

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

## LOK SABHA

Saturday, March 28, 1998/Chaitra 7,  
1920 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at two minute past  
Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : There is an announcement.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : Mr. Speaker Sir, we are about to resume the debate on the Motion of Confidence. I would request that the time for voting be announced. We tentatively agreed the other day that the reply to the debate by the Prime Minister would be fixed at 4 p.m. then by 5 p.m. or so, we can have the voting because many Members would like to go back to their constituencies, they have to fill their returns etc. Otherwise, we have no objection sitting late. Because of practical considerations, it would be proper if we all agree to a certain time limit.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR (Baramati) : There is a request from outside also that many Members would like to go back to their respective constituencies to submit their accounts and there are some religious functions also tomorrow. If we would be able to finish everything before 5 p.m. or 5.30 p.m. including voting, it will be good. So, the reply of the Prime Minister may start between 4 p.m. and 4.30 p.m.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, please cooperate.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM NAIK) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is one more important thing in it. New year's beginning today. I would like to convey my best wishes for the same. If it is addressed like this, it would be fine.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please cooperate to complete the business at least before 5.30 p.m.

11.03 hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER  
Nomination to Panel of Chairmen

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, there is an announcement. I have to inform the House that under

Rule 9 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I have nominated the following Members as members of the Panel of Chairmen :

1. Shri. P.M. Sayeed
2. Shri K. Pradhani
3. Dr. Laxminarayan Pandey
4. Prof. Rita Verma
5. Shri K. Yerrannaidu
6. Shri V. Sathiamoorthy
7. Shri Basu Deb Acharia

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (Calcutta North-West) : It will be appreciated if they are introduced to the House.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is not necessary.

11.04 hrs.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES  
(ELEVENTH LOK SABHA) ON 'ETHICS,  
STANDARDS IN PUBLIC LIFE, PRIVILEGES,  
FACILITIES TO MEMBERS AND OTHER  
RELATED MATTERS'-LAID

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL : The Chairman, Committee of Privileges, (Eleventh Lok Sabha) presented the Committee's Report on 'Ethics, Standards in Public Life, Privileges, Facilities to Members and other Related Matters' to the Speaker, Eleventh Lok Sabha on 27 November, 1997, in terms of clause (1) of the Direction 71A of the Directions by the Speaker read with Rule 280 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. However, before the Report could be presented to the House, the Eleventh Lok Sabha was dissolved on 4 December, 1997. I have also to report to the House that pursuant to order of the Speaker, Eleventh Lok Sabha under clause (2) of Direction 71A of the Directions by the Speaker, copies of the Report were circulated to all Members of the Eleventh Lok Sabha.

Sir, as required under clause (6) of the Direction 71A of the Directions by the Speaker, I lay a copy of the Report (Hindi and English versions) on the Table of the House.

11.05 hrs.

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL  
OF MINISTERS—Contd.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the House will resume the discussion on the Motion of Confidence.

Shri P. Shiv Shanker may speak now.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Tenali) : Mr. Speaker Sir, the whole of yesterday, I heard with tremendous intent the speeches delivered by all the Members particularly those delivered from the Treasury Benches.

I must submit that the nation should be amazed at the manner in which the Treasury Benches addressed the question of Confidence Motion.

I will refer to the Prime Minister shortly. All the hon. Members speaking from the Treasury Benches, whether they are Ministers or otherwise, have only tried to point out some defects in the working of the previous Government or some defects in the manifestos of the various parties which are arrayed here. But that is no way for the Treasury Benches to speak for a Confidence Motion. When they are speaking for a Confidence Motion, they must tell us their credibility. They must tell us as to what programme they have got. They must tell us the reasons as to why they seek the confidence of this House. Not a single word has come from any person on the other side on these issues.

Our friends have raised diversified issues. We have raised many an issue. We said, "Why you should not be voted out?" But what was the answer? They were trying to pick holes either in our manifestos or the manner in which we were working. Is that the way that they want to win confidence?

What about the Prime Minister? The Prime Minister has only referred to one aspect where he referred to the past, that is, as to what were the Governments. He only said that the people's mandate was in his favour. I will come to that mandate part at a later stage. Why did you not say beyond that? After all, you want our confidence. You want the confidence of the House. You want to seek our cooperation also. If you have written us off, that is a different thing altogether. On our part, every Member has raised the issues. Each one of us has brought to your notice as to what is happening. Where is the credibility? Where is the honesty? What is the programme that you have got? All these questions have been addressed. The Ministers have also addressed. If you want to have a compliment from the people of India and from this House for lacing your speeches with literary phrases in the Hindi language, we give you all marks. There is no difficulty about it.

But then the point is, what exactly you have spoken. What is the substance? Can you quote a single Member from the Treasury Bench who has met our points? None has met a point. Each one of us had been expressing our apprehensions as to why we should not vote for you and what are our apprehensions in voting for you. It is rather strange that the trend of speeches has been such where they want to score a debating point by trying to lace their speeches with certain phrases. And beyond that, I have not been able to find anything.

The Prime Minister seeks the vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers from this House. The question that has to be posed is : Of course, they have no record because they have just come into power. That is a point that has to be looked into. What is their credibility? The Prime Minister has said, "Pepole want an honest Government." I will come to that 'honest Government' later on. He has uttered this in his speech.

On the question of genuine apprehensions which we raised, not a single stand has been taken. I am sure that the Prime Minister - when he answers will certainly answer all the apprehensions that we have expressed including the credulity and the credibility of this Government, including the manner in which they have conducted themselves before and the fallout in future, that is likely to take place.

Sir, the Prime Minister, in his speech, has been pleased to observe that the Congress has increased its tally by one seat and he further said that the mandate of the people was in favour of the BJP and its allies. He further went on to add that the BJP had its allies before the elections. These were the three aspects which the hon. Prime Minister had been pleased to observe while seeking the Vote of Confidence in his Council of Ministers.

Sir, on the question of mandate let me straightway submit that in the last Lok Sabha the BJP had either 161 or 164 seats. What is the strength of the BJP in the present Lok Sabha? It is 179. It has 15 seats more than what they had in the previous Lok Sabha. Even then, just with an addition of 15 more seats, would the Prime Minister like to say that the mandate is in favour of the BJP?

SHRI VAIKO (Sivakasi) : The Congress has increased its tally by one.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Forget about the Congress. One-seat increase or no increase is immaterial. The BJP-led Government is seeking the Vote of Confidence in its favour by increasing its tally by only 15 seats.

SHRI VAIKO : What about the Congress in 1991?

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Forget about that. My dear friend, we are prepared to accept that we are bad coins and that is why we are sitting in the Opposition. I am asking you the question. I am not seeking the Vote of Confidence. Your Government is seeking the Vote of Confidence.

Sir, there had not been a single joint manifesto of the 13 Parties which have signed the National Agenda. Each one of these Parties has different manifesto. Each one of them has contradictory ideas on various issues. I would just go through them cursorily. When they fight elections and come here on such fractured and

contradictory manifestos, how could they say that they have the mandate of the people to rule this country?

What is it that happened? About 55 per cent, as the Leader of the Opposition has rightly said, of the people have voted against the BJP and its allies.

**MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI AVSM (Garwal) :** What about you?

**SHIR P. SHIV SHANKER :** Your Government is seeking the vote of Confidence. We are not seeking the Vote of Confidence...(Interruptions) The BJP has got only 25 per cent of the total votes and together with its allies it has got 37 per cent of the total votes. Even after this they claim that they have the mandate of the people to rule this country. What had happened before the Elections?

I expected that the Members of the Treasury Benches would honestly admit that it was only a case of seat adjustment. They made seat adjustments all over the country.

[Translation]

**SHRI VIJAY GOEL (Chandni Chowk) :** You could have also done it.

[English]

**SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER :** I am not saying that we have not done any seat adjustments. But you are seeking the Vote of Confidence...(Interruptions) That is why I am asking you, what is it that this Government has done? They wanted to increase their seats only by seat adjustments. They wanted that the voters must vote this way or that way, that is, the voters must vote together either for the BJP or for those with whom the BJP has made seat adjustments so that the BJP could get the majority in this House. But the nation has refused to give the mandate in your favour. Even that way, the nation has only given you, if it ought to be gone into, around 240 seats. Therefore, this adjustment is only to garner the votes.

Beyond that, there is no basis. This was also done to gain ascendancy in places, where they had failed. What has been done is, those with whom they have adjusted the seats and those whom they wanted to join their Government in some form or the other at a later stage of the elections - some regional parties and some individuals as well - they have lured them with some positions in the Ministeries and thus they have been able to garner a little support. If this be the situation, the first question that I ask is, can the Prime Minister be honest to say that it is a mandate in his favour? Have the people of India wanted that they should rule? Let us admit that it is a fractured mandate.

We may look at the manifesto of the BJP on which they fought the elections. The have said that :

"The Congress and UF Government's inability to take firm decisions and make tough choices, apart from their failure to confront disruptive forces, has weakened the authority of the Indian State."

Unfortunately, the Prime Minister's speech had only been a generalisation of the things. He wanted to be palliative. He tried to speak like an angel. I would avoid to say further. The fact remains that there is a lot of difference between what they preach and what they practise. This generalisation and inability to take firm decisions has weakened the Indian State.

On the Constitutional reforms, they say that the BJP will abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution. I would like to know the stand of the Government today. Even in the Agenda, they have not clearly mentioned their stand on it. What is it that they want to say? Do they want to abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution? Let them come out very clearly. The National Agenda does not say a word about it. What is their understanding?

My colleague has just passed on to me a photostat copy of a Paper where one of the highly placed officials of a Department, Secretary to the Department, directs that the Government must implement BJP election manifesto. I have got this report and I am prepared to lay it on the Table. The note says : "I would like the manifesto to be examined carefully and comments and action points submitted by the 10th April, 1998".

What exactly do they want? I would like him to be scrupulously plain in saying whether he really wants that Article 370 should be abrogated. On the question of Constitutional reforms, he has gone to the extent of saying that he wants to appoint a Commission to comprehensively review the Constitution. Our friends on the other side are aware that I for one have been speaking in this House, in the other House and outside also that we have been handed over the best of the Constitutions that one could ever conceive of. If there had been something wrong, it had been with those who handle it. There has never been anything wrong with the Constitution *per se*. I have said this in this House, in the other House and also outside. He wants to review the Constitution. What is his intentions?

**MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI AVSM :** How many times did your Government do it?...(Interruptions)

**SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER :** He does not want to say anything beyond that. He just wants to be palliative.

Mr. Speaker, Sir they Speak in parables. Let them tell us the areas in our Constitution where they would like to make changes. Why should the entire Constitution be changed? Is that their intention? If so, would it not offend the basic structure of the Constitution? Would they like to throw it overboard? If they would like that

[Shri P. Shiv Shanker]

certain aspects have to be changed, I concede that on the question of some financial powers to the States, perhaps, it requires to be changed. ...*(Interruptions)*

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI AVSM : Sir, he is misinterpreting the language. A review does not mean a total change.

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Speaking for myself, I have been of the very clear view that we could have safely avoided more than half of the amendments that have been made to the Constitution so far. But it is no answer to say that a Commission should be appointed. They could have said that on such and such aspects there should be an amendment, as we said in 1975. In 1975, when we appointed a committee, it was to go into only certain points.

Yet another aspect of their Agenda which distracts me is this. I come from that State and that is why I am voicing it. By trying to put forth that they would like to carve out some smaller States—maybe those demands are genuine, I would not like to go into that—they have given room for people in different States to agitate for creation of smaller States. In such a case, would they like to go in for another States Reorganisation Commission? What is it that they are going to do? They have not made it clear in their document. I am aware that the concerned Assemblies have to pass Resolutions to that effect. But then, the point is, they have given room for agitations, they have encouraged people in different parts of the country that they should agitate for creation of smaller States. Is it their intention that the present States must be broken up? The matter must be brought to the notice of this House very clearly as to what exactly they mean by it.

The manifesto of the Bharatiya Janata Party says, the hon. Prime Minister too said it yesterday, that they want a stable Government and an able leadership. If the Prime Minister wants to seek our vote on the question of able leadership personally for himself, perhaps, many of us might vote for him. But then, the able leadership is of the Council of Ministers. That is more important here. It is not a single Prime Minister for whom confidence is being sought. The vote of confidence is for the Council of Ministers. Would anybody like to have a stable Government based on breaking up the parties?

I would like to only recall what was said with respect to last Lok Sabha by a few responsible leaders of the BJP. They said that forth people from Congress were prepared to go to them. I do not know what the fact is but I do hear that they are already making efforts to break up the parties. Would they like to have a stable Government based on such a pedestal? Would they

like to have a stable Government in the manner in which they have formed this Government, a Government where they have been able to garner the support of various parties earlier by seat adjustment and later by alluring them with offices of Ministers—I am only saying 'offices of Ministers', I am not saying anything else—and then by trying to persuade the Members whose past had been questionable?

Then, they say that they would like to have a stable Government of that type. We regret that on our part. I assure them that many of us sitting here would have objectively considered their request, but then the point is the manner in which this Government has been formed and the manner in which they would like to add deep apprehensions in our minds, we are putting this question.

Sir, in the National Agenda, in the preamble, again it has been said about the stable Government and the able leadership. That is why, I have to just refer to it. It has also been mentioned on page 4 of the National Agenda. I would not like to dwell on that but they say that they would like to establish an honest and efficient Government. Is it possible, Mr. Prime Minister, to have an honest Government with all types of questionable characters, whom you have appointed as Ministers? And what about their efficiency part of it? Would they like to boast upon their ministerial performance on that basis—As my friend is trying to say and every time I would like to answer him - merely because some of them have gone from this side and have joined their ranks there, therefore, they would like us that we should vote in favour of the Council of Ministers. What a shame it is; and they are boasting of it. If people have gone from this side, they should not have encouraged them. They are trying to say that they are from their side and boasting. Are they not casting aspersions on their own ministers? What a shame it is that they seem to be talking that language sitting on the Treasury Benches?

Sir, in respect of corruption...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please wind up, Shri Shiv Shanker.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : My party has some time. ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI VIJAY GOAL : You did not object when the Government was formed by the United Front and Chidambaram Sahib was made the Finance Minister...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Except saying that for corruption cases, the Lok Pal will be appointed, beyond that, nothing has been said. What are the measures that they would like to take?

Then, Sir, unfortunately the BJP manifesto mentions Mahatma Gandhi's name more than once and it tries to receive sustenance from his ideology and the activities that he had undertaken. I ask a question to the Prime Minister. Shri Rajender Singh, the Chief of the RSS, their parent organisation gave an interview to *Outlook* in March, 1998. I have got the cutting. When he was asked the question, what was his opinion about Nathuram Godse who killed Gandhi, he said that Godse was motivated by the philosophy of *Akhand Bharat*

[Translation]

His intention was also good

[English]

You will have to speak up...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I will go through the record. If something is objectionable, then I will expunge it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Let it be their philosophy to interrupt and not ours.

MR. SPEAKER : You please wind up. You have already taken half an hour.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Sir, we have our party's time.

MR. SPEAKER : Three Members from your party have already spoken. Still there are three more Members left. So, please conclude.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : I will conclude within five minutes.

They have said that they would like to govern by consensus. The manner in which they went for the Speaker's election is a blot on the governance by a consensus.

Sir, I would not like to go into other details but I would like to ask certain questions. Is it because some of our erstwhile friends have gone to their side, they want us to vote for their Motion of Confidence? Is it because some of those whom you made Ministers, and who are facing criminal charges in the court that you want us to display the confidence in them? Is it because that the gentleman who upstaged his father-in-law, an ally of yours once, who died out of shock, and that he is surreptitiously supporting your ranks, that should we vote for you? That you have indirectly encouraged agitations in various States to seek smaller States that you want us to vote for you? Is it because ...(Interruptions)

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI  
AVSM : It was Shri Muttemwar who disturbed the President's Address. You please ask him...(Interruptions)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Is it because you have in your agenda Mathura, Varanasi and Ayodhya that we have to vote for you?

MR. SPEAKER : Please wind up. Three more members from your Party have to speak. Otherwise they will lose their chance.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : We have Shri Singhal's interview in *The Observer* dated 22nd March. There is another interview of Shri Vinay Kathiyar. We have the Press briefing of the General Secretary of the RSS at Bangalore which appeared in *The Observer* on 23rd March, 1998...(Interruptions)

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI  
AVSM : Shri Shiv Shanker, you are a senior Member, it is not proper...(Interruptions)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Do they want to seek the confidence from us on that basis? See the drama in UP where all those 103 people who have supported them, and who are facing criminal charges, have been made the Ministers. Do they want us that we should vote the confidence in their favour?

Then, Sir, equally in Himachal Pradesh, by the action of this Government, they enabled one Independent MLA, Shri Ramesh Chandra Chaudhury, to join the ranks of the BJP. They have made that man a Minister. In this manner do they expect that we should vote for them? Each Minister is declaring his own policy.

Somebody says that we will...(Interruptions) Shri Ramesh Chandra Chaudhury has been made the Minister. I am accusing them...(Interruptions) Each Minister is taking his own policy decision. Even in Gujarat, they have appointed a Minister who is facing the charges.

I would not like to go further. But for the constraint of time, I could have said a lot. Having said this, I expect that the Treasury Benches will answer all these questions if they want to seek our vote of confidence. They must convince us that they are fair and that there is credibility in them. Otherwise, there is no question of this House giving them the vote of confidence.

Yesterday, an Urdu couplet was quoted out of context but I would address directly the Prime Minister by quoting the same couplet.

Khudī ko kar buland itna ki har taqdeer se pehle,  
Khuda bande se Khud puchhe ki bata teri raza  
kya hai.

MR. SPEAKER : Now I call upon Shri Ramakrishna Hegde to speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN (Balasore) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Shiv Shanker has made the point that nobody had rebutted their points but when Shrimati Sushma

[Shri Kharabela Swain]

Swaraj rebutted them point by point, nobody on their side was present. After six o'clock nobody on their side was present....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I have not allowed you. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE (SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not like to make a long speech but I must answer a few points that have been raised by my old friend, Shri Shiv Shanker. I am glad that he is back in this House.

I was not here yesterday and, therefore, I did not have the benefit of listening to several speeches; some of them were very good speeches.

Sir, my first question is, whether this exercise was absolutely necessary. It is not just testing whether this Government has the majority support of this House or not. If that were the case, the Speaker's election has amply proved. But it was necessary to fulfil the condition stipulated by the President of India that this Government must get the confidence vote of this House. Even if that was necessary, I beg to submit that without any discussion the vote could be taken.

Discussions are necessary in a democracy. Actually, a democratic Government is known as 'Government by discussion'. But we are spending two days. On what? I could understand if the subject matter was the performance of this Government, a critical examination of what this Government has been able to do or has failed to do. But the Government has been in office for hardly ten days; it is not even ten days and., therefore, necessarily extraneous matters come into this discussion-what you did 10 years ago, 20 years ago-and similarly from this side, many Members could ask the hon. Opposition Members including the Leader of the Opposition about what they did during the last 50 years.

Therefore, I feel that this exercise is a futile exercise. But I do not underestimate the quality of the discussion. Some of them yesterday made very good speeches as I said. But before I say something about what Shri Shiv Shanker has said, I would like to go a step backward and ask whether the recent elections were really necessary. Can we afford frequent elections? ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please continue.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Let there be order in the House.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was saying whether the 1998 election was necessary. You know we had elections badly two and a half years ago and who brought this election on the people? Is it

not the Congress Party? I had met the Congress President several times before that. I told him that frequent elections were not good. They are not only expensive but they also bring corruption. I had suggested to him that they should make their policy very clear and if possible they participate in the Government. Why way Shri Devegowda's Ministry toppled? Was there any plausible reason? And after that, within another six months, why was Shri Gujral's Ministry toppled? It is on a very silly, if I may say so, excuse of what was supposed to have been reported in the Jain Commission. Nobody had read the Jain Commission's report. If my Congress Party Members had read the Jain Commission's report in detail, perhaps, they would not have raised that question at all.

Giving support from outside is, to my mind, not only undemocratic but it is also immoral. It started from the day when Shrimati Indira Gandhi lost majority in the Congress Party itself and subsequently and consequently in the Lok Sabha. The two Communist parties gave outside support. From that day, this practice has been in vogue in our politics.

Those who support a Government either participate in it or they do not support it. Issue based support is another myth. I hope that my friends who have said that they were going to extend issue based support would change their minds.

Now coming back to certain comments made by hon. Member...(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Trinamool Congress?

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Issue based support is a very powerful support ... (Interruptions)

SHRI ANIL BASU (Arambagh) : That is immoral. That is contradiction.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : It is immoral, contradiction for you. Do not give us your advice... (Interruptions)

SHRI ANIL BASU : Shri Ramakrishna Hegde is on record.... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : There is no need to discuss it here... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : The hon. Minister is making his maiden speech. Please instruct the hon. Members not to interrupt him... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : The first point raised by Shri P. Shiv Shanker is the credibility of this Government... (Interruptions) . I would like to submit the

very fact that the B.J.P. led coalition had an understanding before elections and hence had the credibility of this Government.

What happened in 1966? In 1966, the B.J.P. had emerged as the single largest party...*(Interruptions)*.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI) : It was 1996.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : I am sorry. It was 1996. It was only 30 years back. In 1996, the B.J.P. had emerged as the single largest party and the President was duty bound both in terms of the spirit of the Constitution and also according to the convention to invite the single largest party to form the Government.

I would like to recall what happened on that occasion. I was in the Janata Dal and because of the stand I took, probably, I was expelled from that Party. The stand I took was this : that one cannot question the President's discretion; one cannot question the President's authority when it is in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution and in accordance with the convention established. But my colleagues and several other parties cobbled up a so-called coalition overnight. I sensed at that time, even before the elections were held, I said, 'Let us go - if certain parties are according to you communal - before the people and form a front. You call it a Secular Front.' These words have lost meaning now or any other front, and tell the people that they should not vote for this party. We did not do that and all the parties fought against each other, abused each other and they were almost at each others' throats. Next morning they came together. For what purpose? The only purpose was to keep a particular party which had emerged as the single largest party out. This is not democracy.

Even today Shri P. Shiv Shanker has raised the question of a mandate. I am sorry to say that no ruling party, after the Independence, ever got adequate of full mandate to rule this country...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Except in 1984.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : No. Even during late Shri Rajiv Gandhi's time, it was only 49.6 per cent. The Ruling Party never got more than 50 per cent. What do we talk about mandate? Therefore, we have to take the opinion of the people as it is expressed. According to me, several parties had come together to fight elections on that understanding. Yes, Shri Shiv Shanker has a point as to where our Agenda was at that time. There was not sufficient time. I agreed and I had suggested also that we go before the people with an agreed Agenda, a common programme, a National Agenda. But that was not possible this time...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Why?

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Because there was not sufficient time...*(Interruptions)*.

I am sorry. This is much better than cobbling up that kind of a coalition overnight. A common agenda was necessary, I quite agree, but this was the next best thing to happen. And why do we not do the same thing next time? I am, in a way, happy that after fifty years of Independence, Indian polity is being gradually polarised. There are two groupings today, one led by the BJP and the other one led by Congress. I would like to remind my Congress colleagues there that I was the first person to say - that was about two tears ago and I addressed the then President of their party, Shri Narasimha Rao and also Shri Kesri - that the Congress must not disintegrate. Why should I say that? I was not a Congressman. I said it in the interests of the country. The Congress was responsible before Independence and for nearly two decades after Independence, to keep this country together, to promote national integration and, therefore, if that great party - at one time it was a great and organised political party - dispersed, then there would be a big lacuna which cannot be filled. It was about to disintegrate, my dear friends...*(Interruptions)*

They are speaking of Mahatma Gandhi, the original Gandhi, the only Gandhi this country has produced. He is forgotten. He is remembered only on such occasions. But there are other Gandhis today and one of those Gandhis saved your organisation. Otherwise you would have disintegrated. But what happened to Shri Kesri? Is that the way you have to treat the President of your party? Maybe today he is perhaps the oldest surviving Congressman in this country. There is no grace left in politicians. There is no decency left in politics. Just think about this.

Therefore, coming back to the mandate, I say that under the circumstances, this coalition has as much mandate as possible. This cannot be questioned. You say you will not vote and you will not express confidence. But hon. Shiv Shanker should know that the people of this country have already expressed confidence in this coalition and, therefore, the confidence that is going to be expressed today is not as relevant as the people's confidence that was expressed two months ago. And the only one matter he brought is that there was some circular issued by some Secretary. I do not know. I have not seen it. Then, it is all right. I am going to say from this seat that if any Secretary or any official of the Government brings any individual party's manifesto and says that it is the Government's policy, he is wrong. He has outstepped his jurisdiction. Nobody will support him. There is only one agenda, that is, the national agenda and that has been accepted by the Government and every item, every programme mentioned in that agenda is the Government's agenda

[Shri Ramakrishna Hegde]

and it is the duty of the Secretary and other officials to implement it.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR (Baramati) : I would very much wish the Prime Minister to say that. not you...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAMAKRISHANA HEGDE : We function on the basis of collective responsibility...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Let me avail of this opportunity to make it clear that this is a Government of all the alliance partners who have adopted the national agenda for governance. The BJP manifesto is not applicable to this Government as such, though there are parts of the manifesto which have been incorporated in the agenda for governance.

As the B.J.P. President also, I would like to assert that this is not the manifesto on the basis of which this Government functions. The Government's agenda has been declared as the National Agenda.

MR. SPEAKER : One minute. Shri Rajesh Pilot wants to speak.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Dausa) : If you can agree for just one second. I totally agree with you. You had been in Government. We had been in Government. No Secretary level officer can ever issue directions of this nature without the Minister's instructions. In case the Minister ordered these instructions, would you tell the House what action you are going to take further on that particular Minister? Will you assure us?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : We will see it.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Yes...*(Interruptions)* Sir, the hon. Home Minister has already made that point very clear...*(Interruptions)*

One point was raised by hon. Member Shri Shiv Shanker. He has been a very good and a very competent advocate. He has been a judge and he has been a Member of Parliament. Therefore, he has all the qualities to make an effective contribution in this debate. On review of the Constitution, Yes, we have said it in the National Agenda. May I ask you one thing? You were the Law Minister. How many times has this Constitution been amended and if I may say so, - you will pardon me, Sir, - has been mutilated?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : I myself said it. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Please do not bring those things. ...*(Interruptions)* The Constitution is a sacred document. There is no doubt about it. But it is not sacrosanct. It is not the *Geeta*. It is not the *Bible*. We hold that at a high regard and we hold the *Bible*, the *Geeta* or the *Qoran*. But it is not so. The people of this country can change if they find that in the last fifty years

of the working of this Constitution, it has not been up to their satisfaction. What about corruption? What about horse-trade? Today do we have any direct action between the people and the Chief Executive of the country? The Chief Ministers are changed; the Prime Ministers are changed without any reference to the people. Where is people's mandate? In one shot we negate the people's mandate. We cancel it. We neglect it and we mutilate it. Therefore, it is not a crime to say...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.S. GAVAI (Amaravati) : Sir, while making his speech the hon. Minister Shri Hegde made a derogatory remark regarding the Constitution that it is not a sacred thing. The Constitution is a sacred document like the *Bible* or the *Qoran*...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am not allowing you. Please take your seat. The hon. Minister is not yielding.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Sir, it is not a crime to say that the Constitution will be reviewed. We have not said that the Constitution is going to be changed. In my view it is high time that the best heads of this country sit together and again deliberate as to what kind of amendments and what kind of modifications and what kind of changes should be made in the Constitution....*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Gavai, he is not yielding.  
*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.  
*(Interruptions)\**

12.00 hrs.

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, may I ask a question?

MR. SPEAKER : No, this is not the Question hour. There cannot be any clarifications.

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, the hon. Minister has yielded. I would like to ask Shri Hegde whether he is of the view that the basic structure of the Constitution is to be changed. Let him please clarify. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Sir, Please delete that version of Shri Hegde from the record of the House because the Constitution is a sacred document...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Gavai, I am not permitting you. Please take your seat.  
*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : I know the judgement about the basic features of the Constitution. They cannot be changed. But may I say one thing? Please do not misunderstand me. The people of this country are greater than the judiciary, the Executive and this Parliament. ...*(Interruptions)*

\* Not Recorded.

MR. SPEAKER : This is not a Question hour. Please understand.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : If they want any change in the Constitution, they shall have it. There is no question about it. ...*(Interruptions)* Personal opinion is different. I would like to suggest that this country must have a Presidential form of Government. I hold that view. But I am not bringing that issue here. But it is very very necessary to have a second look, a critical look at the Constitution again. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPAKER : Shri Hegde, one minute please.

Hon. Members, there is no time. Please take your seat. I am not permitting it. Let Shri Hegde continue.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Sir, about stability, Shri Shiv Shanker and several othe hon. Members have mentioned about it. I quite agree with my friend Shri Sharad Pawar, the Leader of the Opposition when he said that the political stability cannot be achieved as long as there is social instability....*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record except what Shri Ramakrishna Hegde speaks.

*(Interruptions)\**

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : But who had created social instability?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : No, please take your seat. I am on my legs. This is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You please take your seat. This is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat first.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good. Please take your seat first.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am on my legs. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am not allowing you.

Shri Ramakrishna Hegde, Please continue.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : I will not take much time...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : Under what Rule is your point of order? Please tell me the rule first.

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Under what Rule?

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are the custodian of the House. Please allow me to raise my point.

MR. SPEAKER : You quote the rule first.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member of the Cabinet, Shri Ramakrishna Hegde has made a remark in his speech that the Constitution is...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri T.R. Baalu, please take your seat first.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You tell me your point of order and quote the rule first.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Tell me the rule. Under what Rule are you raising your point?

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Shri Ramakrishna Hegde had made a derogatory statement stating therein that our Constitution is not as holy as the *Quran*, the *Bible*...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Under what rule is your point of order?

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am not allowing.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat first.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : Sir, I was supporting the idea made out yesterday by my friend,

[Shri Ramakrishna Hegde]

Shri Sharad Pawar who is the Leader of Opposition. He said 'first there should be stability in the society and then only we can have political stability.' I agree with him. But who creates political instability, who creates social instability in this country? Also, this political instability is created because we do not conform to certain norms of political behaviour. Once a party is elected, it must be allowed to rule for full term. It has not happened in this country. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record except what Shri Ramakrishna Hegde speaks.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : You are a senior Member. This is not good.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : If there is anyone who is singularly guilty of this, it is my friends sitting across the table, the Congressmen....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.S. GAVAI : Sir, you have not given your ruling on my request. So, I am leaving.

1204 hrs.

*(Shri R.S. Gavai and some other hon. Members then left the House.)*

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE : I can assure that this Government's stability can never be questioned. It will be solid and will continue to rule for the next five years. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD (Madhepura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all I would like to submit a suggestion that you should realise your powers. Please pay attention towards the Opposition. The day you were elected as Speaker, hon. Vajpayee ji had said that after 50 years of independence, a son of a dalit has assumed the Office of Speaker. I admit it. Prior to it, Sangma ji, who belonged to the tribal community, was elected the Speaker of this House. The Office of the hon. President is the apex one in the country. Shri K.R. Narayanan was elected the President. He was supported by all the Parties, the ruling and the opposition parties, except the Shiv Sena. It was because of your compulsion and also there was no other option before you...*(Interruptions)* What we have done or not done will be seen at a later stage...*(Interruptions)* Please take your seat. Shri Lodha ji used to speak a lot, but was defeated and now you please do not try to be another Lodha ji...*(Interruptions)* Please take your seat and let me speak.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have elected you not because of any magnanimity but their Government had been saved because of your vote. Therefore, it is alright that

\* Not Recorded.

we have accepted you. Now, you please be alert, bold and assert your position.

SHRI RAMESHWAR PATIDAR (Khargaon) : Please maintain the dignity of the House.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Please do not teach me about dignity. I am very well acquainted with it. The Hon. Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)* If I am not allowed to speak, then I will sit in the well and will not let the others speak.

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not do so.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the vote of confidence has been moved by the Bhartiya Janta Party and other small parties are supporting it. The Bhartiya Janta Party is working as an agency and there are many commission vendors in it. I do not disregard anyone. I regard all, Mamtaji, Jaylalita ji and the leader of Samta Party, Shri George Sahib who is a great socialist. He is not present here and who was reading out the manifesto of all the parties here yesterday. A political blacksmith like Shri George Sahib will not be there throughout the world who is a master in the art of striking the iron when it is hot.

SHRI KRISHAN LAL SHARMA (Outer Delhi) : You should not speak in his absence.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Why not in his absence. Otherwise he would again say so. It is on record. I am not abusing him, instead I am appreciating him because he was our leader also. We used to elect him as Member of Parliament from Bihar. Still, he contests from Bihar...*(Interruptions)* all right, I am leaving it.

Sir, we hold Mr. Hegde in high esteem.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Only you people expelled him.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : The person, who had expelled him is Mr. Devegowda, who is sitting on back benches...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, you please note, as to how much time they are wasting, the time allotted to me. I was listening to the speech of Mr. Hegde very attentively. He said that hardly seven eight days have passed since the Government had taken over and thus, there cannot be any assessment of its over all functioning. He seems to be very expert in making assessments. He approached our 'chacha' Kesri during the recent elections. He asked for 17 seats. He tried to persuade him but he refused to budge; ultimately he aligned with BJP after assessing the whole situation. Now to whom he is trying to teach?...*(Interruptions)* I hold him in high esteem. Of course, I agree that we have committed a fault by expelling him...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, they must be controlled by the Chair itself.

While, I was in Jail...*(Interruptions)* Please listen to me. There has been a lot of discussion in this House

about criminalisation of politics and corruption. I don't want to insult Hon'ble Atal Bihari Vajpayee and it would be better if bachelor is added before his name. He had said that his party would not allow any access to criminals. About two years ago, when he became Prime Minister for 13 days, he had stated that his party would not do any bargaining or horse-trading to retain the Prime Ministership or for the formation of Government. Along with this, he had announced at that very moment that he was going to the President House to tender his resignation. And ultimately he resigned. I admit that the countrymen had got an impression at that time that he is a man of great respect, sacrifice, toil and sincerity. But what has happened now. I hold Jayalalita ji in high esteem. I regard her as my own sister. People may say whatever they like. Kesriji and myself had attended her son's marriage. She was being criticised at that time also. But when Shri Vajpayee had sent the list of 240 MPs, including MPs from smaller parties to the hon'ble President gloom, distress and despair were writ large on his face. The whole country and the world witnessed it through media. There was no happiness on his face. One of his colleagues, Shri Mahajan who always, accompanied him, has lost the election and was hesitating to face the media. At that time Shri Vajpayee has stated that it was now for the hon'ble President to decide as to whom he would call for the Prime Ministership. I do not have any knowledge of the situation or circumstances which prompted Mamataji to strike a deal and say that members from here party, Trinmoul Congress are not included in the Cabinet.

Her party wants development of West Bengal. Jayalalitha ji had stated that they did not demand any ministerial berth. She stated that her party was not extending support because BJP had insulted them. It is not that Lalu Yadav is saying this, but the entire world has witnessed it. It is the work of R.S.S. the very guardian of BJP to insult and spread rumours ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : If it is objectionable, I will expunge it from the records.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : If it is objectionable, I will remove it from the records.

*[Translation]*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : This is not at all abusive. This is not insulting...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : We have great respect for Shri Lalu Yadav for being ex-Chief Minister of Bihar. Lalu Yadav ji is a very senior member. I do not want to utter a word about him ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI (Darbhanga) : Whether they are the Members of R.S.S. or the BJP...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : He is not yielding. Please take your seat.

*[Translation]*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : We respect Shri Lalu Prasad Yadav for being the Chief Minister of Bihar for a very long time...*(Interruptions)* wait for a second...*(Interruptions)* Why do not you allow me to speak...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Let Kumari Mamata speak...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : We want to congratulate him for being elected to the Parliament...*(Interruptions)* I have objection over the word 'deal' which he has spoken...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Was it for development ...*(Interruptions)* I am coming to that.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Let me speak please...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Sir, I am coming to that...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI AVSM : Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : Under what rule?

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI AVSM : I have got a point of order under Rule 380. ...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

What are you saying? What kind of language you are using in the Parliament?...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : I have already said that 'if there is anything objectionable, I will expunge it from the records'.

*[Translation]*

SHRI AJIT JOGI (Raigarh) : Wherefrom you have brought him here?...*(Interruptions)*

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI, AVSM : The people of India elect and send such people to the House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : No abusive language has been used...*(Interruptions)* Sir, I want to say that perhaps Mamataji did not understand my point, my feelings. She said that our Bengal should be developed. Leave aside

[Shri Lalu Prasad]

Bengal, Calcutta is there...*(Interruptions)*. Our colleagues from CPM are present here. I do not want to criticise them. Jyoti Babu is held in high esteem. Mamata Banerjee is like the daughter of Jyoti Babu. Everybody respects him in the country.

Yesterday Mamata ji said that these people want Shri Jyoti Basu to be the Prime Minister. I would like to thank Shri Jyoti Basu. If Shri Jyoti Basu and his party would have agreed then Shri Devegowda, who is sitting behind us, would not have been the Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)* He refused, but my colleagues from CPM deviated from the main issues. What have they done in Calcutta? They said that they would remove cows, buffaloes, hand rickshaws and hand-carts from Calcutta. Calcutta is known for its speciality of providing food at cheaper rate to the common man. It also provides employment to the people whosoever goes there. He can also enjoy a look at Howrah bridge and do petty work as selling Pan, Khaini or pulling hand rickshaws. What do you plan for Calcutta and what shape you want to give to it, sister Mamata? Do my colleagues from CPM want to make Calcutta Singapore? ...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Just see how much assistance has been given ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD (Madhepura) : Our workers have supported you a lot...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Your candidate was also in the fray, you just confirm it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : If you have supported, will it solve all the problems...*(Interruptions)* Sir, a book named - "In Its Own Mirror" is in my hands ...*(Interruptions)* which means real picture. I would like to read a few lines for you from it...*(Interruptions)* Shri Vajpayee talks about secularism. Shri Vajpayee and Shri Advani have to understand the heritage of the country, as Bapu ji did. The beauty of the country lies in the unity of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Christian. You are taking the support of the members from the North-East. Such people are dominant and I donot know about Shri Farooq Abdullah from Jammu and Kashmir whether he has taken any decision or not...*(Interruptions)*

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS : He has taken a decision...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : He may have taken a decision. Approximately 20 crore Muslims live in this country...*(Interruptions)*

They are so\* they stated that they would build a temple of Lord Ramchandra at the same site ...*(Interruptions)*

\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : If it is unparliamentary, I will expunge it from the record.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have promised to build the temple...*(Interruptions)* They have promised to the voters, brothers and sisters of this country to build the temple...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (KUMARI UMA BHARATI) : Sir, abusive language for any one is prohibited under rule 380. Honourable member has used unparliamentary language. You please expunge it from the proceeding...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I have already said that if it is unparliamentary, I will expunge it from the record.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have betrayed Lord Rama. They talk of taking the country from 20th century to 21st century and ask us to worship stones. They talk of Mathura and Lord Krishna. You are least concerned about Lord Krishna. Our Lord Krishna is not confined. It is surprising that just for votes and to come into power you are using this name.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell you that although they have got votes and mandate in the name of fundamentalism, thousands of acres of land has been captured by China at Mansarovar where the pilgrimage of Lord Shiva is situated. Shri Vajpayee from Bhartiya Janta Party talks about the integrity, culture and the security of the boundaries of the country. You should look into it as to who has done what. In the Address given by the Hon'ble President, there was no mention of all these issues. You talk about Biharis. Wherever war takes place, the soldiers of Bihar Regiment always remain at the front to save our borders and lay down their lives.

Today, Nation and the people of India would like to ask you as to whether your Government will use all its energy on Muslims, or in protecting the land, where Lord Shiva is confined. You say to the Nation that the Indians will protect India. It should be decided once for all. Arunachal Pradesh is in danger, you should think about it. Shri George is not present here...*(Interruptions)* I will see it myself, you please don't worry for that. You please leave these small matters to the people and concentrate on important issues. People have to visit Kailash Mansarovar, after taking permits. You pretend to be the sole protector of Lord Rama as if you are the sole agent of Lord Rama. What do you call 'Krisnan'

"Makkhan Chor"...(Interruptions). Krishna continuously cried. "mother, listen to me, I have not eaten the butter."...(Interruptions)

"Maiya, Main Nahi Makkhan Khayo"...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Take your seat.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : I was pleading for one and a half year...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please wind up.

[Translation]

AN HON. MEMBER : If you interrupt like this, then I will do the same and will not allow the House to function.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been pleading for one and a half hour in the House as to understand my point and to read my papers. What is happening today in this country. F.I.Rs are lodged suits are filed, but not a single penny is found in the houses during the raids.

Sir, it is a conspiracy. Now, allegations have been levelled against me that Lalu Prasad is involved in milkman scam...(Interruptions) Fodder scam...(Interruptions) When I was asked by the media persons regarding the Hawala, as Shri Advani and many other senior leaders of the country are involved, I stated that none can be declared an accused until the allegations are proved. Where one should go for an appeal, there is simply leg pulling and conspiracy to implicate each other. Sir, I have given a statement that Judiciary is the supreme in this matter. Every one found accused by the judiciary should be punished. Many members of B.J.P. have been chargesheeted against whom charges have been levelled and are sitting here. I would like to thank...(Interruptions) Against whom cases are pending in the court...(Interruptions) Now Court should decide...(Interruptions) I would like to thank that CBI has investigated into the Hawala case against Shri Advani and he has become the Home Minister...(Interruptions) Further Shri Yashwant Sinha has become the Finance Minister...(Interruptions) They said that it was astonishing. I asked him as to what had happened. He applied that he had been implicated for a paltry sum of Rs. Two lakhs. Now whosoever received or did not receive that money, that has become a thing of past...(Interruptions). But hon'ble Prime Minister, I

know the truth. I don't want to utter such words as might lower your dignity. Chetak was the horse of Maharana Pratap which played a significant role in the battles fought by him. They are taking you for a ride. So beware of them. Whether the Government continues or not is not known but we will know the Government down after 5 p.m....(Interruptions) We will definitely try to do so Mulayam Singh and I am together.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri L: Prasad, please wind up. Do not deviate.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, lot of the time allotted to me has gone waste...(Interruption) where am I deviating? I have already said at the beginning that ultimately we will rule. We will not let them speak. Mr. Prime Minister, I know that the Home department and your associates, are waiting for the moment when your Government win the vote of confidence and gets a certificate by evening to run the Government.

Sir, I don't know as to what extent the Members of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha are guilty or innocent in this case. The court alone knows about it. Shri P.V. Narsinh Rao is one of the learned persons of this country. I don't want to give him any certificate, nor I want to criticise him. He is engrossed in litigations in the courts. What change has been levelled against him? He is accused of indulging in horse trading to save his Government. What is happening today? Vajpayee is trying to form a Government in the name of God. You should refrain from all such practices. These lead to guessing and guessing is after all mere guessing. This means give money and receive returns thereon? Bring MPs and get the Ministership...(Interruptions). You should eschew such practices. Nobody is permanent here.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You please sit down. I have not given you the permission to speak.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : What is my fault in it? You should make up for the loss of my time unless you control the hon. Members, this disorderly situation would continue whereing nobody would be able to speak. Sir, I have spoken just for five minutes. I should be given more time to speak...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Lalu Prasad, please understand. Your party was allotted 17 minutes but you

have already spoken for more than 35 minutes. To accommodate others, please wind up.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I appreciate your difficulty...*(Interruptions)* Bihar buys fish and eggs from Andhra Pradesh. We buy hens from them. Therefore, you will have to take care of us. Hon'ble Prime Minister will speak on this issue later. We wistfully hope that you would win the vote of confidence and continue sitting on treasury benches...*(Interruptions)*

One thing more. I have 'secularism alert' you should see it. I don't want to level any charge. But when I read it I was taken a back. I know you as a great freedom fighter. Mr. Prime Minister, if something wrong is written therein, then a case of contempt should be filed against them. I will read it out- "Secularism alert - an apology to the British Government. By who? By the Prime Minister. I will just read it out -

"So far no Prime Minister of India was ever accused of tendering appologies to the British Government..."*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI) : What is the source? Where is he reading from?

[English]

This is totally wrong...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I will explain.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Sir, even in the past, for the last so many years, slanderous allegations of this kind, totally baseless, have appeared in some sections of the Press...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : I am not alleging.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : This should not go on record

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are the things published in newspapers and magazines and many a time these have been categorically refuted. This lie will not turn out to be a truth by repeating it time and again for years together. ...*(Interruptions)* But this time this House has a significane because...*(Interruptions)*

DR. SHAKEEL AHMAD (Madhubani) : Shri Subramanian Swamy is present here. He has levelled the charge. It should be made clear by the Prime Minister that this is wrong. We don't want anything else. We

\* Not Recorded.

simply want that the Prime Minister should say that this is wrong...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The Home Minister is on his legs. Please take your seat. I have not permitted you. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : His speech will not go on record. The Home Minister is on his legs. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)\**

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : May I draw your attention to Rule 353?

[Translisation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Please listen to me before giving a ruling on it. We are not alleging them, rather we are helping them. If this is not true. Then the reporter of the newspaper concerned should be arrested. I am with you...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good. You are rising in your seat every time. What is this? Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Home Minister wants to raise a point of order, please listen to him first.

Shri L.K. ADVANI : I will read out the relevant rule and also explain the rationale of it. Rule 353 says : "No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made..."*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : He is quoting from the papers. He is not making an allegation...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, so long as it is not refuted...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Minister of Home Affairs is raising a point of order. Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Ramchandra Dome, please take your seat. I have permitted the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. I have not permitted you. Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

\* Not Recorded.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : I now quote rule 353 :

"No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a member against any person unless the member has given adequate advanced notice to the Speaker and also to the Minister concerned so that the Minister will be able to make an investigation into the matter for the purpose of a reply."...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : He is not yielding. Please understand that this is not good. He is on his legs on a point of order. First, let us listen to the point of order.

(Interruptions)

Shri L.K. ADVANI : Now, I come to the proviso to the rule which is even more important I quote :

"Provided that the Speaker may at any time prohibit any member from making any such allegation ... (Interruptions)

I am not yielding. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. He is not yielding.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you please look at it... (Interruptions)

Shri L.K. ADVANI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, all these people are flouting the rules, Have you allowed them? ... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I have called Shri Chandra Shekhar. Let us hear him.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Balija) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would earnestly request Shri Lalu Prasad Yadav that he better leave this unpleasant episode as we people should not get involved in such controversies.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, he is right. However, I would like that those who have written false stories about our Prime Minister should be put behind the bars ... (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA) : How many people you have put behind the bars... (Interruptions) You have just made a passing reference to it... (Interruptions) You had abused the Press in the assembly itself. You have always done such acts

...(Interruptions) You were forced to take to your heels in the assembly, now you have risen to speak here... (Interruptions) In Bihar assembly, you were made to shut your mouth, now you are recouring to the same... (Interruptions) I know each and everyone. What do you say?... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I have called Shri Chandra Shekhar. I have not called you. Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Lal Muni Choubay, I have called Shri Chandra Shekhar only. Please take your seat. Nothing will go on record now.

(Interruptions)\*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I clarify through you that when I was appealing to Shri Lalu Prasad, it was an appeal not to Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav alone but to the entire House. It was very sad that a senior hon. Member like Shri Yashwant Sinha again started the same thing... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seats.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you want that this House should run properly, the Prime Minister should intervene and should ask his Ministers and followers to behave in the House.

[Translation]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, an allegation has been made out against me that I had supported the Britishers during the Quit India Movement of 1942... (Interruptions) It is not the first time that such an allegation has been levelled. In fact, this whole issue is related to Bateshwar episode. A judicial probe was carried out in Bateshwar episode. Justice Wanchu's judgement is there. I was presented neither as an approver nor as a Government witness in this case. Tendering apology by me is simply out of question. I never tendered any apology to anyone nor did I support the then Government. This issue is raised at the time of elections just to create confusion in the masses. I have refuted it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you ask Shri Lalu ji to bring all the relevant documents and I shall submit by explanation to you, and your verdict in this case will be acceptable to me... (Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the person who has made allegation should be booked.

Poverty alleviation, removal of unemployment etc. is there in their 'National Agenda' and it also include

\* Not Recorded.

[Shri Lalu Prasad]

that Government be run by manueuvouring and manipulations. They have unleashed a propaganda campaign that the R.J.D. is going to split. They are also trying to split the Samajwadi Party. In fact, it is due to the lackadaisical approach adopted by the Samajwadi Party, the U.F. and the Congress Party that this incompatible alliance has come into being. However, it would not work. There goes a saying in the countryside ....(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Lalu Prasad Yadav, please conclude. You have already taken one hour.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Your condition is like a bride feigning very jubilant despite her marriage to a mismatched person. Carry on with your false ostentations. I want to remind the Prime Minister that previously Shri George Fernandes used to insist on ouster of Pepsi and Cola companies from the country. But still both of these companies are functioning in our country. Earlier, when Shri George Fernandes was not a minister, he had stated that he did not want to be a Minister...(Interruptions) Some Members of Samta Party are waiting for their turn. You will just go on boasting like this...(Interruptions) Shri Vajpayee is himself observing all this and he must be thinking that if all are given ministerial berths, who will remain there to raise issues...(Interruptions) What did Shri Yashwant Sinha say? He said that he would give the Patna seat in gift. Is it in his pocket?...(Interruptions)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA : You had asked us not to go to Patna for election campaign but you yourself went there...(Interruptions) Why do you give our reference?... (Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : I have decided that I won't speak about the ministers from Bihar at present...(Interruptions)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA : After all what points you have to speak about them...(Interruptions)\*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you would not direct from the Chair...(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you please tell him to take his words back...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : What is this?  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Your leader is speaking. How can you object to his speaking?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You are interrupting your leader.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to give a suggestion to the hon'ble Prime Minister ...(Interruptions) You have written in the President Address that the institution of Governor would not be allowed to be used to serve political interest. This is my suggestion that the post of Governor should be abolished...(Interruptions) Why should the agent of centre be posted everywhere? How many Chief Ministers would be able to retain their post, when states are accorded autonomy...(Interruptions) I do not get disturbed...(Interruptions) This is my ninth year and I would continue to be in power despite your disliking for me...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You have already taken one hour.

[Translation]

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Mr. Speaker, Sir, is this type of language being spoken in the House ...(Interruptions) Is it parliamentary language ...(Interruptions) The dignity of Parliament is being lowered...(Interruptions) All the leaders are sitting here...(Interruptions) Can't you stop them? ...(Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : It has my approval ...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now please wind up. Enough time has been given to you.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : When all the state Governments...(Interruptions) creating instability ...(Interruptions) We won't allow that instability and anarchy takes place in all states...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

(Interruptions)\*

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : We have decided ...(Interruptions) They have denounced Sonia Gandhi, the President of Congress, calling her a foreigner. Would

\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

\* Not Recorded.

they insult her like this? She is the daughter-in-law of India as well as President of Congress Party, even though she is being called a foreigner...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please finish it.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You are a senior Member. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please wind up.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : You should take your words back. Where do you want to take the Nation...(Interruptions) I oppose this Vote of Confidence and I would request you not to be carried away by them and support the vote of confidence moved by this Government...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : Sir, the objectionable words should be go on records.

MR. SPEAKER : I have already said about this.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please, let there be order in the House.

13.00 hrs.

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Speaker Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by Shri Vajpayee. I have heard the views expressed by Shri Lalu Prasad ji with rapt attention. The House has come to know today about the reasons as to why the situation in Bihar has come to such a pass. Long ago, when he tookover as the Chief Minister of Bihar for the first time he had uttered some thing which no other Chief Minister can utter...(Interruptions). He had said that there would be large scale development in Bihar and its roads would be as smooth as the cheeks of actress Hema Malini. Now look at his own cheeks. He has made the roads of Bihar as rough as the cheeks of Actor Om Puri...(Interruptions). I do not want to say anything more about Bihar. It's present plight is well known not only in India but also in the whole world...(Interruptions).

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is not good, please listen to him.

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Truth is always bitter...(Interruptions).

13.02 hrs.

(SHRI P.M. SAYEED in the Chair)

(Interruptions)

[English]

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

Hon. Members, I would like to give you a caution to all of you. The entire country is watching our performance. Yesterday also we had a good performance. It should be like that today also. In case there is any unparliamentary expression or word, the hon. Speaker could be requested to delete it. If there is anything objectionable, I will expunge it. Please, for heaven's sake do not interrupt. Let us hear Dr. Murl Manohar Joshi till 1.30 p.m.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahabubnagar) : Sir, I am on a point of order. I have got high regards for Dr. Joshi. But I do not think that he should refer to the cheeks of Shri Om Puri.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Let me then refer to...(Interruptions)

Sir, I am not yielding...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I have not interrupted anybody's speech, I hope that same kind of treatment will be meted out to me...(Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : He has discussed the Statement with mentioning my name...(Interruptions)

SHRI KANTI LAL BHURIA (Jhabua) : Joshi ji, withdraw your words...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I hope that our debate will be in the parameters of the motion only. I cited the example of this matter because the attempt to keep off the main issues from the attention of this august House by making irrelevant speech has been made. It is a bad thing. It is only...(Interruptions)

SHRI KANTI LAL BHURIA : How do the cheeks of Hema Malini and Om Puri find place in it there?...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. You are standing again and again.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : The main issue is to support or oppose the motion moved by Shri Vajpayee. We should confine to that. I would like to draw your kind attention to this fact most humbly...(Interruptions) I understand, Shri Chandrashekhar as well as your sentiments. The entire country is seriously keeping ear to this debate. I request that all of us should take the debate seriously in the same way and confine our discussion to the main issue.

The issue has been raised here and a lot of questions have been raised by the Members of the opposition parties. Now, Shri Shivshankar ji is not present here. He stated that this party has hidden agenda. But I want to make it clear that BJP has no hidden agenda of its own except the one made by its allies. This is the only agenda, National Agenda for Governance, the BJP and its allies have only this agenda, which is before the Government. There is no other hidden agenda except it. As a cabinet member and on behalf of all alliance partners, I would like to point candidly that we do not have any hidden agenda.

SHRI KANTI LAL BHURIA : Hon'ble Joshi ji, there was no agenda before the formation of this Government...(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, I understand the sentiments of both Shri Chandrashekhar and the leader of opposition...(Interruptions) We will also look at our dues. But I did not interrupt when you were speaking. This is a bad thing...(Interruptions) Mr. Chairman, I seek your protection...(Interruptions) I am speaking the right thing. Please pay heed to it. We do not have any hidden Agenda.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, that is not the way.

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am replying to what Shri Shivshankar ji said. If you get an opportunity to speak, you would ask question. Till then, keep the dignity of the House in mind. Lot of things are being said about dignity...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, for the sake of dignity of the House...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, you have to sit.

(Interruptions)

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

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Shri Hegde ji has clearly stated this thing and I would like to repeat the

same that this agenda has been prepared by the consent of all the parties.

All know that no single party has got majority in this House. The BJP and its alliances are the most powerful organisation and group. Mr. President bestowed the responsibility of forming Government to Vajpayee and this agenda was prepared before the formation of the Government. I would like to remind that last time the agenda was prepared weeks after the formation of the Government. Shri Hegde ji had clearly stated that some delay was caused in preparing this national agenda due to shortage of time and discussing among people.

It is very natural and practical, but the intention was very much clear that before the formation of Government its programme should be announced. It is written very clearly in this programme. Until and unless you give an opportunity to get it implemented, it will be difficult to find out if the intention is clear or not.

[English]

The taste of pudding lies in its eating.

[Translation]

Give us an opportunity to implement this programme. We have written very clearly :

[English]

"This is our joint commitment,....."

[Translation]

It is the joint commitment of all the parties. It is not imposed by a single party, all have made it jointly.

[English]

"an assurance that we give together to the entire country."

[Translation]

We have given an assurance to the entire country therein.

[English]

"We are conscious of the deep historic import of the moment in this golden jubilee year of our Independence, of the great relevance and significance of the agenda for Indian..."

[Translation]

It is not an agenda for a party, or an agenda for some parties but we have tried to present an agenda for India.

[English]

"adopted unanimously by both the Houses of Parliament on the occasion..."

[Translation]

We have made it after understanding its significance.

[English]

"the impending end of the 20th century and the dawning of a new millennium."

[Translation]

We have tried to put forth the resolution to take a great India in the new millennium. On the basis of the seriousness of the resolution and motion adopted by both the Houses, an effort has been made to prepare the agenda. I would like to urge upon all the hon. Members of the House to take it seriously.

[English]

"On this occasion, we appeal for and aspire to the advent of a new political age of reconciliation and accord, of dynamic economic growth with our cherished values of humanism in the forefront, and above all with an unshakeable faith in the destiny of our great land and its people."

[Translation]

Expressing our belief towards the people and the future of the nation, we urge upon the countrymen and all the hon. Members of the House to support this Confidence Motion so that we can work on this national agenda.

We have been told that we do not have any programme. The entire programme is written in it. I would not like to go into the details. Just now the concept of 'swadeshi' has been mocked at. Much has been said by the hon. Leader of Opposition and he has also made the meaning swadeshi very clear. He does not understand. He thinks that perhaps swadeshi would harm the nation and would keep the country cut off from the world, but I would like to submit that it is not like this. We have clearly written :

[English]

"We will continue with the reform process, give it a strong swadeshi thrust to ensure that the national economy grows on the principle that India shall be built by Indians."

[Translation]

India shall be built by Indians. The problems of India would never be solved by any outside power or

institution. I would like to ask Shri Sharad Pawar if he does not agree to it? Does he want that India should be built by the other people of the world? Problems are created by our previous Governments. The parties form the Governments, but to solve the problems, some outside power will come. This thinking is not good. Due to this thinking they are in the Opposition today...(Interruptions)

SHRI DATTA MEGHE (Ramtek) : He is misleading the House.

[English]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : India shall be built by Indians.

[Translation]

India would be built by the Indians, by its power, its capability and the people of the country would make its future under the able leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee...(Interruptions) Just now it has been said that as a leader of the Bhartiya Janta Party and as a leader of the Government, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is just a mask, I do not know...(Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : We did not say that.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Whosoever has said that but you have stated here. I would like to submit very clearly that Bharatiya Janata Party has whole heartedly and with full consensus accepted Shri Vajpayee as leader of their party. He is the founder of this Party and is a very senior leader. On behalf of the Party, Shri Advani had declared him as contender for the Prime Ministership of India. This shows that Shri Vajpayee occupies a prominent place in Bhartiya Janata Party. It is not our policy to concentrate power in one hand and make the person leader of the Parliamentary Party irrespective of the fact, whether he is a member of the House or not...(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : This gentleman is a new-comer to this House. Please ask him to behave properly in the House...(Interruptions) He interrupts every speaker...(Interruptions)

DR. SHAKEEL AHMED (Madubani) : Soniaji is the leader of the Congress...(Interruptions) Soniaji is an honourable citizen of this country...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please be seated.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the way.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have to sit, Dr. Shakeel Ahmad.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Will you sit?

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No interruptions, please. Do not interrupt. Please be seated.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI AJIT JOGI (Raigarh) : Soniaji is the leader of the Congress. Please tell him...*(Interruptions)* She is not a foreigner.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, you just go through the record. I have not taken anybody's name...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am on my legs, please be seated.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please be seated, Shri Ajit Jogi.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : What objection do you have to it? Have you any point of order...?*(Interruptions)*

DR. SHAKEEL AHMED : Yes, I have...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is that?

DR. SHAKEEL AHMED : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will not ask Murli Manohar Joshiji about Sonia Gandhiji...*(Interruptions)* Sonia Gandhiji is an honourable citizen of this country. She is the president of the Congress...*(Interruptions)* Sonia ji was wedded to an Indian...*(Interruptions)* We will not at all hear ill about her...*(Interruptions)* She is the leader of the Congress...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : There is no point of order.

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not a point of order.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has not mentioned about Shrimati Sonia Gandhi.

*(Interruptions)\**

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : If there wil be something, we would expunge it from the proceedings.

\* Not Recorded.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I agree with all my colleagues of the congress. It is their right. They can make President, *whosoever* they want. I have no objection to that. I have not taken anybody's name...*(Interruptions)* I did not utter the name of any party either...*(Interruptions)* I had just make a mention of a convention which any party might have...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AJIT JOGI : You had made a direct reference...*(Interruptions)*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I had not made any insinuation. Where did you see?...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Did you mention about it, Dr. Joshi?

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : As you said...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Jogi, he has plainly said. He has not even mentioned it. He has not even made an insinuation. Why are you getting up? He has not mentioned anything?

*[Translation]*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I had just said that

*[English]*

India will be built by Indians

*[Translation]*

Only Indians would redress the problems faced by India and what Shri Sharad Pawar ji had said with reference to foreign capital yesterday, I had just said in that context. We had a reference about Swadeshi yesterday, we were talking in that context and therefore in the context of economic policies, I had said that only Indians would redress the problems faced by India, not any foreigner...*(Interruptions)*

You have the right about your party. I agree with you about it. It is your right. You can do whatever you want. You can keep the party united, can divide it or make it. I have no objection in it. You can do whatever you want...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Karnal) : Joshi ji, you are very learned man...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Are you yielding, Dr. Joshi?

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am not yielding.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BHAJAN LAL : Sir, I will take one minute...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The speakers are not yielding. If you want to say something about the speakers, they should yield.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am not yielding.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BHAJAN LAL : I will not say any such thing. I will say so which will appeal to you...*(Interruptions)* Please listen to my point for a minute. I would like to say with your permission...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : My objection is this that the speaker, Dr. Murl Manohar Joshi is not yielding.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHAJAN LAL : It does not make any difference in one minute. He is a very learned man. God lives in every home 'Vasudave Kutumbkam'. The whole world, the whole country is like a family. To say such thing about Soniaji, what can he more wrong than this...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : We have not named Sonia ji...*(Interruptions)* You are a senior member and get up in between again and again.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : We will bring GDP growth rate to 7-8 per cent.

*[Translation]*

We want to win the Motion of Confidence so that Unemployment can be removed from the country. We would like the confidence of the House for the programmes. We would like to win the Motion of Confidence so that these programmes may be implemented with the consent and cooperation of all the parties. Our Country may develop and progress. For this we have also stated.

*[English]*

The new form of Governance by consensus

*[Translation]*

Shri Vajpayee has quoted this phrase time and again. We all would like to say.

*[English]*

We will therefore strive to develop national consensus on all major issues confronting the nation

by involving the Opposition Parties and all sections of society for dialogue. We will also try for consensual mode of governance as far as practicable.

*[Translation]*

What objection can be there on it. It will be our endeavour to evolve a general consensus on all issues. Give us an opportunity to work and then evaluate whether we are able to evolve general consensus or not. Shri Vajpayee is an expert leader in evolving consensus. Not only on the domestic front but he has worked with consensus at international level also. An opportunity should be given to work on the basis of general consensus. As Shri Shiv Shanker has said, why they should vote in favour of the Confidence Motion, I would like to say that it is their right to vote for or against the Motion but if you do not vote us and our Government collapses, will you form the Government then? The President had first asked you to form the Government. But, you said that you would not be able to form the Government...*(Interruptions)* Neither you are in a position to form the Government nor are willing to vote for the Confidence Motion, then it means that election are to be held again. It is up to you to decide whether there should be a Government in the country or not. Constitution does not have a provision for President's Rule in the whole country. Therefore, Government should be formed in the country and we have chalked out a programme to form a majority Government on the basis of individual opinion. With this objective in view, we have formulated a programme and we want that on the basis of this programme ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

*[Translation]*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : You would like to talk about you friends here. Would you like that mention be made of all the deals which have been made? You would like to debate those issues or you want to give the country a stable Government. You please think over it whether you want to destabilise the country, decrease the food production, increase unemployment or you want activities of terrorism to increase? What do you want? You have pulled down many Governments. Choudhary Charan Singh's Government was pulled down...*(Interruptions)*

You toppled the Government of Chaudhary Charan Singh ji. Our friend hon. Chandra Shekhar ji is sitting here. You toppled his Government only in the name of two constables. You toppled the Government of

\* Not Recorded.

[Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi]

Shri Devegowda. You toppled the Government of Shri Gujral. You only want to topple the Governments. You are not in favour of forming the Government. You are dividing the country by toppling the Governments ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is a lot of noise in the House. Please maintain silence.

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want your protection. I request the leader of the opposition...*(Interruptions)* Sir, what is happening here...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You take your seat. You can not stand like this.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want your protection.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, please wait.

What is this Member doing? Please ask him to sit somewhere; ask him not to move around.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Sir, hon. Ghasi Ram Yadav is a senior member. He is asking from me as to when will we become the Prime Minister. You tell him ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Perhaps he might have come to ask for your support...*(Interruptions)* It has become clear that you would like to form a Government in this manner.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our friend Jogi ji is sitting here. Yesterday, he told that there are different kinds of sin. Some of them are such that can not be atoned even after taking bath in many famous pilgrimages. According to him, one of them is breach of commitment made by the king, it is a great sin. They were ruling, they were supporting the United Front Government. They made a written commitment before the President to give full support to this Government, to make a coordination committee and will help in running the Government. But what did they do?...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is a lot of noise in the House. Please maintain silence.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : When you were speaking, I did not interrupt...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please listen, it is not good on your part to stand up again and again.

[English]

Please do not compel me to name you.

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was submitting that you and your party cannot wash off your sins even after taking a holy dip or a pilgrimage. It is because of you that the country has faced re-elections...*(Interruptions)* resulting in political instability...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You stand up time and again. It is not good.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Please listen carefully. I have said that re-elections were held because of your sins and that is why we are here...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Bhraich) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of clarification ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : What can I do? Do you want a point of order? Or what is that?

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is on a point of order.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Under what rule?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Under what rule?

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN : He will definitely show his greatness to yield to me. I am appealing through you to him to yield to me.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. Shri Arif Mohammad Khan, you are a senior Member. You know either you have to get up for a point of order or if you want to seek any information, the hon. Member or the speaker has to yield to you. It is either of the two. Which one are you going to raise?

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN : Sir, I am appealing through you. I am on a point of clarification. I am appealing to the hon. Minister.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am not yielding ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Joshiji, you have taken 30 minutes.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : That is because of these disruptions.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 25 minutes. You can continue after the lunch.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : All right, no problem.

13.30 hrs.

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

14.31 hrs.

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

[DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEY *in the Chair*]

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE  
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—*Contd.*

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi may continue his speech.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI (Darbhanga) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have to say one thing ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has not finished his speech yet.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI : Before he may continue, please give me one minute's time. My point is not related to Mr. Joshi, but it is related to Shri Yashwant Sinha.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding. He has not finished his speech.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Joshi is still speaking. He has not finished his speech.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI : I want that his point may be expunged from the record ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are speaking without permission. Your point will not go on record.

(*Interruptions*)\*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let Shri Joshi complete his speech first.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir time is very short. His point can be raised later on...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI : I have to raise a very little point. After that, he may finish his speech...(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Dausa) : Sir, Yashwantji in anguish has said some things which should not form part of the record. You please go through the record.

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will convey his point to the Hon'ble Speaker. He will go through the record. If there is any objectionable point, it would be expunged from the record.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Something can be done only after going through the record.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI : If the hon'ble Minister of Finance speaks such thing in the House, he should tender apology for this...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : If any such thing appears after going through the record, it would be expunged.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI : We would like that it should be deleted and he himself should come here and tender apology for that...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have finished your point, now you please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, is it going on record?...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your point is not going on record. I have already told you earlier that after going through the record, if any such thing appears then we will see. You have brought it in our notice.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Whatever you are speaking, nothing is going on record. Mr. Joshi, you please continue your speech.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is enough. We will discuss after going through the record.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, thanks a lot. Hon'ble leader of the Opposition had mentioned that the policies of the Government are very much wrong and it seems as India would be isolated from the entire world. We will not keep any relations with foreign countries and foreign exchange. Such type

\* Not Recorded.

[Dr. Murlī Manohar Joshi]

of allegations were levelled here. I would like to explain it. It has been mentioned very clearly in the National Agenda :

[English]

"We will increase the national savings to 30 per cent of the GDP in the next five years by appropriate incentives and through motivation, encourage foreign direct investment in core areas so that it usefully supplements the national efforts."

[Translation]

It means we would strengthen the national economy in core areas through foreign direct investment which is in national interest. We have clearly written in it. I would have asked Somnathji if he had been here. Co-incidentally Shri Chidambaramji is also not present here who is in opposition. But he had delivered a speech in London which is published in the issue of 'Teriscope' July 1996 which is a publication of 'Terry'. While delivering the speech before the foreign industrialists he said :

[English]

"So, to those of you who wish to come to India, I say, come there for a long time. Last time you came to India to take a look and you stayed for 200 years."

[Translation]

Do you want that they come here and stay for 200 years again.

[English]

So, this time if you come, you must come prepared to stay for another two hundred years.

[Translation]

Now it is clear that they come and stay here for 200 years again.

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Just a minute, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am yielding to him, Sir.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Sir, I would like to put the record straight. The former Finance Minister, Shri Chidambaram has stated on more than one occasion that this report was distorted.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, nothing has been done against this publication. In Parliament, Shri

Chidambaram said, he said it as a matter of fun. That is the statement he made. So, I am saying that whatever distortior it is, the idea is very clear that have a look again and stay for 200 years.

[Translation]

Do all of you want that once again they come here and stay here for 200 years like before? It means there is something about independence in respect of our economy and foreigners.

[English]

India will be built by Indians.

[Translation]

For this purpose certainly we will take help from where we will in need of it. We will not close our windows. We have mentioned about most modern technology. We have clearly mentioned that all the front head technologies about which you would have heard in the speech of the President that Government will implement them. We have said therein.

[English]

"A new revolution is sweeping the globe, that of information technology"  
..(Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : I am on a point of order, Sir.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please quote the rule under which there is point of order.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : They talk about new technology and insist poor people to worship bricks. Where they want to take this country. Under this rule I am on a point of order.

[English]

He is misleading the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is no point of order.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : So, Sir, we have said :

"A new revolution is sweeping the globe, that of information technology, and I wish that all our Members should be well informed. We believe that information technology is an important vehicle for future development. We are committed to ensuring that India is a full and equal partner in its global progress."

[Translation]

We never said anything about isolation.

[English]

We have further said :

"Indeed that India can be a software super power, we will, for that purpose, unveil a national informatics policy with short, medium and long-term perspective.

[Translation]

Therefore, we seek vote of confidence, so that India could be brought at serial number one in world in the field of technology. We would like to continue and develop whatever our space scientists have achieved so far. We want that our satellite should be launched from our launching pad and by engine manufactured by us. We want that India should be more advanced than China in the field of missile technology, it should be capable to compete with America. We would like that Hindustan should be at the top in the world in the field of software and computers. And therefore, we seek vote of confidence. We would like that India should achieve position in world in the field of atomic energy. We can export technology. We would like to enrich India in the field of space technology and earn dollars and foreign exchange by export of technology. I do not know, Inderjit Babu is sitting there. What was the result of the policies which were supported by you last time and due to which you are sitting here? The Steel Authority of India, Tata Iron and Steel Company and Vishakhapatnam Steel were put in loss for the first time after Independence and hundreds of paper mills have been closed down in Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh and the Cement Industry is staggering...*(Interruptions)* We oppose these policies. The foodgrain production came down. Today, India is importing foodgrain and sugar. This is the result of their policies. We would like to make India capable and self-reliant in respect of foodgrains. We want to produce so much quantity of food grains that India may export it to other countries so that Indian farmer may get maximum amount. We would like to stop all such tendencies, natural calamities and wrong agricultural policies under which Indian farmer is forced to commit suicide. We want to change it and therefore, we seek vote of confidence. We want to formulate a new agricultural and economic policy and have a new type of atmosphere. Let us make this country great with mutual cooperation. You should also give us cooperation and we altogether should bring India on the map of world. This is only our aim. We would like to from India on the policy of unanimity. I would like to make a humble request to the leader of opposition that he should study our economic policy correctly. He will find therein that we want very much development of India. Many times you have said that we do not know where will the Bharatiya Janata Party take this country on the basis of Hindutva. Now, the Supreme Court of India have clearly defined the Hindutva...*(Interruptions)* Did you listen to it

yesterday, do you accept it. Now, listen to me, I am quoting what Sir Syed Ahmed had said on 29th January, 1884...*(Interruptions)*

DR. SHAKEEL AHMAD (Madhubani) : Many more points have been written in it. Those points also should be told.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Yes Sir, many more points have been written in it. I will tell those points also. First of all, I will tell only those points which are related to it.

[English]

I am quoting from the book titled *Facts are Facts : The untold story of India's partition* by Wali Khan.

"Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who is regarded as the father of communal harmony, said, on 27 January 1884, at a function held in Gurdaspur :

We (i.e. Hindus and Mohammadans) should try to become one heart and soul, and act in union. In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term One Nation. The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed One Nation and so the miscellaneous hordes peopling Iran, distinguished by the term Persians, though abounding in variety of thoughts and religions, are still known as member of One Nation. ... Remember that the words Hindu and Mohammadan are only means for religious distinction - otherwise all persons whether Hindus or Mohammadans, even the Christians who reside in the country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same Nation.

Perhaps he did not consider this an accurate reflection of his sentiments. Therefore, later that year, at a gathering of the Indian Association at Lahore, he said :

I heartily wished to serve my country and my nation faithfully. In the word Nation I include both Hindus and Mohammadans, because that is the only meaning I can attach to it. ... These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, i.e. Hindu, meaning to say that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan" ...*(Interruptions)*

This is the real meaning.

[Translation]

This is the real meaning. It has been used in the form of one nation and the definition of this form has

[Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi]

been accepted right from the old times to this decision of Supreme Court. Therefore, you are requested not to try to create misunderstandings on the basis of this word. This practice should be discontinued. The efforts to define the 'Hindu' word as communal hurt the nationality and unity of this country...(Interruptions)

Therefore, my submission is that this practice should be discontinued and we would like to evolve a politics of consensus in which involvement of all is required, and arrangements should be made to bring the whole nation under one umbrella...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon'ble Joshiji, please conclude.

(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am concluding...(Interruptions)

SHRI OM PRAKASH (Gajipur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Joshi kept on speaking. Is there no time limit for him?...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat. Joshiji is concluding.

(Interruptions)

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I seek your patronage...(Interruptions)

SHRI AKBAR AHMAD (Azamgarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, where it is written in the book from which Shri Joshi is quoting that the mosque should be demolished...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, No, please take your seat.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to request the leaders of this august House through you that we seek vote of confidence from you and from this whole House on this National Agenda.

[English]

This National Agenda is a sincere and solemn covenant aimed at changing the content and culture of governance of this great nation and transforming it into a new India that is prosperous, strong, self-contained and at peace with itself and the world. We appeal for the cooperation of all parties and all sections of society in this great endeavour.

[Translation]

To make India great and for its all-around progress on the basis of consensus we appeal to this House that an opportunity should be given to this Government to work. The confidence should be expressed in the leadership of Vajpayeeji and a new political era should be started otherwise once again this country will get into instability which will cause a great loss to this

country and then the country would come to know the person responsible for that.

I once again appeal you not to throw this country into instability and to create the atmosphere of stability and consensus and respect the feelings of the public of this country and give full cooperation to take this great country on the path of progress.

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise today to oppose this Motion because in my considered view, no Union Government has been formed in the history of free India by such politically opportunistic elements, ideologically disparate forces and after making such serious moral compromises. All friends from the Treasury Benches have been quoting from the National Agenda. Is it a national agenda or a notional agenda? Is it a national agenda or a nominal agenda? It is full of glossy generalities, innocuous inanities and sweet nothings. It is so delightfully vague that even the devil from other side can cite it. It is important not for any constructive inclusions but for conspiratorial exclusions. None of the controversial issues, including the *Hindutva* as interpreted by Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, has been mentioned.

It starts, in the first place, with two falsehoods. Let me refer to those two falsehoods. It says :

"The B.J.P. and its alliance partners went to the people as a team and sought the support for forming a new Government. The electorate has given its verdict. The B.J.P. and its alliance partners have unitedly won and we have the mandate to govern."

Sir, first, they did not go as alliance partners, because they did not have a common agenda - my friend Shri Ramakrishna Hegde is not here - not for want of time, but for want of agreement.

My friend Shri George Fernandes is also not here. He believes in quoting others. I thought I will quote him. Where is he, Sir? The Samata Party, before the elections, categorically stated that they would not enter into a Government with the A.I.A.D.M.K. as a partner.

I do not want to waste the time of the House and therefore I am not quoting verbatim from the Press records - Shri George Fernandes also said that they would not compromise on Article 370, *Hindutva* and other issues like the *Mandir* issue. Therefore, they could not have had a common agenda.

Sir, they went before the country *Janus*-faced, with two faces. They were indulging in double speak; they were indulging in hypocrisy. If they went together with a common agenda, the post-election scene would not have witnessed that unedifying spectacle of waiting for

a letter for days, hours, seconds with a bated breath. Therefore, it is not true to say, in the first place, that they went to the people as alliance partners.

Secondly, they did not get the mandate. Shri Ramakrishna Hegde was saying this morning that their majority was proved with the Speaker's election. So, until the Speaker's election they did not have the mandate. Is this not true? Therefore, how do they say in the National Agenda that they have the mandate to govern? Let them say that they have the mandate to induce defections, seduce defectors. Let them say that they have been given the licence to hunt for heads in the House. But they did not have the mandate to govern. Let them remember this. Look at the desperation. Even the Anglo-Indian Members of Parliament were nominated well before the Motion of Confidence.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, for whom I have great regard personally, did not leave anything to chance; he left nothing to chance. After all, he was bitten once in 1996, he is twice shy. I can appreciate his anxiety which is a very constructive kind of anxiety. But for keeping this tottering throne, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee should beware of the levels to which he is stooping. This attempt to stoop to conquer may...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TATHAGATA SATPATHY (Dhenkanal) : That is the sign of a great player. Why does it bother you?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : This attempt to keep oneself in the office at any cost is what frightens us. That is the reason why we witnessed what happened in Lucknow. At that time, Shri Vajpayee, defended it as an exercise in Real politik, some of us were unfortunately students of Political Science. We have read the writings of political scientists ranging from Plato to Laski. This definition of Real politik was provided only by Machiavelli and nobody else. If you want to be known as Machiavelli of Indian politics, I would leave it to your pleasure.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister said with a touching confidence :

"Look, I am not in the same position as in the 1996. Today, I am confident about winning the Vote of Confidence."

My God! Just in a week's time your minority has been transformed into majority. I think you have proved to be many times more competent than Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao who took two and a half years. At this level, I do not know whether you will ever require your allies. You will discard them in due course.

Sir, you know full well that some of us have known you for decades and I have been very fond of you. But we get frightened when we are told that you are only a mask that keeps dabbling in political quibbling. What do we do? Some of us are finding ourselves in the horns of a profound and painful political dilemma.

Now, my friends like Shri Hegde and Shri George Fernandes are not present. I have not heard Shri Nitish Kumar. But I am sure he would also say the same thing. He would say: "Oh! Look, those things are not there; those controversial things are not there". Sir, those controversial things were not there in 1977; they were not there in 1979 and they were not there in 1989. They are all the time kept in cold storage. They are in fact kept in incubator. They are brought out whenever they are required.

I have got personal respect for Shri Advani. I will go by his word if he can rise in his seat and say that the B.J.P. has given up these things for ever, I am prepared to believe. I am sure he will not rise in his seat and say so. Therefore, who is to believe this National Agenda and what sanctity is to be attached to this National Agenda? Can the Prime Minister say that Article 370, the building of Ram Mandir at the disputed place and the Common Civil Code are being jettisoned for good or thrown overboard for ever? No. He cannot say. Can Shri Advani say as the President of the B.J.P. that the B.J.P. in future will never take up *Kashi* and *Mathura*? Whenever, the questions of *Kashi* and *Mathura* were inconveniently raised cryptic reply has always been this: "At the moment, they are on the agenda of Vishwa Hindu Parishad", but

15.00 hrs.

But they are not on the agenda of the B.J.P. He is intellectually honest enough not to say that they will never be in the agenda of the B.J.P. I know, before 1989, even the *Ram Mandir* was never on the agenda of the B.J.P. But then, it came. Why did it come in 1990, Mr. Chairman, Sir? It came because rightly or wrongly—I will leave it to the judgement of historians, we are too close to the event to pronounce a value judgement—the then Government took a historic decision to implement the Mandal Commission's recommendations. This *Ram Mandir* came on to the agenda not on account of an attachment to Lord Rama.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Reddyji, please be brief. Kindly wind up your speech. There is a very limited time and there are other speakers also.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : It was on account of a calculated reaction to the Mandal programme of the then Government. I do not want to deal with that *in extenso*.

Now, when the *Babri Masjid* was demolished on 6th December, 1992, Swami Vamdev, who was the Chief of the Movement there, made a statement which is worthy of remembrance. He said : "The Constitution of India must be scrapped, another Constitution must be written, and there should be no reservation for SCs and STs". He made the statement in Ayodhya on 6th

[Shri S. Jaipal Reddy]

December, 1992. I am only narrating the historical background of this movement.

Now, Sir, look at the B.J.P. The B.J.P. has got...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI RAMCHANDRA BAINDA (Faridabad) : Don't you have any other thing to talk about except Mandir issue? Is Mandir more important than the whole nation.

[English]

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI (Machhlisahr) : I am on a point of order.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I am not yielding.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is on a point of order. Under what rule do you want to raise the point of order?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He can table a privilege motion on this.

[Translation]

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI : Under rule 380. Did Swami Vamdeoiji make this statement on 6th December, 1992? Does he authenticate the statement? Swamiji is not even a member of this House. Will you authenticate whatever Swamiji had said there. He is not present here, for his defence. When he is neither present here for his defence and nor did he make this statement then will the hon. Member authenticate whatever he is saying? or it should be expunged from the record.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not a point of order under Rule 380.

[Translation]

Please take your seat.

[English]

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : I am on a point of order under Rule 353...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I never disturbed anybody and I request the hon. Members not to disturb me...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : Sir, Rule 353 says :

"No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a member against any person unless the member has given (adequate advance notice) to the Speaker and also to the Minister concerned so that..."

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ D. CHAVAN (Karad) : Sir, there is nothing defamatory in this.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : If Shri Jaipal Reddy yields, I wish to clarify only on this point.

[Translation]

Jaipalji has quoted from somebody's speech, and Swamiji has contradicted that statements. I never knew that Swami Vamdeoiji have ever said such thing as to scrap the constitution and there should be no reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, I don't know...*(Interruptions)* Listen to me. If he had made such a statement then I, my party and this Government do not agree to it and refuse to accept it.

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I welcome the clarification of Advaniji, but I stand by my statement.

I am prepared to prove it. It is there on 7th December, 1992 in all the newspapers.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon'ble Mr. Advaniji has expressed it very plainly that his party does not agree to it.

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I welcome it ...*(Interruptions)* Three-fourths of the Members of Parliament of the BJP, nearly 128 to 130 out of 177 of BJP, are from Hindi speaking areas...*(Interruptions)* Let me make my point clear...*(Interruptions)* It is important to note that not one Member of the BJP belonging to the OBCs is there in the Cabinet from Hindi speaking area...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him have his say, you may speak when your Party will give you a chance to speak.

[English]

Your information about the OBCs is not correct as I know and as per my information.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I am right. Let me state the facts...*(Interruptions)* I am drawing a distinction between the Council of Ministers and the Cabinet.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Will you yield for a minute?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Yes.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Even though you are factually correct, I would have said this is not something I would expect from you. But because it is factually incorrect, therefore, I would point to Shri Santosh...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He is a Minister of State.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ (South Delhi) : He is a Cabinet Minister. Shri Kashi Ram Rana is a Cabinet Minister from Gujarat.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I stand by the facts ...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat. Let Mr. Reddy speak.

*[English]*

Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Jaipalji, this is not a pure BJP Government. This is a Government of BJP and its allies. From Hindi speaking States, we have taken on OBC from Samata Party, Shri Nitish Kumar...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

I would like to present some certain facts before the House.

*[English]*

This is not a pure BJP Government. This is a Government of BJP and its allies...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not a question Hour. It is not fair to answer each and every thing.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : If any member tries to mislead then it is our duty to correct him and prevent him from doing so. Bhartiya Janata Party and its allies parties are in power at the centre. From the Hindi speaking states Shri Nitish Kumarji is the Minister who belongs to OBC and Kashi Ram Ranaji too is a Minister...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let Mr. Reddy speak, now, Sushmaji has already informed.

*[English]*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am proceeding to the next point. I am not any longer on this point. I know how much they are all squirining in their seats. I leave them at this...*(Interruptions)*

The BJP is a party which believes in value-based politics because it attaches value to everything ...*(Interruptions)* I am not suspicious about the honesty of my good old friend Sardar Buta Singh. I consider everybody to be innocent whether it is Shri Lalu Prasad Yadav or Dr. (Miss) Jayalalitha or Sardar Buta Singh or Shri Muthiah...*(Interruptions)* But I want this honest Prime

Minister to note that it is he alone in the history of free India who took a charge-sheeted persons into the Council of Ministers...*(Interruptions)* No other Government has done it in the last fifty years. But this honest Prime Minister took the charge-sheeted persons into the Cabinet. I can understand if the Prime Minister and the BJP stoop to conquer for the throne albeit tottering in Delhi. But it is also so much bothered about the supreme power in that mighty State called Himachal Pradesh.

They made a compromise with even Shri Sukh Ram. Shri Sukh Ram's son is in Rajya Sabha on account of that unholy compromise...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Will the Prime Minister, from now on, at least, take care about his image? I am concerned about his image. Though I have had ideological differences, I have always been his admirer. I am, therefore, concerned about his image, Sir. If he is not concerned about it himself, I am concerned about it...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, my friend Shri George Fernandes is not here. I wish to point out what his alliance partner Dr. Swamy has to say something about him. He had any things to say about Shri Fernandes in the past. But recently, even after Shri George Fernandes became the Defence Minister, Dr. Subramanian Swamy said that he is a supporter of the LTTE. I am not saying that this is correct.

I am one of those who believe in the flaming patriotism of Shri George Fernandes. I am disappointed because he has become a credulous victim of this BJP brigade. But then, Dr. Swamy and Shri George Fernandes are both alliance partners. Of course, I do not have to read from the newspapers as to what Dr. Swamy had to say about another friend of mine, Shri Hegde. It is there in the newspapers...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now. The time is very limited. So many other hon. Members are there to speak.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I have got great faith in Samata, in Mamata and in Jayalalitha. They will, I am sure, try to defend the secular character of this Government. But I am afraid that there will be nobody to defend them.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : We do not need your advice.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Sister, I have got great affection for you. Therefore, I am showing my affection. They are riding the tiger, All those who ride the tiger, end up inside. Have you not seen the experience of the BSP? Do you not see the feelings of Kumari Mayawati? Do you not think the same fate will befall you sooner than later? We are not dealing with the BJP. The BJP

[Shri S. Jaipal Reddy]

is only a tip of the iceberg. The larger part of the iceberg is invisible. It is a hydra-headed creature called *Sangh Parivar* which speaks in different voices deliberately. What do we do with that? How do you deal with that? I would like to know. I would like to be enlightened. The *Sangh Parivar* is a political orchestra.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I am concluding by including everybody else who are not here. It is a political orchestra whose maestro is not in this House. The remote control is in Nagpur. It is not here. We are only talking to marionettes. Who says *Sangh Parivar* is full of extremists. I do not agree with that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Reddy, I am going to call Shri Chandra Shekhar. There is a very limited time as there are so many speakers.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I will complete it in two minutes.

The *Sangh Parivar* is full of moderates. It is not full of extremists. Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee is a moderate as compared to Shri L.K. Advani; Shri L.K. Advani is a moderate as compared to Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi; Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi is a moderate as compared to Kumari Uma Bharti; Kumari Uma Bharti is a moderate as compared to Shri Rajju Bhैया; and Shri Rajju Bhैया is a moderate as compared to Shri Vinaya Katiyar. It is, therefore, full of moderates...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now. This is too much.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I am concluding in one minute. What I am saying is hurting. I never hit except with a view to hurting. I read this Rashtrapati's *Abhibhashan*. It is mentioned here that Mahatma Gandhi is considered one of the greatest men of the century. For the first time in the history of free India. Mahatma Gandhi is merely considered one of the greatest men of the century. He is not considered the Father of the nation.

What a shame, Sir! Am I to repose confidence in this Government? Who are the other great men, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am calling Shri Chandra Shekhar. You please sit down now.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I am opposing this Government...*(Interruptions)* I do not have faith in this Government...*(Interruptions)* Its National Agenda is only an covert agenda. I am afraid, it has a covert agenda. It is a divisive and explosive agenda...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has taken about 30 minutes as against six minutes.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : With these words, I oppose this Motion.

*[Translation]*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the debate which is going on here since yesterday was initiated by the Prime Minister of India, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Though, I do not agree with the content of the speech delivered by the Prime Minister yet I have no hesitation in admitting that it was wrap and weft with a deep concern for the Nation. He tried to understand the challenges and had given us the direction on which the country should march ahead. I may not agree with him and may have different point of view but that is besides the point, but I feel as is evident from the ongoing debate that his appeal did not have any impact on the House. There had been acrimonious exchange of criticism and casting of aspersions on each other from both the sides and the same old style of commenting upon the misdeeds and misconducts of the people in the past, but no concern had been shown for the future of the country.

Sir, I don't know how could a nation which is only shedding tears on its past, be ever able to provide a bright future? I would like to put this before the House in humble words that today, the whole Nation and the whole world is looking at this House and hopes that at this crucial moment, Indian will take some positive and decisive steps. I agree that no party could get clear majority in the House. This is nothing new for the people of the world. In other countries on emergency of such a situation they made endeavours to save their countries, to develop their countries by putting aside all their internal dissensions and working in harmony.

Sir, the hon. Prime Minister opened his speech with this note. Hon. Prime Minister I would like to say in humble words that had you marched ahead with your Government on the same path perhaps it would not have given rise to this pungency, which cropped up in the last 20 days. It has only given rise to the feeling of bitterness in the Nation and in the minds of the Members of this House. It only added to incite the feeling repugency. It is true that the votes can be drawn by evolving emotions, the Government can be formed but the problems of the Nation can not be solved in this manner. I will not discuss the practice of arousing emotions adopted in the by gone years. These wounds are still afresh. It would not be fair to pierce those wounds as it will do no good to the Nation. I want to tell the Minister of Commerce, who is a friend of mine, that I would like to go by his advice. He said that the Government has not yet got a chance to take any step, it came into being just a few days ago. If there would have been some discussion on it, I think only then it would have been a meaningful one.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with your permission I would like to draw the attention of hon. Prime Minister towards the things that sprout up after the Government came into being. I would not say anything about the election of the Speaker. How the Government was formed, who are the people that formed the Government. How they arrived at a consensus and is there any separate agenda for that or not. These matters are none of my concern. I am not even concerned about what will Bhartiya Janata Party do now, what will be its next steps. Not once but many a times, I have pointed out my views on Bhartiya Janata Party. Many of our friends might have expected Bhartiya Janata Party to change all of a sudden but we never foster any such desire. You may speak whatever you want to but you are not free to change because Bhartiya Janata Party is a member of the 'Sangh' family and it is well aware of the fact that the 'Rashtriya Swyam Sevak Sangh' is an organisation of the well organised youth allegiance and determination. However we may be opposed to it. I have not said it today only. But also a couple of years ago when they proposed to initiate a 'Swadeshi Movement' I said that I will support them and my friends criticized me. Today, when our friend Shri Murlī Manohar Joshi was defining the word 'Swadeshi', I was thinking to what extent a man can change after coming to power, I would like to tell all of you that Bhartiya Janata Party will not change its face and neither should it change, we don't ever expect this from the party but the Prime Minister is making an appeal to explore the path of consensus, and to work in harmony I shall put some questions before you. What were the agreements arrived at, how many Ministers will hail from which party, these are all totally different matters. Ministers will come and go Prime Minister will come and go but this country will exist forever. I would certainly like the Prime Minister to answer some basic questions as to which direction he wants to take the country? would you adopt the same path of consensus which you adopted, during the last 20 days. Do you think that the opposition parties will come after you if you will succeed in getting the majority. Do you think that these opposition parties will stop going against you. Last time I made a statement that displeased many people. I said that you would not get the majority it is better you resign. I will not repeat those words today because I do not know whether you will get the majority or not? But Mr. Prime Minister, you have served the Nation as a Minister of External Affairs also. I had a chance to work at close quarters with you and I want to know from you that are you going to change your policies with regard to China? Has India changed its view point over Tibet? If it is not changed or altered then what would be your reaction if a Member of your Cabinet makes such statements over these questions. Is this the right way to run a country? Will our Nation go like this? Whether the Cabinet is collectively responsible to run Parliamentary Democracy or not?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will conclude within a few minutes, after speaking over one or two basic questions. I am quite well aware of the fact and it is a hard principle that the army should not be called in to interfere in the domestic affairs. We all knew this but is any member of the cabinet has the right to say that in any circumstances army would not interfere in the domestic affairs in any case. If a revolt is flamed up in the army, itself it is not a mere imagination, once it happened in 1984. One of the members of your cabinet has given the statement and I have read it in the newspapers, I don't know, who will go there at that crucial moment? Will some volunteer corps go there? If a revolt breaks out in certain quarters of Police force, what will happen in that condition? It has happened in Delhi, in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. When the cabinet members come out, with such statements on such questions then does not it evoke apprehensions in our minds. It forces us to think whether this Government is competent enough to take some concrete steps to run the country or not? It does not have such intentions. It just wants to remain in power by all means. If at all they think for the future of the country then these basic questions need to be addressed. I don't know if someone is culpable of corruption or not? I am one of those people who have not once but many a times, in this House and outside the House, have said that until the court proves someone guilty he should not be denigrated by labelling him as corrupt. I am not saying so far the sake of an individual. Today, I feel proud to say that when Advaniji was accused I had given statement in the newspaper that I don't believe that Advaniji could do such a thing. I was criticized for saying so.

I was criticized a lot when I said like that about Shri Lalu Prasad Yadav, Shri Madhavrao Scindia and Shri Sukh Ram. Our friends sitting on this side criticized me bitterly. I do not know when a need may arise to take help from somebody in a democracy. It is easy to cast aspersion on others. You can degrade Advani, Lalu, Mulayam Singh and Kalp Nath Rai but cannot bring another Advani, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Mulayam Singh and Kalp Nath Rai. We should keep it in mind. How we are avoiding each other today? When their names are discussed time and again, it comes to me are we going to make the future of India by recalling the bitter events of the past. Please give a deep thought to it. Corruption should be removed because that is a part of your agenda. But only giving or taking money does not amount to corruption. One word is there 'Satyanishtha' which is called integrity in English. Government cannot be run in the absence of integrity and first and foremost lesson of integrity is to have control, at least on your words and deeds, on yourself in order to shoulder the responsibility of the post you are upholding.

[Shri Chandra Shekhar]

15.31 hrs.

[SHRI K. PRADHANI *in the Chair*]

You have mentioned Swadeshi. It would have been better if Shri Murli Manohar ji would have also been present here. Hon'ble Finance Minister is my friend. He is an intellectual. Yesterday, he used the words very judiciously. He said that liberalization and Swadeshi will go side by side. Just now Murli Manohar ji was saying that the future of Hindustan will be built by Hindustanians, this is written in our agenda. Is this the concept of Swadeshi in the world? Did Gandhiji have this concept? I do not remember who said, that Shri Sharad Pawar has forgotten the concept of Swadeshi envisaged by Gandhiji. I would like to tell that gentleman that Gandhiji set aflame the foreign clothes in 1930. He asked the people to boycott the foreign clothes. One of my friend from this side was telling that the Steel Authority of India is on the verge of closure. I would like to know whether you are going to impose a ban on imported steel? The officers of Steel Authority are not responsible for this. There hardly exist any shortcomings. Our companies are on the verge of closure due to large scale import of steel and fertilizers from other parts of the world. You promise to remove unemployment in your agenda and wish that the country should believe it. Is this the way to run the country? All this have been done after formation of the Government.

I would like to submit especially to the Prime Minister that a lot of promises had been made in the past, but the people were deceived time and again. If their faith is shattered once again, perhaps it may tend to collapse the democracy. Therefore, we oppose your art to do so.

Just now our Commerce Minister, who is my friend and a confident also has said that Constitution will be reviewed. How many times have we amended the Constitution? I think that he knows English more than me. Therefore is a difference between an amendment and a review.

Several experts of the Constitution are sitting here. Have you discussed about the review of Constitution, which is part of your agenda with Jurists? Whether the concurrence of other parties have been taken and whether any discussion has been held on this issue? In which direction are you going to review the Constitution? Please do recall that whenever democracy is shaken, the leaders have said that the Constitution is weak and it needs to be changed. I perceive dangerous signals. I do not know what is your intention but while using a language keep the history of the world in mind. Please have in mind that not only some members are listening to you, not only we are reading this agenda but the people of the whole world are

looking at the agenda. Your agenda is likely to have disastrous consequences. I do not know whether you did it deliberately or unknowingly. I am surprised.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting is sitting here. Yesterday, she read the definition of Hindutva in the House. I was also listening to her speech sitting somewhere else because at that time I was not present in the House. Today, Shri Murli Manohar Joshi ji also tried to elaborate the same definition of Hindutva.

You are repeating the verdict of the Supreme Court. I, in the capacity of Prime Minister had said that I am proud of being a Hindu, but I had also explained as to what Hindutva means to me. The hon'ble Prime Minister has just now quoted from a book of Sir Sayed Ahmed. I would not have referred to this book but I would like to know from him as to by quoting from such books which group or people you want to keep in dark. In 1939 a book with the title "The Indian Nationhood defined". It was written therein that Hitler had shown us the path of charity of race. This path is worth understanding for India. It is also mentioned therein that minorities, will not have civil rights. They are only our guests. If they wish they can stay otherwise they have to leave the country and I think that most of the people who belong to BJP or RSS and who are sitting here might have gone through that book. Have you ever contradicted that book published in 1939? Have you ever contradicted that book published in 1939? Have you ever said that the BJP or RSS do not agree with the definition of Hindutva given in it. Advaniji I pay highest regards to you. It is easy to say that your party, your Government donot agree with it. Do you have the courage to express your disagreement with the views of RSS. I would not like to mention the name.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : The author of that book which Hon'ble Chandra Shekharji has referred to has himself disassociated with it. The Guruji has also said that does not agree with it.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : If it is so then RSS should not have any difficulty in stating that R.S.S. does not subscribe to the views expressed in that book and BJP has nothing to do with it. If this happens, then it is good.

I would like to know something about the new direction which you are going to give to this country. A new politics culture is being evolved. What is that new political culture I don't know. Whether this culture will be the same culture which is being shown in the House for the last two days. Not only from this side but from that side too and whether this is the only way to change this culture?

I would like to place before you one more question. The hon. Prime Minister has represented India on money institutions of the world. He has rich experience,

I don't exactly remember, perhaps he may be knowing more that it was Idi Amin only, the Head of a state who had declared that he will make Atom Bomb. One of the members of your cabinet said in a press conference that he will make Atom Bomb and the next day Pakistan declared that sanctions should be imposed on India. Whether this is first step of your Government improving the relations with our neighbours. Not only the country but the whole world wants to know what is our policy in this regard. We cannot escape from such questions. I don't want to raise disputed matters. We have decided to use Hindi and English as official language in the country. We had provided to give equal respect to all the languages. You have stated that a commission will be set up. 19 languages will be given the same status as that of Hindi and English. Shri Nitish ji is sitting in this House. Several times I have heard him asking for the Hindi Translation of various papers. If your agenda is implemented then Nitish ji you will have to translate in all the 19 languages. Did you ever think of far reaching impact while implementing the agenda. In order to appease a few people whether playing with the future of India and the entire system of the work is fair. Does it not show our attitude of irresponsibility. We have to think over all these question. We have played a lot with the sentiments of the people. We have served our purposes by inciting them on the question of caste, religion, language and over and above regional issues. You are carving out four states, I understand that you are aware of it. The leader of the opposition is sitting here. Is it not a fact that there is a demand for carving out four other states in his home state. What will be the fate of Vidarbha, Marathwada, Saurashtra, Telangana. There is not a single state, where such a demand has not been made. The other day our friends from Bodo were raising such questions. Can you do this? Mr. Prime Minister, do you remember these days when the first time Janata Party Government was formed and under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narain, it was declared that we will create small states.

In the meeting of the first Parliamentary Board our senior leaders had said that the work regarding carving out of small states should be undertaken. I requested them with folded hands to pay heed to my submission. At that time the leadership was of Mahatma Gandhi. They were ready for the national movement, Rajendra Baboo was the President, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was Prime Minister, Sardar Patel was Home Minister. At that time as a matter of principle we had agreed to create states on linguistic basis. There was bloodshed in this country. India of that time was a different from what it is today. In 1977 we had advised our leaders first to take up some other work and then go in for creating small states. Sir, I am not opposed to the concept of small states. But is it the proper time to do that when there is disturbance all around, and on trivial

issues an atmosphere of terrorism is being created. If four states are created will it not encourage 12-14 another states for raising such demand. Have you even thought about that whether there is more pressure from those four states? Please don't agree to such a demand even if there is a proposal in this regard from the legislative assembly. If this gimmick is played with the politics of the country, then it will be betrayal of the future of the country. Therefore, I am requesting you that on this issue...*(Interruptions)*

MAJOR GENERAL BHUVAN CHANDRA KHANDURI, AVSM : Chandra Shekharji, I would like to ask you that if under geographical conditions it becomes necessary to create a small state from the point of view of development then why do you have objection? ...*(Interruptions)* Do you want to obstruct the process of development which is necessary from the point of view of growth and geographical conditions...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VILAS MUTTEMVAR (Nagpur) : There should be equal justice for all...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHER : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the question is raised by Mr. Khanduri...*(Interruptions)* I cannot speak in such a situation, you speak first then I will speak. I have heard Mr. Khanduri, what he is trying to emphasize is that in our country there are several areas where development work has not been undertaken and I know it. But Mr. Khanduri there is provision for that in the constitution. Development councils should be constituted in all the underdeveloped areas. Development work can be undertaken there by implementing special schemes. This step was not taken earlier. Had this step has been taken, the demand for Uttaranchal, Vananchal, Uttarakhand would not have been raised in such a manner. I have been reminding my leaders about this issue since 1967-68. Not only I but Pt. Nehru had also said while inaugurating the planning commission in 1950 that regional imbalance will become a curse for us. If we are not able to remove regional imbalances and formulate schemes for backward areas then this country will disintegrate. It is distressing that despite the suggestion of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, we have not done that work during the last 50 years after independence. I do want that small states should be created but today in an atmosphere of hatred and animosity when there is so much of bloodshed and infighting taking place; such a decision should not be taken. Our Somnath Dada is present here. What will happen in your state? Like Vananchal, Gorkhaland will be created in your state. No state will be spared. Mr. Prime Minister and specifically Mr. Home Minister do you want to create such a situation?...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, these are the basic issues. With deep anguish I submit that proper attention have not been paid to these basic issues, which are related with the future of the country and not with anyone's prestige

[Shri Chandra Shekhar]

or with breaking up of any political party. I have nothing to say on the issue of breaking and uniting of parties. Many able speakers are present here to speak on that subject. They will express their opinion.

Mr. Prime Minister, I told you not today but in 1967 itself, that Gurudeo you are deviating from the path and it will cost the country, very dearly and therefore I am here to caution you and would like to say to the people that this national agenda is nothing but another document of betrayal which will ruin the country therefore, I oppose this motion of Confidence.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Shri Kinjarappu Yerrannaidu.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha) : Sir, there are some small parties. I was told that the Prime Minister was to answer at four o'clock. Please give some time to the small parties also...(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Please grant us time for a few minutes...(Interruptions)

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Coochbehar) : Sir, please extend the time...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shall we extend the time?

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (Srikakulam) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, I am requesting our hon. Members ... (Interruptions) Sir, the House is not in order ... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would like to know from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs about it. There are many more speakers. I want to know whether the House agrees to extend the time or not.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : It could be one hour.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members from many parties have not spoken so far.

SHRI E. AHAMED : Smaller parties should also be given time...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Should we extend the time of the House for one hour?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No...(Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHMED : Sir, we want to speak ... (Interruptions) Sir, we should get an opportunity to speak...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, several other hon'ble members wish to speak. So,

I request you to kindly extend the time for one hour. At the same time I would also like to request the hon'ble members to conclude their speech in a short time...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : The time of the House is extended for one hour.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, please extend the time for one more hour...(Interruptions) I request the hon'ble members to give their speech in brief...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. The time of the House is extended for one hour and every Member will speak for two minutes each.

(Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, we want to express our views...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will give you time. Now, Shri Yerrannaidu, you may please start.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (Srikakulam) : Sir, through you I would like to request the hon. Members of the House to kindly cooperate with me during my speech...(Interruptions) Sir, I rise on behalf of the TDP...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI S.S. OWAISI (Hyderabad) : Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, kindly give opportunity to all...(Interruptions). This is no way...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Yerrannaidu, you please come on to the first row.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Sir, I will speak from here. There is no problem...(Interruptions) Hon. Chairman, Sir, please bring the House to order then only I could speak...(Interruptions)

Sir, I rise on behalf of the Telugu Desam Party, the party that stands committed to defend the regional aspirations and the hopes of the people. The four and a half decades of Congress rule has been marked by misrule, corruption, nepotism, favouritism, groupism, casteism and maladministration. The regional aspirations and the hopes of the people have met with casualties

during the Congress regime. They were all shattered by the dictatorial rule of the Congress. In the recent elections...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Yerrannaidu, please come to the front seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order please.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : I am the youngest Member. For a new Member...*(Interruptions)* I stand here on behalf of the Telgu Desam Party. It is a party that stands committed to the defence of the regional aspirations and hopes. The four decades' old Congress rule has been marked by misrule, corruption, nepotism, favoritism, groupism, casteism and maladministration. The regional aspirations and people's hopes have been...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AJIT JOGI : I wish to raise a point of order under Rule 352. I will read out Rule 352 which says:

" A Member while speaking shall not -

read a written speech except with the previous permission of the Chair."

The hon. Member is reading from a written speech ...*(Interruptions)* Let him give the ruling...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : I am a new Member. I am reading out the Resolution of my Party...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Naidu, you should not read it out.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : There is no point of order. I am a new Member. You please come to my rescue.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : He is reading out the Resolution of his Party.

15 .57 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA (Calcutta North East) : This is his maiden speech. He is speaking in the House for the first time.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : He was a Cabinet Minister in the last Government.

SHRI AJIT JOGI : The rule is very clear. It says that a Member shall not read from a written speech.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : He is reading a part of the Resolution.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Sir, I seek your protection. There are a number of precedents in this august House. I have seen a number of senior hon. Members of the House, quoting from some books or reading out the

speeches. I am a second time Member. The Eleventh Lok Sabha was dissolved within two years of its constitution. So, We are just new Members. I am reading out from the Resolution of my Party. This is a discussion on the Motion of Confidence. I seek your protection. You please come to my rescue.

SHRI AJIT JOGI : One can only quote, not read from a written speech. We want your ruling.

MR. SPEAKER : He was only quoting it. He was not reading out the speech.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Please give the ruling, whatever it may be.

SHRI AJIT JOGI : Sir, I have raised a point of order. Kindly give a ruling...*(Interruptions)*

16.00 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Mr. Speaker Sir. I am quoting from my Party's Resolution. What is wrong in it? Yesterday, senior members have quoted from manifestos...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Yerrannaidu, you can quote from a document but you cannot read your speech.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Then Sir, you should not allow other Members also to read.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Sir, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the President of Congress, had clearly stated in the recent election campaign that regional parties were lacking a national perspective. She made many remarks like that...*(Interruptions)* The Congress Party always thought that Indira was India and Congress was the country. The Telugu Desam Party is the people's party...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : He is reading out.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : No, I am just quoting ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Yerrannaidu, please address the Chair.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the people of Andhra Pradesh suffered decades of Congress misrule. Telugu Desam Party was established by Shri N.T. Rama Rao following the thirty-five year misrule of Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI TARIQ ANWAR (Katihar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, his Chief Minister was in the Congress Party.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Before Independence, all were in the Congress. Despite that so many parties are there now. I a democracy everybody has a right to establish a party...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Yerrannaidu, please address the Chair.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : From the sufferings of the Telugu people emerged Telugu Desam Party, a people's party, a party committed to restore the self-respect of Telugu people and to bring about all-round development in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Our founder President Shri N.T. Rama Rao's dreams are being converted into reality.

Our dynamic visionary, the most capable Chief Minister Shri Nara Chandrababu Naidu is moulding the State into a modern State. He has a clear vision. He wants to develop Andhra Pradesh with a vision of 2020. That is why, the Telugu Desam Party always fought for more powers to the States. We always fought for the implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's report.

The Telugu Desam Party's manifesto is now included in the BJP's National Agenda. We first passed a resolution in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly twice. We sent it to the Union Government for its inclusion in the National Agenda.

What is wrong in it?...*(Interruptions)* The Telugu Desam Party stands for cooperative federalism, secularism, democracy, decentralisation, and development. I draw your attention, Sir, to the 1996 elections that marked a historic change - a change that saw the Congress thrown out by the people. ...*(Interruptions)* The people's verdict was for the formation of a democratic, secular, liberal, and coalition Government.

Thanks to the initiative of our leader, Shri N. Chandrababu Naidu, the United Front was formed. The United Front brought together the regional and national parties, inoned out the differences and arrived at a consensus. It was a crucial event in the history of Indian politics and the Congress decided to support the United Front out of situational compulsions and helplessness. At that time, the Congress party supported the Union Government.

In the recent meeting of the United Front - all members were aware that he is the Convenor of the United Front...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : He is quoting, not reading.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Without informing the Convenor of the United Front, they have taken a decision to support the Congress Party. The Congress party supported the Speaker. In the present circumstances, the Convenor of the United Front left the United Front in the interests of the State and as per the wishes of the people of Andhra Pradesh.

We, in the United Front hoped that it would not be just one more Government, but an alternative and a

better system of governance. I am quoting some paragraphs from the resolution. Yesterday also, some senior Members quoted from the manifesto. This is the resolution sent by fax...*(Interruptions)*

The Telugu Desam party, as a partner of the United Front, strove to provide a system of governance founded on the pillars of unity, stability, secularism, development and distributive justice. The Congress, however, had other ideas. It was impossible for the Congress leaders to stay away from power. They are power-mongers. They always want power. That is why, the previous Congress President, Shri Sitaram Kesri has promised to this nation that Shri Gujral would hoist the National Flag from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the 15th August. What happened to that promise? It has cheated four Governments of Shri Charan Singh, Shri Gujral, Shri Deva Gowda and Shri V.P. Singh—I am rectifying—Shri Chandra Shekhar.

The Congress party wants to come to power by hook or crook. This is the only goal of the Congress. The people, their feelings, their welfare and their development are all irrelevant and non-existent for the Congress. How can we support such a party? You tell us...*(Interruptions)*

Please listen. You will be given a chance ...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)* What is wrong in it? I am appealing to you to cooperate. You are all senior Members.

MR. SPEAKER : I am not allowing.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Mr. Speaker, Sir, my request is that I am elected only for a second time to this august House. I have got elected four times for the Legislative Assembly. I was elected to the last Lok Sabha and I was made a Cabinet Minister.

This is my first experience as a Member. I am requesting all of you to cooperate with me. If I am elected a number of times, I will also be far more better than all of you. The time will tell. Please cooperate with me...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Kinjarapu Yerrannaidu, please address the Chair.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Due to the reasons which I have told you, how can we support the Congress Government? How can our friends in the United Front think of lending support to such a selfish, self-centered, corrupt, anti-people, power mongering and thoroughly unprincipled party? I cannot understand as to why our colleagues are supporting the Congress party?

The United Front contested the 1998 polls on a clear anti-Congress plank. The constituents vowed not

to have anything to do with the Congress. For reasons of political expediency, however, leaders of some of the constituents of the United Front have now executed a total about turn. It is ironic that those who opposed the Congress and suffered at its hands have now chosen to sail with them. Having themselves deviated from their original principles and opposition to the Congress, it is strange that they criticize the Telugu Desam Party which has been steadfast in its adherence to principles and value based politics!

When the United Front or the Left of it decides to support the Congress, our party had no option but to disassociate itself from the United Front. Any other course of action would be counter to the feelings of not only the TDP cadres and leaders but also the people of my State, Andhra Pradesh. There was no way of our party supporting a Congress nominee for the post of Speaker of this august House; as such a course of action would be detrimental to the interests of my party, party cadres and my State.

Sir, we feel proud and privileged to have contributed the first *dalit* Speaker of this country, who is a true representative of youth and regional parties. We thank all those people who rendered support to us in this mission without division, with voice vote and supported the young and dynamic regional party man. For that, on behalf of my party, TDP, I am congratulating all of you.

When we founded the United Front Government we had fond hopes of providing an alternative system of governance in the country, fully dedicated to the welfare of the people and development of the country. Thanks to the evil designs of the Congress, we have not been able to fully fulfil our objectives. The verdict of the 1998 elections went against the United Front...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not know as to why are they crying like this ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat first. This is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member, Shri Bapi Raju and myself were in the State Assembly during the last 16 years...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Now you speak about the motion of confidence and not about Shri Bapi Raju.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (Srikakulam) : The 1998 elections went against the United Front Government. In the recent elections, people had given clear mandate against the United Front Government. The BJP emerged as the single largest party and along with its allies it has won a substantial number of seats, almost reaching the magical figure of majority in the House. Not only the people's votes, but the public sentiment seems to be

favouring the BJP as the ruling side and Shri Atal Bihar Vajpayee as the Prime Minister. The Telugu Desam Party has no intentions of coming in the way.

Coalition Governments have come to stay in our country and the future belongs to only coalition Governments. Without regional parties, there is no Central Government.

Even the Congress Party is also criticising the regional parties. I am asking through you, Sir, the Congress Party. In future also, without support from the regional parties, there is no Union Government in this country. I am telling that is my firm belief.

Coalition Governments have come to stay in our country and the future belongs to only coalition Governments...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : I will conclude.

MR. SPEAKER : You please wind up.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Sir, Telugu Desam has 12 Members. We should get a chance for two Members to speak. That is why I am taking my chance.

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : The hon. Chair has given permission for two members from my Party. I am taking that time also. What is wrong in it?...*(Interruptions)*

We foresaw this trend clearly even during the pre-1996 elections and predicted coalition Government. During the pre-1996 elections, before the people had given the mandate, the Telugu Desam Party predicted that. We mentioned it in the Telugu Desam Party's manifesto that after 1996, Eleventh Lok Sabha elections, this country has only coalition Governments. That happened in the Eleventh Lok Sabha...*(Interruptions)* I am telling it though everybody knows...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Do not disturb him.

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU : Everybody knows everything. Why are we here?

We are happy that the BJP has chosen to avoid contentious issues like Ayodhya, Common Civil Code and Article 370 from the national agenda. This is also a very good thing. This is the wish of the people of Andhra Pradesh. I am appreciating the BJP on these three aspects.

No party or parties can form a good Government unless they dedicate themselves to the principles of democracy, secularism and federalism. A true Government should provide a representative, responsible and responsive governance to the people. Telugu Desam Party will play its role in national politics

[Shri K. Yerrannaaidu]

with sincerity, commitment and a high degree of sense and responsibility. Our party will endeavour to substantially improve the lot of the weaker sections, particularly in the whole country.

Telugu Desam Party's supremo, the founder of the TDP, started a residential school for the first time in the Indian history. Those things are incorporated in the national agenda. The BJP Government wants to give top priority to the backward classes, minorities, SCs and STs.

Telugu Desam Party has an unwavering commitment to secularism and the well-being of minorities. I will give one example to show the Telugu Desam Party's commitment to secularism. In the previous Governments in Andhra Pradesh, in their Budgets, only rupees four crore were allotted to the minorities. After Shri Chandra Babu Naidu came into power as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, in our Budget we earmarked Rs. 50 crore for minorities. I am telling that we are committed to secularism.

We believe in the development of the country and the welfare of the people. We are dedicated to governance based on federalism, decentralisation, accountability, equality and social justice. We will act in the best interests of the people we represent.

The defeat of this Government will result in the entry of the Congress through the backdoor which we cannot accept under any circumstances. We are clear that the nation needs stability. Stability is the need of the hour. Our Telugu Desam Party is committed to stability. Thank you one and all...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Indrajit Gupta.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am not yielding. I called Shri Indrajit Gupta.

*(Interruptions)*

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

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record. I called Shri Indrajit Gupta.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record. I call now Shri Indrajit Gupta. He is a learned man. Please cooperate with the Chair.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat. I have not allowed you. This will not go on record. You are a senior

\* Not Recorded.

Member. Please take your seat. I have called Shri Indrajit Gupta.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, I want to make a submission ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : No submission. I have called Shri Gupta. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : I have been in this House for only 30 years. I am very happy that the Chair has given so much time today to much newer parties and newer Members though some of them are complaining that they have not got a chance. However, I think, many of them have been given adequate opportunities and I am not complaining...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AHAMED : I also did not complain ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Anyway, I am not complaining though I have been here for 35 years. I think, I should have been called much earlier. It is all right. If you direct me that I should confine my remarks to two or three minutes only I will do that. I have many things to say but I cannot do it within this time.

I found that there was something a bit unreal in the whole atmosphere of this debate because we have been asked to express our confidence in a Government which does not appear to have confidence in itself! How can we express confidence in a Government which does not have confidence in itself and for that reason, I find, is organising here in Delhi pooja and mahayagya since yesterday in order to pray for the stability of this Government? Many of the Ministers, leaders of the B.J.P. and also of the V.H.P., I find, have been attending the mahayagya in which I do not know how much quantity of ghee and wood, etc., is being used. This is not a sign of confidence. This is a sign of nervousness.

Therefore, in this short time, I will just list out four or five points. I am not going to dilate on them as to the reason why we do not find it possible to give our confidence to this Government.

The very first principle on which all other parties here have been expressing themselves is the need for transparency. Without transparency, no Government can function nowadays. But I am sorry to say that the way—I do not mean any offence to you, Sir, as a person at all—the choice of the new Speaker was made—not the person but the way it was done—there was nothing transparent about it. It was almost a secretive act which took everybody by surprise. In fact, if I am not wrong, the hon. Speaker has also stated—I read in the newspapers a statement by him—that when he was boarding the plane to come from Hyderabad to Delhi,

up to that time he himself did not know why he was being called here. And one BJP leader has admitted that he did not know the name of this new incumbent for the Speakership.

[Translation]

SHRI VIJAY GOEL : We did not know the name of Sh. Deve Gowdaji when he had come.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : So, you want to imitate?

SHRI VIJAY GOEL : Kindly don't say like that because you people have acted yourself in the same fashion.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not disturb him.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, Shri Vijay Goel has the right to go on interrupting if he likes. I have not uttered a single word here. I could also interrupt but I do not. It is not my habit.

The other point I want to make is that yesterday a Member here from Maharashtra spoke at great length about the background of the communal riots which had taken place in Mumbai after the Babri Masjid demolition and he reminded us—quite correctly I think—that during the period of those riots, the Government which was then in power in Maharashtra, was a Congress Government. I think what he meant to say was that if any part of the responsibility for what happened rested with the State Government, then it was the Congress party whose Chief Minister was there and so they should take the responsibility.

But what I am asking is that if this is a fact, then why is the BJP so hesitant and so chary to allow Justice Srikrishna Commission's Report on this very period to be tabled in the House in Maharashtra? There is a big furore going on about it. First of all, it was stated that during the current Session of the Assembly, the Srikrishna Report would be laid on the Table of the House. Later on, it was said that it would be done later. Still later, it was said that no Action Taken Report had been prepared yet and so it could not be laid with an Action Taken Report. Now that Action Taken Report has to be prepared. In this way, delay has been occurring. After all, we are dealing with events of the riots of that year. So, I want to know that since a Congress Government was in power at that time, why is the BJP so nervous and so chary of allowing the Srikrishna Commission's Report to be tabled in the House? I would like to have a reply to this point.

Then, a lot has been said here about minorities. I do not want to go into all that but I am just pained to find that there have been a whole spate of complaints to the National Human Rights Commission on behalf of

certain Christian communities—Catholics and others—recently and they are complaining that some fundamentalist and extremist elements belonging to the BJP have been carrying out physical attacks on Christians in various parts of the country and the Police does not act to defend them. Particularly, they say this in Maharashtra and Gujarat. They have been appealing to the authorities for protection...(Interruptions). So, in view of the very good things which were stated here by the Prime Minister...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : Not even a single such incident has occurred. He is misleading the House.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Rawale, please take your seat.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, a Christian Organisation of the Pentecost Church in Baroda and a Catholic institution in Latur, the place where Christian voluntary organisations have been working for the rehabilitation of the victims of the earthquake, have complained and the National Human Rights Commission has now told the Directors General of Police of the States of Gujarat and Maharashtra to take early action to investigate and find out who is responsible for these attacks and what remedial measures should be taken. I want to know why such things are being permitted even just after the new Government has assumed office here in Delhi.

The All India Catholic Union has warned that these incidents have generated serious misapprehension in the minds of the Christian community and the Police seems to be paralysed to act against the fundamentalist mobs. This is a matter which requires clarification and explanation as to why it cannot be known to the Central Government and why such things are being allowed to go on.

I am only dealing with one or two points. My next point is that the candidate who was set up by the B.J.P. in Faizabad constituency, next to Ayodhya, Shri Vinay Katiyar, who has been defeated — he was a Member of this House for a long time — has published a lengthy statement in which he accuses the B.J.P. leadership for many of the reverses which they have suffered in various parts of the country including — I suppose he means— his own constituency which he attributes to the fact that these issues which are being mentioned here— Article 370, Uniform Civil Code, whether there should be a temple built at Ayodhya or whether it should be converted into a national monument as somebody has suggested etc. — according to him, these things have aroused misgivings in the minds of the general Hindu population which thinks that the B.J.P. leadership is now backtracking and trying to get out of its earlier

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

commitments. This has created confusion and has led to a loss of votes on a large scale among the Hindu community.

So, I want to know about these issues, which are being mentioned here, which the B.J.P. leadership, in its wisdom, has said that they are not insisting on these now and that they are trying to put them aside for the time being. I do not know whether these issues are like some sort of caps which you put on your heads and take off whenever it is necessary and then put them on again. I hope that these caps will not be put on again as soon as the compulsions of the election are over and the Ministry-making is over.

But, Shri Vinay Katiyar, I believe, belongs to the Bajrang Dal. He is the Secretary of the Bajrang Dal. What I want to say is that the allies of the B.J.P. are not only these parties and individuals who have collected here. Much closer allies are the *Sangh Parivar* people and the *Sangh Parivar* people include the R.S.S. which has been practising some kind of influence and remote control on the B.J.P. leadership. They do not like these things which are being done.

So, how are we to have confidence that this commitment or this assurance being given to the country that these issues—because they are contentious and they are divisive—will not be taken up in future? How are we to believe that they will be put on the backburner, as it were, and the people should not have any apprehension on that score? It is because that it means that the V.H.P., including the R.S.S. and so on have agreed to these kinds of manouvers.

But I have great doubts as to whether they can ever agree to this. The whole matter will again be brought up and we will again be facing a lot of trouble.

Then, on the question of nuclear options, we are confused, we do not know exactly what the proposition of the Government now is. In their document, they have spoken about nuclear options being exercised. Later on, one of the Ministers, including the Defence Minister, has tried to point out that they are actually not going in for any nuclear weapons now and so nobody has to be alarmed about that matter. What am I saying is that they have printed their document and they should please read what they have written in it about exercising this policy of nuclear option. Are they standing by that or is there any dilution or revision of that? What is the message that they want to send out to the other neighbouring countries, particularly round about India who consider themselves to be weaker than India? They are, of course, smaller than India and they cannot think of exercising any nuclear weapons policy. There should be a categorical statement, particularly from the Prime Minister as to what actually is their stand and the

latest official stand regarding the question of nuclear option so that some wrong message does not go out to other countries which potentially are our friends and who may have all kinds of misgivings and apprehensions if they feel that the new Government is going to reverse its policy and going for nuclear weapons. This should be clarified.

There are reports that the big business houses, particularly in Mumbai and in some other parts of the country - of course, I can understand—are very friendly disposed towards the BJP and the new Government. I am sure that they helped them on a massive scale during the recent election though some of the people who are supposed to be or known to be their favourites within the BJP came a cropper and did not manage to get through. I do not know why. But anyway, big businessmen are not people who work for charity; they also want their own pound of flesh. So, if they are pledging support to Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and his party for carrying on their Government in a way which will satisfy them, I am sure that they are also putting forward their own demands. Big businessmen have got many demands, as we all know. They are not charitable organisations.

A lot of discussion and debates have been taking place on these issues of *swadeshi* and multinationals, to what extent we should and how we should allow foreign capital to be invested, in which sectors and all that. In this regard, I would like to know what the demands which big businessmen putting forward on our Government are in exchange of the help that they have given and propose to give in future, because later on, we should not be pressurised into positions like the one in which we are, for example, under the WTO.

The whole question is to what extent we have got the liberty to protect our domestic industries from unequal foreign competition and it is a very important matter, whether you call it *swadeshi* or you call it by some other name. Every Indian would like to see that these industries which have grown up in our own country, domestic industries, are not weakened or destroyed by unequal foreign competition coming from these big multinational corporations and other foreign companies which have got immense resources at their disposal. What is the position in this regard? I would like some assurance to be given by the Prime Minister.

I do not want to take more time because you have also been hustling us a long and also, there is no time left. I, therefore, would say that these are some of the points—there are some other points also - which make it very confusing as to what exactly this Government is going to do or is in a position to do since it has so many contradictions and so many differences with the stated policies of those people whom they call their allies.

I do not think the allied parties and the people have joined the B.J.P. or sought the protection of the B.J.P. umbrella because of any great ideological affection or affinity with the B.J.P. They have done it purely on practical and opportunist grounds. There is no doubt about that, because they hope to be on the right side of the ruling party from which they expect to get some dividends in the shape of governmental seats and ministries and so on. I am not talking about the moral side of the question. That has been dealt with by so many speakers.

Finally, I would say that it is not possible at all, in these circumstances, to give our confidence to this Government and therefore, we propose to vote against this Motion.

SHRI T.R. BAALU (Madras South) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the D.M.K., I rise to oppose this Motion, moved by the hon. Prime Minister of India.

Sir, before I proceed further, it is my utmost and profound duty to thank my leader and the electorate of South Chennai who have selected and elected me to this august House.

Sir, during the election campaign, hon. Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee went before the electorate and categorically stated about his party's schemes and ideas to the masses. He has also stated, during the campaign, that they would construct a Ram Temple over the debris of the Babri Masjid, that they would scrap Article 370 of the Constitution and that they would bring about an enactment to implement a Uniform Civil Code, if they come to power.

But after the elections, what went wrong? What happened to the election promises made before the electorate, before the public? He has compromised with the promises which he made before the public. One of my friends on the other said yesterday that they have made some compromises. I do not know what compromises that they have made. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether all these promises which he has made before the masses of the country are going to be fulfilled now or they have been postponed endlessly. I would like to have a categorical answer from the hon. Prime Minister on this point.

Sir, the hon. Prime Minister, who has pleaded for the scrapping of article 370 of the Constitution, had gone to the Rashtrapati Bhavan and submitted a list containing 240 Members of Parliament who were supporting him. At that time, he knew that unless and until he got the support of 272 or, at least, 270 Members of Parliament, he would not be able to form the Government. In spite of it, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee met the Rashtrapati and submitted the list. He came out of the Rashtrapati Bhavan—such a tall and towering personality with full of pride and courage—and met the Press people.

He met the Press outside. He briefed the Press that he has already handed over a list of 240 Members of Parliament to the President of India and that now it is for the President to call him or not to call him. But at the same time he also said that he would not succumb to any pressure.

Sir, my party has made encomium to his courage. My party leaders said that we have got amongst us one of the towering personalities and one of the gigantic persons to lead the nation. He is a better person to be the Prime Minister of India. We have discussed this. My party thought like that. The entire nation thought like that. The whole nation expected him to be like that. But alas! I do not know what happened. An emissary was sent all the way from Delhi to Chennai. Here in Delhi, anguish, trauma and panic prevailed in the headquarters of the B.J.P. But at the same time a drama had been enacted in the city of Chennai. What was the drama? What was the outcome? We do not know. The Press and the entire nation thought something was going to happen. But after two-three days, the things had come to light. They received the support to form a Government. They formed a Government. While announcing the portfolio, the entire nation understood what happened in the drama that took place at Chennai. Sir, the Ministers have been appointed. One of the Ministers was appointed to take care of the Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs to safeguard the interest of a particular person from the litigations...*(Interruptions)*. One of the Ministers was appointed for taking care of the CBI cases...*(Interruptions)*.

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. THAMBI DURAI) : Sir, I am on point of order. I am the Minister for this Ministry. This is not the way. He is charging me. He is casting aspersion on me...*(Interruptions)*. If he is alleging against me let him substantiate the charges levelled against me...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : If there is anything objectionable, I will expunge it from the records.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Let him touch his conscious and say...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : If it is objectionable, I will expunge it from the records. Shri Baalu, please wind up and you talk on the motion also.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Shri Advani had been charged in the Havala case. We all know it has got no basis and it has got no relevancy. In spite of no basis and no relevancy, Shri Advani resigned. He set an excellent example...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI C. SREENIVASAN (Dindigul) : What about your Chief Minister...(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI R.K. KUMAR) : Shri Karunanidhi was found to be guilty of corruption charges by the Sarkaria Commission. He should also not be the Chief Minister...(Interruptions)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : I have not yielded...(Interruptions) I am not yielding.

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATION (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : What is your point of order? Shri Baalu, please wait for a minute.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : I am not yielding. He is taking away my time...(Interruptions)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Sir, I am on a point of order...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : He is on a point of order.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Let him first quote the rule from the book. You should ask him to quote the rule. He has to quote under which rule he wants to raise this point of order...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : He is not yielding. Please sit down.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Let him quote the rules.

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good. Shri Baalu, please wait for a minute.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Let him quote the rule.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I wish to refer to Rule 352 (2) ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Minister is on his legs.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : My point of order is... (Interruptions)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : He has to quote the rule. He cannot take the time of the House. The time of the House is being wasted.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Sir, my point of order arises out of Rule 352 (2)... (Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMED : It has been discussed several times.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : If you do not have any problem, then let me read it.

SHRI E. AHAMED : It has been quoted time and again, but what was the ruling here? This is not the only occasion when it has been quoted.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : It is for the Chair to decide. I am quoting Rule 352 (2) which relates to the rules to be observed while speaking in the House.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : What is it about?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Rule 352 (2) says :

"A member while speaking shall not —

- (ii) make personal reference by way of making an allegation imputing a motive to or questioning the *bona fides* of any other member of the House unless it be imperatively necessary for the purpose..."

SHRI T.R. BAALU : No, I have got every right to charge the Minister. What for am I here?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : The hon. Member while speaking has definitely imputed motives against the hon. Minister of Law, Justice and Company Affairs in this House. My humble request is that either the hon. Member should withdraw his remarks or it should be expunged from the proceedings.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : I would not withdraw.

MR. SPEAKER : If it is objectionable, I will expunge it from the records. Shri Baalu, please continue.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Our hon. Minister of Home, revered Shri L.K. Advani, has resigned from the membership and he has set a good example or precedent in this august House. Madam Sheila Kaul, Hon. Shiv Shankar, Shri Taslimuddin had been asked to resign and they resigned, when some charges were framed... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri T.R. Baalu, please wind up. Otherwise, I will call other hon. Members. You have taken already ten minutes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : I demand you should tell us what is your policy on corruption. Are you going to have corrupt persons in the Ministry?... (Interruptions) There is one book called *Thirukkural* and nobody is against it.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Naveen Patnaik will now speak.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : "Living together of those who lack amity is like living with a snake in a hut."

This is a piece of advice to the Prime Minister ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : We are accommodating everybody. I will give you a chance. Shri Naveen Patnaik to speak now.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, after all of us have won a general election. So, we should try and understand what a victory is about. Perhaps the history

of Orissa can tell us a great legend about victory. A conqueror came to the battlefield of Kalinga thousands of years ago and lay slaughter to tens of thousands of people. At dusk after the battle, a poor man came up to the emperor with an infant corpse in his hands and said, "Can you give life to this dead child?" The emperor, we all know, was Asoka and the poor man was a Buddhist monk. After the victory of an election, it is time we changed like the emperor Asoka did for this country which symbolises what he did. We should also stand by our voters, who are demanding action and compassion. We, in Orissa, glory in our multi-cultural and multi-religious heritage. We are proud of our past that saw Government by communities of all religions. But as the elected representatives of our people, we know it is not our past that is responsible for good Government. It is ourselves. The massive mandate given to the Biju Janata Dal by the people of Orissa was in response to our Party vow to reverse the callous neglect of successive Congress Governments in Delhi and in Orissa, a neglect which has perpetuated a continuing human tragedy where our people are falling below the poverty line every year, where a mother is forced to sell her child for a handful of rice, where more than half of our able bodied men have had to leave our State and work as labourers outside all the way from Kashmir to Kerala.

17.00 hrs.

The State Government led by the Congress Party slept over the Human Rights Commission's Report which speaks of starvation deaths in Orissa until I spoke of this in my maiden speech a few months ago.

India is one of the foremost exporters of food. Why, therefore, are our people dying in the midst of plenty?

The Biju Janata Dal asks for a Vote of Confidence in the present Government because the National Agenda of the Bharatiya Janata Party and its allies ensures food security for all - not in some distant future but in the immediate future. This Government also has made a promise...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh) : Sir, he is reading a prepared text. When another Member was speaking, he was shouted down...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK : I am quoting from the National Agenda...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO : He is reading a prepared text. The Minister is allowed to read the text. At least, the Minister is expected to be able to speak extempore...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : He is making some points.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK : In the National Agenda, it is stated quite clearly that potable drinking water will

be made available to all the villages. This is critical for the State I come from...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I have not called you to speak. Please sit down. This is not good. Take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat. This is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK : Also, the National Agenda is something which is critical to our State, to the poorer States. Now I quote :

"States, where the percentage of the population has fallen below the povertyline, shall receive special attention."

The Biju Janta Dal went to the people of Orissa stating our goal. Today, the National Agenda of this Government has acknowledged the aspirations of the voters of Orissa and the goals of the Biju Janata Dal are today the nation's goals. Our people have waited too long for this.

Our people in the State of Orissa have four great enemies. They are: cyclone, floods, drought and neglect. The Biju Janata Dal is committed to doing whatever is humanly possible in order to deal with the four of these. Neglect, alas, has been there because of five decades of virtual Congress-led State Governments in Orissa.

Also, the National Agenda is going to do a great deal of good for irrigation which is critical to Orissa.

Mahatma Gandhi once said that India is a nation of villages. It can truly be said that Orissa is a State of villages...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Are you a Minister for Orissa?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat. It is not good.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK : Orissa is a delta State and has the potential to become a prosperous State. When I speak of Orissa, I speak for many parts of our country which are also extremely poor. That is why, I speak for Orissa. I also speak here today as an ally. We are going to seek a vote of confidence. You must have some patience.

The great leader of our party, the Biju Janata Dal, always stood for women's upliftment. He always said: "If women are cared for, then the village prospers; if the village prospers, the State prospers; if the State prospers,

\* Not Recorded.

[Shri Naveen Patnaik]

the nation prospers." I hope that it will apply to the whole country. As I say, the National Agenda is committed to the reservation of seats in Parliament and the State Assemblies for women, a development bank for women and women's education.

We know that however good our intentions may be, they have to be carried through with hard work. We, of this Government are convinced that we will go ahead and work for all the goals of the National Agenda.

We ask for a vote of confidence in this Government of allies headed by Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihar Vajpayee. We take pride in saying that the Biju Janata Dal stands before you as a part of the National Agenda, which is not a hidden agenda. Thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMED SYED (Anantnag) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first and foremost point being discussed in the debate, which is going on for the last two days, is that B.J.P. is a party with a difference? It has also been alleged particularly by the opposition, that the BJP have manipulated the majority in Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. Perhaps no other Party, had raised the issue of corruption so much and resorted to this propoganda in Lok Sabha election campaign as much as the BJP did. I do not know about the long term gain which they will derive out of forming such Government in Himachal Pradesh. But they have certainly lost their morality and power to hight corruption. Likewise I am not aware of the kind of manipulation they have resorted to form their Government here. Only time will tell about its supervision. They have taken twenty days to prove their majority in the House.

The other point which has been discussed here is regarding the National Agenda of BJP and its allies. What is their election manifesto? It is worth appreciation if there has been any change in B.J.P.'s attitude and outlook and if they have become secular. But as a matter of fact the credibility of B.J.P. is not as such. The Central organs of the B.J.P. viz. R.S.S., V.H.P. and Bajrang Dal, propogated their election manifesto in the entire country. Just listen to the initial wordings and the heading.

[English]

Sir, I quote a few lines from their manifesto. It is written and I quote :

Our National Identity  
Cultural Nationalism

"The BJP is committed to the concept of 'One Nation, One people and one Culture.'"

[Translation]

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee used to talk about unity and diversity. He used to say that let hundred of flowers bloom. But, what are his views about Ram Mandir, please listen.

[English]

About Ram, it is written in their manifesto, and I quote :

"The BJP is convinced that Hindutva has immense potentiality...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

Please listen...(Interruptions) You are sitting in the treasury benches, It is not good...(Interruptions)

[English]

"The BJP is convinced that Hindutva has immense potentiality to re-energize this nation and strengthen and discipline it to undertake the arduous task of nation-building. This can and does trigger a higher level of patriotism that can transform the country to greater levels of efficiency and performance. It is with such integrative ideas in mind, the BJP joined the Ram Janmabhoomi movement for the construction of Shri Ram Mandir at Ayodhya. This greatest mass movement in post-Independence history reoriented the disoriented policy in India and strengthened the foundation of cultural nationalism."

[Translation]

The movement which shed blood of Hindus and muslims in Hindustan, created dissension among brothers...(Interruptions) where humanity was put at stake, has been termed a Historic movement by them. What can we say to this?...(Interruptions) Dr. Murlī Manohar Joshi was giving reference of the Supreme Court's judgement about Hindutva but forgot to refer to the directives given by the Supreme Court regarding protection of Babri Masjid. You might recall that Shri Kalyan Singh had given an affidavit in this regard and your leaders had also assured the Prime Minister that the Babri Masjid will not be touched at any cost. But what happened on 6th December, 1992? ... (Interruptions) Can it happen like that? Can it happen like that? ... (Interruptions) Dr. Murlī Manohar Joshi and Shri Advani were the leaders of that movement at that time. They were simply witnessing the violation of Supreme Court's directives in Hindustan... (Interruptions) We were thinking that B.J.P. will have sense of remorse and will express regret for this act but they did not do so and as a result thereof both Hindus and muslims of this country received a set back. On the contrary B.J.P. projected Sh. Kalyan Singh as a hero for this deed ... (Interruptions). We had never fancied in our dream

that such a things can happen in our country ...*(Interruptions)* But it did happen in our country. I would like to telk the people of India especially to the people of Uttar Pradesh, Ayodhya, Faizabad and Madhya Pradesh and I feel proud in saying that the people of India have lot of tolerance and they did not rejoice over this shameful act of B.J.P. and the BJP is turn hand to face defeat in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. Shri Mulayam Singh and Shri Digvijay Singh formed Governments in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh respectively.

The people of Himachal Pradesh did not like Bhartiya Janata Party and its Hindutava...*(Interruptions)*. Yesterday, Shri George Fernandes was saying that stability should be there. I would like to ask that how stability can be achieved when brothers are fighting with each other in the name religion and after Ram Janam-Bhoomi issues of Kashi and Mathura are being raised. Such an atmosphere of sectarianism is being created by your people in different parts of the country...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, I would like to say that this dual policy of having national agenda on one hand and party manifesto on the other won't work. You must clarify your intentions regarding what you really want to do. In the same way with the formation of Bhartiya Janata Party Government doubts will arise in the minds of Kashmiri Muslims with regard to Article 370 of Constitution...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Three more Speakers are there. Please wind up.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED : I would like to speak for some more time.

*[Translation]*

Bhartiya Janata Party has a policy with regard to Article 370 of the Constitution. After the partition Sheikh Mohmmad Abdulla associated his fate with India. Thereafter, he became the leader of Kashmir which is Part of India and fought against Pakistan. During that period Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru gave a special status to Kashmir and Delhi agreement was signed. But at the same time, an agitation was launched by late Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee against special status being given to Kashmir by Pandit Nehru. He asserted that Pandit Nehru wanted to project Kashmir as a show window of India. Everybody knows how we got freedom in Kashmir despite its being a Muslim majority state. He started an agitation - one leader, one constitution and one Emblem. Due to crisis of confidence in the Government of Sheikh Abdullah he was sent to jail...*(Interruptions)* I would like to say that Kashmir is passing through turmoil for the last 10 years. Situation should be brought under control there. I would like to make it clear to the Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHANDOKER (Serampur) : Sir, my name is Akbar Ali Khandoker and I am a muslim. The whole nation is watching the Proceedings of this House. What is happening in the House...*(Interruptions)* Why Hindu-Muslim issue is being discussed here ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat. This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : I have not permitted you. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED : My submission is that Kashmir is passing through turmoil for the last 8 years and the present Prime Minister should know the actual situation prevailing in Kashmir. To an extent, militancy has been contained there by the security forces...*(Interruptions)*

Therefore, Jammu and Kashmir has special position in our Constitution and Article 370 is most important among these provisions. I urge that at least a statement should be issued by the Prime Minister that Article 370 which is Part of Indian Constitution will not be amended. We can not win the heart of Kashmiri people on the point of a gun. There must be a dialogue with the people of Kashmir.

*[English]*

Dialogue is the essence of democracy ...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

Dialogue is the essence of democracy. The Government of India must talk to the people of Jammu and Kashmir as it has talked to Lal Denga in Mizoram and Phizo in Nagaland...*(Interruptions)* Shri Farookh Abdullah has not been successful either on financial front or basis on political front. There is a political vaccum in Kashmir. The help given by the Government is not reaching the people. No accountability is there. The funds allocated do not reach the needy people ...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, I would like to say that as

\* Not Recorded.

[Shri Mufti Mohammed Sayeed]

Kashmir is a Part of India and is the crown of India, any decision with regard to Kashmir should be taken with consensus.

[English]

SHRI OMAR ABDULLAH (Srinagar) : Can you prove those allegations? I ask you, can you prove the allegations that you have made in this House? You have never ever represented the people of Jammu and Kashmir. You have always won from outside. I ask you, how can you speak about Kashmir? You have never spoken form Kashmir and you never will. As a Union Minister of Home Affairs, what did you do?

MR. SPEAKER : It is not the duty of the Chair alone to control the House. It is the responsibility of the Members also. So, kindly cooperate with me. It is already 5.30 p.m.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri E. Ahamed please do not disturb. Your Member is speaking.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you. The Prime Minister has sought the confidence of this House. We oppose the Motion moved by the Prime Minister. When one looks at this coalition Government, one is struck by the glaring fact that an air of total unreality surrounds this coalition Government that is over there. An air of total unreality is there with respect to the composition of the Government that is now in power.

For example, Sir, a party, a hardcore anti-secular party has overnight tried to emerge as a purely secular force. What an unreality! What an unreal situation! I need not refer to the long history...(Interruptions) It was Guru Golwalkar who had said,

"The non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language or stay in the society wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizen's rights."

...(Interruptions) The BJP's manifesto was released on 3rd February, 1998...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)\*

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : If we do not go back to the time of Golwalkar, let us take up the BJP's manifesto. The BJP's manifesto was released on 3rd February, 1998. ...(Interruptions) This rank fascist anti-secular manifesto confirms the ideologically anti-secular character of the BJP. Now, we have the anti-secular manifesto of the BJP as late as 3rd February, 1998. And then comes this NAG — National Agenda for Governance. ...(Interruptions) Overnight they tried to earn the posture of a secular Government. What a situation of unreality! A party that does not believe in the rule of law, a party that deliberately flouted all the orders of even the Supreme Court of India, a party which has brought about the Babri Masjid with pride comes camouflaged as a secular element

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please wind up.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Sir, I have not started at all.

MR. SPEAKER : There is no time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Sir, what is this that they are doing? Please control them so that I can conclude...(Interruptions) Sir, I seek your protection.

MR. SPEAKER : Definitely, but please conclude.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : I may please be allowed to speak in this House.

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : The Government lacks both ideological and pragmatic coherence. This is the situation over here. We are told that contentious issues, namely, building up a Ram temple at the site of the Babri Masjid, the issues of Kashi and Mathura, the scrapping of Article 370 and forcible imposition of a uniform civil code have been left out. Yet, they have not been jettisoned by the BJP. The BJP is a member of the Sangh Parivar and all these items are there in their agenda. How can a Government headed by one from the Sangh Parivar deal effectively with its own colleagues who are having this agenda?...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : If I will be given peace by this House, then I will be able to complete. I should be allowed to speak...(Interruptions) As I said, the NAG - the National Agenda for Governance - says that it is committed to the economic and educational development of the minorities and will take effective steps in that regard...(Interruptions) But it is silent on the Minorities Financial Development Corporation, the Urdu University, Abul Kalam Azad Educational Fund and implementation of the Place of Worship Special Provisions Act, 1991...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : But how? I am not able to speak. You must protect me...(Interruptions) We are told that they will provide legal protection to the existing percentages of reservation in educational institutions at the State level. But what about the services? Nothing has been told about the services...(Interruptions)

Further it says that they will take effective steps to create a riot-free order. But what about the schemes of statutory compensation for loss of life and property in communal disturbances? What about the need to take action to bring to book the culprits of major communal disturbances like the ones of Moradabad in 1980, Nellie in 1983, Hashimpura in 1987, Bhagalpur in 1989 and Mumbai in 1992?...(Interruptions)

Sir, there is a total sense of unreality with respect to this Government. Therefore, I oppose the Motion totally and completely. In the interests of secular democracy of this country, I appeal even to the allies of the BJP like the Shiv Sena to reconsider their decision to go with the Government...(Interruptions)

I have so many things to say but in view of the turbulence in the House and your repeated directions, I resume my seat with a vociferous opposition to the Motion moved by the Prime Minister...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There is an announcement.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : At 5.30 P.M., we have to take up Matters under Rule 377. If the House agrees, we will take it up now. Otherwise, we will take it up later.

(Interruptions)

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : On Monday.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : With the permission of the House, let us leave Matters under Rule 377 ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : So, we will take it up on Monday.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I have not called you.

SHRI TATHAGATA SATPATHY : Sir, I have a point of order...(Interruptions) I want to say something ... (Interruptions) Please listen to me. ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record. Now, Shri Purnao Agitok Sangma will speak.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA (Tura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the very outset, may I appeal, through you, to the House to relax for some time? This is the fifth Motion of Confidence during the last 22 months. I do not know how many more Motions of Confidence would be coming up before the House in the near future. But, I think, I am quite sure that there could, at least, be one more in less than one year...(Interruptions)

In the last four consecutive elections to the Lok Sabha, that is, the Ninth, the Tenth, the Eleventh and the Twelfth Lok Sabhas, we had witnessed a fractured Parliament. No party could get a clear mandate. Yesterday and today, the House has spent a lot of time in trying to argue as to who and which party had the mandate to rule. I do not think there is any point in debating about the mandate as such. The fact remains that because of this fractured Parliament for the last few years, we have been witnessing instability in this country. I think, the country, the Parliament, particularly the political parties, should sit up and find out the reasons why for the last four elections to the Lok Sabha, the people could not—I do not want to use 'did not'—give a clear mandate. Is it a fault of the people? Is it a fault of the system? Is it a fault to the political parties? Is it a fault of political leadership?

Sir, I think, this is a matter which the country needs to go into. I have tried to analyse the causes of instability, the reasons for people not being able to make up their minds. But I do not think, I have time enough to discuss everything here.

One thing we have seen and we have found that in the last few years—whether it is my Party, or whether it is the BJP or whether it is any other political Party—it seems that ideologies are getting relegated to the background. Today, politics is getting polarised around individuals, rather strong individuals and thereby the political Parties, particularly the national Parties are getting more and more fragmented. Even on the eve of the last General Elections we witnessed the fragmentation of political Parties. Out of the Congress, came the Trinamool Congress; out of the Janata Dal, came the Rashtriya Janata Dal and the Biju Janata Dal. We saw the emergence of the Lok Shakti headed by Shri Hegde and the Rashtriya Janata Party headed by

\* Not Recorded.

[Shri Purno A. Sangma]

Shri Vaghela...*(Interruptions)* Please listen. I am talking very seriously. I really do not know whether the fragmentation of the national Parties is a healthy trend for this country. I know there are valid reasons for that. This has happened for valid reasons. But we have to think whether it is good for us in the long run.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the Eleventh Lok Sabha we had 29 political Parties represented in this House. In this Twelfth Lok Sabha 41 political parties are represented in this House! It may be 42. There may be 43 very soon or there could be 44. We do not know. I personally think that it is not good for the country. We have to think as to how we could consolidate ourselves.

Today, the national Parties are more or less getting irrelevant. This is not what I am saying today. This is what was being said by Shri Vajpayee as the leader of the Opposition. I was the Presiding Officer of this House then. This is what Shri Pramod Mahajan had been saying. I remember the leaders of the BJP ridiculing the United Front Government saying, 'What a Government!' There should not be a *Khichri* Government. An independent Member was being made a Cabinet Minister; a single Member Party was being made a Cabinet Minister! The BJP out of the Government; the Congress out of the Government; the CPI(M) out of the Government—it was a very valid argument which was put forward in this House by the BJP leaders last time. But what has happened today? Last time we had a 13 Party Government and today we are having an 18 Party Government. What an improvement! I do not know whether this is a healthy trend for the country.

I remember having read a very interesting story. During the Elections two women had gone to fetch water and were discussing about politics.

[Translation]

One lady said to the other lady, "what will happen in the elections, who will win and who will become the Prime Minister?" The other lady replied that it did not matter who became the Prime Minister and formed the Government. Then she said - "As far as I am concerned. I know that my husband will certainly become a Minister." "How?" asked the other woman. The first woman replied that her husband was contesting the election as an independent candidate and would certainly win. Whosoever forms the Government whether it is Shri Atal Bihar Vajpayee or Shri Sitaram Kesri her husband would definitely become a Minister and therefore, it did not bother her." The other lady said, "If this is so, then my husband will also become a Minister." The first lady said, "how, is he also contesting as an independent candidate?" The other lady replied in the negative and told that he was not an independent

candidate, but he had formed a new party and he was the only candidate from that Party."

[English]

I could imagine the agony which the respected Prime Minister, Shri Vajpayee, had undergone immediately after the elections. He must have gone through a great agony. After having secured about 179 seats in the House, Shri Vajpayee could do nothing. I am an admirer of Shri Vajpayee. I was happy when he came out and said that he was not taking claim to form the Government unless he had the required number. From where would the Members come? Members would come from the small parties. Somebody referred to the love letter which Shri Vajpayee was expecting,

[Translation]

"Letter is coming"

[English]

What an agony was it for a leader of the largest political party! A great amount of pressure, a great amount of influence had been made by small parties, maybe a 12-Member party. It is they who are deciding the future of India. I would like to know whether it is a healthy trend.

AN HON. MEMBER : So what?

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : It has not happened with him only. It can happen with us also. I am only trying to analyse the political trend that is emerging in this country and all the political parties will have to examine as to why this is happening. Why the people are not able to give a clear mandate? I think we are losing credibility.

An elderly man came to see me. He told me a very interesting thing. He said that during his days, politicians used to go to the party headquarters to seek tickets but today instead of individuals going to the party headquarters, the political parties are running after the individuals for making them accept their party tickets! He asked, where our country was going. He said that during his time people used to go to the party High Command and ask them to give ticket from a particular constituency. On being asked by the High Command as to why he wanted ticket from a particular constituency, he used to say that he knew the people of that particular constituency and hence had every chance of winning the election. He said, today a politician goes to the party headquarters and ask them not to give him ticket from a particular constituency because people there know him. He requests the party high command to give him a ticket from a constituency where people have not seen him and do not know him. I think we are losing our credibility.

We had the Special Session of Parliament here wherein we did discuss about all these things. We did resolve ourselves about criminalisation of politics, about nexus between politicians and criminals, about corruption, about probity in public life, and I do not want to go into all that. We are talking about stability today. But I am not satisfied with stability alone. We can have stable Governments, we have had stable Governments. In my State Meghalaya, we have a stable Government because in the sixty-Member House we have 28 Ministers, one Speaker and one Deputy-Speaker - 30 members in total. How will the Government fall? It is going to be a stable Government.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : There are 93 Ministers in Uttar Pradesh.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : My neighbouring State Arunachal Pradesh has a sixty-Member House and there are 35 Ministers, one Speaker and one Deputy-Speaker-37 members in total. It will have a stable Government. It is going to be a stable Government. Somnath Da has already referred to Uttar Pradesh. With 95 Ministers, it is going to be a stable Government there. But, is it enough for our country to have a stable Government if that Government does not govern? I think, the important thing today is not merely stability. It is good governance which is the issue today. I am not worried about the stability of Shri Vajpayee's Government. I am only worried about the governance of this Eighteen-Party Government. How are they going to govern? How are they going to govern with their pre-poll manifestos of respective allies, with their post-poll National Agenda for Governance and with their unstated post-poll packages based on understandings? Dr. Joshi has denied that there is a hidden agenda. I am coming to their hidden agenda because we know it. I really do not want to take much time of the House. I will quickly go into it.

Dr. Joshi has denied that there is a hidden agenda. But I have a suspicion—I may be excused for that—that they, perhaps, have a hidden agenda within their National Agenda. If it is not so, the Prime Minister can deny it. I am only talking about my personal suspicion. In para 29 of their National Agenda, which speaks about 'genuine secularism', they speak about 'just civil order'. I do not know what the meaning of this 'just civil order' is. To me, it sounds like a common civil code. In para 17 of their National Agenda, they speak about creation of a 'national reconstruction corps' under the chapter, 'Harnessing Yuva Shakti'. I really do not understand what the meaning of this 'national reconstruction corps' is. To me, it sounds like RSS, to be introduced in every school of India. That is the programme. Please excuse me, if I am wrong. I will be very happy, if I am wrong.

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : Yes, you are wrong.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : I am also not able to understand the reference in para 4 under the chapter 'Economy' to 'respect of cow and its progeny'.

What is that? What is the meaning of it? I only want to know whether there is a hidden agenda. Outside the House, whether you deny it or not, the country knows. What understanding they have with Kumari Mamata Banerjee or Kumari Jayalalitha, that need not be said. I am not going into that.

The National Agenda promises—I will not take much time — food for all, water for all, health for all, housing for all, education for all and employment for all. What is the timeframe? It is five years. In five years, they promise food for all, water for all, health for all, housing for all, education for all and employment for all. Everything is promised, for everybody it is promised. What a Utopian document it is! My question is, Mr. Prime Minister, how are you going to achieve these objectives? Where are the resources for that? If you do not have the resources, how is your Government going to mobilise those resources to achieve everything for everybody? No Government confident of running the Government for five years can promise such a thing. It is only a Government which is not confident of running the Government for five years, that Government alone can make such a promise.

Since I am not able to cover all the points, I want to come to a very important subject, that is, education. Sir, I have personally been advocating for many years that a solution to most of our problems lies in education, whether you talk of population control or anything.

Take poverty eradication alone. Therefore, I have been advocating on the floor of this House that as against 3.9 per cent of the GDP that has been earmarked for education, it should be made a minimum of ten per cent. That has been my personal remark.

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao took a decision, that from the Ninth Plan onwards at least six per cent of the GDP shall be earmarked for education. I was very happy with that.

Shri Vajpayee, I do not know. Your National Agenda promises to gradually reach the level of six per cent. What is the meaning of this gradually reaching six per cent mark? I had an impression that six per cent of the GDP has already been earmarked in the Ninth Five Year Plan. It has already been proposed in the Ninth Five Year Plan. That was my understanding. But, now, your Government says that you promise to gradually reach the level of six per cent. May I appeal, once again, that you may not talk about gradually achieving that. Earmark six per cent of the GDP in the Ninth Five Year Plan for education and that alone will solve most of our problems.

[Shri Purno A. Sangma]

The National Water Policy, of course, Dr. Joshi has denied that, but to me it appear that the National Water Policy is a cover for the AIADMK's claim for Cauvery and Periyar water.

18.00 hrs.

That is how I feel it. You may deny it. I wish you well in that. I wish you success in solving this problem. But having known the South Indian water, which is as mighty and as sacred as the Ganga, I am only afraid that the Cauvery and the Periyar water issues may wash away your Government, probably it is submerged!  
...(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM NAIK) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, now it is six o'clock. The time of the House will have to be extended. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The time of the House may be extended by one hour. I think, the House agrees.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : Sir, you extend the time of the House by two hours.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will not take much time of the House.

Mr. Prime Minister, I wish to point out a very important aspect of your National Agenda. In your National Agenda, you spoke about universal primary education. Article 45 of the Constitution of India envisaged free and compulsory elementary education, which means, up to the 8th standard. Your Agenda says free and compulsory primary education up to the 5th standard. I am sure that it is a mistake that you have committed; it is not deliberate. We cannot go back from the provision of article 45 of the Constitution. It has to be elementary education and not primary education. You may kindly look into this point.

Having been the Labour Minister for nine long years, having been associated with the working class of this country of nine years, I was really disappointed to see that you have just made a passing reference about the working class in your National Agenda. The only thing that you have said is that organised and unorganised labour would be equal partners in production. That is all you have said about labour. You have no programme for the working class. You have no measures for their protection. I would appeal to the Prime Minister to have a look at it. In fact, in my speech from the Chair during the Special Session I had advocate for a second National Commission for Labour. I once again urge upon you to establish the second National Commission for Labour.

Sir, I have many things to say but due to time constraint, I would touch one more important point. There are points such as your policy on economy, economic reforms, continuation of reforms, the hon. Finance Minister's statement that the foreigners need not be afraid about the investment. etc. but I do not want to go into all these things. Shri P. Chidambaram, the former Finance Minister has already dealt with them. So, I am skipping them; only to caution that the national economy is not a pure science, it is a political economy. Well, I do not think that I should go into that.

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to know specifically one thing from you. The hon. Member and the former hon. Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar has raised this point. In your National Agenda, as far as security of the country is concerned, you are very very categorical. It says :

"To ensure the security, territorial integrity and unity of India, we will take all necessary steps and exercise all available options. Towards that and we will re-evaluate the nuclear policy and exercise the option to induct nuclear weapons."

Now we come to the President's Address. Actually the language, expression and everything will be the same both in the the National Agenda and in the President's Address. I noticed a change only in that particular paragraph.

In that particular paragraph, it is said, "Security of the nation and its citizen is paramount. My Government will not compromise on this. The nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be protected at all costs". That is all.

You do not speak about weaponisation option in the President's Address. I do not know what happened from the day you announced your national agenda to the day the President addressed both the House of Parliament. Of course, I came to know from the newspapers that you had a telephone talk with President Bill Clinton. Is it the reason that the tone of the National Agenda has been diluted in the President's Address? We would like to know that. What transpired between both of you? I would personally like to know whether this matter was discussed by the Prime Minister with Mr. Bill Clinton.

Before I conclude, I just want to bring one notice for your personal intervention. Sir, I come from the North-East. I belong to a Scheduled Tribe community. The whole House has sympathy for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I do not want to go into that. Unfortunately I am very sorry for considering that whatever position we occupy, we occupy it out of charity. Yes, that is the impression and I do not like it. I did not like somebody making a reference to our hon. Speaker

that today the country has a *Dalit* Speaker. Did he get it because he is a *Dalit*? Did you give him out of charity? It is an insult. We, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes, only want that if we are qualified to hold any post, we should not be denied merely because we are the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. This is what we want. We do not want any charity at all. Let me make it very clear.

After having taken this position, yet I want to bring something else which may sound contrary to what I am saying. The Delhi Government has decided that all the vacancies reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the Delhi Administration should now be filled up by general category.

I will read. This is a letter written by the Chief Secretary of Delhi Administration to the Home Secretary. It says,

"The Government of Delhi proposes to delete the provision for reservation for Scheduled Tribes vacancies which were reserved for Scheduled Tribes and which could not be filled up for want of Scheduled Tribes candidates in Delhi will now be filled up by general candidates. In future, there will be no reservation for the Scheduled Tribes in any post in the Government of Delhi, in the local bodies and Undertakings under the Government of Delhi."

Kindly have a look at it. I know that legally it may be correct. I remember a Supreme Court's ruling and all. Legally it may be correct. But let it be a political decision.

We have a lot of tribal boys and girls coming to Delhi to study. There are thousands of them. You are talking about national integration. You are talking of people from the North-East to be brought to the national mainstream and yet if you deny such opportunities, I do not think it will be a correct policy. Kindly review this decision.

I only want to say this much though I had many things to say. Mr. Prime Minister, I do not know how long will you be able to continue. I am your admirer. You are a great orator, statesman, a poet but today I discover that you are something more than all those. This time I have found you to be a great political engineer and a great political mathematician.

I do not know whether it goes well with your reputation.

On the 28th May, 1996, when I was presiding over this august House, Mr. Prime Minister, I can tell you that you lost the confidence of the House, but you won the confidence of the people. Today you might win the confidence of the House, but, I am afraid, you have lost the confidence of the people of India.

I oppose this Motion.

MR. SPEAKER : The time is extended up to seven o'clock. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I will give an opportunity next time. Hon. Prime Minister is on his legs. Please take your seat. Please cooperate with the Chair. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN : Sir, please give us a chance to speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please go to your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.C. THOMAS : Sir, we need only two minutes each. We have to divulge the views of the parties whether we are opposing or lending support ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please take your seat. Please cooperate with the Chair.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SURENDER SINGH (Bhiwani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have called the Prime Minister to speak. Either the Prime Minister may speak or we may be allowed to speak.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please go to your seat.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : It is 15 minutes past six now. I urge you to extend the time of the House by one hour if you are allowing them to speak ... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRFOTDAR : Sir, if you are allowing these people, then we should also get an opportunity to speak... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : If you are allowing them, my submission is that the time of the House may please be extended by one hour and an opportunity to speak may please be given to the members of our allies Parties... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Kindly cooperate with the Chair. Please sit down.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI (Autonomous-District) (Assam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me the time...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Not like this. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, what is your submission, Mr. Minister?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing will go on record except what the Prime Minister says.

(Interruptions)\*

18.16 hrs.

*At this stage, Dr. Jayanta Rongpi, Shri Amar Roy Pradhan and Shri Anand Mohan came and stood on the floor near the Table.*

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : First go back to your seats. When the hon. Prime Minister is on his legs, you should go back to your seats.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Not like this. A number of Members have already spoken. I will give you chance on some other occasion.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I will give chance to you on Monday or Tuesday positively. Please go back to your seats.

18.18 hrs.

*At this state, Dr. Jayanta Rongpi and Shri Amar Roy Pradhan went back to their seats.*

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Anand Mohan, please go back to your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I will give chance to you on Monday or Tuesday.

(Interruptions)

\* Not Recorded.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : Sir, yesterday night, their names were called but they were not present here. You may see the proceedings...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : First you go back to your seat. Then I shall decide. Please go back to your seat.

MR. SPEAKER : You first go to your seat.

(Interruptions)

18.20 hrs.

*At this stage, Shri Anand Mohan went back to his seat.*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : Sir, we have no objection if you extend the time of the House by one hour...(Interruptions) We have no objection.

MR. SPEAKER : I request each Member to take only two minutes each.

Shri Amar Roy Pradhan to speak now.

Shri Amar Roy Pradhan to speak now.

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Coochbehar) : Thank you Sir.

Yesterday, Shrimati Sushma Swaraj told about *Hindutwa*. Today Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi also came out frankly on *Hindutwa*. Regarding the Hinduism you have pleaded your case with reference to the Supreme Court. You said that Justice Bharuchha and Justice Ahmadi of the Supreme Court gave their verdict that Hinduism was a tolerant faith. I hope that you are pleading this as you are very much a believer of *Hindutwa*. I think that most of the constituents of your 18-party combination are very much concerned about Hinduism and also the *Vedas*, *Vedantas* and *Upanishads*. There is a book with me titled *Essays on Hinduism* regarding *Manuvada* and Hinduism. I hope all of you agree with this. I quote :

"The *Mundaka Upanishad* (2.2.12) has the following verse :

Brahman verily is this immortal being.  
Infront is Brahman, behind is Brahman.  
to the right and to the left.

It spreads forth above and below.

Verily, Brahman is this effulgent universe.

Similarly, the following important passage in the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* shows clearly that, although the Hindus worshipped many manifestations of the divine, they realized

that behind them all there was the same all-pervasive Brahman :

Thou art the fire,  
Thou art the sun,  
Thou art the air,  
Thou art the moon,  
Thou art the starry firmament,  
Thou art Brahman Supreme:"

Sir, in this connection I would like to know with great anxiety whether you are the real admirers of this. If you are the real admirers then it is to ask them that according to Hindu philosophy the Brahmans came from the forehead of Lord Brahma and those with weapons, the Kshatriyas came from the chest and the Vaishyas came from the knee of Lord Brahma and the Sudras came from the foot of Lord Brahma.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, you are a good friend of mine. You have been here in this House for a long time. I want to ask you whether you would like to speak just like Dr. Murlī Manohar Joshi or Shrimati Sushma Swaraj have spoken or you would like to say that ultimately the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people will be under that level only because you are playing the card of Hinduism...(Interruptions)

Sir, we would like to know this from you. There is this book titled *Essays on Hinduism* by Dr. Karan Singh who was the President of the World Hindu Conference or *Vishva Hindu Parishad*...(Interruptions)

Dr. Karan Singh has written a book on Hinduism. I think, you may have this book in the library.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have opened a Pandora's Box by saying Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh will be made separate States and Delhi would be given full Statehood. Sir, what would happen then?

Yesterday one Member said here that there should be Statehood for Bodoland and they were ready to support it. Hon. Minister Shri Buta Singh is here. During his tenure, the Gorkha Hill Council was formed under the leadership of Subhash Ghising. He is now saying that he wants Statehood. What would happen to Vidarbha and Telangana? This type of demands will come from everywhere. So, please do not open the Pandora's Box in this way.

Therefore, I cannot support the Motion. Rather I oppose the Motion moved by the Prime Minister.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI (Autonomous District) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at last, you have given me a chance to speak. So, I am very obliged to you.

I rise here to register a very committed opposition to this Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers laid by the Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, on behalf of my party, the Autonomous State Demand

Committee. I oppose this not because of some sentimental or emotional reasons or because I have some ideological dogmatism. I oppose this in the interests of millions of unemployed youth of the country. I oppose this Government in the interests of the underprivileged, the tribals, the Dalits and the backwards of this country, in the interests of the common man of this country and, the most important, in the interests of democracy and national integration. I find myself dutybound to oppose this Motion.

I do not want to repeat all those things, about their hidden agenda, about the moral authority they have lost, about the compromise they have made with corruption and with so many other caprices. But as nobody, no leader has pointed out the policy about the North-Eastern States, I want to confine myself only to that.

MR. SPEAKER : Yesterday, all the five names were called but you were not present. Today, you are demanding to speak. Please conclude now.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : The Prime Minister yesterday said that in the South Block, the Ministers had changed but the policy had not changed. It is confined not only to South Block. It is also there in the North Block.

The policy has not changed so far as the North-East is concerned. The successive rulers of the North-East have deployed the Army to crush the democratic movement of the people of the North-East. The successive Governments at Delhi tried to divide and crush the democratic movement of the North-East and tried to bargain with the regional parties, who have vacillating stands, somehow or other to get their support and in the process violated the human rights of the people of the North-Eastern region. I have seen that this Government is also not different from the other Governments of this country.

I would have been very happy if at least a word about some introspection had been said. Five decades back when the Army was deployed in the North-East, there was only one insurgent outfit. Now, after five decades, there are 20 insurgent outfits in the North-East.

So, is it not the time to have an introspection? But there is no commitment from the Government that there would be an introspection. I do not want a magic to be performed from the North Block, but at least the Government should have stated that they would review its North East policy in the backdrop of five decades of extremist disturbances there.

MR. SPEAKER : Dr. Jayanta Rongpi, please conclude now. I am going to call the next speaker.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Sir, I would conclude by making one last point.

Sir, I cannot support this Motion because the B.J.P. has taken the help of feudal elements, especially in Bihar. The growth of the B.J.P. in Bihar is not a healthy growth. They have taken the help of feudal landlords and the army of the feudal landlords, that is, the *Ranvir Sena* and because of that they have got quite a number of seats in Bihar...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am calling Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi to speak now.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Sir, with these words, I oppose the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers.

*[Translation]*

SHRI S.S. OWAIISI (Hyderabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I strongly oppose the Confidence Motion. The main reason therefore is that the Prime Minister has stated that the Government has deferred certain issues for the time being. Whatsoever may be their policy. They want to get power through it. Their policy is to abrogate Article 370 and enforce Uniform Civil Code. This shows that their intentions are not clear. I am very sorry to say that the character of a Party or a community or a person determines the respect and position he enjoys in the society. Those who lose their character stand nowhere.

I am sorry to say that undignified tactics are being employed to muster majority. I would like to say that their attitude has changed even before they have mustered the majority. I feel sorry to think about its consequences...*(Interruptions)* I will conclude within two minutes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we belong to the same state. You got an opportunity to adorn that highest office but I am still a member here and hope that I will remain in the same position. Day before yesterday, I talked to Mr. Chandrababu Naidu on telephone. He stated that his party would not support Bhartiya Janata Party. But I had information...*(Interruptions)* It is a matter of regret that Telugu Desam Party has won 12 seats due to us otherwise they could not have won even four seats. If they have the courage they must stand up and refute my claim. I can name the persons who came to my house to get my support. Muslims in Telugu Desam Party wrote a letter to Shri Vajpayee...*(Interruptions)* It is an attempt to wash their countless sins...

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

*[Translation]*

SHRI ANAND MOHAN (Sheohar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion of Confidence. A few days back the present Government and its allies had floated a national agenda which, I feel, is just a hotch of heterogeneous stuff. I come from Mithalanchal and there goes a saying in my area: "Ki parsai chhi gap, liyeh lap ke lap." This Government is making tall claims. Just for remaining in power. Before Atalji Gujral Government was ruling the country and at that time the people of BJP used to say that Draupadi had five husbands but Gujralji had 13 husbands. Now I would like to know from hon. Atal Bihari Vajpayee as to how many husbands he has. I think he has 18 husbands and this number comes to 22 if we add the independent members as well. Earlier they used to say that the country was under a dynastic rule and now his Government is also facing the same situation. God alone knows what is going to happen? I would like to say that Atalji's image of a dignified, graceful and respectable person has been tarnished since his Government came to power with the help of so many parties. This coalition is not outcome of Atalji's lust for power but his surrender before it.

In national agenda a call has been given to launch a crusade against fear, hunger and corruption prevailing in the society. I have apprehensions in my mind as to how they are going to free the lower classes from fear. No concrete measure or strategy has been suggested for removal of hunger. Atalji, who every now and then used to raise the issue of prevalent corruption and harp on ceaselessly on the fodder scam involving Lalu Prasad has now stated that he will sever ties with Jayalalitha if corruption charges against her are proved in the court. Atalji should tell the House about his ties with Jayalalitha...*(Interruptions)* In matters of corruption double standard should not be observed. From whose house ten thousand pair of sandals and twenty thousand sarees were recovered...*(Interruptions)* Members of J.M.M. were called thief, bribee in this House. On the other hand wife of a former M.P.—I would not mention his name here — have been given ticket to contest elections despite the fact that in her husbands two bank accounts deposits of Rs. 50 lakhs and Rs. 15 lakhs were found during a raid...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

\* Not Recorded.

MR. SPEAKER : Please wind up.

[Translation]

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Atalji has stated that amendments would be made in the constitution...(Interruptions) Atalji should tell here pointedly as to what amendments would be made in the constitution. I would like to know as to whether this country will run on the ideology of Ambedkar or according to the dictums of Manusmriti...(Interruptions)\*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record. Only Prof. Saifuddin Soz's speech will go on record.

(Interruptions)\*

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramula) : I would request the hon. Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition to kindly help the hon. Speaker effectively so that we do not waste the time of the House...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Anand Mohan, please sit down.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I am making an earnest appeal to the...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Anand Mohan, please sit down. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record. Only Prof. Saifuddin Soz's speech will go on record.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I want to make an earnest appeal to the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Leader of the Opposition that they must effectively help the hon. Speaker so that the precious time of this House is not wasted. Now, half of the time spent in this debate has already gone waste. Even if I had ideas, how could I express them? So, I would not take the time of the House. But before I talk on the Motion, I reject Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed's point that all the money in Jammu and Kashmir is getting wasted. It is obstructionist politics and I reject it...(Interruptions) Coming to this Motion, Sir...

[Translation]

I should speak in Urdu. It is quite possible that someone in Kashmir may be listening my speech. Urdu

is the official language of that state. My party neither favours this motion of confidence, nor opposes it. But I would like to make some suggestions to Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee very sincerely. I am not saying this with a political motivation but I hold him in high esteem and I admire him...(Interruptions) I will not take much time. I wanted to tell you that...(Interruptions) Please listen to me first. It is possible that we may not have any serious ideological differences on this issue.

Today I would like to submit that you can not abrogate Article 370. It is provided in the Constitution but I can not divulge. I don't want to say anything about Babri Masjid issue. I don't want to say anything about what Nitishji had said in his speech and about the debate held in 1952. But I would like to ask only a few things from Shri Atalji because I feel that those very issues which are agitating my mind should also be agitating the mind of Bharatiya Janata Party, otherwise no decision can be taken. For example, you cannot run the country ignoring the Muslims as they constitute 25% of the total vote bank. Ofcourse, you might be enjoying certain powers but so long as you do not make use of them these can not make any difference. I want to tell Atalji that the most important thing is that he should not take any inspiration from R.S.S. I said that when Shri Murl Manohar Joshi went to Kashmir for unfurling the National flag on the independence day, at that time Shri Atal Bihari ji was not the Prime Minister of this country. Atal Bihari ji was not at all associated with that decision. Today I do not want to embarrass him because I have got evidence. When Shri Murl Manohar Joshi went to Kashmir you were not with him at that very moment. I request you to find out answer to these questions with in your own party. I would like to ask whether you can run this country without Muslims? I think that you can not run this country unless you leave the ideology of R.S.S. Ofcourse you can run this country for sometime but you cannot run this contry for a long time with this ideology. Unless Atalji keeps himself away from R.S.S., he can not run this country. I am not saying this on behalf of the Muslims. You cannot bring so called cultural nationalism unless you keep yourself away from R.S.S. Normally I am not in the habit of collecting figures about the number of Hindus and Muslims but since the question has arisen here, I would like to say on behalf of all the three regions of Jammu and Kashmir that unless you sever relations with R.S.S., you as a Prime Minister, cannot run this country. I am not defending this Government. I am obtaining myself...(Interruptions)]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Let me complete. In your manifesto you have mentioned about cultural nationalism and making amendment in Article 30. I would like to ask you whether you can change

[Prof. Saifuddin Soz]

Article 30? You have said that you want to merge Minority Commission with human rights commission. But with whose permission? Minority commission was created after a lot of efforts by the Muslim community. You can not wind up this body like this...*(Interruptions)* R.S.S. has to change this Ideology. You want to bring uniform civil code, it is not at all possible. It is possible only after consulting with us. You want to merge the minority commission with the Human Rights Commission, how can it be possible? It is an example of dual politics ...*(Interruptions)* Atal ji has to change this ideology. He should keep himself away from the Hindutava lobby. I want to speak on many issues but there is paucity of time.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Atalji is a poet. Therefore, I would like to recite a couplet :

"Ek-do Jakhm nahin, sara badan hai chalni,  
Dard bechara tadapta hai kahan se uthe"

Now, I want to say a few words about Kashmir. You have mentioned about Kashmiri Pandits in the manifesto. You have very rightly said that Kashmiri Pandits have become refugees in their own country. You have also mentioned that Hindus have been massacred, you have mentioned about Pandung. It is, of course, correct but you have said nothing about Maulvi Masudi who faced bullets and died for the dignity of this House. Maulvi Farooq was also killed. A total of 6500 persons were killed including the workers of National Congress, being the soft targets. Out of the persons killed, 97 per cent of these were Muslims. Whether the BJP will discriminate even amongst the dead bodies being that of Muslims and Hindus. You have only expressed sympathy in your Manifesto that Hindus are being killed. I agree. Kashmiri Pandits are limbs of my body. I appreciate that you have expressed sympathy for them, but why didn't you say anything about 29000 families who had to leave Kashmir...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Prof. Saifuddin Soz, please conclude.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go on record. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)\**

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramula) : Out of these 6500 persons who were the soft targets and were killed, 97 percent were muslims. How long will you divide Hindus and Muslims. Whether Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee

will accept this politics? He has to come out of it and this evil...*(Interruptions)* you are talking about Hindus and Muslims even in terror...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This is not good. I have given you enough time. Please take your seat. This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the hon. Prime Minister to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I will say one more thing in the end...*(Interruptions)* I am addressing not only to BJP, but to the whole House. That is you have to do justice to Kashmir. You think and say that you will abrogate Article 370 I will show you the mirror, Article 370 can't be abrogated either by President of the country or Parliament or jointly by this House and Rajya Sabha. It can be abrogated only when the people of Jammu and Kashmir would ask for it. But Article 370 would not do justice to Jammu and Kashmir. It was National Conference who put out the fire in Jammu and Kashmir you have to restore the autonomy of Kashmir otherwise there will be discontentment and it will give a new turn to the militancy. I don't know what will happen, today evening but if Shri Atal Bihariji becomes the Prime Minister and is ready to shoulder this responsibility then I can assure you that this Government and Government of Jammu and Kashmir would be cordial to each other and peace will prevail there. As you have been elected, I would not be unhappy. But will you yourself restore the autonomy of the state. But if, you have any hesitation then I tell you that you are going to entrap yourself into very difficult situation because there is no time and because there is poverty, I will read you a couplet then conclude. The couplet is...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the hon. Prime Minister is to speak...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Now in the end I would like to read out a couplet :

"Faseele Aatisho ahang buland Sahi,  
Badalte Vakt ki raftaar kaun rokega"

I thank you for allowing me to speak.

[English]

SHRI P.C. THOMAS : Sir, please give me only two minutes...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No. It is not good. The hon. Prime Minister is on his legs. Please take your seat. You can seek a clarification.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.C. THOMAS : Sir, I want only two minutes.

MR. SPEAKER : What is this? The hon. Prime Minister is on his legs.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS : Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak. I would not have asked for a chance but for the fact that this is a very important debate and I should make my party's view clear.

I have only two points to make. Literally, I will limit my speech only to two points. One, I oppose this Motion of Confidence on two aspects. Of course, there are many aspects. But I am limiting my speech only to two points for the sake of this debate. One, the major party leading the coalition cannot claim to be secular. What happened on December 6, 1992 has not been forgotten. The black spot which has blotted there on the fate of the BJP has not been taken away. So I just want to ask one question to the BJP and its allies. Can the BJP leave alone those who have voted for the mandate which was got on the basis of saying that *Mandir* would be constructed at the place where the mosque stood? Can the allies say that the BJP should go away from the mandate which has been given to them? Twenty-six per cent voters have voted in favour of the BJP mainly on the point that temple will be constructed at the same place where the mosque stood.

My second point is that the BJP Government has been good enough to give packages to many States. But what about Kerala? We also need a package. We are not ready to come and sit with you. We also need a package...(Interruptions) The farmers of Kerala, specially the rubber farmers of Kerala are in doldrums. The whole economy of the State has been ruined. I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that some action should be taken on this. I am sorry to say that I am constrained to oppose this Motion.

[Translation]

SHRI SURENDER SINGH (Bhiwani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to speak as Mr. Prime Minister has been called. I want to make a submission. When you requested hon'ble Prime Minister to speak. Since then atleast 6-7 members have spoken in this House, and it was as if some uninvited guests join a marriage procession. All of them rushed to speak. Nobody tried to listen to another member and if someone was on his legs you gave buzzer within 15 seconds.

I would like to say one more thing. When you were elected I raised my full voice to support you...(Interruptions) I felt very bad when Mayavatiji and Akbar Saheb raised voice and all the more when Mukul Vasnik shouted against you...(Interruptions)

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Bahraich) : BJP is opposed and the speaker is welcomed...(Interruptions)

KUMARI MAYAWATI (Akbarpur) : We never opposed this speaker...(Interruptions)

SHRI SURENDER SINGH : I would like to make just one submission. You are elected to the House for the second time and by the grace of God I have also come to this House for the second time. Last time Mr. Sangma was the Speaker. Who treated all the weaker sections equally and whether only one member represented the party and two members he gave the opportunity to all and believe it when we used to shout and he became angry then we could never realised that he is speaking while standing or while sitting. I request you that whenever discussion on President's Address will take place please try to accommodate us by all means. As today you have called the Prime Minister, I don't want to continue...(Interruptions)

19.00 hrs.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion on the motion moved by me is about to conclude. As I have made it clear at the outset, as per directions of the president, I have to prove my majority in the House.

I would like to thank all those members who have participated in the discussion on the motion. Those who have not participated in the discussion and were quietly listening to the discussion, also deserve to be thanked.

Before replying to some of the issues raised in the discussion. I would definitely like to state that we have to conduct the House in a little more seriously. At times excitement is possible and rational-irrational replies are part of the Parliament. There is ample scope for opposition and excitement. But those who see the proceedings of the House should not have the impression that their elected representatives don't behave in a decent and dignified manner. The whole world is watching this House and for this, cooperation of all is necessary. I don't know what is the correlation between conducting the proceedings of the House, conduct of members in this House and result of the elections. But this is certain that in this House of 543 members those members who were also the members of 11th member Lok Sabha are 251 and 288 are new members. Possibly after observing our behaviour or statements, the faith of the voters shatter to such an extent that they don't think us fit to sent to this House again.

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, many issues have been raised in the discussion. The leader of the opposition and other hon'ble Members have levelled the charges that the ruling party has some hidden agenda. I don't know, what they want to say. Our agenda is open and clear. It is the national agenda and we are committed to it. We are not concerned with any other agenda.

Till this Government is in power. I would be the Prime Minister, I assure you that the Government will function according to this national agenda only. All the parties and the alliance parties of the ruling party contested election on their own manifestoes, this is not new, it is not an unusual thing. But this is also true that all contested election together jumped together into the electoral fray and sought their support, when our number rose to a particular level then we felt that we are in a position to form the Government, then we prepared a common programme. Didn't it happen during the time of United Front. At that time we didn't speak about any hidden agenda. In 1977 some hon'ble member mentioned about it. When many political parties came together just because they all wanted to get the democracy freed of emergency regime. All the major political parties dropped important parts of their programme. I don't want to go in detail as to which party dropped which programme. Since long we have been talking that India should make atom bombs for its defence. But when Janata Party was constituted and a coalition Government was formed in the country we came across the differences on the issue of making atom bomb, and we dropped that programme. Other parties also dropped some parts of their programmes. The Government didn't work, this is not because of some issues or its programmes. That Government didn't work due to certain other reasons. This time also the national agenda has been prepared. If this is criticised, comments on its various aspects are made, we wouldn't have any objection rather, we will welcome it. In fact this agenda is prepared with consent of all the parties. BJP even being the largest party has not imposed its opinion or programme on any political party. We don't take decision alone, we take decisions unanimously. Decisions are taken on approval of all. Nobody should have a doubt. I am surprised that my hon'ble friends sitting on the other side are raising the issues that have been forsaken by various parties. When we used to talk about Article 370 we were objected to but today when we are not touching those issues, we are jabbed at for that about it. Head I win tail you lose is your policy. Ours policy is not a dual policy. Criticising and targetting in all circumstances is a dual policy.

[Translation]

Now I don't find Shri Jogi's here...(Interruptions) He was reminiscing holy water of river Ganges, the

importance of sacred places as if he is jogi in true sense and not by name only...(Interruptions) Lack of faith should not be made a ground as it will not serve any purpose...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : The Secretary, Ministry of Human Resource Development has issued a circular referring to the BJP agenda...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : That officer also suffers from the same misconception to which you are...(Interruptions). This matter has been clarified...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED : You are the Prime Minister of the country. What action are you going to take?... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Ahmed, please sit down.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : We have seen that circular. This is unnecessary objectionable and I have asked for the explanation and it is one of our point in our National Agenda. But the name of B.J.P. should not have figured in that circular. It is wrong if it's there but it has been deleted immediately and corrected then and there.

It has also been alleged that our Government is being run by the remote control...(Interruptions). I am not new to this House...(Interruptions)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR : We did not say so, it is said by Baba Bal Thakre...(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I took the decision on my own. Wherever I found it necessary, irrespective of antagonising our friends. Can anybody handle me through remote? The fact is that neither anybody is trying to run our Government nor I can be handled through remote control. But why do they use this remote control in our context only whereas it is being used from a number of places...(Interruptions). But their remote control is perfectly alright whereas ours is bad. Again the same old saying that 'heads I win, tails you lose.'

This House is supreme. We are the representatives of the people. It is true that we keep contact and take advice from the people who have elected us but whatever decision are taken, those are ours. Decisions never imposed nor do we welcome the imposition of any decision. Nobody should have any doubt in this regard. It has further been said that we have adopted

dual policy. Not only that it has been also said that there are two centres of powers. Have you seen two centres nearby. When Shri Advaniji was the national president of our party, Shri Joshi has mentioned this, he had announced my name for Prime Ministership even before party could discuss and decide the candidate for the post of Prime Minister. This incident happened in Mumbai...*(Interruptions)* Later the Party ratified it. Now you will say...

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Through remote control...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I do not have to say anything if you want to make fun of it. But you know it very well that it will be contrary to my personality and nature if anybody tries to take undue advantage of my image. Nothing as such is being endeavoured. But it's not that much easy to create differences between me and Shri Advaniji. No one will get success in it. Please remove all such things from your mind.

Our alliance is comprised of smaller parties. Shri Sangma ji is not present in the House. He has lightly said, each person has...

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS : He is in the House.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Excuse me. Shri Sangmaji has rightly said so many things. I had a good rapport with him. I do not agree with his contention that smaller parties are hindering smooth sailing of democracy. We had to witness this political scenario. But this is not a permanent feature of politics. But I did not find a way out of it. This is a place of transition where alliance and disintegration walk hand in hand. I believe with certainty that after some time the politics will regain its lost balance. But if we people, who are attached with a big party and who have played a long innings of politics in this country and have greater responsibility could being small parties on the mainstream through new equations instead of exploiting them, the political scenario of the country may change. As I said earlier that a feeling that no body is there to look after them, has erupted in many parts of the country because of one party's rule for a longer period. This is a multi-religions, multilingual and multi racial country. Small units also want to have their identity and age. Searching a place for themselves. Recently the Prime Minister of Mauritius visited our country. He visited Azamgarh also in search of his ancestors village. Tears rolled down from his eyes when he reached Azamgarh in searching birthplace of his ancestors. The ancestors of the President of Mauritius had settled in Mauritius long-long ago. But it was his desire to see the land and environment where his ancestors born and used to live. We must appreciate this feeling...*(Interruptions)* We sincerely wish that the exchange of visit should increase. I had simplified the process of issuing passport when

I got opportunity in 1977 as a Minister of External Affairs and made the foreign travel simple. Recently we visited the Gulf Countries with a delegation. Approximately 30 lakhs of Indians are working in the Gulf Countries which constitute mostly of the Muslim Countries. They are earning money and sending a few bucks to their home apart from contributing to the development of respective countries where they are working. I want that our relation should further improve. Our people to people relation should also improve further. Shri Gujral was endeavouring in this respect. Though we could not get the desired reply, we will keep our efforts on.

Sir, I once told a leader of Pakistan that one can contradict historical facts but geographical boundries will remain the same position now. We will always live as neighbours. The only thing we can do is to live in unison or as a adversary. Why should we live as adversary when we have option of living in unison. I do not want to go in details here. While referring the speech of Shri George Fernandes a Members asked as to whether our policy in regard to China and Tibet has changed. National interest do not change with the change of Government. There are some policies which the successive Government inherits. As a Foreign Minister I tried to take some steps to improve our relation with the China. At that time I was subjected to criticism and our neighbour also committed a mistake by antagonising vietnam due which I had to cut short my visit and returned back. But as per the agreement accorded at that time we are holding talks on our border issues and maintaining tranquility on our borders as well. Today also we are holding talks in regard to our borders with China. Talks are being held in a conducive atmosphere and efforts are on to make our relation cordial in other areas also. We had suggested Pakistan also. I told Pakistan, not in the capacity of Prime Minister, but as a leader of opposition, that you keep aside the issue of Kashmir for some days and open your gate in the fields of commerce and economic co-operation and other areas. We produce certain items which Pakistan needs and a few items are produced in Pakistan which we need. We can fulfil each others requirements be it electricity and foodgrains. We have not been able to create that atmosphere but I am confident it will happen when situation will be conducive. I have told this earlier also and like to repeat today also. International Relations do not change with the change of the Government. Shri Gujral always used to keep contact with the opposition as a Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. The unity of the entire country on the matter of C.T.B.T. reflects the fact that we can pave one way successfully through contact and mutual discussions. It leaves its impact on the world community as well. This matter is not related to party therefore I sought co-operation when I sought consensus it is not because of any weakness or compulsion that we lack majority and

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

concerned about the survival of our Government. We do not bother about the survival of the Government. We were not in power for the last forty years. We always emphasised on consensus even when we were in opposition. Today when we are in power we what to put our thinking of consensus in practice.

Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, can a big and ancient country like this comprising of huge population and diversity prosper in the absence of consensus? Perhaps it cannot. We differ on issues and go to the people. Elections are over and what are we supposed to do now? The debate is going on the issue of mandate. Day before yesterday, I had said that if anybody can claim that to have the mandate then we are in the forefront and only we can make such a claim. I did not say that we have the mandate and we do not require your help. Had we got clear majority or even two-third majority, I would have still held the opinion that the country should be governed on the basis of consensus. Those who were in power earlier had also run the Government with consensus. But, this process was hampered. I do not want to go into details when it was hampered but certainly it did. This process should carry on further and efforts should be made to solve the problems of the country in an atmosphere of Cooperation. I would like to assure you that I will make constant efforts in this direction.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, some members have commented upon the issue of the Agenda. My friend, Shri Chidambaram said that Agenda is there but it contains no programme. I fail to understand the minute difference between the two. I would like to submit that the agenda includes programme also. It includes our priorities and the laws that would enacted. He cited an example about river water. He quoted it and I also quote it.

[English]

"We will adopt a national water policy which provides for effective and prompt settlement of disputes and their time-bound implementation."

[Translation]

The Hon. Member had said that it is a very general statement that there will be a national water policy. But what are we going to do has not been mentioned in the agenda. We have said that there should be a mechanism for prompt settlement of disputes. Perhaps he wanted us to air our views about the on going Cauvery river water dispute immediately after assuming power in the centre. What would have been its result? Why did the previous Governments not opened their cards for years together. I am sure the previous Governments must be facing some difficulty. Such issues are policy matters,

we will have to sit together to formulate a policy in this regard. Because Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu are the affected states, there is a need to evolve a solution. The award has been formulated but it has not been implemented. I cannot immediately after assuming the office announce that my Government will implement the award. Even water can catch fire. The issue of water is going to be more complicated. Water problem is not limited to India only. It has become a universal problem. It is quite possible that instead of petrol, scarcity of water may be the next tension for world. Water pollution is increasing. Quantity of water is declining. The ground water table is going down. We experience all these things in our Constituencies. We feel agrieved when we see people suffering. Sangma ji, we have not committed that we will do every thing in five years. But for water, our Government is committed to provide potable water in each and every part of the country within five years. As regards other matters, we have indicated the direction which we will follow.

A suggestion has been given in our National Agenda that a Commission should be set up to review the Constitution. Our friends sitting in the opposition have strongly criticised it. We are not the first to come out with such a suggestion. Deep thinking has been going on in this regard for years. Intellectuals are deliberating and have been expressing their views. These intellectuals are not associated with any political party nor motivated by any politically party. Dr. Karan Singh, Dr. L.M. Singhvi, Shri Soli Sorabji, Prof. Rashiuddin Khan, Shri B.K. Nehru, Shri S.L. Shakhdar, Prof. Madhu Dandevate, Justice V.P. Krishna Ayyar, Justice Khanna and General K.V. Krishna Rao have endorsed the idea. 50 years have elapsed since our Constitution came into being. There is need to review it. There is no question of drafting the new Constitution. But at the same time should we satisfied that amendments in the Constitution take place as usual. Yesterday it was mentioned that there is a difference between review and amendment. Amendment is to be enforced whereas it is open for us to implement or not to implement the report submitted after review of the Constitution. However, there are certain issues which need reconsideration.

We have adopted a particular system of elections. Is that system working properly? Suggestions are pouring and the Members of Parliament may also be in favour of it that an elected body Lok Sabha must complete its tenure of five years irrespective of the Governments coming into or going out of power. Such a practice is there in many countries...*(interruptions)* Advaniji is saying and perhaps Sangmaji have said that present election system is quite strange. At times vote bank increases and seats decreases and at times seats increases and vote bank decreases and thus things are going on. It has also been suggested that the candidate

securing less than 50% votes should not be considered as elected.

If he has secured 15 percent votes in the real sense he can't claim himself to be a representative of the people. You may say that even you have got less votes, if a change is brought in the system that will be equally applicable to us also.

There are countries, who are of the opinion that if the required number is not secured in the first ballot then one should go in for the second ballot. The institution should be more representative in nature and it should be elected institution but this process involves a lot of expenditure. There are certain other points also, but I don't want to dwell upon them. If a committee of experts and impartial people is constituted, which may include Former President Shri Venkataraman, Nana Palkiwala and Dr. Farooq Abdullah. I am not mentioning the names of all, because they are of the opinion, that there should be a commission, to look into the amendments that are required to be made in the Constitution. There is no need to draw such inferences at this juncture that we are going to discard the Constitution and going to write it afresh.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Sangma had raised a point regarding education. He said that six percent of GDP should be spent on education, whereas a decision in this regard was taken long ago. It has been asked why word 'gradually' is being added to it. No doubt this decision was taken long ago but it was not implemented. Today, whatever is spent on education is not more than 3 percent, we would like to raise it. Increasing it from three to six percent would pose difficulty that is why we have added word 'gradually', but it does not mean that we want to hang it in fire, we have to achieve the target of six percent at the earliest. The hon. Member has raised the issue of tribals also, this is related to Delhi. When Congress was in power in Delhi, at that time also no list of Scheduled Tribes was prepared. There may be persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes residing in Delhi but list of Scheduled Tribes has yet to be prepared, that list has not been prepared so far, but efforts should be made in this direction, and the Scheduled Tribes or tribal people living in Delhi should not be deprived of the job opportunities and I assure you that I will talk to Delhi Government in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, all our Governments have paid special attention to north-east. The condition of north-east has improved to some extent. But a lot more is still required.

19.38 hrs.

(SHRI P.M. SAYEED in the Chair)

Packages are announced but are not implemented. Committees are constituted for example Luxmi Chand

Jain Committee was constituted and then Shukla Committee was also constituted, but none of their recommendations were ever implemented. Earlier the Governor used to be the Chairman of North-east council but in the present set up Vice-Chairman of Planning Commission would be its Chairman. I am entrusting him this particular-responsibility that he should ensure that all the announcements made for providing assistance to north-east are honoured at the earliest. If they are facing resources crunch let them bring it into the notice of Central Government. We will try to mobilise resources for them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we take a lot of interest in the factual discussion as to whether we should get the foreign assistance or not and if so under what conditions but the point is that when we get foreign assistance or loan at a low rate of interest, we fail to make its full use. The biggest problem being faced by this country is at the implementation stage. There is no dearth of good ideas. We have a number of attractive schemes only on paper. There are such experienced officers engaged in the Government machinery, who seem to be knowledgeable person in that field, and to some extent, they are but their ideas are not practicable. Why this country is not transforming the lot of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and minorities? Paucity of the funds may be one of the reasons. I have come across many such cases, though during the past three four days, I have not got much time to see more. I have realised that funds worth crores of rupees were released by the centre for poverty alleviation programme.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Thousands of crores.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Joshi is saying thousands of crores of rupees. He had been the Chairman of Public Accounts Committee. But what has been the outcome? Such is the situation we have to change this situation, we will have to lay more emphasis on the implementation part. Now the concerned individual will be made responsible for the project. There will be proper monitoring and whosoever will fail to accomplish his task will be brought to the right track. Nobody will be allowed to misuse the resources of this country. Being a member of parliament we get an amount of Rs. one crore...(interruptions) It is not a big amount. I feel that if this amount is spent properly-there should be someone to oversee the spending. These funds should not be pocketed by the contractors of officials, then with the help of non-Governmental organizations, one can take up projects in one's Constituency. I am unable to understand as to why the basic problems of the country could not be solved with thousands of crores of rupees when I, myself get so much work done in Lucknow with one crore rupees. A small instance was brought to my notice. In 1994-95. a national pilot project was launched to control T.B. Work on this project started

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

in 1997. This project was aimed at T.B. eradication and World Bank had proposed to provide a loan of Rs. 750 crore for it. This project was delayed and due to red-tapism this project could not be implemented and now T.B. cases are increasing in the country. World Bank proposed to provide Rs. 750 crore for this project but we could not implement it, how such a situation could be tolerated by the Government or society. The information regarding allocation of funds to Zila Parishad should not be confined to officials or elected representatives only but the whole village or all the concerned persons should know about it. All should be alert and keep a vigil as to how funds are spent. Now-a-days, a culture of loot has developed in our society which should be changed. Not only at high levels but honestly should be inculcated at every stage of administration and the society. The relief projects formulated for the public welfare like housing scheme, employment schemes are good. Millions of small houses can be constructed, funds can be sought for such projects. Land mafias are grabbing Government land illegally in big cities. They are selling this land to the people for constructing flats and are earning huge premium. The Government officials are also involved in it and poor people are compelled to live in jhuggi jhonpris. This system should be changed. We will make amendments in the existing laws and new laws can also be enacted if required. The Government land is public land and land-maifa will not be allowed to encroach upon it simply to earn profits.

How this could be stopped? It is a very difficult problem. But I would like to assure you that all these problems can be solved through cooperation.

I seek your support to fulfill the promises made by me. While concluding I appeal you to vote in support of the Confidence Motion moved by me.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I have to inform the hon. Members that as the Division Numbers have not so far been allotted to hon. Members, it is not possible to hold the Division by the Automatic Vote Recording Machine. Division will now take place under Rule 367AA by distribution of slips.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Mr. Speaker, Sir, no Member has demanded division. I therefore, request you to decide it by a voice vote.

MR. SPEAKER : First, I have to make an announcement in this regard and then we will act upon the advise of hon. Members.

(Interruptions)

[English]

Hon. Members will be supplied, at their seats, with 'Aye'/'No' printed slips for recording their votes. 'Aye' slips are printed on one side in green, both in English and Hindi and 'No' in red on its reverse. On the slips, hon. Members may kindly record votes of their choice by signing and writing legibly their names, Identity Card numbers (given in either the Temporary or Permanent Identity Cards supplied to hon. Members), constituency and State/Union Territory and date at the place specified on the slip. Hon. Members who desire to record 'Abstention' may ask for the 'Abstention' (Yellow colour) slip. Immediately after recording his vote, each hon. Member should pass on his slip to the Division Clerk who will come to his seat to collect the same for handing over to the officers at the Table. Hon. Members are requested to fill in only one slip for Division.

Hon. Members are also requested not to leave their seats till the slips are collected by the Division Clerks.

Now, I shall put the Motion of Confidence to the vote of the House.

The question is :

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

Those in favour may say 'Aye'.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : 'Aye'.

MR. SPEAKER : Those against may say 'No'.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : 'No'.

MR. SPEAKER : I think the 'Ayes' have it.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : We want a Division.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are some hon. Members who have not received Identity Cards yet. That is why, they will not be...(interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There is another announcement.

Some hon. Members who have taken oath but may not have collected their Identity Cards can vote without the entry of Identity Card number. They could make other entries in the voting slips, since voting would be valid.

19.54 hrs.

Let the lobbies be cleared —

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the Lobbies have been cleared.

The question is :

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

The Lok Sabha divided :

## Division No. 1

19.55 hrs.

## Ayes

1. Acharya, Shri Prasanna
2. Adityanath, Shri
3. Advani, Shri L.K.
4. Agarwal, Shri Dharendra
5. Agnihotri, Shri Rajendra
6. Ajmeera, Shri Chandulal
7. Aliwal, Shri Amrik Singh
8. Ananth Kumar, Shri
9. Apang, Shri Omak
10. Argal, Shri Ashok
11. Ayanur, Shri Manjunath
12. Bachda, Shri Bachi Singh Rawat
13. Badal, Shri Sukhbir Singh
14. Baimda, Shri Ramchandra
15. Bais, Shri Ramesh
16. Baitha, Shri Mahendra
17. Bandyopadhyay, Shri Sudip
18. Banerjee, Kumari Mamata
19. Barnala, Sardar Surjit Singh
20. Barwala, Shri Surendra Singh
21. Behera, Shri Padma Nava
22. Bhargava, Shri Girdhari Lal
23. Bisen, Shri Gauri Shanker Chaturbhuj
24. Bose, Shrimati Krishna
25. Bwiswmuthiary, Shri Sansuma Khunggur
26. Chandel, Shri Suresh
27. Chandumajra, Prof. Prem Singh
28. Chaplot, Shri Shanti Lal
29. Chaubey, Shri Lal Muni
30. Chaudhari, Shri Manibhai Ramji Bhai
31. Chaudhary, Shri Haribhai
32. Chaudhry, Sqn. Ldr. Kamal
33. Chauhan, Shri Chetan
34. Chauhan, Shri Jaysinghji
35. Chauhan, Shri Nand Kumar Singh
36. Chauhan, Shri Sriram
37. Chellamella, Dr. Suguna Kumari
38. Chikhaliya, Shrimati Bhavanaben Devrajbhai
39. Chinnasamy, Shri V.K.
40. Choudhary, Shri Krishna Kumar
41. Choudhary, Shri Ram Tahal
42. Choudhry, Shri Pankaj
43. Choudhury, Shri Shakuni
44. Chouhan, Shri Shivraj Singh
45. D' Souza, Dr. Beatrice
46. Dahal, Shri Bhim
47. Dalit, Ezhilmalai, Shri
48. Datt, Vaidya Vishnu
49. Dattatreya, Shri Bandaru
50. Dave, Shrimati Bhavnaben Kardam
51. Delkar, Shri Mohan S.
52. Deo Keshari, Shri Bikram
53. Deshmukh, Shri Chandu Bhai
54. Devi, Shrimati Kailasho
55. Dhaliwal, Shrimati Satwinder Kaur
56. Dhamotharan, Shri M.C.
57. Diler, Shri Kishan Lal
58. Drona, Shri Jagat Vir Singh
59. Durai, Shri M.
60. Dwivedi, Shri Ramesh Chandra
61. Fernandes, Shri George
62. Foley, General Neville
63. Gadhavi, Shri P.S.
64. Gandhi, Shrimati Maneka
65. Ganeshamurthi, Shri A.
66. Gangwar, Shri Santosh Kumar
67. Gautam, Shrimati Sheela
68. Geete, Shri Anant Gangaram
69. Gehlot, Shri Thawar Chand
70. Ghafoor, Shri Abdul
71. Goel, Shri Vijay
72. Gopal, Shri C.
73. Hegde, Shri Anant Kumar

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| 74. Indora, Dr. Sushil                          | 112. Maurya, Shri Anand Ratna          |
| 75. Jag Mohan, Shri                             | 113. Mensinkai, Shri B.M.              |
| 76. Jain, Shri Satya Pal                        | 114. Mishra, Shri Ram Nagina           |
| 77. Jaiswal, Dr. Madan Prasad                   | 115. Mishra, Shri Shyam Bihari         |
| 78. Jaiswal, Shri Shanker Prasad                | 116. Misra, Shri Indrajeet             |
| 79. Janarthanan, Shri M.R. Kadambur             | 117. Misra, Shri Janardan Prasad       |
| 80. Jatiya, Dr. Satyanarayan                    | 118. Misra, Shrimati Sukhda            |
| 81. Javiya, Shri Gordhanbhai Jadavbhai          | 119. Mohale, Shri Punnu Lal            |
| 82. Jigajinagi, Shri Ramesh C.                  | 120. Mohan, Shri K.P.                  |
| 83. Joshi, Dr Murlī Manohar                     | 121. Munda, Shri Kariya                |
| 84. Kainth, Shri Satnam Singh                   | 122. Muni Lall, Shri                   |
| 85. Kamal Rani, Shrimati                        | 123. Munusamy, Shri K.P.               |
| 86. Kanodia, Shri Mahesh Kumar                  | 124. Murmu, Shri Salkhan               |
| 87. Kashyap, Shri Bali Ram                      | 125. Murugesan, Shri S.                |
| 88. Katheria, Shri Prabhu Dayal                 | 126. Muthiah, Shri R.                  |
| 89. Kathiria, Dr. Vallabhabhai                  | 127. Naidu, Shri Girajala Venkat Swamy |
| 90. Khandelwal, Shri V.K.                       | 128. Naidu, Shri K.P.                  |
| 91. Khandoker, Shri Akbor Ali                   | 129. Naik, Shri Ram                    |
| 92. Khanduri, Major General Bhuvan Chandra AVSM | 130. Naqvi, Shri Mukhtar               |
| 93. Khanna, Shri Vinod                          | 131. Nayak, Shri Upendra Nath          |
| 94. Khurana, Shri Madan Lal                     | 132. Nitish Kumar, Shri                |
| 95. Koli, Shri Ganga Ram                        | 133. Oram, Shri Jual                   |
| 96. Krishnamraju, Shri U.V.                     | 134. Palaniswamy, Shri K.              |
| 97. Kulaste, Shri Faggan Singh                  | 135. Pandey, Dr. Laxminarayan          |
| 98. Kumar, Shri V. Dhananjaya                   | 136. Pandey, Shri Rabindra Kumar       |
| 99. Kumaramangalam, Shri P.R.                   | 137. Paneerselvam, Shri Kanchi         |
| 100. Kusmaria, Dr. Ramkrishna                   | 138. Panja, Dr. Ranjit Kumar           |
| 101. Lallungmuana, Shri H.                      | 139. Panja, Shri Ajit Kumar            |
| 102. M. Master Mathan, Shri                     | 140. Pant, Shrimati Ila                |
| 103. Mahajan, Shrimati Sumitra                  | 141. Paramshivam Raja, Shri            |
| 104. Mahariya, Shri Subhash                     | 142. Paranjpe, Shri Dada Baburao       |
| 105. Mahtab, Shri Bhartrahari                   | 143. Paranjpe, Shri Prakash Vishwanath |
| 106. Mahto, Shrimati Abha                       | 144. Passi, Shri Raj Narain            |
| 107. Mallikarjuniah, Shri S.                    | 145. Patasani, Dr. Prasanna Kumar      |
| 108. Mandal, Shri Jai Krishan                   | 146. Patel, Dr. A.K.                   |
| 109. Mann, Shri Zora Singh                      | 147. Patel, Dr. Ashok                  |
| 110. Marandi, Shri Babu Lal                     | 148. Patel, Shri Chandresh             |
| 111. Marandi, Shri Som                          | 149. Pathak, Shri Harin                |

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| 150. Patidar, Shri Rameshwar        | 187. Sahu, Shri Chandrashekhar             |
| 151. Patil, Shri Annasaheb M.K.     | 188. Sahu, Shri Tarachand                  |
| 152. Patil, Shri Babagouda          | 189. Sai, Shri Larang                      |
| 153. Patil, Shri Balasaheb Vikhe    | 190. Sakshi, Dr. Swami Sachchida Nand Hari |
| 154. Patil, Shri Jaisingrao Gaikwad | 191. Samantaray, Shri Prabhat Kumar        |
| 155. Patnaik, Shri Naveen           | 192. Samaon, Shri Chatin Singh             |
| 156. Pawar, Shri Uttamsingh         | 193. Sanghani, Shri Dileep                 |
| 157. Potai, Shri Sohan              | 194. Sangwan, Shri Kishan Singh            |
| 158. Prabhu, Shri Suresh            | 195. Sankeshwar, Shri Vijay                |
| 159. Pradhan, Shri Ashok            | 196. Sarkar, Dr. Bikram                    |
| 160. Pradhan, Shri Debendra         | 197. Samaik, Shri Ajay Kumar S.            |
| 161. Prasad, Shri Hari Kewal        | 198. Saroja V. Dr.                         |
| 162. Purkayastha, Shri Kabindra     | 199. Sathi, Shri Harpal Singh              |
| 163. Radhakrishnan, Shri C.P.       | 200. Sathiamoorthy, Shri V.                |
| 164. Rai, Shri Kalpnath             | 201. Satpathy, Shri Tathagata              |
| 165. Rajaiiah, Shri M.              | 202. Sedam, Shri Baswaraj Patil            |
| 166. Rajarethinam, Shri P.          | 203. Sethi, Shri Arjun                     |
| 167. Raje, Shrimati Vasundhara      | 204. Shah, Shri Manabendra                 |
| 168. Rajput, Shri Ganga Charan      | 205. Shakya, Dr. Mahadeepak Singh          |
| 169. Raju, Shri S. Vijaya Rama      | 206. Shanmugam, Shri N.T.                  |
| 170. Ram, Shri Braj Mohan           | 207. Shanta Kumar, Shri                    |
| 171. Ramachandran, Shri Gingee N.   | 208. Sharma, Shri Krishan Lal              |
| 172. Ramamurthy, Shri Vazhapady K.  | 209. Shastri, Dr. Bizay Sonkar             |
| 173. Ramarajan, Shri                | 210. Shetty, Shri Jayarama, I.M.           |
| 174. Ramshakal, Shri                | 211. Sikdar, Shri Tapan                    |
| 175. Rana, Shri Kashiram            | 212. Singh Deo, Shrimati Sangeeta Kumari   |
| 176. Rana, Shri Raju                | 213. Singh, Shri Devi Bux                  |
| 177. Rao, Shri CH. Vidyasagar       | 214. Singh, Dr. Ram Lakhan                 |
| 178. Rawale, Shri Mohan             | 215. Singh, Shri Amar Pal                  |
| 179. Rawat, Shri Baijnath           | 216. Singh, Shri Ashok                     |
| 180. Rawat, Shri Bhagwan Shankar    | 217. Singh, Shri Bashist Narayan           |
| 181. Reddy, Shri Bhuma Nagi         | 218. Singh, Shri Buta                      |
| 182. Reddy, Shri Chada Suresh       | 219. Singh, Shri Chhattra Pal              |
| 183. Reddy, Shri G. Ganga           | 220. Singh, Shri Digvijay                  |
| 184. Reddy, Shri N.R.K.             | 221. Singh, Shri Gyan                      |
| 185. Rishideo, Shri Ramjidas        | 222. Singh, Shri H.P.                      |
| 186. Roy, Shri Devendra Bahadur     | 223. Singh, Shri Jagannath                 |

224. Singh, Shri Nakli
225. Singh, Shri Prabhunath
226. Singh, Shri Raghvendra
227. Singh, Shri Rajveer
228. Singh, Shri Ram Pal
229. Singh, Shri Rama Nand
230. Singh, Shri Sartaj
231. Singh, Shri Sohanveer
232. Singh, Shri Surender
233. Singh, Shri Sushil Kumar
234. Singh, Shri Tejveer
235. Singh, Shri Th. Chaoba
236. Singh, Shri Virendra
237. Singh, Dr. Sanjay
238. Sinha, Shri Yashwant
239. Sirpotdar, Shri Madhukar
240. Sodhi, Shri Daya Singh
241. Sompal, Shri
242. Sreenivasan, Shri C.
243. Srikantappa, Shri D.C.
244. Srinivas, Shri M.
245. Swain, Shri Kharabela
246. Swami, Shri Chinmayanand
247. Swaraj, Shrimati Sushma
248. Tandel, Shri Devji Bhai J.
249. Thakkar, Shrimati Jayaben Bharatkumar
250. Thambi Durai, Dr. M.
251. Thiyagarajan, Shri M.
252. Tiwari, Shri Lal Bihari
253. Tiwari, Shri Prabhash Chandra
254. Tomar, Dr. Ramesh Chand
255. Tripathi, Shri Chandramani
256. Tripathy, Shri Braja Kishore
257. Uma Bharti, Kumari
258. Vaiko, Shri
259. Vajpayee, Shri Atal Behari
260. Varma, Shri Ratilal Kalidas

261. Varma, Shri Sushil Chandra
262. Vedanti, Dr. Ram Vilas
263. Veerappa, Shri Ramchandra
264. Venugopal, Shri K.
265. Venugopalachary, Dr. S.
266. Verma, Prof. Rita
267. Verma, Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh
268. Verma, Shri R.L.P.
269. Verma, Shri Virendra
270. Vijayshankar, Shri
271. Virendra Kumar, Shri
272. Wangcha, Shri Rajkumar
273. Yadav, Shri Jagdambi Prasad
274. Yadav, Shri Satya Pal Singh
275. Yerrannaidu, Shri K.

#### Noes

1. Acharia, Shri Basu Deb
2. Ahamed, Shri E.
3. Ahire, Shri D.S.
4. Ahmad, Dr. Shakeel
5. Ahmad, Shri Akbar
6. Ajaya Kumar, Shri S.
7. Ajna, Shri Udai Lal
8. Ambareesh, Shri
9. Ambedkar, Shri Prakash Yashwant
10. Annayyagari, Shri Sai Prathap
11. Anwar, Shri Tariq
12. Arumugham, Shri S.
13. Athawale, Shri Ramdas
14. Awade, Shri Kallappa
15. Baalu, Shri T.R.
16. Baghel, Prof. S.P. Singh
17. Bairwa, Shri Dowarka Parshad
18. Bala, Dr. Asim
19. Banatwalla, Shri G.M.
20. Bapiraju, Shri K.
21. Barman, Shri Ranen
22. Barqu, Dr. Shafiqur Rahman

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| 23. Basu, Shri Anil                    | 61. Dome, Dr. Ram Chandra           |
| 24. Bauri, Shrimati Sandhya            | 62. Eden, Shri George               |
| 25. Baxla, Shri Joachim                | 63. Fatmi, Shri Mohammed Ali Ashraf |
| 26. Bhagat, Shri Indra Nath            | 64. Gagoi, Shri Tarun               |
| 27. Bhajan Lal, Shri                   | 65. Gamang, Shri Girdhar            |
| 28. Bhakta, Shri Manoranjan            | 66. Gamit, Shri C.D.                |
| 29. Bhardwaj, Shri Paras Ram           | 67. Gangadhar, Shri S.              |
| 30. Bhargava, Shri Ram Shanker         | 68. Gangte, Kumari Kim              |
| 31. Bhonsle, Shri Abhaysinh S.         | 69. Gavai, Shri R.S.                |
| 32. Bhonsle, Shrimati Rani Chitralekha | 70. Gavit, Shri Manikrao Hodlya     |
| 33. Bhuria, Shri Kantilal              | 71. Gehlot, Shri Ashok              |
| 34. Bijoy, Shri Bijoy Kumar            | 72. Ghatowar, Shri P.S.             |
| 35. Biswal, Shri Ranjib                | 73. Giri, Shri Sudhir               |
| 36. Budania, Shri Narendra             | 74. Giriyappa, Shri C.P.M.          |
| 37. Chacko, Shri P.C.                  | 75. Goswami, Shri Nripen            |
| 38. Chakraborty, Shri Ajay             | 76. Govindan, Shri T.               |
| 39. Chandra Shekhar, Shri              | 77. Gujral, Shri Inder Kumar        |
| 40. Chatterjee, Shri Somnath           | 78. Gupta, Shri Indrajit            |
| 41. Chaudhary, Shri Ram Raghunath      | 79. Hamid, Shri Abdul               |
| 42. Chaudhari, Shrimati Nisha A.       | 80. Handique, Shri Bijoy Krishna    |
| 43. Chavan, Shri Prithviraj D.         | 81. Hassan, Shri Moinul             |
| 44. Chavda, Ishwarbhai Khodabhai       | 82. Hooda, Shri Bhupinder Singh     |
| 45. Chengara Surendran, Shri           | 83. Jaffer Sharief, Shri C.K.       |
| 46. Chidambaram, Shri P.               | 84. Jain, Shri Mitha Lal            |
| 47. Chinta Mohan, Shri                 | 85. Jakhar, Shri Balram             |
| 48. Choudhary, Col. Sonaram            | 86. Jalappa, Shri R.L.              |
| 49. Choudhary, Shrimati Reena          | 87. Jogi, Shri Ajit                 |
| 50. Choudhury, Shri A.B.A. Ghani Khan  | 88. Jos, Shri A.C.                  |
| 51. Choudhury, Shri Samar              | 89. Kahandole, Shri Z.M.            |
| 52. Chowdhury, Shri Bikash             | 90. Kalita, Shri Bhubaneswar        |
| 53. Damor, Shri Somjibhai              | 91. Kamal Nath, Shri                |
| 54. Das, Shri Nepal Chandra            | 92. Kamat, Shri Gurudas             |
| 55. Dennis, Shri N.                    | 93. Kamble, Shri Arvind             |
| 56. Deora, Shri Murlil                 | 94. Karunakaran, Shri K.            |
| 57. Devegowda, Shri H.D.               | 95. Kawade, Shri Jogendra           |
| 58. Devi, Shrimati Malti               | 96. Khan, Shri Abdul Hasnat         |
| 59. Devi, Shrimati Omvati              | 97. Khan, Shri Arif Mohammed        |
| 60. Devi, Shrimati Rama                | 98. Khan, Shri Rizwan Zaheer        |

99. Khan, Shri Sunil
100. Kondaiah, Shri K.C.
101. Konijeti, Shri Rosaiah
102. Krishnadas, Shri N.N.
103. Krishnamoorthy, Shri K.
104. Kumar, Shri Shailendra
105. Kumar, Shrimati Meira
106. Kuppusami, Shri C.
107. Kurien, Prof. P.J.
108. Kurup, Shri Suresh
109. Kyndiah, Shri P.R.
110. Lahiri, Shri Samik
111. Mahant Charan Das, Dr.
112. Mahato, Shri Bir Singh
113. Mahto, Shri Raj Banshi
114. Mallick, Shri Rama Chandra
115. Mallu, Dr. Ravi
116. Malviya, Shri Mahendrajeet Singh
117. Mandal, Shri Sanat Kumar
118. Mandlik, Shri Sadashivrao Dadoba
119. Maran, Shri Murasoli
120. Mayawati, Kumari
121. Meena, Shri Bheru Lal
122. Meena, Shri Ram Narain
123. Meena, Shrimati Usha
124. Meghe, Shri Datta
125. Mehta, Prof. Ajit Kumar
126. Mohan, Shri Anand
127. Mohol, Shri Ashok Namdeorao
128. Mollah, Shri Hannan
129. Mukherjee, Shri Pramothas
130. Mukherjee, Shri Subrata
131. Mukherjee, Shrimati Geeta
132. Mukhopadhyay, Shri Ajoy
133. Muniyappa, Shri K.H.
134. Murmu, Shri Rupchand
135. Muttemwar, Shri Vilas
136. Nagra, Shri Aman Kumar
137. Naik, Shri A. Venkatesh
138. Naik, Shri Ravi Sitaram
139. Naik, Shri Sudhakar Rao Rajusing
140. Nam, Shri Shankar Sakharam
141. Narah, Shrimati Ranee
142. Nishad, Capt. Jai Narayan Prasad
143. Ola, Shri Sis Ram
144. Om Prakash, Shri
145. Osmani, Shri A.F. Golam
146. Owaisi, Shri S.S.
147. Pal, Shri Rupchand
148. Palanimanickam, Shri S.S.
149. Panabaka, Shrimati Lakshmi
150. Pannu, Er. Shankar
151. Paswan, Shri Pitamber
152. Paswan, Shri Ram Vilas
153. Patel, Shri Dinshaw
154. Patel, Shri Jang Bahadur Singh
155. Patel, Shri Praful
156. Patel, Shri Shantilal Purshottamdas
157. Pathak, Shri Anand
158. Patil, Dr. Ulhas Vasudeo
159. Patil, Shri Bhaskar Rao
160. Patil, Shri M.B.
161. Patil, Shri Madan
162. Patil, Shri Madhav Rao
163. Patil, Shri Ramkrishna Baba
164. Patil, Shri Shivraj V.
165. Patil, Shri Uttamrao Deorao
166. Patil, Shrimati Suryakanta
167. Patnaik, Shrimati Jayanti
168. Pawar, Shri Sharad
169. Pilot, Shri Rajesh
170. Pradhani, Shri Khagapati
171. Pramanik, Prof. R.R.
172. Prasad, Shri Lalu
173. Premajam, Prof. A.K.
174. Premchandran, Shri N.K.

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| 175. Puglia, Shri Naresh Kumar Chunnalal | 213. Selvarasu, Shri M.              |
| 176. Radhakrishnan, Shri Varkala         | 214. Sen, Shrimati Minati            |
| 177. Raghavan, Shri V.V.                 | 215. Seth, Shri Lakshman Chandra     |
| 178. Rajbanshi, Shri Madhab              | 216. Shahabuddin, Shri Mohammad      |
| 179. Rajukhedi, Shri Gajendra Singh      | 217. Shamanur, Shri Shivashankarappa |
| 180. Ramachandran, Shri Mullapally       | 218. Shervani, Shri Saleem Iqbal     |
| 181. Ramaiah, Shri Sode                  | 219. Shinde, Shri Sushil Kumar       |
| 182. Ramulu, Shri H.G.                   | 220. Shiv Shanker, Shri P.           |
| 183. Rongpi, Shri Jayanta                | 221. Siddaraju, Shri A.              |
| 184. Rao, Shri Inderjit Singh            | 222. Singh, Shri K. Natwar           |
| 185. Rao, Shri Manganti Venkateswara     | 223. Singh, Shri Kirti Vardhan       |
| 186. Rao, Shri Gurunadha                 | 224. Singh, Shri Lakshman            |
| 187. Rao, Shri K.S.                      | 225. Singh, Shri Mohan               |
| 188. Rao, Shri Nedendla Bhaskara         | 226. Singh, Shri Raghuvansh Prasad   |
| 189. Rao, Shri R. Sambasiva              | 227. Singh, Shri Rajo                |
| 190. Rathwa, Shri N.J.                   | 228. Soy, Shri Vijay Singh           |
| 191. Reddy, Dr. B.N.                     | 229. Subba, Shri M.K.                |
| 192. Reddy, Dr. T. Subbarami             | 230. Sudheeran, Shri V.M.            |
| 193. Reddy, Dr. Y.S. Raja Sekara         | 231. Sultanpuri, Shri K.D.           |
| 194. Reddy, Shri K. Vijayabhaskara       | 232. Tanpure, Shri Prasad Baburao    |
| 195. Reddy, Shri M. Baga                 | 233. Taslimuddin, Shri               |
| 196. Reddy, Shri Magunta Sreenivasulu    | 234. Thakur, Dr. Prabha              |
| 197. Reddy, Shri N. Janardana            | 235. Thakur, Shri Ramsheth           |
| 198. Reddy, Shri S. Jaipal               | 236. Thomas, Shri P.C.               |
| 199. Reddy, Shri S. Sudhakar             | 237. Thorat, Shri Sandipan           |
| 200. Reddy, Shri Venkatarami Anantha     | 238. Topdar, Shri Tarit Baran        |
| 201. Riyan, Shri Baju Ban                | 239. Tupe, Shri Vitthal              |
| 202. Roy Pradhan, Shri Amar              | 240. Upadhyay, Shri Rampal           |
| 203. Roy, Shri Hira Lal                  | 241. Upendra, Shri P.                |
| 204. Sangma, Shri Purno A.               | 242. Venugopal, Shri D.              |
| 205. Sangtam, Shri K.A.                  | 243. Verma, Kumari Vimla             |
| 206. Sankaran, Shri P.                   | 244. Verma, Shri Beni Prasad         |
| 207. Sar, Shri Nikhilananda              | 245. Verma, Shri Ravi Prakash        |
| 208. Sardinha, Shri Francisco            | 246. Verma, Shrimati Usha            |
| 209. Saroj, Daroga Prasad                | 247. Vora, Shri Motilal              |
| 210. Sayeed, Shri Mufti Mohammad         | 248. Warpudkar, Shri Suresh          |
| 211. Sayeed, Shri P.M.                   | 249. Wasnik, Shri Mukul              |
| 212. Scindia, Shri Madhavrao             | 250. Yadav, Shri Anup Lal            |

251. Yadav, Shri Balram Singh  
 252. Yadav, Shri Ghasi Ram  
 253. Yadav, Shri Mitrasen  
 254. Yadav, Shri Mulayam Singh  
 255. Yadav, Shri Parasnath  
 256. Yadav, Shri Pradeep Kumar  
 257. Yadav, Shri Sita Ram  
 258. Yadav, Shri Surendra Prasad (Jahanabad)  
 259. Yadav, Shri Surendra Prasad (Jhanjharpur)  
 260. Zahedi, Shri Mahboob

MR. SPEAKER : The result\* of the division is :

Ayes : 275

Noes : 260

*The Motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to meet on Monday, the 30th March, 1998 at 11 a.m.

20.53 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, March 30, 1998/Chitra 9, 1920 (Saka)*

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\* The result announced by the Chair in the House was as follows :

Ayes : 274

Noes : 261

However, on rechecking of the slips the final result came as follows which had the approval of Hon. Speaker :

Ayes : 275

Noes : 260