

A copy (Hindi and English versions) of the summary of Conclusions of the Official Team of Government of India which visited Ayodhya on Ram Janam Bhoomi Babri Masjid Issue. [Placed in Library. See No LT-2234/92]

14.52 hrs.

## MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

[English]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh):

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

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

Sir, I would like to draw attention to honourable the Prime Minister's Press Conference of 30th June. After he became the Prime Minister it was his first address to a conference of that kind. In that he informed the assembly and through that assembly the rest of the country as well, that the worst, he informed us, "is behind us". I find that an incredible and an unbelievable assertion and for this Motion of No-Confidence a useful starting point.

The hon. the Prime Minister is a man of age and erudition of great public experience and perspicacity. I would however be left to the conclusion that his observation of 30th June was an act of unacceptable sophistry even from him. Admittedly, the observation was in the context of our economy, but that only exacerbates the situation. It does not mitigate it, for when he made that assertion, the hon. the Prime Minister had with him the report of June, 1992 of his own Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, as submitted to the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs, which, in its very opening remarks, the very opening paragraph, states as "Summarisation of the State of economy."

It is a Cabinet document. It says: "Deficient pre-monsoon rainfall, lower foodgrains stock, lower procurement and off take, stagnant industrial production, mixed trends in infrastructure and investment climate, higher growths in money supply, inflationary pressures continue, exports are sluggish and there is a marginal decline in foreign exchange reserves." This is not my conclusion. In that sense, it is not a partisan conclusion. It is a conclusion of a document presented to the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs about the state of economy about which the hon. the Prime Minister informed the nation that the worst was behind us. That is why I have been persuaded, as I have done, to move this Motion of No-Confidence because what else are we to do in this Assembly when we see an over-burdened Prime Minister, also the party- President, who one year after installation in office, has not yet been able to complete his Cabinet, has then an inspiring Cabinet, a Cabinet crippled by resignations from critical Ministries- the Ministry of External Affairs, Ministry of Commerce- a Cabinet whose moral authority is being diluted on a daily basis by suggestions of further resignations to come, resignations by instalments- one today, how many more to come tomorrow? And all these resignations are the direct outcome of the most punishing scandals that we have witnessed since Independence- Bofors and the banking scandal. This rampant all-prevalent spreading corruption where figures now are not spoken in thousands or hundreds of thousands, or even as was the case with Bofors, on tens of crores; figures are now in multiple thousands of crores where nearly any Ministry is left untouched. Defence has Bofors, finance has now got the banking scandal, Agriculture has wheat rice exports, Power- NTPC- has direct correspondence with World Bank for loans so that equipment can be purchased, Railways has import of railway engines, Health has medicines, and petroleum, petroleum is putrid. Everything in the Ministry of Petroleum reeks of corruption from the dispensation of gas agencies to the import of crude oil. It is too sad a task to elaborate all these. I have no doubt in my mind that the hon. the Prime Minister is

aware of the dimensions of corruption that sits in this Government. But if he is not aware, then that is one reason for moving this Motion of No - Confidence and if he is aware and yet does nothing, then there is yet an added reason for moving this Motion of No - Confidence. *(Interruptions)* On what basis can this Government - having moved from St. Kitts to stock exchange scam - now inform us that the worst is behind us? On the contrary it saddens me to say that it is only the bad that has yet arrived, the worse lies ahead. This Motion of No - Confidence is not born out of any casual concern. Its genesis, in a very real sense, lies in the elections of 1991, an election that had been accompanied by a grim tragedy and an election that left this assembly, this Parliament, conceptually and arithmetically fractured. It was an election which nobody won but which in the words of the London economists then was an election in which the winner came second.

There was political uncertainty following upon that election. In that climate of political uncertainty, the leadership of B.J.P. took a deliberate and conscious decision that the nation had to be prevented from continuing on the path of crippling political and economic uncertainty. We were then in the midst of possibly one of the worst economic crises that the country has faced. The leadership of the B.J.P. took a deliberate decision that nothing will be done by the party in this Parliament or outside to add to that air of uncertainty, whether political or economic, and that we will do as best as we can to sustain and support this Government in every endeavour that is directed towards the national good.

One year after that event, Sir, if we - are persuaded to move this Motion of No Confidence, it is only to submit to the hon. the Prime Minister that your Government, when it started on this path, started with an absence of parliamentary majority. But you had a great asset - you had public goodwill, you had public acceptance and approval. This public goodwill, public acceptance and approval was largely because there was a nation-wide relief from the acute indigestion of the excessive and profligate charisma of

the profligate decade of the eighties because this Government and the hon. the Prime Minister had set course on the path of true participation by all on reconciliation and consensus. Somewhere along this route, this path was abandoned and yesterday's ways and yesterday's Congress began to re-assert themselves. Consensus, Sir, as has been commented, was replaced by cleverness. Instead of joint participation, you wanted blind conformity. It is alleged that you arranged for the splitting of the Telugu Desam Party. It is further alleged that you arranged for the Janata Dal to shed some Members so that your parliamentary numbers could become more comfortable. What happened in Nagaland and Mizoram has been debated in this very House. The cancelling and holding of elections in Punjab is yet another story.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. the Prime Minister has now a parliamentary cushion of majority on which to sit. But a price has been paid for it by losing a great asset.

15.00 hrs.

And that asset is of public approval. That is why, we have been persuaded to move this Motion of No Confidence. My grounds are four folds. Firstly, on the economic, which is your flag-ship, and on which you moved so you state the most. Secondly, about spreading corruption as exemplified by Bofors and the banking scandal. Thirdly, about the management of our polity internal and such external matters as infringe upon the internal and fourthly, about our national security and the collapse of system. Sir, on the question of economy, the present is not an occasion to go afresh into a debate on concepts. This reform, new economic policy or change that this Government has brought about largely in harmony will the thinking that we have all along held to has to my mind, four essential components. Such a reform or change as integral to it, the content of change, the direction of change, the pace of change and the management of change and in that management of change you have the economic, the social and the political aspects.



I am not going to dwell at all, Sir, on the content or the direction but I will refer to the management of economic change. Just a word before I go to the management of economic change, which is about the pace of change. My difficulty here on the aspect of pace of change of the Government is that the hon. the Prime Minister in this very press conference, if I recollect right, informed that we cannot catapult in this change. That could well be your view point and it could be a view point, which could be argued forcefully. But my submission is that the greatest difficulty with this Government lies in the fact that it is not attempting a reform by steps, it is attempting a reform by stealth. It does not wish to admit the mistakes of the past, without admitting which the correct steps of today, leave alone the future cannot be taken. What have been done in the field of economic change or new economic policy till today are all the easy things. They were relatively easy. Even they have not been done fully. Bureaucracy is still in ascendant, bureaucracy still controls. Relief from the stranglehold of a dead system is yet to be felt and yet the Government comes to us and informs us that this is our one great success and that the worst is behind us.

Sir, I quoted from a document, which is a document of the Government of India's own agencies. Examine some of the facts and these facts are based on statistical data as available to the Government of India and as empirically established by their statistics department. Sir, industrial production between April 1991 and February 1992 has declined by two per cent as against the growth of 9.6 per cent in the corresponding period of the previous year and if you combine that 9.6 per cent to this decline of two per cent, then the real figure is much higher. There is a decline in the production of saleable steel, there is a decline in the production of cement, fertilizers and crude petroleum. Oil generation is down by 8.4 per cent. Crude petroleum is actually down by almost 12 per cent. Exports are down by 1.9 per cent. Wholesale price index by the Government's own admission is up by over 12 per cent.

Consumer price index, however exact or inexact that might be, is up by almost 14.5 per cent and as per the Reserve Bank of India's own Statistical Supplement of May 1992, money supply that is M-3 which has a direct nexus with inflation, is almost 19 per cent higher than the corresponding period of the previous year. I do not know how the worst is behind them. Look at the prices that reign today in Delhi of items of common consumption.

Inferior quality wheat is costing Rs. 650 a quintal. It is not the price that matters, it is the quality also, which is a factual matter. The hon. Minister does not have to go and stand in the queue to buy rations he has managed to do so for him through others. About public distribution system, I will come in a minute. I assert that wheat of inferior quality is selling for not less than Rs. 650 a quintal. Broken basmati rice—broken, which cannot be exported—is selling at Rs. 25 a kilo; ordinary dal like chana, which is perhaps the most modest of dals, is selling at Rs. 18 kilo; a five-kg. tin of Postman oil costs Rs. 300. The minimum price of vegetables in Delhi—not the post-truck strike price, but pre-truck strike price—was Rs. 16 a kilo, tomatoes were costing Rs. 18-20 a kilo, potatoes are selling at Rs. 6 a kilo and if you have the luxury to be able to afford mangoes, they are selling at Rs. 18 per kilo. These are the prices, Sir. I do not know what their relationship with the consumer price index says, but these are items of day-today use. I would be very happy if I am proven wrong on these prices. You do not like my saying that this is what the common consumer is having to say because when you look at agriculture, today we face a very grim situation. Maharashtra, Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat Rajasthan, parts of U.P. and Bihar are deficient in rainfall. In large parts of Rajasthan sowing has not taken place. Absence of the monsoon raises yet another much more dangerous spectre, which is about shortage of drinking water. In such a situation where rainfall is already so deficient, procurement of rice up to May 27, 1992, was 10 million tonnes against 12.25 million tonnes for the corresponding period of last year. Procurement of rice is down by

Similarly, Sir, wheat again up to 27th May 1992 at 6.1 million tonnes against 71/2 million tonnes of the last year is also down by 181/2 per cent. On the other hand, off take from the public distribution system at 18.84 million tonnes against 15.64 million tonnes of last year is higher by 20.4 per cent. You have less that is coming in you have more that is going out of the public distribution system, and this is not a reflection on the efficiency of public distribution system. It is more a reflection on the shortages that are prevailing. Stocks of foodgrains at the end of April 1992 stood at 14.34 million tonnes against 18.48 million tonnes of the last year which is lower by 22.4 per cent. Just as on the stock exchange, speculators have been active in the field of foodgrains also. Heavens forbid that the rains hold out much longer. But if they do, the prospects that we face as a country are so grim that I would take them to the mind of the honourable the Prime Minister of what he told the press and the country on the 30th of June that 'the worst behind us.' Reflect, for a moment, Sir, on the infrastructure of this one year of this Government and the single greatest factor in the infrastructure in which I put power, oil, fuel, transport etc. is the situation on the front of crude oil. By very rough figures, Sir, the total consumption is expected to rise in this decade from the current consumption levels of around — and I am rounding up figures — 55 million tonnes by the end of the decade to around 77 million tonnes. Where is this additional 22 to 25 million tonnes to come from when we have a shortage of dollars, when the production of crude in the country has in fact, declined from 30.4 million tonnes in 1991-92 to the estimated figures of 28.4 million tonnes in 1992-93? Instead of crude production being able to keep pace with enhanced demands and enhanced requirements, our crude production is, in fact, falling. What am I, therefore, too assume from this falling crude production. When the overall curve of the consumption of fuel is going to go up and when the overall curve of availability of dollars is not going to non-parallel with that, am I going to assume that the worst is behind us?

Reflect for a moment, Sir, on the import data and I have said this in Parliament earlier. You had an efficient and effective Minister for Commerce and on a number of occasions, I have said this here. You have accepted his resignation, Mr. Prime Minister, on grounds of impropriety for dealing with a company called Fairgrowth. We have read his letter issued to the Press as given by the Minister himself. The letter itself does not convince us, Mr. Prime Minister, that the resignation that you had taken, has been propelled or compelled by reasons that you suggested. Either that letter is not all that is behind it and if it is not all, then, we have a right to know what is behind it, because in the field of Commerce as in the field of External Affairs, you cannot have such important Ministries unattended. Somebody asked the hon. Prime Minister as to when you are going to have a full-fledged Minister for External Affairs; rather facetiously the hon. Prime Minister was good enough to suggest; 'you have me, where is the need for a full-fledged Minister when there is a fuller-fledged Minister?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, what all is the hon. Prime Minister going to do in this fuller capacity, I will illustrate in a minute. Now, on the question of import data which I started by saying, in dollar terms imports rose by 24.5 per cent in April this year over the same month of last year and stood at 1.78 billion compared to 1.34 billion dollars in April, 1991. In rupee terms, the imports will be much higher because of devaluation. But what is of concern is the decline in exports in April compared with April, 1991 and what is of greater concern is that the decline covers both the general currency area and the traditional rupee payment area. Now, imports have gone up yet exports have declined. According to the figures of the Government of India itself, there was a 7.97 per cent drop in exports this year in April, exports to GCA countries in April this year was 1.27 million as against 1.29 million last year and export to rupee payment countries, of course, for obvious reasons were down by almost 50 per cent. The adverse trade balance in April was almost 400 to 500 million. As against this the export in dollar

terms during March-April, 1991-92 for almost a whole year actually declined by almost 2 per cent.

Sir, the foreign exchange reserves which had declined certainly went up and I submit that the foreign exchange reserves that have gone up have largely been on three grounds. One is that we have borrowed; secondly we have cut down our imports and thirdly because we permitted fund flow to come into the country through FCNR etc. But, the reserves, however, have declined during April-May, 1992 by 254 million and stand at roughly 5377 million. This is in April-May, 1992. I do not have the latest figures for this, because I do not have day-to-day access to the data of the Ministry of Finance.

The monthly outflow from NRI account, in April, 1992, the FCNR deposit amounted to Rs. 188 crores. This morning, my senior colleague, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had to voice his concern about the possibility of a run of the FCNR account. He was then enjoining upon the Government to clarify the situation, to take such action as is necessary so that an assurance is conveyed to this Account and the flow of deposit from this Account is stopped.

Because of this imbalance in import and export. I put to you that in the one year this Government's rule, our debt servicing ratio has crossed 30 per cent. I would be happy to be educated by the hon. the Finance Minister, hon. the Prime Minister as to where exactly our debt servicing ratio today stands and what their estimate of the movement of debt servicing ratio graph is for the next three to five years.

It is not possible for me in this debate to analyse in its totality, what we feel are all the deficiencies in the management of economic reforms. I could have asserted that the management is unsatisfactory, that the management should be improved in 'X', 'Y', 'Z' terms, or in 'Z' sphere. But rather than mere assertion, the proof of the management

of our economic transition from one system to another is the result that it has produced. Well, certainly the Government could, as it has done earlier, come forward and say, one year is too little for us. In this one year, we cannot demonstrate the results. We need at least three to four years to demonstrate the result that is all, right. If you need three to four years, the early indications of the steps that you have already taken are the steps that will lend strength to the agreement that you put forward for needing more time to do so.

I have illustrated these figures to point out that the early indications of the economic management of your change are not satisfactory. So, to sustain the second part of your argument that you need three to four years in which to demonstrate your success, we will look for the early indications of the steps that you have already taken. I do not want to trivialise these concerns but I cannot do any thing else if the early steps that you take are that you give importance and priority to beverages, to washing machines, to refrigerators.

I have here with me some figures in reply to a question which is about power plants. Power plant and deficiency of power is an infrastructural deficiency that will cripple India's growth if we do not address ourselves to it immediately or in the coming decade. The details as given by the Government to Parliament are: That power projects proposed in the private sector are around 21. It is thousands of crores of rupees investment. It is hundreds of thousands of crores of dollar investment. I am not going to take time. The point I am trying to make is, here, you have 21 power projects pending clearance of the Government of India, in one State of the Union or another. Not one of these power projects has received the assent of the Government of India. Not one of these power projects has seen the light of the day. Each of these power projects is currently tied up in the intricacy of bureaucratic control. But within this one year—it is not to trivialise what I am saying—what does the Government do?

With great rapid haste, it immediately permits Coca Cola to come here. By all means, have Coca Cola. Have another beverage or any Cola for that matter.

The point is that in the priority of investment, the Government takes more than a year to take a decision on as important a matter as 21 power plants which are still languishing but on the Coco Cola front you move double fast, and you give them all the clearances. Look at other aspects of this very Coco cola. That is what disturbed me. I would ordinarily not even give this illustration. I am very glad that Coco Cola has found land in the hon. Defence Minister's home districts to set up a factory. I am very glad because somewhere then we have to set it up. After all, Coco Cola has to come up somewhere in the country. They have to find land. It is a coincidence and a very interesting coincidence that about 1,000 acres that are needed by this Company are found in Baramati district of India. It is a very good thing. But there is another thing which worries me.

AN HON. MEMBER: They are not in Baramati.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would be very happy that they are not in Baramati. I would be very happy if it is not 1,000 but 100. But there is another thing. Do you know who has brought this Coco Cola? There is a gentleman...I have written to the hon. Finance Minister about the matter. There is a certain businessman who is promoting this venture in India. This businessman in late 70s and early 80s was charged by the Ministry of Finance for misappropriation of funds from Indian banks, taking them to Singapore and a CBI case was filed. The CBI investigation has been kept pending because the banks did not cooperate with CBI. When this question is raised in the Parliament, the hon. Finance Minister and the Finance Ministry said "the banking transactions secrecy between client and banks prevents us from giving this information."

I started by saying that I did not wish to trivialize the concern that I am voicing. My

point bears repetition that for one year, you cannot take a decision on a single power plant of the 21 that we have asked for. But within months you take a decision on a beverage without which the country could certainly have done and I am led to very deep anxiety and very deep worry about management of economic reforms, that, I think it is the right note on which to switch from the economic to the corrupt. I had said that my second point on which I am expressing my concern about the functioning of this Government and of lack of confidence is on grounds of corruption. I think two opening thoughts are necessary here. Where corruption by or corruption in Governments is suspected or concerned, unlike routine jurisprudence, the reverse principle applies. All Governments will perforce be and continue to be treated as guilty unless they prove themselves as innocent and it is thus that I submit that unlike routine jurisprudence, the onus therefore, rests on you and just as in Bofors, as in the banking scandal too, unless you prove your innocence by re-establishing irrefutably. (Interruptions)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai): What laws? Whose laws?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was submitting that the onus of providing innocence in matters of corruption in Government always rests with the Government itself. This is reserve jurisprudence that applies. Just as in Bofors so in banking, you will have to prove your innocence by re-establishing irrefutably your public accountability. Otherwise you would continue to be charged as guilty.

There is no one additional caution. Governmental innocence is not proven simply through protestation or by the media or by verbal assurances or verbal disclaimers. The only yardstick is recognizable action. And against this yardstick of recognizable action, I submit that as in the Bofors so in this matter of banking, you have failed in the former case Bofors irrevocably and in the later case you still have time. There are options available. I will not take too long a time about Bofors, except to submit four or

five aspects that worry me a great deal. In the last discussion that we had on Bofors, the hon. the Prime Minister suggested and assured the House, the Parliament that he would now oversee the matter personally. I do not recollect exactly whether he said it on a day-to-day basis. But he said that he would see to it personally. That is why, early, when I started, I submitted about an over-burdened Prime Minister. What all will the over-burdened Prime Minister see personally? He says he is fuller Minister for External Affairs; he is a fuller Minister now for Commerce; he is a fuller Minister for Industry; he is a fuller Minister for CBI and Bofors which he wishes to oversee on a day-to-day basis. What has this overseeing done? There are great difficulties. After this assurance to the Parliament about personally overseeing, what has happened? This personally overseeing has been demonstrated in the collusive manner in which the Delhi High Court's case is being handled in respect of Win Chadha. Here, I will seek your permission to use the name Win Chadha. I will request your permission to permit me to use a few more names. I want to tell about the manner in which the Win Chadha's case is handled, the collusive manner in which the Government of India and the advocates of Win Chadha are corporating with one another.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE  
(Bolpur): Do not give him the Christian name.  
Only say Chadha. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: All right, Chadha.. Compare this collusive manner to the manner in which the Counsel for Chadha has obtained an order from that very Court, that very Delhi High Court about the matter of impounding of his passport. In the matter of impounding his passport, the Courts has ruled that you have to take a decision within 15 days. The Court can rule in the matter of passport. But the Government of India, despite the Prime Minister's assurance, cannot obtain a ruling from the Court.. How many months have lapsed after that assurance from the hon. Prime Minister that he would oversee it personally? Further, the

non-action on the Solanki lawyer- I call it Solanki lawyer- episode is really astounding because this thesis of the lawyer, thesis of the gentleman, person, individual, legal, lawyer, is Mr. Solanki's... *(Interruptions)* This is really astounding. The hon. the Prime Minister informs the country through the Fourth Estate somewhat like: "What can I do? The CBI cannot find the lawyer." I find it really amazing. It is incredible. It is an incredible assertion of the Prime Minister who gave that assurance he would oversee it on a day-to-day basis. and, two months, three months later he comes and says: "I am sorry, I cannot do anything. The CBI cannot find the lawyer." You can do it, I submit this. Whether he is a lawyer or no lawyer, you can certainly reconcile one very major discrepancy between what a former Minister of your own Government said in this House and what was said by a Minister elsewhere. The hon. Minister for External Affairs on 30th march, 1992 speaking in this House said, "when I was in Davos, I made .. Please mark the word. "I made a courtesy call on Mr. Felber, the Federal Chancellor for Foreign Affairs. At the end of our conversation, while taking his leave I handed over a note to Mr. Felber. This note on the status of the court cases pending in India had been given to me by a lawyer. " This is where the plot thickness because on the 12th June, Mr. Felber in an interview which is quoted says, Mr. Solanki just gave me the note "summarising it briefly..." Mark the word again. "summarising it briefly, the whole episode lasted two minutes. " Mr. Solamki says he sought a formal meeting...

MR. SPEAKER: Are you quoting something?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am referring to something.

MR. SPEAKER: Without inverted commas.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Mr. Felber says that Mr. Solanki summarised it briefly..*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Of I acknowledge, I can quote.

MR. SPEAKER: Acknowledge what?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It means, if you authenticate it you can do that. But I do not want to get into it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What is newspaper's authentication?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The point that Shri Solanki has made is that it was a formal meeting. He sought the meeting and having sought the meeting, at the point of saying good-bye he handed him a note and he did not know what the contents of the note were. Mr. Felber describes how the event took place. He was walking down a corridor on his way to a meeting when he was hailed by Mr. Solanki signalling that he had something to say. The organisers of Davos Seminar promptly opened a room nearby and unheard the two Ministers for what was a quick tele-a-tete, the whole thing impromptu. He handed me this envelop. Shri Solanki say "he did not know what was the content of the envelop." The Federal Chancellor says "he told me that it relate to the Bofors case." Solanki says it was a formal meeting, but this meeting was in corridor where to quote Felber was hailed, a room was opened and we just went in for two minutes." Hon. the Prime Minister would have us believe that this is what he is doing in handling the Bofors matter on a day to day basis. Admittedly, hon. the Prime Minister can hardly be expected to look for these lawyers. But the hon. the Prime Minister can certainly ask his former colleagues about the discrepancy that obviously existed in what he has stated in the Parliament and what is stated by his counterpart elsewhere. The hon. the Prime Minister can certainly ask the Central Bureau of Investigation to look into the two statements both of Shri Solanki as also that has been made in Switzerland. The hon. the Prime Minister does not do that. He does not. and his Government does not act on Chadha, who is know as one of the recipients of the Bofors money; his Government does not act

on Hinduja; his Government does not act on Solanki; and his Government does not now act on Quattrochi. For chit it has been known for years that he was one of the recipients, now a direct allegation is being made. Even on the basis of the allegation certainly...

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Jaswant Singh, if there is a case pending in a Court of law and if you are mentioning somebody's name, I can understand that. But you yourself withdrew one of the names.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am sufficiently persuaded in my suspicion to be not inclined to withdraw this name.

MR. SPEAKER: Will you apply double principle?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: You direct me, I will withdraw it.

MR. SPEAKER: I would only request you to use discretion and follow the rules.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I withdraw it. But I submit that this Italian gentleman who has been representing Snam Progetti, who lives in India, who is believed to move in high quarters, continue to have access to high quarters and has had access for the past decade or so, this Italian gentleman or not a gentleman was believed to be and is believed to be one of the recipients of Bofors money. I ask you, Sir what has the Government done since coming into possession of this knowledge, to even question this questionable Italian? Why has he not been questioned? Why has the Central Bureau of Investigation not been asked to even visit him? Why has not even a warning been given—a cautionary note, if not a red light at least the amber light—on this crossroads of corruption? Why not that, sir? And this, despite the fact that the hon. the Prime Minister says that he will deal with this on day-to-day basis. I do not dwell longer on Bofors, Sir. As I started by saying, it is upto the Governments to prove their innocence. It is not for us because guilt is entirely covering the Government in the matter of Bofors.



Look at this banking scandal. We have had a discussion and another discussion is still pending. I have made by interventions in that matter. I will not repeat what I said then. I will make just four, very brief submissions on what I consider are the responsibilities of this Government and where I believe and have apprehensions that the Government is failing.

It is the responsibility of this Government to ensure that the damage to our domestic banking is limited both in time and in its dimensions. I am not convinced that action is being taken with the kind of despatch and energy that it merits. I hold that it is the responsibility of this Government, at the earliest possible, to restore our fiscal financial systems to their original health, to vibrancy, to growth, so that in the international field and in the internal field, Indian economy is not permitted to suffer further.

I do not believe that in the second task, the Government is showing the despatch that one would expect from it, in the case of the largest banking scandal that this country has witnessed since independence.

Thirdly, it is the question of reestablishing, at the earliest, international credibility, not simply of our banks or our banking system; because what is involved here is not just banks or banking system; it is the good name of India, that is involved. And, that is why when I intervened, I said "that of concern to me is not this Rs. 3500 crores or Rs. 5000 crores — India is large enough to absorb Rs. 35,000 crores — but the question of the good name of India is above all." And I am not sufficiently convinced that this Government is acting with due despatch in restoring the health to internal systems, restoring credibility and good name of India internationally so that all this is achieved.

Sir, just a passing word and this is a repetition. The hon. the Finance Minister informed us that this banking scandal is largely due to the failure of our internal regulatory system. I submit that it is not so. The Reserve Bank of India, has a direct responsibility; it is accountable and the

Reserve Bank of India has definitely to answer for a great many things.

When in the March of 1991, its antennas start reverberating, in the July of 1991, it issues instructions and then from July 1991, till May 1992, the regulatory functions of the Reserve Bank of India are not performed satisfactorily. Thereafter, it is not for the Head of the Reserve Bank of India, to repeatedly inform in the press and in the other forms of media, through television, that those who want him to be out, are trying to help the criminals. This is an unbelievably unrestrained and an arrogant comment.

The good health of the Central regulatory bank of the country is everyone's concern. But the good health of the Central regulatory bank of India is not ensured by dubbing those that want so that the criminals are going to be helped and those that want the Reserve Bank to explain as indeed the hon. Finance Minister to or, this Government, who are all in one sense or another answerable to this largest scandal that has taken place. If the hon. Finance Minister or the hon. Prime Minister were to stand up and say, because you charge us with this you are wanting to help the criminals, would that be the way for them to go about it? They have not said so. They have exercised the required restraint. But the head of the Reserve Bank in an arrogant fashion has said this. I am perforce compelled to say this. - I had no intention of saying this having once drawn your attention to it - that this is unacceptable.

I had said my third ground was on the management of polity. We have had repeated occasions, on numerous occasions to discuss the management of internal polity. In the management of internal polity I have four principal concerns - about J & K, about Punjab, my continuing concern about Assam, the forgotten north-eastern frontier and about the corrosive influence on the consequences of LTTE factor. On all these, I submit, when I try and search for the Government of India policy...

MR. SPEAKER: I would not like to interrupt you. I am sorry for saying this also.

The time allotted is eight hours. We would not like to limit your time. But the time given to your party is one hour, thirty-eight minutes. That which can be said in one sentence may be said in one sentence.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have this bad habit of being repetitious. I will try and not be so.

MR. SPEAKER: One hour is already over. You may take your own time because you are the initiator. We would not like to limit your time. But please keep this rider in mind.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I was submitting in the context of handling issues like J & K, Punjab, Assam, LTTE when I try and search for the Government of India's policies, I find ambivalence, vacillation, inconsistency and then incoherent and contradictory statements. Look at J&K. We have had a debate on the J&K yesterday. I will not be repetitious at all. This is a sad tale of two feuding ministers; two voices of one Government and two panics and two shoot-outs following upon the two visits. An hon. Minister of the Government visits Sringar. There is panic in his security guards and six people are shot. The Union Home Minister visits Sringar. A tyre bursts; there is panic followed in his security guards; eight people are killed. What is the point of sending ministers to J&K for reconciliation?

Even in the wake of their visits there, you only arrange for more killings in Srinagar town. Both the ministers actually having gone there speak in different voices. That is why I say what I said about J&K. We would wish, we want the hon. Prime Minister to inform us, despite yesterday's debate as to what is the actual situation in the State of J&K because one Minister says that elections are new imminent. What does the Government of India stand for? What is your policy on J&K one year after coming into office?

Punjab is a tale of missed opportunities and electoral frauds. With less than one-fifth of the electorate of Punjab voting, with less than one-tenth of that one-fifth having voted for your party, you might certainly have

added number to your parliamentary strength.

But, I submit that the emotional distance between this Assembly, this capital and the troubled people in the State of Punjab has not lessened; it has grown. You now have a Congress Ministry in the State of Punjab, you have a Congress Ministry here. Sir, for all the pledges given to Punjab by the Congress party over the years, from martyrs, from Longowal's agreement, etc., etc. now there should not be any difficulty. You have the Congress party sitting here and in the Punjab; implement your own promises to the Punjab. Please answer us on this because we are not convinced that you are handling the Punjab in the manner in which you ought to handle. How can you handle it? The riot of 1984 sits on you. May I remind who was the Home Minister during the riots of 1984? What is holding up true enquiry into the punishing of the criminals of 1984? Please answer us on these grounds. These are real concerns to us.

There are two external aspects that impinge on the internal polity I consider it my duty to bring it to your notice. I recollect, late Mrs. Gandhi was then the Prime Minister and I had occasion to mention even then in Parliament that I had apprehension that India's LTTE approach, policy towards LTTE or Indo-Sri Lanka relations was being determined not in Delhi; but my apprehension was that they were being dictated from Tamilnadu. Of course this point was refused. But, subsequent events have proved just that and what we did not want that the ethnic strife of Sri Lanka over-spilled on to the hinterland of India has taken place.

I have another worry and my worry is that similarly Indo-Bangladesh relations are now not being determined here in Delhi. They are being determined in the State of West Bengal. What have you done in the case of Tin Bigha, about which I shall be referring in a minute? It has not been dictated by considerations of the highest national interest. The day you start permitting the impingement of external on to the management of internal polity, there will be a price that will have to be paid and this is

what I wish to caution you about.

I had said that I would speak briefly about systemic disfunctions - and this is my fourth point and my concerns about national security, where I feel that this Government has failed. What I am engaged in is not a re-enunciation of academic principles of what constitute national security. I am engaged only in an examination of the conduct of that policy, whatever that policy be, its supervision and its management.

There was an incident that was referred to earlier this morning during the Zero Hour which was about Burma, about Burmese, army coming into India — Mizoram and beating out students, I would like to share with you an incident that took place on 19th December 1991, in the State of Rajasthan, in the village of Beedan, in the district of Jaisalmer. Three Pakistani invaders came 50 kilometers into our territory. They killed three Indians, they beheaded two of them. They put those heads into a gunny sack and they took these heads back to Sind on 19th December 1991. In January I wrote to this Government asking them as to what they had done about it. Between January and June of 1992, I have written five letters to this Government. I have yet to receive a satisfactory response to what actually took place. This instance of a trans-border crime, where Pakistanis dared to come into India, dared to kill our nationals, having killed, they take their heads back and since December of 1991 till today - so many months later - leave alone action being taken, leave alone any protest with Pakistan, leave alone arrests being made, I have yet to receive a satisfactory reply from the Union Home Ministry as to what took place. Why do I cite this instance? I cite it because it is reflective of the attitude, the approach in the conduct of policy - take it casually, two Indian have got killed or three Indians have got killed.

I submit to you that Rajasthan segment, possibly also the Kutch segment - I use the word 'possibly' on purpose - Rajasthan segment, south of Hindumal Kot up to Kutch

is possibly the last stable segment of the Indo-Pak border that we have. If I cite the instance that I do, it is only to charge this Government with not treating the Rajasthan segment of the Indo-Pak border with the seriousness that it deserves. If this last segment of the Indo-Pak border is to be treated with this kind of causal disinterest, then certainly this Government is not worthy of our confidence. In the matter of Indo-Pak relations, we were possibly the only ones that said that Simla Agreement was in itself an excess: and that you are going overboard in the Simla Agreement. Opinion has now gone around that that was possibly a correct viewpoint.

On the question of Tin Bigha, it is not sufficiently recognised that what could be achieved by building of an overbridge, by providing every possible transit facility, you have done by granting perpetual lease of that land. And when you granted that perpetual lease, you have simultaneously not even ensured that in the context of Indo-Bangladesh relations, unchecked illegal immigration will be contained and stopped. How am I to assume that in the management of the security interests of our country, this Government is deserving our confidence.

I recollect asking here in an earlier session of the honorable the Prime Minister: Do inform us. Do tell us what is happening in Afghanistan. Do tell us what is your reaction to the developments in Afghanistan. The honorable Prime Minister then said; Please don't ask me. Things are in a flux. It would be embarrassing for me to say may what is to be said or words to that effect.

Now events have overtaken us. We are now faced with the situation not just in Afghanistan but in the entire crescent of the Central Asian Republics where our inability to move along with the times faces India with a possibility with the potential of a serious security threat.. I would like to know from the Government as to what they have done about this.

In a similar fashion, in the question of Indo-Iran relations, it seems to have become

endemic - the taking away of diplomats and the beating up of diplomats. We have come to learn that the Government of Iran arranged for the kidnapping or the arrest or the taking away of Indian diplomats in Tehran. We would like to know from the Government India what the fact of this incident is wherein Indian diplomats based in Tehran were taken away for interrogation by Iran.

Sir, a word about our Armed Forces and their combat readiness. I would share with the hon., Defence Minister a thought that the Ministry of Defence is one of the easiest Ministries to oversee. This Ministry runs itself. The Ministry runs itself because the three Armed Forces and the DRDO are self-regulating organisations. But I am obliged to point out to this Government that when the honourable the Defence Minister accepts honorary wings from the Indian Air Force, it is a gross breach of propriety. Wings are not conferred because one is a Minister or not a Minister. This is not a small point that I am making because it is illustrative of what is happening to the armed forces. And my difficulty with the State of defence preparedness or combat readiness of the three services is principally on two grounds. One is of morale and the other is of material. If I cite the instance of the wings, then it is only to highlight in a reverse fashion the question of morale. And I am sure the hon. Defence Minister understands what I mean here. Regarding the situation here about the state of morale of the armed forces, with great regret I have to say that the high office of the Chiefs of Staff of all the three services is attended by controversy. For the first time, the Indian armed forces are witnessing a situation in which the maximum number of Court-martials maximum number of court cases and the maximum number of appeals against decisions of the highest in the Ministry of Defence are being taken. You could explain this away in this House. It is not a debating point that I am making. It is for the Government to reflect as to why this is happening and why senior officers of all the three services are taking recourse to courts of law. Where has the grievances redressal machinery of the armed forces congealed stopped being responsive? Unless you

address yourself to these, we will not be convinced that you are deserving of our confidence.

The great strength of the Indian Army or of the Indian armed forces was its officer-men relationship. I submit in great humility and with great concern that this officer-men relationship of the Indian armed forces is not what it used to be. It is, therefore, for the Government to reflect very seriously about the state of morale and combat readiness of our armed forces also about the loss of Soviet Union and the obvious enough implications for defence weapons supplies to our armed forces of that development. But there is another aspect to this, implication of which I hope the Government will examine and which I hope they will share with us their views and that aspect is that. Soviet Union is closed to us. But Soviet Union is open out to others. What are the consequences to India's security interest of that? Secondly, five weapon supplying nations converting themselves into a condominium have at least agreed in theory, if not in practice, that they will maintain the register of arms transfers. Would the Government inform us what the consequences of that are on the combat effectiveness and the state of preparedness of the Indian armed forces?

Thirdly, there is now an excess of material and weapons in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is in turmoil. What are the consequences of that to India's security concern?

Fourthly, Iran is now a buyer internationally not just of technology but of weapons as also of manpower. I do not want to cite instances. I would like the Government to share with us their assessment of this development. We have treated Pakistan as a nuclear weapon State. Unless the Government clarifies its response to Pakistan being a nuclear weapon State, how are we to easily confer upon them our confidence?

I would conclude, Sir, I will take two to three minutes. But before I conclude, I will share with you a serious concern about systemic disfunctions and the parlousness

of the machinery of State.

16.00 hrs.

We have, over the years, profligately spawned new laws for every new crime and a new police force for every additional criminal. These forces have now brought about total immobility, because they have become totally irresponsible. There are two very serious dangers facing the Republic - the state of the police of India and the state of the intelligence agencies of India. I have no time to elaborate these two. But I submit Sir, that a combination of these two, the police and the irresponsible autonomy of the intelligence agencies poses a serious difficulty and a potential problem for the Republic. Admittedly, you did not create it, you have only inherited it. But I am not convinced in my mind that you have planned sufficiently to correct it or to cure it.

Mr. Speaker Sir, there are inherent limitations to a parliamentary debate of this kind. There are such limitations of time that a debate of this nature can only be indicative; it cannot include all. I have, therefore, not been able to elaborate the deficiencies of this Government in the field of education, where cheating and leakage of papers has become all-pervasive; or in the control of population where silence is pretending to be policy, or the vital sectors of power, fuel, transport and tele-communications, which are the sinews of our future growth. Failures in these sectors will tell in the future.

I am not sufficiently convinced that this Government has acted meaningfully. I have been persuaded to move this Motion because I believe I hope I am wrong - but I believe that a grim catastrophe is not just confronting the nation; it, in fact, stands with its toe already inside our doorway. I have moved this Motion Sir, because I am alarmed at the limited vision of the Council of Ministers, at the smallness of the field of their awareness. Before such wanton opacity to the large moral and spiritual issues of the day, I have no option but to move that this House do express its want of confidence in the Council

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: Sir, I seek a clarification from the Chair... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: It is a sort of point of order. I am hearing him.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: The question I want to ask is how many minutes are now left to the BJP?

MR. SPEAKER: It is for me to decide. You don't have to worry about it.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI ARJUN SINGH): Respected Speaker, We have all listened to a very fascinating speech of the hon. Member, fascinating much more in its rhetoric than in substance. Nonetheless, I must congratulate Shri Jaswant Singh that on the basis of a purloined document - I do not know how he got hold of it - he has been attempting to put across a very dismal picture of what is obtaining in India today. And at the same time, he thought it fit to taunt the Prime Minister as to how he could have said that all that was behind and now he would look forward to something better. This is not only the taunt that is coming from Shri Jaswant Singh. Any person who holds the office of the Prime Minister of India at this juncture in history, will be taunted. He may even be jeered. He will be ridiculed. But, I am absolutely certain that history will pass a judgment that at this moment of time, the Prime Minister in the person of Shri Narasimha Rao, not only faced up to it but made all these things of the past and the future will show this. Shri Jaswant Singh Ji. (Interruptions)

Sir, I would ask my friends to keep quite because patience is not a strong point of the Opposition. Only we have got all the courtesy and also the courage to listen what has been said against us and where there is mistake, Shri Chatterjee, we have no hesitation to accept it. Candidness is one thing that must be in any democratic form of Government



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 and if candiness is lacking then democracy suffers and not any Government.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I certainly express my inability to match wits with Jaswant Singh Ji, I certainly express my lack of knowledge to parade one insinuation after another. I would certainly like to say that Shri Jaswant Singh Ji has made a valiant effort to make a good case out of a bad cause. And the reason is, all through his speech I have observed very carefully one refrain 'We kept quiet for one year. Now we have to speak up.' He laments the fact that the Prime Minister, who started his innings by calling upon what he himself has described as the consequences of 1991 elections, as a conceptually and arithmetically fractured polity. Perhaps the Prime Minister made a big mistake of saying that consensus is the need of the hour. If a fractured polity, arithmetically fractured polity. Perhaps the Prime minister made a big mistake of saying that consensus is the need of the hour. If a fractured polity, arithmetically, conceptually and politically needed the healing touch of the consensus approach, it is not his fault. I think he gave that touch because that was the need of the hour. But, how did you behave?

You may have kept quiet- I do not know the reason why you did- but it is very clearly understood by this House and by this nation, whatever may have been your motivation to keep quiet and give us one year's grace, it was not at your behest. This opportunity to manage the affairs of this nation has been given to us by a mandate of the people. We may not have an absolute majority but the mandate is very much there. in the background of our policies and our programmes, the Congress Party stands for what we projected in our manifesto. This is our duty. It is not that you shall set our political agenda. If that is what you could not do and that is your lament after a year to withdraw your feelings of goodwill I could rather say good-riddance. But, let it be clearly understood that on our part we have not and we shall not stray from the path of seeking consensus on issues which are on the National Agenda; which do not concern us in political party, which does not concern

us on certain point of view but which ultimately govern how this republic-which I may remind Shri Jaswant Singh Ji- was born only a few hundred feet away from this august House on mid night of 14th August, when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru uttered, "Nation's soul, long suppressed, has found utterance." We are conscious of that. We are too small people Sir, to bear the mantle of those people but we are certainly proud of the legacy and that legacy is our guiding force; that legacy is our strength and we shall see to the best of our capacity that that legacy is passed on to the second generation, to the next generation much more richer than we have received.

Now, there are certain specific points which Shri Jaswant Singh has made. I would only like to remind the House that it would be perhaps appropriate to reflect for a moment on the circumstances in which this Government was formed. It is not only a fractured polity conceptually, arithmetically and politically. When I say that I am not pointing a finger at any one but let us also understand that we had financially fractured polity. I would like to say this very clearly. Whatever may be the situation when the Prime minister got the reigns of Office, naturally, his first concerns were to maintain the financial equilibrium of this country. Maybe you don't agree with the steps that he took, maybe inside, you have another way to suggest, but at that moment of time, the steps taken by the Government saved this country from a very very grim situation which would have befallen us if we had defaulted on our international payments and if we had become what some countries have become because their Leaders could not summon up the courage, conviction and vision at that critical moment.

I know, you can always look back and point a hundred things that went wrong. That is the privilege which each one of us has got. How it is exercised is the issue. If it is exercised with the intention of providing a much smoother path for the nation, for the future, it is a rightful exercise. If this privilege is exercised to further confuse or to further- I won't say confront because we are



confronting on other issues not on financial issues—do something or if it is utilised for further weakening the resolve of the polity, then, I think, it is not a legitimate exercise of that concern. Therefore, while a Motion of No confidence is the right of Shri Jaswant Singh to move and to speak on it, he would, I am sure, pause and ponder on what he has to say and what effect it will have ultimately on the resolve of this nation.

I know the prices are going up. You have quoted many figures. I am sure my esteemed colleague Shri Manmohan Singh when he speaks, he will give you all the reasons as to why this has happened. He will tell you what we are trying to do to contain it and he will also tell you that no doubt, ultimately, we will overcome this situation.

I hope, the hon. Member will please realise that I am not only standing up here for a proforma defence of this government, I am standing up here because of the convictions I hold and because I see that this government is the government which will ultimately deliver this nation from the difficult situations that it has come into and not because of any one. I am not again pointing an accusing finger but the fact is that, somebody has to take this country out of it and I am sure this government will do it.

Shri Jaswant Singh has also talked of the Scam and the Bofors, the principle of reverse jurisprudence. I am not a lawyer though I studied law but this is one principle which my teacher has never told me about viz., something called the reverse jurisprudence. Of course new jurisprudence has come into practice, Sir, when Mr. Jaswant Singh has used it, there may be such a term.

I would like this house, therefore, to ponder over the facts. When the Prime Minister made a categorical statement that he would see that this enquiry is taken to its logical end, I see no reason to doubt his words. Then, on the scam, he has not only taken prompt but stringent action in the very first occasion that was available to him. Now,

I think, in the best spirit of democrat, he has asked this House to use this instrument of this JPC enquiry to bring out the facts and enable this Government to do whatever is necessary in the Opinion of this House. I think, you cannot accuse him of trying to shield or cover up any person.

Shri Jaswant Singhji has mentioned four points. He has mentioned the management of polity. In his perception on the management of polity, he has highlighted how we are trying to manage Kashmir, Punjab and LTTE and he has accused us of ambivalence, allowing ethnic concern to impinge on our foreign policy. I am sure, Shri Jaswant Singh's erudition and knowledge must have brought to him that managing of polity is not looking at it from one window and that window can never present to you the totality of the picture.

You have given the example of Kashmir that two Ministers are speaking in different languages. It is not that they are speaking in different languages. Both of them are voicing the concern of this government. When the Prime Minister has said that he would not like a single inch of soil in this country to be outside the democratic polity, then if somebody talks of elections, he is not talking against the policy. If the person who is concerned with or has been given the responsibility to see that the law and order, anti-terrorist drive is maintained in its real sense, talks of that as his concern, he is not talking against the policy. It is this reconciling of concerns for a nation and the problems that confront the polity is actually the art of management. This you think is a sin, this you think is wrong, well you may think so. I do not think it is so and this government will continue to manage the polity of this country not by trying to divest itself from its responsibility but looking at the entire picture in totality and with the background that basically this is a democratic country and it is the democratic forces which must be given the levers of power. That is our objective. The processes have to go through a lot of ups and down and that is what this world is.

Then, he has talked about the security risk. I know the very illustrious background

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 that Shri Jaswant Singh has come from. He has had the honour and we are very grateful about of having been in the Armed Forces of India and having worn the ranks of the Forces. He commands highest respect amongst us for that. But can you talk of security purely on a single incident or about security in an isolated context? I do not think, you can do so. The security of a nation, much more so in the present context, is a concern which has within its ambit everything that happens inside the country.

And how it has the bearing on the external threat that the country faces? Therefore, when he ended with the sentence, I thought he had inadvertently put his finger on something which he could not have said before, but it was lurking in his mind when he said that the danger was facing the Indian Republic. Of course, according to you, it is only the police and the irresponsible autonomy of intelligence agencies. May I remind my hon. Members that the security of a country is not only confined to the irresponsible autonomy of intelligence agencies or the conduct or misconduct of the police; yes, it may be a contributing factor; and here my real grouse, not grouse, not a complaint, but something which I want to state very categorically on the Floor of this House is that if a threat to the security of this country has arisen, if there is a danger to the democratic polity of this country, it does not have its origin on this side of the House; it has its origin on that side of the House.

What do you conceive of this nation? This is not a nation which belongs to any individual; this is not a nation which belongs to any faith; this is not a nation which belongs to any caste or creed; this is nation which belongs to every one single person inhabiting the State's land and his rights and duties have been entrusted to him, that have been given to him by the Constitution of India. Therefore, when somebody goes out recklessly in pursuit of power, in spite of what danger it may be posing to the policy, then, I think we have to sit down and think who is causing danger to the security environment of this country, and who is really helping in the fracturing of the conceptual, political and

social fabric of this nation. Therefore, I would appeal to Shri Jaswant Singh and his Party that it is high time, they reflected on what they are trying to do, it is high time, after they have withdrawn the period of grace from us, it is now your duty to rekindle the flames, to relight those dangerous trends which almost engulfed this nation.

When a so-called demi-God rode throughout the length and breadth of this country on His Chariot unmindful of the fact that the trail of bloodshed was filled in agony that was left in that trail, when the ears of this demi-God were totally attuned to the trumpets of power that He hoped to receive on his arrival in Delhi- and it could not be disturbed - the wails and moans of thousands and thousands of women and children who were murdered as His Chariot of fire passed by.....(Interruptions) It is not possible.

(Interruptions) Are you aware that the type of fundamentalism that is being kindled.....Interruptions)

(Translation)

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): Why did you not arrest it in the State of Maharashtra? (Interruptions)

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I would like to submit that I am not making any politics in this matter as to who has arrested whom.

(English)

I know what all I am saying is very very unpalatable .

But I think somebody will have to say this unpalatable truth, will have to run the risk of telling this unpalatable truth and in all humility I am prepared to run that risk, whatever may be the consequences. I want to say that, perhaps you are not aware, that if once this country is engulfed in communal violence, what would happen? Are you aware of the environment around? I am talking of international forces. We are witnessing the rise of fundamentalists all around the country. By stocking the fires of

fundamentalism inside the country you will be preparing the country to face those fundamental forces. Or will you be weakening the resolve of the people of this country that if they are to face communalism, if communalism lays siege to them, how are they going to fight the fundamental forces? You have to prepare the country, you have to prepare the hearts and minds of the people of this country. You are contributing to it.

I would like to say in very clear terms that what the Prime Minister is doing is, he is trying his best to reconcile the conflicting forces. (Interruptions) The social disharmony that he inherited in the wake of certain issues, with the help of everyone concerned, he was able to reconcile that disharmony and at least to bring a maximum measure of support and consensus for that policy of reservation.

He tried his level best that in spite of the fast changing scenario in the world, where national boundaries are falling, where people are stretching hands across the continents, either for friendship or for sabotage, he has kept India free from them. That in this one year there may not have been the flamboyance that you want, but there has been a quiet determination to attend to the basic needs of this country.

Therefore, I would beg you and with your permission like to say that this is not a time to trifle over with the emotions or with the institutions of this country. It is time to strengthen them. It is time to put our faith and commitment on a high profile.

It is often given to some generations to test their faith with action; and this we shall do, because our faith and commitment are not drawn from the expediences of politics, or party politics, or exigencies of the moment. We shall see that the country goes on the right path of economic progress, we shall see that the country is politically held intact, that the social tensions that are being generated are met and coped with the

democratic system, we shall try to see that under all circumstances the weak of this nation the poor of this country, the dispossessed of this nation are given what is due to them with all promptness and with all certainty. We will see that under no circumstances will forces which want to strand and overcome the forces of democracy, secularism and goodwill succeed.

I would like to warn this House with whatever little insight that I can command and pray at the same time that what I may be saying shall never come to pass, shall never be there.

I perceive the creeping shadow of fascism casting its long shadow over this country and I see that it is our concern and commitment to see that this shadow does not become a reality in this course, this House has to join the Prime Minister so that posterity may say that at this moment the people on whom the responsibility lay prevented its shadow from becoming a reality.

In the words of Dylan Thomas, this is not the time to confront each other, at least not amongst those who represent the dynamic and secular forces of this country. For them it is time to come together so that we are able to wage a war against the dying of this life, not to succumb to it, not to be party to it. I am sure that the dynamic leadership of Shri Narasimha Raoji will enable this to happen and the days to come, which Shri Jaswant Singhiji wanted to dismiss as if what has gone in the past year is going to be multiplied geometrically in the future, I may assure him, we will see that that day does not come.

I would like this House to reflect not only on what we have been able to do but also reflect on what needs to be done and in that process, hands have to be joined people's hearts have to be joined, and those who wish to tear asunder the hearts and minds of this country, they have to be checkmated at any cost. This is the need of the hour. This is the demand of the present. This is what the future expects from all of us.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Roserai):** Mr. speaker, Sir, I rise to support the no-confidence motion. I am of the opinion that this Government has no moral right to stay in power for even a second.

I was astonished as to why Shri Arjun Singh alone was asked to answer. Many well-established leaders of the Ruling Congress party are present here who could have answered the issues raised by Shri Jaswant Singh but why Shri Arjun Singh has been called for performing this job? Why did he praised the Prime Minister in exaggeration?

**SHRI ARJUN SINGH:** Do you want me to praise you? It is impossible for me.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** This proves that there is something wrong in the whole affair. This government has managed to remain in power for a whole year. It is a separate issue. Whether we would be able to dethrone the Government or not but this is true that people have been disillusioned with this Government. The Government could not be able to check the prices, it did not exercise a break over the increasing unemployment, it has failed to control the corruption; it did not succeed to solve the problem of Punjab; it has completely failed to protect the down troddens; it could not be able to provide security to the minorities; it could not be able to implement the recommendations of Mandal Commission; it has surrendered before U.S.A. and for all these crimes, the people of the country would have pardoned the Government, they would have given some more time to the Government to deal with the situation; they would have kept some more patience for the solution of their above mentioned problems. But the most serious crime which has been committed by the Government is its total incapability to safeguard the Constitution, it has openly violated the provisions of the Constitution, it has failed to protect the Constitution and that is why the Government has no moral right to stay in power.

You have replied to all the points raised by Shri Jaswant Singh, however, he has raised only one issue relating to economic aspect. But I am surprised to note that while speaking so much on the issues raised by Shri Jaswant Singh, Shri Arjun Singh did not say even a single word on social justice.....(Interruptions)....

**SHRI ARJUN SINGH:** I think you did not pay your attention to my statement. I had referred to social justice also...(Interruptions)

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** You have emphasized the point of secularism. I am not going to discuss other things except price-rise. So I would start from price-rise. You have said that it is not my monopoly. I admit it that it is not my monopoly, I ask a simple question when it was your monopoly, why it has vanished. Have you ever thought over it? You had a monopoly over the down trodden classes. Why did it end?

I would like to start with the issue of price-rise. You never bother to go through the election manifesto issued by your own party but we would have to study the election manifesto of your party. You had declared that you would put a check on the rising prices within a period of hundred days. You had not only promised that you would bring the prices down but you had also promised to bring them back to the price level of 1990. Now we are passing through the year 1992. You can compare the prices. Not to talk of July 1990, even July 1991 has passed through, but you have not been successful in controlling the price-rise. As per the reports published in the Times of India a day before yesterday, what to talk of checking the price-rise, it is going up rapidly and if the speed of price rise so continues, about 2 crores more people will be forced to live below the poverty line. This is the actual trend of price rise.

Replying to a question regarding unemployment, he has stated that the total number of unemployed persons in 1990, whose names was registered in the Employment Exchanges was 34,631

thousands. These are the Government figures which have been referred to in the reply of a question. In 1991, this figure has shot up to 36,299 thousands thus registering an increase in the number of unemployed persons by three crores and sixty two lakhs. Your party had promised to ensure one crore job opportunities every year.....(Interruptions) job opportunities for ten crore people by the end of the century had been promised. Prices are rising, unemployment is rising and I would not like to refer to the state of corruption in this country. It is a matter of happiness that Prime Minister Narsimha Rao does not say that corruption is an international phenomenon; but even then nobody in this country is ready to hear anything about corruption. Wherever you go corruption is the main point of discussion. Just now Shri Jaswant Singh was describing its state in every Ministry. It has been said that Mr. Solonki has been made a victim of it. I had submitted in the outset that he is a sober man and he has never uttered anything against anybody. Even then he did state if he ever revealed anything, it would cause a serious upheaval. Is it not an evidence of all this? One Minister has resigned and rumours are in the air that three-four other Ministers are on the way to resign. It is also a rumour that everybody one Minister would tender his resignation from the Ministry. Mr. Solonki our Minister of External Affairs hands over a letter to his counterpart but it is not known as to who was the person who gave this letter to our Minister for External Affairs. The only thing which is known about him is that he was an Advocate but our hon. Minister does not recognise his face. Was he a faceless person.....(Interruptions) This is what our friends are saying as to how he came to know that he was an advocate while he does not remember his face; he does not know his address etc.

Sir, through you, I would like to submit that it is not a petty issue. Where the Minister for External Affairs had to resign. The Advocate belongs to this country, he was not

an outsider. The whole administration is on your tips and even then you could not be able to locate that person.

Many things had been stated in regard to Bofors scandal. The Government has tried its level best to hush up this issue but this is such a peculiar type of issue as has been automatically divulging the new clues one after the other. The debate on this issue in the country sometime is very hot and sometimes it is cooled down but this issue remains as it is. Just now one of our colleagues elaborately referred to the issue of Bank scam which shows the high level corruption prevailing in Banking system.. I came to know that our Finance Minister Shri Manmohan Singh Ji, while speaking in the other House yesterday, gave a clean chit to all the concerned wings. He told that RBI is not involved in the matter. SBI is not involved. Income Tax deptt. is not involved in this scam. If all are innocent then who is guilty? This means you yourself are guilty. Mr. Speaker, Sir, after all the Government of India will have to fix the responsibility at any stage. Sir, I would like to ask whether it is not a fact that you have reinstated all the Chairmen of the Banks to whom we had removed from their posts. I do not want to mention their names....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: No, No.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I would not mention their names. But is it not a fact that the Chairman of U.T.I. has been posted as a Chairman of the National Housing Bank, the Chairman of Bank of Saurashtra has been transferred to U.C. Bank as a Chairman? Is it not true that as per report, there is a bungling of Rs. 1271 lakhs in both the institutions i.e. the National Housing Bank and the UCO Bank.

A Foreign Bank has created a scandal of more than 70 per cent security in a year and who is responsible for this bank. Is the Reserve Bank not responsible and is "...not responsible for it? (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Leave the name.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** Should I leave it, if you say so, then I leave it. Mr. Speaker Sir, then there is other question. Our colleague Shri Jagmeet Singh Ji was speaking on the Punjab problem in the morning. Today whether it is the Punjab problem or any other problems of the country, I want to ask whether there will be law or there will be law of jungle in the country. I am myself a victim of it, two Prime Ministers were assassinated and I did not do any harm to anyone, even then my house was set on fire, both times. In 1984, I was residing in 12, Janpath, my house was set on fire on 1st November, 1984 and everything burnt to ashes. Karpoori Thakur Ji is not among us today, only we know how had we survived. We had lodged the F.I.R. but no action has been taken on that as yet. Today's Prime Minister was the Home Minister at that time. Recently my house was set on fire after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, I figure nowhere, yet my house was set on fire. Who did so, and against whom the action is being taken, is not known even today. If such a thing can happen to a member of Parliament then what would happen to common man.

Today the law and order situation is such that on the one hand, there are the terrorists and on the other hand, terrorism is being created in its new forms. When the incident of the killing of the sikhs took place at Pilibhit in Uttar Pradesh, then we had raised the issue in the House what does the Government of Uttar Pradesh say, we can understand that but we can never understand what the Central Government says. The Government has chimed in saying those were also the extremists. It means that those who went there for offering worship were termed as extremists. In case, they were extremists, then why did the Court issues orders for a compensation of rupees fifty thousand? Does the court ever issue orders for making compensation to an extremist? Mr. Speaker, Sir, so, I would like to submit that hon. Arjun Singh Ji was talking about social justice and secularism just now. I can understand the stand of the Bharatiya Janata Party on the Ram-Janam-Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. I can also understand the stand of Bajrang Dal but what is the stand of

the Government has never been explained to us. I was newly elected in 1977 and both Shri Atalji and Shri Advaniji were the Ministers, one was the Minister of External Affairs and the other was the Minister of Information and Broadcasting in the Government of Janata Party. They never raised the issue of Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid, they never mentioned it but why did they mention it last time when they were with us? They did so because the Government got the *shilanayas* performed and the gates unlocked. (Interruptions). Today they talk of secularism. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on that day Atal ji had denied the charges. I was under this impression that Atalji would reply the question as to why the votes were asked in the name of Rama in Faizabad. It is known to us that the Uttar Pradesh Government is responsible for today's incident. I would like to submit to the people of the Bhartiya Janata Party that a day will come when they will be proved irrelevant by those whom they rely upon.

(Interruptions)

We are saying so because we are worried about the country. Mr. Speaker Sir, I would like to submit that on that day we had met the hon. Prime Minister. I asked the hon. Prime Minister if some saint had come to see him one month ago, had that Sadhu told him that they were going to construct the temple. Why did not he try to stop them? Why it appeared in the news paper that the hon. Prime Minister was in a positive mood and he encouraged them. I asked the hon. Prime Minister as to what did he say to that saint. The hon. Prime Minister replied that he had said, "Do your duty". Later on, he explained that he meant by "Do your duty" that politics should not be linked with the religion

Mr. Speaker Sir, my submission is that hon Arjun Singh ji, who is speaking loudly against the Bhartiya Janata Party but it appears that he is not doing so seriously. The Government has deceived us in matter of implementation of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. In South India it



has declared that the recommendation of the Mandal Commission have been implemented, 70 percent reservation has been implemented while these people are demanding 27 percent reservation has been implemented in Tamil Nadu and 68 percent allowed in Karnataka while these people are demanding 27 percent only but the Government did not clarify that they are demanding 27 percent in Central service and the reservation that has been implemented in those States is for the services of the State Government only but they opposed it openly in the Northern India and with the result they have been uprooted there. Now they are frightened and think how to win Hindu votes. People on that side are adopting double standards. On the one hand, they are supporting Hinduism and on the other hand, they talk of secularism. It may be the approach of an individual but not of your party. Today hon. Arjun Singh ji is supporting secularism, if it is so, he should have taken action the day when the construction work had started there, but no action has been taken by now.

Our colleagues were very much agitated in this august House on 8th, when the issue of Kumbh was being raised. Our colleagues were asking as to why the Ayodhya issue was not being raised but we said that this issue would come up the next day and then we would raise it. They expressed disagreement saying that anything might happen there the next day. Mr. Speaker Sir, hon. Members of Parliament know that the construction work will start there on the 9th, a constitutional crisis is going to arise, the orders of the Court are going to be violated and even then the Government kept sitting smugly. We raised the issue on 9th and whenever we raised the issue, they talked of C.C.P.A.

On the one hand Mr. Speaker was disturbed and on the other hand we were also disturbed. On the one side the meeting of Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs was going on and on the other side we were holding meetings of Left Front and the National

Front. We held separate meetings of C.C.P.A. and Mr. speaker held separate meetings. SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Here the meetings of C.C.P.A. were being convened and there you were holding meetings of P.P.C.A.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: What was the result? You have assured the House on Thursday that the meeting of C.C.P.A. is to be convened at 6 O'clock. The proceedings of the House could not be conducted on Friday? You wanted to shift the responsibility on the shoulders of others on technical ground so that you are safe in the court of law. One of your Cabinet colleagues has said when it was your Government, you people followed principles first. You were not after the power. But we give more importance to power and consider principles later. Power has to be retained. The principles may die.....(Interruptions)

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I respect Paswanji very much but whatever you have just said I am unable to understand as to who has said it and when?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: But you know it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was saying that it is a very serious matter. Have you formulated any policy till today i.e. Monday because the house assembled after Saturday and Sunday? Have you formulated any policy so far? The Minister of Home Affairs has gone now. I would like to ask why did he not go earlier? The Minister of Home Affairs had formed the delegation in which Shri S.R. Bommai was also a member. Why did he not accompany him? Why did he not go earlier? After coming back from there he opined that construction had started and law had been violated. You have conceded that law had been violated and there has been a violation of Constitution also. There are three organs—judiciary, executive and legislative. One of our colleagues has correctly said that judiciary does not have guns and pistols. The orders issued by the judiciary have to be carried out by legislature. Have you tried to implement the orders issued by the judiciary. I would like to say that in my opinion it is not an issue which is related to temple alone. We are not

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going to safeguard the temple or the mosque. It is a matter which is related neither to the temple nor with the mosque. It is a matter related to the court of law and the Constitution. The construction work which is going ahead is not for the temple or the mosque but it is going on to violate the Constitution.

I was studying your manifesto. What has been mentioned in your manifesto regarding Ram Janam Bhoomi Babri Mosque? It has been mentioned that the Congress Party is in favour of constructing the temple without demolishing the mosque. The same thing is going on (Interruptions)..This is your manifesto of the year of 1991...(Interruptions)....

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Paswanji, thank you for studying the manifesto of Congress Party. But it has always been the stand of the Congress Party that we are not against the construction of Ram Temple. The temple should not be constructed after demolishing the mosque. You should listen to it, if you have any misgivings about it then please listen to me.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying the same thing which you have mentioned. The views of Congress and the B.J.P. are the same in this regard. Shri Advani is also repeating the same thing which you are stating.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Do you not want that the temple should be constructed? Do you believe that the temple of god should not be constructed anywhere. If it is so, then kindly clarify your views...(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI GULAM NABI AZAD): We are in favour of constructing the temple but not on the spot where the mosque is presently located. You kindly tell us whether the temple should be constructed or not..... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Are you

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Shri Ram Vilasji has raised an appropriate question. He says that whatever Shri Arjun Singhji is elaborating today, Shri Advaniji's views are also the same on this issue. Shri Advaniji is narrating that we will not demolish the mosque for another three years but in the meanwhile construction of the temple will continue. There is no difference between the two if you are saying the same thing....(Interruptions) major problems in the world can not be solved by craftiness and national decisions are not manipulated. Therefore, you should decide that if whatever you are saying is correct then Shri Advaniji's views are also correct. I don't consider the statement made by Shri Advaniji true as... (Interruptions) You are saying that you are against the construction of temple everywhere. It is not the question of everywhere. The question is of dispute area which has been existing since long. It has been causing tension in the country. Shri Advaniji or persons belonging to Vishwa Hindu Parishad say that we will not touch the mosque and we may be allowed to construct the temple. It will be decided later whether the mosque should be demolished or not ... (Interruptions) I am not concerned with Shri V.P. Singh. Shri V.P. Singh is also equally confused. Today Shri V.P. Singh is not our Prime Minister but Shri Narsimha Rao is now our Prime Minister. In this matter, the Congress Party should be clear of its stand. Are you supporting their stand or not...(Interruptions) -

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P.V. NARSIMHA RAO): I have heard a good thing. I was thinking that I might reply later or tomorrow or day after tomorrow. It has become absolutely clear now. I as well as Congress Party are in favour of constructing Ram Temple there...(Interruptions) please listen, the Babri Mosque may never be demolished. This arrangement is not for two-three years...(Interruptions) It is the meaning of our manifesto. The term 'there' does not imply at that particular site....(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE  
(Bolpur): Now, we know as to why they have  
been taking the country for a ride.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Sir, I want  
Mr. Arjun Singh to define his secularism.

[Translation]

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Gandhi Nagar):  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to Shri Ram  
Vilas Paswanji who has brought the  
discussion on No- Confidence Motion at a  
pivotal point by referring the manifesto of the  
Congress Party and Shri Chandra Shekharji  
has asked a question to get the matter  
elaborated. The Prime Minister has said that  
he had got an opportunity to summarise it. I  
would like to urge that the ruling party should  
never forget that the *Shilanyas* site was  
selected because the temple which was  
supposed to be constructed by the Vishwa  
Hindhu Parishad, that Singhadwar is the site  
of *Shilanyas* and the construction would be  
started from that Singhadwar... (Interruptions)  
. The entire dispute is not of Ram Temple.  
The crux of the problem is that it is the  
concept of the people of the country that the  
birth place of Ram is there. Therefore, the  
temple should be constructed there. There  
is no time to discuss the dispute whether it  
is the birth place of Ram or not, whether it  
involves a historical fact or not.

17.00hrs.

(Interruptions) But the whole discussions  
been started on this basis only. After  
conceding it as a birth place of Lord Ram,  
your Government had allowed the Vishwa  
Hindu Parishad for  
*Shilanyas*... (Interruptions).. Rajiv  
Government had permitted it at that time.  
When I think it was indisputable. Even  
though, the site was a disputed site, the  
permission was given for *shilanyas*. Today,  
I am sorry to see that despite their own  
manifesto the Government is daily creating

problems opposing it when the construction  
is going on. Mr. Speaker, Sir, do not side  
with them on this issue because they are  
playing the politics of votes.

SHRI P.V. NARSIMHA RAO: I am not  
quarreling with anybody.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: They have the  
right to say this. Shri Chandra Shekhar may  
be right in his own view and I will publicly say  
in the House that no one also but Shri  
Chandra Shekharji had tried to solve this  
problem authentically.

SHRI P.V. NARSIMHA RAO: It is O.K.

• SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: You can also  
solve the problem, but the construction work  
should not be stopped. The people who are  
involved in the construction work have already  
said many times that they would neither  
touch the mosque structure nor they would  
allow others to touch... (Interruptions)

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT  
(Ponnani): I would like to raise a question. I  
would like to know about the map of the  
temple.. I would like to ask Shri Advaniji  
whether the mosque has been included in  
the premises of the temple or not. I would like  
to ask from Shri Narsimha Rao, the same  
question. I am asking both of you. Where is  
the map. How would you safeguard the  
mosque?

[English]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack): I am  
on a point of order. On this issue, I think  
Prime Minister wander to response. Let the  
Prime Minister respond.

[Translation]

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHARAO: So far as  
the matter of Babri Masjid is concerned, it is  
very clear that we would not allow it to do  
come down nor would we allow it to be  
demolished. This is there in our manifesto  
and this also our resolution. Now when one  
come to the point of the construction of  
temple, when the foundation was laid there,

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it was reported that the place was undisputed and therefore, the foundation was laid. Foundation is not laid for the construction of a main gate, foundation is laid for the construction of a temple.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The tradition has it that the foundation should be laid there itself.

SHRI P.V. NARSIMHA RAO: The site where the construction of temple had to be undertaken has been used to construct the main gate so that the temple may encompass the Babri Masjid ... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I would like to answer Shri Chandra Shekhar.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): I am on a point of order. The Hon. Prime Minister has used the word Babri Masjid, for that structure, the matter is sub-judice, the dispute is pending in the court, so it should have been called Ram Janam Bhumi Babri Masjid. Prayer is being offered there for fifty years, how can there be a mosque there?

MR. SPEAKER: You please be seated it is not a point of order.

[English]

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: After the statement of the hon. Prime Minister on this issue, I think there should be no doubt as to what this Government and this party stands for. I would like to answer most humbly the question put to me by the hon. Member Shri Chandra Shekharji- though it is put to me personally but I am answering not on my own behalf only- the question is it is not a point as to what is happening there on the ground. That has been clarified very categorically by the Prime Minister. The building of the temple, the demolition of the mosque, is a contentious issue on which the nation has a clear perception and that perception is reflected by your views, our views and their

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia): Your view and my view are not the same.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: All right. But on one thing I want to make it clear.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If you are presenting your Party's view, your view and my view are not the same. Are you expressing your personal view?

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I want to make it very clear that there is no personal factor in this.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Yes. There is.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: My view is very clear irrespective of the Party's view that so far as the structure which we know as the Babri Masjid is concerned, under no circumstances, in any plan, in any scheme of things, is this Party going to countenance any damage to it whatever they will try to do. That is number one. (*Interruptions*). Please let me finish.

So far as the question of Ram temple is concerned, we are not against the building of the temple anywhere in Ayodhya.

AN HON. MEMBER: Not at the disputed site.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I am saying not in the disputed site.

So far as the larger question is concerned, I would request this hon. House through you and I would request the hon. Leader of the Opposition in particular, that what is at issue is not only this. What is at issue, is, are we by prolonging or trying to keep this in the focus not encouraging sentiments, and elements which are not in tune with the total national sentiment? Is it not correct that when tension mounts, one spark can lead to conflagration and that conflagration will badly endanger this country, this policy and this entire entity? Now that

scheduled castes alone is 610 and that of scheduled tribes is 102 within one year. I am quoting statewide number of these killings. In Uttar Pradesh 293 people have been killed which is highest. Madhya Pradesh is second. These are the figures of last one year. It is written in it...

[English]

Number of cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes separately during 1991-92.

[Translation]

I read it in full. 28 in Andhra Pradesh, 22 in Bihar, 28 in Gujarat, 22 in Karnataka, 95 in Madhya Pradesh, 26 in Maharashtra and 52 in Rajasthan. 293 people have been killed in Uttar Pradesh. It means all the three B.J.P. ruled States are first and the Congress-ruled states are second...

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: You should also tell about Bihar.... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I have told that there are 22 killings in Bihar.

SHRI DAUDAYAL JOSHI (Kota): There have been 312 killings in one year in Bihar. You should also read that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not the point whether the number of killings is 10 or 1000 but what step is being taken by the Government in this regard. This is the main point. I stated it the other day that the incident of Kumher is like the one that occurred in Chandur. No body was punished in connection with the incident of Chandur. There is no chance of punishing anybody as is apparent by the trend of tackling the Kumher issue, Dalits are killed in police stations. Rape is still being committed on women. I, therefore, want to draw the attention as to where the country is heading to. I met the Hon. Prime Minister and told him that both heart and mind are required to govern a country, and he does not lack

should not be done. If Shri Lal K. Advani is very sincere about the country, he is so sincere about everything else, that is one declaration which you can make and reassure this nation that for five years you should cease any activity that is going on there. Let the people of this country sit together. Let every one who is concerned with justice and fairplay, try to come together and the steps initiated by Shri Chandra Shekherji should be taken to fruition. Otherwise, it is obvious that you want to utilise this sentiment of the people and you want to utilise this occasion irrespective of the duties that each one of us has to the Constitution and to this country, to the single-minded and ruthless pursuit of power.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I simply wanted to say that their intention is not as good as it should have been of the Government of India. I say it repeatedly that there is no dearth of leaders in this country, there is no dearth of policies either, but there is no intention. Since intention is not there, action is not taken. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is what I wanted to point out right from the very beginning that the stand of the Congress (I) in this regard is the same as is of the B.J.P. This is proving now and so will it do even in the future. That day is not very far off.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is another question on which I think our colleagues Shri Jaswant Singh and Shri Arjun Singh should have spoken that there had been a constant increase in the cases of oppressions and atrocities against the weaker section of the society in the country. In this regard I have an answer to a parliament question which was raised by Shri Bhagwan Shankar Rawat. This question was asked on the 9th July, 92. He has asked in this question of the 9th July about the number of people so Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes killed in last one year, the number of cases of rape and the number of cases of other offences. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the number of killings of

581 *Motion of No-confidence* ASADHA 24, 1914 (SAKA) in Council of Ministers 582 intelligence. He is the Prime Minister of the country. He had been a Minister of External Affairs, he has been a Minister of Home Affairs, he has also been the Chief Minister of a State. He does not lack intelligence. I think he does not lack large-heartedness either. But the point is why the killers are not punished even when both heart and mind are there. Some one can say that killing is something beyond one's control but why the killers are not punished after the murder is committed. It can be asked from the men of any party, all say it unanimously that the rights of people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are being violated. Margrate Alva who is sitting here, She is having our Privilege Motion with her. You have given time tomorrow. 104 officers who belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are promoted on the 6th December.

They are promoted on 6th December, the death anniversary of Baba Sahib Ambedkar and demoted on the death anniversary of Mahatama Gandhi. 104 officers were demoted again on 30th January to the post of section officers. Who else than this House will think over such matters? Remember, whenever, the doors of non-violence are closed, naxalite elements raise their heads and their activities increase. Poor people have lost their faith in law and order but no reforms are being made. Mandal Commission was set up. Following the recommendations of this Commission, the Government had assured to introduce economic criteria for reservation. One year has passed, Shri Kesri is present here, he has failed to explain as to what economic criteria actually is. The Government has not implemented the Mandal Commission report. They do not clarify as to what is the economic criteria. What does the Government think? Do the people of backward classes or minorities not understand all this? This is their dual policy. So far as agricultural policy is concerned, the Government has not formulated any such policy so far. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will not take much time and would like to submit through you that the present Government have totally failed on economic front. The Government failed in

regard to social policy. The present Government have deviated from the path of secularism. The present Government have been unable to safeguard the Constitution and have also failed in removing corruption. Therefore, they have no moral right to run the country. The Government which cannot safeguard the Constitution of the country has absolutely no right to remain in power. Therefore, our demand is that Government should resign on moral grounds even before the Voting on No Confidence Motion.

With these words, I support this no-confidence motion and also thank you.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to know from the Hon. Prime Minister whether any verdict has been given today in regard to the cases pending in Allahabad High Court and Supreme Court and whether the Government have received any information to that effect?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO: At the moment, I can not give the information in detail.

[English]

The State Government has been restrained by Lucknow Bench from raising any construction on the acquired land and if there is any utmost necessity to do anything for the user of the land, then they will seek prior permission from the Court. This is Allahabad High Court's.

Three day's time has been allowed to the State Government to file a counter-affidavit to the application for contempt and for demolition of already raised constructions. Three days thereafter for the rejoinder. Thereafter the matter will be taken up immediately for hearing. In the meantime, the hearing on the main petition will continue on day-to-day basis from tomorrow. This is Allahabad's

In the Supreme Court - The State Government will file an affidavit tomorrow in the Supreme Court.



SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: As far as I am aware, the State Government has sought to impress upon the Allahabad High Court that we would like the decision to be taken immediately in respect of the basic writ petition.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: That is why, it has been from day-to-day.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Chidambaram to speak.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga): Mr. Speaker, Sir... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Is it an intervention in the debate or it is a statement on his resignation?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: He is speaking on behalf of Government. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): There is a point of order. As it is, this House should also know officially that he has resigned and a new Minister is introduced. So, either the Prime Minister or the Minister who resigns should inform us.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not 'should', but 'may'.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK: That is right. That is why, I am making a point of propriety...

MR. SPEAKER: Not order.

SHRI RAM NAIK: This House should have at least this much courtesy that either from the Prime Minister or the Minister who resigned...

MR. SPEAKER: It is not required. If he wants he can do that.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK: It is an important point.

MR. SPEAKER: That point is decided now.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA: Sir, can he explain why he has resigned? He should explain about his resignation. Let him explain this first. We are all interested to know why he has resigned. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Chidambaram, you follow your own line of thinking and speak.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to oppose the motion and to defend the record of this Government in the last 12 months. I realise my duties, my responsibilities and the courtesies I owe. And I think I discharged my courtesies to the Leaders of the Opposition when I spoke to Shri Advani, I spoke to Shri Chandra Shekhar and I think I am entitled to speak in this House as a Member on this motion. Shri Chandra Shekhar and Shri Advani have offered me great solace and great comfort with the words expressed to me and that I think should answer most of the questions which have been raised by the hon. Members.

Sir, Shri Jaswant Singh, to whom I have great respect, today, began on a note of great responsibility, great concern for what is happening in India and I thought the debate will move from the same level of concern to a higher level of concern. Sir, what did we see in the last 20 or 25 minutes?

The tragedy of India is while the world has confidence in what we are doing, a section in India does not have the confidence in what we are doing. We allow ourselves to be diverted, to be distracted by issues which we cannot allow to bring up front and which should remain on the back burner. When Shri Arjun Singh appealed to Shri Advani 'let us place these issues on the back burner for five years and let us sit and decide what is happening in this country; let us forge a consensus', I do not think he was making an empty appeal.

What should be our main concern today? Our main concern should be our economy, and what we are doing to pull this country out of the grave crisis into which it fell, in June 1991, when Shri Narasimha Rao, assumed office as Prime Minister and took upon himself the responsibility of leading this nation out of the grave crisis.

Sir, for four months, Shri Chandra Shekhar, was the Prime Minister; for about 11 months, before that, Shri V.P. Singh, was the Prime Minister. Believe me, Sir, it is not my intention, it is not my desire to apportion blame. Blame, we must all share; we must share blame for voting people into Government; we must share blame for supporting a Government, even if it be only crutches that you lent for support. We must share blame for supporting Shri Chandra Shekhar's Government, if that Government did mistakes. But all of us must share blame. But at the end of 16 months of minority Government, weak Government, enfeebled Government and sometimes callous Government, what did our Government inherit? We inherited an economy which had reserves for 15 days; we inherited an economy where our credit rating had plummeted and no credit was coming from anywhere in the world; we inherited an economy where the decline in the industrial production had started in August 1990; we inherited an economy where the decline in exports had started in March 1991; we inherited an economy where there was a savage compression on imports and nothing was being allowed to come into India. That was the economy we inherited.

Therefore, when Shri Jaswant Singh reads figures, he must ask himself as to where from did we begin this exercise of rebuilding India's economy, and what have we done in the last 12 months? Firstly, Sir, the Prime Minister, I believe, brought to bear upon this task a vision; a vision contained in the manifesto released by our late leader Rajiv Gandhi on the 16th of April, in which we promised in unequivocal terms and even Shri Jaswant Singh could not hide his admiration for what we had said. He said, **the broad policy framework, the direction, the golas he shared. We thank you for supporting**

our vision, we thank you for supporting our golas, we thank you for supporting our direction. You are late comers to any kind of economic philosophy. In fact you have an economic reaction, you have no economic philosophy. I will come to that in a moment. I have read every word of your manifesto. Is there any chapter which sets out a coherent philosophy?

The Prime Minister brought to bear upon his task a vision. Dr. Manmohan Singh brought to bear upon his task a clear, categorical framework, a clear statement of principles on what we need to do in what direction we should go and at what pace we should go. I must pay tribute today to both the vision which the Prime Minister brought to bear upon his task and the direction on which Dr. Manmohan Singh set this country (*Interruptions*)

These are serious concerns Mr. Jena. You must occasionally rise to the occasion.

The problem of the Indian economy is that by years of protection and years of regulation we have isolated ourselves in the world. We lack capital, we lack technology. Our economy became inefficient, unproductive and therefore we could not do trade with the world, our products could not compete with the products in the world. We were for many many years and even today substantially a nation which exports primary commodities. If we do export some value-added commodities, these are the value-added commodities like leather goods, gems and jewellery, marine products. We have some engineering exports. But by a policy of protectionism, a policy of regulation that we had followed, a policy of import substitution, we had taken ourselves out of the mainstream of world economic thinking. Nations poorer than India, nations with a per capita income far lower than India, nations with human resources nowhere comparable to India's human resources had outstripped us and outpaced us. We need not go to America and to Europe; look at our own continent - Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and the countries of Latin America have all outstripped us. Therefore we had to forge a

set of principles and build a new India. I hear of course, voices which say that we are betraying Nehru's path. Let me read what Jawaharlal Nehru said. Jawaharlal Nehru said;

"Remember, however, that Marx was a German and the world he had before him existed a hundred years ago. What we are to remember today is that now hundred years after Marx this world has undergone a tremendous change. I am confident, if Marx would have been alive today he would have thought in a different way and written a different book. But broadly speaking what do we mean when we say socialist pattern of life. We mean a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility for everyone to live a good life. Obviously this cannot be obtained unless we produce the wherewithal to have the standards that a good life implies. We have therefore to lay a great stress on equality, on the removal of disparities and it has to be remembered that socialism is not spreading of poverty, the essential thing is there must be wealth and production."

What we have done in the last twelve months is to unleash in India the forces of production, to remove the bottlenecks, to remove the obstacles, to release the creative energies of the Indian people, so that the Indian people can go and produce wealth... (Interruptions)...Sir, today the forces of production, the forces of creation have been unshackled. Today we are creating jobs, we are creating incomes. Let me come back and answer Mr. Jaswant Singh, on the figures that he quoted. (Interruptions) Mr. Jaswant Singh gave figures. Like his economic philosophy his figures are also outdated. You must now talk about the figures of today, figures for the whole year 1991-92. I do not know whether his figures went through any vetting machines or sub-edited by his resident economist. I do not know that. But the point

is this. Let us look at the figures of today. I said that the decline in industrial production started in August 1990 and decline in exports started in March 1991. So, the year 1991-92 ended - from the position in which we were - with only -0.4 per cent growth in the industrial production. We will see quarter to quarter. The second quarter was better than the first quarter; the third quarter was better than the second quarter and the fourth quarter was better than the third quarter. So, the year ended with 0.4 per cent. Mining ended with zero per cent, electricity ended with +8.3 per cent. It is only manufacturing which was down by two per cent. That is because of the savage import compression in 1991-92. The import compression was 20 per cent in dollar terms. There is no country in the world - I can challenge you Mr. Jaswant Singh, you name me one country in the world - where there was an import compression in dollar terms of 20 per cent. Yet, we maintained the same export level and yet we maintained an industrial production of about the same level as that of the previous year. There is no example that you can quote; there is no country in the world which has managed this in the last few years.

Sir, Mr. Jaswant Singh gave the figures of sectors. I have got the figures of sectors. I have got the figures for April-March 1991-92 over April-March 1990-91 and that is the correct figure to compare. How do the figures of 1991-92 compare over 1990-91? Even in 1991-92, we were not responsible for the first quarter. I have to dedicate the first quarter to the other distinguished Members of this House. It is only the last three quarters for which we are responsible. Let us look at the figures. The coal production in 1991-92 was. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Replying will be difficult, (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am only quoting figures. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I do not want to rub you on the wrong side (Interruptions)

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SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not rubbing anyone on the wrong side (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: But here you are in a very weak wicket (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am only quoting figures. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Your figures are not going to change the lot of the people. What people are experiencing is the one which is more material. It is the figure which has landed you to this problem. You have only been quoting figures without understanding the reality on the ground. That is your misfortune. (Interruptions) You are quoting Nehru to us. You are reading out Nehru's. We have heard Nehru. We have worked with Nehru. Please do not quote Nehru to us. At least you can quote Bush or Major or World Bank Chairman of IMF Chairman. Do not quote Nehru and Gandhi to us. You can quote Carla Hills at best and not Pandit Nehru. You are upto the mark of Carla Hills and not Pandit Nehru. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Shri Chandra Shekhar, I have great respect for you and I do not intend to cross words with you, even if you use harsh words against me. I am not going to cross words with you. I have great respect for you and I have, on more than one occasion, said. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Why do not you quote figures between 1984 and 1989? How have you squandered your own Government and the people? (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You allow me to complete. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: You have squandered, you have mortgaged the future of this country. The people who have sold away this country..(Interruptions) all right. I beg all of you and say that they have sold away the country. (Interruptions)

You can go on indulging in

anything? (Interruptions) You are mistaken. I am not Vishwanath Pratap Singh. I know how to reply back. (Interruptions) They are teaching me lessons of patriotism. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is nothing which I said which should make Shri Chandra Shekhar angry with me personally. (Interruptions) Kindly listen to me. (Interruptions) In fact, I repeatedly said that I hold Shri Chandra Shekhar in great esteem. I hold his concern for the people in high esteem.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Shri Arjun Singh avoided all that. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have repeatedly said that we admire and salute his concern for the people of this country and the steps that he was taking during the tenure of his Prime Ministership. We have repeatedly said in this House. There is nothing that I have said that he should be angry with me personally.

I am only repeating the figures. I am only responding to the figures of Shri Jaswant Singh. I hope Shri Chandra Shekhar will bear with me.

Coal production in 1991-92 was 8.3 per cent higher than in 1990-91. Electricity was 10.2 per cent higher than in 1990-91. Saleable steel, of which you gave me a figure which I am afraid is wrong, is 8.1 per cent higher. Cement is 10.3 per cent higher. Fertiliser is 4.1 per cent higher. Revenue earning goods traffic is 6 per cent higher. In infrastructural industries, we are doing our best. This Government has done its best.

AN HON. MEMBER: Price?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I know the problems. (Interruptions) In area after area, the steps that were taken during the last 12 months have increased production. There are certain areas which are difficult. You correctly mentioned petroleum. There is a fall in production and I admit it. In petroleum, production has fallen. You correctly

mentioned that prices are out of control. We admit it. But we inherited an economy where the inflation was 16.7 per cent. Inflation today is 12 per cent. Therefore, when we are talking about building an economy, we are building an economy. We are reconstituting an economy. I want to appeal to the Opposition to join hands with us. The position in which we were and the steps that we have taken and the distance that we have travelled is no mean distance and the measures taken by this Government are no mean measures. We have travelled a long distance.

Mr. Jaswant Singh mentioned about exports. I am conscious about what has happened and about what has not happened in exports. What was the position of exports? In 1990-91, exports were of the order of 18 billion. Imports were of the order of 24 billion. In 1991-92, with the savage import compression of 20 per cent, exports have been maintained approximately at the same level of 17.8 per cent.

Exports to GCA countries have increased by 6.57 per cent in dollar terms. Exports to RPA countries declined by 42.27 per cent for the reasons mentioned by me. You cannot average these two things. It is like a person who said, "I am six feet tall and the average depth of the river is only five feet. It is one foot at the bank and nine feet in the middle. The average is five feet and I will try to cross the river" He will drown. You cannot average exports to GCA countries and exports to RPA countries. I have made this point before on a number of occasions. I want to place before this House. In the last year, our exporters have done remarkably well. Our businessmen and traders have done remarkably well. Proportion of exports to GCA and to RPA was 1:5. Today it is 1:9. For every dollar exported to RPA countries, we are exporting 9 dollars to GCA countries. In one year, our businessmen have shown great resilience, great flexibility, great adaptability as a result of which exports to GCA countries have increased by 6.57 per cent. Look at the total. GCA export growth in the first quarter grew by 5.51 per cent. In the

second quarter, it grew by 5.81 per cent, in the third quarter by 7.6 per cent and in the fourth quarter by 7.13 per cent. Look at the total exports of GCA and RPA.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** Where has he get these figures from? Is he utilising his knowledge as a Minister? I do not know. Where are these figures available? I would like to know.

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** You have asked in question. Please resume your seat. I will answer. These figures were available in a press release issued by the Government of India on the 2nd of July and published in all the newspapers on the 3rd of July including the newspaper which my honourable friend receives. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** The report has been sent to all and he foresumers all will read it.. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Sir, even taking the total exports of GCA and RPA into account, in the first quarter the figure was - 6.57 per cent and I do not blame anyone. It was because of imports compression and because of the low results. In the second quarter. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

**SHRI NITISH KUMAR:** You please clarify first as to why were you forced to submit your resignation? When you claim that your performance was very good as the Minister of Commerce, then why were you removed? .. *(Interruptions)* or you were why forced to resign? *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

**DR. KARTIKESWAR POTRA:** (Balasore): He has resigned from the Cabinet because of his moral responsibility. His honesty will be proved. The CBI will prove it. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Sir, in the first quarter the total export was - 6.57 per cent, in the second quarter it was -5.9 per cent, in the third quarter, it was +1.2 per cent and the fourth quarter shows +3.64 per cent. Therefore, Jaswant Singhji, with great respect, I may say that the economy is in difficulty but the economy is coming out of the trap. The economy is still facing many problems. But quarter by quarter, the economy is being put back on the road and if we persist on this path, the Indian economy will revive and we will become a stronger nation.

Sir, we talk about reserves. We inherited less than billion dollars. Today we have reserve over six billion dollars. How were these six billion dollars built up? It is by restoring international confidence. We have resorted international confidence, by the policies that we have pursued, by the determination that we have shown and by going to the world and explaining our policies attracting not only loan but equity, attracting direct foreign investment. Today the world has confidence in us. Look what the Aid India Consortium did! Last year, the Aid India Consortium gave 6.7 billion dollars. This year, they increased it by seven per cent. It is 7.2 billion dollars. That is due to the confidence in the Government of India. Even if you will not vote confidence in the Government of India, the world is willing to vote confidence in the Government of India. What did Japan do? Our Prime Minister went to Japan and had talks with his counterpart. Japan's commitment to India is 830 million dollars, that is, six per cent increase. The world has got confidence in what we do. Please don't undermine this confidence. I want to talk about investment. Sir, as on 30th June, 1992 what have we achieved in terms of investment? It is investment which will create it; it is investment which will create income. There is no shame in creating wealth. It is the creation of wealth which must be the first concern of the people of this country. (Interruptions). On the 30th June 1992, under the automatic approvals scheme, RBI cleared 542 proposals of foreign collaboration. SIA has granted 730 approvals for categories for which prior clearance is

required. FIPB has cleared 20 proposals involving 366 million US dollars for establishing ventures in India. Under export Oriented schemes, out of 799 proposals Government approved 412 proposals. Under the export processing zone scheme, out of 196 proposals, Government approved 158 proposals. More than anything else, Indian industry has gained maturity and confidence which is reflected by these figures. 71 proposals have been approved for Indian industries to establish joint ventures abroad. 5,558 memoranda has been registered for establishing new industries in the licensed sector. 495 letters of intent and 101 industrial licenses have been granted for establishing new industries in the licensed sector. Sir, what does all this mean? All this means that people are now acquiring land, people are building factories, people are installing machinery, people are recruiting workers and people are going to production.

Sir, there is a proverb in Tamil. There is a popular belief in Tamil and I am sure there is an equivalent belief and an equivalent proverb in other languages if India too. Because I find that once you find approved in one language, there is always an equivalent proverb in other languages. The belief runs this. There is a particular tree in most of the Hindu temples. I know the Tamil world for it, viz. *aresa maram*. I am sure there must be a botanical word too for it. If a married girl, after some years of marriage does not conceive, the popular belief is that if she goes round the tree several times a day for several days, she will eventually conceive. The proverb goes "If you have not conceived, don't go round the tree just once and then touch your belly and say, 'Have I conceived?'"

What we have done in the last 12 months is to restore vitality and confidence in the Indian economy. Don't ask for results in 12 months. Results are yet to be seen. Results will come in the second year; realists will come in the third year (Interruptions)

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKERJEE (Hanspura):** So, that is how you managed your finances through a scam!



AN HON. MEMBER: And that is how, you conceived Harshed Mehta. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: What is important today is not to lose our nerve, not to lose our determination. We can never jump half a well ! we must proceed on this path, we must continue with determination and we must continue without losing nerve. *In all these matters, the first few months and the first few steps are always difficult.*

Take for example, some other steps that we took. We introduced *exem scrip*. And then, we switched over to partial convertibility. I had pleaded that we should have full convertibility on the trade account. But there was a compromise and I bowed to the wisdom of the Finance Minister. The compromise was that we should have partial convertibility on the switched over to partial convertibility, the rupee would collapse. The belief was that Indian rupee would plummet and we would have to devalue it. We said that it would not happen. If you go to partial convertibility, you exports and export drive will become stronger and the rupee, will, in fact, strengthen and not weaken. In the first three to four months, we have seen that. When we started, we started with a premium of 20 per cent and today the rupee has stabilized against the dollar at about 15 to 16 percent. And I am confident that when Indian economy against greater strength and our exports gain momentum, we will sooner than later move to full convertibility and when we move to full convertibility, the economy will become stronger and not weak.

You must have confidence in the steps that we have taken. Look at the things we have done. Today, we have de-regulated the steel sector. Is that good or bad? Go back and ask in your constituencies. People will tell you that it is good. We have de-regulated the hydro-carbon sector. Is that good or bad? You will find that the results will come in two or three years when exploration, exploitation, refinery and downstream projects pick up. At that time, you will find that the de-regulation of the hydro-carbon sector has yielded results.

We have now invited equity participation in the power sector. We have invited foreign equity and we have invited domestic participation. In the next tow to three years, when these projects that you are referring to, Mr. Jaswant Singh, are approved, when these green field take root and when they grow, you will certainly find that our industry performs better and our power sector performs better.

*The point is that the Indian economy, rightly or wrongly, had remained an over-regulated economy. We must de-regulate, we must de-bureaucratise, we must de-control and we must allow the productive forces to gain an upperhand. We must encourage those who will create wealth, those who will create goods and services. We must help them to gain an upper hand. That is precisely what this Government has done. I believe in the last 12 months the economy has become stronger. We are not as strong as we should be. Price is the biggest thing. I have always said inflation is the most cruel form of taxation because inflation taxes both rich and poor; those who can bear and those who cannot bear. We started with an inflation of 16 percent. Inflation has now come down to 11.34 per cent. Steps we are taking are; squeezing the demand, increasing the supply side and containing the expenditure. I agree we have not done enough to contain expenditure. Government expenditure is still out of control. We have not done enough to squeeze the demand, If we squeeze demand more people will be hurt. We have not done enough to increase the supply side. The only way to bring down inflation is to squeeze the demand, to improve the supply side and to curtail expenditure. You tell us, where we can squeeze the demand; which areas of expenditure can be cut. Tell us which areas of supply should be enhanced.*

I have with me an alternative programme prepared by some eminent person. If I read that alternative programme to the House, I know voices will rise saying we cannot accept that. The alternative programme says; "Cut expenditure on defence." Can you do that? I will read out one-by-one what the alternative

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programme says. Is there a consensus on  
the alternative programme. There is no  
consensus on any alternative programme.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE  
(Panskura): Why should there be a  
consensus? Why don't you agree with our  
proposal? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will just give  
you a few examples of the alternative  
programme because Shri Jaswant Singh did  
not give a single concrete proposal to curtail  
inflation. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Why the time of  
the House is being wasted. (*Interruptions*)  
whose proposal is this? (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Let me give  
two or three items of the alternative  
programme. The first is curtail expenditure  
on defence Are you ready to that?

SHRI RAM NAIK: Is your party ready for  
it?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: This is not  
my programme. This is an alternative  
programme given by some eminent person  
and I am asking whether you agree with it or  
not.

SHRI RAM NAIK: First kindly have a  
consensus in you party on it and then put up  
a proposal.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: In our party  
there is consensus on what we are doing. In  
our party there is consensus on the  
liberalisation programme that we have  
embarked on. All am saying is that in this  
debate when we are talking about economic  
reforms and controlling inflation, we must  
hear from this House and I wish to hear from  
this House and I beseech you, give us those  
programmes which can be implemented to  
control inflation. Here it says to curtail  
expenditure on defence. Are we agreed on

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: How  
about the aviation fare? How many new Air  
India flights you have introduced?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: It says curtail  
expenditure on Defence; curtail expenditure  
on atomic energy, introduce petrol rationing,  
drastically reduce aerial aviation facility, do  
not hike administered prices; demand re-  
scheme duling in international debt. Is there  
a consensus on this programme? Our  
programme says the only manner in which  
inflation can be controlled is by controlling  
demand, controlling expenditure and  
increasing the supply side. What is wrong  
with that programme? If that programme has  
brought down inflation from 16 per cent to  
11.34 per cent we are confident that if we  
continue on this path, this programme will  
bring down inflation.

Finally, Sir, I have one word. There is a  
popular belief that the State is withdrawing.  
State is not withdrawing. We do not want the  
State to withdraw. In fact the State will not  
with away either. State is withdrawing from  
area in which we believe the private sector,  
joint sector has the capability to manage  
those sectors. But the State will very much  
the there. We said this in the Tirupati Session  
and we say this here also. The State will be  
concerned about the poor of the country; the  
State will be concerned about health; about  
education; about welfare; about anti-poverty  
programmes; special concerns for women  
and children; population control; and the  
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.  
How can the State withdraw from these  
areas? The State can never withdraw from  
these areas. We have, this year earmarked  
a large amount of funds for the Anti-poverty  
programmes. I believe the Finance Minister  
has promised in this House that if necessary  
he will enhance the allocation for poverty  
alleviation programmes, if necessary, he will  
draw from the National Renewal Fund to  
ensure that enough funds are made available  
to poverty alleviation programmes. Today,  
our philosophy is that we must encourage  
the liberalisation policy. Those in this House  
who believe in the liberalisation process

Immediately after the Question Hour, we can take this up.

must support us. Those who we must continue to go on this path of re-regulation and do-control, must support us; at the same time, we must re-affirm our commitment to the poor people of this country; we must re-affirm our commitment to spending more, to doing more in areas like health, education, welfare and special concern for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, women and children. Sir, I believe, we are in the right path. We must not lose our nerve. If we lose our nerve today, if we lose our confidence today, if we lose our determination today, we will slide back and two years or three years later, there is no other road to which you can come back to, you will have to come back to the same road and start all over again from where you slipped. We cannot play this game of Snakes and Ladder. We simply have to go forward. We have to go faster. I have pushed for a faster pace of reforms. But pace of reforms is only something which only the country can bear, the system can bear. But I believe we can go faster. We should go faster. The direction is correct, the goal is correct. We should go ahead with confidence in the future of this country and the people of this country. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Now, we have many more Members wanting to speak. We are not limiting the time given to the Members also. I think, tomorrow also, we are sitting and going to discuss it. If we want to give more time to more number of Members, we shall have to sit at least for two more hours in this House today itself. Otherwise, tomorrow, we may not be able to give time also.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, there is a difference of opinion. We do not wish to continue today.

MR. SPEAKER: Otherwise, we will have to give time tomorrow. That is our difficulty.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Tomorrow, let there not be any Zero Hour.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum): Tomorrow, let there not be any Zero hour unless something sensational develops.

SHRIBASUDEBACHARIA (Bankura): Let the debate start tomorrow, just after the Question Hour.

MR. SPEAKER: Okay. Let us decide that we work for one more hour. Tomorrow, we may not ask for the unlisted business also and then make up the time. Otherwise, it would not be possible for us to give time.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, after hearing the peroration of Mr. Chidambaram - unfortunately today, he is out of Government; unfortunately for his Party - Sir, I am happy that his speech has helped us in finally making up our minds to press this Motion to the last and with full force and vigour.

Sir, this feigned ignorance and arrogant attitude of Mr. Chidambaram to explain away the failures of his Government, shows that he was made to say many things which he may personally believe but his party cannot afford to have. We heard Shri Arjun Singh. To him, Shri Advani has become demigod.

18.00 hrs.

But he was God until recently, full God, not demi-God.

Mr. P. Chidambaram says, Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Government was weak, was a minority Government, feeble Government, callous Government. When did you realise it? You did not withdraw the support from Mr. Chandran Shekhar's Government because it was a callous Government or a feeble Government. The Congress party withdrew the support from Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Government. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P CHINDAMBRAM : I did not say that please. Don't misinterpret me. I said, you supported Mr. Chandra Shekhar's performance. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: The Congress Party should be ready to hear the reply because for the last one year I have been restraining myself to say a word *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHINDAMBARAM: I supported his Government's performance. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: For the last one year, I have been restraining myself not to say a word because the man who was heading that Government is no more in this world. They should not take advantage of this; and these 'who are just political' cannot challenge me like this in this House. Mr. Speaker, I tell you I have restrained enough myself.

MR. SPEAKER: That word will not go on record.

SHRI P. CHINDAMBARAM: I said that Government was weak; a minority Government I said that; and I did not refer to Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Government. I said we were supported the Chndra Shekhar's Government *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: The Congress party supported Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Governemnt because a Constable was peeting through Ten jnaph. There was an unauthroised presence of a Constable in fact of Ten Janpath. That is why, you withdrew your support. Today, you are giving sermons. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHINDAMBARAM: Ddon't misinterpret me to Mr. Chandra Sekhar please.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What are you talking? We had to listen to all your sermons for more than half an hour. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: You sit down. Let Mr. P Chidambaram make all the speeches that he has got to make. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHINDAMBARAM: Please allow me to speak. I did not refer to Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Government as a callous Government; and I am sorry, if he has got that impresion. I did not refer to his Government as a callous Government. On the contrary, I repeatedly said that I appreciated his concern for the poor; I held him in high esteem. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to raise a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: Point of order can only be raised about procedure.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: We heard the speech of Shri Chidambaram for one hour, most of it. \* \* *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: This word will not go on record.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: My point of order was that when Shri Somnath was speaking why, he stood up again and again to give clarification? You can give him more time to speak. But he must listen to others quietly.

MR. SPEAKER: Nitish Kumar ji, it was not point of order; rather it was point of order-disorder.

*(Interruptions)*

\* SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYE: (Lucknow): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in parliamentary words should not be used during the discussion. We are discussing a very important matter. If we do not follow the high standards of debates would be working against democracy. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE**  
(Balpur): We have heard Mr. Arjun Singh. He had also admitted that the Bofors and scam require to be inquired into. He said, I am not going to shield anybody.

But what Mr. P. Chidambaram says is that everything is milk and honey in this country. There are no problems. But the people are losing their jobs as a result of their magnificent economic policies. There are people who are going through privation and misery. That is wonderful achievement of this policy. He says go on tightening your belt if there is any tummy left for these people. But you will get results within two years; maybe three years. And if this country survives, if the people survive, then his speech will become relevant.

We have brought this motion with all solemnity and seriousness.

It was not something frivolously that we had decided, as we believed that the ouster of this minority Government can alone make it possible for this country to regain its honour and dignity and self-respect and bring this country out of the clothes of some imperialist financial marauders.

The people of this country, the toiling masses, the working classes in this country have already declared their lack of confidence in this anti-people autocratic and reactionary regime by the splendid exhibition of their united struggle on the 16th of June, 1992.

Now, inside the House, we have to complete the process and have to do our duty by getting rid of this embodiment of economic perfidy and national dishonor.

We are quit used to the Congress method of functioning in this country. We have seen so many successive Congress governments, we have seen in this country. Sixteen months are the only peg that they are trying to hang their coat on. They have no other explanation for their malperformance and for their

*misfeasance. The common people's problems and miseries have accentuated over the years, more and more people have gone below the poverty line, more and more people unemployed in this country, with greater and greater burden on the vulnerable sections of the community in this country and greater and greater largesse had been bestowed on the monopolist multi-national black marketeers and racketeers. And above all, over these years, corruption has engulfed the country and has become institutionalised, whose embodiment, some of them we have to remind ourselves every day and now we have reached the pinnacle of it.*

With the securities scam the entire banking system of this country has been totally decimated and jettisoned. This government does not feel any sense of shame that over Rs. 4000 crores of public money are unaccounted for; crores and crores have gone outside the country, thousands and thousands of ordinary investors, middle class common people have borrowed money from their provident fund and gratuity accounts to purchase shares; and now these Ministers had gone on the TV extolling the great virtues of the boom of in the stock market, not one word of caution even was said by the Finance Minister, nor by the Prime Minister. This is what is the achievement of this Government; A monumental achievement;

The country has now a government which is not only following the old Congress misrule and the same culture, and has totally destroyed our economic sovereignty, has compromised our authority to decide on our own and today our economic policies are being determined by the people who the World Bank and the IMF have sent to the country. They are sitting in big hotels here and us an Indian I feel ashamed that our economic performance is being scrutinised by some officers of the IMF and the World Bank sitting in a hotel in Delhi and our Government has to give their balance sheet and they have to account for their performance to those officers of the World Bank and IMF before they come to Parliament

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*and give their accountability to the Parliament*  
*of India. This is where we have come to*  
*(Interruptions)*

We have mortgaged our economic freedom, and today this great Indian nation, has to come to this stage. They are quoting from Jawaharlal Nehru. At least he had dreams, great dreams of a vibrant India, progressive India, moving India and now this great Indian nation has become a supplicant for mercy, for some tainted lucre, and to whom are we going? To who are we going? We are going to these exploitative foreign financing institutions and agencies. This is the great achievement of this Government! That is why, I feel pained that after 45 years if independence, our country should be under bondage once again. This is the most sinister bondage. This corrodes the very vitality of the nation. We lose our respect outside the country, in the world.

Mr. Chidambaram is very happy and he said: "World has faith in us. Only a section of Indian do not have faith in us." Are you asking yourself. Why the Indians are a not having faith? Who have faith in you? FICCI, ASSOCHAM, big concerns, manufacturers and employers have faith in you.. (Interruptions) You have probably got the confidence of the stock exchanges. Have you got the confidence of the people who are spending their days on the pavements of this country, the common people? What is the cost of proving? I do not know whether any sense of shame is at all left in this Government and in this political party.

Shri Jaswant Singh read out from a report - it was published in the newspapers and we have no access from elsewhere - of the Government of India by referring to the dismal economic situation in this country. Who has prepared the report? It has been prepared by Dr. Manmohan Singh's Ministry of Finance. For whom? Not for us, it has been prepared for the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs so that Cabinet can decide about the economic situation and what steps are to be taken. That is not available to us. Some newspapers and journalists have been able to get a copy and good enough to

publish it. What is the position? Mr. Chidambaram refereed to this report. He said that it has been published in the newspaper. May I read some portion of that report. with your kind permission, as a part of my submission? It says:

industrial production actually declined or at best remained stagnant.

The report shows that between April 1991 and February 1992, the manufacturing sector the in the country showed a decline of 2 per cent (as opposed to the growth of 9.6 per cent in the corresponding period the previous year) while the mining and quarrying sector remained stagnant..

The trends in the industrial sector also seem to be going counter to the hypothesis of liberalisation theorists who blame the poor performance of the infrastructural sector for industrial stagnation in India."

Sir, only in one sphere, in the infrastructure area, the performance has been a little better. In the power sector in spite of our good friend Shri Kalp Nath Rai, electricity generation has increased by 8.3 per cent and thermal generation by 10.9 per cent. The report further says;

The growth in the electricity sector shows there has been no power bottleneck. The 6 per cent rise in the revenue-earning goods traffic handled by the railways indicates there was no transport bottleneck.."

What is the position? It says:

"Yet.. there has been no industrial growth. There was a decline of 1.4 percent in the production of salable steel.."

In the agriculture sector, rice



procurement was less by 18.6 per cent; wheat procurement was less by 18.5 per cent; food grain stocks was less by 22.4 per cent because hoarding is going on.

With the risk of inadequate monsoon, some people of this country, who have enough money, are now hoarding. The Government have not been able to procure the foodgrains. What will happen? PDS is being weakened day after day, lesser and lesser quantity of foodgrains are being distributed through the PDS. Who is suffering? Let us not denude ourselves by saying that everybody goes to the public distribution system for their rations, for their foodgrains. The most vulnerable section of the society is faced to go to the ration shops for the purchase of their essential commodities.

The report further says that the performance has to be seen against the Eighth Plan export target growth of 13 per cent because export fell by 1.9 per cent in 1991-92. I am not reading the other portion except to say that the money supply has increased. Shri Chidambaram did not refer to that.

**THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR):** He did.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** He do. I stand corrected. The inflation may not fall as indicated by the sharp expansion in money supply. The report shows that on 1st May, 1992, it was higher by 18.5 per cent over the corresponding period last year. Kindly see what is the position of the ordinary people of this country. The job market apart from the high prices of essential commodities has gone down during the last one year. The number of job seekers went up while the number of jobs notified and the number of placements effected decline. The number of those on the live register of employment exchanges at the end of February, 1992, was higher by 5.2 per cent over the same period of the previous year. The number of those who get jobs through the employment

exchanges declined by 8.2 per cent and the number of vacancies notified by the employment exchanges went down by 15.8 per cent. This is the result of their Economic Policy. There are no jobs in this market and Shri Thungon is very happy that he is giving gold to somebody. Big publicity is being given. I think some sense of shame at least be injected into this.

Golden handshake plan for PUSs has been finalized. Shri Thungon said, we shall give them more money. We shall entice the workers so that they would go away. Who will go away? Only those who reached the age of 40 years will go away since they have rendered sufficient period of work. Why is he alive at the age of 40 years? He should have died before that age. It is a ridiculous situation where 4.5 lakh of the 23 lakh employees in the public sector undertakings have been found to be surplus and they should go away. Shri Thungon is no longer talking of re-training and re deployment.

**SHRI CHANDRASHEKHAR:** What poor Thungon will do? There are lots of Thungon. Why do attack poor Thungon?

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** Bigger Thungon has fled away. What can I do? Shri Thungon, after all, I recognise you as a Minister. Therefore, I have to say that. (Interruptions). This worthy Government has allocated Rs. 400 crores in the budget for golden handshake scheme during this financial year. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan read from their manifesto that one crore jobs per year will be provided. On arresting price rise, I do not want to go into this joke any longer. The manifesto further said that they will generate one thousand million mandays of guaranteed rural employment within one year, in the first 365 days. I hope a zero is not missing here. It further said that they will create 10 million new jobs very year adding upto 100 million new jobs before the year 2000 A.D.

Another item of the manifesto is very interesting. Of course, Dr. Manmohan Singh had no hand in preparation of that, I believe. If you have, I do not know. I know

609 *Motion of No-confidence* ASADHA 21, 1914 (SAKA) in Council of Ministers 610 what he said about IMF and World bank when he was Chairman of the South Commission. The Congress Party promised to the people of this country that in the first 365 days of its Government, it will offer stocks of public sector companies to workers, small and middle investors among the general public. Now, to whom it is given? This is totally jettisoned.

Today, we find that this country is being led by the combination of Bush Camdessus and Preston. They are the airtires of our nation.

Shri Chidambaram was very happy that he is getting the approbation of the World Economic Community. This Government is more concerned to earn the accolades of the imperialist financial agencies than the approbation of the teeming million of this country whose penury and privation today shows no sign of any redemption. It has exceeded all forms of tolerance.

When I was going through this manifesto, - sometimes you have to go through in spite of. (Interruptions) You do not want us to go through it. Naturally. I quite understand your discomfiture. The Government which is in saddle today in the Centre, with a minority support, both inside and outside the House, in spite of the tragic event of Sriparumbudur, has violated all norms of civilised governance in a democratic set up because a manifesto is to be a document which has to be approved by the people and they have embarked upon policies and programmes for which they neither have the mandate nor the authority of the people at any point of time, not even of the parliament, before it was announced or implemented. They have, what I say, comprehensively and consciously gone back upon this manifesto which was released with great fanfare and this document is nothing but a parchment of betrayal.

I need not go through the other parts of the manifesto because we have been told and we know all that. But what is the position of this country? The economic situation we have seen, and we know that. I do not want to spend much time on that because my time

is limited and other comrades will speak from my party. What we find is raising prices, falling employment, general recession and savage cuts in the Government's social sector pending, as a result of which poverty has become more acute in this country. I seek your kind permission to place one or two sentences from an article written by a very well known Journalist because it states what is the real situation in this country. It says:

"Structural adjustment is forcing the poor to tighten the belt on already sunken bellies. They now eat less and worse, put off decision to buy beadle needed clothing and footwear and increasingly move out of rented housing into squats. They pull their children out of school and yoke them to back-breaking work, for which they hate themselves.

"... economic developments of the past year alone have pushed 22 million people below the poverty line.."

(Interruptions)

"The worst affected have been the rural poor."... (Interruptions)

Of, course, I have no faith in this Government. If these types of interventions from Ministers are there, what will you expect from them? (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): Who has written this, he must say... (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am not yielding. Sir, further the article says:

"The worst affected have been the rural poor. But the urban poor have hardly done well.

A survey by the National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, shows that per capital consumption of cereals actually decreased by

forteen grames a day between the late seventies and the late eighties,"

Now it is still lesser.

"The intake of pulses, the main proteen source dropped more severely. People and consuming less of green vegetables, milk, proteins, roots and tuber and eggs, meat and fish."

.(Interruptions). You want to know the name of the journalist?

AN HON. MEMBER: Yes.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: The names of the journalist is Praful Bidwai. There is a report that a butcher cannot afford to have meat because he cannot pay for that, and the vegetable seller cannot afford to even purchase vegetables. Somehow he was to take BAJRA ROTI for the purpose of his sustenance and his family's sustenance. This is the situation in this country. The article further says:

" The general price level has risen by 26 per cent. Food prices have led this increase. Today food-grains are 23 per cent higher than a year ago. I continue to quote:

" Economists forecast a sharp dip in indices of well being and a rise in in fact mortality, general morbidity (prevalence of illness) and school drop-out rates. Harmful social consequences, e.g more unbalanced income distribution, greater social biases against the poor, and more violations of their human rights, are strongly associated with these trends."

I am not going into the details. This is the position of this country. Can it be denied? can anybody truthfully deny that this is not the situation in the country? A report that has appeared in the newspapers- which I read out earlier- has not been denied by the

Government., On the other hand Shri Chidambaram affirmed the correctness of that report. This, in brief, is the economic situation of this country.

I am not going into the question of security scam because that will be discussed in this House. I am not going into the question, in detail, on the Bofors because we are fondly hoping that Bofors will be discussed in this session itself. I hope they will provide time for this. But, Sir, from all points of view economic, national, social and political - the countries passing through a very very grave situation. There are threats to national unity, threats to the integrity of this country, threats to the democratic rights and threats to our economic sovereignty and at the same time there is erosion in India's non-aligned foreign policy. When he took charge, the Prime Minister referred to consensus. But we find, over these months, that consensus according to him means, that you have to agree with him. Otherwise there is no attempt to have a consensus. There was not even an attempt to have a consensus when these economic policies were adopted and announced. They were announced even before the House met for the first time. We have seen on what happened on this Ayodhya issue, which is being discussed. I am not going into the details. It has now been clarified by the Prime Minister that he is even prepared to allow construction on the disputed site. He has not said no. How could the Government think that the construction will be made only on the Shilanyas site? It is probably a 6' X 6' area. There cannot be a temple only on the Shilanyas site. How could you say that? Are we taken for a ride? After sitting for days together this Government asked Shri Ram Vilas Pawan was right when he said so asked us to what was our view and when we give our view, repeatedly, what was the response it? the response is wait for C.C.P.A. It became a joke. We sat with you in your chamber, we discussed the matter. We discussed it outside. We went to the Prime Minister to impress upon him the necessity of action. No action has been taken. They are only relying upon court's order. This Government has no policy and no mind of its own. They cannot take a decision on an issue which is likely to

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 divide the entire country and which will create a very serious situation in this country.

Sir, we want unity of the people. But this communal conflagration which is apprehended will take place because of the dithering of this Government, this Government's drift and this Government's inaction, and deliberate inaction for that matter. They have not given up the B.J.P as their friends. (Interruptions) Shri Arjun Singh said that it was good riddance. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Arjun Singh said, 'It was a good riddance that the BJP does not support us.' But they are supporting their economic policies, they are supporting their foreign policies. Only the Mandir policy is creating some superficial misunderstanding for the time being and now the Prime Minister's intervention has made the situation clear. They are very much eager, Mr. Prime Minister is very much eager to earn approbation of Mr. L.K. Advani, the Leader of the Opposition, and he is very happy.

Therefore, I charge that this Government has compromised with the principles of secularism in this country, which is one of the basic features of our Constitution, which is one of the main features of the Constitution. And, Sir, even now if the Government fails to act with fairness and constitutionality, there are going to be very serious consequences in this country and I demand that this Government must give up its policy of drift and of its compromise with the communal forces.

Sir, the national Integration Council took a decision, its Standing Committee took a decision. All the secular Opposition parties are agreed on this point and made their position clear. We asked for some action, we wanted to diffuse the situation so that nobody should take advantage. We have been saying

that this is a matter which should be decided by negotiation amongst the parties and if negotiated settlement is not possible, it should be decided by a court of law. That has been our stand all along. And now, Sir we find the Government is more concerned to placate majority communalism and allow the basic principles of secularism to be sacrificed, to keep up their line of cooperation and collaboration and understanding with the major Opposition party inside the House. This is a dangerous policy which will divide the country.

Sir, what has been happening so far as Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and other areas of this country are concerned? These are the issues which affect the very fabric of the nation, unity of the nation and integrity of the nation. These issues are not being dealt with from a political point of view, they are being treated as a mere law and order situation, they are being made more and more complicated because in Kashmir their aspirations are not being through of or considered, their demand for autonomy is not being considered, how one after another the duly elected governments were removed, how elections were rigged there. They have lost faith in the functioning of the Delhi brand of democracy, the Congress brand of democracy in this country.

Therefore, the people feel alienated because they cannot for themselves decide their future and that is why, Sir, they are not being brought to the mainstream and no political activity is being carried out. Now, relying on Army and para military forces only will not solve the problem.

Sir, we have been saying that it is essential that the Centre-State relations will have to be looked into very deeply. Even the inadequate recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission are not being implemented. Over-centralisation of power at the hands of Delhi is alienating the people in various parts of the country. Kashmir is an instance, Punjab is an instance, Assam is an instance, even the ethnic minorities and tribals in this country are feeling alienated today, because of over-centralisation of power on the hands of the

Delhi, who are totally callous about the development of these who are totally callous about the development of their areas and that is why they feel cut off from the mainstream of our national life. Unless the Government gives thought to these matters, they will be unable to comprehend fundamental nature of the threats to the Indian State.

Now, what are they seeking to do in Kashmir? They are trying to hold elections. Mr. Jaswant Singh has referred to the different statements made by the Ministers. The Punjab experience has encouraged them to add six more Members to the Congress Party's strength in this House, as if that is the only consideration that is to be applied, somehow increase the number, either by creating divisions in the TDP or other political parties or by holding sham elections in this country. What had happened in Punjab? We said that some political package has to be implemented. They said, they did not do it ultimately, because their only concern was to get some Members elected in this House. What had happened? I am not going into the figures of the mockery of an election. I agree with Chandra Shekharji, it is misnomer to call it a '*Lokpriya Sarkar*'. That is why this problem has not been solved so far. Innocent people are being killed everyday. Today morning, our friend from Punjab referred as to how police torture and brutalities are being carried out and how people are getting more and more alienated there. What is happening there? The Congress Chief Minister in Punjab says that Rajiv Longowal Accord is not relevant and no package is necessary. He says that there has to be a reconsideration of the Accord. Does the Government agree to that? Does the Prime Minister agree to that? What is he doing to tackle situation there? Then, the Haryana Chief Minister is giving contrary signals. Is this the way this important problem is to be sorted

out? Is this the leadership that is being given by the Prime Minister and the Government of the day?

Sir, how will this country remain united and how will the integrity be saved? It is essential that both with regard to Kashmir and Punjab, there has to be a restructuring of Centre-State relations and the evolution of a popular participation and setting up of a truly federal Government in the centre. Therefore, we feel that if this Government continues to follow the policy of its predecessor Congress Governments and continues to retain all powers in the hands of the Centre, there is bound to be continued resistance so far as these attempts are concerned. There has to be a change in the Centre-State relations and proper consideration has to be given in granting requisite autonomy to the States so that the people can express their views and can be brought back to the mainstream of this country.

Sir, Punjab has a glorious tradition in this country. Who does not know of Punjab's contribution either towards our freedom struggles or afterwards? Why these Punjab people, the successors of Bhagat Singh, Jallianwalabagh heroes and Gaddar party members feel alienated from India today? Why such terrorist activities are going on there? Why is there a demand for separatism in this country? Do some soul searching; merely keeping police and military there will not solve this problem. We know how the Akalis have been kept alienated even during the last elections. The Akalis would have participated if some package had been implemented. That was the assurance given and then it was withdrawn at the last stage. So, the Akalis did not participate in these elections and we all know the results. Who does not know how the Akali Government, Barnala Government was dismissed; how deliberately Rajiv-Longowal Accord, which was acclaimed by everybody in this country was not implemented. That Accord was a good and sincere attempt and we

congratulate the then Prime Minister also for entering into that agreement. Why was it not implemented? Why Chandgrah was not given to Punjab? Why nothing was decided about the river waters? Why do not they either solve it themselves or send it to the Supreme Court for decision? These important issues are kept hanging and only speeches are made. The Home Minister made certain statement and now we got an apology of the Government there, which is only complicating the situation. Therefore, these are matters which are to be very seriously looked into. a political solution has to be found. The people even now are not able to take part in ordinary routine and normal activities in Punjab or Kashmir. How do you solve these problems there-by magic., by your speech here or by police or military? Tell us, we want to know from this Government. Have you taken a single new step which was not followed by the earlier Congress Government in this country?

The great important point is the tribal alienation. The problem of Assam is also there. It has to be tackled. Why are the people of this country feeling alienated from the Aminsteam? Why are they making demand for separate statehood?

Why are some demanding indepenence or some other special rights? it is because they feel, as memory communities or people belonging to certain areas, they are not getting justice from Delhi; they are not getting justice. Therefore, these are matters which are to be immediately looked into. People identity has to be respected; their cuture has to be respected; their language has to be resented' their assertions have to be noted and some respect has to be given to that. Indian cannot be compartmentalised like this. Our great etho is unity in diversity. We want to maintain that. If diversity is sought to be onbliterated, thereby you cannot bring unity in this country by force. By mere wises, you cannot bring unity in this country.

The other important point is about our foreign policy. There is complete ambivalence and vacillation with regard to our foreign

policy. the recognition of Israo is a deliberate repudiation of the Conggess election manifestro to. It says, Congress will work in close association with the countries of the region, i.e. West Asian region, towards ensuring peace and stability in the area; repaid economic growth freedom from foreign interference and intervention into internal affairs of the region; vacation of the Arab territory illegitimately occupied by Israel; and just comprehensive definitive settlement in West Aisa including the Palestinian home land.

But now there is recognition of Israel without achieving either any peace or achieving the vacation of the illegally occupied territory by Israel. Only pela was given that to will help us in intervening in the West Asian peace efforts. In the West Asian peace efforts, we do not stand anywhere in that pieces. Nobody takes notice of us. On the other hand we fieand the closeness with which this Government is cooperating with the American imperialersits, Upl till today we have not understood what is the reason for the joint naval exercise. We have been demanding from the very first day and I would like to know from the Defence Minister- he has been inducted into the Defence Ministry recently what is his perception. Can there be a joint naval exercise by countries when there are no common enemies? Is it ever thought of by anybody? For what purpose? Unless you perceive, there will be a common enemy, you do not combine in having joint military exercise.

Today we know that the U.S.A consider itself to be only the superpower in the world. How they are flexing their muscles, how they are threatening the independent countries like India? Threats have been hurled at us every day on ISRO, Super 301 and the Dunkel Praft. I do not know what will happen ullimately to this Dunkel Draft ? We are not having any disucssion on the floor of the House. What will you do? What will be your stand in the GATT negotiations? They are putting pressure on us. Today we have to decide our course old action to bring a smile on the face of. Mr. Bush and not a smile on



the face of the people of this country!

Where is the principal of non-alignment today? the principal of non-alignment is the product of the people's struggle in this country against colonial rule, a movement which has been mainly based on anti-imperialism. But today without any anti-imperialism content, non-alignment has lost its force. We ask the Government not to mention non-alignment as mere rhetoric. This has to be the fundamental basis of our foreign policy and we are going far and far away from that today, non-alignment has lost all relevance in the world. Every country in the non-aligned world looked up to India to provide leadership. Today nobody is doing that. Where do we stand in the non-aligned world? Where do we stand in the eyes of those people who have been fighting against colonialism, who have been fighting against imperialism and against oppression? India provided leadership. We are all proud that it was the common foreign policy of this country and you have jettisoned that. You are not talking of non-alignment any longer.

This is a serious situation which has developed in this country. This Government does not justify its existence any more.

So far as the scandals are concerned, they are galore. Almost every important Economic Ministry or any Ministry concerned with contracts and other things are under cloud. So many reports are coming in the newspapers. Nobody even denies those reports. I am not blaming. The Ministers say "Please do not press." This is the situation we are having today.

The Prime Minister has received the great compliment from the hon. Leader of the Opposition that he is the best Prime Minister next to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I do not know if he continues to hold that opinion.

Probably he has become number one now after his intervention today on Ayodha.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Azamgarh): There is change in his mind!

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What we perceive is that this Government has not given up its policy of compromising communal forces and when the time comes for survival, he will go to Shri Lal K. Advani. And a demi-God will become a full God. (Interruptions). Even Shri P. Chidambaram said that BJP has no economic policy. It is for the BJP leaders to reply. But they were very happy. Congress was very happy. BJP was saying that the Congress had adopted their economic policy. They are very happy. You never deny that you were very happy when you adopted their foreign policy. Therefore, this nexus remains and with this nexus and with the anti-people policies and with your failure on all fronts, economic, social, political, national, it is fit and proper that you should not remain for a day longer and for a minute longer.

I strongly support this motion.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have heard with rapt attention the Mover of this No Confidence Motion Shri Jaswant Singh; followed by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Somnath Chatterjee etc.

Sir, I will go back in the other way. I think this No confidence Motion which is now being discussed and debated today will continue to be debated tomorrow till 8.30 p.m. or 9.0' Clock. I think if the Motion of Shri Jawant Singh is accepted, what scenario will come before this country? The scenario before the country will be that Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao will go to the President of India, submit his resignation. And, along with him, the sixty-Member Cabinet will go and we will become unemployed youth. Before this country, there will be this scenario. Some say Demi-God; some say Ram-ji and

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 some say God. Whatever it might be, by virtue of the verdict of the people, he is the Opposition leader.

Further, what will be the alternative to the President of India, when we will go out of office by virtue to another President being elected very very soon. About the Presidential election results, if you go by the party-wise situation, you may find that we have hardly got 10 per cent more. The results will give confidence to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. I was in Lucknow. I have seen what the scenario in Lucknow is. I was a hotel. Many Ram Bakthas came and met me during night. They said: "if you give me an assurance of a nomination, my vote will be in your favour." We told the Ram Bakthas that we were in the other parts of the country. We have won in other parts. People have given their support to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. Why? why have they supported?

Our learned friend from CPM Shri Somnath Chatterjee must know that even if a CPM Government is at the Centre, he cannot be the Prime Minister. Shri Jyoti Basu will be the Prime Minister. Shri Somanath Chatterjee can be the Finance Minister or Commerce Minister because he is a better speaker on the subject of Commerce. But will he be supported by the BJP? No. In our country, though their party is a national Party, all over the world the CPM has been washed away. That party exists only in West Bengal, sometimes in Kerala and sometimes in Tripura. What happened to the BJP?

(Interruptions) I have not interruption you. Please allow me to say. If I say anything unparliamentary, you can expunge it. If I say anything unparliamentary, you can call me after my speech and I will tender my in conditional apology. I admit that I am not a good speaker. I request you to allow me to speak. If I say anything untrue, I will tender my unconditional apology. Let me speak.  
 (Interruptions)

After 1947, how many Governments have we had? We have the Congress Government first - from 15.8.47 to 24.3.77.

Then the Janata Party Government was there from 24.3.77 to 28.7.79. From 28.7.79 to 14.1.80, Shri Charan Singh's Government was there in power. Again, the Congress Government came to power from 14.1.80 and continued till 2.12.89. Then, the Janata Dal Government led by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh was from 2.12.89 to 10.11.90. Shri Chandra Shekhar's Government was in power from 10.11.90 to 21.6.91. It is now 44 years after we have achieved Independence. We have run the Government for a period of roughly 44 years. How many Prime Ministers have we presented to the country? The first Prime Minister who was presented to the country was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. After Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's death, for about 13 days Shri G.L. Nanda was there. Then came Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. After Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's death in Taskhent, came Shrimati Indira Gandhi. She ruled this country for about 15 years and some months. Then came Shri Morarji Desai of the Janata Party. After that came the Kamaladitya Sarkar of Ch. Charan Singh. Then came Shri Rajiv Gandhi in 1984, after the death of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He ruled this country till the end of 1989. Then, he went for elections. After the elections, came Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and he ruled this country for about 11 months. With our support, Chandra Shekhar came. He ruled for about six to seven months.

What will happen when you go to the people again for a mandate? In 45 years of rule of this country, you have ruled for only four and a half years. How many Prime Ministers have you given? Four Prime Ministers. And in that also, one Deputy Prime Minister was sacked. One fine morning we read in the newspaper that Shri Devi Lal was sacked. We have given Prime Ministers who have been changed only after the death. After the death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. After the death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri came another Prime Minister. (Interruptions)

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR  
 (Barrackpore): Shri Guljari Lal Nanda did not die.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Shri Guljari Lal Nanda did not die. He was in between (*Interruptions*)

Then came Shrimati Indira Gandhi. after Shrimati Indira Gandhi came. (*Interruptions*) I do not want to waste the time of the House. But I want to tell his much that very many international and national leaders, after the death of each party leader gave lectures as Shri Somnath Chatterjee or Shri Jaswant Singh or Shri Ram Vilas Paswan have given, saying that the Congress is finished; they will not be able to make a leader there will be a crisis and this will not last. In 44 years, we have given four prime Ministers. and four and a half years they have given four Prime Ministers. Many more are dreaming to be the prime Minister. They treat themselves as the Prime Minister. What is happening? These parties are now by the mandate of the people are ruling in some States. BJP is ruling in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. I was in Lucknow, In Lucknow, there is a common saying among the people, in tea stalls, in shops that they have come with 'Jai Ram' and they will go out with *Hai Ram*. Lord Ram from the Heaven is watching everything. He is very unhappy as his birth place is disputed. If a Ram temple has to be constructed and if it is tagged up with politics, I do not think people of India will tolerate it any more. If after passing this No Confidence Motion, they again go for elections, from 111 they will come back to only eight. That will be the scenario.

Now about the Marxist Communist. Shri Somnath Chatterjee has given a very good lecture and he has also said what Shri Chidambaram has said. He has taunted him. A few days back in the lobby I used to see many of them running after Shri Chidambaram and telling him that he was the best Minister of the country. Today after his resignation, they do not feel hesitant about it. They will be surprised if after six months he come back, I will again see many of them going along with him. I do not say all this now. What is happening.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): This is all personal remarks. I this the type of speech we expect?

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: (Rosera): Mr. Speaker, Sir, when a person is removed from such a prestigious post, it definitely creates a feeling of distress and pain whether the individual is good or bad. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I told him yesterday that as a Commerce Minister, he indulged in most non-commercial activities, I find. He said, "thank you." This is all I talked about it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOTOSH MOHAN DEV: Shri Paswan has said about a Minister of ours telling him about something. I can tell him somethings. Let him deny that. In the opposition party meeting, one of the leftist leaders representing a particular party opposed this No Confidence Motion and there was a debate. After some time Shri Paswan stood up and said, "we know this Government will not fall. But Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao is getting a standing in the country, his image is very good, we must malign him. That is why, we want the No Confidence Motion." Do not deny it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: It is totally untrue. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: if this is totally untrue and if that particular Member is also.. (*Interruptions*) I do not want to say it. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Do not challenge each other. You come to the point please.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONOTOSH MOHAN DEV: When they hit us they do not know how we

feel it. When we try to hit them, they get excited. In politics it is the normal practice.

19.00 hrs.

If they throw a stone at me, I am not a disciple of Gandhi, I am a disciple of Netaji, and I will hit back that stone at them. Sir, the leaders of the CPI (M) have spoken.

SHRISOMNATH CHATTEJEE: Will you throw steel balls at us?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: No, I will give you steel since you are the Chairman of the Small Scale Industries.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE is running the Government for 15 years in West Bengal.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is not me and it is my party which is running the Government there.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: What is the number of unemployed youth there? it is around 50 lakhs. The industrial sickness and the number of closed industries in West Bengal is more than in any other State in the country. More than 2,29,000 small industries are closed and only one industry is running and that is the industry of..

MR. SPEAKER: when Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev's speech is over, then we will

rise.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: What?

MR. SPEAKER; I am talking about the time. It is nearing 7 o'clock.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Sir, I have given you the authority to remove unparliamentary expressions from my speech. You can remove them and I do not in it.

MR. SPEAKER: No, it was decided that we should sit upto 7 o'clock. So, we extended the time.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: But you said two hours.

MR. SPEAKER: do you want to continue now or do you want to speak tomorrow?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: let this part come in the press and again I will speak tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER: O.K. The House now stand adjourned to meet again at 11. 00. a.m. tomorrow.

1901 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven  
of the Clock on thursday July 16, 1992/  
Asdha 25, 1914 (Saka).*