debtors.

Some issues, such as export of fruits and handicrafts were also raised. It is being said that the fruits grown in Kashmir are not being exported. But it is not so. Fruits as well as handicrafts from Kashmir are sold in the country and also exported. Shri Oscar raised the issue of admission of Kashmiri children. I have written to several Chief Ministers that they should reserve 5 to 10 seats in the engineering and medical courses for the Kashmiri students, so that they do not feel that they would not be able to study further and their future was bleak due to the present situation of Kashmir. I am

happy that some Chief Ministers have given favourable response. The Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Beant Singh has written to me. I have told him that there are 20 doctors who have completed MBBS, but are not getting admission for MD. He has asked me to send them to Punjab and he would get them admitted in PGI Chandigarh. So, help is coming from every side. I had telephonic conversation with all Chief Ministers. They are also eager to help these children. Last time, 300 Kashmiri students were given admission in the AMU. We are making efforts for employment also. I am personally making contacts with the sick industries to revive them. They were refusing to restart until they were given BSF protection. I told them that we are responsible for providing security. But the delegates of France said that they would work under BSF protection only. We provided them BSF, because this Dulhasti Project is very good and we cannot let it go out of Kashmir. It can provide employment to the Kashmiri youth in future. So, we made every effort to keep it there. We had also talked with the other sick industries, but they are still afraid of terrorists. Some times there are incidents which become unmanageable. Such as, that bus started its journey at 6 a. m. on 14th August. Two companies were on duty on that highway. But even then, the militants stopped that bus at some place and killed 16 passengers. Till the time, communication was made with that place, the terrorists had fled taking the cover of dense forests. Efforts are being made to make the communication system more upto date. When I had visited Kashmir last time, I received complaints regarding lack of coordination. The same has been said by an hon. Member also. So, a co-ordination unified command was formed. The Lt. General posted there is a retired General of the Army. He has been posted as advisor (security). He also looks after Law and order, because he has the experience of the Army. Everyday, he has a meeting with four Commanders:—Army Commander, DGP, CRPF and BSF and if a search has to be conducted at any place, they are told about it at 9 O' clock in the morning. There was only one problem that if a village was raided, the terrorists used to escape through other villages.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : Sir, the information given in the meeting of 9 O' clock used to leak out. There is collusion between the administration, the police and the terrorists and so they used to get the news before hand.

**PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur) :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, such incidents of killing of bus passengers of a particular community had taken place in Punjab also. After that, security was provided in every bus. This is a new dimension in terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir. So, whether any step is being taken from safety point of view to deploy security personnel in the buses along with the passengers?

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** After giving a statement here, I had discussed the issue with the Governor of the State and along with other security arrangements and patrolling on highways, instructions have been issued to deploy armed guards in the buses, so that such incidents can be avoided. Such incidents have very demoralising effects on the people. So far as unified command is concerned, we have achieved some positive results, but it is also true that there can be communication gap and other faults, due to the circumstances which lead to operations. Still efforts were made and some positive results were achieved. Earlier, BSF used to operate in one area and the Army used to operate in another area...

**PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT :** I would like to submit that as you said just now that a meeting used to be held daily at 9 O' clock and the particular place to be raided was decided there. The terrorists used to get the information within minutes and changed their hiding place. Several such reports have come out in the newspapers. The hon. Minister should give details in this regard.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** I would like to ask from the hon. Member whether we should not have confidence in the high of officials who are doing their duties while risking their own lives. They are as mush patriotic as we are, so one should not think such things. There can be faults, but to doubt that the Army Commanders posted there are giving information to the militants...

**PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT :** I am not talking about the Army, but there are such persons in police and in administration in Kashmir.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** I accept that there are shortcomings in the police and the administration there. The local police has never been much effective and some improvements have been made in it. Earlier, searches were conducted by forming cordons. The B. S. F. used to go

there direct. But now-a-days the local police goes there. There has been an improvement in the style of functioning of the local police during the last 3-4 months. They have started taking their duties seriously. The police did not show much interest in their duties before 3-4 months and were not ready to come forward. As regards the communication between the administration and militants, you know that recently the D. C. of Anantnag detected a fraud of Rs. 8 crores. As soon as we received this complaint, we took stringent steps and put some officials in jail. Some persons were dismissed also. Wherever anything like this comes to notice, Officers try to take action. But it may so happen that four militants come to a Tehsildar, intimidate him and force him to issue order of transfer of a certain person and he succumbs to their wishes. I agree that such stray incidents may take place but it is a matter of distress that the intention and the policy of the Government are being doubted. On behalf of the Government I would say with full honesty that so far as the intention of the Government is concerned and the efforts being made in Kashmir the intention and policy of the Government are clear and specific. We are confident of achieving success because where the conscience and the policy of a person is clear, there success is definite.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I myself invited leaders of various opposition groups like Chandrasekharji, Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji, Jaswantji, Indrajeet Guptaji, Harikishan Singh Surjeetji etc. and informed them of the latest situation prevailing there. Muftiji represented the Janata Dal, Vishwanath Pratap Singhji was not well. He said that Muftiji would come. I held talks with everybody. The next day they said that the leaders and Chief whips of their parties should also be invited. We invited them also and held talks with them. Our conscience is clear. Everything about Kashmir is an open secret because it is a national problem. You are welcome to make suggestions with a view to resolve the Kashmir imbroglio. Mr. Khanduri just claimed to have written a letter to me. Now, if I refuse to have received it, then also, I am partly to blame because this department was with me last time.

**MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUBAN CHANDRA KHANDURI :** I said that I had written a letter to the Home Minister, Shri Chavan also. When nothing happened, then I sent a copy of that to you also after a few days.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** : I will read that letter. If I don't have it in my possession, then, I'll take its copy from you and whatever needs to be done will be done and I will discuss with you in the event of any difference of opinion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, through you, I want to inform the House that we have made efforts to ensure that people did not get drifted from the mainstream. Some people demanded that the roads be repaired so that some employment could be generated. I told them categorically that I would release funds separately for the construction of roads but that amount should not be diverted to militancy and to that they had replied in the negative. They said that they would form a cooperative society of 15—20 people to take care of the construction of roads. I talked with him on this in Anantnag in Phulwana. We had discussed sericulture also. I went there with my officials. We are making recruitments there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, earlier the people of Kashmir did not join para-military forces but now they are joining it. Rajivji had once suggested in 1986 that J&K Armed Force should be formed and these people should be inducted in that force since they did not want to leave Kashmir. I was the Transport Minister at that time. Now these people are joining CRP, RPF, CISF etc. We hope that more people would follow suit. We will continue to make efforts. A Ghulam Mohammed had come from Bombay. He said that he sends labour abroad and if the people of Kashmir were interested then they could also be sent. I took him there. It is a good thing if they could get employment. A few days back I had gone to Madras and Imphal. When I came back I saw a boy and a girl standing under a tree outside my house. I entered my house and sent somebody to bring them inside. I was told that they had come from Kashmir and wanted to meet me. I invited them in. She asked me if I was Rajesh Pilot. When I said 'yes', then, she went on weeping for 15 minutes and said that the boy is her only brother who wants to go to Pakistan because he is being paid Rs. one lakh there. He says that with this amount he would be able to marry off his two sisters and if he stays alive then he would marry off his third sister also, otherwise it would become the duty of the other two sisters to marry her off. The girl said that she did not want to get married. She wanted me to provide him some employment as would prevent him from going to Pakistan. I had once announced in a television programme

that those who relinquish arms would be provided employment. Some 5-10 boys had come at that time through an officer. It dates back to one and a half years when I used to be the Communications Minister. I requested Mr. Bangarappa, the then Chief Minister of Karnataka to give them some job in Bangalore. I kept them in P&T guest-house. Those boys used to say that they had become so used to arms that their fingers started twitching by evening for firing. The need of the hour is to deal with them with proper love and strictness to avoid any increase in militancy.

I assure you that I am ready to accompany the MPs' delegation any time. I am ready to take you to any district in helicopter.

**SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV** (Jhanjharpur) : Pilotji, who is responsible for this situation?

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I, on behalf of the Government, request the House that a delegation of all the parties be formed. They should visit Kashmir. I will take them myself to any place, any district they wish to visit.

**SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV** : An all party delegation already exists. (*Interruptions*) Everybody is equally worried about the situation in Kashmir. I agree with all the hon'ble Members who are of the opinion that this is above the interests of any party. I won't let anything take place by the Government which would show that it is not above party interests.

Two other things were also mentioned—Mr. Khanduri particularly said that some official had signed a U.N.O. memorandum which is anti-national and anti-Government. I had shown it long time back. The truth is that we had received some complaints at the time against the official whom we were going to send as Chief Secretary in 1985-86 and later it was raised in 1991 also. then I had shown it to others. This is not so. There is no such signature and no Government official has violated anything. And so far as the statement is concerned, it was only a denial and that too had been published by someone. Please believe us, We don't send any official with a view to please anyone. We decide on a person for his utility there. There can be two opinions on that. I may agree with his utility and you may not.



[English]

It is not that we want to please or appease some persons so that a particular group is satisfied. If you want to appease a terrorist and if I put somebody in position who will be favourable to help them, then we are appeasing them. I think this attitude will not work. I am very happy that whatever I said is wrong, but this has been the impression there and when we went there people asked us this question that if such people are at the helm of affairs, how do you think that things will improve?

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** Please take it for granted that this is totally wrong and it will never happen. National Interests is above everything and there is no compromise on that.

[Translation]

You made a mention of D.C., Doda. I had also gone there and had received complaints. I had also gone there after the visit of 4-5 hon'ble Members. My information is that the D.C. had been transferred there and then. He is not there any more. You may go there and confirm it.

The point of ex-servicemen was also mentioned. I had met ex-servicemen myself when I had gone to Doda. Recently I went to Udhampur. I met ex-servicemen. So far as the issuance of licence is concerned, I told them to apply on case to case basis. Because if the Government makes a rule to enable ex-servicemen apply for licence for a rifle, then, even the non-deserving people may also manipulate things to get licence issued to them. We are visiting Manipur. The biggest problem today in Manipur is that licences for rifles were issued to five thousand village volunteers on the same policy of issuing to ex-servicemen as has just been suggested by you. I also have been an ex-servicemen and so have you but licences should be issued on merit basis as fixed by the Government. This would be better. It can lead to many problems if a blank line is issued that, each and every ex-servicemen could possess rifles.

So I have told ex-servicemen to apply for licences on their own merits. There is no problem in it. The Government's policy is not against the ex-servicemen who are willing to get licences for their own safety.

**MAJOR GENERAL (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI :** It is not the question of providing licence only. Even after

obtaining the licences, they may not be able to buy automatic or semi-automatic weapons. So, concerned D.Cs. can identify them after enquiry. I did not mean that the licence should be given to any wrong person. I have spent one night in Bhadarwa.

[English]

There are a large number of ex-servicemen who would form a very good hard-core to fight the terrorists.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** This is a good suggestion. I will certainly talk to the District Magistrate and selectively people could be given licences.

**SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH :** You announced that four months back that the useless Advisory Committee to the Governor would be reconstituted and they would be given adequate powers so that they could also inter-act with the people and do some good things to the people and be in contact with the common people. The Governor is not paying any attention to it.

Regarding the economic package, what is the position?

[Translation]

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in reply to the first question I would like to tell that there had been a little problem in constituting the proposed Advisory Committee. Concurrence of all the political parties was needed. I have discussed the issue with Shri Taragami of your party. There were also some names from National Conference in the list. We cannot force anyone to be a member of the Advisory Committee. There had been some differences of opinion when Shri Girish Sexena was the Governor there. I have told the Governor that there should be more political people in the Committee, so that they could know and solve the problems of common people because I may not stay there for more than one or two days and the common people could not reach to the Governor directly. So, the political people will be in the Committee, they can easily approach the Governor and realize the problems of the people and can inform the Administration about it for their solution. They can well inform the Governor about the proper implementation of the policies in case of any lacuna in the implementation. For example, when I had gone there, a policy was framed that if anyone is arrested by the police, his parents should be informed about it within 24 hours.

Meeting of Steering Committee should be held every Monday. Parents of the militants should be informed that their wards have been arrested under such and such Act. If the parents agree that their son is really a militant, the Government should not release him. I have told them to follow up the above said procedure. It could be implemented only when the Advisory Committee consists of public representatives. Last week the hon. Governor has told me that he has been waiting for the people who could take initiative in this regard. He has approved it and it will be implemented after getting concurrence. It will consist of member from all the political parties, and work as Advisory Council.

The last point is about the economic package. I would like to tell that the State Government has given its requirements. I have discussed it with the Finance Minister and the other concerned Ministries and I will try to get it implemented when I will go there next week. For the issue regarding funds I would like to say that the budget is before you and Kashmir is waiting for it is to get money for starting some developmental work.....(Interruptions).....

MAJOR GENERAL (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI: Please tell about the cantonment in Bhadarwah.....(Interruption)....

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA: Please also tell about the proposed construction of road in Katra.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: The proposal of Cantonment is under consideration. I have read the concerned file on the day before yesterday, when this issue was raised. The state Government has approved it. I will inform you about it very soon. On the issue raised by Shri Ramesh and other hon. Members also regarding Vaishno Devi, that the Vaishno Devi Trust should construct a motorable road there in lieu of existing pedestrian path. For this a Bandh was organised in Katra, markets are closed there for the last 15-20 days. I have informed the Governor that people feel that motorable road should not be constructed in Vaishno Devi because people, having the faith and reverence, for the shrine prefer to visit the place by walking down all the way, and on the other hand there is no place to park the vehicles near about the shrine. Every year 30 to 40 lakh people visit the shrine and they all prefer to walk down all the way. Mr. Governor has thought that people visit Tirupati by road so it could be done here also. I

have reviewed the issue and told him to keep it pending, a survey should be made to extract the opinion of the pilgrims and the visitors. If they agree to this proposal, a road may be constructed otherwise the shrine Board should not persuade the issue.

With these words I thank all the members for expressing their views.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV (Patna): A former M. L. A. from Bihar has been kidnapped by the terrorists. I have raised the issue earlier also and met personally to the hon. Minister in this regard. I would like to know about your views and the steps taken on this issue.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Shri Pankaj Sinha, who is an ex-M. L. A. from Bihar has been kidnapped by terrorists. His wife met me. I am trying my best in this regard. He had been kidnapped in Kashmir, where he had gone to see his friend. After two-three days, the terrorists telephoned to his family members at his house and only then the incident came out in light. His family members also met me. I am trying my level best to free him and I hope that we would be able to do it.

With these words I thank you all for participating in the debate and I assure you that we will try our best for getting peace in Kashmir.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, although the budget is being discussed here yet we all wish that an elected Government in Kashmir should be formed at the earliest to perform such types of work in the state so that we may not have an additional burden of passing the State Budget here.

In response to the statement made by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs just now, I am sorry to state that whenever our security forces take prompt action to deal with the terrorists, the so called Human rightists try to demoralize the people of our security forces by levelling unnecessary, baseless and false charges against them. Moreover it is very unfortunate that these Human rightists have said nothing over the Doda incident. I would like to know from my friends as to what are the reasons for their silence on this issue and on what grounds they support these human rightists. Even after 2-3 days of Doda incident, in which several innocent persons were killed, the human rightists have said nothing about it: while this incident should have been con-

demned by everyone. This silence of human rightists is very dangerous for the country.

Just now the hon. Minister was advising us to have trust in the Government. We have trusted a lot when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister he trusted on Sheikh Abdullah, later on he had to put him in jail for fourteen long years. In the same way Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi had trusted Farooq Abdullah but we all know as to what happened later on. In the last days of Farooq Abdullah's reign how much the situation in Kashmir had become explosive. That is why the people of the country are terrorised. Before sacrificing his life, in 1951 Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee said that there should not be two flags, two Prime Ministers and two Constitutions in one country. This situation may not have occurred if efforts have been made to bring Kashmir in mainstream of the country and citizens from all over the country would have been allowed to settle there. I think that the minister of state in Home Ministry may be aware of the fact that Hindu migrants from Pakistan, who are living in Doda, Jammu and Kishwad have got the citizenship of India but they do not have the citizenship of Kashmir as yet. Efforts should be made to provide their due rights to Hindu migrants from Pakistan who are living in Jammu.

I would like to raise one or two more issues in national interest. Jammu, Laddakh and Kashmir are the three parts of this State. While passing this budget, I would like that the Govt. should ensure that all the areas of Kashmir should be developed in a balanced way. It should not be so that all the money should be spent on Kashmir valley for one reason or the another and Laddakh and Jammu are ignored.

Thirdly, through you I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards the problem of minority people who were in the services of Central Government and State Government in Kashmir valley. They have migrated to other places for saving their lives from terrorists, and now there are reports published in newspapers that the Administration has started new appointments against these vacancies; it has created problems for the people who have been forced to migrate to save their lives due to terrorism. I would like to say that the security forces should be given appropriate powers and the condition in Kashmir should be improved. The people who were in

the Government services there should be reinstated. I would like to tell Shri Rajesh Pilot that he is responsible for internal security and he could follow Sardar Patel in this regard.

"Bahadur kab kisi ka aasara aur ahsaan lete hein,  
Usi ko kar gujarte hein, jo dil mein thaan lete hein,  
dilvar mard ka loha sub maan lete hein,  
jo kamjor hota hein kaan uska sub pakar lete hein."

The security forces should be given full powers and not that they may be ordered to fire only when they are attacked by terrorists. Alongwith that security belt should be constructed along the borders.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI M. V. CHANDRASHEKARA MURTHY): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am really thankful to the Members who have participated in the discussion for their valuable suggestions. Also, I thank my hon. colleague Shri Rajesh Pilot who has intervened in the discussion and he has dealt at length about the political and security aspect of the region. So far as I am concerned, I will restrict my reply only to the Demands for Grants for the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Sir, we have placed this Budget in the month of March and we have taken the Vote on Account for the first six months. Today, we have come before this august House to take the Vote on Account for the remaining six months.

The hon. Member Shri Madan Lal Khurana, who has initiated this discussion, has asked: How can a State like Jammu and Kashmir bear the burden of a huge deficit of Rs. 2800 crores? It is not correct. This year, the expected deficit would be around Rs. 1246 crores and this is the cumulative deficit.

Most of the Members are worried about the tax collections and revenue collections. Hon. Member Prof. Prem Dhumal has pointed out that the State's excise revenue has come down. In 1992-93, from the State's excise, the budget estimates were Rs. 49.34 crores and it is likely to go to the extent of Rs. 59.25 crores. For the year 1993-94, the budget estimate would be Rs. 62.25 crores from the State's excise.

About Sales Tax, the budget estimate for 1992-93 was Rs. 69.95 crores and it is likely to go up to Rs. 76.95 crores in 1992-93. These are the actuals. In 1993-94, it may go up to Rs. 84.95 crores.

About taxes on goods and passengers, in 1992-93, it was Rs. 41.48 crores and it will likely go up, in 1992-93, to Rs. 50.20 crores. In 1993-94, it is estimated at Rs. 52.60 crores. From all these things, one can easily infer that there is an increase in the revenue collection.

19.00 hrs.

Most of the Members have made their points on the rehabilitation of the migrants and assistance given to migrants. In Delhi alone, there are about 18,700 migrant families. Most of them are living in their own accommodation with friends and relatives. Nearly about 350 families are living in 14 camps set up by the NDMC community centres. The camp dwellers are given a monthly relief of Rs. 500 and ration costing about approximately Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 per month. Those who live outside the camp, they are being given Rs. 1000 in cash. The Government employees are getting the salary and hence they do not get this *ex gratia* payment. Apart from this, the Government is making sanitary, medical and water supply arrangements and also the camp dwellers have also been given permission for space for pavements. The same programme is taken up in Jammu also. In Jammu, there are about 27,000 migrant families. About 1,900 one-room tenement accommodation has been provided to them. Another 300 one-room tenements are under construction and a proposal for 1000 one-room tenement is under active consideration of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. Around 5000 families are living in camps set up in governmental buildings and tented accommodation. They are being given aid of Rs. 300 up to a maximum of Rs. 1000 to a family consisting of four or more members in the families as also free dry rations equivalent to Rs. 300 per month. We have given them medical facilities. We have arranged for camp schools and even colleges have been opened for migrants. As pointed by the hon. Member Shri Oscar Fernandesji, the Government has taken all initiatives to get admissions for the youths of Jammu and Kashmir in schools and colleges.

Hon. Member has pointed out about the report of the CAG on the misuse of funds in Jammu and Kashmir. We are all aware that the

comments of the CAG are remitted to the PAC of Parliament and the Committee decides about it. It will take up the detailed consideration which contains recommendations on the various points. Even the concerned Government officers may be examined by the PAC.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: You have been very kindly explaining about what facilities you have been giving to the migrants in Delhi and Jammu. But in your home State of Karnataka, HMT employees are there in Tumkur. During the last discussion I had raised this point that they are not getting the gas connection, ration cards are not being made for them. Will you kindly ask the State Government of Karnataka to do something in this regard?

SHRI M. V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY: I assure the hon. Member that whatever suggestions Shri Dhupal has made, I will immediately take up the matter with the State administration and see that those persons are helped.

Also, for 1993-94. We have allocated Rs. 20 crore and another Rs. 5 crore for ration for civic amenities, we have given Rs. 1 crore more.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): Sir, the Parliamentary Affairs Minister has come. Is there any special announcement?

SHRI M. V. CHANDRASHEKHARA MURTHY: Many of the Members have pointed out about the incidents of excesses committed by the army personnel and other security forces. We have ordered action against such officers. So far, we have taken action against 146 such officials.

With these words, I request this august House to pass this Budget and to support the Vote on Account of this Budget.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amount on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the Fourth column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1994, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands 1 to 27"

*The motion was adopted.*

**Demands for Grants-Budget (Jammu and Kashmir) for 1993-94 Voted by Lok Sabha**

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demands for Grants on Account voted by the House on 29-3-1993		Amount of Demands for Grants voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	General Administration Department	8,50,87,000	1,15,71,000	8,50,87,000	1,15,71,000
2	Home Department	90,89,37,000	29,75,000	90,89,36,000	29,75,000
3	Planning and Development Department	1,20,18,000	3,50,00,000	1,20,18,000	3,50,00,000
4	Information Department	1,64,27,000	20,50,000	1,64,26,000	20,50,000
5	Ladakh Affairs Department	35,84,16,000	25,88,18,000	—	—
6	Power Development Department	139,29,30,000	120,84,75,000	139,29,30,000	120,84,75,000
7	Education Department	113,66,43,000	7,80,00,000	113,66,43,000	7,80,00,000
8	Finance Department	53,51,37,000	5,25,00,000	53,51,37,000	5,25,00,000
9	Parliamentary Affairs Department	73,68,000	—	73,68,000	—
10	Law Department	2,98,97,000	—	2,98,97,000	—
11	Industries and Commerce Department	15,57,35,000	38,00,68,000	15,57,36,000	38,00,68,000
12	Agriculture, Rural Development and Co-operative Department	29,76,94,000	26,20,80,000	29,76,94,000	26,20,80,000
13	Animal Husbandary Department	17,74,36,000	4,33,25,000	17,74,36,000	4,33,25,000
14	Revenue Department	28,21,28,000	3,18,000	28,21,29,000	3,18,000
15	Food Supplies and Transport Department	14,60,94,000	128,54,49,000	14,60,94,000	128,54,49,000
16	Public Works Department	56,61,28,000	45,27,22,000	56,61,28,000	45,27,21,000
17	Health & Medical Education Department	53,58,64,000	8,38,00,000	53,58,63,000	8,38,00,000
18	Social Welfare Department	7,21,41,000	3,68,28,000	7,21,41,000	3,68,29,000
19	Housing and Urban Development Department	9,05,71,000	22,70,50,000	9,05,72,000	22,70,50,000
20	Tourism Department	3,62,89,000	6,85,25,000	3,62,90,000	6,85,25,000
21	Forest Department	17,91,54,000	10,06,20,000	17,91,54,000	10,06,20,000
22	Irrigation & Flood Control Department	23,95,75,000	16,59,58,000	23,95,74,000	16,59,58,000
23	Public Health Engineering Department	35,25,75,000	25,33,50,000	35,25,74,000	25,33,50,000
24	Estates Hospitality and Protocol and Parks and Gardens Department	7,32,80,000	1,35,77,000	7,32,80,000	1,35,77,000
25	Labour, Stationery and Printing Department	4,03,65,000	1,11,04,000	4,03,65,000	1,11,04,000
26	Fisheries Department	1,37,30,000	94,50,000	1,37,31,000	94,50,000
27	Higher Education Department	20,82,22,000	5,87,71,000	20,82,21,000	5,87,70,000