

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

This is the lesson of his life. But even if he has not acted as a puppet, may I ask him, how he agreed, or how he decided to dismiss the Government of Tamil Nadu, how he dissolved the Tamil Nadu Assembly and how he dismissed the Governor of Bihar. As the political situation stands today, is it not just to act at the behest of Congress(I) or at the behest of the Congress(I) President? If he does not accept that it is puppetry, what else can it be? Does his conscience say that it was necessary, it was democratic, it was according to the basics of parliamentary democracy in our country.

This Government must go; earlier the better. Sooner the Government goes, the better for the country. Sooner the Government goes, it is better for all of us, it is better for the parliamentary democracy.

While we want that this Government should go, I would make it perfectly clear that we do not want that Shri Rajiv Gandhi should come to power in a clandestine manner. The political instability which has been created can be resolved only through another popular mandate. If the popular mandate is not obtained, I think, we shall only be encouraging defectors; dishonest people, and such undesirable practices would receive dividends. The only way out today for the healthy parliamentary democracy is to seek a fresh mandate. Otherwise, I think, in an attempt to form Government on the basis of permutations and combinations, horse trading etc. would create conditions of instability in our country. Therefore, everybody and all of us, who represent our people, should not hesitate to go to the people to seek a fresh mandate for healthy parliamentary democracy.

Lastly, certainly there are certain constitutional crisis, certain financial crisis. We are the responsible Members of Parliament and we have an obligation to see that these problems are sorted out.

So far as my party is concerned, we shall extend cooperation to bring about a solution to sort out the problems which we

find today so that the Government can function in a way it should function. XYZ

Thank you, Sir.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last few days, a discussion was going in the House on the President's Address. Firstly, I beg your pardon for not listening to some of the Members. Several Members took part in this discussion and mentioned the problems being faced the country. I don't find it necessary to discuss all those problems, because these have been already discussed in the House many a times. But I would like to say a few words about the basic problems which have been raised here.

First of all, I would like to take up the questions raised by Shri Ram Krishan Yadav. Although, he was the last speaker, yet he has raised the basic questions regarding human dignity, poverty, distress and hunger, which are related to our country.

In the Constitution, framed after the freedom struggle, we promised to protect human dignity. We also said that our biggest wealth is our manpower and development of our country depends on this manpower. Mahatma Gandhi told us that we would be unable to build up a new India, unless we realise the dignity of labour. We have to pay attention to these issues and we should have done it earlier, but it is regrettable that we did not do so. But it is not proper to say that these issues have not been mentioned in the President's Address. When the President has proposed to set up a National Reconstruction Fund, the intention behind it was to utilise the manpower of crores of people properly. We also said that this manpower of crores of youths should be utilised to remove poverty, hunger, illiteracy, inequality existing in our country because this is the wealth which can give us biggest power.

Shri Ram Krishan Yadav has said that it is ironical that our thousands of years old

culture is full of liberal ideals, even then the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backwards are not treated at par with others in our country. They are pained about this. To remove this inequality we will have to bring them at par with others by giving them special opportunities in the society.

He has also said that special attention need to be paid the backward classes and the poor. Some other Members also said that we have always respected all the religions in our country. Unfortunately communalism has been raising its head for the last few years our country and people have become thirsty of blood of each other in the name of religion. No religion teachers to fight each other. Time and again, we have repeated our resolution in the Parliament that we believe in religious tolerance. It is necessary to take steps in this regard.

Our country has been facing the problem of unemployment. The manpower is our wealth, but it is not being utilised properly. This is why, it was earlier said that the right to work will be made a fundamental right, but simultaneously, we will have to create new employment opportunities also and for that we have to properly utilise the limited resources of our country. We have to decide whether our limited resources are to be used for providing luxuries of life or to remove poverty.

We had said this and the President too had stressed in his address that we would have to take innovative steps to fill the overwidening gap between the prosperous and poorer sections of our society. We don't have any animosity towards anyone's prosperity, we don't have any clash or enmity with the prosperous, but if we want to light a candle of hope in the dark world of the poor and the helpless, then certainly, the affluent will have to make some sacrifices. Such policies will have to be formulated in our country, that is why we opted for a planned economy for our country the Planning Commission was established in 1950. My good old friend veteran leader, Shri Yamuna Prasad Shastri said that to reference to the

Planning Commission was made. If he goes through the contents of the speech thoroughly, he will find that I had said that the draft of the eighth five year plan would be prepared by 31st March. We cannot brush aside or disregard the concept of a planned economy. If the aspirations and necessities of a large country is to be fulfilled with limited resources, then it is very essential to give priority to the idea of planning and the Planning Commission has been endeavouring to fulfil that dark and even today, it is working in that direction.

My hon. friend, Shri Somnath Chatterjee has repeatedly raised burning problems like unemployment, poverty and the problems being faced by the working class. We feel that if the problem of unemployment is not checked, it will give rise to distress and sorrow in the minds of the unemployment. Poverty in itself is a curse, but the pain and distress in the minds of the unemployment will not only create disorder within the society, but will also fear the very fabric of our society. Some of my friends here raised question regarding Assam, Punjab and Kashmir. I am grateful to the leader of opposition, Shri L.K. Advani for he had rightly understood the importance of these burning questions. Despite our all-out efforts, even today the situation in Punjab is not normal. Even today, Killings are taking place, but we have shared no effort to change this atmosphere of bloodshed. We have always stressed upon the need to solve this issue through negotiations, but I would certainly like to add here that tension has lessened, even if there hasn't been a perceptible change. We did make efforts in that direction and we shall continue to do so in the coming days too. We don't claim that we have created a paradise on earth. I had never promised a paradise, nor do I promise it today also. However, I do believe that-

"Maana ki hum chamar ko Gulzar na kar sake,

kuchh khaar tho hum kam kar sake  
Gujre jidhar se hum."

[Sh. Chandra Shekhar]

Although we were not able to establish a garden of Eden, we certainly did remove some thorns from the path, unmindful of the fact that some of them did pierce our feet. My brother, Shri Indrajit Gupta has given a very wise counsel that Chandra Shekhar should think before he acts. I would like to say that I do think and I know very those whom I can trust and those whom I can't. My experience has been similar, with those sitting here and those seated there. I won't discuss it here. Each and every Member referred to the crisis being faced by the nation. I would like to ask whether under the circumstances and in order to face these problems boldly, is it not necessary that we should instill a sense of confidence and mutual trust within us, is it not essential that we would have faith in each other? We don't say that any single person is fully competent and omnipotent. I have learned lessons of sacrifice from many people. Many of our friends said here that we should restrain our aspiration and that our personal ambitions should not blind us. I feel distressed when I hear these things from the mouths of those who have knocked my doors many a time to achieve their long-cherished ambitions. I don't have anything else to say in this regard. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to tell you.....(Interruptions)..... because through this House, I would like to tell my countrymen that mine is not a personal ambition. We wanted to create an atmosphere of confidence at a time when the country was passing through a crisis and if our detractors feel that we are in the wrong, then let them be happy about it. I have never cheated anyone. There is not a single great person in the world history, who has not been deceived at one time or the other. It is very wrong to deceive someone, but it is not a crime to be deceived. We have never deceived anyone, neither the people sitting here, nor the people sitting out there. If these deceivers try again and again and succeed in their mission, I consider it an achievement in my life. One thing that Shri Advani or Shri Indrajit Gupta had said or perhaps both of them had said was that the opposition parties were responsible for the fall of the Gov-

ernment. I would like to clarify here that Governments do not fall due to opposition parties, rather it is the supporting party which is responsible for the fall of a Government. There should not be any misunderstanding about this issue and I do not know why they are doing so, how they are doing and what do they intend to do, but I would certainly like to add here that criticism or verbal attacks from the opposition side is understandable but inactivity, inaction and absence from the House on the part of the supporting party is perhaps unprecedented and unique in the annals of the history.....(Interruptions) .

I understand it very well, but now standards are emerging. Please don't think that I am furious, many of our friends were heard saying that I am distressed and that I am furious. I am neither angry nor distressed. According to these well-wishers, I am incompetent to hold any responsible position and that the sacrifice, capability, competence and eligibility of some of those holding high position in the Government were such that they were competent enough to occupy this high office, but, according to these friends, I who was ignored and isolated by one and all thwarted these attempts and jumped into the tray at the first opportune moment. If you feel satisfied by saying such things, I would say that through your absurd thinking, you can expose your manners, but you cannot be tittle my personality.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would certainly like to say here that if I could exercise control over my ambitions and feelings from 1962, when I was elected to Parliament for the first time, then I could have done the same in 1990 too, but I couldn't do so for seasons, to which Shri Advani has already referred. I feel that the country is passing through crisis and it is moving towards a dangerous situation towards a constitutional crisis to which Shri Advani was referring. Perhaps, I may be in the wrong, my decisions may be wrong, but I have always wanted to foil the conspiracies intended towards taking the country towards destruction, with all the powers at my disposal. I am not the last person in history. The last persons of history are those

with whom politics being and end. I am among those people who believe that if this country could run in the absence of such stalwarts like Gandhiji and Jai Prakash Narayan, then it can be definitely run without Chandra Shekhar too, but there are some 'principled' people without whom this country can't run.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is for the country and the world to judge my efforts and its results and they have judged it. I would like to tell my friends that it has been observed by many people that poverty, hunger, starvation, communal hysteria and a negative feeling in the minds of poor scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is not just a phenomena restricted of our country. Rather, this crisis is there all over the world. Moreover, such forces are emerging, which are passing a grave threat to world peace. I have already spoken in detail about the issue of Gulf War, which has been raised here many times. I had taken a decision on India's stand after giving a serious thought to the issue and I want to reiterate it here that we are in favour of self-determination to the people of Palestine, but we have never felt that to achieve this goal, it is necessary to conquer Kuwait. If there is any logic in this silly argument, then only they can understand it. Even today, after the war has come to an end, India is the only country in the world which stands steadfastly by the side of Iraq. The restructuring of the Iraqi economy, its reconstruction and its development should be in the longer interests of its people. Today, when assistance was sought from India for the first time, our country took the initiative and we shall provide all possible assistance to both Kuwait and Iraq to rebuild their war-ravaged economies.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe that the responsibilities of protecting and defending a territory is the responsibility of the people living there. No third party can don the mantle of a policeman and interfere in the affairs of that country. We have never accepted it and we shall always oppose it tooth and nail, but there are some self-styled champions of world peace, who poke their

nose everywhere and every time and claim that it is they who run this world. Here I would like to know from each Member of this House whether foreign policy is hollow idealistic imagination or flights of fancy. No, in my view it is a weapon to defend and protect the larger interests of the country. I had said earlier also that for us, the protection of national interests is of paramount importance and while doing so, we shall not deviate from our principles. I would like to say only this much.

I would not like to go in that, we have developed a habit of criticising others and we have also developed a feeling of demoralisation within ourselves. We unnecessarily begin to cry and start feeling that we are ruined, none cares for us now, we lag behind the world etc. But the question is where are we lagging behind? Who will push this country back, which has a manpower of 85 crore of worthy population? We should have self-confidence. The power does not lie in Prime Minister's hands, but in those of the 85 crores of people. Sometimes, we may seek some help from America but at the same time we should not forget that America too needs our help. For a very minor issue some of us dreaded much and they began to cry that we became slave to America. There is no such thing. Actually, a man spells what is in his brain and some of us are possessing slavish mentality in themselves. So, I want to say that our country has great power and we may use it wherever it is necessary whether it is China, Pakistan or Iran. I have said it earlier also that almost all countries in the world have appreciated the role of India. But there are some self-imposed persons (Khudai-Khidmatgars) who see darkness everywhere. If in the bright sun-light a bird is not able to see anything, it is not the fault of sun-light but of the bird's eyes. I will not say more than this.

We shall have to choose the path, which India has to adopt. What role must be played by this country? Should it act as a blind follower of these powers? No, it is not a blind follower of anyone. It has an independent foreign policy we rely in the principle of the

[Sh. Chandra Shekhar]

**non-alignment.** We want to maintain our relations with the backward and developing countries. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I want to assure my friends that the people of India will always raise their voice with the oppressed against any sort of colonialism or exploitation anywhere in the world. We shall be with them whenever peace is disturbed. This is our policy and principle and we shall maintain it for ever.

Sir, much has been said about the law and order here. It has also been said that my government is a puppet government and it has taken any decisions like that. I do not know much about other decisions but one is about Tamil Nadu, which is being much discussed now-a-days. You may add Pondicherry also to it. You may read the reports of situation in Pondicherry in the Newspapers if you do not rely on my report. But here I would like to talk about Tamil Nadu only. During the present session of this House and during the last session also I had a personal talk with some of my friends, who are the opposition leaders. An assurance of not dismissing the Tamil Nadu Government was ought from me. In response to that I told them that there would not be another option before me than to dismiss the Tamil Nadu Government, it it did not change its attitude. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barrackpore) : You had not said this.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: When I raised the issue of Tamil Nadu, you did assure that you would not dismiss that Government. You said it clearly. You may change your stand now if you so like.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I did not say that. I told that I would think hundred times before dismissing it. I have got such **sebe**. I dismissed that government because it became unavoidable.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR

(Bikaner): You did as the Congress told you to do

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I do not want to involve myself in such controversial discussion nor do I want to repeat those things which explain the causes of the Tamil Nadu Government's dismissal. In the records of the House there is statement of an opposition leader, Shri Gurupadswamy who belong to the party of hon. Dendavateji. By reading that one may come to know as to what did I tell and what did he say? I do not say one thing at one place and something else at another place. The Congress is simply a political party which did extend its support to me in this House. I do not say that I cannot consider anything of that party.

But everything has a limit and I am not under any obligation to cross those limitations. Though, one may compromise many times for the country's sake. I fully agree with what Shri Advani said about the happenings in this House as well as in another House during the last two-three days. This is certainly highly deplorable and immodest situation. I was tolerating it because the discussion was going under your chairmanship. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not think it proper to interrupt and say anything. Sir, I would like to assure you that I was neither making any adjustment nor making any compromise. I know the extent to which I have to go. I know well what step should be taken at what time. They are welcome if they extend their co-operation; they are welcome otherwise also. They are masters of their will, and we have not any control over them. I don't say that they are bound to support us. But I would certainly like to say one thing to the members of the Congress Party that they should realise that just on the issue of two constables to endanger the constitution of India and to carry the Parliament into such an odd situation is not justified. Anyway, one does what one's sense allows him to do. I will say no more in this regard. That is why somebody from that side called me puppet. Their sense does not allow them to think more than that. A puppet will see a puppet only. They do not know that sometimed even a small Hanuman

burns the whole Lanka. Hanuman, despite being small....(Interruptions)....Drive out such misunderstanding from your minds. This is not an issue of an individual. The analysis of the persons is not required here. Rather, the country's circumstances and problems are important. We cannot overlook these problems. Now and then we all shall have to look into these problems unitedly. I owe my thanks to all the opposition leaders who have assured me their co-operation in resolving this constitutional crisis. I hope that some solution will come out with your co-operation. I believe that all of you will co-operate in resolving this crisis. I want to say very politely that in the Parliamentary system of Government political reality depends much on the mathematical numbers. And this arithmetic cannot be avoided. The members of the Congress Party are not present here. I do not know where they are...(Interruptions) I am not even sure about whether I have their support or not. But it is sure that I am cannot run my Government any longer with such type of their conduct. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I, with your permission, will call on the President to submit my resignation. And I request you to adjourn the House now. Now everything will depend upon the hon. President's decision. I have already taken the advise of my companions about it. We reached this decision yesterday that in such circum-

stances there is neither validity nor necessity to continue the proceedings of this House. In accordance with my decision this Government is going to resign. According to the conventions of the House its proceedings cannot continue after the declaration of my resignation. Sir, it is my formal request to you to adjourn the House as its proceedings cannot go on without Government. I am going to the President to tender my resignation. I assure my friends that there would not be any tactical politics from this side. It would be good if persons from that side also do the same. This is my wish that we all may head towards a fair and clean politics.... (interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: In view of the resignation announced by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House, putting of Motion of Thanks on the President's Address to the vote of the House becomes infructuous and also no other listed business of the house for the day can be taken up. I, therefore, adjourn the House to reassemble at 11.00 a.m. tomorrow.

14.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on thursday, the 7th March, 1991/Phalguna 16, 1912 (Saka).*