

are opposed to them, on every other issue we are going to stand by them on this issue. We have said it before and we are saying it now.

Finally, I would say that we cannot support this motion. We have to oppose it because it is only a pretext for enforcing an implicit sanction for what is not only unlawful but also criminal.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and others have virtually denounced the destruction of minorities places of worship in other countries - in Pakistan and Bangladesh. But now they are proceeding to justify it here. If it happens in India and if these people do it, that is justified. You cannot right a wrong by a second wrong.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: They have done two hundred wrongs, Madam.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: Yes, I am sure you have done more than that. They have said again and again. They have spoken against and again about the possibility of a said again and again. They have temple being there. Now if a temple had been there four hundred years before even if it was demolished, is it either to replace that by demolishing a mosque? Is it right to go back to any barbaric act that happened 400 years before or 1,000 years before or 2,000 years before. Majority fanaticism of this kind finds its mirror image also in minority fundamentalism and both kinds of fundamentalism must be fought. Therefore, we felt that to support this no-confidence motion would mean acquiring implicitly with all these unsavoury under-hand games that B.J.P. have been playing with the conscience of the people, with the sentiments of the people.

I will end with this. Only day before yesterday a memorandum came to your officer signed by 30,000 women from Delhi who had said that they do not want the demolition of the mosque, they had not wanted the demolition of the mosque - Hindu

women, many of them - they had not wanted these riots, they had not wanted spread of this poisonous communalism.

MR. SPEAKER: That is really a new point which you have made.

Please conclude.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: The voice of reason that has spoken through that memorandum should be heard and amends must be made both by that side and by the other side also for all the damage that has been done.

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20.15 hrs.

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

#### Twenty-fourth Report

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHARY (Katwa): Sir, I beg to present the twenty-fourth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

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20.15 hrs

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

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA(Cuttack): The Government had announced that a white Paper would be laid. It will be proper to have a discussion on it after the issue of White Paper. Otherwise it would be a great mess if there is no white Paper.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: White Paper should be a correct paper also.

[Translation]

SHRIBHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani):  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have to say something.  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I would give you a chance to speak. Please do not speak just now.

[English]

I am not going to allow this kind of a thing. I do not want these things. Please understand. I will give you time later on.

[Translation]

SHRIBHOGENDRA JHA: I want to take leave (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please, sit down.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I have to go by Bhopal bound train (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Parliament does not work for train or Members.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I am not seeking time. I want to speak on Monday (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot guarantee you for Monday.

[Translation]

SHRIBHOGENDRA JHA: Then should I miss the train (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: It is for you to decide. Such matters are not discussed in the Parlia-

ment. You may catch the train or miss it, don't discuss it in Parliament. Please sit down. (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF CIVIL SUPPLIES CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (SHRI KAMALUDDIN AHMED): Mr. Speaker, Sir, last time when the Ayodhya issue was being discussed, I had requested the House and the people of the country through this House that the crisis of Ayodhya should be taken as an opportunity to create an atmosphere of good will among the people and the mosque should be protected. But whatever took place, I do feel that majority of the countrymen did not like the demolition of the mosque and they really felt sorry for it. I feel that this incident which was happened on 6th December, was inevitable. Despite the utmost efforts of the government to prevent the incident and the support of all the political parties in this regard the incident took place. So I feel that something which has to take place it takes place in all the condition, I also feel that there is always a creation after a destruction. I think that such a vast destructive incident has created a constructive aspect that this is the high time to eliminate the feelings of discriminatory attitude from the hearts of the people for ever because an attempt was going on to create discrimination between the two communities for a long time. How is it possible it is possible only if we stick to a few concepts. Since the debate was initiated by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and he suggested the other Members to stick to facts only, I would also speak of the facts only. I hope that the Members would accept it. A point to which I want to draw the attention of the hon. Members is that a propaganda is being made throughout the country for the last 4-5 years that the Muslims in this country are against Lord Ram and the building of the temple of Lord Ram. I strongly condemn this act. There is no such feelings among the Muslims. No Muslim did oppose the building of temple there. I read out two couplets of Iqbal to express the feelings of Muslims in regard to Lord Ram, it will make many revelations to the House.

"Hai Ram ke wajood par hindostan ko naaz,  
Ahle nazar samajhte hain, usko Imaam  
Hind."

Apart from this, the next couplet needs your special attention:-

"Aizaz us charage hidayat ka hai yahi,  
Roshantarash lehar hai, jamane mein  
shama-e-Hind."

I feel, this not only represents the feelings of Iqbal but also the feelings of all the Muslims living in India. Now, if we try to find out why it all started then we shall come to this conclusion that in our country history of communalism goes parallel with the history of freedom struggle. The very day, the struggle for attaining freedom started in this country, the propaganda for communalism also started. We cannot forget that how the British Empire, while retreating, divided this country into two parts and till now Britishers interfere in our matters, which compels me to read out this couplet:

"Kisne kaha ki toot gaya khanjare pharang,

Seene pe jakhme nau bhi hain, dage  
kohan ke saath".

Even today they are active. They transmit the news of the demolition of a Mosque in Pakistan and demolition of a temple in India, likewise and try to make us quarrel. I would like you to consider all these points.

Now, there are some facts which we should keep in our minds. As our nation is multi religious, multi lingual and multi cultural, we should make efforts to maintain its synthesis. If there is an attempt to sabotage it and if we reduce its fabric to shreds then the people of this country will not tolerate it. A long discussion is needed in this regard. Yesterday, Vajpayee ji was referring to the Shahbano case and the personal laws also and I feel that these issues were well tackled by my some colleagues. I can also add to it but it is not of that much importance. I would like to submit that the way it all happened,

shows a possibility of involvement of a fascist element in it. Now where and how this element will lead us to. Whether this fascism would convert into terrorism or terrorism would lead to fascism. I would like the House to consider all such points and take a note of them.

One more thing which I would like to submit that we have our own religions which is a matter of one's faith. But the issue being faced by the nation is much more important as my colleagues have referred to the economic situation, unemployment, poverty, health and family planning. If we lead cat and dog life then I feel that our nation will become the most backward nation in the Asia, which we are becoming gradually. And it would be an unfortunate thing that a national having a population of 90 crore becomes backward due to its own conflicts and contradictions.

One more point, I would like to submit to the Prime Minister that we should not even use the word "minority" in the House. Because with minority comes the point of religious identity and there is no need of religious identity here. There are fifteen crore Muslims in the country, they are not minority. Our population is much more than the total population of Middle-East and all Arab nations. Our population is even more than the population of Pakistan and Bangladesh. We are second to Indonesia only in this regard. Our population is more than all the nations of Western Asia who claim to be 100 per cent Muslims. Every sixth person is Muslim here. If you call this population a minority then you are creating a religious identity. This country does not need this type of religious identity. I want that everybody should be given an equal treatment. Nobody should be asked about his religion, his caste, his language and his area. The day we end up with such type of mentality, we shall be able to unite and integrate the country. This is such an opportunity, which should be availed of. The true sense of National integration should be brought in the House. Then only we can make progress in true sense.

So far as the no confidence motion of

[Sh. Kamaluddin Ahmed]

Shri Vajpayee ji is concerned it is like one who is not ashamed of one's wrong doings. Shri Vajpayee is not here, otherwise I could have asked him to withdraw this motion and replace it with my proposal and create a goodwill in the country. This chapter which has caused damage, should be removed from the history and a new history rewritten free of all sort of quarrels and discriminations. We should work in this direction.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing the mishappenings in Ayodhya on 6th December. The Ayodhya, where Luv and Kush...

MR. SPEAKER: We know Ramayana.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: You may listen to it.

MR. SPEAKER: Do not tell us. There is a time limit. Please do not tell us Ramayana.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): This is Uttar Ramayana.

AN. HON. MEMBER: This is Kanshiram Ramayana.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I shall speak as per your permission but if I abuse anybody that is also not going to serve the purpose.

MR. SPEAKER: You are a good orator. You tackle an issue perfectly but sometimes it becomes lengthy. That is why, I am asking you to confine to the issue only.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I have to catch a train that is why, I shall be brief.

MR. SPEAKER: You speak very well but it is very lengthy.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: After recognising their father, Luv and Kush freed Ram. Ram asked them to accompany him to the Ayodhya.

MR. SPEAKER: You are making it lengthy like the tail of Hanuman.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: At that time it was not called Avadh or Ayodhya. When Luv and Kush came to know about Sita's exile through Valmiki ji they vowed in Avadh to take revenge in Ayodhya. But as it was their father's birth place they did not take any revenge. Therefore, both the brothers did not go to Ayodhya. Today, our colleagues made that Ayodhya a battle ground. I am saying this because being the Janambhoomi they refused to go there. Today they have turned it into a battle ground. I think, all my colleagues should give it a serious thought.

So far as this dispute is concerned the no-confidence was presented by Shri Vajpayee and I feel that by doing this he has helped the Government. Because, today country is facing the problems of price rise, a new economic policy and foreign infiltration. We, ourselves, were going to present a no-confidence motion but the act of B.J.P. became a shield to cover the faults and errors of the Government. So far as the background of this no-confidence motion is concerned, I would like to say that many points have been mentioned by other people in this regard like breaking a promise with Supreme Court. A commitment with the nation was broken. The Government violated the constitution. In my opinion those, who broke their promise, should be punished accordingly as every promise is not given in writing. They have not only broken the verbal promise but also the written one. We feel sorry for it because they are out M.Ps as well as the citizen of the country and they also have faith in Rama. Valmiki and Vashishth jointly decided this as Sita-Ram, first Sita and then Ram. 26 hundred years ago Panini had written in the first grammar of this world-first Sita then Ram, first Radha then Krishna, first mother then father. Today, I do not know why my colleagues gave banishment to Sita. During exile, when Ravana abducted Sita, and there was a war and why my colleagues removed her from Sita Ram, they know it better.... (Interruptions)



Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying it out of pain, I am not levelling any allegation. You must consider it. Probably, Azad Saheb has rightly said that communalism is the order of the day in the country. Nehruji had said that every communalist is dangerous, the majority communalism is more dangerous and we people who were involved in the freedom struggle from their childhood have seen it once. The partition of 1947, which we could not dream about, have had it and people like me who were released from jail on 15th August did not take any food that day. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Saheb, has addressed Pakistan as an enemy, number of times. But I do not want to call her an enemy because some of the relics of oldest Indian civilization are still in Pakistan. Rigveda was written there. Even the complete independence was pledged there. I do not want to call her an enemy. But so far as the tendency of communalism is concerned on which basis a slogan was tossed in the air before 1947 regarding a Muslim Nation and a Hindu Nation, the Britishers got a chance to divide us.

My friend Mr. Sulaiman Sait has rightly said that at that time it was All India Muslim League, now it is Indian Muslim league. India was not a union before 1950, then how it could be added to the Muslim league and we have committed a mistake by forging an alliance with Muslim league in Kerala. In that committee I had told my friends that by inviting R.S.S. and Jan sangh to Kerala, we were not doing a good thing because both of them are communal. Then first of all they befriended Muslim League to topple the Government of Chief Minister comrade Namboodaripad...*(Interruptions)* I admit that we have also committed the same mistake. I am still saying that.

Now, kindly listen to me patiently. Just now, Azad Saheb mentioned rightly that Kashmir is the region where people, in order to remain in India had fought with swords against the intruders. In the beginning Maharaja Hari Singh did not agree to the accession, of his state to Indian Union. He fled from Srinagar to Jammu. Sheikh Abdullah and his

followers engaged the invaders in a battle with swords as the only weapon.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEKAER: Today our subject of discussion is Ayodhya. What happened there is also to be discussed. We have to discuss the President's rule also. Now, what can be done, is also to be discussed.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRIBHOGENDRAJHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying that riots have not taken place as yet. Two and a half lakh people have been rendered homeless and whenever somebody leaves his native place he does not do so with slight pain. Therefore, they have fled in anguish and as such the entire House and the entire nation are worried. Its responsibility rests on the Government and on ourselves. So, some solution is to be found out. Yet, Hindu-Muslim riots have not taken place there. The misdeeds of the terrorists have not taken the shape of riots. It is a matter of pride for Kashmir and ourselves as well. I would not like to go into other mistakes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and the Prime Minister to reply to my point. If the past happenings are to be trusted, I do not understand how could they have perceived it by intuition. Had they dissolved it much earlier, perhaps, we would have alleged that democracy has been attacked. It is very difficult for anyone to perceive by intuition and make prediction. But I want to know whether our intelligence agency had given any report or not before the attack on the Masjid which started from 12 a.m. and continued till 6 p.m. I would like to know this also whether the Government knew that thousands of people had gone there with arms to demolish the Masjid on their own without conceding to any request either from this side or from that side? If the Government did not have any information, the fact that our intelligence agency has proved meaningless, at least in respect of Ayodhya incidents, should be

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

brought before this august House and the country. If the Government did have the information and yet it did not take any action, it is not only a serious lapse but it amounts to commission of a national crime and the Government cannot free itself from its responsibility. Was the Government paralysed during that period of 5 or 6 hours? This must be made clear before the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would go into the post-Ayodhya incidents at this juncture. I have also had to hear the slogans, "Muradabad" in my constituency from both sides. I know that people were agitated at that time, so, it was quite natural for them both to express their resentment. But I do not know exactly the news broadcast by the B.B.C. frequently up to 8th had veracity about the demolition of temples at several places but as one of my colleagues has said it rightly that it added fuel to the fire. People preferred to listen in the B.B.C. to A.I.R. and they used to come to tell me about the developments in the country. Under these circumstances, a number of crimes took place in the country. We have to take remedial steps for the families of those killed because all the victims were innocent, they were out and out innocent. We have to find out solution for all the temples and mosques that have been pulled down. But the issue I would like to emphasise most is the President's rule. In Uttar Pradesh no other way out was left because the Chief Minister had resigned, but about the remaining three states I have doubts. Yet, I am afraid, had these States done the same thing as happened on the 6th December, the country would have been in great peril. So, we are not in a position to oppose it. At the same time, we are not in a position to say that the act of their dismissal was right.

At present, I would not reply to the statement of Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar because in childhood, one of our mates promised to score two goals in a football match but he could not. So, he scored two goals on his own side. In the same way, Shri Aiyar de-

cided to score goal on his own side. I would not like to go into it this time, but the present condition of the country manifests its failure on all fronts. But it is our duty to oppose the no-confidence motion moved by the B.J.P. because the issue on which the B.J.P. have moved the motion is not agreeable to us. What Vajpayee ji has said, I admit, he has said so honestly. Let others speak as well. They should be bold enough to condemn the incident of the 6th December, though the earlier situation cannot be brought back yet, improvement can be made for the coming times. I would like to tell my hon. colleagues one more thing about the disputed site of the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi. I have with me photographs of 1500-year-old 14 columns taken in the year 1990. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you allow me, I can show these photographs. I want to know whether these columns have also been demolished by those people. If they did so, they have demolished the history and culture of the country. It is not a matter of Hindus and Muslims alone but the faith, the history and the culture of 90 crore people of the country have been attacked. I want that such an attack should be condemned and I oppose this no-confidence motion from my own and on behalf of my party.

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Vajpayee has moved one-line motion which expresses its want of confidence in the council of Ministers. Whatever has been said here is in the context of Ayodhya. I am sorry to say that my colleagues who were criticising the economic policies of the government till yesterday and which they criticise even today and who were opposing the Dunkel proposal and the privatisation policy of the Government, are speaking against this motion today. The motion runs only in one line "That the House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers". It has nothing to do with Ayodhya. They do not face the truth, because their only intention is to call the B.J.P. by bad names. I do not talk of the intention and policy of the Government, because neither the intention of the Government is good nor its policies. That is why,

, they are not producing good results. I am sorry for it.

I wished our hon. colleagues of the Left Front or of the National Front or from other Parties would have said that is really the result of the failure of the Government. Why this situation was not viewed in that context? What was the need for viewing it from the Ayodhya angle? Honourable Atalji has expressed here that the economic policies of the Government have failed. Atalji had also said that the Government has done something unconstitutional by dismissing the three B.J.P. ruled- States. It has been a murder of the democracy. No significant discussion took place in this context. It was not considered necessary to speak in the context. It was not considered necessary to speak in the context as to why the patriotic organisations like the R.S.S., the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal were banned. I have examples to cite here. The Central Governments obeyed it. The officers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh were sealed and their workers were apprehended. But the Madhya Pradesh High Court gave decision against the declaration of the Central Government and held that the seal be broken. It held that the Government had no power to do so as and it was illegal. I want to know what was the need to take such steps in such a hurry?

I would like to speak, particularly in the context of Madhya Pradesh. The Madhya Pradesh Government was dissolved. All the three State Governments were dissolved. Even the Himachal Pradesh Government was dissolved. Even section 144 was not imposed in Himachal Pradesh and there was no riot nor was there any danger to life and property, nor was there any disturbance. If the government has any ill will only because there was the rule of the Bharatiya Janata Party, it is a different matter. In the context of Madhya Pradesh I would like to say that there was no such incident in Madhya Pradesh. The Central Ministers visit Bhopal violating security arrangements and without

giving prior notice to the Chief Minister. They go there violating the Centre's security arrangements and provoke the people where riots were taking place or being incited by some persons. Are these acts on the part of responsible persons of the centre not against their conduct and policy and are they not unconstitutional? And yet they ask for the dismissal of the Government. I know it very well that after the Government was formed in Madhya Pradesh. Our Congress-Colleagues were greatly pained because the Madhya Pradesh Government was functioning very well. It fulfilled its commitment to waive loans. It fulfilled its commitment to solve housing problem by providing housing facility. It had promised to give jobs to unemployed persons. The government was doing good work. As regards the law and order situation the Government which preceded it as well as the present government have aside that the law and order situation is satisfied. The law and order situation in Rajasthan is also considered to be satisfactory. It never happened that Central Ministers visited that state on a single day and made inciting speeches. They went to Jabalpur and made instigating speeches. They also made speeches in Ujjain and Indore and instigated riots there. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say that the way these Governments have been dismissed by the Central government is nothing but ill-intention and ill-will. It is also unconstitutional. It is nothing but the murder of democracy. I want to know, after all what is the justification of dismissing the Government. The then Chief Minister Shri Sunder Lal Patwa was informed that the Central Government has issued notification under unlawful activities which he must follow. He implemented it instantly. A number of senior members of the Sangh were arrested. The members of the Vishwa Hindu parishad and the Bajrang Dal were also arrested. No order was disobeyed or violated. The Chief Minister had said that he would follow the orders in toto. I am sorry to say that 6 months back, the central Ministers used to say that Madhya Pradesh Government should be dismissed and that the Madhya Pradesh Government would not last.

[Dr. Laxminarayan Pandeya]

This incident occurred on the 6th. Six months back it was said. It means they were waiting for an opportune moment so that the Government may be dismissed on one pretext or the other. What was the fault of the Rajasthan Government? I do not want to go into the details of these incidents. So, you got ready to take action against them. Action was taken against the Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh Governments. There were some persons from the ruling party whose names I can mention if I am asked to do so, who visited the places which were incident-free and which were peaceful. They went to my constituency and instigated the people and asked them to take revenge. The Government did not take any action against them. The Government did not take any action against them, nor could it take any action against them, nor it wanted to taken action. A news-item has appeared that a member of the Babri Masjid Action Committee Shri Zilani has sought help from the U.N.O. Is it not treason? Is it not a challenge to the sovereignty of the country? What action has been taken against him? An hon. Member has said that the person who is seeking assistance from the U.N.O. is not working well. This news has appeared in the issue of the Janasatta on the 16th December.

Recently 32 temples were demolished in Kashmir after these incidents. Not a single member has said that the temples were pulled down. This is not the right way. Kashmir is also a part of this country. Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad has said that he is a nationalist. He is showing us path. How can Shri Azad show us path? What was done to the hon. Leader of the Jana Sangh Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee? All of you know about the three Chief Ministers of that State. At that time he was got murdered there. The murder was committed in Kashmir. But it is still a secret. Today our leaders are detained. What is the reason behind it? Is hon. Advaniji such a criminal that he should be taken from one place to the other and at a time when the government so wishes. What crime has he committed? He was standing in

Ayodhya and making appeals to all to get down and to keep peace. The leader of the other House Dr. Joshi was also saying the same thing. These leaders are patriots and he wants to show him the path of nationalism. We believe in nationalism and we are the people who are out and out patriots. There is nothing to doubt our patriotism. And, Azad Saheb, you need not teach us any lesson.

I would like to submit that Madhya Pradesh High Court had given stay order in Jabalpur on a writ petition regarding the arrest of a few RSS activists holding that their arrest is wrong and the action being taken against them under unlawful activity should be stopped. The court held that they should not be arrested and law should be properly implemented. That law was challenged. I am sorry to say that Government is taking steps in haste without giving it a proper thought. On what basis did government ban VHP and RSS? What incidents took place after 6th in the country and whether the sangh is responsible for eruption of any communal riots and incidents of loot and arson? Hon. Member demanded an inquiry into it. In my constituency some men from the ruling party instigated attacks on people and firing was also resorted to and a policeman was stabbed. Other areas were remained undisturbed. Who are the people who create disturbance. It should be investigated. While dismissing three B.J.P. - ruled states, the Government did not think of dismissing Maharashtra and Gujarat Governments. If it is viewed in the context of death toll or inability to handle law and order situation or violation of Government orders, then Maharashtra witnessed the worst situation. who is guilty for it, why then Government is stepping back in dismissing it? In Gujarat many incidents took place, people were burnt alive but Government is hesitating in dismissing that State Government because it is their own Government. Some people are blaming the police but it is not proper to demoralise the police. What happened in West Bengal? What happened in other Congress-ruled States. Why then Government is not dismissing those State Govern-

ments? I would like to know if that is the basic reason, then the Government should have dismissed the Maharashtra Government first where incidents are taking place, law is not complied with and murders are being committed and where the number of killings is the highest. I asked one of my Congress friends as to why did they dismiss our governments. He replied that they had dismissed eleven. I replied that those State Governments were crossing the period of even six years. And in the present case, even the reports of the Governments were favourable, despite the pressure exerted by the Centre, the situation did not warrant their dismissal. The Central Government has murdered democracy by dismissing three State Governments. I would like to raise an objection to it.

In view of the circumstances under which this no-confidence motion has been brought, I wish all may support it. I would not like to go into evidence. A lot had already been said about Ayodhya and I don't want to repeat them. A former Member of Parliament has written a letter to our hon. Prime Minister. Yesterday, Rasheed Masoodji was making a speech about which Rajveerji and I have given notice. While making his speech he went to the extent to say that lest Atalji should meet the same fate Mahatma Gandhi had met. "In our country the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi was a true and staunch patriot. He gave the country the message of unity, brotherhood, love and of fighting against tyranny and atrocity. It was a message of a faith. Two or three days back I went through the statement made by Shri Vajpayeeji. That statement carried the same message. But I know that there are such organisations in the country whose record shows that they kill a true and honest Hindu who talk of humanity and the Father of the nation mahatma Gandhi is testimony to it. Shri D.D. Upadhyaya is also testimony to it because when he began to keep aside from his policies, he too met the same fate the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi had met. Now Shri Vajpayeeji has begun to make statement keeping aside from his policies, so he should be cautious. His life is a must for us. We wish he should give the message of

humanity. Since fascists know no religion, they don't allow a true and staunch Hindu of this country to remain alive. Those who talk of humanity are not allowed to remain alive by them." I am sorry such statement has been made here. I would like to submit that this statement should be expunged. A former Member of Parliament, Rameshwar Singh has written a letter to the Prime Minister. he has demanded decision on the basis of the motion. I have drawn your attention to it that what Shri Rasheed Masud has said yesterday is not in good taste. That is why I have quoted it. As my colleague has said, I don't take much time and conclude.

So far as that structure is concerned, it is proved that it is a part of Ram-Janambhoomi on the basis of archeological proofs, old documents and historical discoveries and I have got a copy of an old Gazetteer which I quote and conclude:

*[English]*

"North Western Provinces and Oudh Described and Arranged" published by Indological Book House from Delhi in 1897:- "It is locally affirmed that at the Musalman conquest there were three important Hindu temples at Ayodhya these were the Janamasthanam, the Svargadvaram and the Treta-ka-Thakur. On the first of these Mis Khan built a masjid during the reign of Babar, which still bears his name. This old temple must have been a very fine one, for many of its columns have been utilized by the Musalmans in the construction of Babr's Masjid."

*[Translation]*

I am saying all this because this is an old Gazetteer and not a recent one. These archeological proofs are many and they prove that temple was there and the temple should be there. Worship has been continuing there. So, to say that it was a mosque is to mislead the people. It has been said again and again that it is a disputed structure and even in courts it has been termed a disputed structure. To call it a masjid is to mislead the people. Even outside the House, the word

- [Dr. Laxminarayan Pandeya]

Masjid should not be used and wrong direction should not be issued. It should be called a disputed structure.

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH (Buxar): There was a mosque, we have seen it,

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA: There was a temple.

SHRI ANIL BASU (Aarambagh): He has himself said that there is a mosque.

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA: I have submitted that mosque had been constructed there after demolishing a temple.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Pandeya, you need not convince.

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA: That is why I was submitting that the context in which this motion has been brought is different from that of Ayodhya alone. It has been brought in the context of ban on organisations, wrong policies of the Government leading to chaos in the country, deteriorating law and order situation, poverty in the country, shaking of people's confidence in government which has murdered democracy by dismissing State Governments and its oppressing policies. I wish my friends would view this motion in the context of all this, as they have been opposing Government policies in their statements and speeches, and would vote in favour of this motion.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I think many Members are sitting here for a long time. We should respect their wishes and we should continue to work here.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Today!

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, today itself. Otherwise you would not get any opportunity to speak Chitta Basu ji.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: We can continue on Monday.

MR. SPEAKER: No, it would not be possible on Monday. If you really want, you can speak today, otherwise I would not be able to give you time on Monday. Now you can speak. Ten minutes for you.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, I will be very much brief because I am quite well aware of the constraint of the time. Instead of arguing, instead explaining, instead of clarifying my position, I simply want to put on record my party's position regarding the issue. I do not like that you should unnecessarily stop me. I shall not argue.

MR. SPEAKER: Let me decide whether you are arguing properly.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I shall not argue with you, I shall state my position. Just give me time. And that is quite fair and proper also.

Sir, at the outset, I rise to oppose the Motion moved by hon. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The reason is very simple. The reason is that the country demands today that there would be united efforts of all democratic and secular forces to fight the demon of communalism. The secular and democratic forces of our country are united today in order to preserve, maintain, protect the secular and democratic values which we have inherited during the course of the freedom movement of our country.

The demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya is not merely a demolition of a temple or a masjid but the demolition of the entire rich heritage that we have inherited during ages and decades. The demolition of the masjid by the rabid communal forces - the BJP, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and the combine - is a crime against the Constitution of our country. It is a crime against secularism and it is also a crime against national unity. It is in defiance of the judicial orders. It is in gross abuse of the



solemn assurances given to this House, outside and to the court. It is a challenge to the ethos of the Indianness which is based on composite culture, composite tradition and by intermingling of different streams of cultures in the country.

**21.00 hrs.**

The perpetrators of this crime should not go unpunished and this punishment should be given by this highest representative body of the country.

Some of the leaders of the temple movement claim that they are for democracy. I want to make it very much clear that secularism and democracy in the Indian context are inseparable. If you want democracy you must protect secularism. If you destroy secularism you destroy democracy. Therefore, democracy and secularism, in Indian context, are inter-twined. They cannot be separated. Therefore, I appeal to the Members of this House that this very concept, the perception of the nexus between democracy and secularism should not be lost sight of.

This is the lesson Ayodhya has taught us. If we ignore this lesson the country will be in peril.

Some leaders of the movement have already proudly claimed that demolition of the masjid is a part of temple movement and wider ideological issues.

Sir, as I promised, I shall not argue nor I shall enter into debate.

This very statement admits the pre-planned nature of the assault on the masjid. It was a well-orchestrated and diabolical plan to unleash torrents of communal hatred and violence which have consumed and engulfed some parts of the country.

What is the temple movement and what are the wider issues involved in this destruction of the masjid? To be very brief, the aim and perception of this temple movement is

the establishment of *Hindu Rashtra* and theocracy, a fascist system based on revivalism, obscurantism and ostracism. It aims at denying equal rights and opportunities to the minorities of all religious beliefs and faiths. The inevitable result of this would be the further vivisection of the nation and the country, the danger of which parliament cannot afford to ignore.

Lastly, while I oppose the No-Confidence Motion, that does not mean I have, or my party has, confidence in this Government, unalloyed and uninhibited. I want to make it clear. This Government is also not above criticism and deserves no less condemnation for the policies it pursues. Its policy was not to fight ideologically and politically the communal virus, the communal policies. As a matter of fact, it in the past pampered these communal forces in order to achieve partisan ends. Therefore, the Government has got no comprehensive and integrated policy to fight against communalism, to combat against the danger of communalism in our country.

If today the Government's attitude is hesitant and half-hearted, it is reflected by the manner in which the ban order has been handled. As a matter of fact, let me tell you that, some of the judicial pronouncements have already been made for not implementing the ban orders by certain High Courts of the country.

We have been opposed to the very idea of arbitrary invocation of Article 356 to bring down an elected Government. In this case, I would say, although the situation was very critical, but the Government might have been much more prudent, had other constitutional provisions to protect the Constitution were resorted to before the invocation of Article 356 in the three B.J.P. ruled States.

Lastly, in conclusion I say, Sir, that let me make it clear that our Party is opposed to the No-Confidence Motion of the B.J.P., but it does not repose unalloyed and uninhibited confidence in the Government. We shall continue our battles against this discredited Government and its anti-people's policies.



**SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank the honourable mover for giving us this opportunity to discuss threadbare and also I congratulate him for his customary eloquence and melodrama while defending the indefensible. He has spoken like a statesman, but he has also given us the chance to see the two faces of the B.J.P. and the communal elements in this country. So, what was his aim and what was his aim plus? If his aim was to castigate the Government for dismissing three of the B.J.P. State Governments, that was the one to which he made a passing reference, but the aim plus is more sinister. The aim plus was not to receive the flak from the entire House, but to drag in the Government also to face the flak because immediately after the 6th, the black Sunday, the man-made catastrophe and calamity of monumental proportions, monumental shame and shock and horror to this nation and to the 5000 years of Indian culture took place. For two days this House was hijacked, nobody could discuss anything and the House had to be adjourned for about a week giving the impression that Parliament has become irrelevant and people should take to the streets. I am glad that this discussion has also given the chance to hear the eloquent speeches of not only the leaders of various political parties represented here, but also to get to know their perceptions and this debate has also given an opportunity for those parties to also highlight the philosophy for which they stand. This was an admirable opportunity because every one thinks that mid-term election is round the corner and therefore.

**SHRI ANIL BASU (Arambagh):** There is no need to see the newspapers for this, everything is on record.

**SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO:** I am telling my views and not asking your views, I am not airing your views. I did not disturb you when you were speaking. That is my perception.

**PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer):** They are your supporters. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO:** Sir, some of

the eloquent speakers before me have referred to what happened in 1990. That was one of the aim plus — once again in the name of Ram the Government will collapse, then all my friends sitting on that side would get a chance to come to this side. Anyway, my friend Mr. Anil Basu may not admit it, but in his heart of hearts, he also wanted to control the Government, as evidenced by the newspaper reports where his leaders have been gloating over the fact that the banning of these communal organisations and also dismissing the State Governments have been done at their behest and on their advice. Please read the papers, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India* of yesterday. (*Interruptions*). Sir, this has been a breach of faith. If 60 crores had faith that the 450-year old structure by whatever name you call it, whether it is Babri Masjid or Ram Lalla Mandir — if 60 crores had faith that it was a mandir, then 15 crores people had faith that it was a masjid. Nobody can deny and nobody does deny in this House that that structure, by whatever name you call it, Babri Masjid or Ram Lala Mandir, was 450 years old and more. So, to destroy the cultural heritage is nothing short of barbarism. I thought the days of barbarism was dead and we are living in a civilised society. The people who broke the temple as well as the mosque are now crying that the temples are being destroyed elsewhere outside India. Every action has an opposite and equal reaction and it was to be expected that there would be civil war, there would be violence. But I would like to congratulate the Indian people for their tolerance and sagacity that notwithstanding the fact that tempers, feelings and sentiments were running high, only 1,200 people were victims in this monumental catastrophe. I do admit that the State Governments have also played their part and the hon. Defence Minister has also said that the Armed Forces were alerted and they were kept in readiness. Some of the State Governments did not seek the help of the Army. I do not know whether there was any ego problem or whether there was a diabolical reason behind it or whether there was any sinister move behind it. But, since we have not been having the sittings to parlia-

ment and we do not have access to what had happened - newspapers cannot give us everything - I would like the Government or the Government's spokesman to take the House into confidence and tell us what happened in those fateful hours and fateful days.

Sir, the BJP is very proud of its discipline, culture and the high principles. When the leaders of the BJP, leaders of R.S.S. the VHP, leader of the Bajrang Dal were present only a hundred yards away, how is it that about 500 well-trained, motivated people who had been having a clandestine training just like any operation - if the photographs are to be believed which came in the newspapers - could destroy this 450 years old structure or the mosque or the temple? How is it that about five lakhs of *kar sevaks* led by their leaders were mute spectators? It is not convincing that 500 people could destroy our cultural heritage which they had promised in Parliament, in the National Integration Council and to the Prime Minister, to uphold and protect. Is this the track record of a party which boasts of its discipline, its *adarsh*, its *anushashan*, its *sidhant* and its cultural heritage? I do not know who is going to answer this question.

Sir, I believe that an inquiry is on by the CBI. I would suggest that apart from the CBI, all the Intelligence agencies should be set into motion, because we must get to the bottom of this. This entire operation of conceit, deceit, perfidy and falsehood and all these perverted actions should have to be gone into and we should find out as to whose hand is behind all this, whose hand is behind the instability in this country and whose hand is behind the insecurity in this country, at a time when the country is about to overcome its economic difficulties and it was going into a path of economic development.

Sir, similar things had happened immediately after the Non-Aligned Meet in 1983. You are also in the know of the things as to how Mrs. Gandhi had to pay the supreme sacrifice, because India was on top of the world after 1983. The same cruel hadst took

away Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, another former Prime Minister, at a time when we were cementing the country together. So, we must get to the bottom of it, as to who stands to gain from this, our insecurity and our division. After 'Operation Blue Star' the Hindus and the Sikhs were divided. After this Babri Masjid issue, the Hindus and the Muslims were sought to be divided. Who stands to gain by this? We must get to the bottom. I am glad that the Government and the Prime Minister have announced that there is going to be a White Paper. I do hope that the White Paper on the Babri Masjid will be prepared soon and put up in Parliament so that we would know what is happening.

In this regard, it reminds me of Julius Caesar in his funeral ceremony in which the funeral speech was made by Mark Anthony: He said, Friends, Romans, countrymen. I would like to say here: Friends, Indians, countrymen: Lend me your ears I have to bury Caesar and not to praise him. Instead of Caesar I will say, bury the culture heritage and not to praise him. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with the bones. So, let it be with them.

The evil that has happened will remain with us for a long time to come and it will be a scar which will be very difficult to remove. So, we must put our heads and hearts together and to see that Parliament has to be relevant. We cannot allow Parliament to be hijacked like that. Parliament is the highest legislative forum where we must debate and discuss in a cool manner, in a collective manner, in a statesman like manner and not allow things to be taken to the streets or to break the law or violate the Constitution. Strong action is necessary.

Sir, you had been a former Rajya Raksha Mantri. You know very well that every cadet in the National Defence Academy when he joins is given a little poem by Rudyard Kipling. With your permission, I would like to quote only the portion of it which is relevant:

"If you can keep your head when all about you

[Sh. K.P. Singh Deo]

Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;

If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,

But make allowance for their doubting too;

If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,

Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,

Or being hated, don't give way to hating,  
And yet don't look too good, not talk too wise;

If you can dream - and not make dreams your master;

If you can think - and not make thoughts your aim,

If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster

And treat those two impostors just the same;

If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken

Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,

Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,

And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings

And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,

And lose, and start again at your beginnings

And never breathe a word about your loss;

If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew

To serve your turn long after they are gone,

And so hold on when there is nothing in you

Except the will which says to them: 'Hold on!'

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,

Or walk with Kings - nor lose the common touch,

If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,

If all men count with you, but none too much;

If you can fill the unforgiving minute

With sixty seconds! 'worth of distance run,

Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,

And - which is more - you'll be a Man, my leader!"

He will be a Man, my leader.

Thank you, Sir.

I oppose the Motion of No-Confidence.

[Translation]

PROF. PREMDHUMAL (Hamirpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House is discussing the no-confidence motion moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. At the same time, all the speakers have expressed their hope that the debate would help in restoring the confidence of the nation. The way the Central Government dismissed three BJP Governments, which enjoyed more than two-thirds majority, misusing Article 356 and the way the State Assemblies were dissolved is a heavy blow to the Constitution. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if there was a need to dismiss any State Government in view of the law and order situation, Maharashtra was at number one and then it was the number of the Gujarat Government, the Karnataka Government, the West Bengal Government. If statistics in respect of

killings and riots are collected, then the number of such incidents in the BJP - ruled States was the lowest. Our pain is still greater. In Himachal Pradesh not even a single incident took place after the incident of 6 December and you will be surprised to hear that on 14 December, just two days before 16 December, a news was broadcast on All India Radio in the evening that a Union Minister had paid a visit to Himachal Pradesh and he said that law and order situation in Himachal Pradesh was quite satisfactory. It is on the record.

**SHRI KRISHAN DUTT SULTANPURI** (Shimla): Who was that Minister?

**PROF. PREM DHUMAL:** You know it. Do not get involved in group disputes. I have already said that the All India Radio had broadcast the news first of all that the situation is satisfactory. While speaking on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, the hon. Prime Minister said that the Himachal Pradesh Government had done tremendous job in the field of education. He had praised the contribution of Himachal Pradesh. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission had said repeatedly that excellent work is being done in Himachal Pradesh. You would be surprised to know that the adviser to the Governor, appointed by the Centre, had said that the policies initiated by Shanta Kumar Government would be implemented and no change would be made in them because they were right. What was the justification then? When the law and order situation was normal and policies were right, why was the Government dismissed then. Has it not been done with a feeling of revenge? Is it not a fact that as soon as a statement was issued by an M.L.A. to the effect that he had gone to perform Kar Seva, Shanta Kumar Government arrested him then and there.

The way the Government has misused Article 356 is a serious blow to the federal structure. That is why, we have moved the No-Confidence Motion. When the framers of the Constitution had envisaged the federal structure in the country, they had envisaged

that there might be Governments in States and at the Centre of different parties. In case the State Governments did not function well, what would be the rights of the Centre in that case. State Governments are dismissed only when they do not abide by the Centre's orders and they do not implement policies properly and they do not implement the bans imposed by the Centre, as hon. Members have said, that is the reason. But I would like to submit that all of a sudden the Governor has been asked to sign another report as the first report was not correct. What emergency had arisen. There was no riot, no accident, everything was going on smoothly, the State Government was implementing the policies which were being supported by all, including the Union Minister and the Union Government. Shri Arjun Singh asked since when the Bhartiya Janata Party represents the Hindu Community. In the same breath he said that the country and the national forces would not accept that kind of Hinduism. I would like to ask, if the Bhartiya Janata Party does not represent the sentiments of the Hindus then who says that Arjun Singh has become a representative of the whole of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to draw your attention to two statistical facts. In the last election the Congress Party had obtained 9 crore and 82 lakh votes from throughout the country whereas the Bhartiya Janata Party obtained 5 crore and 43 lakhs votes. So by virtue of obtaining 9 crore 82 lakh votes the Congress Party claims to represent the whole of the country and the Bhartiya Janata Party which is in the second place and has obtained 5 crore 43 lakh votes is considered to have no base. Things have gone wrong because of the pressure group operating within the ruling party and also due to internal bickerings going which led to hasty decisions and it is perhaps for such a situation that poet has said-

"Mana ki Tabahi me kucch Hath Hai  
Dushman ka,  
Per kucch kayamat ki chal Apne Bhi to  
Chalte Hain".

The Union Ministers behave in a strange

[Prof. Prem Dhuma]

manner. When one of the hon. Ministers visited Bombay recently, he said that the people belonging to the minority class have been killed by the police and when the hon. Minister of Home Affairs paid a visit there he refuted this and justified the steps taken by the police. Then what message does the Government want to send through these contradictory statements. Moreover, varying reports about the conduct of the Senior Ministers are pouring in. But History will bear testimony to the happenings of Ayodhya.

The hon. Prime Minister has a video-cassette which he should display. Shri Sharad Pawar says that he too has got a video cassette that he would also like to show it. The question is how can Shri Pawar and the hon. Prime Minister have separate cassettes? The C.B.I. must have prepared this video cassette which, I think, should be played here to report about the happenings of Ayodhya.

Our colleagues here belonging to the left parties emphasised that there has been no condemnation. Here I would like to ask from them whether they are ready for condemnation for the role played by the Communist Party during 1942.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): They supported the Britishers at that time.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: Again at the time of Chinese aggression in 1962 what was the role played by these left parties. Are they ready to condemn that?

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT: They were supporting China during 1962.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: It means the role played by the Communists during the year 1962 is still being justified by them. Some hon. Members have asserted that the Communists are the only wellwishers of the people belonging to the minority class. We

need not go to a distant past, let us just recollect the incident that occurred at Turkman Gate during emergency. let us recollect who ordered the demolition of the houses and whose were these houses. I was informed by several friends that three sikh youths had come to Delhi from my constituency during 1984 when violence broke out here. All of them were brunt alive by putting tyres around their necks. I would like to know from the Government whether anyone has been punished for that or whether any F.I.R. has been lodged or whether any legal process has been started. if not, then why this dual yardstick is adopted by the Government. If this is a time of introspection for the B.J.P., then it is also the time of introspection for all other Political Parties. Everyone should look within themselves to findout the mistakes committed by them. You know, preaching is easier. We saw that when an hon. Minister rose and said that the Bhartiya Janata Party has committed a great mistake there was thumping of desks. The whole of his political career was incidently reeling before my eyes. I was reminded when did he betray which Chief Minister and when and where he left a party or a leader. He should try to consider his own personal conduct. All through his political career, he has been playing politics of betrayal and yet he dare preach us that we have betrayed. Our leaders have already regretted that they could not keep up the promise they made. But nobody is ready to listen to it. What moral right they have got to ask us to apologise?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, now foreign countries are also trying to put pressure on our policies. The hon. prime Minister of Bangla Desh is trying to dictate us. We know that Bangla Desh could get freedom only with the help of India. This country which had promised to remain a secular State has now become an Islamic Republic. Several mandirs have been demolished there but instead of making mention of that it is trying to dictate India. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the ban that has been imposed...

In the end, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that you cannot suppress any political

views by imposing ban. The organisations that have been banned, I do not want to refer to only three Hindu organisations and for the sake of maintaining a balance these organisations should be freed from all the ban. I appeal that all ban should be removed. It is a wrong decision. Views cannot be suppressed like that. The organisations that are banned become all the more stronger. In 1948, the then Prime Minister had imposed a ban on the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, but later it had to be withdrawn. Similarly it was reimposed in 1975 but only to be withdrawn again. That is why it has been said about such organisations-

"Chirago ki Hifazat Karte-Karte Hawa ka Rukh Badalna Aa Gaya Hai,

Kahan Tak Aag Barsaoge Suraj, Hame Sholon Per Chaina Aa Gaya Hai".

These organisations will survive. If the Government has a difference of opinion with the views of these organisations then it should try to face them on the political ground. By imposing ban and by putting the man behind the bars the Government cannot gain anything. views cannot be arrested, you can only arrest persons, views spread faster when suppressed. If you think this is causing any damage to the country, then you should go to the people with your own views and you should try to seek fresh mandate. You say that the B.J.P. is left isolated. I dare say that if you all are united then you should seek fresh mandate from the electorate on one by one basis with the B.J.P. Let there be an election, we are ready for electoral battles. We will welcome it.

With these words I conclude and thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak.

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA (Madras Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Recent happenings at Ayodhya have really pained me. The happenings there the other day can never be forgiven and forgotten. It is a criminal, abominable and shameful act. India do not belong to Hindus alone. Apart from Hindus, people from so many other seats live in India. Not

merely Hindus but also Christians, Islamic brethren Sikh fraternity, Jains and people of various other sects and religious live in India.

Our country India is like a beehive. In the same way like Honey-bees collect honey from every flower, Indian people from various religions and parties gather the best principles held dearer to them to establish a Secular India. It is only to preserve the secularism and thereby the unity and integrity of this country our leaders have preserved a lot.

Today, we find the party-men of Bharatiya Janata Party go about with a narrow but look as though India belongs only to the Hindus and this really pains us. They also said that the act that was perpetrated the other day was an unexpected turn of even on that fateful day of the sixth of December. I am not prepared to accept the excuse offered by them. I strongly feel that it was a preplanned one and they carried on a well devised scheme already pre-conceived. Deliberately they have resorted to the act of desecrating the mosque. This is quite evident from the happenings that took place there that day.

The Supreme Court permitted them to have only a "Symbolic Kar Seva". But I would like to ask a pertinent question. Is it necessary to mobilise so many hundreds and thousands of people to carry out a mere "Symbolic Kar Seva"? Is it fair to go on Rath Yatra and whip up passions of the people? Is it fair on the part of Shri Advani to go round several towns and woo the sentiments of the people to perform a symbolic puja? I request you to weigh these questions dispassionately.

Shri Advani has also stated that the demolition of the mosque shocked him. Had he considered it to be unfortunate and shocking a thing, he ought to have intervened immediately and should have asked the Kar Sevaks to stop desecrating further the mosque. Did Shri Advani tried to control the mob? No. Did the President of BJP Shri Murli Manohar Joshi took any step to contain the

[Sh. Anbarasu Era]

act of vandalism? No. Even our colleague Kum. Uma Bharathi did not do anything to stop them from attacking further. Instead we find only the photographs of smiling Shri Murlī Manohar Joshi alongwith Kum. Uma Bharathi. It has appeared in several dailies. I request you to think it over. Is it not shameful?

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Anbarasu Era, you wanted to speak for this purpose?

[Translation]

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA: It is definitely shameful.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: No. Did you want to speak for this purpose?

[Translation]

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA: It is for you to see how shameful it is to be seen smiling together at a time when they should have rushed to stop the abominable act of desecrating the mosque. Hence I feel their warrants a severe condemnation. I do not think that the intentions of those who belong to BJP is to save Hinduism or to serve its cause. Construction of Ram Temple is not their real motto. They only want to capture power and occupy the treasury benches on this side of the House. They are interested in capturing power somehow, by any means, by hook or crook.

Those who belong to this party have demolished Gopal Temple and Hanuman Temple. Having demolished these temples, they claim they will construct Ram Temple. What is this duality? Why they have not condemned it? Another temple was also demolished. Why did they ignore it? That way they had demolished temples also and finally desecrated the mosque. Now it be-

comes quite clear that their real concern is not to construct a Ram Temple or to save Hinduism. It only proves that their real intention is to politicise the issue and capture power at any cost. Now the general public have seen exposed the real intentions of these people. They also went to the level of challenging us. They asked us whether we are prepared to go in for a Mid Term Poll. Why should we go in for a Mid Term Elections at this juncture? The present crisis has been raked up by vested interests and it does not involve the entire country. Let me throw a challenge to you. If you feel there should be an election now, are you all prepared to resign block? All the 119 of you may do well to resign on your own and face the By Elections instead of a Mid Term Poll. If all of you can stage a comeback from those four states then I am prepared to tender my resignation.

Hence I would like to stress on my point that this really does not concern all our country men. So you can come forward to resign in bloc if you want elections. If need be we can hold by-elections not a Mid Term Poll. We want by-elections for the BJP members. If you are ready, if you are courageous enough resign all of you.

I am really happy to your moving the No-Confidence Motion. (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: No, No. He has not said anything against her. I would like to appreciate the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. She had condemned the desecration of the mosque. As soon as she heard about the demolition of the mosque, she had unequivocally condemned it and I welcome it and appreciate her for that. She had truly reflected the right thinking. But before that she also pleaded for allowing Kar Seva. It was a derailed act on her part then.

[Translation]

\*SHRIM. R. KADAMBURJANARTHAN (Tirunelveli): But she gave her opinion



that nothing untoward should happen.

\*SHRI AASOKARAJ (Peranbalur): She never said that the mosque be demolished.

\*SHRIM. R. KADAMBURJANARDHANAN: When we have come forward to support you, your talking like this is unfair.

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA: So I heartily appreciate the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and I congratulate Shri Vajpayee the moves of this No Confidence Motion.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now, will you please conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI ANBARASU ERA: Only one more minute, Sir. Because of this opportunity they will be unmasked and they will be exposed. Public will come to know what this BJP men are up to. Whether we want to have a Secular India or witness another Nava Kali caused by the communal divide. They were finding fault with the Prime Minister. They likened the Treasury Benches to DURIYODHANA and his men. They said the Prime Minister acted belatedly and charged him with inaction. But, I would like to say that our Prime Minister stood like DHARMARAJ, the YUDHISHTRA. He was calm and cool, an embodiment of tolerance. He trusted you. He relied on your words till the end. He wanted a negotiated settlement and he had sent so many of his emissaries to continue dialogue. Defence Minister checked with you whether you need the help of forces and on the Home Minister asked you whether you would be in need of security forces. When the Security forces were finally sent, a magistrate over there, Srivastava by name, sent back the advancing unit. They were blocked and hurdles were put on their way. At one point of time, Shri Kalyan Singh asks for Security Forces.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Please, now conclude.

[Translation]

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA: Just one minute sir. When the units were progressing the very same Kalyan Singh must burden on their way and blocks them from moving further and says no at the end. Is it not dubious? It like Goebels. They surpassed him. BJP friends are here like Goebels.

[English]

SPEAKER: Everything is known to us. Please take your seat.

[Translation]

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA: Sir, I place my demand. Much damage has been caused. Hence, I plead that we need not have a Ram Temple or a mosque over there. Instead we can have a National Monument at that very spot. A mosque can be constructed in a different place. We can construct a Ram Temple at some other place. Likewise I request that the 6th December shall be observed as National Secularism Day. This I insist. The Prime Minister should consider my request. So I express my sorrow at the happenings on that day and I strongly condemn it.

Shri Vajpayee said he was sorry for whatever that had happened.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Right. Your last two three sentences are the best. Please conclude.

[Translation]

\*SHRI ANBARASU ERA: Sir, I thank you and with these words I conclude.

SHRI SHIBU SOREN (Dumka): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as this motion of No-Confidence has been moved by the B.J.P. which is itself responsible for the events of the 6th of December, I oppose it. There are numer-

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ous problems being faced by the country, but the greatest challenge we face is how to save the country from his integration. The rest of the demands are of secondary importance. I, therefore, oppose this No-Confidence Motion on behalf of our Party the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bhartiya Janata has achieved its motive. We raised voices but all went in vain. This has been a tradition of the country and we have also been raising the slogan that Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Christian are all brethren. We consider that we are the four sons of the same mother. We, the forest dwellers do also raise the same slogan irrespective of our party affiliations. Yet such an event has occurred in this country. There are followers of the Bhartiya Janata Party in those areas of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh where Scheduled Tribes live. The candidates of the Bhartiya Janata Party have also been elected from many such constituencies. In spite of that 6th of December is being condemned in all those areas and their leaders are humiliated. There are people who hold that they will not tolerate only because their forefathers tolerated it in the past. It is this very Hindu-religion which allowed the practice of putting bells around the neck of the downtrodden. They talk of the Ramayan and the Ram Raj. I would like to remind that the same Rama had to take the help of the Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, this is the country where Ram and Ravan are both worshipped. It is a matter of the distant past. Times change and so does history. We liberated India after the sacrifice of lakhs of people in fighting out the Britishers. Hindu-Muslims, Christians, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have all made equal sacrifice. Where will they live then? Today a masjid has been demolished, tomorrow a church will be demolished. We, the Scheduled Tribes do not have any mandir or masjid, we offer prayer beneath trees or bushes. We do not have the concept of a mandir or a masjid. We are in a fix.

When our country was under the British

rule, the people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes accepted Christianity. But the Hindus had an objection to it. But what is wrong in accepting Christianity? They are also human-beings. I am not a Christian. I am a non-Christian. But I am ably providing leadership to the people of our community in our areas. The Christians at least did something for us. They provided medicines to the people living in remote jungles and who were dying for want of medicines. They were also provided with the facility of education. But on the contrary, there are leaders in India whose only concern is to construct a temple. What an irony? Do we know to which age we are leading towards? Do we know what we are doing?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to go into the details so I will not take much time. I would like to repeat that the B.J.P. has got its motive fulfilled. They say that they had no imagination about the consequence. We know, this No-Confidence Motion has been introduced by the famous leader Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He stated two things. In the first instance he told that the B.J.P. was already defamed so it thought it better to do something like that. I ask, what is this? We all have heard it. Secondly, he referred to Shri Shahabuddin and said that if Muslims can make Islamic States then what is wrong in making a Hindu State. But the point is, if some one is thinking in wrong direction why should we follow him. It is wrong. We should not allow such things. Now this issue has become much complicated. It was stated in the House today that it would not be in the interest of this country to call the Muslims a minority class. When we all are one then why a particular community should have a separate identity. This is done only for playing vote politics. This is bad. Muslims are so big a community that their leaders are engaged in serving their own vested interests. On the other hand, the number of the Scheduled Tribes is so less that their language and culture is getting extinct. But nothing is being done for them. We are committing a mistake. We are insulting them declaring them minority in their own country. Those poor people do not understand all these things. We poli-

icians also do not understand that this is vote politics. To nominate some one as the leader of Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes is nothing but making them fool. That is to say, a Shibu Soren can befool the tribals very easily. This is worth considering.

Moreover, the Government had to play the most important role. The Government enjoyed all the powers. Except the B.J.P. all the parties participated in the N.I.C. meeting. I too participated. In the meeting the hon. Prime Minister was given full responsibility and a freehand by all the political parties to handle the situation as he wishes. Besides, he had several crores of people behind him to support.

We people organise small agitations. *(Interruptions)*

If thousands of years old built image of the country is destroyed, we will not be able to raise our heads before any body. Can we construct the temple or the mosque? We have been left nowhere. We are running in the same condition, as some one has died in the family and if they have any illintension, they shed crocodiles tears. It is a matter of concern when all these things have not been there, then how can this country be protected. Every person is playing his politics. Some people want that the Muslim votes should come in their favour. The country is completely ruined and it has become too weak to face all these challenges. My wife is not educated. She says if other is so much controversy on this issue why a hospital or a school is not opened there. She is not an educated lady. Who is Hindu or Muslim. There is no difference between the blood of a Hindu and that of a Muslim. Hindus and Muslims jointly fought or the freedom of the country and they jointly faced the bullets for the British on their chest. Today even after 45 years of independence we are unable to achieve self-reliance. My other submission is that if a person has committed any mistake, he is not supposed to be an enemy. I was a Member of Lok Sabha 1980 and still I am a Member of it is House. Members of Treasury benches never listen to the Oppo-

sition benches. The Government is only responsible for all these happenings whether the issue relates to Punjab, Kashmir, Bodol and in Assam, Jharkhand, Telugu Desham or Nexalite problem in Andhra Pradesh. In view of all these facts, it appears that there is some thing wrong some where. If any problem arises in any part of the country, supression does not solve the problem. Those problems will have to be looked into. People like me are either adviasis or harijans. This is the highest House. We all should sit here and discuss the matter together, if we fail, then we shall quit the House. We should build another House because it is built by the Britishers, therefore, no purpose is being served. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You have taken too much time, now kindly conclude.

SHRI SHIBU SOREN: I thank you and do not support it. And to protect the country I am with the House. Jai Hind.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH(Aonla): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion has been going since yesterday on the 'No Confidence Motion' moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. I thought that some reply would be given. On behalf of our party our leader has pointed out some issues but the Congress Prty has failed to give any convincing reply. We hoped that some logical reply would be given but nothing has come out. No Minister has stated as to why the State Governments have been dismissed. Barring a few Members, the Ministers have given reply. The replies given by the Ministers belie their status because such in relevant replies are not be expected from the Ministers. I am very much disappointed after hearing the debate. At least they should have stated some facts in their replies. I am very much disappointed hearing Shri Arjun Singh, about whom my colleagues of Congress were saying that it did not appear from his face as to what he is going to say. It is true. He said that we wanted to achieve some political gain. I would like to ask him about his allegation levelled against BJP in his speech that Mahatma Gandhi had been assassinated by

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the activists like that of Bharatiya Janata Party. The question under discussion relates to the destruction of the temple, the disputed structure and the dismissal of the State governments but the answer given by him was about the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you I would like to convey my news to the Government whether the Congress had not hatched a conspiracy to take power through blaming RSS holding it responsible for the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. It was a false allegation levelled against RSS Atma Ram was district judge at that time and his court had decided this case. He had stated in his verdict that RSS was not involved in this case. Kapoor Commission was appointed, the commission had also stated in its report that RSS was not involved in it. But to narrate such an old incident for achieving political gain....

SHRI PAWANKUMAR BANSAL (Chandigarh): Was Godse not an RSS activist?

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: Bansalji false allegations should not be levelled. Allegations are being levelled against us that we want to take political benefit. By levelling this charge against us. The Congress encashed the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and I thought that he would say something against Patwaji in his statement but he has not referred to any thing against Patwaji but contrary to all these things, he has been narrating the story of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. I condemn the allegation levelled against us. I wondered hearing such cheap things from his mouth. It did not appear to me that the Minister of Human Resource Development is actually speaking. It did also not appear to me that he is one of the aspirants of the Prime Ministership.

He has also levelled one more allegation against the Governments of the four States that these four State Governments were working against the interests of poor

people. These Governments harassed the exploited and poor people. If he thinks so, and there was such a situation going on, the provisions of Article 356 were very much existing in the Constitution even before the 6th December. If the B.J.P. Governments were so incompetent and were working against the interests of poor people then who stopped the government to use this Article before 6th December. By dismissing the four State Governments after the Ayodhya incident the Government has proved that it is acting as per the common phrase that a thrashed army resorts to rampage. Whatever he has said in his speech regarding the dismissal of the four Governments was the repetition of the story of a lion and the lamb. The lion was drinking water, and a lamb was also drinking water downstream. The lion asked the lamb that she was defiling his water. The lamb replied that she was drinking his defiled water. He was drinking water upstream and she was taking water downstream. On this the lion said that she once abused him. When the lamb denied this charge also, the lion said that her mother had abused him. On this the lamb said if he wanted to eat her, he could do so without levelling false charges. Similar is the case with the Government. Actually the Government was much worried by the popularity of the BJP Governments and it was looking for some pretext or the other to dismiss them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as far as the question of Kar-Seva and Ram-Janam -Bhoomi is concerned several colleagues have expressed sorrow. The leader of my party has also expressed sorrow on it. It is very common that when anything is destroyed, the people express sorrow. I would like to ask as to why people did not feel sorrow when Ram temple was destroyed four hundred and fifty year ago. That time also people were sad and it is today too. We are also sad. We were also sad at that time as well as today.

DR. RAM CHANDRA DOME (Birbhum): Then you were not born.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: I was not born but history was there.

22.00 hrs

When the country got freedom on 15th August 1947 you might have been playing in the lap of your mother. You were not present at so many places but history was there. It may be possible that I was not there at that time. But where were you at that time? You were also not there. It is not proper to speak like this. Speaking in this fashion is indeed playing with the history.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, time and again the charges of betrayal have been levelled against BJP and whosoever stands to speak, he says that BJP has betrayed I would like to say that I was not pinched at all by hearing this charge of betrayal from other Members, but when Shri Sharad Pawar levels this charge against BJP, I am shocked over it. Now I feel that he has been playing politics of betrayal for long; because he became the chief Minister of Maharashtra with our support....(Interruptions)\*

No, Sir, Shri Sharad Pawar had been the Chief Minister of Maharashtra with our support. Uma Bharati can't sit on my shoulder. We made him the Chief Minister. He had betrayed late Yashwantrao Chavan as well as late Basantdada Patil. He has been playing politics of betrayal. Just now the hon. Minister was showing the photographs. Today he had shown these photographs 50 times. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that such things if said by those who do not play politics of betrayal but when such persons use this language it looks very odd. Or colleagues belonging to Janata Dal have made lengthy speeches. I have not risen here to reply them, as our hon. leader Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee will reply them. They will understand the language of Shri Atal Bihari only. I don't understand the points made by the Leftists.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, right from the day the 10th Lok Sabha was constituted and the Prime Minister Shri Narasimha Rao and the Finance Minister Shri Manmohan Singh assumed office they are repeatedly making allegations that India is being sold and is

being shackled. I don't understand whether the leftists have got their share in this deal made entered into with the Congress. Perhaps it is the only reason that they have started praising them or some under-hand politics is going on. Recently Kumari Mamta Banerjee, who has been known as 'Bengal Ka Mard' organised a rally there and delivered an elaborative speech in that rally. The news of the rally was covered by T.V., which has also been criticised by the communists in the House. Our communist colleagues criticised it bitterly that their rally had not been covered by T.V., then Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad has shown their rally thrice on T.V., so the communists are pleased by this favour shown by the Government towards them. In that rally Kumari Mamta Banerjee said that foe to a foe is a friend, we shall uproot the communists with the support of BJP. Due to this, the communists were puzzled and they came here and fell at the feet of Shri Narasimha Rao and requested him to save their Government - 'Narasimha Rao sharanam garchchhami. There is no possibility of any coalition of our party with the Congress and the communists and now the communist opposition to the Government has varnished. Is India not being enslaved now? Is India not being sold? On this issue the leader of our party emphatically said that nobody could sell India. India can't be sold but my colleagues were saying so. Will the communists colleagues clarify whether they have also entered into a deal. It is unfortunate. One should think twice before levelling false charges. Our Communists friends could not be able to foresee the situation to emerge. That is why they did not think before levelling such false allegations. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall not make any lengthy speech but I would like to thank you for giving me an opportunity at least in the end. I would like to submit that tomorrow again we shall put forth our views. I would like that the Government should reply all the points raised by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee during the course of his speech. Don't make us to read the back on Law like Shri Shankaranand. We, ourselves can read it, we have also a little knowledge how to read anything. We want reply as to why three BJP ruled state Gov-

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ernments have been dismissed. I would like to raise another point that the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh had resigned before the dismissal of his Government. But where was the Action Plan framed by the hon. Home Minister. As per that Emergency Action Plan, the Government has to control the area of entire structure within 45 minutes. Where was your 45 minutes plan? We were incompetent. We could not control the situation, we did not want to open fire at the people, we did not want to use force against the public but what was the problem before you that your 45 minutes are completed in 36 hours.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to ask as to how many hours are there in a minute for the Government. The statement of the hon. Home Minister had also been publicised that the Rapid Action Force would save the structure in 45 minutes. Where had gone this force for 6 hours? The most unfortunate part of the thing is that the situation was not handled properly. The Government has tried to play politics even in this sensitive matter. The Government did not keep in mind the peace and tranquility in the country. Here also it was guided by politics of votes. Had the votes not been kept in mind the hon. Prime Minister would have not made the statement that he would construct the mosque there. He should not have given a statement that he will construct a Masjid there. The question is that it is a disputed case. We are being charged with the non-observance of the court orders. Did the Prime Minister follow the court's orders? Mr. Speaker, the demolition of this structure was a result of provocative statements delivered by the Prime Minister. At the time of discussing the case of Ram Janambhoomi, the Hon. Prime Minister referred to Babri Masjid. You can see the records. At that time I had raised a Point of Order and said, Gentlemen, the court is yet to give its ruling, then, how can the Hon. Prime Minister call it Babri Masjid? It should be called Ram Janam Bhoomi, Babri Masjid disputed structure. The Hon. Prime Minister did not even clarify it and it was more unfortunate that he delivered the same speech from

the ramparts of Red Fort. Is it not contempt of court? the court has not yet decided whether it is Ram Janambhoomi or Babri Masjid. If the person occupying the highest position says a petty thing like that, what message would it convey?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that if the problems were to be resolved, then the policy of appeasement would not provide solutions. Justice would have to be done. Everybody's sentiments would have to be honoured. The sentiments of the people belonging to minority as well as majority group would have to be respected. The present situation is the result of your respecting the sentiments of one side and showing disrespect to the other for the sake of votes.

Time again a challenge is being thrown that if elections are held the strength of BJP be reduced to 19 from the existing 119 members. What can be better than that. Our crisis will be over. Our hundred members will be removed, and the crowd will thin down and it will result in your coming to power with a thumping victory, so why don't you announce the elections. What better way would there be for you to get rid of us? You used to say that we would not have had any issue after the construction of the temple and we would have lost votes. What better issue would you have had than removing us? You dislike us and wish to see our strength is reduced from 119 members to 19. Alright, let's go in for polls. We will bow to the mandate of the people and you should also be ready to accept it. Your problem will be over once for all, so, let's have the elections.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to demand, through you, to let those people, dissolve the Lok Sabha and hold the elections. We accept their challenge. Let us see whether we will be more than 119 or less than that.

Mr. Speaker, through you, I would like to say one more thing that I had given you notice. My veteran colleague hon. Laxminarayan Pandeya had quoted that. Yesterday speeches were delivered here. Shri



Rashid Masood had made a couple of illogical allegations and I had replied to one of them at that very moment, and I have given you in writing about it and a photostat copy of his speech in which he said that some fascist people of Bharatiya Janata Party could kill Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. It was his speech. Mr. Speaker, Sir, and I would like to say, through you, that he should come tomorrow and withdraw his statement. If he does not withdraw it then, it is my request to you to get it expunged from the records. It has created a very unfortunate situation. I would urge the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs also to read it. I would also tell you the page number of the speech. His speech is on page number 8095 and Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I want to read it aloud here.

AN HON. MEMBER: It has already been read here aloud.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: I would like it to be expunged from the records.

MR. SPEAKER: You please, leave it.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: I would go by your orders. I am a disciplined soldier and I would never go against your orders. If you ask me to read it, I will do so otherwise not.

MR. SPEAKER: I have gone through it and seen it.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: If you have seen it, you must have come to know how objectionable it is. According to it, we have been charged with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, we have been charged with the assassination of Pandit Deen Dayal. Now, it's being said that we will assassinate Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee also. How ridiculous! Don't they have any other logic with them. Earlier he had said that we were responsible for the outbreak of violence in Meerut. I had challenged him there and then, and I had done it before you Mr. Speaker, I had said that if at all BJP was found responsible for the eruption of riots, then I would resign from the membership of

Lok Sabha and if that is not the case, then he should resign from the membership of Lok Sabha, but later he changed his tone and said. That a couple of Bharatiya Janata Party workers had been arrested. What does it mean? A couple of Congress Party workers had also been arrested, a rioter has no conscience, a rioter has no religion, a rioter is a rioter. I have said umpteen times that a bullet is a bullet which is out to shoot a person and it does not recognise a person as a Hindu or a Muslim. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel sad that people differentiate between a Hindu and a Muslim, it was repeatedly said here that Muslims were massacred - who did it, where did it take place? I would like to ask, through you, whether Muslims, I would not mention a particular community, they were all rioters. Did not these rioters attack the police in Delhi. Were the police not attacked in Bombay? Were the police not attacked in Kanpur? Have we constituted the police force to lick the dust? If a house is set on fire, will the police act merely as onlooker?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not a question of one or two constables. If an institution is demoralised in the country if the police comes to know that they are being criticised for maintaining law and order, then they will stop firing in future even if conditions deteriorate. They will sit idle. And if they sit idle, then, all extremists and terrorists, who want to disintegrate the country, will have a field day in carrying out their nefarious activities and then neither this Lok Sabha nor anyone else will remain safe. Therefore, we should not demoralise the police. Do not demoralise any institution. There can be exception. We should not blame the entire institution for the misdeeds of an individual.

Now, I would conclude my last point in half a minute. Mr. Wasnik, please listen to me. You try to dramatise, yesterday also you dramatised well. Today also you indulged in that. We were in anguish and our heart was bleeding. We speak from our hearts and we do not dramatise. We are not like those who say in the lobby that it's good but say here that it's bad. Forgive me, I don't want to name anyone. Most of the MPs here had



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gone to Ayodhya last time and they told me that it was a temple, and therefore the structure should be demolished. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you ask me, I can furnish their names I will give it in writing and give you proof to show that it had been said in front of so many people.

There are people who protest here but tell us in the Central Hall and the lobby that whatever happened was good. What should we do about them? These double standards would not be tolerated anymore now. If something good has taken place, they should admit it here and outside as well. And if something bad has happened, then they should stick to it here as well as outside. It won't do if you say in private that the temple should be constructed but while in Parliament you say that the temple should not be constructed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this dramatisation should be put to an end. Please stop this drama and speak the reality.

Mr. Pawan Kumar said that after a few days our strength would be reduced from 119 to 19. I challenge them that after a few days, we will be 320. I often tell him, "It is not certain whether we will meet in the 11th Lok Sabha or not, so let's have tea together." I have told him so often that he might not be there.

Mr. Speaker, with these words, I submit that stop playing politics and reply to the issues raised by my leader while replying to the debate. With these words, I conclude.

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduars):** Hon. Speaker, Sir, BJP colleagues said that the ruling congress party does not see eye to eye with any party. They oppose and criticise everyone but how is it that they are united on this issue. I want to say here that all parties have united in the past in the face of a national crisis. Today, a similar situation has been created. India is not united today because there is conflict in different religions. It is high time that we got united to ensure that due to discrimination on the basis of religion

our country does not disintegrate, and there is no bickering among the brethren of our country and people don't behave in an uncivilized manner as in other countries.

Mr. Speaker, BJP had christened Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Had it meant formation of world Government, it would have been a good thing but it is not right on your part to introduce a policy of discrimination based on religion and vote-politics. You cannot deny that this situation is the result of your vote politics. You have divided people on the basis of religion - Hindu, Muslim, Christian and sikh-provoked the people of the country calculatedly and have brought the situation to this impasse. This is all due to this policy. Today every party is ready to maintain the unity and a feeling of brotherhood in the country. We rise above party politics and we maintain that we will stay united and that's why we have opposed your No-Confidence Motion. We are against Congress Party and will remain so. We are against their certain policies and will continue to remain so, but we are mainly against your policy which has brought the country and all of us to this crisis. We want to keep the country united. I would like to submit to you that it is a matter of great pride that you talk of Vishwa Hindu Parishad but let the people live in peace in the country and let our brethren abroad also live in peace. By following this policy you are creating anxiety, worry and panic for our brethren living abroad. Today, they are uncertain as to whether they would be able to safeguard their lives and properties and would be able to come back to this country. According to you, with the demolition of Babri Masjid you have mobilised a strength which would enable you to swell your number to even 550 in this House. But I would like to point out that whenever India has been in trouble India has stood united. Just as the country has got united forgetting discrimination on the basis of caste, language and creed similarly we have forgot all our differences and got united to safeguard our country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Hinduism is not a religion, it is a big culture. We all belong to that culture, be he a Muslim or a Christian.

They are not aliens who have come from some foreign land. These Muslims are also a part of our culture. They are called 'Kafir' abroad because these Muslims belong to Hindu culture. They do not belong to English culture. We will have to unite for the protection of the country and this culture. We don't support the steps taken by the Government. Our party does not support it. We do not think it is proper to level allegations and counter allegations and also impose section 356. We gave opposed it all along and we are opposing it today as well. Who is guilty. It won't do to punish the son if the father is guilty. The person who has committed a crime should be punished. If the father has committed a crime should be punished. If the father has committed a crime, then, the son should not be sent to the gallows. That's why we oppose the policy wherein Governments were dismissed in three States under Section 356. No step should be taken in haste. Even the Cabinet Ministers don't have their own views, they only do it if some pressure is exercised on them. Both the parties have followed the politics of vote.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would give an example to elucidate these situation. A man was riding a donkey and his young son was walking along. People said, "Aren't you ashamed? Your son is walking while you are sitting on that donkey." The man, got down and asked his son to ride on the donkey and he himself started walking. The son was criticised by people that wasn't he ashamed of himself that he was sitting on the donkey while his old father was walking. Both the Congress and BJP have made Ramjanam Bhoomi Babri Masjid Issue a donkey on which each of them ride by turn. They are using it as a trump card....(Interruptions) Is it not politics that they first unlocked the doors of the temple and then celebrated the Shilanyas. On the other hand the BJP thought that mere court verdict was not enough, so now they launched a 'Rath Yatra'. They rode in a Ram-Rath. We have many gods in this country. What will happen if everyone will ride a different Rath. What if now Shri Chitta Basu rides a 'Durga Rath' (Durga Chariot)....(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: If Shri Chitta Basu plans to ride a Durga Rath we all are with him.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY. Now since there isn't any 'ism' left they are holding on to one god or other. Suppose a 'Durga Rath' starts from West Bengal, you have already started the 'Ram Rath'. Who will make a decision as to which Hindu god is held in highest esteem or superior and which god is inferior. You are making the gods fight each other and the bone of contention among the people could lead to serious consequences. This policy is not going to justify in India. If you plan to continue with this policy then we will also start a Rath in the name of some god and hoist a flag.

We are prod of India. I would appeal here that Hindus are in every corner of the world and let than live in peace. Do not incite their sentiments and force them to be orthodox fundamentalists and narrow minded Hindus. Human religion is a universal religion and you cannot ride a Rath by slaying it.

That is why my party opposes this No-confidence motion. I oppose it and appeal to all the countrymen to stand united and march forward by forgetting all differences and ensure that the same feeling of fraternity is established once again which prevailed here in good old days.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Well, I would like to thank all the Members who are sitting here and who are not sitting here. Prof. Raza Singh Ji, there is no chance for you or Monday.

The House stands adjourned to meet on Monday, the 21st December, 1992 at 11 a.m.

22.25 hrs

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 21st December, 1992/Agrahayana 30, 1914 (Saka)*