

So, I request the Central Government to take immediate steps to remove these difficulties and develop Kanyakumari into a place of national and international tourist attraction by the implementation of a master plan.

11.32 hrs.

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers"

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers."

The time allotted for this debate is seven hours.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Nalanda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is not the way to run the House ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this issue relates to corruption. You should not try to suppress it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : You can ask me what I want to say. I would like to raise here certain points...*(Interruptions)*.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Look here, please. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I have receive 59 notices for Zero Hour.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Why do you not listen to me first?

[Translation]

Please listen to me first.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I wish I could have been able to accommodate all of you I have gone through the notices. Many of the matters relate to the happenings in the respective constituencies of the Members of

Parliament. I understand the feelings of the Members of Parliament. I am also a Member of Parliament, I have a constituency like you. Therefore, I do understand that. Whatever matters have been referred to, I assure you..

(Interruptions)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I am not on a constituency matter, I am on a national matter ...*(Interruptions)* I have not moved any motion. I am on a national matter...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow) : You should not stand when Mr. Speaker is on his legs.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is not that Mr. George. I am not saying that all matters relate to the respective constituencies of the Members of Parliament. There are other matters which can be discussed in the debate.

(Interruptions)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : It is a national matter with international ramifications where the Interpol is concerned. We want the House to discuss this. This House will adjourn tomorrow. When will we discuss this?

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. George, you are not supposed to stand up when I am standing. You know that much very well.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I apologise.

MR. SPEAKER : Okay. What I am saying is that other matters can be brought in during the debate on the Confidence Motion.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : There are certain matters which should be clarified before the debate takes place.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we wish that proceedings of the House should go smoothly and peacefully. It is a different thing if there are some heated arguments during discussion.

Today the whole country and the world is looking at this debate. therefore, the House...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue does not pertain to Rule 377. You have allowed some Members but the remaining Members could not get permission. I am aware of your difficulty that all the Members cannot be given permission. This session has been summoned for a specific purpose and we have to perform that work. But the developments taking place outside are not under our control. The issue of urea scandal is likely to be raised in today's debate in details. I would not like to go into its detail because as you would say that it is yet to be discussed. But

I would like to say that it would not get justice if it is raised during debate. Past five years were full of such scandals. Rs. 130 crores have been embezzled. Where that huge amount had gone? CBI is conducting inquiry into it. The House should be taken into confidence regarding the progress of inquiry into this matter. It has happened earlier also. Now hon'ble Prime Minister is rising for making his speech. He should give us assurance that all the facts regarding it would be placed before the House by today evening so that this matter could be raised tomorrow. This matter would not be allowed to be suppressed in the name of Confidence - Motion. Here the decision is to be taken in accordance with the number of Members. But I think that corruption is not a matter to be decided on the basis of numbers. The Members sitting that side may have interest in it. It is a big scandal. Who is responsible for it? I demand that hon'ble Prime Minister should make a statement on it and the facts should be revealed to the House by today evening. Hon'ble Prime Minister is himself a farmer and urea scandal, which is related to the farmers, has been unearthed as soon as he took the charge of the Government. We want an assurance from the hon'ble Prime Minister that this amount of Rs. 133 crores would be recovered and guilty persons would not be spared, however powerful the person may be. We want that money back as it is the hard earned money of the country. No one can be allowed to loot the money and deposit it in foreign banks in such a way.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to raise only one point.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The leader of the Opposition has said that he wants to say. It is enough.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make some clarifications on the points raised by the Leader of the Opposition ... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No please.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I would like to know from the hon'ble Prime Minister about the demand raised by the leader of the opposition ... (Interruptions) I would like to know that in this urea import... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : We are not on a debate on this issue. It is enough. No. I will not allow a debate on this issue.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Please tell us what facts have been revealed. (Interruptions) Mr. Speaker, Sir, hon'ble Prime Minister is ready to hear me.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is enough. I cannot allow a debate on this issue. Enough is enough. Mr. Prime Minister to speak please.

SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : Hon. Speaker, Sir, before I express my views on the Vote of Confidence Motion, the Leader of the Opposition Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji and the other senior leader Shri George Fernandes raised the fertilizer issue wherein a sum worth about Rs. 133 crores is involved. He has also made a point that the Government should come out with a categorical reply by today evening. I would like to assure this House that there is no question of hiding any facts... (Interruptions) I am equally interested to unearth... (Interruptions) I am equally interested to know the real culprits and I am equally interested to know who are responsible ... (Interruptions). Kindly bear with me for a moment. Let us not draw conclusions before the inquiry is completed. The inquiry is going on.

Sir, our respected Leader of the Opposition, who was the Prime Minister, who was sitting in the very same chair for about 15 days, has also gone through this particular case and he has instructed the concerned authorities to speed up the investigation, if I am correct. I am not meddling with the investigation. I have not called any officers and till now, I am only going through the papers. The Papers have highlighted some of the facts. I want to know whether they are true, based on realities. I do not want to go by the press versions. Unless the CBI Director gives me the full information, I cannot come before the House without proper materials ... (Interruptions) Tomorrow I am going to answer on the Vote of No-Confidence Motion... (Interruptions) sorry, on the Vote of Confidence Motion. On this particular issue, I would like to place all materials before the House and all, relevant factors before the House. I do not want to suppress any issue relating to this urea scandal... (Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI (Allahabad) : Mr. Prime Minister, what is the difficulty in coming to the House with facts by this evening? This is the simple point. The Leader of the Opposition has requested you to come out with facts by this evening ... (Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : As I told you, the investigation is still going on. So, the officers are in Hyderabad. They have to come back and give all, full particulars. Unless I have the full materials, I

cannot answer it. I would not mislead the House. That is why I am telling this. I am clear in my mind. I want to give all the materials...*(Interruptions)*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Will you place the facts before the House tomorrow? ... *(Interruptions)* I would request the hon. Prime Minister to come before the House with facts, not as part of the reply to the debate. We want the facts to be placed separately before the House. The Prime Minister has made his statement just now. The facts in the possession of the Government on this issue should be placed before the House in the manner of a statement by the Government...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Home Minister.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. former Home Minister, I think it is not a reasonable demand. While the matter is under investigation, you cannot expect all the facts to be placed before the House which will prejudice the investigation. I think you are asking for too much. Whatever is available, I think, the Prime Minister has already said that he is coming with his ultimate reply. But I do not think, at this stage, you can ask for full facts which will prejudice the investigation.

(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : If the hon. Prime Minister is ready to state facts in his reply, what is the difficulty in placing those very facts in terms of his statements?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Let us hear him.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : He is the Home Minister also. He is the Prime Minister also. He knows all these things. So, a full-fledged statement can be placed before the House.

MR. SPEAKER : Dr. Joshi, it is enough.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No, no. You cannot do like that. Do not make wild allegations like that. I am not allowing you. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : Oh, what are you talking?

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : Respected Speaker, Sir, I today rise to seek the confidence of this august House as the hon. Rashtrapatiiji has called me to take the responsibility of the Prime Ministership. He

has also asked me to go before the House, before the 12th of this month and seek the Vote of Confidence.

Sir, I would like to say only a few words at this stage. The composition of the Eleventh Lok Sabha is a unique one for the first time in our Indian history. The composition of the House is consisting of nearly 32 national parties as well as the regional parties.

Sir, I know, there are many more senior leaders, more matured leaders, more experienced leaders in parliamentary life. In this critical juncture the responsibility of taking over the administration as the Prime Minister was thrown upon me because all secular parties including the Congress have asked me to...

[Translation]

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : Congress is not secular.

[English]

SHRI. H.D. DEVE GOWDA : Please wait. Please wait for some time. You have got ample opportunity to say whatever you want to say - I am not going to disturb. I will sit throughout the discussion, I will not go out of the House. I will hear every hon. Member's views and then I will try to reply to all the points, what is going to be raised today during the discussion.

Sir, how the situation arose? Before election to the Eleventh Lok Sabha so many political *pandits*, so many columnists had expressed their views that in the Eleventh Lok Sabha the results would be a 'Hung Parliament'. For the last one year, the debate both in public and in private though media is going on in this country that no political party can get clear majority to form the Government at the Centre. This is the opinion which was prevailing before the election to the Eleventh Lok Sabha.

Sir, after the Eleventh Lok Sabha's elections were over, what is the mandate of the people? The mandate of the people is not to any one political party to run this country. Yes, our hon. Leader of the Opposition, who is the former Prime Minister, was asked to take the responsibility of the Prime Ministership and run the country as per the appointment order issued by the Rashtrapatiiji. Because the Rashtrapatiiji in his wisdom thought that this party is a larger party, he gave it an opportunity and asked Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to prove his majority before 31st May 1996. I do not want now to go in detail about what happened on 27th and 28th May, about the deliberations in the House. On 28th May, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee tendered his resignation. On the same day Rashtrapatiiji called me and gave me the appointment order to form the Government. All the secular parties had met on 15th May and elected me as the leader of the secular front.

Sir, I am not a Member of this House. Even then all the United Front friendly parties took a decision and expressed their confidence in me though I am not so experienced, though I am not so matured a politician in so far as the parliamentary functioning is concerned. They all expressed their confidence in me and asked me to take up this responsibility. At the same time the Congress Working Committee on 12th May had passed a resolution saying that they are not going to form the Government; also they are not going to support the BJP at any cost and if any secular party is going to take up the responsibility they are going to extend their support unconditionally. That is the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. In this background Rashtrapatiji called me on 28th May at about 8 o'clock and asked me to take up this new assignment.

I am too small a man. In this very chair, if we go back to the history, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was one of the tallest men in our Indian history functioned as the Prime Minister, up to the last one, that is Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji - whether he was there for ten or fifteen days, I have got my own respect and regard for the experience and the maturity he has got in the parliamentary life. I am now succeeding him on the condition of the Rashtrapatiji to prove the majority in the very same House. The deadline is 12th June. That is why I am coming before this august House to seek its final views on this Motion of Confidence.

Let us analyse the present situation. Why was BJP with the allied parties not able to prove the majority? It had been given 15 days time. I am not going to attribute any motive. They had not adopted any foul method to see that the majority is secured from other parties. According to our senior leaders, he had expressed here in this very same House that they did not want to stoop to any type of manoeuvring and they wanted to see that their Government was allowed to continue because they have got a majority in number. That was the argument advanced by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji. If the numerical strength is going to be taken into consideration, if 160 plus the strength of the allied parties comes to about 194 in a House of 542, could it be possible to say that they have got the mandate of the people? I would like to pose this question for your consideration.

Sir, today, I would like to again reiterate that the mandate of the people is for a coalition Government. It is crystal clear. No political party in the Eleventh Lok Sabha was able to muster strength on its own. The Congress got the second place and all other parties put together, I would like to say, barring one or two parties, were able to have 192 Members in the United Front.

Sir, we have got a common programme. The common programme was also palced before the

nation. In that common programme, we have spell out what are the priorities, and all these things* that have already been placed before the nation. And the hon. Members of the House can express their views about the common programme.

Sir, I would like to request all the Members of this House, at this critical juncture, when the political atmosphere is so confused, when the political atmosphere is so fluid that we should function with necessary cooperation. I only request them to extend their full cocperation where the Government is going on a right path. In case, if they find that the Government is not going on the right path, then, they are free to expose this Government. I have no reservation. I am making this point very clear. If this Government, or if this Ministry, is at fault on any matter, they can expose it. This House has got every right to say about the misdeeds of this Government. I am answerable to this House. I am answerable to 90 crore population of this country. I will assure you this much.

A new chapter has begun. A coalition era has begun. Sir, this was told by the former President of India, Shri Venkatraman, about two years back. The era of coalition Government has begun. This is what he expressed about two years back. It has come true. Today, there is some sort of a doubt in the minds of some friends that Mr. Deve Gowda is going to compromise on all matters. I would like to make myself clear that - let me be very clear, let me make myself clear to this august House - Congress, while extending its support has not put any condition. Not only that, up till now on any matter they have not interfered. They have not interfered in any matter about taking any decision. But I myself took a decision not to take any important decision unless the House gives its concrete support, unless the Vote of Confidence is going to be carried through in the House. I issued instructions to all my Ministers not to take any major decisions till the Twelfth of this month, till knowing the result tomorrow. I do not want to doubt about the present coalition Government's tenure of Office. I would like to make myself clear. The mandate of the people is for a coalition Government and this Government is going to survive for five years. We are going to prove that.

Sir, it is not a question of self-praising. I was the Chief Minister for one-and-a-half years in Karnataka. I have never allowed a single scandal in Karnataka in the last one-and-a-half years. I might tell you, I may be an inexperienced politician compared to other senior leaders, but one word I am going to tell this House. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am not permitting you.

SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : Sir, as the Chief Minister, what I have done, the days will prove. What is going to be the action of this Government about the minorities, about the backward classes, about the farming communities; what is going to be the action of this Government, that is mentioned in our programme.

12.00 hrs.

Wait for sometime. I am not going to run away from the House...*(Interruptions)* Please wait. Let us see. I know full well about the composition of the House and about the seniority of the so many leaders in this very House. There are three former Prime Ministers and there are senior most comrades like Indrajit Guptaji and Somnath Chatterjee. I do not want to name them. I was sitting in the back bench, in the corner three years back. I observed the proceedings as a back bencher. When all these senior leaders used to speak, I was very much attentive - let me learn and I want to learn at least something from the senior leaders. That is my characteristic in my political career. I may tell you very frankly that I am not going to say that I am such a learned man. I am not an economist and I am not a scientist. But I would like to say that I know the problems of the people of this country. I would tell you only one word...*(Interruptions)* Sir, in this very Chair so many stalwarts have functioned as Prime Ministers for 17 years or 18 years. And today if I am here for five years or five months it is not a criterion for me. What I am going to do as Prime Minister of this country, that is important. I am going to spend every minute, every hour, every time for the sake of the nation and I am going to prove what I am for the poorer sections of the society, for the downtrodden people and the minorities of this country. That is what I am going to do. That is my concern. That is how I work. That is how I worked and I am going to say this with all sincerity at my command. I am going to give a word of promise. If I commit any mistake, I am subject to scrutiny of this House. I have subjected myself to the scrutiny of this House. I would like to tell you only one thing. Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House because there are so many speakers. So many senior leaders are going to participate in this debate and I think our former Prime Minister Shri Vajpayeeji is going to speak today. I only assure you that on all the points that are going to be raised, I am going to reply tomorrow in detail and I am not going to avoid any information whatever that is required by this House.

With these words, I would request all the hon. Members of this House humbly and with all humility to see that this Confidence Motion is carried through.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : I would like to know what is the schedule of this debate. You have said seven hours. Now, Vajpayeeji is not

speaking. Somebody told me that he would be speaking tomorrow. Initial understanding was that all these speakers will speak within these seven hours today...*(Interruptions)* Whatever decision you take we will accept it. But kindly let us know what is your decision because yesterday in the meeting we authorised you and you said that you would inform us. We have not been informed. If I am not unduly indulging in your kingdom of decision, kindly let us know your decision so that we can also put up our speakers accordingly.

MR. SPEAKER : I have announced that the time allotted is seven hours. Each political party including the smaller parties have been given time and it is accordingly divided and distributed. I think after a few minutes, we will give it to you. If you are able to stick to the time allotted to you, we should be able to conclude the debate today without lunch hour.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai North) : So far as lunch hour is concerned and so far as time is concerned, we have made very clear to you yesterday. I am saying this because the discussion in the Committee has been brought here. Yesterday, we had made it very clear that we would like the debate to continue till tomorrow. We had also made it clear that hon. Shri Vajpayee will speak tomorrow; Shri Jaswant Singh will initiate the discussion from our side. All these things had been made very clear. That is why we would like this debate to continue till tomorrow; and that is what we had said yesterday. We are bringing it to your notice and to the notice of this House, since the discussion in the Committee has been brought here by the hon. Member...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : What difference does it make? What is important is, the debate has to be concluded within seven hours.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK : The important thing is the discussion...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : We have to discuss it within seven hours; that is the important thing. Discussing it 'today' or 'tomorrow' is not important.

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum) : They are interested in doing it tomorrow only, for some astrological reasons. They are not interested in the number of hours of discussion.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the whole House wish that there should be detailed discussion on the Confidence Motion and all the views of Members be expressed in the House...*(Interruptions)* Now, if you say that debate should last today itself...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, We are also present in the House and time of the House should be decided with consensus. You cannot run the House with the majority. You can run the Government with majority but not the House...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : We have been hearing this for a long time. We know what will work out ultimately...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, We are ready to co-operate with you for smooth functioning of the House, but this co-operation should be from both the sides...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen to him. I have allowed him to speak, Please listen.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, last time when the Confidence Motion was presented in this House my friend was saying that there is no need to debate. Voting should be done on the same day to complete the matter but we emphasized on the debate. Then, a useful debate was held on it and the whole country heard the same...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can speak only when the hon. Members maintain silence in the House...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not think that the new Government would like to create an impression in the country that it wants to avoid discussion, and is afraid of it. Then what is the difficulty in holding the discussion?...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion was held for two days earlier. Now more time is needed for this purpose. The voting is to be held tomorrow. The hon. President has fixed 12th June for it. If you want to listen all the views and are in favour of a serious discussion on this, then there should be no objection in continuing the discussions tomorrow also.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House and the treasury benches both do not want to avoid the discussion. My submission to you is that it is not a Non-Confidence Motion. It is a Confidence Motion. There is a difference between No-Confidence Motion and a Confidence Motion...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur) : He speaks something here and something else there...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I have been listening calmly. You also do so...*(Interruptions)* Charges are levelled against the Government in a No-Confidence Motion. We have not done anything as yet. We have come to prove that this Government enjoys the confidence of the House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA : We had also not done anything...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota) : You have misappropriated an amount of Rs. 133 crores...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, my submission to the hon. Leader of Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is that we never interrupt him...*(Interruptions)* Please listen.

SHRI LALMUNI CHAUBEY (Buxar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, is Shri Paswan a teacher who is teaching us...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government has the right to make its stand clear. I would like to urge upon Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that he should ask the hon. Members of his party not to use such a language. No one here is a teacher or a student...*(Interruptions)* Please do not say so...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDI (Chapra) : He is not a new Member. Shri Chaubey had been a Minister and he had been M.L.A. for four times...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I have told you to sit down

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : My submission through you is that last time also when we came for discussing the Confidence Motion, we were of the view and the entire country wanted to know if the Government enjoys the confidence of the House or the Government has the majority or not? At that time also we had submitted that the discussion and the voting should be held at the earliest so that the confusing atmosphere no longer remain in the country. Today also, we would like to submit on behalf of the Government and I, being the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, would like to submit that...*(Interruptions)* Yesterday also, several hon. Members were of the same opinion...*(Interruptions)* Except the B.J.P., several hon. Members were of the view that the discussions should be concluded today itself. Shri Jaswant Singh had said that they wanted to continue the discussions for two days. We had said that days are not allotted for discussions, hours are allotted for this purpose about which the House takes a decision. Seven Hours time has been allotted for the discussions. If this discussion continues upto

7 O'clock, then alright. Even if it continues upto 8 or 9 O'clock it is alright...*(Interruptions)* But this discussion should be completed today itself so that the confusion in the entire country could be removed. If the hon. Prime Minister wants to reply tomorrow, he may do so.

Mr. Speaker Sir, my submission to you is that those who want to take part in the discussions should do so today.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I think I have heard both the sides.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN (Mumbai North-East): Sir, the suggestion is to forego the Lunch Hour and extend the time of the House. I would say that if you want to discuss it for seven hours, you discuss it for seven hours with Lunch Break and adjourn the House at 6 O'clock. It will give you sufficient time. Let us implement whatever was decided in the Committee and adjourn the House at 6 O'clock. It will give you sufficient time. Let us implement whatever was decided in the Committee.

MR. SPEAKER : I have heard both the sides.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : You cannot force us to forego the Lunch Hour. We do not want to forego the Lunch Hour. Do not extend the time of the House beyond 6 O'clock. You may simply continue the debate for seven hours.

MR. SPEAKER : I think I have heard both the sides. I am capable of knowing the sense of the House. Will you allow Mr. Jaswant Singh to speak?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Let Jaswant Singh ji speak.

SHRI SATYADEO SINGH (Balrampur) : Sir, one should be clear about the Lunch Hour and the time of the House.

MR. SPEAKER : Is it the sense of the House to sit with Lunch or without Lunch?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : What is this? Why are you quarreling for the Lunch Hour? It is a very important debate.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Do you want to decide about having the Lunch Hour by majority? This has never happened.

MR. SPEAKER : I think we can afford to discuss. There should be no Lunch Hour. Mr. Jaswant Singh, please.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : This entire matter was discussed in the

Business Advisory Committee and it need not be discussed here. If this entire discussion is to be extended by tomorrow, as the hon. Prime Minister says that he will reply to the debate tomorrow, there is nothing wrong in it. We can discuss it today and continue it tomorrow. This is my submission...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You listen to my ruling. In the Business Advisory Committee.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : What is wrong if the Leader of Opposition speaks tomorrow? If the Prime Minister is going to speak tomorrow, what is wrong if you give half-an-hour to the Leader of Opposition? You are talking about the democratic norms. Let the Prime Minister say...*(Interruptions)* What is wrong in it? Why do you want to finish it today?

MR. SPEAKER : There is nothing wrong.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : We have to stick to the time allotment. All of you can speak either today or tomorrow but you have to speak within the allotted time. One hour and 54 minutes is the time allotted to BJP. Within this time, who will speak when and for how long, it is for you to decide.

SHRI I.D. SWAMI (Karnal) : It is an important debate. The whole world is looking towards it...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI JAI PRAKASH (Hissar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are also the people's representative and have been elected from somewhere or the other...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SARDAR SURJEET SINGH BARNALA (Sangrur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, why is it that an impression is being created that the Government is running away from the discussion?...*(Interruptions)*... An impression is being given that the Government is rushing through the discussion in the House. That impression should not be created. That is my request, Sir.

SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : Hon. Speaker, Sir, may I make a humble submission? Some hon. Members including the former Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition have asked that I should reply on some of the events that took place in the past. In the last ten days, we have not done anything wrong. If we have done any wrong, we are prepared to own it.

If the hon. former Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition wants to speak tomorrow and if he wants to raise some of the issues relating to the previous Government, I must be in a position to go

through the documents before I reply to them. I am unable to answer in the House by touching on all aspects of the issue that are going to be raised by the hon. Leader of the Opposition. That is why I humbly request the hon. Leader of the Opposition that if at all he wants to raise any issue relating to the past he can do so today. Then I will be able to know the whole matter and come to the House later. I am not such a well-versed politician, let me be very plain. I must go through the records before giving a reply. If he wants to raise it tomorrow and ask for the Government's reply on all points, it will be rather difficult for a person like me. I only request his good self to please consider this. If he wants to raise any issue relating to the past, let him do so today and let it be summed up. I am prepared to answer on all points. There is no question of suppressing. That is all my request.

MR. SPEAKER : I think it is a reasonable request.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Sir, it is totally unreasonable...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Prime Minister has made an appeal to me to the effect that if I raise old issues then it would not be possible for him to give the reply tomorrow.

My submission is that those who are responsible for the old issues, are present in the House. They can give the reply and explain the position. But I would not like to put an emphasis on the old issues. I would like to raise some other issues. For example, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to raise the issue of the security of the nation.

AN HON. MEMBER : Raise it today.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : If the hon. Prime Minister is to check the old records then I can not help him. This discussion will continue tomorrow.

AN HON. MEMBER : No.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : If I want to speak about C.T.B.T. and want the clarification of the Government then do not I have this right? You are stopping me to express my views in this regard. You will have to study to give its reply, therefore, it can not be completed today. My submission is that the discussion should continue tomorrow also.

[English]

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, one thing I want to say that it is up to the Ruling Party to decide on such things. I want to make a point clear. If you allow Shri Vajpayee to speak tomorrow it is your decision. Then, I will have to decide when my leader will speak. I will have the option to put him tomorrow...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Santosh Mohan Dev ji is using wrong logic for safety...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI RAM NAIK : Sir, just a minute. We are very happy that the former Prime Minister, the former Leader of the Opposition is willing to speak in the House. We would like to hear him either today or tomorrow. But we would like to hear him in this House. As the Leader of the Opposition he should have spoken last time, but he remained quiet. At least let him speak tomorrow. We are agreeable to it.

MR. SPEAKER : I think, we have discussed enough on this issue. I will decide later on. I am not giving my decision immediately. Let us see that the debate continues.

Shri Jaswant Singhji.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I make explicit reasoning that persuades us to oppose this Motion of Confidence, I must say two preliminary things. The first is a request to you. You are the custodian of the rights of all of us. You are the custodian. You are not only the repository of the rights of all Members of Parliament it is you through whom the House is conducted. It is not for me to inform you. I do not recollect ever that such elementary, routine question of the House like whether there is to be lunch hour or whether there is to be extension has ever been decided on the basis of majority or absence of majority. I can only appeal to you not to go down that path. This House can function only with the cooperation of the entire House. The functioning of the House is not a question of majority and minority.

[Translation]

Secondly, I was to the view that while participating in this debate I would express my views in Hindi. I am not doing it.

[English]

Out of deference to the hon. Prime Minister, I will choose to speak in a language that is also the language of the nation and that is also the language...(Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR (Baramati) : I say you are hitting below the belt...(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Beg your pardon...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Jaswant Singhji, why should you go into that?

(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I have chosen to speak in English...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You speak in any language you want.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I have just not understood that.

MR. SPEAKER : You are not to explain why you are speaking in a particular language.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : The hon. Member from Baramati says that I am hitting below the belt. Not at all. It is out of a sense of courtesy...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHRAD PAWAR : It is not out of courtesy...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : If the hon. Member from Baramati wishes to make an intervention, I would certainly yield.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : You can speak in Hindi. There is no problem.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Pune) : Jaswant Singhji, Your English is better than Hindi. So you try to speak in English...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : The hon. Prime Minister, during his opening observations, which I treat, Sir, as the outline, the sketch, the contour map of the support system has said why he wishes to seek the support of this House despite that the composition of the Eleventh Lok Sabha is a unique Lok Sabha. Each Lok Sabha is unique in its own strength. But he described this as unique because it is today composed of 32 parties being represented. Of course, as we have been hearing for the last one month now, almost the self-styled 'separation' of these parties into the so-called 'secular' and therefore, by inference, the 'not-secular'. I, of course, reject the self-styled separation in its totality. I rejected also in the manner in which the polity of the country is to be divided into the self-styled or self-adopted categories for one kind or another.

12.30 hrs.

(Shri P.M. Sayeed in the Chair)

The hon. Prime Minister has informed us that this is an era of coalition. No doubt, this is an era of coalitions of which he spoke, but he also referred to it in the confidence straightaway. I do believe and I would make a bone to reiterate that there is a spirit of the mandate of 1996 and what has happened is that the spirit of the mandate of 1996 is a disharmony with the arithmetic of Parliament and that arithmetic of Parliament has resulted in a fracture in Parliament.

The spirit of the mandate of 1996 is certainly not for the Congress Party. The Congress Party has been roundly and categorically reduced to half. The small group of which the hon. Prime Minister is the leader and which constitute the core of this Government, that small group comprising of roughly 45 hon. Members of Parliament, around that the hon. Prime

Minister says, 'a coalition has come into existence.' We accept the rationale that the coalitions can come into existence, but the coalitions that are pre-electoral coalitions carry greater credibility.

There is another difficulty. This coalition is a strange animal that has a new system which we have experienced earlier in this very Parliament, this method of support from outside. Sir, this support from outside...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : Like Akalis! ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : No, the Akalis are supporting with others...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : Was it before election? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : In the support from outside system...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him speak.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : ...what disturbs us about this Government is the absence before coming into coalition of a substratum of common economic or political philosophy because that was not earlier there. Therefore, afterwards, after coming into existence of this Parliament, an arrangement was made and that political arrangement is today called the United Front and to that political arrangement we are asked to lend our subscription. I am afraid, we are not able to do so.

I shall explain why this kind of political arrangement is riven with internal difficulties of all variety even if I do not point out this support from outside system. If my hon. friend Shri Somnath Chatterjee believes so profoundly in the merits of the case of the Prime Minister, why does his party not join them? If the former hon. Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao believes so passionately in the programmes outlined by the United Front, why does the Congress Party not join them? There are a great many in the Congress Party that are indeed waiting impatiently to actually join them. Why do you not permit them to join?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Why do you not look after yourself...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I will look after myself ...*(Interruptions)* I have to look after myself ...*(Interruptions)* I can look after myself in Parliament only by establishing the credentials...*(Interruptions)* I do not know what the Congress is protesting about ...*(Interruptions)* I find it very strange having made an assertion that the Congress Party has no power, they themselves find it so laughable...*(Interruptions)* Permit me, Sir...*(interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : We did not want to form the Government without majority...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATYAJITSINH DULIPSINH GAEKWAD (Vadodra) : The Prime Minister assured to follow the

Congress policies. That is why, the Congress Party is supporting them from outside. We are not power hungry...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are not to give any reply now. When the Members from the Congress party speak, they will give reply if they wish. Please do not disturb him.

Shri Jaswant Singhji, please continue your speech

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, permit me to point out the hollowness of this arrangement by quoting from a document. I am quoting this from a document and I shall inform the House as to who the author or the hon. Member is, who has said these things. It says :

"Two years ago elections were held to the State. Owing to a peculiar political configuration, the DMK which had lost every election for nearly 13 years came back to power. Even then we had cautioned the DMK that they should not proceed on the assumption that they had the support of the people of Tamil Nadu".

That is because they did not have the support.

Sir, the fraternity of lawyers have a specialisation of arguing the brief of the day and the brief of the day then which was being argued by the Member, whom I shall name in a minute, is this. There are four areas mentioned by this hon. Member, which I wish to do so. It says :

"When I do so, I would be constrained to make very serious allegations, very serious charges and I would ask the hon. Members to bear with me. I do so with full sense of responsibility I take the responsibility for every statement which I make and at the end of it all I will demand and I urge the hon. Members to join me in demanding that a high-powered inquiry should be instituted to find out all that has happened in Tamil Nadu in the last two years. I do not want my charges to remain as charges. I do not want my allegations to remain allegations. Those of us who make these charges must have an opportunity to lead evidence in support of the charges."

Sir, what are the charges which were made in such seriousness? There are four broad heads. It says :

"First is the subversion of the law and order machinery in Tamil Nadu to cater to the needs of the militants particularly the LTTE. Second is the political nexus between the National Front—now called United Front—and Ministers on the one hand and the LTTE on the other. Third is

the machinations of key civil servants to advance their personal interests and political interests of the DMK. And fourth is the massive cover-up indulged in by the V.P. Singh Government and the Karunanidhi Government during the greater part of 1990 when Intelligence reports had brought to surface all that was going on in Tamil Nadu"

Sir, I have a few more passages and I seek your indulgence because they are of immediate and urgent relevance...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Kendrapara) : Were those photocopy documents?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : This is not a photocopy document...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M.P. VEERENDRA KUMAR (Calicut) : Your party sought support from the DMK also for proving majority...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, some very serious statements have been made here

Giving reference to EPRLF, it says

"Every movement of the EPRLF, particularly of Mr. Padmanabha and other senior leaders was conveyed by the State police to the LTTE. When Padmanabha came to Madras in the first or second week of June, his arrival in Madras was notified to the LTTE. The location of EPRLF House was conveyed to the LTTE and on 19th June 1990, the most dastardly crime to have been committed in recent times in the city of Madras was committed"

Thereafter, charges that hon. Member, that

"The then Chief Minister of Madras met these two emissaries. On that day i.e. seven days after this murder and assassination, a sum of rupees four lakh was paid by the DMK to the LTTE. An hon. Member of Parliament was present"

These are not charges that we are making. These are charges that are being made about Shri V.P. Singh and about partners who are sitting in Government with you today. And hon. the Prime Minister spoke of the era of coalition, of the commonness...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) : You and I were supporting Shri V.P. Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : It is not you and I, Chandra Shekharji, who were supporting Shri V.P. Singh. It is not a question. I am not talking about that I am talking of the relevance of the assertion that is being made now. If we were supporting V.P. Singhji, we were also opposing.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Jaswant Singhji, kindly proceed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am answering to hon. Chandra Shekharji...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Chairman, as Mr. Jaswant Singh has yielded, may I make a humble request? Better not to dig out all these things because many people who sit that side also are responsible for that. That is what I said.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am obliged to respond to a very senior Member like hon. Chandra Shekharji. He is elder, I hold him in very high personal esteem and his advice of this kind would ordinarily be very difficult for me to turn aside. But for Chandra Shekharji, he says, 'Not to refer to all these, not to refer to the conceptual fracture. Better not do it because otherwise, we will be revealing all the other conceptual fractures'...*(Interruptions)*

MR CHAIRMAN : You have already referred to it. Kindly proceed further. It is already on record.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am answering. What do you want me to do?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now you speak further.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, here is an hon. Member who is now talking. Why am I referring to this? I am referring to this because somewhere at the root of all this, is the very important aspect of political morality that is involved. There is political morality that is involved - it was after making such serious charges. Do you know, Sir, who made this statement in this House? Do I have to name who made these statements? I do not say this. My friend, hon. nurasoli Maran and I know each other for many decades now. Hon. Murasoli Maran knows very well what these charges were. He is not to be blamed for these charges. Who is to be blamed is hon. Shri Chidambaram who made these charges in the House in 1991. Having made these charges, he today became the ideologue of this arrangement. He becomes the ideologue and the spokesman of this arrangement; and he teaches up political morality. This kind of political immorality, the worst kind of political immorality, is demonstrated by holding this view, saying this on the floor of this House and then conducting yourself in a totally contrary manner. Reflect for a moment on the charges that are contained here. This is not a secret document. This is the photocopy, Srikantji, of proceedings in this House of which you were also a Member.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Now only tell us the date.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I will tell you the date. It is 25th February, 1991.

Are you referring when he said, "Did an enquiry take place?" Is Mr. Chidambaram satisfied with the

charges that he made?...*(Interruptions)* Don't ask me to remind hon. Chandra Shekharji.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : I shall not say because many people are there.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, here is a very serious allegation made by Shri Chidambaram on the floor of the House.

"Take me into confidence before you launch any action here so that I can warn my colleagues"

This is the statement attributed by Shri Chidambaram to the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, who is again the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and his support Shri Chidambaram has sought. On his shoulders he has made a political alliance in betrayal of his own party and on his shoulders he has come back to Parliament...*(Interruptions)* Now, he is teaching us!

The hon. Prime Minister started by saying as to what kind of arrangement he has put together. Sir, we are not convinced of the *bona fides* of this arrangement because it is not simply the arithmetic of Parliament that is fractured, it is more than the arithmetic, it is the political morality of the entire political morality that is fractured by this kind of opportunist alliance coming together.

I do not wish to refer here to Shri Somnath Chatterjee's intervention and my intervention. He questioned them on that very day also.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Then, you were supporting me.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I was supporting you. I was. That is precisely the point. That is the tragedy of it all. I find it very strange that Shri Somnath Chatterjee should be sitting as a member of the Treasury Benches. I find it stranger that my friend Shri Nirmal Kanti Chatterjee has been relegated to a back bench of the Treasury Benches. Even he does not belong there. He even looks strange. I am sure that he feels strange...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You had usurpers here. You had used us earlier.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, it is necessary for me to quote just one or two other lines from this. There is a very serious charge made here...*(Interruptions)*

I will cut short my time. Do not worry.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is doing my job.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : There is a charge made, not only against Shri Karunanidhi, but there is a charge made here against Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. What does Shri Chidambaram have to say? He is now not only his mentor, he is his ideologue. he has put them all together on various grounds.

And one of the constituents which till lately, till just before this whole arrangement was put together by Raja Saheb of Manda, now for that very same Raja Saheb of Manda, what had Shri Chidambaram to say?

"After the V.P. Singh Government came into office an ULFA cell was set up in Tamil Nadu in February 1990."

I would appeal to my friends in the AGP to reflect very seriously on those with whom they sit because these are not permanent allies. These are allies of convenience. But let me also say here is what hon. Shri Chidambaram had to say about the Raja Saheb of Manda.

"Shri Chidambaram : You have much to answer, Mr. V.P. Singh. Shri Srikant, my dear friend, I appeal to you to listen carefully. You have much to answer, Mr. V.P. Singh. Your turn will come. You would have destroyed Tamil Nadu if you continued in power. You would have destroyed India."

Why do I say all this? It does not give me any delight. I point it out because the rot is not simply the rot of corruption. It is not simply financial. The rot of corruption is deeply political and if the only motivating factor that they have, the only motivating reason that they have for coming together in this unholy arrangement called the "Front", — let us look at the geography of the House. If they were realistic, in the geography of the House they would find that they badly occupy just one section of the House. Out of six sections, five are really opposed to them and on the basis of that one section, an assertion is made that "because they are in collusion with us, whether with us or outside from us, we want to form the government" reflects, on the deep deep political immorality of it. Because it is this deep political immorality which persuades them to base their entire case on just simply two things : Stop BJP occupy office.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Naturally.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : On those grounds, we cannot lend them our support...(*Interruptions*) I do not want to...

Mr. Chairman, do you want me to conclude?

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. You are taking your own time.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I have a word only to say about this unfortunate matter of urea.

I am not quoting from the Press reports. I have a copy with me of the First Information Report. This is the First Information Report. This First Information Report was not lodged during our tenancy. I do not wish to quote from the entire First Information Report

and I am concluding. Here is a situation where Rs. 133 crore are committed to purchase of urea from a firm which is non-existent and when demand is made that to cover that order, at least take out an insurance policy, which is a perfectly legitimate, routine commercial activity to cover the transaction. You have an insurance cover and advance is paid for that insurance cover also. The insurance that is taken out is not to cover on delivery. There is no insurance. There is no urea. An amount of Rs. 133 crore of Indian tax-payers' money is sent out.

Why are we asking this Government to clarify? We are asking this Government to clarify because this Government depends for its very existence on the support of this large bloc of the Congress Party. You are not in a position to implement even one comma of your Minimum Common Programme until the Congress Party supports it. The Congress Party has till today remained ambivalent, remained entirely non-committal; the Congress Party has not said that your Common Minimum Programme is acceptable to them. The day they commit themselves....

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : We have said.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : You have said. It is acceptable to you in its entirety including a fight against corruption including what they have said about corruption...(*Interruptions*).

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes, we have said.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am re-assured. I am glad that the Congress and indeed two spokesmen have said it. The hon. the former Prime Minister and his principle political adversary in the Congress Party, the hon. Member from Baramati ...(*Interruptions*). That is what the papers say. I cannot say whether you are actually his adversary or not ...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : Do not say wrong words.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : If you are not ...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO (Berhampur) : Sir, he was on the point whether the Congress Party supports and is in agreement with the Common Minimum Programme announced by the ruling Party. I tell him that this has already been accepted. There may be small variations, in some cases we may want them to go a little faster. All these are matters which can be discussed and sorted out. In principle and also in the content of the Programme we have not found anything which we could oppose or we would like to oppose. Therefore, we support them and this is what has been said by my spokesmen. This has been clearly made public by the proper person who was supposed to make it and the Working Committee also, I am sure, is going to endorse it when it meets.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it should really not be a matter of re-assurance to me. The hon. the Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda, should be greatly relieved to hear this though I am not sure whether the rest of the Congress Party is going to be relieved or the rest of the Congress has a different plan...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : He has lost the argument already.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, after the clarifications provided by the hon. the former Prime Minister, in fact, my worry is deeper.

It is because that is precisely why I find that in this Minimum Common Programme — It should really be the Minimum Common Programme, it cannot be the Common Minimum Programme; but that is not the point. I now find why the chapter, why the paragraph on corruption is so ambivalent. It is precisely because the Congress has lent support to it, because you are already paying...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, you surely cannot support the Confidence Motion.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : The book says that it is a common approach to major policy matters and a minimum programme. That is my point.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : It is only for the professor, and who else, to correct it.

But the point is that the Congress has finally supported this kind of a programme. I am very glad the Communists have, therefore, also given up insurance and the Janata Dal have given up their fight against corruption because that is why this programme has so little on corruption and that is why we raise the issue of urea. 'Urea' is the other aspect. 'Urea' is the symbol of corruption, corruption that starts principally as political corruption.

Sir, I have one more point to add.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : This is not one of your best days...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

You are a 13-days ruler

[English]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I do not say all these things

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : You are a good friend of mine. The 13-day ministry has spoiled you. You are a better performer. What happened to you today?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am not.

Sir, I have one more point. My leader, the former Prime Minister, hon. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee will be referring to it. The issue is of national security. The issue is of national security and in the context of

national security. I draw your urgent attention to the on-going conference on disarmament. I draw your urgent attention, Mr. Prime Minister, Sir, also to the fact that on 28th of May a new text has been introduced into that conference as the latest text by the Chairman. I draw your attention, Mr. Prime Minister Sir, that it is this text which does not meet the requirements of India at all. This conference is ending on 28th of June. Your Minister of External Affairs, in his venerable age and wisdom, has informed the country that the previous government's policies will continue. I presume he meant the previous Congress government and if the previous government's policies are continuing then it is a matter of even deeper worry because the previous government had no policy in regard to C.T.B.T. And it does not suffice to merely reiterate that until universal disarmament is achieved, we will continue to oppose C.T.B.T. The time for a clear and categorical statement of policy in respect of C.T.B.T. which today is the most important security issue facing the country has come. It is not a question of waiting till 28th of June. A decision has to be taken by this Government, I believe, not later than the 20th of June. The choice is clear. You cannot sign the C.T.B.T. and if you cannot sign the C.T.B.T. do not be misled into lanes and allays and bylanes of delusion by going into deflecting conferences on disarmament. You will cause irreparable damage to the national interests.

This is a matter to which I do not wish to refer in any greater detail because my time is also limited in today's intervention and I will conclude.

By all means govern as best as you can. But in the governing of this country the attitude that you have, has to be inclusive, not the exclusive and not the rejecting. You have to have an aggregative attitude and I caution you, Mr. Prime Minister, Sir, that if you have elements that are today your principal spokesmen, who until yesterday were in the most extreme terms condemnatory of your other components, then this is not a factor for continuity or this is not a factor for stability. We are not contributing to that. Your own components are contributing to that.

Mr. Prime Minister, Sir, you forget also that the task of governing this country and the task of meeting many challenges that face this country is not to be addressed by this kind of attitude that is being demonstrated.

13.00 hrs.

If we are unable to convince ourselves of confidence in this government, it is because we are unable to understand the total rationale being put across by this Front to say that we are in office because we have to stop BJP. That, to us, is not an answer. If they have come and said, we are in office

because it is the service of the country that we want, we have contested the election on that reason, that is why we are coming into and those numbers that sit here together reflect the collectivity of one political philosophy, one economic thought, certainly it would have been a different matter. It is a fractured thought, it is a divided thought. It is not simply a divided thought. It is a thought that has come together for office, only for office. We are unable to persuade ourselves that that is sufficient ground to support them. I, therefore, oppose the Motion moved by the hon. the Prime Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Sh. A.R. Antulay.

SHRI SATYADEO SINGH : We have not decided to skip the lunch hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is already decided by the Speaker.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Sir, the whole nation is looking at this telecast...*(Interruptions)*. The hon. Members do not know whether we should have lunch hour or not. You take a decision and let us go by that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, Mr. Speaker has already decided that we will sit and skip off the lunch hour. Therefore, hon. Member Shri Antulay will continue.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY (Kulaba) : Mr. Chairman, Sir...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK : Mr. Chairman Sir, it is not good that the decision taken about time yesterday is being implemented in such a compulsion. The House can not function in this way...*(Interruptions)*. The decision about time should always be unanimous...*(Interruptions)*

13.03 hrs.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

MR. SPEAKER : Do not make yourself more hungry.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : All right, the House stands adjourned for lunch upto 2.00 p.m.

13.04 hrs.

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

14.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at One Minute past Fourteen of the Clock.

(Shri Chitta Basu in the Chair)

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS - Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, we continue the debate on the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers. Shri A.R. Antulay.

14.01 hrs.

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I believe today is the day when we can rightfully claim that the Indian democracy has matured. It does take always a little time for any good thing to bear fruit. When the Motion of Confidence was moved by today's Prime Minister Devagowdaji, memories go back to those days when nobody could have dreamt that a person from a village, almost with a rustic common sense would adorn the highest executive chair of this nation. What is required in this country is not so much democracy in its barest of sense, because in Indian polity, in the context of India I may make bold to say that there can be no democracy without secularism. Unless democracy is secular, it is no democracy. If we go by arithmetic, as has been here by BJP made out then what is the place under the sun for the minorities?

SHRI RAM NAIK : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of information.

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : I am not yielding.

SHRI RAM NAIK : Sir, the Prime Minister has assured that he would remain present in the House throughout the debate. But the Prime Minister is not there now. When a senior hon. Member like Shri Antulay is speaking, the Prime Minister should have been present here.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Some Ministers are here. Mr. Antulay, please carry on.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : I was only making the barest proposition which is the ground reality in our country and many countries indeed which have inhabited many populations of different colour, culture, religions and language like ours. I am proud to say that even although it was omitted in the beginning, it was in 1976 — which came into effect in January, 1977 — a word 'secular' was incorporated in the preamble of the Constitution of India at the behest of Swarn Singh Committee of which this humble self had the honour to be the Member Secretary.

Sir, I have no quarrel with my friends from that side as I had none, nor shall I have any time in future. When Jaswant Singhji — for whom, he knows better than others, I have the highest respect — said that "we are also secular," I really felt they should not have then come out of Janata Party in 1977 on that issue alone. The incarnation of BJP then was Jan Sangh. Jan Sangh had merged in Janata Party and thus they became a single unit of the then democratic polity, against the Congress. It is a good thing. Nothing wrong about it. We all welcomed it even though we were on the other side and they won mandae. The then Janata Party came into power. Morarji Bhai was the Prime Minister and Charan Singhji was the Home Minister and Finance Minister. I am sorry to ask, 'why on earth that Government was pulled down'? Did the Congress pull it down? No. A section of the Janata Party namely earst while Jan Sangh — before they merged - opted out on this issue itself - whether there should be or should not be dual membership. Madhu Limayeji had waged a war and I remember George Fernandes Saheb did not lag behind. Therefore, at that time when the Government broke, obviously it fell. May I repeat the argument I have advanced is to bring home a point to my very very good friend, Jaswant Singhji and his friends in refutation of their contention that he endeavoured; paboured to make out. Let us recall what happened in 1989? The BJP was sitting here, V.P. Singh Sahab was sitting there and we were in the Opposition. The Motion of Confidence was moved by the then Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singhji and I recall as I was fielded on behalf of Congress then to speak on oppose that Motion to express our views. We did not oppose that Motion. The Congress had won more seats at that time than the number of seats the BJP has won now. The leader of the Congress Party could have very well, as he was entitled to and as he was asked to by the then President, said, we will make it rather than saying straightaway-no we shall not form the Government People have put us in the Opposition, we politely told Rashtrapatiji, that we shall sit in the Opposition. 'He could have certainly got sworn in, as one of the greatest Parliamentarians and leaders, the former Prime Minister and the present Leader of the Opposition, Atalji had done, who was therefor 13 days. Though Rajivji also could have done that. Now, what is a mandate, what is a *janadesh*? A mandate is one which enables you to rule, in a polity like ours. It is being now said that it is a 'hung Parliament'. I am afraid that I do not agree with those who say that it is 'hung Parliament'. This Parliament is very much alive, thriving and kicking. Parliament is very much functional and not defunct. Indeed the seeds of polarisation of forces have been sown Mr. Chairman, to my mind, it augurs

well for the future of our country, for the future of our democracy unity and integrity and for the future of our progress and prosperity independent country. It is a coalition but it is not, as Jaswantji chose to describe, of course, in his inimitable style, a disparate and divergent one. Well, they have their different manifestoes, yes. In polities which are democratic and even in much smaller than ours, in the countries which are ruled by democratic form of Governments, they do have many parties and equally more manifestoes they do have got coalition Governments. These coalition Governments have put their own programmes before the people. I wish to say this. Forget the 'Minimum Common Programme'. As a citizen of this country I would proclaim that if all of us are united on one point on this side of the House, it is the secular pillar of the Indian democracy, I am happy about it. I do not want any other thing. What is the good in offering other things if you are not secular? Unless you are secular, you cannot simply be truly just, equitable and functional, you cannot implement even the Preamble which talks about Justice, political, social as well as economic. The institutions of the minorities in secular polity have to be safeguarded. When you talk about minoritism and minority, you are just quibbling with the words. The majority should come forward and say that they are happy to give whatever legitimately minorities desire and whatever they need. Please do not call that as appeasement or minoritism; please call it as equitable justice or fair play. Unless equitable justice is there, you cannot rule this great country and keep it united, integrated and intact. Therefore, secularism is the very basis of this coalition. We may support this Government from outside. But after some time, if our leader and the Working Committee so chooses or if it decides to join, we may or may not join. How does it matter? Whenever any motion comes on behalf of the Government, as the Constitution requires, it will be passed by a majority support and that is all. But even if Congress were to join, how many of us could join? They may only be five, seven or ten or some such figures; not all 140!

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) :
Nobody.

SHRI. A.R. ANTULAY : We are 140. I am not on the point which Jaswantji has made against Shri P. Chidambaramji. Chidambaramji is competent, eloquent and articulate. I make bold to say that he will reply to the first point which Shri Jaswant Singhji made and I do not have to dilate on that. I say so because I am a believer in the verdict of the people. Have the people of Tamil Nadu not borne out what they have done? Are we going to question what they did? Whether they stabbed us in the back or they did not stab, is our internal matter...*(Interruptions)* We did not question your credentials when you parted

company with Janata Party in 1979 or later in 1990 from Shri V.P. Singh Government. So, those who live in glass houses should be little more cautions to realise that others also can do so.

I am only saying that whatever the people have decided, they have given the mandate to rule, to the secular forces of this country and it is not Minimum Programme. Even if it is one point programme. I am happy about it...*(Interruptions)* Well, let us see ...*(Interruptions)* I think secularism is ingrained in the ancient culture and tradition of this country ...*(Interruptions)* It has been there all through and nobody can divorce this polity from secular approach ...*(Interruptions)*

Well, I am on my legs. My friends are going to get an opportunity to reply...*(Interruptions)* If you believe in democracy, it is not 4,000 more that is needed; even if it is one...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No running comments please.

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : No running comments thank you. Mr. Chairman, because it is questioning on their past in a democratic polity of the democratic principle. I do not want to go into that. They will not succeed in distracting my attention...*(Interruptions)*

Let me add this point because it has been raised in spite of everything including the communal propaganda, I have won and won by 4007 votes ...*(Interruptions)* Yes, I have won. It is a matter of pride for me...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not enter into it.

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : Yes I am not listening to them. But my voice should not allowed to be drowned.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It cannot be drowned.

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : They should not be allowed to raise their voice. If they say that the House can function only with all sections getting together, let them have their own say and let them give way to us, as my friend Shri Ram Naik Saheb has said. Let us give way to the Government and let them have their own say. Nobody is throttling them.

I am not going to make a long speech because it is not necessary. As the hon. Minister rightly said, the Government has not yet taken any major decision. We have nothing to learn from you we are unlike you in this respect. Therefore, I would only urge that when I see Shri H.D. Deve Gowdaji sitting there I am happy; it is immaterial to me to which Party he belongs.

As an Indian and as a citizen of this country, I am proud, as I said in the beginning, that it is a testimony of the maturity of democracy when I see a poor peasant from a village coming here and sitting there as the Prime Minister of India. Without any

recrimination, without any sort of competition, a person who was the Chief Minister of Karnataka being invited to form the Government. How many times you find that a person, who is not in the race, who has not been considered, who has not himself given, thought to it, never dreamt it has been invited to form the Central Government? Does it not show that the people are more mature than us? The people of India are more mature. The people are more secular than we the leaders sitting here. In our country, only one-point programme will always remain steadfast and clear to their heart—heart of the people of this country, that is, all the cultures, all the religions will be encouraged; they will be given their due share and those who are followers of them will not be denied any opportunity and that is called secularism. I know the translation of secularism ought to have been "Sarvadharmā Samabhava". But when we put in the Preamble the word "secular", the translation that was given for Hindi version was "Sarvadharmā Sambhava" that is equal respect for all religions in this country. It is not only not irreligiousness - of course the translation does not say so but the translation does not also say equal respect for all religions : "Sarvadharmā Sambhava".

Sir, there is a lot of talk going on...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : About urea?

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : You do not have to remind me. I know all the three points that have been made by Shri Jaswant Singh. Atalji is to speak. Thereafter, I would request our leader to speak and then the Prime Minister will speak. That is what has been organised and arranged in the morning.

Therefore, Sir, with the humblest of my contribution, I would expect this Parliament to allow without any fetters, without any let or hindrance this Government to function for the full term of five years. I hope there is no difficulty at all. I, on behalf of the Congress Party, can say that we shall not be allowing the Government to be pulled down on any flimsy ground because as our leader has said, the programme that has been chalked out is concurred in by us. Since the programme is the programme of all of us and secularism is the very basis; indeed basic of all basics! I believe that they have no fear; we have no fear and they, the BJP may keep on saying anything. And yet the Prime Minister shall remain for full five years. But let me add one word before I conclude. As the Prime Minister has rightly said - I was listening to every word that he spoke this morning - the downtrodden, the OBC, the SC, the ST and the minorities, I am sure every patriotic Indian, on hearing this will be happy and proud. I convey my felicitations and congratulations to the Prime Minister for being so bold in speaking up the truth which needs to be spoken, which needs to be uttered from the Chair, he spoke from. With this, I conclude.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Chairman, I rise to support this Motion. Sir, I have no manner of doubt that this House today will prove to the world that there is a legitimate Government in this country which has the support of 77 per cent of the electorate and a majority support inside the House; and not a Government which was proclaiming from the rooftop by providing hypocritical estimates of its so-called strength that it would have majority inside the House. And, Sir, what happened during those 13 days in this country was nothing but a constitutional sacrilege. We have never seen in this House before - and I have had the great privilege of being here for sometime - when for two days this House was overtaken by what I called marauders of parliamentary democracy. And, we had a Prime Minister sitting here who was none but a pretender. He was not having the slightest chance of having majority support.

Sir, when Shri Vajpayee came on the 27th of May inside the House to seek the Vote of Confidence, he knew that they had no majority. When he spoke, he knew that he would not be able to command a majority. But we had to go through, we were made to go through these two days of sermons and rigmarole and we were given all sorts of advices as to what to do and not to do.

My very good friend Shri Jaswant Singh is disturbed that there is today, on this side of the House, a post-electoral coalition. Now what is the coalition which Shri Jaswant Singh's Party was seeking since the 16th of May? Even your Samata Party has been fractured after the Elections. You were going to everybody, you were appealing to everybody to support you. You have accepted yourself that there can only be a coalition Government in this country. Today you have the attitude of righteous indignation, an attitude of injured innocence. Well, the Members of Parliament have done their duty in not keeping you in a seat where you had no right to occupy even for a minute.

Sir, we are given lectures of political moralities, Devil quoting the scriptures. I would have expected that the present Leader of the Opposition should have said to the hon. Rashtrapatiiji, "You are giving me a great honour but let me find out whether there is any possible chance of majority support in the House." No exercise was made. *Ladobs* were distributed. I must compliment - it may not be a left-handed compliment - there was a 13 days *Sultan* or *Sultana*. You did utilize the media - yes - to project a make-believe situation in this country.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot forget and it requires repetition on the floor of this House...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. I am on my legs.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI TARACHAND SAHU (Durg) : He is a senior Member and it does not look nice for him to say so...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am on my legs. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BANWARILAL PUROHIT (Nagpur) : I am on a point of order, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No point of order can be heard unless the House is restored to order.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, I am on my legs.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : First resume your seats and then I shall listen.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we were told by Mr. Jaswant Singh of political morality. I am reminded of what happened on the 27th of May. When this House had adjourned the debate for lunch that recess was utilised to pass one of the most immoral decisions which a Government can possibly take. The Government at no point of time had a majority in this House. A Government which has no political credibility, no credentials inside the House or outside, still goes out, holds a Cabinet meeting and passes the most controversial decision about which we are given lectures. What was the necessity? Heavens would not have fallen down. What was the mandate of that Government? The President only asked him to go before the House to seek its confidence.

Very significantly I find today a very handsome picture of my very handsome friend Jaswant Singhji! Here he was asked as to what was the hurry about the Enron project. In today's *The Economic Times* it is reported and I hope Mr. Jaswant Singh will not deny this. He said 'first the Constitution makes no difference between a Government that is seeking a vote of confidence and the one which has obtained it'. We are given lectures of constitutional law, not of political morality.

This does not behove of a moralist.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Does the Constitution make any difference?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Political morality makes the difference. Jaswant Singhji, you are too respected to make this kind of a mistake ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, he believed that his statement will influence the debate on the Motion of Confidence moved by our esteemed Prime Minister Mr. Deve Gowda. He has now today admitted it : the question was, 'Does the BJP, today deny responsibility for what happened in Ayodhya on December 6, 1992?' and the answer was, 'Of course, we have accepted our responsibility directly'. Now, this is a party, which was instrumental in demolishing one of the sacred structures in this country and ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDI (Ciarpra) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue regarding demolition of temples in Kashmir should also be included in the discussion...*(Interruptions)* Whether these questions should not be raised here ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Oh, Sadhus are on their legs

[English]

And the very foundation of the secular fabric of this country was disturbed by you, demolished by you and today, for the sake of trying to persuade somebody here, you are taking a posture of penance. This is the attitude ...*(Interruptions)* Sir, I know of their hunger. Their hunger for power lasted only for thirteen days ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, please. He is not yielding. Please sit down

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is a certain decorum in this House. Please sit down. He is not yielding.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we were told by Mr. Jaswant Singh, a very esteemed friend of mine - and sometimes they are so different outside, I do not know what happens when they are inside - that we are not permanent allies here. He is very much concerned that there is no permanent alliance here. So, let us have this temporary alliance for five years. At least, I am prepared to keep my company with them here. They will come nearer and nearer to me, I know, but it is better than having to stay with the political snakes there. He wanted to know what will be our attitude to this urea scam. We have said that this Government must pursue it vigorously and I must congratulate

our Prime Minister for his forthright statement. He has said that he can stake the future of this Government but he will not compromise on matters of corruption and matters of national security ...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we were told earlier that the BJP represents a very cohesive party. Now, what is happening here? The world is saying this, I do not say. I can only sympathize with Mr. Atmaram Patel, the seventy-year-old or seventy-five or eighty-year-old Minister, who was beaten up at the meeting in the *Frontline* this week his picture has come with all sorts of bandages and all that. I do not know whether any of the leaders want there to sympathize with him, at least to give him a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness...*(Interruptions)* Now, we were told and we are given lectures or political sermons. Sir, the coalition Government cannot be avoided in this country if you have to have a Government. Do they want an election tomorrow?...*(Interruptions)* Let them say that. Let them say that they want to inflict an election tomorrow on the people of this country...*(Interruptions)* Let them have the political courage to say that. You are only inviting people from this side as if you have the great right, the inalienable right to govern whether you are 10 or 20 or 194 and whether it is 20 per cent or 23 per cent, as if a divine dispensation is there. Enough is enough. That is why I said that the day of deliverance had come on the 28th of May and on the 1st of June the day of deliverance has fructified when our esteemed Prime Minister was sworn in and this Government came into power. A great wrong which has been committed was righted on that date.

Sir, I wish to congratulate Mr. Deve Gowda on his assumption of power. Mr. Prime Minister, the people of this country are looking at you, the secular people, the dalits, the minorities, the workers, the peasants, the backward people and the common people of this country are looking towards you ...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Hindus? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Very well, Hindus also, Sikhs also and everybody. Every citizen of this country is now looking towards this Government and towards Mr. Deve Gowda. I would request the Prime Minister and I am sure he will remember. Sir, I am also very much impressed by what he said in the beginning while moving the Motion. That shows his humility but his firmness and his concern for the people of this country. I am sure in his great endeavour, he will have the support of all saner sections of this House in the next five years to come. Sir, I would request the hon. Prime Minister to remember that he has a great duty not only to provide a pro-poor, pro-humane, transparent

and progressive administration but also to usher in a progressive and economically strong India. He has a heavy duty, the unavoidable duty to remove the scourge of communalism and fundamentalism from the body politic of this country. Today, let us all, who believe in secularism, resolve to fight against the fundamentalism and communalism of the worst variety. That we shall not rest until the last vestiges of the fascism goes out of the body politic. Sir, unity and integrity of the country and the people are too important for us which cannot be left to the people whose only objective seems to be dividing the country's unity and whose only aim is to divide the country and to divide the people of this country on the basis of religion. We cannot expect to go to the 21st century with Bajrang Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad or for that matter with RSS. They cannot provide the leadership to this country. Sir, obscurantism cannot replace a sensible, pro-people, human Government in this country. I am very happy that the machinations of a very minuscule minority in this country have not succeeded. The BJP and the fractured Samata Party could not provide even the minimal support base in this House. I am happy that the secular and progressive forces in this country have come together to form the United Front. That is now the only beacon of hope for the teeming millions of this country. The United Front has drawn up a common minimum programme. Mr. Jaswant Singh was asking, whether it will be 'common minimum programme' or 'minimum common programme'.

AN HON. MEMBER : Or, 'common minimum contradictions'?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Or even 'contradictions', if it satisfies you. On the basis of that programme, this country will be taken forward. We are all united to implement that programme. That is the programme which has got the support of the largest section of this House and the people of this country. Try you may, you will not be able to succeed. You cannot go on fooling the people for ever.

Sir, I feel that this is the period and this is the time for consolidation of secular and progressive forces; now is the time for development of our country; and now is the time for achieving economic progress and for providing social justice. If there is any person or body which wishes to remain out of this mainstream or out of this great endeavour, they may choose to do so at their peril. The poor people, the backward, the workers, the peasants, the unemployed youth of this country and the oppressed and the suppressed humanity have waited too long; they will not wait much longer.

Mr. Prime Minister, that is why, I request you to see that their interests are protected and their problems are solved...*(Interruptions)* Our topmost

priority in the agenda would be to solve the burning problems of the people which you are all aware of...*(Interruptions)* The agenda of this country cannot be building *Mandirs* or demolishing *Mosques* or to propagate *Hindutva* of the BJP variety...*(Interruptions)* Today, I am happy in a sense; Shrimati Sushmaji, at least has done one good thing — the people are seeing your performance and the people are seeing the resolve of this side of the House, to take this country forward. Today we are united; the secular forces are united; the progressive forces are united; the pro-poor forces are united. Those who are representing the workers, the peasants, the common people and the minorities in this country today are united for the purpose of ushering in a new economic order in this country and a new social order in this country.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have our best support and our best wishes. I can assure you that so long as this Government continue to implement the mandate as contained in our common programme, you shall have not only our support, but you will have the support of the country outside. Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Jaswant Singh...*(Interruptions)* yes, because today he was very Jaswant Singh. Jaswant Singh Mr. Jaswant Singh has been hoping that by setting Mr. Chidambaram against Mr. Murasoli Maran, he will be able to score a point. But I found during the lunch, they have come closer, embracing each other. Your efforts have failed, as your efforts in dividing the country have failed, as your efforts in arrogating yourself the power which the people did not give to you have failed. Your future is doomed to failure. Please realise that.

Sir, I request the hon. Prime Minister to lead the country.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support this Confidence Motion.

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota) : Though you are not included in the Cabinet of Ministers.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Your party could not form Government even then you are speaking, then why I cannot speak if I am not included in the Cabinet.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in my opinion this Government has not done any important work during last 12 days which could be discussed here in details. Hon. Leader of Opposition was earlier Prime Minister. The debate is going on since he has presented Confidence Motion, and now it should be concluded.

I would, at the out set, like to submit that hon. Shri Jaswant Singh and Atalji have highlighted the issue of internal conflicts in a very decent manner. But it should be kept in mind that in 1989 also the

Government was formed by National Front with the support of Left Front. It also enjoyed the support of BJP.

AN HON. MEMBER : At that time this party was not communal.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I am coming to that point. I would also touch the issue of communalism and we all should think over it sincerely.

We also enjoyed the support of Bhartiya Janata Party. In 1977, we all including BJP had formed Janata Party.

This National Front includes Left Front, Telugu Desam, DMK, Assam Gana Parishad and Janata Dal. Atalji had said 'People of different ideologies have come together.'

These people have not come together now but they did so in 1989 and 1977 also. We can say that this country is inhabited by people of different ideologies. There is a proverb. 'As the king so are his subjects' means that public reflects the qualities of the king'. At the time of inception of democracy in India, Mahatmaji had said that under the democratic form of Government till now the proverb. 'As the king so his subjects' will hold, good. But after independence the situation would be reversed i.e. 'As the subjects, so the king or as the public so the party and the Government. Today National Front has been renamed as United Front. The difference is that much only that at that time our friends in BJP, who were 88 in number, supported us and now Congress Party is giving support to us. I would like to know from my friends in BJP, why this equation has changed? How this 50 year old culture and brotherhood changed? Earlier the concept of Congress and non-Congress was developed. Now why it has changed in such a way? It was to change.

14.55 hrs.

(Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee in the Chair)

Madam, at the time of freedom struggle also the disputes between Hindus continued. Just now hon. Antulayji was calling it Communalism. Broadly it can be called communalism. But if we think over this concept minutely we find that Communalism is not a fight between Hindus and Muslims but for the last thousands of years a fight is going on among Hindus itself, fight of Hindus-Versus Hindus means fight between liberal and fundamentalist Hindus which is going on for the last 3000 years. Today 50 years after independence Liberal and fundamentalists are standing face to face. Atalji has left the House. I heard his complete speech or not? But I would like to tell him that ours is a unique country and Atalji is also a unique person. Atalji talks about the soil of this country and we all live here and we all should be aware of it. We all say something and practise

something else. Our faces do not denote our real characters. For finding reasons, we will have to go in the background and reveal the history of 90s to know the facts. In India it is a struggle between liberal and fundamentalist Hindus. I would like to say to my friends in BJP that inception of Liberal Hinduism has weakened the casteism and fundamentalism and strengthen the country. The numerology of 0 to 9 was discovered when caste system weakened during Upanishad period. Aryabhata belong to that period only. The seven sounds of Music system are also there.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Madam Chairman, he says that Aryabhata lived during Upanishad era. But Aryabhata lived in the fifth century. Upanishad era is more ancient. Kindly enlighten me on the historical facts.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Apart from the information relating to the above, mentioned era, I would also ask questions regarding our history and our caste system.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Please don't create confusion about the Aryabhata era. It has been authenticated by science and history that this era belonged to fifth century. The remaining questions can be deliberated upon later on ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, I would like to submit for the information of Joshiji that with the advent of liberalism in Indian Society, particularly in Hindu Society, the Gupta period and Maurya Period came into existence. When there is a sense of equanimity in the Hindu Society, the liberalism takes place. Once it had happened, during the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji and Saint Gyaneshwar had come into prominence. But, at that time it was also decided...*(Interruptions)*

15.00 hrs.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Madam Chairman, he may say whatever he likes regarding Indian history and Indian society, but there is a difference of hundreds of years between Shivaji Maharaj of 16th century and Saint Gyaneshwar of 7th century. It would be better if he narrows down this big gap ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : There may be some mistakes in my calculation. You may please rectify it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : There is a gap of only 900 years, in your calculation and not much.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I said, 300 years ago.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : There is a difference of thousand of years between the Upanishad era and the Aryabhata era. It appears that your knowledge about different eras has strained.

Please rectify it and do not distort the facts about eras of Indian history...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Please listen to me

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : You will get nothing if you continued to mislead the nation on the basis of era.

MR CHAIRMAN : Hon. Joshiji, will you kindly later on sometime start a class on this and today let the debate go on?

DR MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am ready for that, Madam, but please stop him from distorting the dates and the history of this country. Nobody should be allowed to change the dates. He is connecting Gyaneshwar to Shivaji and Aryabhatta to Upanishads and this is preposterous. People will be laughing that such sort of statements are made in this august House.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : It seems you do not want to pay any heed to my request and only want to divert me from that...*(Interruptions)* If there is any mistake regarding historical era, you may correct it. I have been a science student. If any correction is needed, please do it. I have no objection. I am only requesting you...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : You can say whatever you like, but do not distort historical facts...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I only want to say that whenever there was liberalism in India i.e., fanaticism in the caste system was wiped out, India progressed and it earned a prominent place in the history.

As far as the question of alliance between you and us is concerned, there may be a difference of five or two thousand years between Liberalism and fundamentalism...*(Interruptions)*

Madam, Chairman, I can understand their feelings, because I have touched their sore spot. You listen to me. I have heard all the speakers of your party. I am saying that how the gulf widened between you and us. You asked why we joined together. It is simple because it is a combination of liberal Hinduism or liberalism...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, please do not do that. He has not yielded.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your standing up every now and then will disturb the proceedings.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, when I describe this fundamentalism, in appropriate words,

my friends should not mind it...*(Interruptions)* If they mind it, than I will correct myself. The Prime Minister had aptly made a mention of fundamentalism here. He mentioned Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. This country attained independence due to the movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi who adopted liberal approach, and also due to liberalism. Therefore, several stalwarts graced this House. Among them were Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, who was Home Minister. Acharya Kriplani, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and others. But the situation today is such in the House...*(Interruptions)* In this manner, they are wasting my time. They are wasting the allotted seven hours. I should get additional time. I am not disturbed by your interruptions...*(Interruptions)*

Madam Chairman, as I said there were stalwarts in this House. I never said that we are equal to their stature. I am a humble man, born in a poor family. But, I want to say one thing that during the period of these stalwarts, discussions on poverty, hunger, unemployment, helplessness, haplessness, inner-contradictions, diseases etc. found prominent place in this very House. But now, you have brought screen stars, Sadhus and Saints...*(Interruptions)* In order to read the faces of the fundamentalists and the liberals correctly in this House, we observe the biggest gathering of the Sadhus and Saints, such as, 'Chimta Baba', 'Ghanta Baba', 'Balti Baba', during the past six years. This House has turned into a Kirtan Sadan'...*(Interruptions)* This House was constituted for the welfare of the public. It was constituted to discuss the problems of unemployment, hunger, helplessness and haplessness...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR (Faizabad) : These 'Chimta Babas', 'Shankha Babas', 'Gadha Babas', got elected to this House after three lakh Kashmiris were forced to flee Kashmir. They came here to strengthen the integrity of India and to see to it that there is equal respect for all in the country. At least, you should think and speak from this point of view...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur) : You have named all the 'babas'. But you should have also mentioned 'Mauni Baba'.

SHRI RASA SINGH RAWAT : You are making derogatory remarks against the saints. This is not good...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, now 'Bajrang Bali' has stood up. He is the Chief of Bajrang Dal...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : I have only reminded you...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, please do not disturb him. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has to speak and if necessary he will answer these points.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not do that.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, sit down, please. Sharadji, please continue and do not yield.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, I want to submit that a No-Confidence Motion was moved in this House earlier also. Similarly, another Motion has come up for discussion today. The debate is the same. The crux of the discussion is our diversity i.e. multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-living characteristic of our nation. There are inherent contradictions not only in Hinduism but in all religions. This contradiction arises from association. In our democratic set up, there is unity in diversity and diversity in unity. When did this set up start weakening. I have been seeing the Bharatiya Janata Party struggling against the Congress for the past 50 years, ever since I became mature. However, Madam Chairman, this question arose when in 1990 the court ordered that the Babri Masjid and Ram Chabootra in Ayodhya...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, I am not allowing you.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. Nothing goes on record.

*(Interruptions)**

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, in 1990 when Shri V.P. Singh was the Prime Minister, Mulayam Singh ji was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, the programme of social change was launched on 7th August 1990 as per the provisions of the Constitution and later on this change or movement could have taken place but to take advantage of that movement, the order of the Court regarding the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya and the Ram Chabutra...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is this? Why are you jumping everytime? I am not allowing you.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please, whatever is to be said your speakers will say, but please do not do that.

(Interruptions)

* Not Recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has said nothing unparliamentary.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please, your speakers are there, they will speak. You cannot do that.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You cannot interrupt somebody as you like it.

*(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, this will not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the order of the court was as per the provisions of the Constitution. The complex included Babri Mosque, Ram Chabutra, Sankat Mochan ka Mandir, Sita Rasoi and Kabristan. Not even a single brick of these structure should be replaced. The question was not related to the Mandir or the Masjid They had neither gone for the construction of temple nor had they gone to demolish the Mosque. They had gone to awake fanaticism in Hinduism of the country. If one wants to see the freedom of our country in a concrete shape, which had come after thousands years of battle, it can be seen in our constitution. Not only the Babri Masjid and the graveyard was demolished, certain structures of Hindus have also been demolished in that complex. It was demolished silently and he has clearly and silently said that the law can not bring any remedy for it. It is related to the prayer of God. They were going for the vote of confidence. All of us have assembled here because they are not ready to accept the constitution. They have left such a question...*(Interruptions)* He has said so many times in this House that God or Ram are related to the sentiments and the question of sentiments can not be solved by the constitution. Therefore, they made it an issue for election. It did not help them to win votes anywhere...*(Interruptions)* They are more in number...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : You have been reduced from 60 to 45. Has your number increased or decreased?...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Member, if you go on doing like this, I will have to name you, Please do not do that.

Shri Sharadji, your time is up. Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, please listen to me...*(Interruptions)*

* Not Recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not do like this.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am on my legs. Please sit down. You cannot do like this Shri Sharad Yadavji, please do not listen to the interruptions. Please continue your speech and conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : Madam Chairman, the discussion here has been going on continuously. Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid are very controversial questions. The discussion has been going on continuously for the last five years in this House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, it is just because of you that we could hear this otherwise they do not let us listen...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : This question comes up here time and again. Give us a chance also ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : The belief in our country ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : Madam Chairman, we had never been given a chance to speak on this issue. Please give us a chance to speak on this issue...*(Interruptions)* This is the House ...*(Interruptions)* The positive discussion has been going on here...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is this? Do you know the dignity and decorum of the House?

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : The names are given by the Whips and whoever is in the Chair goes by that.

Shri Sharadji, your time is up, kindly conclude quickly.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Madam Chairman, I could not speak. They have consumed the whole time. Such a long time has gone in interruptions. My submission to you is that this battle is between the fundamental Hinduism and liberal Hinduism. All of us, who have assembled here today believe in liberal Hinduism. The traditions of the liberal Hindus are thousands year old. This battle has not yet been decided. The motion of confidence will be passed today but this war will go on. Atal ji has rightly said that this battle is not between belief and disbelief but it has been going on for thousands of years. It will be decided for once in the country. The fundamental Hinduism will last long in our country since yesterday also

there could not be a deciding war. It must be decided. I would like to submit to the hon. Colleagues of Bhartiya Janata Party that they had mobilised all the parties to increase their number. They had taken the support of the Samta Party, and the Akali Dal to form their programme. We have also made the minimum programme but they do not have one face. When they speak here they show their liberal attitude but when they speak in Madras they show the different side of the coin...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT : They fanned casteism in Bihar...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : This battle between the fundamental Hinduism and liberal Hinduism has made it communal. The Hindus and the Muslims have been created. On behalf of the liberal Hindus, I would like to submit that this battle of number and majority between the Hindu versus Hindu and the fundamentalists, versus the liberal should reach at a concluding stage...*(Interruptions)* I would like to urge upon my friends of Bhartiya Janta Party that they should come forward with unmasked faces to face the battle.

George Fernandes was saying what he has said about this or that. The fact is that if his statement about the Janta Party is taken up then it will be clear what he has said about them. The war between the fundamental Hinduism and the liberal Hinduism has been put on the heads of the minorities. This war should be decided here.

You were summoned by the hon. President. You came here and the discussion on the motion of confidence took place. You were very well aware of the fact that you did not have the majority. It has happened for the first time in our History. The tradition was that the hon. President used to call the largest party. It was also the tradition that be it Shri Yashwant Rao Chavan, Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi or Shri Sharad Pawar...*(Interruptions)* My submission is that the parties had refused.

15.23 hrs.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

Atal ji is a very senior Member. Today there is shortage of time but I would like to submit that they should have a particular ideology. Various ideologies do not help in solving the problems of the nation. Therefore, a decision should be reached at ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude, Mr. Yadav. Otherwise, no time will be left for your Party.

[English]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : In our Government we have made a farmer's son sit here and have chalked

out a minimum programme. Whatever happened, we have been continuing the war...*(Interruptions)* If you allow to do so. You have bent upon creating fundamental Hinduism in the country and have shown disregard to the Constitution even. After all this the situation is that the war of poverty and starvation which has lagged behind, will be brought forward by us. The hon. Prime Minister has said and I also, being a responsible Member would like to submit that anyone involved in corrupt practices. We would not let any sort of corruption to be concealed and try to unearth each and every case of corruption.

With these words, I support this Government and Motion so that liberals of India may win, the fight against corruption and hunger may be more severe and you may be exposed. I want to challenge here with this Motion of Confidence.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, after May 28, this is my second opportunity to speak on the Motion of Confidence.

Democratic set up of our country has bestowed upon the people the right of contesting election against someone when the country goes to polls. Now, the Motion brought in the House, deals with the Confidence in the Coalition Government. It is a matter of great surprise that many leaders made great promises to fight against corruption, to fight against injustice, to fight for the cause of the poor, to fight to raise the standard of living of the poor and they contested election against the Congress. It is a praiseworthy step and nothing is wrong in it.

It is but natural that a party which has been ruling over this country for the last several years may incur injustice. We also stood by you in the fight against corruption.

We express our concern whenever any issue is raised regarding the security of the country.

[English]

What is sovereign in this country? This country is sovereign or else power is sovereign;

[Translation]

We have never discussed the present condition of the country in which many persons are killed and shot dead daily but none cares a fig for them. The main concern is to grab the power by hook or crook and for that purpose different parties went to the voters in the garb of different hue and colour. Now, you have thrown away that deceptive garb and proclaim that you all are one and all are secular. You were not secular when you contested the election...*(Interruptions)*

I am ready to reply any question raised by you. I have been listening to every speech with utmost peace and never interrupted your speech. Therefore,

I would like to request you to listen to us calmly and quietly...*(Interruptions)* You are saying that you have got mandate to rule. I would like to ask which mandate have you got? You all had almost similar manifesto when you went to the voters to ask for the votes but some of the parties got 10 seats, some, 15, some 20 and some 25 seats. We got 15 seats but I would like to say that we got the mandate in this change of power, because had already made an alliance with BJP, therefore, we say that our 15 Members may be counted with 160 Members of BJP. We had chalked out similar programme before elections and not after it just to grab the power. All the efforts made by you are just to come in power. Now, what about the corruption against which you had vowed to fight? Has that enthusiasm cooled down? Do you want to establish discipline in the country with the help of those who are already involved in corruption? Please tell us as to which forces, except corruption, are backing you? They have a number of scams like Bofors scam, Telephone scam and today I read that Urea scam and many other scams are attached to them as stigma. You had made promises before people at every place to fight against corruption and dethrone the Congress Party. Wherever you went, you fought against the corruption of Congress...*(Interruptions)*.. Do not mention Thackeray ji's name. If you want to mention his name, please stand up first. I shall reply you. He is not a Member of this House. If he had been a Member, then things might have been different. I am talking to you here. Thackerayji has earned respect and pride for this country. I would like to ask Antulay ji and Sharad ji if they were secular? Had they ever visited Kashmir? At present, three lakh Kashmiri Pandits are residing in Jammu. Did you enquire about their well being. They are living like refugees in their own country. Is there no humanity and secularism for them? Pakistanis and ISI agents are responsible for this plight. Bangaladeshis and Pakistanis infiltrate our country and explode bombs in Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta and at many other places. Identify them first, only then you can rule the country in a proper way.

[English]

I became very happy when Hon. Deve Gowdaji was elected leader. He is a good man. We will greet any goodman if he is elected leader of the Coalition Government because at present the country is in dire need of a goodman who can work and look after the country in a good manner. I would like to ask you what is secularism? You talk of the Constitution. I would like to state that every one in our country be it Muslim, Hindu or a person belonging to any religion.

They should be treated equally. Why should there be any difference? Why should somebody be considered as a minority? That is my question to the

entire House. All the citizens of this country are one and the same. All laws should be made applicable to all the people and there cannot be any difference ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please address the Chair.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : If they do not interrupt, I shall not come out with reply and if they do so, I shall certainly reply.

[English]

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM (Gulbarga) : Sir, I am on a point of order. Why has he talked about the oppression of the minorities? The minorities have come here to get the constitutional right and justice. We are not at the mercy of anybody. What is the meaning of this? What is meant by it?

MR. SPEAKER : This is not a point of order. Please read Rule 376 again.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Everyone should be given the right, which has been ensured by the Constitution. If they are the citizens of our country, they must get that right and we are ready to fight for their cause. But here in the name of minority, as if we have separate entity, enmity within castes is talked about. The reason behind increase in cruelty is the lust for power at any cost. You all are doing this for power only.

Here, two parties namely CPI and CPI (M) have different ideology. Once, I have been working for this party, therefore, I know...*(Interruptions)* What is this Communism...*(Interruptions)* I have for a long period worked with him. When China attacked India, I left that party. You made tall talks and here you say that we are communal. Here they claim that they are fighting against poverty. I would like to ask them as to what happened in Russia? What is cooking in Russia and China at present? You talk much about their ideology and teach us the same.

There is no need to preach metaphysical knowledge in this country. The culture of our country is a rich...*(Interruptions)*. Our country has a completely different ideology. I believe that we can attain the highest position in the world by practising it correctly and honestly. But corruption and bribery cannot be tolerated. There are people who support corrupts and there are also people who fight against corruption...*(Interruptions)* You are doing that. You are supporting them to get power. Nothing is objectionable in getting the power. There is no objection in facing elections, if held again because Public is aware of this situation as this debate is being telecast live. Not only the entire country but the whole world is looking at it and listening to our ideology.

Poverty is rampant at every nook and corner in this country. The poor has become poorer and the rich has become more rich. There is a rich person, 'Amir Bhai'...*(Interruptions)* That Amir Bhai has been caught in Hong Kong somewhere...*(Interruptions)* Who have brought brown sugar in this country? Who have brought this poison in this country? Have you looked into it? What happened to the guilty persons caught for this crime? Today in the morning, hon. Member, Jagmohanji has asked whether the guilty terrorists caught for this crime, have been arrested and punished? In fact, you cannot punish them ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

How will you control the entire nation? Where is your administration?...*(Interruptions)* You are supporting them. You do not talk like that.

[Translation]

You are the persons creating dangers in our country. Dawood is your man...*(Interruptions)* The supporter of Dawood are not outside. They are very much in this House. So there is no need to search them outside. Therefore, I would like to say that you should care for the people, poor people of this country and not for the people from outside countries. Security should be provided at places where it is needed. This situation should be improved.

[English]

We have been spending crores of rupees on the security forces to provide security to the country.

[Translation]

I would like to urge upon the new Government that if it wish...*(Interruptions)* My opinion is against it. This coalition Government cannot function for a long time...*(Interruptions)* and if it will function it does not matter. But I know one thing...*(Interruptions)* I trust them who are sitting in front of me ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI A SAMPATH (Chitrayankil) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : What is the rule number under which you are raising it?

SHRI A SAMPATH : Sir, the hon. Member has told...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It is not allowed.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Sir, during discussion it was mentioned that Hindus are liberal

Hindus are fundamentalist. At least you do admit that you are Hindu, liberalism or fundamentalism is a different thing...*(Interruptions)* I never said that Hinduism is not in this country. This country has a culture of Hindus. Muslims and other communities would not have been in this country if we were not liberal. Hinduism is already there. These problems have been created by their presence in the country. The only reason for this debate and these problems is that we are deep in liberalism. We treat the people who come from outside, as our guests and in return they take our bread, and cloth and even after that indulge in theft and explode bombs here. People of our country do not have the required quantity of food houses and clothes. Lakhs of people infiltrate into our country and it is said that they are our people. I was surprised to hear this in this august, sovereign House.

It is contrary to our Constitution that let thousands of people come into our country and we would welcome them in our country. First, the people who are not getting food in our country, should be provided with food then allow the persons from other countries...*(Interruptions)* People of our country do not have houses and live in huts. We cannot teach them for want of schools. In such a situation their plan to settle lakhs of foreigners here is unjustified as it will make the country poorer. Our country will never tolerate it.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You were entitled to 11 minutes. I have already given you 15 minutes. You may speak for four minutes more and raise one more point.

SHRI B.K. GADHAVI (Banaskantha) : I am on a point of propriety.

MR. SPEAKER : There is no rule of point of propriety.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Let us not waste time.

SHRI B.K. GADHAVI : Please listen to me. Any speech which is violative of the Constitution warrants point of propriety. Anything which is spoken in this House which is totally against the tenets of the Constitution, deserves the point of propriety and you will have to listen to me. This hon. Member is trying to create hatred between two communities and therefore, it is a violation of the Constitution. Therefore, it is a point of propriety. You will have to stop it.

[Translation]

SHRI MUDHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to raise one or two more points...*(Interruptions)* The Confidence Motion presented here...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

Then, we become communal minded people. When many Hindus had been killed in this country, not a single person including CPI and CPI(M) Member over came forward and said these Hindus had been killed.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker...*(Interruptions)* So far as the point of propriety is concerned, I would like to say that people who always imagined for property during their life, are now talking of propriety here. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we all are the children of this country and it we are not allowed to raise our voice here...*(Interruptions)* Whether it is against the interest of the country if we raise the matter of bomb explosions committed by Pakistani and Kashmiri militants here. Does it mean that we are not secular? Who is Secular then? I agree to what has been said just now by my brother about equal treatment for every religion. We believe in brotherhood too. But the concept of brotherhood should be based on the fact that injustice should be considered at par whether it is against Hindu or Muslim. But in fact, what is happening? If injustice is done against any muslim it is proclaimed that brotherhood has ended...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

Let us have a broad outlook, let us have a broad thinking, let any Government rule. At the same time, we should see that the entire country is ruled nicely. That is very much important.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : He says that people condemned only the killing of some people and not others. This is not correct. I do not think Mr. Vajpayee or any other leader supports this kind of a statement.

MR. SPEAKER : I will go through the record.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : I never understood what he said and what his objection was...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You do not have to answer that. Please come to your conclusion.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : The Confidence Motion is here. Thirteen political parties have collectively formed the Government. Among them Congress is the major party as it has its 140 Members, earlier there were 136. I accept that they may be 145. The question is that as much as they will attain power...*(Interruptions)* The more will be the scope for fraud. I would like to suggest you to exercise caution in their respect and rule the country ideal.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to make a small submission. We have seen communalism of many kinds. But we did not see communalism flowing like this. Communalism was flowing in his speech. It should not happen. It is not correct.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Madhubani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Confidence moved by the hon. Prime Minister. I support his motion because the country is, today, faced with a dangerous situation and we have to decide whether this country will remain secular or not? We listened very keenly to what our BJP and other friends said. Why are they not giving serious thought to this very fact that even the smallest party of the country is not ready to lend its support to them despite their overwhelming triumph in the elections? This is a very serious matter. I would not stop you rather I would welcome you if you try to shout me down in protest. For the information of those who say why didn't we enter into a pre-poll alignment, here I must tell you that post-poll alliances are also entered into. Shall not we extend our hand of cooperation to you in order to defend our country in the event of a foreign aggression or when the country's security is in jeopardy? Therefore, this argument is not justified. The substance of the argument is that our constitution will not remain secular and this country will disintegrate after the BJP emerges victorious. A theocratic state on the pattern of our neighbours—Pakistan and Bangladesh—will be set up here as well. It is to avert this dangerous situation that all the smaller parties despite their divergent ideologies have come under one umbrella, forgetting their differences only in the interest of the country. This is a great thing which you can't appreciate. Our friends in BJP have lost their credibility.

The hon. leader of the Opposition, Shri Vajpayee is present here. He has given an assurance in the National Integration Council to the effect that the Babari masjid will not be demolished. A similar assurance was given by the then Chief Minister, yet, the mosque was demolished. I have only to say that the whole country does not and will not believe you... (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hold Vajpayee ji in high esteem. I have also had the opportunity of working with him. They want that a national debate should again be held on 'secularism'. They may organise any number of debates on 'secularism' as they like, but one thing is decided that one who demolishes temple or mosque has not right to talk about secularism. This question has again come up for debate. It is not a question of minorities or Muslims alone but of the entire population, nationality and country's unity and

integrity. That is only why we all have united against you. If you think that some of us have come to become Ministers... (Interruptions) all right, had they come to your fold, they would have become Ministers only and not the sentinels. You claimed that you did not take recourse to suitcase politics but you went around with a bowl... (Interruptions) Otherwise you would have mustered a majority prior to meeting the hon. President. You tried to take advantage of the office of Prime Minister and entice the hon. Members with offers of office but the latter honestly declined your offers.

I wished the veteran leaders of your party to seriously contemplate over it because you are rendered untouchables by the people of the country.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT : Count your own heads. First peep into your own fallacies.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, in many countries of the world secularism has been overshadowed by creating religious fanaticism. The examples of Algeria and Turkey are before us. It is not an issue of numbers. You may succeed in flaring up the passions and dissuading a few Hindus but the country can not be run with these tactics. This was the first point of unity among us. Therefore, you are wrong in saying that it is a negative alliance. Ours is a positive alliance aimed at upholding the integrity of the country and secularism as well.

Secondly, our country is passing through a great phase of social and political transition. While speaking as the Prime Minister, Shri Vajpayee had stated that Nehru ji once said in his convocation address that ours is an age-old civilisation. That is quite true. But this civilisation of thousands of years has even witnessed some good and bad things. Along with Rama and Sita, Ravana has also taken birth here. Now, I would like to highlight the Ravana aspect. In Hinduism, 'Shudras' have been subject to inhuman atrocities for thousands of years causing a divide in Hinduism. Thanks to the national movement launched for uniting them. Thanks to our saints and sages of the past who led this country against this religious inhumanity... (Interruptions) Let me complete my speech... Little time is allotted to our party. I have much to say if more time is given to us... (Interruptions) They were called Shudras. Is there any other religion in the world in which its own people are termed as inferior and untouchables and prevented from visiting shrines? During 'Bhakti' era, our sages raised a voice against it. It is long before the Mandal movement. The new people could not make it because that was an era of autocracy. Now, there is the Parliament, the Supreme Court and the Government too is in their favour. They, for the first time, have become conscious of all this.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have seen Gandhiji's movement against untouchability. I have been

associated with the freedom struggle right from my childhood. At that time Dr. Ambedkar and we struggle to prop up and ameliorate the lot of Harijans and now Harijans are themselves making their way ahead. Do not you see this transformation taking place? Now they want to come in power. There is no question of 'care of' as applied to Jagjivan Babu and others. Now they want to share power and occupy a place of social equality. Are you blind to this transition? You are not in your senses. Let me tell you that the Mandal movement has set in motion a phase of transition in this country...*(Interruptions)*... O.K., I concede, I call Harijans as 'Dalits'. So, I must tell you that dalits are themselves making their way to progress. You should extend your support to this transition. You want to demoralise and oppress them with the slogan of Hinduism. You want to confront and ruin them. They are not a saleable commodity. This confrontation will equally affect the upper castes as they are in minority. The social justice movement is also based on caste considerations but upper casteism factor can not stop this movement. You may oppose their basic move of bringing about social equality. The country is not going to disintegrate with it. That is why we do not support you. The Deva Gowda Government is in favour of this great transition. Therefore, I support his motion.

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : How many dalits of your party have been elected to the Parliament? ...*(Interruptions)* We have the largest number of dalit Members in our party. What are you saying? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : The Congress had more dalit Members than your party in the last Lok Sabha...*(Interruptions)* You are not appreciating this point. In this confrontation, the country's dalits will emerge victorious because they form a major part of our population and this country will be ruled by majority. None of the BJP's veteran leaders said here that this 'Shaloka' of 'Manusmiriti' is wrong. I have only heard Kanshiram ji saying that casteism can't be eradicated in this country unless the dalits are uplifted. Why are you not able to utter a word about it? Some negative aspects in our scriptures need to be reformed. The country can be united and made strong by revitalising new forces. Therefore, we do not support you but instead support the hon. Prime Minister, Shri Deva Gowda.

There is a third point which need to be looked into. We have ruled the country for a long period. Ours is a federal system but there was centralisation of power whereas the Constitution provided for a federal system. Now, all the parties are running the Government. The State Governments are also run by different parties. We are not directly running a State Government but Shri Somnath is holding the reigns

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You are very much sharing it.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : We constitute only a small fraction. They are the de factorulers. The state Government has to look after all the public interests, be that education, hospitals, irrigation, road etc. but the Central Government will allocate funds. This was the confrontation in which people did not support you because you opposed the provision of Article 370 regarding Kashmir giving the State some more autonomy. This attitude of yours repulsed the regional parties running the state Governments who want more powers to be given to the States...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KARIA MUNDA (Khunti) : How many hospitals and roads did you construct? Yours was a Government of scandals. There was the urea scandal, the fodder scandal...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : They are preaching us ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. You will get the chance to reply.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : It is petty to say that discussion is focussed on Shri Deva Gowda but they say that discussion should be held on Laloo Prasad. What can we say on such a petty thing. They say that they are Hindus. Hindutva means national cultural religion. Can we try to quarrel with you if you call an ass, a horse? Use the word that is relevant ...*(Interruptions)* I will discuss with you on the point that why we consider you to be communal. Take a small question. You had discussed on foreign nationals. These include Hindus and Muslims. You come with us to Tripura. We will show you lakhs of Hindus, who come from across the border. When they speak, they speak on Muslims. What else should we call you, if not communal? You are communal of the darkest hue...*(Interruptions)*...

KUMARI UMA BHARTI (Khajuraho) : You have repatriated the Chakma people...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I tell one thing...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR : You are misleading the House. In fact, you have repatriated the Chakmas ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : You are not an Inspector. For this the Speaker is there ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You cannot get up every time like this. Please sit down. You cannot interrupt a Member like this

(interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions)*

16.00 hrs.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say one thing. Today the BJP has given a new aspect to Hindu culture, which I want to mention. In the olden days, it so happened that from Raja-Maharajas to those persons leading a family life, used to attain the life of sages and saints on being disenchanted with the world. The BJP has brought the saints to this House after getting them disenchanted with the world...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Will you please sit down? This is not proper. You are a very responsible Member. You cannot interrupt every time. Shri Chaturanan Mishra, please conclude now. Your Party has eight minutes. You have taken 15 minutes.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Sir, regarding the Uniform Civil Code...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen to me.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You do not want me to reply. I do not reply to you. You stay on like this.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Chaturanan Mishra, please conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You cannot behave like this. Please sit down. Look here. I will go through the record. If there is anything objectionable, it will not form part of the record. Shri Chaturanan Mishraji, please conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : They don't let me speak. I request you...(Interruptions) Now they will not let me speak...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Do not waste time.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : What I want to say is that they belong to such a party...(Interruptions)

* Not Recorded

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Mishra ji, come to the point, please.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : What's happening.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : When some of their party members went against them, they had to take them of Khajuraho. Then should we go to Pakistan, then? Why don't you let me speak?

The second thing I want to say is about the way they intend to use the chair and this is what happened in Gujarat. Let them fix on the Chair so that missile can not hit them.

Another thing they want is a belt also so that in old age by discarding clothes etc...(Interruptions) For that purpose they should get a belt from the Government.

MR. SPEAKER : Mishraji, please conclude your speech.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Now I want to make some submission regarding Uniform Civil Code to you...(Interruptions)

KUMARI UMA BHARTI : Mr. Speaker, sir, the hon'ble members are continuing with their provocative remarks. You tell them...(Interruptions) they should speak on their own views.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : What our sages and saints had spoken on Uniform Civil Code...(Interruptions)

[English]

I will give you only certain quotations which will be related to the Common Civil Code.

Now, I quote from the *Radhakrishnan Reader*, page 182 :

"In the Vedic age, the Aryan Hindu was called upon to give social recognition to the non-Aryan Indians, the Dravidians, the Andhras, the Pulindas..."

Again, I quote from page 176 of Yagnavalkya which says :

"Whatever the customs, law and usages, these should be observed and followed by the King."

[Translation]

In it, it has been depicted that the kings and the Government should not interfere in the Uniform Civil Code. This was the say of Yagnavalkya. Now I want to quote Brahaspathi- Brahaspati declared :

[English]

"The time-honoured institutions of each country, caste and family should be preserved intact."

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Would you like to bring Yagnavalkya and Brahaspathi in this House?

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Certainly. We should like to bring, but not under your pressure. We are certainly bringing. They too have the right to come to this House...(Interruptions)

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad) : Similarly, the sages and saints have the right to come to Parliament.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : They certainly have...(Interruptions)

During the course of debate it was raised that these people cannot fight against corruption. The Prime Minister has clearly stated that there would be no compromise with corruption. All the issues mentioned in their manifesto have been covered in the President's Address. Be it the case of Lokpal Bill, it is in our common programme. The matter of electoral reforms and other issues have also been covered in our common programme. The issue relating to withdrawal of discretionary power of the Ministers has been discussed here. They said that they would not remain in power for long and as they are not astrologers, they can not make any predictions. Anyway you had your 13th (teerhvin), we will have our 40th (chalisvan)...(Interruptions) But as long as Shri Antulay and Shri Narasimha Raoji decide not to withdraw support, we would complete five years by that time. Therefore, we are with them.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You have made your point. Conclude now, please.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : I conclude my speech with one more point at the end...(Interruptions) you do not give us time, it would have been better of you did so...(Interruptions)

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : Did you (Interruptions)* not send a dhoti to...(Interruptions)

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : (Interruptions)* started a hunger strike in your stomach...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Do not name the Member please. You can not name a person who is not here. This is not the rule.

* Not Recorded.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Since our comrade, Shri Chidambaram Saheb has become the new Finance Minister...(Interruptions) It's good, you have become happy...(Interruptions) what is the meaning of comrade?

Worldwide reforms and globalisation have been adversely affecting the poor. I have got this, 'American News Week' with me. I would like to quote from it so that the hon. Minister who is well versed in American System may keep it in mind in future. This system has been instrumental in increase in poverty.

[English]

"The populist backlash against killer capitalism is no longer confined to the United States.

The United States is hardly the only place in the world with 'killer capitalists' — and work forces antsy about job security. Nor is it the only place with a whiff of anti-establishment populism in the air. Even in Germany and Japan, the two countries most famous for cooperative relations between management and labor, the hand-writing about unemployment and 'corporate responsibility' has begun to take on an 'us versus them' tone."

This is the experience of the whole world.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : The last point...

MR. SPEAKER : What last point is left after you have made your concluding point.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : I am quoting from 'Mid-term Appraisal' of the Planning Commission which was not published by the previous Government.

[English]

"The Expert Group on Poverty Estimates however, suggested a revision in the methodology, and on the basis of the revised methodology estimated that 29.9 percent of the population, equivalent to 313 million people, were below the poverty line."

This is the result.

[Translation]

Our Government should pay attention towards the upliftment of the poor, living below the poverty line and prepare Budget accordingly. I hope, Shri Deve Gowda will make statement to this effect. My party's support in this regard, will be with him.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now, Shri Rajesh Pilot.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Dausa) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Motion. As all my colleagues have said, it is true that the congress party ...*(Interruption)*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is this sequence?

[English]

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Sir, what is the sequence?

MR. SPEAKER : I am going exactly according to the strength of the different parties

SHRI RAM NAIK : Sir, only one speaker from the BJP has spoken.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : How can the Congress speaker come when only one speaker from the BJP has spoken? The second round, we must start ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am asking Shiv Sena Members to speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : No, Sir, you have allowed this man. You should not deduct our Party's time. Their second round comes after us.

MR. SPEAKER : I will certainly give you a chance after this.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : My name comes after the second speaker of Congress.

[English]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Sir, I can speak later on if the BJP is so keen to speak.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : I am not personally objecting to your speaking. There must be some kind of a rule.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Sir, do I speak?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, please.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak in support of this Motion. My colleagues have been expressing their views since morning and almost every speaker has said that this time, people have not given a clear verdict in favour of any particular party to form the Government. It is not only my opinion, but also the opinion of the people in the whole country. There is no justification in the point raised by the Members belonging to BJP that the Congress party has been left behind with

142 seats and BJP has obtained clear verdict of the people to form the Government with 160 Seats. They should be aware of the fact that their party was actually leading in only 142 Seats and 18 Seats came to their lap due to loud proclamations made by the press people BJP is coming to power. Even in such a situation, the Congress has managed to get 28 percent votes, which perhaps, your party has not been able to get. So far as the percentage of votes is concerned, the congress has got more percentage of votes but so far as the number of seats is concerned, your party has certainly bagged more seats. However, you have presented a different picture before the House.

The second point raised was as to why did we support them? While moving the Motion, Atalji spoke frankly but under compulsion. While replying to the Motion, he spoke by heart and gave free vent to his grudge. At that time he was not under compulsion. He has said that he would express his inner feelings openly and we listened to his speech attentively. A question is being asked in the whole country as to why the Congress did not support the BJP? When the Congress party had its meeting after elections, a question was raised as to which party should get its support. Today, I am saying it with open heart and in simple language that we do not want that the BJP should be treated as an untouchable party in the country. Ours is a democratic country. We appreciate that to the BJP has emerged as the largest party by bagging 160 seats. But, as Shri Mishra has said in his speech, the question is why the things have taken such turn?

KUMARI UMA BHARTI : Please address the Chair.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Sometimes, I yearn for a glimpse of your face.

Sir, Our colleagues must think as to what led the things to take such a turn. It is true that we have been Opposing our friends now now in treasury benches. At present, Shri Deve Gowda is the Prime Minister but we have been opposing his party in Karnataka. Our party has been contesting elections in Bihar against Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav's party. Similarly, our party has been contesting against CPI (M) in West Bengal. The reason behind it is that today, the unity and integrity of the country is in danger. A question is being asked if our country can remain united or not? I would like to ask my colleagues as to which direction our country is heading to. Unfortunately, our country is going in the wrong direction. When Dr. Ambedkar had framed the constitution, it was mentioned in the Preamble that the country will be a "sovereign, Socialist, Secular and democratic republic" ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to inform the hon. Member that it was not written by Ambedkarji. Do not drag his name ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHAGWAN SHANKAR RAWAT (Agra) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member is misleading the House. What he has just quoted from the constitution, was not written by Baba Sahab Ambedkar. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : I want to say that the country, which is known for its secular credentials in the world over, is discussing secularism in its Parliament. It is a matter of great shame for the country. India, which takes pride in calling itself a secular nation, is today discussing secularism in its Parliament.

Sir, I still remember the speech of late Pandit Nehru. He had visited a Muslim Country. The President of that country asked him if he remembered any incident which had taken place in the recent past, in which atrocities had been committed on the Muslims of his country. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had replied to the President that the total population of Muslims in his entire country was not more than the population of Muslims in one state of India. Therefore, India protected the interest of Muslims more than his country. This was the reply of our late Prime Minister. This shows how much regard the world had for our late Prime Minister and our country. But today, which direction our country is heading to? People used to touch Pandit Nehru because he was the Prime Minister of such a country where people of different religions lived and spoke different languages. Our country commands good respect in the world but today the need of the hour is to see that in which direction our country is heading to?

I would like to ask Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee—he is like my elder brother—as to where our country is heading to? I do not consider him as my 'Guru' because there are people who consider him their 'Guru' but do not stand by him at the time of need. Therefore, one should be straight forward.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that we had seriously pondered over the Motion of Confidence moved by him as well as his speech and we fell in our hearts, as to why were we committing this mistake. I know, that those people who have joined that party today, belonged to our party earlier. Shri Banwari Lal Purohit had been in our party for 10 years and now he has joined that party. It has been observed that those people who belonged to our party earlier, start speaking like the forum of Communalism soon after joining them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not making gestures towards anyone but I would like to tell that they should, at least, think that when we were in majority, they had only two Members in this House. In 1989, a Rath Yatra was organised. It was given wide publicity and as a result, their strength rose to 86 ...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question is not of 1989-90. As I had said in the beginning, there is a difference between both the parties. There can be a flaw in our policy, but our intentions are bona-fide. They neither have bona-fide intentions, nor any proper policy. I beg pardon of Atal ji that unless the intentions are clear how so ever good the policy may be, the implementation cannot be fair. Once you make your intentions clear, the things will automatically be decided. I will be speaking on the scam also. After bagging, Jhansi Lok Sabha seat, they became optimistic of getting more seats. Consequently, the issues of Ayodhya, Kashi and Mathura were raised and they managed to win 119 seats. With this increase in their strength, they thought that there was no good issue than that. There was no mention of development. Shri Chandra Shekhar had rightly stated in this House on the other day that the issues related to the Parliament have not been discussed for the last three years. The whole time of the House is being wasted on other issues Mandir, Masjid and secularism. He had rightly expressed his feeling that we have not been able to discuss anything regarding development.

Atal ji has been elected from Lucknow. Around 29 percent people in his constituency live in Kachcha house. In my Constituency the percentage of such people is even more. Today, about 39-40 percent people live below the poverty line...*(Interruptions)* But they did not bother about it. With their morale sky high, they banked upon this slogan to reach the figure of 260. In order to give a new turn to the situation, the BJP announced the name of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as the Prime Minister. There are very few parties in a democracy, which announce the names of their Prime Minister before hand. There was a deft move behind it i.e. the face was of Atal ji and the agenda was of Advaniji. People soon understood their tricks. I beg pardon of Atal ji. After his nomination as the Prime Minister, Atalji made his first statement at Firozabad. I stand for correction if I had read it incorrect. He had said that if he becomes the Prime Minister, the temple construction will be restarted soon. Firozabad is a city U.P. There he stressed on the issues of Article 370-which they have been raising for the last 10 years-and the Uniform Civil Code. But, as a Prime Minister of the country, he stated that there was no hurry in undertaking construction of the temple and Article 370 is a secondary issue. During his visit to Kashmir, his party had maintained just the same line. Their outbursts over Article 370 have caused a heavy loss in Kashmir. Today a number of my colleagues from J and K were talking about the situation in Kashmir. I wanted to rise in between, to say that irrespective of Hindus, or Muslims of Kashmir, the Government made all efforts to safeguard them and extend full help to them. Following the traditions we helped them by visiting migrants camps. Do not get pricked. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI : Has any of the Prime Minister of your Government visited Kashmir?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not like to drag this issue. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is present here. Shri Advani is not here. The way they went to Kashmir was unprecedented. I was a Minister in the Home Ministry. They insisted that they would unfurl the national flag...*(Interruptions)* Shri Murli Manohar Joshi is present here. I had committed a mistake then.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Despite your all out efforts, I reached there.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : When the issue of the visit came up...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Pilotji, kindly conclude.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Just five minutes more please, Sir...*(Interruptions)* I am within my time limit. Sir, my party has a time in the register. It is the time of my party.

MR. SPEAKER : I have to accommodate all the Members in the list. You have only fifteen minutes.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : The way Shri Murli Manohar Joshi reached, Jammu and the way the national flag was unfurled might have surprised even Joshiji.

The nation cannot be strong merely by unfurling the flag. He had said the same thing in Bangalore. I beg pardon of Shri Deve Gowda, who insisted that they would unfurl the tricolour at Idgah in Karnataka. The country cannot be strong by unfurling the flag at Idgaha. The national flag of India is fluttering on our borders, where our brave soldiers are staking their lives for the security of the nation. The national flag is required to be unfurled on borders. There is no need at all of unfurling the flag at Idgah...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mishraji has spoken clearly on this point I would not like to repeat what he has already stated but the fact is that the words by which the nation has been deceived and the words which made this nation strong, our Chief Minister had remarked-

[English]

"Pending a final solution, the Government of Uttar Pradesh will hold itself fully responsible for the full protection of Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid Structure. Also as per the order of the Court, in regard to the Land Acquisition, the procedure would be fully implemented".

[Translation]

Not only this, an assurance was also given in the Supreme Court, and in the NIC meeting. When I was speaking on 4th December, Advani ji and Atal ji were present there. I had returned from Lucknow where I had heard the slogan being raised from a rickshaw-

*Ek Dhakka Aur Do,
Masjid Ko Tod Do.*

I was then the Minister of Communications and was speaking from that side.

Shri Shivraj Patil the then Speaker, had said that being the Minister, I did not have a right to speak. I had then requested the hon. Speaker to let me express my feelings as I was disturbed over the incident. I had requested both of my colleagues to give an assurance before the House that they will not let the incident repeat. No one among them had stood up because their intentions were malafide. Today I would like to urge upon my brothers that had their intentions been bonafide the country could not have followed this path and poverty had been the topic of discussion before the House. However, it was not so. I would like to urge upon Atal ji...*(Interruptions)* Atal ji you are a senior Member and today, we feel that if you take an initiative the other brothers of Bhartiya Janata Party can follow you. I feel Atal ji's heart yearns for something but he has his compulsions. I used to speak to him occasionally. He has something in his mind but he has no support. Shri Jaswant Singh and Atal ji should jointly invite Shri Manohar Joshi and Advani ji for a breakfast and call upon them to change their hearts. It is imperative for the welfare of nation. There is a need bring such a secularism which is liked by the country, by us and by the Bhartiya Janta Party...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : He has spoken against Advani ji, who is not present here. It is not proper...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI UMA BHARTI : He has mentioned the name of Advani ji several times....*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No need, you will only have to conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have two points...*(Interruptions)*

I urge upon not to differentiate between the policy and the intention...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : Mr. Speaker, Sir, if such personal allegations are levelled then everyone will repeat the same. Please ask him to withdraw ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI GUMAN MAL LODHA (Pall) : When the Supreme Court gave its verdict then what was your policy or the intentions...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : I am not saying that all of our policies were right...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please let him conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please let him conclude. I will go through it.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : My colleagues were saying what my Government was doing ...*(Interruptions)* We are sitting here because it was our Government. Else, we would have been sitting there...*(Interruptions)* I will not speak about BJP ...*(Interruptions)* I have to say a few things to our hon'ble Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Allow the hon. Member to conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : The Prime Minister understands the circumstances which brought us together...*(Interruptions)* I will request the hon. Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)* now, I am speaking in your favour. Shri Jaswant Singh ji spoke about nuclear treaty in the morning. It is true that the way in which the super powers are increasing pressure on our country or trying to shake our faith in the policy of disarmament. Bhai Gujralji is also sitting here. His views are very right. In this regard, I would like to add that the Parliament should send an unanimous message that our policy will remain unchanged. We believe in disarmament and we would continuously strive for it. I welcome that decision also and I am of the opinion that we should do this. Now, is it alright?

I would like to say few things to the Prime Minister. Firstly, Mr. Prime Minister, the discussion regarding the reorganisation of the states, have been going on for long. After 10 years we felt it should be analysed in depth. There were the problems of Jharkhand and Bodoland. With immense labour we managed to solve them. Similarly, talks were held regarding Uttrakhand. You should take initiative in the direction of starting a debate regarding the reorganisation of states.

Thirdly, your joint programme...*(Interruptions)* Vidarbha, Uttrakhand and Bodoland issues are also involved. But the second thing is that when you were the member of Parliament, you had made a speech on the farmers. The only request that I will make to you is that you should implement fully what you had mentioned in that speech of yours. I demand nothing else from you. That day you were speaking from the back bench and members paid less attention to it. But I was attentive. I heard your full speech. You spoke on the subject for about 40-45 minutes. India can only progress if the rural areas prosper. I have also studied your Joint Programme. It reflects your concept of rural development. But some problems of the farmers viz according agriculture the status of industry, and the progress of farmers, have not been explicitly mentioned therein. On behalf of our party and the House I would request you to express it explicitly.

Lastly, I would like to touch the urea issue. Our party remained in power for five years, under the leadership of Shri Narasimha Rao. It is my explicit request to you do not take it otherwise - I am being forth right, that for all our shortcomings, where ever it has been, we are ready to face the Parliament. The urea issue was mentioned. You said any one found guilty in the scandal would be punished. However, the Enron issue was also mentioned.

When I was the Minister of Environment and Forests, the file relating the Enron was submitted to me for clearance. I personally recorded a note on the file to the effect that the file would be cleared by the new Government. But within six days, environmental clearance was given. It should be mentioned in the white paper that anyone found guilty in the Enron case would be punished. Today Shri Narasimha Rao is not present in the House. But, it has been his consistent principle that no one is above the law, no matter how big he is or how high his post is. He always said this, while in power. Thus, anyone found guilty should be punished.

The entire House is with you. We have no differences with you regarding the fight against corruption. Just as we are with you to protect secularism, we are also with you in the fight against corruption. In this context there is no difference between us.

With these words, I support this motion and I wish success to Deve Gowdaji. I also wish that God grant him strength and courage, so that he succeeds in this mission.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ (South Delhi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion today on the confidence motion began with the very brief speech of the Prime Minister. Then it was carried forward by the pointed arguments put forth by my senior colleague,

Shri Jaswant Singh and after touching upon various dimensions, comes my turn. I rise to oppose the confidence motion.

Each Speaker began the discussion by interpreting the mandate. Contradictory interpretations have been put forth, regarding the mandate. The ruling party viewed the mandate in favour of the coalition Government. It was asked by me whether this mandate was for a coalition, with the Congress? This question is yet to be replied. I expect the Prime Minister to begin his reply tomorrow with the question, whether the mandate was for a coalition with the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you may accept any view on the interpretation of the mandate. Hitherto, there used to be a single party Government in this House, the Opposition used to be divided. But today, the Government is divided and there is a united Opposition. Does not this fact itself reveals openly the violation of the mandate? But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not the first time in history that the deserving candidate has been prevented from coming to power. The same this happened to Lord Ram in the Treta age. Immediately before coronation he was exiled. Similar was the case with Yudhisthar in the Dwapar age. He was denied his rightful inheritance and exiled by the machinations of the wily Shakuni. If Manthra and Shakuni singly could keep Ram and Yudhisthar away from their rightful inheritance, how could we remain in power when there are numerous Shakunis and Manthras...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER . Don't make your speech so interesting.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Perhaps it is the fate of Ram Rajya and 'Suraj' that it is attained only after a great upheaval. Therefore, with full confidence I want to say that on the afternoon of 28th when my respected leader, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, announced his resignation from the Prime Minister's post in this House, the way was cleared on that day for Ram Rajya in India. The foundation was laid on that day for Swaraj.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on hearing about his resignation, in the live telecast of the Proceedings of the House, the voters of India cried out in sorrow. It was unjust, it was unjust. But the perpetrator of injustice never accepts that he is doing injustice. Such perpetrators try to pretend to be the greatest upholder of justice by advancing their vested interest under the garb, politics of principle. This is what has happened in this House

16.39 hrs.

(Shri Nitish Kumar in the Chair)

Posing as secular and branding us as communal all of them have united. On that day, my leader had said a national debate should take place on secularism Vs communalism. We want a national debate on the type of secularism visualised by our constitution makers and the way it was fostered by the rulers of this nation. We are communal. Yes, we are. Because we advocate the singing of "Vande Matram". We are communal because we fight for the honour of the national flag. Yes, we are communal, because we demand the abrogation of Article 370. Yes, we are communal, because we are against Cow slaughter ...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Chairman, Sir, yes, we are communal, as we talk of Uniform Civil Code. We are communal, since we feel the pains of Kashmiri migrants...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Chairman, Sir, they are secular. These people who massacred three thousand Sikhs in the streets of Delhi...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Chairman, Sir, you are witness...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI BHAGWATI DEVI (Gaya) : Am I not Hindu, I was prevented from entering the temple ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : For the sake of information let me remind that Bhartiya Janata Party had the Shilanyas of the 'Ram Mandir' done by a Harijan woman...*(Interruptions)* I was saying that these Congressmen are secular. The Congressmen responsible for the massacre of three thousand Sikhs in Delhi are secular. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you are aware of what happened in Bihar. By forgoing an alliance of Muslims and Yadavs...*(Interruptions)* The Janata Dal is secular. To consolidate their vote bank ...*(Interruptions)* I am sitting. You let them speak ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not know how many Speakers are functioning in the House. I was only requesting you that when a member is speaking in the House, then other members, at least people like us should be allowed to hear his/her views. I do not know why they are speaking in anger. I saw some very angry members...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Chairman, Sir, what I am saying is that Sushmaji is speaking. Her views should be heard and those who want to reply, should do so. My submission was that this is not the proper forum to discuss Shri Ram. We are in the House. You should understand its importance...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Sushmaji is speaking. Only her speech will go on record. Nothing else will go on record. Those speaking without permission will not go on record.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Thanks a lot. If this wisdom shown by you is understood by the entire House, then I would be able to speak with satisfaction.

I was saying...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Speak when your turn comes. This will not be allowed.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your turn will come after her. Sit down. Do not waste the time of the House. She has the right to express her views...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, if any member in the House has objection on using the word Harijan...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Alright. There is objection to the use of the word Harijan. Alright, write Dalit instead of Harijan.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Alright. If any hon'ble Member in the House has objection on a particular word, I have no objection in substituting that with another word. Those recording the proceedings kindly write word Dalit in place of Harijan...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not conduct the proceedings of the House yourself. Listen to her.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, are the Members of the Samajwadi Party secular who is order to keep their vote bank intact, ordered the forces to gun down innocent Ram-bhaktas? Are these Communists who are responsible for the expulsion of the Chakma refugees, and for supporting those who favour the settlement of the infiltrators, secular? Fact is that, we do not feel guilty of being Hindus. Therefore we are communal. As long as you do not feel guilty of being Hindu in this country, you will not be called secular by these so called intellectuals...(Interruptions) Mr. Chairman, our definition of being secular is that a Muslim should be a good Muslim, a Hindu should be a good Hindu, a Sikh should be a good Sikh and a Christian should be a good Christian. And all should follow their religion and respect others' religion. This is our definition...(Interruptions) For them (Members) secularism means abusing Hindus. You cannot be secular unless you subscribe to their views...(Interruptions) I want to say that this definition of secularism is not acceptable to us. Mr. Chairman, Sir, previously question mark was put on Hindutva also. People used to ask its meaning Mr. Chairman, Sir, during the previous discussion on the confidence motion, there were tears in my eyes when question mark was put on the word *Bharatiya* itself...(Interruptions) Hitherto, it was said that one can talk of Indian Nationalities. But doubts were raised in this very House, during discussion I have every respect for Shri Murasoli Maranji. He said "We are different, you are different" You are talking of which

culture? What are Bharat, Bharatiya and Bharatiya? I felt, perhaps someone among them will speak. There was a hope certainly in Shri Chandra Shekharji I don't know why, like the meeting of the Kauravas, you also kept mum like Bhishma Pitamah...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, she is not yielding. Every now and then you get up and start speaking. What is this? Please take your seat.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, with great respect, I would like to tell my colleague Mr. Murasoli Maran that there is no need to ask the meaning of Bharatiya, any where. The meaning of Bharatiya is that from Bhangra to Bharatnatyam all are the dances of India only. The meaning of Bhartiya is that various foods from rajmachawal of Jammu and Makki Ki roti of Punjab, to idlidosa of South are the foods of India. Bhartiya means that all places of pilgrimage right from Amarnath to Rameshwaram are all places of pilgrimage of India. Now you ask the meaning of culture.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY (SHRI MURASOLI MARAN) : Potatoes and tomatoes are not Indian, they originated from America. Your originality comes from America.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : The meaning of culture is that a devotee of Shiva carries holy water from Amarnath to worship at Rameshwaram. This has been possible due to one culture. Mr. N.C. Chatterjee of Bengal names his son Somnath which is all due to one culture...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Now she has made me the target.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : This is called culture and I need not consult any dictionary to locate its meaning. Our House is its appropriate example. It is very clear that all these parties have not come together in the name of communalism. They are using this as a cover. The fear of exposure of their crimes has brought them together. This commonness is the commonness of fodder scam and Hawala scandal...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I am on a point of order...(Interruptions) I am sure...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Somnathji is on a point of order. Please listen to him.

SHRI 'SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : My command over Hindi is not so good. I could not follow. I am sorry. I do not know 'Soudhabazi' is referred to whom? What does it mean?...*(Interruptions)* You kindly tell us about whom you are referring to 'Soudhabazi'.
(Interruptions) Who are indulging in 'Soudhabazi'?

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : The persons, whom I referred to have got my point. Those who have still missed my point are novices. I had made a mention about fodder scam and Hawala scam...*(Interruptions)*

Somnath ji when I indicated about the partnership of those involved in fodder scam and Hawala scam. You should have understood it. I could not believe my eyes when I saw that not a single word has been mentioned about pending cases of corruptions in their common minimum programme. It was not a lapse. After all their leaders sat together, discussed at length all points but the issues pertaining to Bofors, St. Kitts, J.M.M., Sugar scandal, PSU disinvestment scam are missing altogether. The issues on which they contested election are missing. The people who are describing Shri Narsimha Rao as epitome of corruption have not mentioned even a single word about it in their programme. In respect of Urea scam the Prime Minister say that.

[English]

Law will take its own course.

[Translation]

Nobody will be spared. But striking your fist against the desk will not lend credence to what you say. The point is that what is the action being taken in this regard. Some officers have been arrested in Urea scam but the relatives of both of them have not been arrested till now. They have been served with five days' notice. But why? I, therefore, submit that this partnership is not based on communalism, instead it is based on the principles of pardoning one another.

Shri Ram Vilas Paswan says that this Government will complete its full term of 5 years...*(Interruptions)* The leader of our party did not say anything in this regard. The first statement in this regard came from Shri Biju Patnaik.

[English]

Biju Patnaikji said that this Government will not last.

[Translation]

To which party does he belong to. He does not belong to BJP. Then there was a statement from Shri Achariaji.

[English]

Basudeb Achariaji said this Government will not last for six months.

[Translation]

He is also not from the BJP. Shri Narsimha Rao is reported to have said...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have named Achariaji. He is on his legs.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Sir, she has stated that I have said that this Government would not last more than six months. I was surprised to see such a statement made by me because I have not met any reporter and I have not made statement. I have issued a denial statement on 5th of June. So, she should not have referred to my name that I have made such a statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have clarified your position. Now please sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : How can she refer my name when I have denied this?

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right, you stand corrected.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : If he denies it its all right, I need not correct it because when the first statement was given I made a mention about it but he denied it. All these things will go on record. Shri Narasimha Rao is reported to have said that there may be elections between 6 months and one year's period. This statement was not given by the BJP I would like to ask as to what is common between Shri N.D. Tiwari and Mulayam Singh Yadav? Similarly, what is common between Biju Patnaik and J.B. Patnaik. What is common between Ramlakhan Singh Yadav and Laloo Yadav except fodder scam and fertilizer scam? What is common between Mamata Banerjee and Somnath Chatterjee? Why N.D. Tiwari is sitting beside Mulayam Yadav, who is responsible for dishonouring women of Uttrakhand? Why Karunanidhi accepted Shri Deve Gowda as his leader, ignoring the interests of Tamilnadu? How Mamataji is voting on the lines of Shri Somnath ji, ignoring the pain of her wounds?

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will give my version of things whenever, I am given a chance...

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is all right. Mamata ji, you need not give a notice in advance to speak. Let her speak first. When the turn of your party comes, you may speak

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am mentioning all these names because I want to submit that even today that day is fresh in my memory and I can recollect that scene vividly. I was witnessing the voting against Narasimha Rao Government in this House from the Rajya Sabha gallery. At that time Mamata Ji was wheeled in as she was wounded and was shivering with fever. Two other women MPs helped her to cover her body with a red blanket. At that time I was cursing the violent ways of communists. I know that she is an outspoken person but we do respect her right to oppose anything. We do not attack her in order to gag her voice. I, therefore, wish to ask Mamataji, is she going to vote alongwith the CPM in this House and oppose them in West Bengal, what sort of commonness it is? What sort of coalition it is which is full of contradictions(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Sushmaji, how much time will you take?

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Sir, still there is a lot of time left from the time allotted to our party. I will spare a lot of time for Atalji. You may adjust the time lost during interruptions. So far as contradictions are concerned, it is quite visible not only in their personalities but also in their programmes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please, conclude your speech within the time limit fixed for your party.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Members of every party took double the time of what was allotted to them. Still there is lot of time left of what was allotted to my party. Why these people are getting impatient. I am not saying anything wrong or something not based on facts. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was saying that there is contradiction not only among their leaders but also in their programmes. I have gone through their minimum common programme.

17.00 hrs.

First, I thought that I have not read it correctly. Then, I once again read it thoroughly. Well done, my Communist colleagues, you have completed the journey from Lenin to Yeltsin within a week.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Why are you concerned about us, better you think for your own party.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I can well understand the constraints of a coalition, there are certain constraints. On certain issues one has to compromise and some issues are common. But nobody had imagined that they would altogether change from their earlier stand. Mr. Chairman, Sir, it says that privatisation will be done in the field of insurance and it will be thrown open to the foreign companies. I was surprised to see this as I could remember the things happened one year ago. Where is Shri Chaturanan Mishra?

AN HON. MEMBER : He is present in the House.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you, I want to submit that I was Chairman of Committee on Petitions in Rajya Sabha. A petition was presented before the Committee, which said that the recommendation of Malhotra Committee in respect of privatising LIC and GIC should not be implemented. A petition is required to be countersigned by an M.P. It is a coincidence that Shri Chaturanan Mishra like me has come from Rajya Sabha to Lok Sabha and probably he is going to be a Minister in a day or two. I would like to surprise you by saying that the petition was signed by none other than Mishraji. I was told that if this report is implemented then the petition would become infructuous. Therefore at least interim direction to the effect that this report should not be implemented, should be given to the Government. Being the Chairman of the Committee on Petitions, I had given a direction to this effect to the Government that till the report of this Committee is submitted, the recommendations of Malhotra Committee should not be implemented and it was also promised that the reports of the committee would be presented as soon as possible. The Committee on Petitions summoned representatives of all political parties before giving report on the petition. All party representatives came before the committee.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMAD : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SMT. SUSHMA SWARAJ : I am quoting from the report presented in the House.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMAD : It is not proper. She was the Chairperson of that Committee...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : I am referring to the 102nd Report of the Committee on Petitions ... (Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMAD : Sir, the hon. lady Member was not referring to that Report. What the hon. lady Member was referring to is whether an hon. Member has signed it or not, which, according to me, is improper...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : It is in the Report ... (Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMAD : You can very well refer to the Report but you will never refer to the point whether a Member has signed it or not...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point in your point of order. Please take your seat.

[Translation]

SMT. SUSHMA SWARAJ : I have submitted that I had called representatives of different political parties. The report says:

[English]

"The Committee heard the views of different political parties on this issue."
...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : She is speaking within her party time.

[Translation]

SMT. SUSHMA SWARAJ : I am not misquoting anything.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Her party has enough time at its disposal.

[English]

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : Sir, what is your ruling on his point of order?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Kalmadi, I have overruled it. Please take your seat.

SHRI E. AHAMAD : She is referring to the conduct of a member of that Committee
...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SMT. SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am quoting every word from the report. I said that the committee had invited different political parties. The report says :

[English]

"The Committee also heard the views of different political parties on this issue."

[Translation]

What has been said and by whom I am quoting that from the report. I am referring to 102nd report, which I have already laid on the Table of the House. It is a public document now and every citizen of India can go through it. You can also go through it. I am referring from that report. I had invited all political parties. Mr. Chairman, Sir, before that Committee...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nobody can refer to what was discussed in the meeting of committee but one can quote from the report laid in the House. You are all experienced members and it is just wasting of time. If she is referring to a report, already laid in the House then I cannot stop her.

[English]

AN HON MEMBER : (Interruptions) She is referring to a Report of Rajya Sabha. She is going beyond that...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SMT. SUSHMA SWARAJ : I am not going to read each and every word of the report. The representatives of Congress, BJP, CPI, CPIM, Janta Dal, Samajwadi Party and J.D. of Chandrashekhar Ji came before the Committee.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already given the ruling. You are not even listening to me.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK : I have a point of order. You have given your ruling twice. Your decision in this regard is final. Even then he is making interruptions, which is not good.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You should also not interrupt, please sit down. they are still interrupting. I have overruled it. Now, you please continue.

SMT. SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, all these representatives came before the Committee. They put forth their view points. Only Shri Ramchandra Jichkar of the Congress Party supported the view point that it should be opened for privatisation and all other parties opposed it. Now I further quote :

[English]

"Shri Saroj Chowdhry, representative from CPI (M) - Somnathji, from your Party - and Shri Y.D. Sharma, representative from CPI in a joint evidence before the Committee stated that the insurance market elsewhere in the developed countries were expensive. The companies coming from there, would make enormous profit once they were here, and the various social security schemes presently available here would be ignored."

"Their Contention was that, the private companies would initially introduce most lucrative schemes and after they had established themselves, they would be able to monopolise the industry. This, they feared, would give rise to unhealthy competition, since the existing companies may not be able to stand in competition to those multinational giants. They said that the insurance sector here should not be privatised."

[Translation]

We have in nut shell This was the view point of CPI and CPIM Shri Raghu Thakur represented the party of Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav.

[English]

"Shri Raghu Thakur, representing the Samajwadi Party was of the view that organisation like GIC, a profit making organisation should not be privatised. Profit should not be the sole motto in a service sector. Many a times organisations in service sectors underwent loss but in such events the solution was to identify the cause for such loss and rectify it and not to privatise.

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the premier faction of United Front is Janta Dal which is running the Government . . . (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Would you like to react to it. You are a Minister. If there is anything objectionable or anything against the rule then let me know. She is referring to a document which has already been presented in the House. She is just quoting from the same report. What can I do. She is free to quote anything. If there is any rule under which she cannot quote from it then. Let me know, I will stop her.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Sir, I want the Prime Minister's attention please. I am talking about your party.

[English]

Hon. Prime Minister, I would like to draw your attention please. Now I am quoting from Janta Dal representative.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Sushmaji, one minute please.

SHRI B.K. GADHVI : Please refer to rule 354, one can not refer to the happenings in the council of States.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : What is about the council of States. This is a report of committee on Petitions.

SHRI B.K. GADHVI : Council means, she is referring to proceedings of Rajya Sabha, which she cannot do without prior permission.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not relevant. This is a report.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Now I quote the representative of the Janata Dal which is the premier constituent of the United Front and the Prime Minister belongs to this party.

[English]

And no less a person than Shri Madhu Dandavate came before the Committee. This is his evidence :

"Shri Madhu Dandavate representing Janata Dal mentioned that it was the experience

world over that in sectors where social obligations were to be met, privatisation had not achieved the purpose. When one thought of public sector, the need to met social obligations was paramount and one such sector was the insurance sector. He stressed, I repeat, that sectors which had social obligations and had to look into the development aspect should be retained in public sector. GIC, according to him, was one such sector, and so any move to privatise it, should be voiced against, across the board by people in all walks of life."

[Translation]

Here I would like to repeat myself within the hearing of the Prime Minister, Som Nathji and Chaturanan Mishraji... (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What is the policy of your party?

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : The policy of our party is to open this sector for the Indians and not for the foreigners. But what is your policy?

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You should be happy with this. Why are you concerned?

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : What a turn-around you have taken in the blind pursuit for power... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You should be happy with this programme.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : I want to repeat this sentence and reiterate:

[English]

He also said,

"GIC, according to him, was one such Sector, and so any move to privatise it, should be voiced against, across the board by people in all walks of life."

[Translation]

I am reading out this sentence only to bring out how one can make a complete somersault in the blind pursuit of power. They have abandoned the policies followed by them in politics for fifty years just to sit with the Congress and the Janata Dal in the pursuit of power and as a part of their anti-BJP stance... (Interruptions)

That is why I am telling you that although you can depart from your policies in the House yet when you revert back to your electorates, your party workers will not let you renounce these respective policies and this contradiction will cause the downfall of your Government.

Ram Vilasji and Sharad Yadavji were saying just now that this Government will continue as Narasimha Rao has reiterated his support to it today. But Narasimharao ji is sitting here maintaining his usual silence and playing the same role, while Sharad Pawarji is not playing the role of Sharad Pawar ...*(Interruptions)**.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : It will not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : I have said nothing wrong.

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : What is objectionable in this?

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : You are right. Respectable Chandra Shekharji, thank you very much ...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You conclude now.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : That has been expunged, please sit down.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : I am concluding and would like to tell my colleague Sharad Yadavji that this experiment is not new. His mentor Raj Narainji having already had a taste of it when the Congress withdrew its support within 20 days of having extended it to them. One of our respectable leaders Shri Chandra Shekhar is sitting here from whose Government the Congress support was withdrawn within four months. Then what forms the basis of your trust in them, after all there has to be some basis of this trust. Have you learnt nothing from history...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The country should know the level of the debate.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : What should I speak of the Congress, I would like to remind brother Sharad Yadavji of the history of the Socialists. Just now Sharad Yadavji was talking of Dr. Lohia but Socialists should not lose sight of Dr. Lohia's twin dictum regarding the making and unmaking of a

* Not Recorded.

Government. Dr. Lohia had said, 'Vally with even the devil to defeat the Congress.' Second thing he said has, 'either make amends or disperse yourselves'. Contrary to this, you are advocating alliance with the devil by substituting the BJP for the Congress in the frame. It is, however, a matter of few days only when the dictum 'either make amends or disperse yourselves' will come true. And why not so with all that goes with a ministerial portfolio worth Rs. 65 lakhs and a bundle containing just Rs. 3 lakhs. Then why should not he speak? Definitely it is just a matter of days only when the dictum will start operating on them. Before concluding I would, therefore, like to say one thing regarding their repeated assertions that their Government will run full five years.

[English]

This political orchestra will disperse even before the show begins. They are so singing their own tunes.

[Translation]

The artistes of this orchestra, which has come here to sing a chorus here, are so used to striking their sparate notes that it will inevitably disperse even before the song starts. But as long as it lasts. God may come to the country's rescue. With this prayer I oppose this Motion of Confidence.

SHRI KANSHI RAM (Hoshiarpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion of Confidence for various reasons. Firstly, we have just contested elections against many of the constituents of the United Front during the course of which we have spoken many a thing against one another. This acrimony has outlasted the elections.

The second reason why I am opposing it is that earlier a number of Members have said that this United Front is formed by various constituents, each constituent having its own distinct style. It is my firm belief that this United Front is incapable of curbing hooliganism in the country. Some of us have already been prey to the goondaism perpetrated by some of its constituents.

Mayawati's name has been mentioned in this House. She was confined in a room on 2 June, 1995. Both power and water supplies to the room were cut off. An attempt was made to finish her off by hiring services of three thousand goodas from all over Uttar Pradesh. The incident took place on 2 June, 1995 and discussed in the House on 3 June, 1995. Mayawati is no ordinary woman. She had 282 MLAs behind her. Those 282 MLAs belonged to five political parties BJP, Congress, Janata Dal, CPI and BSP itself. They came to me with the appeal that goondaism is on the increase in Uttar Pradesh. They said that we had formed a coalition Government. Much was needed to be done to contain this hooliganism. I was convinced by their reasoning. We

thought of changing the Chief Minister. Thus a dalit woman has the opportunity to become Chief Minister. This United Front talks of social justice. Notwithstanding their experience of social justice, three thousand goondas were called to Lucknow to kill the dalit woman who rose to be the Chief Minister. The powers of the police were misused. All this is before our eyes. Therefore, in my opinion, they say one thing and do quite the opposite. They preach social justice but practise gross social injustice. When the people, who talk about social justice, do social injustice themselves then I feel, they cannot check hooliganism while in power.

The second thing which I would like to say is that we talk about democracy in our country and say that India is the biggest democratic nation of the world but I believe that there is not democracy in this country. There can be no democracy in a country where votes of the poor people are purchased and plundered.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Just now Shri Sharad Yadav has said that there is a struggle between liberal Hindus and fundamentalist Hindus but what I feel is that we are facing more threats from these liberal Hindus because they do not allow the people belonging to weaker sections of the society to cast their votes. Loni incident is still going on which is just 10 km. away from this House. On the polling day i.e. on 7th May when all the voters belonging to oppressed class went to the polling booth unitedly to cast their votes, the hooligans who were already there to plunder their votes could not do so. They got annoyed and burnt down the houses of the people of oppressed class. The house of Gram Pradhan was also burnt down. We talk about strengthening panchayatiraj institutions but in reality the conditions that prevailing in the country is that a Gram Pradhan, who belongs to oppressed class, cannot cast his vote to his party at his discretion and when he did so his house was burnt down and his shop was burnt down. Since the formation of their Government at the centre, they are wandering scot free in bastis and threatening the people that any one who comes to the rescue of the Gram Pradhan, his house will also be burnt down. That place is just 10 km. away from here. Therefore, I believe that this United Front Government would not be able to check hooliganism. I represent those people who have become victims at a very large scale of this hooliganism. I am talking about it here on behalf of them. Many of our friends talk about social justice. I have had discussion on this subject earlier also and I believe that so long as we do not bring about a change in our social system we cannot bring about social justice. A social system has to be changed first and then the existing economic system has to be changed accordingly. So long as the system is not changed the social change cannot be brought about.

There was a Janata Dal Government at the centre on 21 June, 1990. Shri V.P. Singh and other people of Janata Dal were used to talk about social justice but Panwari incident took place on 21 June, 1990 at Agra which is just 200 km. away from Delhi. In that incident a large number of oppressed people were victimised. What were the reasons of that incident? The main reason was that the oppressed people cannot take out a Barat procession in the streets because the social system of this country does not allow them to do so. The social system of this country provides that the oppressed people cannot take out a barat procession of their bridegroom riding on mare's back and accompanied by a band party in the streets. This incident took place due to this social system. A large number of people were victimised in it.

Mr Chairman, Sir, at that time Shri V.P. Singh was heading Janta Dal Government at the Centre and in Uttar Pradesh too Janata Dal was in power. I had told them at that time also that so long as the social system was not changed, the slogan of social justice would merely be an illusion to get their votes. Therefore, Sir, we have that kind of opposition to this Government and that is why we cannot express our confidence in this Government. *(Interruptions)*. Therefore, this Government will not be in the interest of the country. Other friends have also said many things here and I do not want to repeat them. I agree with them. Many things were said about my party during election time that after winning the elections, our MPs would join hands with BJP or Congress party to form a Government. Many things were said about Congress party also. It was also said to mislead the voters particularly the muslim voters that the Congress party was more responsible than the BJP for the demolition of Babri Masjid and the BSP is going to join hands with that Congress party to form a Government. But what happened after the elections. They are forming a Government with the help of the Congress party to whom they opposed tooth and nail. They have ruined the Congress party in Uttar Pradesh and now they are forming a Government with support of the Congress ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Kanshi Ramji, please conclude.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : I am concluding within a minute. I am a disciplined person so if you say I can sit without concluding it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, According to the allocation of time, your party have 8 minutes only. I have allowed 15 minutes to you and that is why I am saying you to conclude.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : Sir, the other party which have the same strength as we have, have been allowed to speak for one hour. Mr. Mishraji was just

speaking and he took one hour. We have the same strength as they have...*(Interruptions)*. I do not want to take much time of the House, therefore, I am concluding.

We do not have any confidence in such Government. With these words I conclude.

17.32 hrs.

(Prof. Rita Verma in the Chair)

SHRI ANAND MOHAN (Shivhar) : Madam Chairman, I rise to oppose the motion of Confidence. I am a new member. I have some experience of Vidhan Sabha but in Lok Sabha it is my first term. When many stalwarts like Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Deve Gowda, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, Shri Sharad Yadav, Shri Chandra Shekhar, our Party President Shri George Fernandes and Shri Nitish Kumarji are present in the House, it is my first chance to speak among them. Being a new Member I would like to request the Senior Members to encourage us because it is an old tradition in our society that whenever any advice has to be taken in a family, the youngest and new members are given chance first to speak.

The main issue of today's debate is communalism. Many things have been said about it. In every election the people talk about inqullab, revolution, change of system and communal harmony. It reminds me of some poems of Neerji and I quote:

"Aur Yahan Inqallab Inqallab nahin paisa hai
sauda hai

Iski Dukane hai, hat, bazar hain

Jinme waha kapadon ke mol-bhav bikata hai

Chandi aur sone ke iski taraju main

adami se lekar Ishwar tak tulata hai

Aur Yahan dil-dil ke bich diwaren hain

Jat pat, rang-varan, Desh Kal wali

Badi unchi minaren hain

Isko girana aasan nahin

Yahan Lage bade-bade pahre hain

Kyonki Math, Masjid aur Girjaghar

Yeh Pandit aur Padari, Shekh aur Moulavi

Majahab ke jitane bhi thag thekedar hain

Sabke sab inahi ke sahare to thahre hain.

Ise laangh jaane ki saza pana hai,

Eesa ki bhanti cross par chadh jana hai.

Gandhi ki tarh goli khakar mar jana hai,

Maran kya tujhko sweekar hai..."

I shall pose this question to the House.

"Maran kya tujhko sweekar hai,

Arthi Uthane khud apni taiyar hai."
(Interruptions)

Keep quiet, Pappu, I have not to learn from you. Enough is enough. I will see you once I get back to Purnea.

"Maran kya tujhko sweekar hai,
Arthi utthane khud apni taiyar hai."

If yes, certainly, a change will come in the country. A lot has been said about revolution. Certainly, the Ganges of revolution shall descend from the blue and whatever is being said about the emancipation of the oppressed and of the poor will fructify. But what we really see today something different.

"Kupath-kupath rath daudata do,
path nirdeshak wah hai".
Laaj Lajati jiski kriti se,
dhriti updeshak wah hai."

Secularism seems to have become the focal point of today's debate. Myself, George Fernandes, hon. Chandra Shekharji, Nitishji and the entire Samata Party is being accused of having joined hands with communal forces. I would like to ask my revolutionary friends that when Lohiaji gave the slogan of 'Non-congressism' in 1967, with what face did they form Government in as many as nine States? Who formed coalition Government in Kerala with the Muslim League which is responsible for the partition of the country. I would like to ask those who speak of secularism as to which party did Lalthan Dalka, who was also the Chief Minister of a State and who gave the slogan of christian State belong? I would like to tell Shri V.P. Singh and in his absence Shri Sharad Yadav and other friends from the Janata Dal that not only in 1967 but also in 1977 Governments were formed with the support of the Jan Sangh and the BJP and those Governments did run. It was the Janta Dal who ran the Central Government in Delhi for 11 months in 1989 with the support of the BJP. It was their leader who used to say that they would not form the Government, that he would not accept the Presidentship of any party, that he would not become the Prime Minister. I come from Mithilanchal. There is a saying in Maithili :

"Nayee khayib, nayee khayib, khayib bhari thari,
Nayee sutab, nayee sutab, sutab gordhari."

It means that even when they say 'no' to food, they eat to their fill and when they say that they will not sleep, they fall asleep despite the room being barely enough to accommodate even their legs. That is why I say that speeches on secularism should not be delivered from their side. They do not have a moral authority to speak on secularism. That is why even small people like me had opposed...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are not to address your friends, you address the Chair.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Even small persons like me had opposed it. At that time, it was said that

Congress being our bitter enemy, we shall have to join hands with smaller enemies. Shri Mufti Mohammad Salyed is not present here. Accompanied by Shri Akhlaq Ahmed, I had gone to his bungalow to request him not to do so, but our plea was not entertained and they had their way. And today we are being accused. The price graph of almost all things has gone up in this country. Our problems have increased manifold, scandals have increased, population has gone up. The only commodity that seems to be in short supply is morality.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Just a minute. Please do not forget the decorum that maiden speech of the new Member is not to be interrupted time and again.

The hon. Member has already taken 10 minutes. How much time will you need to complete your speech?

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : After the new Govt. came to power, the United Front Government formulated a programme called the Common Minimum Programme. I am a small person. Big leaders are sitting here. During his press conference the Prime Minister had referred to some policies. He said that his Government would not allow foreign investment in domestic industry, low priority sector and consumer items. I would like to know as to how the Government is going to do it? Today, the multi-national companies have pervaded into the privacy of our bed rooms and bath rooms.

AN HON. MEMBER : Even your spectacles have not been spared.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : My spectacles are purely Indian.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You concentrate only on your speech.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : You can see that today these multi-national companies have intruded into our bed rooms, bath rooms and kitchens through shampoo, soap, perfume, tooth paste, detergent, T.V. after shave, cosmetic and eatbles. How will they be driven out? These very parties were vehemently opposing the New Economic Policy I would like to ask any friends in the communist parties and Janata Dal as to how the persons who bitterly criticised Dr. Manmohan Singh and Narasimha Rao for the New Economic Policy are keeping mum today. The new Prime Minister has said that he will continue the old economic policies. During the course of election, these 13 constituents of the United Front had crossed the limits of criticism and engaged themselves in the mud-slinging exercise among themselves. This Common Minimum Programme is nothing but an immoral aid to remain in office.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You were given six minutes, but you have taken 12 minutes.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : I shall be brief and I am concluding. These are the same people who are

involved in Hawala scam, Boforcs case, Saint Kitts case, land scandal in Karanataka, Urea scandal, sugar scandal, and fodder scandal. They have come together with the sole objective of saving their skin.

...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Anand Mohan, please address the Chair and try to conclude quickly.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Today Urea scandal has been exposed. Fodder scam of Bihar is the biggest scandal in the history of India.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI (Darbhanga) : He is involved in the murder of D.M.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding to you. Please sit down.

[Translation]

You can reply when your turn to speak comes.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. I am on my legs.

(Interruptions)

Please sit down

[Translation]

Please conclude quickly.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : It is the people belonging to our Samata Party who have exposed the fodder scandal...(Interruptions)

The main accused...(Interruptions) is well known. After the United Front Government came to power, an attempt is being made to implicate Shri Nitish Kumar and Sushil Kumar Modi. Therefore, I would like to say...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You can reply to it when your turn comes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : A big scandal has taken place in Bihar. Therefore, we would like to say openly that we would not make any demand at any cost on the line of Bengal's opposition...(Interruptions)

17.46 hrs.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Anand Mohan, Please conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am asking Shri Anand Mohan to conclude. You have exceeded your time please.

[Translation]

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Now, hon. Shri Mulayam Singh has assumed the role of Marx and for the communists, the role of Lenin has been assumed by Shri Laloo Prasad. Their communism has been converted into casteism...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Do not interrupt him now please.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record. Shri Anand Mohan, you have to conclude, You have exceeded your time. It is your maiden speech. You had enough time to speak. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Hon. Chandra Shekhar and George Saheb said again and again that this country will be run on Gandhian philosophy. It will run on the path of Swadeshi and self reliance ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude within one minute now.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : This is Parliament. You cannot do like that. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : It will not benefit the country in anyway. Opposing this Confidence Motion, I conclude.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Confidence Motion that has been brought forward by the hon. Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, proceeding further the discussion that has been going on, I would like to submit that the shape of parliamentary democracy is changing ...*(Interruptions)* Yes, it is changing, How it is changing...*(Interruptions)* Earlier, there used to be one Government both at the Centre and in the States in majority of the cases. That is why I said that the shape of parliamentary democracy is changing. Just now there was a reference to 1967 in which a beginning had been made to form coalition Government. Coalition Governments had been

formed in 9 States. We, therefore, expect from BJP leaders and our hon. friends to accept this phenomenon. Besides, I would not like to repeat time and again that the mandate is for a coalition Government. Therefore, Atalji has to accept is gracefully. In their case also they had the support of the Akali Dal, Shiv Sena the Haryana Viakas Party and one segment of the Samata Party. It was not total because hon. Chandra Shekhar did not extend his support to their Government. Chandra Shekhar alone counts a lot in the House...*(Interruptions)*. Had they got majority, they would also have formed a coalition Government.

[English]

SHRI CANDRA SHEKHAR : This is the training they are giving. All right...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : They had no other way out than to form a co-alition Government. As such it has to be accepted in the normal course. They say that this coalition Government cannot be stable. Then how their coalition Government could have been stable? It is true that BJP has been with the ruling Party many a time, but at that time they did not have the Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi issues. Had they raised these points at that time, we would have never remained with them. Let anybody remain, but not we. When you raised Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi issues in Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, I said in clear terms that neither we would seek their support nor do we need their support. They are trying for country's disintegration...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Do not interrupt, please.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : The United Front has been formed after due thoughts and deliberations. It has already prepared its policy and programmes and placed the same before the country. Now this Government is stable. This is a Government with popular support which will last for 5 years. They have to keep themselves waiting for the fall of this Government. They will live with this hope. If the Hon. Members hold divergent views with regard to the Common Minimum Programme, what I can say about it. A lot of remarks have been made in this regard. I shall come to these remarks at the end. Now I would like to say that you kept the country in a state of suspension for about one month. They had no majority and the list they had submitted was incorrect. They did not have 194 Members with them. By submitting an incorrect List of 194 Members to the President, the hon. Leader of Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is talking of morality.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : No list had been given to the hon. President.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : What Atalji says is not correct.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. The leader of opposition has already clarified.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : When Chandra Shekharji refused to extend his support to them, then Atalji restrained from voting. They did not go for a division, because they knew that the number they had submitted to the President was not with them. The 90 to 95 crore people are experiencing its fall out and no work is being done. We have accepted morality...*(Interruptions)* we have taken a decision that till such time our Government won the vote of Confidence, no policy decision would be taken by us. As a result of that we are in a state of bewilderment for last 12 days and could not take a decision in any case. Even urgent matters of public interest could not be attended. These people are responsible for this situation who told an incorrect thing to the President that they had the majority.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : We have an objection to this word. It is an unparliamentary word. This word should be expunged from the proceedings of the House.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Please write it as untrue. I would not like to go into that. It hardly makes any difference.

[English]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK : Sir, it should be removed from the proceedings of the House.

MR. SPEAKER : He has modified it.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : So, far as their internal squabbles are concerned, I would not like to repeat it time and again. Hon. Chatterjee has made a mention of what happened in Gujarat?

[English]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT : Sir, you kindly instruct to expunge that word.

MR. SPEAKER : He has changed it.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Was it a testimony of unity what happened in Gujarat and was it a demonstration of unity? Hon. Antulay and hon. Chatterjee have already spoken on this. Therefore, there is no need to repeat it. But this is the biggest instance of fascism. Let them speak whatever untruth they could...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, kindly make it as untruth. Hence forward no such word will be used.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not interrupt.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member is new to this House. But he should know that this word is unparliamentary.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I have already modified it as untruth...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : He has withdrawn that word.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : The hon. Leader of Opposition is a pretty senior member. I have already modified it as untruth. Even after that if he is found of saying so...*(Interruptions)*

It has become very troublesome for sister Sushma Swaraj and the Bharatiya Janata Party that I have become the Defence Minister...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the cause of their trouble is true that is the Samajwadi Party and Mulayam Singh Yadav become weak in Uttar Pradesh, They will get a chance. But fascism would not be allowed to grow if the Samajwadi Party and Mulayam Singh Yadav are there in Uttar Pradesh.

18.00 hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY SPEAKER

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, I have to inform the House that as per the decision taken in the meeting of the Business Advisory Committee held on 10th June 1996 the Lok Sabha will also sit on Wednesday, the 12th June 1996 for discussion on the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers. So, the House will sit tomorrow also. It is 6 o' clock now; but the understanding was that we shall not have the lunch break. Since we did have the lunch break, with the permission of the House, I will extend the sitting of the House by one hour.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : You have allotted seven hours for this discussion. But you have not indicated to us as to how much time you have allotted for the interruptions in the House!

MR. SPEAKER : Interruptions are taken into account and it is always subtracted from the time allotted to the speaker.

18.01 hrs.

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS — Contd.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we submit that we hold women in great respect and that is the policy of our party too...*(Interruptions)*. A woman has been made the spokesperson of the BJP...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Do not add insult to injury by saying so. The judgement of Allahabad Highcourt is before you. Therefore, do not add insult to the injury.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have chalked out this Common Minimum Programme after consulting all election manifestoes. As far as BJP spokesperson is concerned, she is our sister and we have great respect for her. Had there been anyone else in her place, we could have used harsh words. But we would not make any comment against her. I would like to remind her that she herself had been a Samajwadi. If she forgotten then it is another thing. She was with Sh. Charan Singh in 1977 but perhaps she does not remember it anymore.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion for making a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is gaining currency for the last many years. It was included in the programme of our party. But when common minimum programme was chalked out we did not press for it like the BJP which too has given up a number of its programme such as construction of temple and issues relation to Kashi and Mathura. The programme of our party is to receive the majority support. Therefore, I would like to tell my sister that our aim is to make India a strong nation. If their intention is also to make the country strong then do not distort the facts. Indian people may go to Pakistan, Pakistani people may come to India, Bangladeshi people can come here, but anti-nationals cannot be permitted anywhere whether it is India, Pakistan or Bangladesh.

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Padrona) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, kindly ask him to tell us what is their opinion about Bangladeshi, intruders?

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : It is our policy, it is in our programme, but for the time being we are pressing for it. We are all unanimous over Minimum Common Programme which we have chalked out. Who compelled us to unite. It was you, who compelled us, because you do not have faith neither in the Parliament, or in the Court of Law and above all you have no faith in the National Integration Council, the highest political forum of India. You even lied in that forum. You assured that you would protect

the mosque but you did not keep up your word. Supreme Court awarded one day's sentence to you for the same. A sentence is a sentence whether it is for one day or for 20 years. There is no provision for filing appeal against in Supreme Court. Before raising a finger at others, see your own face in the mirror. Supreme Court has proved that you are guilty. You are misleading the country by giving a false statement...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BACHI SINGH RAWAT Bachda (Almora) : What about Uttrakhand...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Our aim is to strengthen the country. If you want to make the country strong, you will have to create a congenial atmosphere. You will have to develop cordial relations with neighbouring countries. As far as the people of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are concerned, they have love for each other. If there is any conflict, that is political one and we shall find a way out. I am happy that the neighbouring countries have tried to establish cordial relations after our Government assumed charge. We welcome the letter of Pakistani Prime Minister and congratulate her. She has congratulated us. It is our policy that if you want to strengthen the country, you will have to develop cordial relations. I do not want to comment on what you have stated just now. You have said the Samajwadi party people resorted to firing. That is what sister Sushma has said. It is a fact that firing took place and 16 people died. I am very sad about it. I have already said that we are sorry for that. Hon'ble Speaker, but we have the question of the unity and integrity of the country before us. By proecting the mosque, we have protected not the muslims or the mosque but we have protected the temples, churches, Gurudwaras and Jain temples also. We have protected all the places of worship in india. 16 people died and I am sorry for them. But maintaining the unity of the country is our prime concern and if 16 lives are lost for its sake it does not matter. Human life is secondary before the unity of the country. We admit that we took this step for maintaining the integrity of the country. Our Government took action. 16 lives are nothing as far as preserving the unity of the country is concerned even if we had to shed 32 lives, we would have done that for the sake of our country. You suffered the consequences, when the mosque was demolished on 6th of December. Whole world and the people of India came to know that the mosque was demolished by you people. Though the official statistics claim that property worth Rs two and half crore or three crore was destroyed after the demolition but I know that in Bombay alone the loss was to the tune of ten thousand crores. Did only Muslims suffer this loss or Taxi drivers, labourers and factory owners were only affected? Both Hindus and Muslims were amongst them. Who was responsible for this? Property worth Rs. 20 crores of

was destroyed. Though the figures reveal that four thousand lives were lost but we claim that seven thousand and five hundred people lost their lives. On 30th October and 2nd November, 1990 by protecting the mosque our Government saved at least seven and a half thousand lives and we protected the Gurudwara, temples and mosques. Therefore, we had to resort to firing.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, who is Rambhakt? They do not consider us as one. We are devotees of even Hanuman who was the devotee of Rama. Ataji worships Cow. You would ask Mulayam Singh to worship Cow. We keep cows. Please accompany us to our home. We have got cows there. We also advocate for a ban on cow slaughter but first we should stop homicide. Who is responsible for this homicide? You are asking why we resorted to firing. Why was our police forced to take such an action?

He said it is a question of our sentiments and our freedom. Leader of the Opposition, I cannot make you understand. You are holding a lofty position, you have been Prime Minister for 13 days. Besides, you are Leader of the Opposition. May I ask you who is responsible for the murders that took place. What happened in Mumbai was most unfortunate...*(Interruptions)*. What is responsible for similar happenings in Ahmedabad, Banaras or Kanpur? Who is responsible for the incidents that place elsewhere...*(Interruptions)* The responsibility rests squarely on you, the Bharatiya Janata Party, Shiv Sena...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK : At least you do not know anything about this. Do not say anything regarding Mumbai of which you have no knowledge.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Speaker, I want to say that we espouse the cause of the dalits, backward classes and farmers and will continue to do so because we want to make India strong. A bridge which was initially proposed to be constructed in Mumbai in the name Morarji Desai, was instead got constructed by a leader in the name of his own father. We will not go by their example. We have therefore, to think over if we want to make nation strong. We have Barnalaji sitting here. We have strong reservations about the stand he has taken. He seems to have forgotten the Pilibhit episode. True that we as well as Chaudhuri Sahab were there at that time. Chaudhuri Sahab too might have had a different opinion. But it was Chandra Shekharji who had sympathised most and struggled all along to discontinue the use of army. You did not cite names. You will not do so either. Whoever might have started it. But you are sitting with those elements who were responsible for flaring up things in Punjab...*(Interruptions)* So far as casteism is concerned...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You will get a chance to reply.

[Translation]

SHRI SUKHBIR SINGH BADAL (Faridkot) : One minute, please. The people who shot at our parents and grandparents and indulged in killings, they are...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Barnalaji will speak after this. He will reply...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Barnalaji will come.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : In Uttar Pradesh...*(Interruptions)* What the Government of Bharatiya Janata Party did...*(Interruptions)* You will have your say. I would say that we were there in Delhi to save them. Ram Vilas and Mulayam Singh were moving along.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA (Sangrur) : Three thousand Sikhs were put to death...*(Interruptions)* They went on a killing spree of our brothers and sisters.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I will see.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK : Mulayam Singh ji, one minute please, Mr. Speaker, very cheap things are being uttered here, which is not proper...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : He is not yielding.

[Translation]

You will get a chance to speak.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : You should know...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER: Being the Defence Minister of the country, Shri Mulayam Singh should not speak in such a way...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude. You have taken 25 minutes.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I think, you have protested; that is enough.

[Translation]

Why are you repeating the same thing again and again where is the need of that

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We want to bring to the fore the fact that boys of the tender age of 12 were detained under TADA during the regime of the

BJP Government in Uttar Pradesh. When our Government was formed there, we conducted discreet inquiries and set the boys free. To Barnala Sahab we want to say this much that if they had any reservations about the Congress, then they should have opted for the middle path siding with none ...*(Interruptions)* The way they enforced TADA in Uttar Pradesh, caused killings of innocent people in Pilibhit, you have been witness to all that, therefore, they were equally responsible...*(Interruptions)*

So far as casteism is concerned...*(Interruptions)*

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : Reply to the Muzaffarnagar episode also...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: I have replied to that. So far as Mr. George is concerned, we do not want to say much except one important thing i.e. he has been accustomed to changing sides more often than not and will continue doing so. I have been witness to two such occasions—one such occasion during a session at Calcutta, I was a youth then, when Dr. Lohia emerged victorious from Farrukhabad George Saheb made an allegation that he was accused of having won with the Jan Sangh support and therefore, allegedly having a tainted face ...*(Interruptions)* Now have those elements, whom Mr. George is now supporting, a fairer complexion than what they had in their earlier incarnation. Has Shri George ascertained anything about it. But we do not want to comment upon it much because one never knows he decides to return to our fold by evening today.

On the issue of Rambhaktas. A ban was imposed in Uttar Pradesh and BJP declared that none other than a Rambhakta could enter Ayodhya. I also went there as I too had a wish to go there. Me alongwith our colleague Shri Beni Prasad Verma and others were stopped near Barabanki because we did not have a certificate with us of our being Rambhaktas. Where were we to get it from — A Tehsildar or a Collector is not competent to issue such a certificate, who else then will give such a certificate, will they themselves issue. Then we are forbidden to call Gandhiji as father of the nation as if this title was given to Gandhiji by themselves. We want to say we are in favour of extending special facilities to dalits, backwards and minorities in order to strengthen the nation and we will certainly do so. We will instil confidence in the minorities all over India, the reason being that when we glance at the map of Hindustan we find Punjab on the border, the Sikhs inhabiting Punjab and Kashmir which is also on the border. Apart from these, Kerala, Goa as also our people settled along the borders, consist mostly of minorities. If there is disaffection in the minorities inhabiting the border-line areas, if they feel being discriminated against, ignored, and subjected to injustice, atrocities, then our country will disintegrate. That is why we

help not only poor Brahmins in India, hon'ble Atalji is a sitting Member from Lucknow, not very far from which is a village adjacent to the Mohana area in Sitapur district. In this village, one Rama Kant Shukla was murdered. His widow and children were starving for three days. When we read about it in newspapers, we visited the area and reached the victim's home with Kuntan Bhawantiji and came to know that...*

His daughter aged 24-25 years was without food for three days. So we visited the place ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We rendered help to that widow girl. As soon as we formed our Government we sanctioned an amount of Rs. one lakh...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Some persons' names are being dragged here as if they were involved in the murder and forum of this House is being used in making this allegation. Who was involved in the murder and who was not involved, will be decided by the Court. How can any names be dragged here.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I have not dragged anyone's name, you can see for yourself the records of the proceedings. I have only taken the name of the person murdered.

SHRI MANOJ (Hajipur) : He is making a wrong statement. How can he cite anyone's name here? ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I will see the record; if there is anything objectionable, I will delete it.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We rendered to the tune of Rs. one lakh. We gave Ramakant Shukla's wife, who was indigent, one lakh rupees as soon as our Government was formed. We help every poor person. Today Muslims are in a minority in India. Their number being less, you demolished their mosque. Had they been in a majority, you could never have done that ...*(Interruptions)* We will help the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Buddhas. What ever constitutes the weaker sections, the dalit and the backward, will be assisted by us irrespective of whether such a weaker section is Muslim, Sikh, Christian or any other. We have to

* Expunged as Ordered by the chair

take these sections into confidence if we want to make India strong. Then only we can ensure peace in the country and banish poverty from it.

We will increase agricultural production, as also provide special facilities to the farmers. Who is going to trust you? You asked for votes on the issues of article 370, a Uniform Civil Code and in the name of Kashi, Ayodhya and Mathura. In the absence of these issues, you could not have ensured victory for even one hundred of your party candidates. You had not seen the cow then. Which in fact was seen by you only afterwards. Your strength could never have reached 160 if you had not raised slogans for cow, against article 370 and for construction of the Ram temple and for Kashi-Mathura.

Now we come to the question of morality, non-violence and peace.

It was in this very city of Delhi, I am constrained to say, either in my capacity as the Defence Minister or other than that, history, will not be forgotten in India. If we forget people like Gandhiji and the ideals he set forth, then the country is not likely to become strong. Gandhi was shot dead in this very city. And who were the perpetrators of the crime? Godse belonged to whom?

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS : To R.S.S.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : When you cannot spare even Gandhiji, then what to talk of the attack made on us on 4 April, 1994 .. (Interruptions) respectable leader, I have never taken your name.

SHRI RASA SINGH RAWAT : You are making allegations just for the sake of it. What picture are you projecting?... (Interruptions)

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We want to make the country strong. We want to make the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, dalits, backwards, farmers and people belonging to the countryside strong enough. We want to strengthen the country by providing special opportunities to the women folk. We support the motion moved.

SARDAR SURJEET SINGH BARNALA : Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion. Deve Gowdaji is a gentleman. He belongs to a poor, farmer family. We are happy that our country has a Prime Minister who is the son of a poor farmer. He has made his debut in the House as Prime Minister. He should not be handicapped by the language. Hindi is easy to learn within least time.

Mr. Speaker, soon after taking over they have made certain assertions, for example their minimum programme prepared by them, which we are happy about. They have said that they will amend suitably the article 356 so as to prevent its misuse. Perhaps they have said this keeping us in view because this article has been repeatedly misused against us.

Under this article 356, our Government was dismissed seven times. We have been falling prey to this article repeatedly. We have been advocating for long for either the amendment or deletion of this article.

Mr. Speaker, we have always been speaking in favour of giving more powers to the states and more autonomy for the states. A hint regarding that also has been made in this Minimum Common Programme. We want to assert here that in case a legislation as brought forward regarding article 356, then we will certainly vote in its favour. It is not that we are going to support our present allies on each and every issue for vote each time at their behest only. We will support the Government for whatever good things have been stated in their programme.

We have always been vociferous for giving more powers to the states than the Centre and we have been reiterating this for so many years through the Anandpur Saheb Resolution. Regional parties have supported us all along on this issue. But they never listened to our call. When talked of autonomy, we were called secessionists bent upon breaking the country. Such allegations have always been made against us. But I am happy to note that the Government of the day has itself come forward with such a thing. This Minimum Common Programme contains these things. Now it will have to be seen as to how these are sought to be fulfilled by them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, he said that they would re-open the Sarkaria Commission Report which has been gathering dust for so many years. With great difficulty Centre-State relation was taken up for consideration. It was mentioned in the Punjab Accord that, the Centre-State relations would be reconsidered on the basis of Anandpur Saheb Resolution. The Sarkaria Commission was constituted and it submitted a voluminous report running into two volumes. But no action was taken by the Government on it, even after 18 years. It required a lot of labour to prepare the report. A large number of persons were examined in this connection. Representatives of all the States were heard and the report was prepared. It appeared that with this exercise the relations between the Centre and the States would improve to some extent, but the Government did not pay any attention to that and the report was thrown into the dustbin.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, now a large number of hon. Members belong to various regional parties. We wanted that we should walk together. Rather we tried for that. They have taken their decision. It is said that, now there are 32 parties in the House. It is all right. It was also said that United Front has been constituted. I have since proposed that we should join hands to form a National Government. We had no objection to that. It would have been beneficial for the country.

Thirteen parties have united. Some more parties are likely to join. It will be nice if they can unite but I am apprehensive about the functioning of the front as they are still short of majority. So, they needed support from others for this. They need crutches to move a little. The Congress Party provided one crutch and the CPM, the other, we are apprehensive that the crutches may fall at any time. If the crutches break, that will cause their downfall. Besides, the past history shows that these people did not continue their support for long. One can notice fracture in the ranks of left parties on this account. The CPI is prepared to join the Government, but the CPM is in a fix. Negotiations are on. The forward block has decided not to join the Government. Different pictures have come to the fore. I was delighted when the hon. Members from these benches said that the Government would run for five years.

SHRI A.R. ANTULAY : We will see that it runs.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA : Mr. Antulay said so. He is a very responsible person. I am glad to hear this thing from him. They are our friends, let them run. We have no difficulty, but I do not see any probability. Because, these people who have a past record that when they are opposed, they wait for the opportunity to withdraw their support. This has been the case earlier also and we are witnesses to such happenings. It has happened in this very House. Splits were caused in parties. After split, one section was assured support. They make such loud claims to continue their support, but they did not do so for a little while. The difficulty is that they have become totally dependent on them. Without the support they are nowhere. If they withdraw the support the entire game plan would fizzle out. There can be a number of causes for this. Today, we can find such an atmosphere in the backdrop of the Urea Scandal. The atmosphere is charged with speculations as to who is going to be charged with the offence. Everybody is making his own calculations in this regard. It is a very serious matter which was raised in the morning, but it was not paid as much attention as it should be.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Punjab is an agricultural State. Now-a-days sowing of paddy is being undertaken in the State. It is for the sake of the country that paddy is being grown in the State because the people of Punjab do not eat rice. We produce 80 lakh metric tonnes of rice. Eighty lakh tonnes come to common pool. It is a big thing. Today we need Urea very urgently but it is not available. The N.F.L. say that they are going to import Urea for which negotiations are on. It would have been very helpful if it arrived. People could have got the same. If Urea is not available in time and put to use, the production will suffer. The farmer will suffer. It should be enquired what has gone wrong with the Urea to arrive. Rs. 133/- crore is not a small amount. It has been paid to a company which is, perhaps, a non-existent,

foreign company. Not a single bag of urea has arrived here. The entire money has been embezzled. The whole matter should be made public by tomorrow, because people are anxious to know the outcome. People want to know why urea did not arrive. What has gone wrong with it. The Government should see to it that hurdles coming in its way are removed.

The Government has made an assertion that it would espouse the cause of the minorities. We welcome the assertion. Everybody talks like this, but nobody has put it into practice. The Congress Party used to say so, but did not do.

No culprit of 1984 riots has so far been punished. Just now Shri Mulayam Singh said that some incident had taken place in Pilibhit and they took such and such action. I thanked him same time. They took prompt action. The action was in the right perspective. Too much excesses had been committed. People were done to death in the jail itself. When I reported the matter to him, he took prompt action. We welcomed the action. This had also been published in the newspapers. But the massacre that took place in Delhi has no parallels. There was a reference to killings taking place in Mumbai. No doubt killings also took place at other places, but the massacre at Delhi, the capital city of the country assumes much importance. Innocent people were done to death by putting burning tyres on their necks. Thousand people were killed like this. This type of massacre was never seen and never heard. All are sitting here. These people have joined hands with them. They accuse us and we accuse them. They had been with us, we had been with them. We have many things in common. But taking support of the Congress Party which has a dubious record... These people had been directly charged with the offence. A number of their big leaders were involved. They took ten years to protect them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you know that evidence washes away in 10 years. Every effort was made to hush up the issue. It was not a small incident. A big thing has taken place.

Not only in Delhi, similar things took place in Kanpur also. Shri Mulayam Singh and other hon. Members know about it. Hundred people were killed. I would not like to go into that history... (Interruptions)

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We had taken action against the culprits in the Kanpur case. You can find out.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA : Wherever action was taken, it was a good thing. Shops belonging to sikhs were looted in a city of Tamil Nadu. Of Course, they were compensated. In some cases it was done. But in Delhi, effort was made to hush it up. We met the Prime Minister, not once, but a number of times, but regrettably, no attention was paid to this. As such we were helpless not to go

along with them. We said that we will not extend our support where the Congress Party is supporting. That is why we stood with these people who had expressed their sympathy with us. Some other people had also expressed sympathy, but for want of time, I could not acknowledge it that day. Shri Chandra Shekhar is sitting here. He had also expressed sympathy. Shri V.P. Singh had expressed sympathy. Since a very little time was at my disposal, I was very brief in my speech that day.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : They have got only 40 seats. What about Congress...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No, please. You cannot do that. Every Member has the right to say that.

(Interruptions)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : If this is happening inside the House what will happen outside...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Now that is a very bad behaviour.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Okay.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am very sorry. This is not the way in which Members of Parliament should behave. This is very unbecoming of us.

(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, I entirely agree with you that this sort of behaviours is not expected of an hon. Member of this House. I apologise on behalf of my party on this...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : He has apologised.

(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, this is not correct. My friend from Baramati says, 'this is all drama'. This is not correct...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : Have they any respect for women?

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I think, the matter is closed.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : You have no respect for women...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

It is only pride of upper caste.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I do not think senior Members should exchange words like this. They have tendered unqualified apology, this should be good enough...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : That is enough.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please, that is enough. They have apologised.

(Interruptions)

SHRI DATTA MEGHE : What is this Baramati? Why is he saying Baramati?...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please Megheji.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI DATTA MEGHE : Mention his name, are you shy of mentioning his name? Why do you say Baramati?...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : It is enough. Please take your seat now.

18.42 hrs.

(Shri P.M. Sayeed in the Chair)

[English]

SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN (Quilon) : Sir I am a new Member of this House and this is my maiden speech. My humble submission is, if any error comes out of my speech that may kindly be pardoned.

Sir, on behalf of my party RSP, I support the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers moved by the hon. Prime Minister Sh. H.D. Deve Gowda.

Sir, this is the second time this House has assembled to pass the verdict on a Confidence Motion. As you are well aware, 15 days ago the former Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee moved a Motion of Confidence before this House. He had presented the Motion before the House but unfortunately he did not wait for the verdict because of the reasons well known to him. BJP was confident that they were not able to get the majority of this House, that is why they ran out of this House. They did not wait of the verdict of this House. This is what has happened in the last Session.

I am very proud of the hon. Prime Minister, Shri H.D. Deve Gowda and I am sure that whatever be the outcome of the voting, he will face the voting and will prove his majority in this House. That will be the outcome of this Confidence Motion.

On the 28th of last month, except BJP and Shiv Sena alliance, the entire House stood behind secular forces.

Also this is the first time in the history of Indian Parliament that a Confidence Motion seeking confidence in the Council of Ministers was not put to vote, was not put to its logical conclusion. That is the thing which has happened last time.

With all due respect to the hon. former Prime Minister, who is now the Leader of the Opposition, may I ask a simple question, "Why did the BJP Government headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee run away from the House before the Motion was put to vote?" That question is to be answered in this House. We expect an answer from the learned leader. Suppose the BJP was fully confident that they would not be able to get a majority, then why did they accept the offer by the President who relied on conventions? The President is fully relying on the conventions. If they were confident that they would not be able to form the Government on the basis of majority, then why did they accept the offer from the President? That question has also to be answered in this House.

Regarding the mandate of the people in the recent Lok Sabha elections, almost all the veteran leaders have already spoken about it. No party has been given majority. So, the mandate of the people very clearly shows that the people of India want a secular, a democratic and a coalition Government. That is the mandate of the people. The mandate of the people is against communalism and also the mandate of the people is against corruption. That is the mandate of the people during the recent Lok Sabha elections.

By appointing Shri Deve Gowdaji as the Prime Minister of India by the President, the mandate of the people is fulfilled, the mandate of the people is being reflected in the new Government. The excellent speech made today morning by the hon. Prime Minister would prove that he is the proper person to be the Prime Minister of this country.

This House, which represents the cross sections of this country, stands solidly behind the secular forces. We stand for secularism. The main aim and object of this United Front Government is to protect the secular pillars of the Indian democracy.

Also regarding the Minimum Programme of the United Front Government — we are 14 parties in the United Front Government — we are having different programmes and policies but we are united together only to safeguard the secular character of India, to save the country from the communal forces and to save the country from disaster. For implementing the Minimum Programme we are united together as the United Front. With more strength we will march forward and the United Front Government will last

for five years. We are very hopeful about that. We do accept that the RSP and the left parties do have some differences of opinion in regard to economic policies. We do accept that. At the same time we support this Government with the full expectation that the United Front Government will pursue the pro-people democratic measures and also reverse the anti-people policies of the past Government. We also know that the basic demands of the toiling masses of India cannot be fulfilled, cannot be overcome by this Government, yet we support this Government. As I have already stated, we are supporting this Government to save the country from the communal forces and also to safeguard the secularism.

Regarding corruption I have already pointed out that this is a mandate against corruption. Sir, corruption is a growing disease; it is a cancerous disease spreading in the Indian political society. That has to be cut-off and removed. We are very proud about our Prime Minister, who has very ably said today morning that no political interference on the part of the Government will be there on the investigation of the corruption allegations.

I once again support this Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers. Also I would like to say that the RSP is of the firm belief that the scandals and the scams surfaced during the last five years will be investigated and also those who are responsible will be punished. At this moment I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister of India for saying that no political interference will be there on the investigations of the corruption allegations.

Respected Prime Minister, Sir, the entire nation has planned all hopes on you as you are one among them.

So the people of India stand solidly behind you. The people of India, the youth, the children, the students, the working-classes, the toiling masses of India are behind you, Mr. Prime Minister, Sir. You go ahead against the forces of communalism and fight against corruption. We all will be with you.

With these words, I reiterate our RSP's stand to support the Confidence Motion.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Sir, I deem it a great privilege to support the Confidence Motion.

Sir, I heartily welcome the installation of the United Front Government by Shri H.D. Deve Gowda. This installation of the new Government symbolizes the timely and resounding victory of all progressive, democratic, secular and the left forces in the country. It also represents a new era in our Indian politics. The new era, as the mandate has clearly shown, is the era of coalition. Now we have to answer the question on coalition or coalescence. For this the United Front has answered or responded to the call

of this era, by way of agreeing to form a coalition of progressive left democratic and patriotic forces so as to bring about a change in the body politic of India.

On the other hand, Sir, I also want to remind our friends of the BJP that they also wanted or sought a coalition. They went in for coalescence and that coalescence is not the easy coalescence of the reactionary forces, but of the communal forces, of the forces of religious fundamentalism and revivalism. If that coalescence remains in power, it will be a great danger for the unity and integrity of our country. That is the difference between the two coalitions. One coalition of forces is to push the country backward and another coalition is the coalition which wants to push the country towards better economic and social progress.

Sir, so far as the Common Minimum Programme is concerned, it is a landmark in one sense in the struggle of the people.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, I shall not take much time. It is not merely a programme of the Government. When I say that, I am convinced. This Minimum Programme has been the programme which is the product, resulting out of the continuous mass struggle in our country. This programme resulted out of the struggle of the workers, the struggle of the peasants, the struggle of the agricultural workers, the struggle of the youths, students, women and other exploited segments of our society. It is an important step forward in mobilizing the people of our country. This Common Minimum Programme has produced or presented an alternative approach to the administration: not only an alternative approach to administration but also an alternative approach to the socio-economic policies of our country. This is very important.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : It says that this coalition or this Common Minimum Programme promises an alternate model of governance based on federalism, decentralization, accountability, equality, social justice, economic and political reforms, respect for human freedoms, openness and transparency.

MR. CHAIRMAN : At seven o' clock we are adjourning. I have to accommodate one more speaker.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am glad to listen to the speech of the Prime Minister early in the morning that in order to ensure transparency, that in order to ensure accountability, that in order to ensure the proper functioning of the Government he will not hesitate to take any action against all corrupt practices which have been brought to his notice and

to the surface in the earlier years. It is a declaration of the firm determination of the Government to cleanse the public life to encourage the public probity and morality and I think it is also a programme for upholding the value-based politics in our country and to bring about a radical change and qualitative change in the administration of the country.

Lastly, in this context I must say that this programme facilitates the transition to a process of new socio-economic transformation. Having regard to all this, I think it would be a great privilege on the part of this House to express confidence in the new Council of Ministers and I think the Prime Minister would also promise this House and through this House the country that they will continue their efforts to implement the programme as has been laid down in the Common Minimum Programme.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Mangaldoi): Respected Chairman Sir, I stand to speak in favour of the Motion moved by hon. Prime Minister Shri Deve Gowda.

Mr. Chairman, in the recently concluded General Election, the people have voted in favour of secularism and against all forms of communalism. Our Party, the Assam Gana Parishad is a secular, democratic regional political party with a national outlook. We believe in secularism. The United Front Government led by hon. Prime Minister Shri Deve Gowda is also committed to secularism. Therefore, we extend our full support and total cooperation to the United Front Government.

As you know, Assam has been facing some serious problems after the historic Assam Movement. In the year 1985 the Assam Accord was signed by the then Prime Minister with the leaders of All Assam Students Union and the Assam Gana Sangram Parishad. But due to the ignorance and negligence of the successive Central Governments, most of the clauses of the Assam Accord remain unfulfilled.

Assam is famous for her natural and mineral resources. Assam is famous for its tea, crude oil, natural gas, plywood, vast forest and water resources. But it is quite unfortunate that economically Assam in particular and North-Eastern Region in general remained extremely backward.

19.00 hrs.

Sir, we have faced the problem of insurgency for a number of years. The ULFA and BRWSF problems of Assam cannot be solved by imposition of Army or by the power of barrel. Only a meaningful political dialogue along with the economic development of the State are main weapons for peace.

Sir, I am extremely happy that recently the United Front had declared their Common Minimum

Programme wherein this problem of Assam was brought into the focus. I am also extremely happy to note that the hon. the Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda, promised to solve the various problems of Assam and the North-Eastern Region on a priority basis...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHAMANAND MANDAL (Monghyr) : Mr. Chairman, Sir it is 7 o'clock.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA : Sir, in the year 1987 the Convention of our A.G.P. was held at Mangaldoi. In a Resolution, our Party asked the then Central Government to implement the Report of the Sarkaria Commission. I am extremely happy to note that the present Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda has taken keen interest to implement the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission.

In the said Convention, in another Resolution, our party had asked the then Central Government not to misuse Article 356 of the Indian Constitution. We, the people of Assam, are the victims of Article 356. In the year 1990, President Rule was imposed in our State without any valid reason. I am extremely happy that the present Prime Minister has announced that the United Front Government is not going to misuse Article 356, of the Indian Constitution.

Sir, on behalf of the A.G.P. and on behalf of the people of Assam, I extend our whole-hearted support to the United Front Government. I am optimistic that this Government will react favourably to the sentiments and feelings of people of Assam and the people of the North-Eastern Region by positive action.

19.04 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, June 12, 1996/
Jyaistha 22, 1918(Saka).*
