

Joint Committee to enquire into irregularities in securities and banking transactions."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do extend upto the last day of the Budget Session, 1993, the time for presentation of report of the Joint Committee to enquire into irregularities in securities and banking transactions."

*The motion was adopted.*

12.35 hrs.

### CENSUS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M.M. JACOB): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Census Act, 1948.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Census Act, 1948."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI M.M. JACOB: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

[Translation]

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV (Jhanjharpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of information. I had given a notice and the point has been also discussed here. A ruling should be given by you that recognition has been granted to non-B.J.P. party as commented in the newspapers.

MR. SPEAKER: Please, give an application. I will look into it.

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV: I would like to submit that it should be regulated. (Interruptions)

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Saharsa): Mr. Speaker, Sir... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: If an uproar is created by you, action will be taken against you. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You please sit down now. It is not necessary to behave like this in the House.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Matters under Rule 377 will be taken up at the end.

12.37 hrs.

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

[Translation]

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI (Badaun): Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday many hon. Members expressed their views on no-confidence motion moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The sequence of the opinions started from the point where Shri Vajpayee started his speech and vowed to speak the truth only and nothing else in the House. But when the discussion proceeded ahead it appeared that the truth was ceased to remain truth and it turned into a concept. I do not wonder at it at all.

I thought only this much that the moment an hon. member enters this House, first of all he looks at the words "dharma chakra paravartanay" inscribed above your seat. Alongwith the saying "dharma chakra pravartanay" the term "dharma nirpeksha" is also used often. It is done so despite the

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clarification made that the term "dharma nirpeksha" has nowhere been used in the Constitution. The term "panth nirpeksha" has been used instead. It is beyond my understanding as to how do the persons deal with the Constitution and the House who use such faulty words in the House. But it is obvious that the "truth" becomes certainly doubtful here. The truth becomes a concept here. A truth becomes concept when it is presented by an individual's own imagination and the trouble with the truth is that it depends not only alone on its speaker, but also on its interpreter.

Acharya Shankar has said that truth never depends on creation alone, it depend on one's own outlook as well. A well known principle of Acharya Shankar is outlook and creativity. In this context, I would like to refer to the theory of Einstein in which he has also stated that truth is always relative. Perhaps truth was spoken to be relative only because there are the prerequisites of the truth of the outlook of both the speaker and the interpreter. When a person speaks, of course he tries to utter the truth from his own point of view, but the absolute truth should be presented in the House. When both these parties remain, truth should not be presented in the light of a particular outlook alone. Truth emerges justified from every angle of opinion and the complete truth alone should be come forward.

Today Shri Chandra Shekharji is not present here...

*(Interruptions)*

I was working for him at the seat on which Shri Chandra Shekhar used to sit daily. Here also appeared the issue of outlook. In our opinion, today he is not sitting where he used to sit daily. Therefore, I committed a mistake for which I beg your pardon. Thus I am stating a universal thing which requires your consent also. Einstein and Acharya Shankar were not the members of any party. They were renowned

philosopher and thinkers of the world. If I want to tell anything regarding them, it need not any comment from you. Acharya Shankar and Einstein held the truth to be relative. They told that truth depend upon outlook of a person and yesterday our hon. Minister of Human Resource Development considered Shri Vajpayee's truth as his opinion instead of accepting it as a truth. Perhaps today he trouble with the country is that we do not judge truth from the angle of truth. We judge truth from our own outlook, idiosyncrasies and limits and prospects. Yesterday I witnessed the glimpse how these limits and prospects contradict the truth.

I am not talking about speaking truth in that manner because the education and initiations I received, have embolden us to utter total truth by refuting individual outlooks. Therefore I have been a disciple of the schools of Acharya Shankar and Arbindo, and I have realised that the day a society, a religion or a culture has no courage to speak and listen to the truth it loses its identity. Therefore, I want to say that a debate of ideologies has started today. It should have been started long back soon after the Independence prior to drafting of the Constitution.

When the Constitution was drafted, the word 'secularism' (dharmanirpeksha) was not included in it. In the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution, brought in the year 1976 the epithet "panth nirpeksha" was moved to be added and it was adopted on January 3, 1977. We all know the condition of the House that day. Fundamental Right of all citizen of the country were suspended and emergency was imposed in the country and the House is well aware of the fact and it is needless to remind the circumstances and states of mind under which all such things were being committed and followed. I understand that had the constitution-makers so sincere and intense feelings of 'secularism' they must had added this word in the Constitution. But it was added after 29 years. This time I have a copy thereof. I am not speaking any dubious thing. It has been mentioned therein. It is the 42nd Constitution Amendment Bills,

section 2, dated 3.1.77. It has been mentioned that in place of "sovereign democratic republic" "Sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic should be substituted." (*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: This secularism existed earlier too. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI: I have a photo copy of the Constitution with me. I am stating on that very basis. However, I want to say only this much. I do not claim that my information is final I stated as per the information, I possessed. I want to submit that the saints, hermits, the freedom fighters—be they Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Bal Gangadhar Tilak or persons authoring comments on Gita while living in the Mandley prison, or the devotee of Lord Rama, Mahatma Gandhi, who associated religion with their own concepts, are really-guiding saints of our country, humanity and saints like us. I personally can assert that I worship them and regard them as my ideals.

In that condition also I will continue to hold him in high esteem, but in regard to the order in which the hon. Minister of Human Resource Development mentioned his name yesterday, I would like to submit that two more Gandhis, other than him have been assassinated. You may try to get political benefit by accusing RSS for the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. I would like to know what were the circumstances that compelled the security guards to assassinate a very capable and strong leader, hon. Prime Minister Shri Indira Gandhi. Is there any reply to it? The country still has not got the answer to it. You satisfied yourself accusing the RSS that it was involved in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. But I would like to know that where from the ideology came which instigated the assassination of Shri-mati Indira Gandhi, who were the instigators, which forces were involved in it and how this mentality developed? those involved in this crime should also be identified.

In the same context, I would also like refer to the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi was also assassinated in this country only and his murder has also remained as a mystery and an unanswered question. If this series of political murders continues then this country political, people country would like to know the names of political parties and organisations involved in it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what I would like to submit through you as a gentleman and not as a politician is that these assassination should not be associated with politics. Assassinations are a matter of disgrace for the country whichever elements may be involved in it. We will have to disassociate these killings from politics and have to seek the sympathy and cooperation of all to expose the criminals.

Yesterday, allegations were being levelled in the House in regard to what happened in Ayodhya. All of them wanted to evade the responsibility. I neither want to evade from the responsibility, nor I hold anyone else responsible for this act. I neither blame BJP, RSS nor VHP which are being blamed for this act rather I blame myself only and the Sadhus and Saints of this county who inspired the feelings that Ram Janam Bhoomi was the place of their faith and that a temple should be built there. Kar Seva Committee was also presided over by the Shankaracharya of Jyotish Peeth, Shri Swami Vasudevanandji Paramhans Vamdev ji is the President of Jeernodhar Kram Samiti. I am talking about the faith, the country still has faith in Saints. Today, the situation has changed, your men went to Shankaracharya after the happening of 6th December and got a statement issued by his guru Swami Shantanandji Maharaj for the restoration of peace and harmony in the country. I do agree that these saints who symbolise the faith of the people, openly tried to get a temple built at Ram Janam Bhoomi. Ram Janam Bhoomi Sangharsh Samiti was formed in 1984 and its members were only saints and not the representatives of VPH, BJP or RSS. They had given an ultimatum in Lucknow to the then Government of Uttar Pradesh on January 19, 1986. At that time there was the Government of Shri Vir Bahadur Singh and hon. Shri Arun Nehru was

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the State Minister of Internal Security at Centre. It was stated in the ultimatum that if the war of Ram Janam Bhoomi was not opened by Shivratri Festival on 8 March, 1986, saints would themselves break open the lock. This was stated in clear words. You all know that the no efforts were made before that for unlocking Ram Janam Bhoomi Mandir but suddenly an advocate filed a case in Civil Court in Faizabad on January 23, 1986 and within a week the decision came and the locks were opened. My submission is that a date was fixed even at that time. 8th March was fixed for that and the court had given its verdict much earlier to that date. This created a confidence in the saints that the Government could decide the matter within the given period.

Look at another instance related to it. On February 1, 1989 which Shri Buta Singh referred to yesterday that when Kumbh Mela was going on, respected Devraha Baba ji, Bhrahmchari Prabhudutt Maharaj ji and all other saints were there in Pryag. A decision was taken in the presence of all of them that foundation stone of a grand temple would be laid at Ram Janam Bhoomi on November 9, 1989. Had Shri Pawar and Shri Buta Singh referred to it in their speech yesterday I would not have had to refer to it. It was a disputed site till Nov. 7, 1989. But I don't know how it became undisputed after negotiations between the leaders of VHP and the then Minister of Home Affairs. The Court formally declared it an undisputed land. But after the Foundation stone was laid on 9th November, the then Union Minister Shri Mufti Mohammad Syed again declared in the House that it was a disputed land. My submission is that the confidence of the saints was further strengthened by this incident. Government had not fixed the date of 9th November. It was the Government which is no more in power. You were there in power. I would like to submit with confidence that both the times they set examples that on a date is fixed and judicial help is ponguls and it suggests the solution to it within the dura-

tion fixed by saints Kar Sevak went to participate and returned peacefully. Not only this, whenever these things happened, I don't want to name onymes efforts continued to be made in this direction. I am surprised that Supreme Court sat day and night, proceedings continued till 8 p.m. debate was held for 5 hours. But on the other side, debate was over in Allahabad High Court on 4th November and it did not meet from 4th November to 11th December.

..

It was least bothered ... *(Interruptions)*  
Delay can create difficulty. supreme court directed Allahabad High Court to give verdict immediately. But Allahabad High Court made an in ordinate delay. Verdict could have been given before 6th December.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): It is unparliamentary. It should be deleted.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not going on record.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI: I take my words "Rajai odh kar so gaya" back, my submission is that it did not have any sitting. Sometimes, my tongue slips, what should be the Parliamentary language, perhaps I commit mistake just as Shri Jagdish Tytler does. I have my own way to speaking. *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SHARAD PAWAR): Pawar Sahib, you tell us the decorum.

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia): Mr. Speaker, Sir, what he has said is not

unparliamentary. What is derogatory about the 'High Court'? There is nothing wrong in it. The word 'sogaya', it is his language. In English, he means to say that the Court went to sleep with cover on its head. I do not think there is anything wrong in it. Please do not split like this.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: He has an objection to the question or the term 'sleep' he used.

MR. SPEAKER: He objects to the feeling behind it.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: But the High Court did not meet, it is a fact.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: We are trying to respect these institutions.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Chandra Shekhar ji is speaking, so it cannot be unparliamentary. We will, however, see in the record as to what are the sentiments behind that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI: The problem, is that the saints had been given assurances twice in the past. It was then only natural for them that they might have not forethought any such thing to happen. The Kar Sewaks were invited there on this very assurance. I would like to repeat that the call given to the Kar Sewaks was the call not given by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad or the B.J.P. It was a call given by the saints ... (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV : It is known to all that Shri Murl Manohar Joshi ji and Shri Advani ji had come out for that purpose. The hon. Member should speak

the truth... (Interruptions). Shri Advani ji and Shri Joshi ji had come out. The hon. Member is a saint so he should not speak like that. What is the matter? (Interruptions)

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI: Now I am ready to own the responsibility for whatever happened. Up till a little while ago I was not ready to own responsibility. Today I am coming forward to take the responsibility for the entire episode. During that period... (Interruptions). The Government of Uttar Pradesh contacted me and asked me to have a contact with the men of Kar Seva Samiti. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to inform the House that all the members of the Kar Seva Samiti were none else but saints and I was asked to have a contact with them. As I told in the House yesterday that I had written a few lines to the hon. Supreme Court and I wrote that I was in contact with the men of Kar Seva Samiti. They are all saints and they promised that they would not violate the directives of the Allahabad High Court. Here I would also like to make one point more that the hon. Supreme Court had given a clear directive that no construction work can be undertaken on the 2.77 acres of land. It was in connection with the construction work that an observer was appointed so that construction materials could be prevented from being sent to the site. The whole thing centred on the point of construction. I would not have given anything in writing to the High Court and the Supreme Court without the consent of the saints for I know the result of giving anything wrong in writing. Moreover, if I would not have had any faith in the assurances given by the saints, I would not have certainly written the letter to get myself caught in troubles. I repeat that what I wrote to the High Court was written with full confidence that there was truth in what the saints are saying. I can say with confidence that when all the saints unanimously passed a resolution that nothing would be done which amounts to the violation of the directives of the Allahabad High Court when the Kar Seva is performed there on the 6th.

I would like to make it clear that the saints did their best to abide by what they

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*(Interruptions)*

have said. But what happens at times is that with the change in situations new problems crop up. If things would have been tackled properly as they were done in the past like the one that happened on the 9th November, 1983 and like the one that happened on the 8th March, 1986, when lock was opened earlier and Shilanyas was performed, some way out would have emerged for the Kar Sewaks. If the House and the Government would have cared to find some way out which would have allowed the Kar Sewaks to perform kar sewa without violating the directives of the High Court, then the kar sewak as might have restricted themselves to perform kar sewa alone. Nothing wrong on their part...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Now we will not allow you to speak...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune): Speak, what you want to speak.. *(Interruptions)*

13.00 hrs.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Sir, yesterday we have heard the choicest abuses. We have heard the choicest abuses from both the Communist leaders. We have heard it. Now, what is this? Shri Somnath Chatterjee is doing it.

*[Translation]*

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Ponnani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is Friday, today we have to go to offer Namaz. We want to listen to the speech of Swami ji so it is better if he speaks after the lunch. I request you to speak after lunch. It is Friday today. This has been a tradition, a convention. I request Shri Swamiji to speak after Namaz...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER: We are continuing the House upto 1.30 p.m. After 1.30 p.m., we are adjourning the House.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanani):  
The nama begins at 1.20 p.m.

MR. SPEAKER: Well, I think, we can adjourn now and meet again at 2 p.m.

13.02 hrs.

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

*The Lok Sabha REassembled after lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the clock*

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE  
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS..*Contd.*

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Chinmayanand ji you may continue your speech.

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, through your permission I would like to conclude my speech that did not conclude. I was saying that I had written a letter to the Government of Uttar Pradesh after contacting it. The Uttar Pradesh Government has sought to know as to what would be the attitude of the saints and the members of the Kar Sewa Samiti to the Kar Sewa to be started from 6th December. The Government wanted that the particular order passed by the Allahabad High Court should be followed. On these points I contacted the saints particularly the main figures like the founder of Bharat Mata Mandir Reverend Shri Satyamitra Nand ji Maharaj and Reverend Shri Vidya Nand ji Maharaj of Kailash Pith, Rishikesh. When I contacted **these** saints, they told that they are **always loyal** to the court of justice and to the **Constitution** and they further said that they **never intend** to do any such thing which may **lower their** dignity. They said that while performing Kar Sewa if any way out emerges, they would

certainly implement that and it is not their intention to violate the orders of the court. When the saints told like this only then I wrote a letter to the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

Mr. Speaker, Sir I would like to say that the only thing that was being said primarily at that time was that no construction work should take place in the area of 2.77 acre of land. The hon. Supreme Court had appointed an observer to ensure that the construction work takes place there. He was appointed to monitor that no construction material is taken to the site. This was the only job he had there. Everything centred on that point alone that no construction work should take place on the 2.77 acres of land until the decision of the Allahabad High Court is known. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was a discussion on this topic in the House on the 3rd December. I rushed to Ayodhya immediately after the discussion so that I could ask the saints not to take any such decision in their meeting. The meeting that was scheduled to be held on the 4th of December was postponed to the 5th December. This was done only because I was late in reaching there. In the meeting of the 5th December, all the saints unanimously passed a resolution that in the course of Kar Sewa to be performed on the 6th December nothing would be done that violates the orders of the court. A copy of this resolution was also released to the Press. We did not at all imagine that any damage could be done to the structure. I say this thing with full honesty and swear in the name of God. If this House can believe an innocent person then I say that I had not thought at all that such a thing could happen. I had not thought of it even in dream.

I do not want to say anything about those who had expressed such an apprehension. I do not want to say anything. On the one hand, our hon. Prime Minister was allowing us to perform Karseva under the supervision of observer and as per the direction of the Supreme Court, without violating the orders of the court and on the other hand, some people belonging to his party were trying to stop Karseva and organising peace

march for the purpose. It would have been more appropriate if peace marches were organised to prevent demolition and to avoid any damage to the Masjid. But I fail to understand the intention of people who went even upto Faizabad and organised peace marches and courted arrests to top Karseva. These people belonged to the party whose Government was not obstructing Karseva but only directing to ensure that orders of Allahabad High Court are not violated I would like to point out that this was the difference between the party and the Government, when the chief of the Government and the party is the same.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not that situation goes out of control only from the hands of BJP, V.H.P. and saints and Mahatanas. It has occurred several times in the past when the situation went out of control and unexpected things happened. We as well as the people did not want that but unexpected thing happened. In this context, if you do not get provoked, I would like to draw the attention of Shri Jakhar Saheb. Yesterday, he was saying if we people had tried to stop the people from demolishing the mosque, some must have been injured, or died and then he would not have had any doubt on the integrity of BJP. I would like to ask as to when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was murdered, the entire Delhi was burning and thousands of people were being killed, how many persons among you had tried to stop the killings and how many of you were got injured in the attempt? We did not see any body getting injured. You might be knowing better, if any one of you was injured. How many persons had tried to check the violence erupted at that time? That was the time when situation, had gone out of control. How the things go out of control? When the then Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi was asked to comment upon the situation prevailing at that time he replied in one simple sentence. All this happens when such a big tree falls." He made this observation. In this regard I would like to say when the situation goes out of control, then generally there is no one to own the responsibility for that.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR): There is a difference between the two situations. One was organised and the other was spontaneous. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI: I am not holding anybody responsible for that. I was just telling as to what happens when the situation goes out of control. In this respect, I would like to add one thing more. In the same way by whom firing was ordered at Akal Takhat? That was a religious place and a place of worship and faith. That too had hurt the feelings of the people. The extent to which feelings were hurt can be guessed from the fact that when Akal Takhat was handed over to the people after carrying out the repair at the cost of exchequer, they demolished it and constructed it again.

Here again something is being said that the Government would construct Mandir and Masjid at its own expenses. Hon. Pawar Saheb has said that expenditure to be incurred on construction of Mandir and Masjid will be borne half by the Central Government and half by the State Government. You have stated this thing, I would like to know as to which constitutional provision permits you to do so.

Secondly, I would like to know from the House about the language used in a resolution brought forward two days ago. The words 'Babri Masjid' have been used openly for that site. I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards editorial appeared in the 'Dainik Jagaran'. I would like to ask about the status of Ramjanam bhoomi. Yesterday, Shri Pawar Saheb referred to the status quo granted by Allahabad High Court. What is that status? I shall support the resolution if the House is apprised of the matter. Court status should be maintained and the same language should be used in the resolution. Is it the Babri Masjid or Ramjanam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid disputed site? I would like to inform you that religious puja is not being performed there by the people at their own. It is being performed as per the orders of the Court. The Court has given the orders.

On 7th December, 92 it was being telecast on Doordarshan that the Masjid would again be constructed there. At the same time it was being broadcast from Lucknow station of All India Radio, that idols have been placed there and puja was being performed and it would continue to be performed. The Government did not care for the Court. One such resolution was passed by the House about which the Members present in the House came to know only through the newspapers.

I do not know the responsibility of speaking what sort of truth you have taken upon yourself which you are trying to discharge sincerely. I would like to know the reason for the double standard adopted by you. It must be clearly explained in the house by the Minister of Home Affairs as to what is a court status. How has the Court given it a recognition? On 6th December law was violated or continuously five long hours. The Constitution was ridiculed. The contempt of the Court was made. They did not hesitate in putting a blot on the name of the nation.

Shri Kalyan Singh as well as I should be hanged till death for this act. The construction work went on there for 36 hours. The walls were demolished. Thereafter, foundation of the temple was dug and constructed and then the idols of Ram Lala were installed there. Under whose regime it all took place. The Government has not taken this responsibility. If it has the courage it would have accepted that it had paved the way for performing Shilanyas. It has got locks of the temple opened and the construction of the temple started during its regime. If Government does not take the responsibility let it not take. The history will not be written at your dictation. It will take into account all aspects and include every minute detail of that particular time. I do agree with it that resentment has increased in the country. If it can be brought under control by hanging me to death, I offer myself for it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no children of my own. I am bringing up 10-12 destitute children which I have taken from the families which became victims of terrorists. Some would definitely take responsibility of those children. Once the

bones of Maharishi Dadhichi were used to save the country. To maintain the high tradition of sacrifice. I, the Sanyasi, offer myself...*(Interruptions)*. But the Central Government wants to avoid the responsibility. The first case was registered in 1885. The dispute had started with the very birth of the Congress. For the first time, the case was filed in the Court in 1885. Today, the Minister of Human Resource Development is saying that the matter could have been kept pending for 10-20 years in the Courts.

It seems that the Congress requires an issue to create differences among the different factions so that differences continues among them and Congress may derive gain out of it. Had it been considered seriously right from 1949, there would have no such situation today. Late Prime Minister Shri Nehru used to talk about removal of idols from there and no the contrary the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh Shri Govind Ballabh Pant was in favour of placing idols there. As a result of this conflict the District Magistrate of that area had to resign. District Magistrate Shri K.K. Nair was D.M. there at that time. This double standard begins right from there. Perhaps it was the will of the destiny. I am saying this because keeping in view the seriousness of the issue if the Government had come out forward honestly in spite of complicating this issue in by litigations this issue would have been resolved. I had requested to the hon. Prime Minister on 9th May. That request too was not acceded to directly as my being an M.P. I had to take help from other. Shri Jitendra Prasad who belongs to Shahjahanpur is my friend and an honest man. I requested him to make arrangement for a meeting of some saint with the hon. Prime Minister. Only then we could get the permission to meet him. The saint met him on 9th May at night and had discussion with him for an hour. At that time the hon. Prime Minister said that he would like to separate this issue from politics. If this issue is separated from politics there would be no difficulty in the construction of the temple. The saints told him that they also do not have any intention to politicise it. They are fighting for the temple and they will give every pos-

sible co-operation in reolving this issue. This discussion was held in the presence of Shri Jitendra Prasad and nine saints were present there. No action was taken on that for two months. If any action had started on this issue at that time then Prime Minister would have got two more months time prior to 9th July. It is known that the Kar Seva was started for the first time from 9th July 92, and perhaps that Government became active on this issue right from that time only. I would like to know as to why this issue was not been given high priority when it was raised during the rule of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and Shri Rajiv Gandhi's Government and caused upheaval in the politics of the country and addressing the joint session of the Parliament the hon. President had given high priority to the issue of Ayodhya. Why the efforts were not made to resolve the issue. What actions the Central Government has taken in regards to resolving the issue from June 91 to June 92. In the negotiations on 16th October the Vishwa Hindu Parishad had put the proposal that the archaeological study and excavation of the place should be conducted. Babri Mosque Action Committee had demanded to present the report of Shri B.B. Lal. At the time of Shrimati Indira Gandhi Shri B.B. Lal was asked to conduct an archaeological study of all the historical places of Ramayana age. With the Government assistance he had conducted the excavation and prepared an archeological report. that report was prepared because Indiraji wanted to conduct the archeological study of those places as this issue surfaced during her regime.

I would like to ask this House and to all those Members, who are in favour of secularism as to why no Government has dared to conduct an archeological study to resolve this issue. I would like to congratulate Shri Chandra Shekhar for his continuous efforts to resolve the issue. If the efforts would have been made at that time only and proposal of archeological study had been accepted or this thing had been accepted on 16th October 1992 and if the process of archeological study had been started then defiantly today all concerned would have agreed to it that a

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decision may be taken on it when the archeological report has already been submitted. But it was ignored. This archeological report is with us and there are many proofs which have been found in the excavation there, still so many things are being found there. Will Pawar Sahib, who is also a worshipper of Maryada Puroshottam would say honestly that the Government will conduct an archeological study and if evidences of having a temple earlier will be found there then they would like to given the benefit of the acceptance expressed by Muslim brethern to the country. It has been already said by them that if evidences of having a temple there will be found they will withdraw their claim. Could the benefit of this claim not be taken as an opportunity. But it has not been done.

I would like to thank hon. Speaker as well as the House because a new way has been opened to all of us. If the House can be adjourned for offering Namaz then it can also be adjourned for the fast of Santoshi Mata. It is a favourable signal. It is noteworthy how feelings are being raised today. Mr. Speaker, Sir, ruling party may say traitor to anyone or may make responsible anybody but not Mr. Laldenga, who was from a banned organisation when he was sworn in as a Chief Minister. Was he not a exiled leader from the country for a long period. Was he an elected representative of the people whom they made the Chief Minister and gave protection for six months to muster the majority in the Assembly. At that time Government never cared about these banned organisations. Through you, I would like to say that the country is expecting honesty and morality. Thus political manipulations will have to be abandoned and political honesty have to be accepted.

Why the people who were talking about the constructing of Mosque there have suddenly become so evasive. I am thankful to those people who very next day asked this question to them and they are trying to avoid these questions. They don't have any reply to it as to where the Mandir and Mosque will be constructed. I would like to ask the same

question to him. Through the House I would like to know from the follower of Maryada Purushottam that they should remember that Maryada Purushottam had a pledge "Pran Jaye Per Vachan Na Jal". You have to adhere to that pledge. What will the Government construct within one year, temple or mosque? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VILAS MUTTEMWAR (Chimur) : It should be applied to all. That should be adhered.

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI : I do not think you a supported of Maryada Purushottam. You please sit down.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla) : You are the supporter of Shri Arjun Singh.

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI : Ask him about the map for which you were asking us earlier.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SHARAD PAWAR) : They will not ask it from you.

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI : Now they will demand from you. Well I would like to clarify that unless the court does not decide it clearly whether it is a temple or a mosque, is it not a contempt of court if anybody comments about it. As long as the court has recognised it a temple, it is the duty of the Government to make arrangements for it.

The Government has stopped 'Pooja-Archana' there by imposing curfew. The pilgrims are being stopped to go there for darshan. They are unable to go there and hurdles are being put in offering Pooja-Archana there. Neither cunch shell nor bells are ringing there. All activities have been stopped. Such news are coming from there that offerings to Lord Ram has also been stopped. Fundamental Right - right to worship - should be protected at any cost. Hon. Shri Chandra Shekhar has said that mountain has not fallen by arresting Advaniji. I do not talk about the falling of a mountain. I talk about...

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** Sanyasiji, I did not say that. Don't say such things. I said that it is wrong to arrest Advaniji. I do not say such things which create doubts.

**SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI:** All right whoever had said it but it is not that by arresting Advaniji the mood has changed. About the incident of 6th December I would like to say that every sensitive person of the country was shocked and sad by that incident but what have you done on the moment of the sorrow! The Government at once announced the construction of a mosque there. The second thing is the Government has issued warrant against seven persons. They should have been arrested at that time but even if they had to be arrested they would have been arrested according to the role they played then there would have been another situation. I don't want to repeat the allegations levelled against them. But can you honestly say that the allegations were correct. C.B.I. is conducting an inquiry into the matter and if the Government would have issued warrants after this inquiry then this question would not have arisen....

[English]

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** (Dumdum): Everybody should be arrested after conviction.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH** (Aonia): After inquiry. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

**SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI:** The allegations which you have just levelled have not been proved yet. You have levelled such false and false charges and have issued warrants against them. Among them five are honourable members of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Thus the Government has started political arrests. The Government should have arrested those persons after banning the B.J.P. Vishwa Hindu Parishad is banned and the Members of B.J.P. are arrested. It shows that the Government's sole aim is B.J.P. Had the Government acted honestly

and arrested those persons who should be, certainly there would not have been such resentment on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say humbly that the structure of temple-mosque is demolished today but this process is going on for a long time in Pakistan and Kashmir. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is present in the House.

In August, I had made a demand that proper arrangements should be made for the pilgrims going to Amarnath and it should also be ensured that there may not be any hindrance during the course of their 'Yatra'. Amarnath is a decent example of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindus and the Muslims both get the equal share of the earnings of that place. The hon. Home Minister had also given an assurance in this regard. I would like to thank Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad for admitting the importance of this 'Yatra' and assuring the House in this regard, but it is surprising that despite his assurance this 'Yatra' has not been recognised in its traditional form.

This 'Yatra' was not conducted in its traditional form. This yatra was given a shape of a tour and thus violated all the traditions. Gau-Raksha (ban on cow slaughter) is a long-standing demand of this country. It has been going on since the time of Mahatma Gandhi. On the 7th of November, 1968, there was brutal firing on the saints who were demanding for a ban on cow slaughter and the hon. Karpatri ji Maharaj was whipped and was cruelly treated. Till the end, of his life the great saint of Sarvodaya movement Shri Vinoba Bhave Kept on demanding for a central law on cow-slaughter, but stating it as a religious demand it was all the time rejected. It is surprising that a new factory named 'Al-Kabir' has been set up in Hyderabad recently, where 9 lakh animals will be slaughtered annually. Is all this going on in the name of Gauraksha? Shri Buta Singh also made a reference about the sacred importance of cows. The Government cannot challenge our regard and faith which we have for the cow. This faith has not been

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created by you. The faith we have for the cow, whether it is right or wrong, is exclusively our faith. Everybody is free to have faith on anything and I don't want to go in this detail; but it is not in my nature to hurt the feelings of anyone. I only want to say that if we have faith in idols, nobody can challenge it. We have worshipped stones as God and the Government cannot challenge it. What respect was shown by the Government towards our faith on the cow? That law was not enacted till today. Whenever any question relating to Hindus' feelings and self respect of Hindus was raised, various types of allegations were levelled against the people who raised these questions and they were called as traitors. The Hindus of this country though they are in majority begging for their self respect and for their sentiments since long, but they failed all the times in their attempts, but now they are not begging today. Now they are trying to find some other alternative to protect their sentiments. Earlier too, I have said in this very House that no one should try to put any check on the sentiments and faiths. It flows like the Ganges. This country has never fought on issue of temple and mosque. This struggle is for the cause of janambhoomi. Every member of this House is aware of the importance of Ram janambhoomi and his own mother land.

Had you been not aware of the importance of janambhoomi, the hon. Prime Minister would not have addressed a meeting held at Prayag on the 14th of November. Why had he gone there? He was fully aware of it. He had gone there to pay his tributes to the birth place of Pt. Nehru. Respectfully, I would like to say that the Prime Minister was perfectly right in doing so. If the birthplaces of Pt. Nehru, Indira ji and Rajiv Gandhi ji can be regarded as sacred places in this country, then certainly the Ram janambhoomi too

can be a sacred place for us because we have a strong faith in it. Until and unless the Government proves that there was no temple at that place, the Government has to protect our faith in this regard. Therefore, we fought for our fundamental right.

I would like to submit one more point. Those who are talking of patriotism today, are ruling this country for the last 45 years, except for a period of three-four years. The economic crisis created in this country is an evident of their patriotism. The Government makes allegations against us that we are inciting religious sentiments. I would like to ask Shri Rao Saheb when he had taken oath as Prime Minister what was the debt position of India and how much amount of debt was to be paid by the country and what is the debt position at present? In the name of patriotism, the country has every right to ask from you about this also. So, the patriotism cannot be the sole property of a single person. The House knows how much respect this Government is paying to the slogan of 'Vande-Matram' which was raised by the great martyrs Chandra Shekhar Azad, Ram Prasad Bismil and S. Bhagat Singh at the time of their death. All these questions are linked and they create a strong feeling of resentment and it is the duty of the Government to control such sort of resentment. Through this House, I would only like to submit that I respect the sentiments of all the religious, sects and communities and want that other should also respect the sentiments of our religion, sect and community.

In the end, I would like to request all those persons who talk about bowing their heads in the temples that the Ram janambhoomi temple also is an historical place, a religious and spiritual place and is linked with our sentiments. Try to find the truth about it. I am not asking you what you should do, but until the entire facts come to the light, this

country will never tolerate any comments about it and I do not know what will be its creation.

the minister of parliamentary affairs (Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad): Hon. Speaker, Sir, the Opposition Leader of the House,

Shri Vajpayee....(*Interruptions*)

An hon. member: The Leader of the Opposition is in Jail.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: At present, Shri Vajpayee is the leader. He has moved a No-Confidence Motion against the Government headed by Shri Narsimha Rao. It would have been much better if he had understood the feelings of crores of people of this country and had brought this no-confidence motion against the leadership of B.J.P. and its office bearers instead of the Congress. I am sure had you done so, it would have helped you to raise the image of your Party which has already lowered to a great extent....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (aonla): The hon. Minister can see it by conducting the elections.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD : Hon. Speaker, Sir, it will be wrong to say that only the minorities of this country are saddened over the incident happened on the 6th December in Ayodhya. I have myself seen the sentiments and attitudes of the people of majority community i.e. Hindus inside and outside this House. I am proud of being an Indian. Moreover this mandir-masjid issue did not give rise to any bitterness in the House today.

I believe that there was some tension between the Hindus and Muslims, exactly four years back, when the dispute took a nasty turn, but today while on the one hand,

there is anger, regret and disappointment over the demolition of the disputed structure, on the other, I am proud of the fact, that the people of India have unitedly withstood this holocaust as well, it has demonstrated its unity, the unity between the Hindus and Muslim communities. For this, I would like to congratulate the people of India, especially those belonging to the majority community.

Just now, it was stated that the B.J.P. leaders were unaware when some people, whether they are of the B.J.P., V.H.P. or R.S.S. or even the saints were demolishing the disputed Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid structure. Many references to Mahabharata were made here, yesterday. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to Doordarshan, for telecasting the Mahabharata serial and in the process, providing some information about the great epic to people like me, who have had no knowledge about it, who have never ready the Magnum Opus.

Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, Sir, when Draupadi was being disrobed, King Dhritrashtra attributed his helplessness to his blindness, but I would like to know why the Dhritrashtras of Bharatiya Janata Party were silent, when the secular fabric of the country was being torn apart, when the modesty of secularism was being outraged in Ayodhya in broad daylight on December 6? Certainly, they were not blind.

Our Swamiji wondered, as to how many congressmen risked their lives to check the 1984 charge in Delhi, which took place during Rajiv Gandhi's tenure. Then, why didn't Advaniji come forward, to protect the Babri Masjid, when the structure was being demolished? I would like to mention here that the late Rajiv Gandhi, went to the streets and bylanes of the capital to extinguish the rag-

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ing fire that had engulfed Delhi, unmindful of the fact that the mortal remains of his mother were lying in his house. He was more concerned about the safety of his people, than about performing the last rites of his mother. He felt that any delay in the funeral of his mother, won't make much difference and he went to every nook and corner of the capital to protect the unarmed, to defend the unity and integrity of Mother India.

So, our Swamiji says that Congressmen were not injured during the 1984 riots. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret that such a comparison is being made. So far as the 1984 riots are concerned nobody knew that Indiraji would be assassinated. It was a spontaneous reaction. That people belonging to one community would attack members of another community was most unexpected, but here the plan to demolish the disputed structure was going on since the past four years and everyone knew as to what would happen. Here, the leader of the Opposition himself had gone to Uttar Pradesh and he knew very well, the reason for the assembly of such a large number of people. He was told repeatedly both within and outside the House including the National Integration Council meeting, that it could cause a serious damage but he assured everyone, including this House, the people of India, the Supreme Court and the Union Home Ministry that nothing untoward will happen. Now it is not proper on his part to say that he was in the dark about the whole issue and to compare this incident with the 1984 riots.

Hon. Mr Speaker, Sir, we have heard and learnt from the annals of history that 'Zamhom ne khata ki thi, Sadiyon ne saja payi.' (Moments made the mistakes, centuries were punished) Generations have to be the brunt for the mistakes committed in moments. I never understood the meaning

of this couplet, till the December 6 incident at Ayodhya and specially in the wake of its aftermath. Only then and then I understood the meaning and sentiment behind this couplet. We could never imagine as to how far, mistakes committed in few hours, can take the country to?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, India's unity has a history of five thousand years and that was destroyed due to our carelessness in six hours. My dear friend Swamiji said today that he is prepared to kiss the hangman's noose, if his death can provide the soothing balm to anyone's wounds. I would like to tell Swamiji that we are not murderers even if he is serious about what he says. We don't want to take anyone's life, nor do we want to pronounce death on anyone. We want a change of hearts, a change of minds. Unless a change of heart and mind is brought about, nothing can be done in future. Even if three persons come forward and offer themselves to be hanged, the wound is too deep to be healed.

Shri Chandra Shekharji had said yesterday that hearts have broken like glasses due to the December 6 incident. The latest available scientific and technological methods have made it possible to put together the broken pieces but the patches or the scars remain. Temples and Mosques have been destroyed in the past, are being destroyed now and will continue to be destroyed in future as well. It is not unprecedented in Indian history. Many temples and mosques have been destroyed in the past also.

SHRI SHYAM BIHARI MISHRA (Bihar): Always temples and not mosques, have been demolished and destroyed.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD : Your utterances are regrettable. I see both the temples and the mosque, but you can see

only the temples. You don't see both of them being destroyed while I see both of them being destroyed. Temples and mosques are destroyed in riots. In India, Hinuds, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians have got killed in riots, but one feels sad when people belonging to a particular community are singled out and slaughtered, as if in a state-sponsored manner. The matter takes a serious turn and becomes shameful, when a Political Party, especially one which nurtures the ambition to administer the entire nation, which holds the reins of power in four major states of the country, whose leaders trot the globe telling around of their dream to capture power at the Centre and be torch-bearers of India's future, singles out any particular community, especially the minorities and attempts to break their hearts.

The country was partitioned in 1947. I was not born at that time. Nevertheless, it is a fact that Indian Muslims refused to go out of India. Some people did leave, but the rest chose to hitch their destiny with that of India. They outrightly rejected the call given by Jinnah on religious lines. They rejected the two-nation theory, based on religious intolerance. They chose to live and die with their Hindu brethren.

Kashmir, which is a Muslim-majority state also rejected the concept of Pakistan and acceded to India. Now, if the minorities of this country, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians have made India their home and hearth, whose responsibility is it to guarantee them safety, security and respectability? Obviously, the majority community, our Hindu brethren have to shoulder this enormous responsibility of protecting the lives and property of the minorities. It is their duty.

SHRIMATI VIJAYARAJE SCINDIA (Guna): Why Kashmir's majority community failed to protect their minority Hindu brethren?

Why the honour of their womenfolk was not saved? (*Interruption*)

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I will talk about Kashmir. I will answer point by point and I challenge the B.J.P. leader, to provide even 1/10th of the facility and representation, we have provided to the minority community in Kashmir (*Interruptions*) Let me give you the figures. Minorities constitute two percent of Kashmir's population. If Vajpayeeji remembers correctly, I had told him, two years back, during an inter-Parliamentary Union (I.P.U.) Party at Ashoka Hotel. This is discussed every now and then. Our Congress Party is responsible for not putting the facts across the table. In 1947, when rivers of blood flowed across the length and breadth of the sub-continent, not a single person belonging to the Minority Community was even touched. It is a matter of record, not something to be beaten about. I am even prepared to quit the Cabinet, in defence of this fact. If you are throwing a challenge, you should daring enough to listen to us as well. If you are courageous enough to challenge, be bold enough to listen also. Otherwise, it won't do.

Until the advent of terrorism into the valley 3-4 years ago not a single Hindu was harmed, unmindful the fact that riots occurred throughout the country, in Moradabad, in Hyderabad, in Bhiwandi, in Assam. Not a single state remained untouched by the Communal frenzy. I am prepared to resign if you cite me a single instance, where a Single Hindu was killed in Kashmir. (*Interruptions*) What are you talking about? I am talking about the representation. As per the 1981 census, minorities constituted 2 per cent of the valley's population. Fotedarji is not present in the House. I would like to say that in the State Government, the minorities constituted 45% of the Gazetted officers and 30% of the Non-Gazetted officers. Moreover, 92% of

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the staff manning the Central Governments offices in Kashmir, including Radio, Telecommunications etc, belong to the minorities. Is the B.J.P. prepared to provide a similar percentage in jobs to the minority community across the country? Can you pick up the gauntlet? If you can, then do it. If the Party can provide, even 1/10 of this percentage for the minorities, throughout the country, I will never challenge the credibility of your party.

Hon. Vajpayee ji, I have a great regard for you. Please don't blame the Kashmiri Muslims for the misdeeds being committed by Pakistan in Kashmir. Pakistan is the enemy of the entire country, the Muslims, the Muslims of Kashmir. You associate the Muslims of Kashmir with those of Pakistan, it is a great injustice on your part. So long as the Government of Congress party or the Government of Dr. Farooq Abdullah was in power in Kashmir, not a single incident of discrimination took place there, we crossed the heights of secularism...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know several temples were demolished during the last three years in Kashmir, and I regret for it. Terrorism has been prevailing there for the last three years and temples were demolished by militants. I would not have any grudge if BJP wants to be equated itself with the terrorists, I would not have any regret if BJP wants to move on the path on which the militants are moving. If you wish to make a comparison with us you should compare the things being done by the Government rather the activities of the terrorists. Terrorists have demolished temples and thus they are equally enemy for us. Do not say that only Hindus are killed. You can go through the records, Vajpayee ji, you have a lot of contacts, please go through the records. If 300 Hindus were killed by the

terrorists, 1900 Muslims were also the victims. These Muslims were killed by militants and not by security forces, I am talking of the militants. You will again say that only Hindus were killed. But you may get political benefit of this propaganda in elections but please don't mislead the House, don't divide the country.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer):  
What about two and a half lakh pandits who have migrated from the valley?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will repeat that it would not be proper to equate the terrorists with us. If the terrorists are the enemies of Hindus in the region, they are as much enemy to Ghulam Nabi Azad too; they are as much blood thirsty for my relatives, and thus do not spare me at all. I would like to submit that BJP is unaware of the disadvantage of our being an Indian, we know how we raise slogans in favour of India in the shadow of bullets in Kashmir. It would not be an act of bravery if such a slogan is raised in Ayodhya.

Our Kashmiri families whether Hindus of Muslims, our Kashmiri secular forces whether they are in Delhi, Maharashtra or Karnataka have been going from place to place in search of shelter but still believe in India and its secularism. I would like to submit that BJP should not take any step which may demoralise the remaining patriots in Kashmir who are in a few number.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, BJP has given a good material to Pakistan to defame India through the Ayodhya incident occurred on the 6th December. Pakistan attacked our country thrice since 1947 and tried its best to defame our country in the world, but I think it could not make harm to the prestige of our country as much as BJP did on December 6. Pakistan may have the capacity to prepare bomb

which can claim several thousand lives but BJP has given a Neutron bomb to Pakistan and with the help of this bomb, it would spoil the image of the country in the world.

Dear colleagues that is why I had said that "Lamhon ne khataa ki hai, sadiyon ne saza pai hai". BJP misdeeds committed on 6th December for six hours only has brought a great disgrace to us, to you, to the Members of all political parties, to 90 crore citizens of the country, to our culture, to the unity and the freedom of our country, and we cannot wash this blot for the 'centuries to come'. Whatever sermons, speeches we may deliver but this act cannot be undone. Yesterday Atalji, has said that India has the culture of Ganga and Yamuna, but I will emphasise that this Ganga-Yamuni culture can only continue and remain intact in true sense only when it absorbs the small springs or the rivers of minority communities in it.

The Chief Minister gave an assurance in the National Integration Council, the leaders of opposition assured us and the Public Prosecutor of Uttar Pradesh also gave an affidavit to the Supreme Court to the effect that they would protect the structure. The Home Secretary of U.P. Government, also gave an affidavit and third is given by the Chief Minister himself. In such a case, where U.P. Government gives three affidavits, the State Government writes 12 letters, gives assurance in this regard in National Integration Council and the leader of opposition assures the highest place of Democracy-the House that they will protect the structure. Mr. Speaker, Sir, even if any mischievous person or a thief gives an affidavit in the court, the court honours it and releases that person. But it is a very surprising matter that an elected Government betrayed us, despite writing 12 assurance letters, making promises in the N.I.C. meetings and giving three affidavits. You may call it our mistake, fool-

ishness, innocence or whatever you like. You may term it as our blind faith also.....(Interruptions) But if we had not believed on the assurances of the State Government and had dismissed the Government earlier then probably they would have been given these datas against us which I am giving against them...(Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD YADAV: All the powers were with you....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Ghulam Nabiji, after exposing the crime, do not defend the crime...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to state that if my BJP colleagues want to see the results of their mistake, committed on 6th December, then they may see as to what happened in Kanpur, Surat, Bombay and Seelampur? Who are after these riots?

15.00hrs.

It would not be a Ganga-Yamuni culture if it pushes even one stream from it. It cannot be only of Ganga-Yamuni culture it cannot be separated in to the culture of majority community or minority community. I remember very well, Pandit ji had said -

[English]

"Communalism as such is very bad but the communalism by the majority is worse."

[Translation]

That is why my submission is that even parents treat equally to their children. But if

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one child is weak or physically handicapped the parents pay more attention to him. They feel that their other child is wise and strong enough to protect himself whereas their handicapped child needs their support to that he may not fall. Today, that weak child lacks education, wealth or means of earning. Are you not ready to spare even his life? Are you not ready to protect him?

I would congratulate Shri Chandra Shekhar. I had told Indira ji ten years ago what Chandra Shekhar ji stated yesterday. The discrimination being done against the minorities in Central Government offices here would force the Kashmiri youths to take up arms after 10-12 years. Because when Shri Sheikh Abdullah was in opposition he always used to give the figures as to how the minorities were treated. I had told him that it might be possible after ten years when Kashmiri youths could take up arms due to the discrimination by majority community. May God not bring such time. I am very sorry to state that my predictions came true suddenly within a span of 10-12 years only. I do agree to the opinion of the former Prime Minister Shri Chandra Shekhar ji that they should not go to that extent, they should realise their responsibility. May God not bring that unfortunate day when the people have to take up arms. It is this situation, neither majority nor minority communities, neither upper classes nor lower classes will be there. India has already been divided in Parliament and in Constitution. Firstly, we have been divided outside, later on in the Parliament and now in the Constitution too. We have been divided in the Supreme Court, in the name of forward and Backward. If the people of minorities feel that there is none to protect them and their children and they have no future in this country, they may take up arms in self defence had then none of us would

remain safe. Therefore, I would like to submit to you that we do not want killings. We do not want any sort of violence, rather we want a change in hearts and minds. We want changes in the hearts and minds of all the sections of this House including Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Somnath ji. I pray to God to bring this change so as to protect the unity and integrity of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, our target is not only the construction of mandir or masjid. In my opinion, if BJP wants to come to power, it should change its aims. Nobody can prevent it from coming to power provided it changes its path. The path it has chosen today is a negative one. It is a path of destruction and confusion. BJP should choose the positive path which leads to creation and construction. It should not try to gain power in the centre as well as in the States through violence.

If you really wish to realise your mistake then you must visit these places. I would like to ask you as to who has visited these areas amongst you. I know that nobody has gone there; because you cannot go there. The Whole of India is suffering on account of your mistake, many children have become orphan and a number of women have become widows. Who can console these orphans and widows. Can B.J.P. or ex-Chief Minister of U.P. or their colleagues can give them consolation?

Therefore, today once again, I would request you to mend your ways, change your way of thinking and lead the country towards socialism and secularism.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (BARH): Mr. Speaker, Sir, today, this House is discussing the no-confidence motion against the Government, moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Yesterday, when Shri Vajpayee was speaking, I was expecting that he would bring to light something new which would expose the Government, but I could not understand the logic of this no-confidence motion moved by him. He has given a long speech for about one hour but it was not at all effective. In a way, he defended the Prime Minister and tried to accuse Shri Arjun Singh. I had been feeling all the time during his speech that instead of bringing a no-confidence motion against the Government as a whole, he should have brought a Censormotion against the Minister. He does not have any grudge against the Government as a whole. He had been talking about the various types of contradictions within the Government itself. I could not understand that what sort of no-confidence motion is it but it is almost clear as to when he was speaking on this Motion, it appeared that he was seeking an apology from the House.

15.13 hours.

[SHRI TARA SINGH in the Chair]

He was feeling sorry for the incident of 6th December. Many hon. Members including hon. Somnathji and Indrajit Gupta have said that he has not condemned it. I do not know whether he has condemned it or not but he has felt sorry, while making his speech and we may say in layman's language that he has apologised for the same. Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are two types of languages in this country. As our country is called Bharat as well as India, similarly there are two types of society in this country, there are two types of Hindus, one favouring Mandal and another favouring 'Kamandal'. I clearly feel it that he has apologised. But I am surprised to know that they have two faces. They say something and do something else. He was saying again and again before 6th December that Advaniji had gone there, he would

certainly manage the things and nothing untoward would take place there; why did they feel that he would instigate people there; he would go there in order to control the situation. But when Advaniji set out to complete his incomplete journey, at that time all the Newspapers wrote that he was going to complete his incomplete journey.

He should have commenced his incomplete Rathayatra, from Samastipur. But for that he had to have courage. If Shri Advani had made up his mind to complete his Rath Yatra to Ayodhya he should have been bold enough to start from Samastipur where a valiant son of this country Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav and intercepted his chariot and arrested him because it was the chariot of devastation. Hence, he should have started from Samastipur...(Interruptions)

But instead Shri Advani started his incomplete Rath Yatra to Ayodhya from Banaras. I would like to know from Shri Vajpayee by when the missing link from Samastipur to Banaras will be completed.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Till Shri Laloo Prasad is in power, this journey will not be completed between these two points.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): Please tell us also when is the Government going to dismiss the Laloo Prasad Yadav Government?

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: At present it is your turn to go. Recently the Governments of Shri Kalyan Singh, Shri Sunderlal Patwa, Shri Shanta Kumar and Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat have been dismissed. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to submit that if elections are held today BJP will not be able to retain even 19 of the 119 seats in this House..(Interruptions). Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now he admitted that whatever hap-

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pened was wrong. But after his arrest Shri Advani gave a statement to the press wherein he said:-

[English]

"Demolition is part of the temple movement."

[Translation]

It appeared in 'The Statesman'. 'The Statesman' is the only national daily newspaper which dared objective reporting even during the days of emergency when censorship was at its peak in the press. The 'Indian Express' had a great contribution those days also. I am speaking about 'The Statesman' today. The statement of Shri Advani which appeared in 'The Statesman' says that—

[English]

"Demolition is part of the temple movement."

[Translation]

I want to submit that when it was alleged in this august House that 'Kar Seva' meant something else for the BJP Shri Advani gave a statement which appeared in all the newspapers that the "Kar Seva" did not imply merely prayers and congregational singing (Kirtan) and the 'Kar Sevaks' would go to Ayodhya with bricks and shovels and when we tried to raise this issue here, Shri Vajpayee wanted to give clarification, but it could not be discussed. When this issue was raised in the Upper House i.e. Rajya Sabha, it was not defended. It is a matter of shame. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs stated that Shri Advani did not speak in this manner. Everything has appeared on the back page of today's 'The Times of India'... (Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow): There is nothing like dying of shame. Why do you wish to drown the hon.

Minister of Home Affairs?... (Interruptions)

SHRINITISHKUMAR: Nobody can save the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. He will drown and meet the same destiny as the B.J.P. He has drowned half deep and efforts are being made by Shri Sharad Pawar to drown him completely.... (Interruptions). Today an article was published in the "Times of India" along with name of the journalist who has contributed it. The Government did not pay any attention to what Shri Advani stated and went on trusting him. Shri Advani stated that he was going there with certain number of 'Kar Sevaks'. I do not know how many 'Kar Sevaks' assembled there. But I pity the ruling party... (Interruptions) Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad and Shri Rangarajan Kumaramangalam said that about one and a half lakh people assembled there. I believe that the number of persons assembled there was less than one and a half lakh. It was probably fifty thousand or about one lakh. Yesterday Shri Vajpayee said that it was an organised group. He also said that he had nothing to do with that group. A person from Bihar was crushed to death under the debris. There is authentic evidence of it and meetings are being held to commemorate his martyrdom. It is not being done by anonymous Kar-sevaks or as Shri Indrajit Gupta pointed out by an anonymous lawyer who presented documents in Dewas. The meetings are being held by the B.J.P. party. Shrimati Krishna Sahi who is sitting here represented that constituency in the Bihar Legislative Assembly twice and therefore, she might be aware of the incident. Just one day before December 6, a picture showing the rehearsal of the Kar Seva to demolish the structure was published in the 'Indian Express'. We too know that an unorganised force of Kar Sevaks could not have brought down the structure and had they done it hundreds of them might have been crushed to death under the debris. The deceased Kar-Sevak might have been a fool and not part of the organised force.... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: This is contempt of Bihar. It is not correct to say that there are fools in Bihar.... (Interruptions)

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: He does not understand that there are some fools still in Bihar...*(Interruptions)* They had definite information about the 'Kar Sevaks' and the organised groups behind them. I am surprised how five hundred persons could demolish the mosque. According to Shri Kumaramangalam their number must have been two and a half lakh. More than five hundred were praying and singing in congregation along with Shri Ashok Singhal. His photograph has appeared in the Press which is more than life size. In spite of that the mediamen were treated so badly. They did not spare even the person who was painted as a super human. They were loyal to none. What was actually being done by these Kar Sevaks? A little while earlier, Shri Vajpayee referred to the structure as a temple and we consider it Babri masjid. Which religion allows demolition of a place of worship. On that day the meaningless prayer and congregational singing was done, whereas on the other hand, this black deed was being performed. Had there been real faith in the bhajan kirtan, they would have come out and prevented the untoward incident. Even if the Kar Sevaks had resisted they would have stopped them. Today Shri Chinmayanand Swami said: "*Raghukul reeti sada chali aii, pran jai par vachan na jai.*"

SHRIMOHAN SINGH (Deoria): But they did not belong to Reghukul.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Shri Mohan Singh, I cannot understand why everybody insists on constructing the temple of Lord Rama there. I have no knowledge of mythology. We are those Hindus who favoured the Mandal Commission. We have nothing to do with the Hindu scriptures. When all the kinsmen of Lord Rama abandoned him and he was sent to exile and evil Ravana kidnapped his spouse we downtrodden and exploited class of monkeys' legion rushed for his help. We are remembered in the hour of need alone. I do have only this much knowledge of mythology. But I would like to point out one thing. Lord Rama, is always worshipped after Hanuman. That is the sequence of worship. Mr. Chairman, Sir, great theologi-

ans have come to this august House. If they are given a free hand, they would convert the entire House into a monastery. Now a Dharma Sansad has emerged above the Parliament. I do not know what this Dharmasansad is. The writ of this Dharma Sansad need not be followed and this Dharma Sansad need not consider us religious.

We heard that Lord Rama is worshipped through Hanuman because Hanuman was a monkey. It is symbolic of the backward. We are not treated as full human being. It is said that we have no merit. Whenever the issued of the Mandal Commission is raised. We are told that we have no merit. Thus we came into the category of monkey i.e. the backward and we became Hanuman and Lord Rama is being worshipped through Hanuman. But when we raised the Mandal issue people abandoned Hanuman and started worshipping Lord Rama directly. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: They talk about the Bajrang Dal and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. When were election to these organisations held? Only those who born in the Backward class could become Members of the Bajrang Dal. But Shri Katiyar was made its leader. When were the last elections held? The members of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad claim to represent the Hindus. Then who are we? Either consider us Hindu or say that we are not Hindus because we are not allowed to enter the temple. We are untouchables. the Sudras are debarred from entering temples. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, please there should be no interruptions. Let him speak.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: This has been happening since times immemorial Trickery has always been played with us. It is mentioned in our scriptures also. Do you know who are brought to the front line?

They talk of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. I challenge, if they have the guts, let them face the election...*(Interruptions)* Let me finish. I challenge that if the elections to

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Vishwa Hindu Parishad are held and all Hindus exercise their votes, either Shri Ram Vilas Paswan or Shri Sharad Yadav would be elected as the President of the Parishad. The result of the election would certainly go against those who are at the helm in the organisation. I therefore say that they should not speak like that...*(Interruptions)*\*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. It is a convention that the names of those who are not present in the House are not mentioned; but contrary to this convention, the names of some persons have been mentioned here. My submission is that their names should be removed from the proceedings because they are not present...

MR. CHAIRMAN: The names of the absentees will not be referred to.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, they raise bizarre issues. I would like to ask, is lord Rama present here. We discuss him in the House almost everyday. This is really a peculiar situation. I would like to ask, how many things would be expunged from the proceedings of the House. The point is that 90 per cent of Hindus have seen through their game. Shri Atal ji was very right when he said yesterday that it is not the struggle for a mandir, but clash of ideologies. I would also like to emphasise that it is a clash of ideologies and not a struggle for a mandir. He further said that there are different dimensions of truth. He is very right. When the Government partially implemented the Mandal Commission report aimed to benefit the suppressed and the oppressed people of the country that constitute 90 per cent of the total population, the leaders of their party launched the Rath Yatra. This manifests their mentality. Shri Sharad ji could not complete his speech yesterday. He was telling that when Shri Khurana ji went to a gathering and he was humiliated by those

people. The party then decided to bring the mandir issue to the fore...

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): His party was responsible for whatever happened in Delhi. There were several cases of self-immolation by boys. They are responsible for that...

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: I want to emphasise that very point. They will now be exposed. I know that a few persons have indulged in self-immolation. Not only I, but every body else is shocked by it. Nobody should die. I would, however, like to ask them that suppose someone is sitting on my chest while I am asleep and when I awake he threatens me to sleep silently otherwise he will immolate himself. This is the situation now. We want to make it clear that we can now no longer tolerate such things. That is the question of ideology. Which ideology do you prefer? If some one immolates himself one is pained to see the suffering but they used to express grief after identifying the caste of the person who has immolated himself. This is the difference between them and us. We are in pain when a man immolates himself but they are in pain only after knowing the caste and the religion of the man who has immolated himself. That is the clash of ideologies. On the basis of this clash I dare say they will not be able to retain even 19 of the existing 119 seats in the next elections. They should not therefore indulge in clash of ideologies. Ours is a great country. We do not want the disintegration of this country. Those who want to replace Indian nationalism by Hindu nationalism should think that it would be difficult to keep the country united and if such things continue the day is not far when the Hindus will revolt. They should note that we are not going to abide by the provisions of their Manusriti. I would therefore, like to warn them in this regard. But, the question is what is the Government doing in this regard? At least the BJP does not hide the facts. Shri Vajpayee speaks

unequivocally. Some of his party Members make different statements outside the House. It is a fact that there are some Members in the party who are clear hearted. They speak out unequivocally. But the point is what is the Government doing? It is a valid question. I would like to ask, by whom was the Shilanyas done? I heard Swami Chinmayanand seriously. He said that a confidence was created? A threat was given on two occasions. The first threat was given at the time of opening the lock of the temple. It was in 1986 when this event took place and judgement was delivered under pressure by the High Court. A decision was taken in haste. Once again a threat was given and this time the Government had to allow Shilanyas in November 1989. The writing on the wall was clear that Rajiv Gandhi was going out of power and V.P. Singh would be the next Prime Minister. Everybody was aware of this fact. At that time BJP was trying to exploit the popularity of Shri V.P. Singh and following him.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai): And your party was following them.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar, it is not like that. You can check the record and statements made during this period. You were a new entrant to politics after having left bureaucracy. You would recall that they took Shri V.P. Singh to Varanasi and conferred the title of 'Rajrishi' on him.

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH (Mirzapur): Shri V.P. Singh had gone to the holy land of Kashi and there he applied chandan on his forehead from the temple of Baba Vishwanath. This he did with a view to become 'Rajrishi'. He came to Delhi with the chandan yet shining on his forehead. He wanted to show to the people that he had used the chandan from the temple of Baba Vishwanath and that he enjoyed the blessings of Baba Vishwanath. Here I would like to say that now it amounts to misleading the House

to declare Shri V.P. Singh be a socialist and thereby devaluing the importance of Baba Vishwanath.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Whatever he is saying is true. We are, you know, the worshippers of Baba Vishwanath. Moreover, Baba Vishwanath is the God of downtroddens. Our leader Shri Vishwanath is also an incarnation of Baba Vishwanath. There is no doubt about it. It is a curious coincidence that he bears the same name. Anyway, these people conferred on him the title of 'Rajrishi'. But only a little later he said that

[English]

Leftists are my natural allies.

[Translation]

It was after this that the BJP went wayward.

They got the lock opened and got Shilanyas performed in 1989. It was the part of their strategy to create chaos and incite such an issue which would engulf all those who were to assume power after 1989. It was the Congress party which set the things on fire and the situation went from bad to worse. This they did when they realised that the mandate of the people was clearly going against them. This act of theirs will be written in the annals of history not in golden letters but in black letters.

Their faces will be smeared with blackness of coal which is the department of Sangama ji. It was they who allowed Shilanyas. Shri Chinmayanand ji was just now telling that it was a matter of faith. Two of their things were accepted by the Congress Government following the two threats in the past and the third time a platform was constructed there by the present Government. It would not be proper to refer to the points mentioned by Swami Chinmayanand ji in the House. The then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh Shri Kalyan Singh ji ....(Interruptions)....I think I can at least mention his name.

The then Chief Minister, Shri Kalyan Singh made a statement. One statement, which appeared in the Times of India, was that the Prime Minister had said that a temple existed at that site earlier. Again, seven days after that statement, it was repeated that the Defence Minister Shri Sharad Pawar had said in the presence of the Prime Minister that he should agree to referring it to the Supreme Court which may give a favourable decision. Both these statements were not refuted properly. I remember. Please listen to me patiently. Shri Sharad Pawar rose and said, it is not a fact, it is not correct. However, he refuted it, though perfunctorily.

**SHRI SHARAD PAWAR:** I had also said outside the House that it was wrong. It was not true. I refuted it in these words.

**SHRI NITISH KUMAR:** Well, you said so but when the saints called on the Prime Minister, he touched their feet and bowed before them with respect. I don't have any objection to it if one bows before saints. But what is objectionable is that the Prime Minister told the saints that Narsimha Rao as a man is of the opinion that a temple existed there but as Prime Minister, he is helpless. The saints believed him thinking him as a good soul.... (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today they have raised a question of breach of faith. It is not known what assurance the Prime Minister gave to saints. What did he say and what action he took but they thought that they would announce their plan of 6th December... The Government allowed the Shilanyas to be performed and doors of the temple were thrown open. It also permitted them to construct the platform. They also thought that the Government would allow them to carry out further construction. The Government never announced to deal with it strictly. The entire N.I.C. has empowered the Prime Minister fully. The N.I.C. meeting concluded. But they did not have full faith in the N.I.C. people. They had full faith in these people. They had a comprehensive plan. If I mention a name, you will raise objection, though there is nothing wrong in mentioning a name

in the House. The people are well aware of the method they have adopted and the work they have done. When the people informed them that people are gathering at Ayodhya one by one and when they gather there in large number, you will say that you will have to resort to firing. So, check them before they gather there. But when the Prime Minister called a big leader of the country in his room and when he gave a suggestion to him to take action to and use Article 356, he replied, what you say outside is different but you are saying the same thing here inside. That leader had to feel ashamed.

When discussion on Ayodhya was going on, and the former Prime Minister, Shri V.P. Singh asked as to what emergent plan the Government does have to tackle the situation in case Shri Kalyan Singh resigns in the nick of time. For the purpose of scoring a debating point, the Minister of Home Affairs said that the B.J.P. is capable enough to elect its another Chief Minister if Shri Kalyan Singh resigns. Now the Minister of Home Affairs had disappeared from the House. He is hiding his face. Now-a-days, Shri Sharad Pawar is looking after his entire work. I would like to ask as to why the B.J.P. has not made Shri Kalraj Mishra as the Chief Minister when Shri Kalyan Singh resigned. Not only this, when Shri Kalyan Singh resigned, at least he did have this much morality but we watched T.V. which telecast the news under caption - U.P. C.M. dismissed. I don't know whether the Chief Minister is a Government employee whom the Government had dismissed. Only the Government is dismissed. Had it been written - U.P. Government dismissed, then it would have been better expression. When we asked them to use Article 356, they said some other person will be elected as Chief Minister. The Government is making propaganda by using work 'dismissed' as though he was some 'Daroga' who has been dismissed. He resigned, at least he did have this much morality. Shri Chandra Shekharji concedes that there is some morality. We say that it was a pre-plan. Shri V.P. Singh was aware of that plan. He warned the Government in the House. The Government which did not take his warning

seriously, replied that it had emergent plan to deal with the situation. The Government scored a debating point here and earned applause amid clapping.

The domes of the Masjid began to be pulled down at half past twelve. (*Interruptions*) When you ask me to sit, I shall sit? Am I boring you?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, you are not boring us. You are making a good speech. But there are many Members in the list. Therefore, please conclude at the earliest.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: That work began at half past twelve. What happened to that emergency plan about which the Minister of Home Affairs made an announcement in the House. Why did you not implement it? The Government is responsible for it. When they speak of secularism, it does not convince us.

We all were deeply shocked at the assassination of Indiraji. At that time we thought that a security guard has assassinated her. But what type of propagands you made during Lok Sabha elections in 1984. Have you forgotten all these things? All the newspapers and speeches made during electioneering are evident of the fact that the Congress (I) had played the Hindu card in 1984 to achieve unprecedented success. Even in Jammu and Kashmir the traditional Hindu card player B.J.P. had badly fared and you reaped harvest. You had played Hindu card in 1984. In 1979 you had begun with the slogan of Ram Rajya from Ayodhya. You cannot escape this blame. You have spread communal virus in the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, since you have rung the bell, I shall not take much time as a disciplined Member. But I have an apprehension that such kind of politics has been played in the country deliberately. Today, the people belonging to minority, particularly Muslims are worried. They think whether their lives will be saved the next day or not. It is their biggest concern. Who has brought them to such a situation? There is no ques-

tion of unemployment and poverty before them. Their only concern is protection of life. The Congress party has continuously been playing this politics since 1947. They have been kept under terror. They appeared before them as saviour of their life, fetched votes and kept playing this politics.

When Shri Ghulam Nabi was speaking, he was overwhelmed with emotions. But sentiments of some people should be respected: I would like to request the people belonging to this side. I got an opportunity to visit the Kashmir valley as a member of Parliamentary delegation with him when Khuranaji and Shri Srikant Jena were also there. We observed the situation there. The Kashmir issue should not be taken lightly. Apart from Kashmiri Pandits, who have migrated from Kashmir to this place, five percent Kashmiri Pandits, who are left there are safe. Nobody has ever attacked their lives. No riot is taking place in Kashmir. In Kashmir the fight is between secessionists as well as terrorists and nationalists. There is no Hindu-Muslim conflict in Kashmir. Even today a small number of Hindus are left there but they are safe. No attack is being made on them.

(*Interruptions*)

The Hindus are in majority in Jammu. I am talking of Kashmir Valley. Don't tell me who reside there?

So, this issue should not be raised. It is an altogether different issue. Whatever has happened, is quite shameful. The measures they have taken and are trying to take are not the ways to save the country, rather they are the ways to ruin it. The Supreme Court gives its decision today in Mandal case and a fresh controversy begins. What happened to social justice, and what happened to other scandals. What happened to Bank scam? All these scandals have been suppressed today. Nobody is accountable today. The Supreme Court has held that the E.I.R. lodged in the Bofors case was right. Then what sort of decision the High Court gave. today a proposal to impeach Shri Ramaswami has also come up. I want to remind that it was the

[Sh. Nitish Kumar]

last proceedings of the Ninth Lok Sabha and I have not forgot, when the hon. Speaker had made an announcement that an inquiry committee could be set up. I remember well as to who had gone there. Today their identity has been disclosed. Now the three-Member Committee has given the decision and now only the formality is there. The proposal for his impeachment may be passed here and the President may sign it. Today a curtain has fallen on all these issues because of the Ayodhya issue and they want that such issues that arouse sentiments may be raised all the times in the country and the long standing demands of people for food and their age-old demands for ending discrimination is suppressed. This is a conspiracy being hatched by the Bharatiya Janata Party and the members of the Congress (I) are party to it. Therefore, I want to point out that a way out, other than the one adopted by them, will emerge in this country. Prosperity will dawn on the nation. There will be rule of justice and honour and India will once again be able to guide the world. With these words, I conclude.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Mr. Chairman, Sir, all have been expressing their sentiments and all have been making their own points since yesterday. This debate has been going on since yesterday. Shri Vajpayee initiated the debate and all the Members gained some consolation. I was present in the House throughout the day. I heard all of them and became hopeful. It appeared that the ideology in the country for which the countrymen had made numerous sacrifices is still alive and will remain so, though there was less respect for it in the recent past. The speeches made yesterday raised this hope. I listened to the opinions of all hon. Members in the morning, both from this side and that side. But today I find some change and something political appears to be coming to the fore. This House or the country need not to be told who has done what. The country knows well. Who has done what. If you ask a common

man today, he understands how all these things took place and who were the wrongdoers. Today there are different questions before the Parliament. Yesterday, Shri Vajpayee had referred to it and today I am saying it with a heavy heart. Atalji, I had told you on the 1st of this month as your younger brother that I suspect the intention of your party. That day I was standing there, today I am standing here. This is the only difference. That day I spoke very frankly and I said it not as politician. The Hon. Speaker asked me not to speak since I am a Minister. I submitted that it was my inner feeling as I had gone round several places of the country and the wind is blowing in the country that the intention of the B.J.P. is not clear. I apprised Bhai Atalji with great love and respect of it. I was quite distressed on that day but both Atalji and Advaniji kept sitting, they did not stand up and consoled me that I was like their younger brother so I should not worry about it because they would not allow any damage to done to the Masjid. They did not speak anything about it on that day nor I could get relies from them forcibly and I sat down. Today, I am reiterating honestly. I am not making speech to win your applause and clappings. I am expressing my feelings. Even today we suspect their intentions. If they make their intention clear even today, this country can be saved. If they don't make their intention clear, the nation cannot be saved. They should realise the truth. Atalji, you have said that you did not have any information and it was not the intention of your party, but Shri Advani could not prevent it Shri Chandra Shekhar and Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad and everybody have said that if they had tried to avert it, they could have averted it, there. The common people were also these. The number of the Kar Sevaks was less than that of the common people. I want to draw your attention to one more thing. From where did this plan for 6 December begin? There is a Sarkhej village in Ahmedabad. The V.H.P., the R.S.S. and many other people organised camps there. These camps lasted for one month. All the camps were organised in the month of September. A commission was organised there on the 6th October. A retired military

officer went there and imparted training to them and top leaders of the V.H.P. and the R.S.S. reached there on the 6th October to felicitate them. These leaders guided them all about what they were supposed to do there and what was their aim. Some members of your party were also among the leaders. This news appeared in a magazine and if it is wrong, it may be corrected. You had read out the newspaper on that day in which Shri Katiyar was reported to have said that nobody would do any harm to the Masjid. It was said with great confidence. I can realise that he might have received information and he may claim also that he cannot charge one's mind. Yesterday also he said that he was equally distressed as we. I do not know from where he gets such information. When the Masjid was being pulled down, two domes had already come down and attempts were being made to pull down the third dome. Murlī Manohar Joshiji and Uma Bharti were laughing and hugging. Which information should we believe and which not? Should be doubted? These photographs have appeared in all the newspapers. These photographs were published at the time when the Masjid was coming down. How can we say and on what basis can we say. Atalji, I am expressing my feelings and that too under compulsion. You may recall that I had said so on that day that it was not possible for Advaniji to control the mob. You had the power of oration, so you should go there. We have confidence that if you requested the Kar Sevaks not to go there, they will not go there because effect of speech differs from man to man. Even then you did not go there. The provoking speeches went on. I have got recorded tape, and many other might have received it. I am in the Government so, it may be that they have reached me earlier. You may listen the tape. Speeches are being made. 25 men were moving, the Swayam Sevaks of the R.S.S. were standing nobody was intercepting them, the P.A.C. personnel were also standing there but they too did not stop them. In the beginning there were 25 Kar Sevaks. Then the number increased to 50 and thereafter to 100. And the fact is that... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: The C.R.P.F. personnel were present there. Were they not stopping them? (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: When training in the Sarkhej village near Ahmedabad was over, 100 Kar Sevaks passed the training. What training was imparted, it is for you to find out. Some of your colleagues might be knowing it. Some hon. Members of Parliament were present there on the 6th December and they were receiving the greetings of 100 persons and staging a pass out. How to break the police guards, how to cut the fence and how to pull down by tying huge stones to pull it down, 100 persons were trained for this purpose. It was said on that day that the Kar Seva will be held on the 6th December. It has been decided on the 6th October.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: When did you come to know about it?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: It is my mistake that even after being in the Government, I would not manage to find it out. Today I realise it. Whatever we do on our own, the country will never forgive us. We could not protect it even after being in the Government. I feel it and I realise it. Your party did not inform you. Vamdevji sat in a camp on the 2nd of the month. (Interruptions)

Please let me speak.

16.00 hrs.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: It is a serious issue. You were the Minister, but when you came to know about this planning why did you not disclose it to the Government and now you are saying that you will have to face its consequences. Shri Rajesh ji, was the office of the Minister so dear to you? Why did you not tender your resignation, when your advice was not accepted.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: We have to give many replies. This country will also ask as to why had we believe Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri L.K. Advani. I have to say many things but now please listen attentively.

[Sh. Rajesh Pilot]

A meeting was held in the camp of Vamdevji on 2nd December. The Karsevaks present in the meeting said to Vamdevji, I am quoting their exact words, "Swamiji"

[English]

We have come to Ayodhya for the last time. We are determined to pull down the mosque."

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Who said?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Karsevaks. On 2nd December, when Vamdevji was sitting in his tent Karsevaks told him that they would not come to Ayodhya time and again. They had come for the last time and would go back only after pulling down the mosque. It was said on 2nd December, when such an agitated mood was there, they could have apprised us that the situation was not good and was likely to go out of their control but they avoided to do so. It is not that only you people are responsible for all this. We are equally responsible because we believed you. But I would like to say that when hectic activities were going on in their party and preparations were being made to pull down the mosque, I do not agree that nobody was aware that the mosque will be demolished. They kept the who's country in the dark. Swami Chinmayanandji said in clear words as to how the saint promised to the Government and what discussion was held between the Government and the saints. Whosoever will reply on behalf of the Government, perhaps hon. Prime Minister will reply to it, he would make, the position clear. Government has already said that they were bringing out the white paper in which every thing will be made clear. I am speaking here in the House with two clear things in the mind. First I want to expose your intention. From the very beginning your intention was not good. It is only because of that we are facing such a

situation. Our generation perhaps would not be able to wasp up the stigma on the secular policy of the country only the next generation will do that.

Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji, this situation has not reached this extent in one day. All this did not develop only between 6th October 1991 and 6th December, 1992. Please see the sequence of events. In 1984 B.J.P. won only two seats in Parliament. As my colleague Shri Nitish Kumar blamed us for all this. He alleged that we had played the Hindu card first and have now played another card. Today we are in a responsible position, we have to listen. How their number increased from two to 89? We cannot be blamed for increase in their number from 2 to 89. Their number increased to 89 when you people joined hands with them. Their number increased to 119 from 89 when they raise the slogan of the temple. Bricks were collected from each village. It went on for three years. When Advaniji was going on in his rathayatra, we told him that it might give them a short gain but would not be good for the country. Each and every activist of Congress was saying that it will disintegrate and weakened the country but nobody paid heed to it.

Atal ji, efforts have been made to take undue advantage of Article 370. Does it look nice that I should visit every nook and corner of the country to tell the people that a citizen of India can't build his house in Kashmir, he can't set up his business there and can't be employed there and Kashmir is like a foreign country for us. Every body would listen to it with great interest. Each and every person of our villages and cities will listen attentively that Kashmir is the part of our country but we can't purchase house and land there. Nobody would tell the people about the agreement reached in 1947. Despite these things we had brought the situation in Kashmir under control and made it an integral part of the country. The country can progress of these things are discussed with pure heart and pure intentions but until there is purity of intentions it cannot make progress. Atalji, I am younger than you, On that day also, I had told you all this in clear terms. Had intentions

been clear on that day all this would not have happened and such a situation would not have arisen. Well, I am also requesting you today that we should discuss everything by rising above political interests and with bonafide intention. We should think in the interest of the country. If I am prejudiced against Bhartiya Janata Party and criticise it purposely than I will not be doing any justice to the country. I will have also to explain here as to who is guilty and how and what he did. If we work with these intentions only then we can make progress.

Atalji, we politicians have started this Mandir-Masjid issue and you have been the great pioneer in this regard. You have organised puja, Ekta Yatra, collected bricks from each village and with that gave a form demanding Rs. 25 with each brick. Receipts books were also distributed alongwith that. we have been the sufferers and one can see it by visiting a village. I would like to tell you as to why this country is not progressing. I had visited Secunderabad on 8th of this month. There is a village named Sethali, on way to Secunderabad. Some people who were ploughing the fields, stopped me. They were known to me. There were two farmers, one was ploughing and the other was sowing wheat. They asked me as to where were temple mosque situated. Kindly tell us something about it, they pleaded. It is daily being reported by radio and television that there was some dispute over it and a mosque has been pulled down. I asked their names. One of them said his name was Karn Singh and the other said his name was Sobrati Khan. Hindu was ploughing the field and the Muslim was sowing seed. Atalji, if we break these ties the country can't exist. There is no rift between Hindu and Muslims in the villages. Only we people talk in Hindu-Muslims terms.

I have been listening the speeches of all the hon. Members since yesterday. Several things have been said about the hon. Prime Minister. Some Members have said something and other Members other things. Yesterday Shri Chandra Shekhar was speaking in a very emotional way. He is elder to me and also senior to me in the Parliament.

Today, I read in the newspaper that one of my friend yesterday suggested to the hon. Prime Minister to join Bharatiya Janata Party and become its member. You can say anything to the hon. Prime Minister because it is democracy. But how can you suggest such a thing to a person who fought for the country with the help of secular forces for last 50 years only because he took certain steps by trusting some people. Shri Chandra Shekhar was the president of Janata Party in 1977.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Advaniji were also elected on the ticket of this party then we had not branded Shri Chandra Shekhar as communal. Shri V.P. Singh was running a Government with the support of B.J.P. We did not brand B.J.P. a communal party. Today atleast stop this war. If you say such things about a person who had put in hardwork for 50 years, then all the party and the people would definitely feel hurt. So please stop playing with sentiments. Today if we respect the feelings of other people, we would be able to unite the country. We will accept our mistake and we will improve where we have erred. The Government is ready to listen your points and to take you along with it. If Government intends to act firmly then it would require your cooperation. When the hon. Prime Minister came into power, he started to work with this very spirit.

I do not know what is the matter. Frankly speaking, I had expressed my apprehension before the Hon. Prime Minister that any untoward thing can happen. I am really wonder-struck as to what spell did Shri Atal ji cast and what did he actually speak...*(Interruptions)* I remember when I joined politics, I was asked by a person as to how I was feeling. I could not reply in the beginning. But when he went on asking repeatedly as to how I was feeling in politics and what difference was I feeling after joining politics, I ultimately told him that while I was in army we were given the training that our face should be the index of our mind. Our face should reflect only that which is there in our mind. But this damn politics has its own rule. Here, what is there in your mind should never be reflected on your face. Your face

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should be like one of Atal Ji and what you have to say should be said in such a manner that nobody is able to understand as to what is being said or should also have a face like our colleague Shri Arjun Singh, which it is very difficult to read. Now what is required is to realise that the country needs to be led in the right direction.....(Interruptions)

Shri Atal Ji gave a very good suggestion yesterday. He said that those who were responsible for demolishing the masjid did not belong to his party. He also said that he was not aware as to who were those men who pulled down the masjid. I just said that if something is spoken with a clean heart, it appeals. I am sure that if I am speaking something with a clear heart, it would certainly appeal to you. On the contrary, if I talk like a hypocrite, it will certainly not appeal you....(Interruptions) If Atal Ji is prepared to accept the truth even today, then I am sure, the people of the country would come to believe that his intention was really clear. It should be decided here in the Parliament now and then. Every Chief Minister is aware as to how many Kar Sewaks had gone to Ayodhya. They possess the address of those Kar-Sewaks. They did also provide them train tickets. If Shri Atal Ji is not aware of these things, I assure him that we would help him in this regard...(Interruptions)....I dare say that let the Government take action against them. Let us pass a resolution that action would be taken against all those Kar-Sewaks who had gone to demolish the structure. Let it be proposed by Atal Ji himself...(Interruptions) Leave aside the question of taking action against the Kar-Sewaks, I ask whether Atal Ji would agree to take action even against those Members of Parliament who were working with the Kar-Sewaks. He should do it, if he really has an open mind. I think he would not agree to take any action even against those Members of Parliament who engineered all that happened. I would like to draw his attention to the speeches made by the Members of Parliament who started their journey to Ayodhya from Delhi Railway Station. The

news it's that were published in the newspapers during that period may be recalled. Swami Ji was absolutely right about what he was referring to. I have watched him on cassette. He is seen with folded hands. May be he was requesting all with folded hands to stop what was going on. But, may I ask as to what others, whose name, I do not want to mention, were doing. When the masjid was pulled down they embraced one another out of joy. Their photographs have also been published which I have shown to you. I have shown the photograph of Kumari Uma Bharti in that pose....(Interruptions) He can leave even this. All the Members of his party, I would not like to mention their names, who won the election of 1989 and that of 1991, had played the cassettes containing the speech of Smt. Ritambhara Ji. I would like to submit that a tape of her speech should be played in this House and if the whole House comes to the conclusion that she is a nationalist and not anti-national, then in that case I am ready to beg pardon. This is not all, Atal Ji, when a discussion on Minority Commission was going on, my colleague was then taking it ill. I prayed to them that it would only weaken the country, but nobody paid any attention. What was being said was conveying a different message. These all things acted as catalysts that day. I think I should not refer other things. They do like this, yet he says that their intention is clear, but how should I believe it. (Interruptions)

16.12 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, those who have spoken earlier have discussed all these things at length. But what I want to convey through this House to the people of this country is something very brief and is coming out of my heart. If the intention of the B.J.P. is also clear, then it should be ready to decide the whole issue here in this House itself. Why the issue should be left for the court to be decided? All the Members of this House should sit and decide whether the structure in question was a masjid or a mandir. It is a futile effort to seek the opinion of the people

of the country. We have come to the House through election. We are all the representatives of the people of the country. We are here to mould the opinion of the public. Every question cannot be left for the public to decide. I ask, why can we not arrive at a decision in the House itself. The issue of mandir, masjid should be decided here and here alone. Let us all put forth our points of view and let us arrive at a final decision which should be excepted by all the country....(Interruptions) I have given this suggestion because we know that all the decisions on various issues confronting the country are taken by the Parliament. If the whole House agrees to my proposal then we can sit today and take a decision. I repeat, that all the representatives of the public are sitting here so an announcement may be made tomorrow itself that whatever decision would be taken by the august House regarding the mandir-masjid issue will have to be accepted by all the countrymen and that no citizen of the country would have a different view point. But the point is, Shri Atal Ji should stand up and declare on his behalf and on behalf his party that the decision of the House, whatever it may be, will be accepted by them. But the irony is that he does not possess that much large a heart.

It is all politics and things will not improve unless we rise above the party politics. Shri Buta Singh Ji was saying correctly yesterday that unless the last target of politics is achieved one of my colleagues asked as to what the C.R.P.F. was doing there. You know, only the hon. Minister of Home Affairs or the Hon. Prime Minister can give a suitable reply in this regard. Whatever information is with me, according to that the demolition of the dome started at around 11.40, 11.45. The news came that damage has been caused to the dome and it was still being demolished so the C.R.P.F. should be called. The Tahsildar said that he would pass the order of deploying the C.R.P.F. only after having a consent from the hon. Chief Minister. The A.D.M. or the D.M. was also present there. The C.R.P.F. were ready. The hon. Chief Minister ultimately sent a message that the C.R.P.F. should not be allowed

to enter the premises. He said that there was no need to take arms there. So the arms should not be taken inside the premises. He further said in the message that the C.R.P.F. might be allowed to go in, but they should not carry arms with them if they are ready for that then OK otherwise the C.R.P.C. should be sent back....(Interruptions)

It is a fact. He should not adopt partial attitude. This issue does not pertain only to his party or to my party. We should try to find the correct solution. We are ready to accept our mistake but they should also be ready to accept their faults in clear terms. I say there is still time to come forward with a clear heart if at all we want to generate an atmosphere of mutual trust in the country. If it is not done, then I warn Atal Ji that the people of the country are no longer going to depend upon us. People will start taking decision in the streets. It will then be a great problem.

The C.R.P.F. was not allowed to enter the premises. He boasts that the Chief Minister resigned owning the responsibility. I ask, at what time did he resign and at what time the centre was apprised of it. Only when all the domes had been pulled down to the earth...(Interruptions)

You know, this was the reason why I did not want to refer to all these things. I knew that it would not be liked by you people. So I was avoiding to go into this detail. I do not want to create a situation in which he should come forward to defend it. But it is a fact, a fact that is on record. I have risen to make an appeal. Today the heart of every responsible soul is filled with grief, irrespective of the party and organisation to which he belongs. He has suffered a great shock. Shri Somnath Ji was very right when he said yesterday that our policy of secularism has been called into question. However, it is simply a question mark on our policy of secularism. But it has not yet been done away with. I appeal that if at all we want to remove this question-mark put on our policy of secularism, we should come forward with a clean intention and we should reaffirm our faith in the policy of secularism. We should also clearly affirm

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that we would follow our policy of secularism, without any reservation. If they affirm like this, I assure the Government too will not lag behind, this House too will not lag behind. But, of course, some boldness has to be shown for it.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Please speak something about the dismissal of the three State Assemblies.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: I will speak about that also. Intention becomes clear when one has boldness. (*Interruptions*)

I know that all of them are agrieved, but what they are lacking is courage to speak it out. But unless they muster courage they cannot come to any concrete decision.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had said at the very outset that we who are in the Government would also not be excused by the people of the country, they would ask as to why we could not protect the masjid. We have given an assurance in the beginning nobody would even be able to touch the structure, that Masjid would be protected but in spite of that it was demolished. So the Government too would have to give answer as to why it could not save the structure. We cannot escape from this responsibility. I am again requesting Atalji as a younger brother that today it is an opportunity, Chandra Shekhar Ji has asked you to join his party but I shall not ask you to do so. You can bring reforms by remaining in that party only. Our all the Members are not the people who follow ideology. Ten-twelve members have gone to your side as they were not given Congress tickets. I am talking honestly. It depends upon you. If you will fight honestly and with good intentions then the dignity of the country can be safeguarded. Otherwise it will spread to every village. Don't spread it further? If you want to come to power, there are many other ways. Don't capture power by breaking the country.

Atalji, I have said this thing because the military training, passing out of military officers on 6th October if you wish, I can tell the name of that military officer, Retired Brigadier...\*

He hails from Gujarat. We know his name. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the hon. Member will not be able to prove the allegation regarding military training and about the name of the Brigadier, would he resign from the membership of the Lok Sabha? (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI RAM NAIK: Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

SHRI RAM NAIK: The hon. Minister is making the wildest charges against a military person who had retired. Can he make such wildest charges in the House?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Sir, let me clarify.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Have they got any protection? I can understand their political differences...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Shri Naik, let me clarify.

SHRI RAM NAIK: I am asking the hon. Speaker to rule on this. There should be some limit for making the wildest charges.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: I have read it. Let me be very frank. I have given it for you information. You verify it and if it is wrong, I will take it back. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM KAPSE (Thane): We are Government by some rules. The facts which

are not verified should not go on record. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Let it not go on record. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: The name will not go on record. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: You have levelled this allegation. If this allegation is proved wrong, will Shri Pilot resign? (*Interruptions*) A.C.B.I. inquiry should be conducted into this matter. The Prime Minister should give orders in this regard. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have given this information so that the House may share it. I am requesting Atalji to find out the facts. Training has been imparted. I have mentioned the name of the village and the city. I have also referred to the date. After imparting training it was propagated that they would do this job on 6th December. That information has appeared in a magazine too. It would be wrong if I don't share it with the country.

SHRI SHYAM BIHARI MISRA: What was your C.I.D. doing?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these words I would like to request my colleagues once again to proceed with honesty and good intention. Only then, we would be able to maintain the unity of the country. If we are ready to work unitedly we can protect the secular image of the country. I request you to be honest and have good intention.

[*English*]

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN (Gobichettipalayam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, NO-Confidence Motion, in a democratic set up, is brought forward on a very big or major issues. In a democracy, it is the last weapon in the armoury of opposition when they totally differ

on economic, foreign or social policies of the Government. It is used only when the political and economic situation has reached such a stage that the opposition feels the Government should be recalled and asked to face the electorate. Normally, a case is made out based on statistics and justification. But this No-Confidence Motion has come at a time when the country is facing after the 6th December incident at Ayodhya.

What is the improvement during the last one and a half years? How has the Government functioned? Has the Government functioned to the extent, where there is justification for such a Motion to even consider? I would like to touch briefly some of the serious happenings in the country after 6th December, 1992.

While anger and anguish over this ghastly incident have overwhelmed millions in this country, there is no escape for certain elements in public life from being held responsible for this despicable act. The demolition of the Babri Masjid will remain a symbol of shame for the nation, particularly for the majority community. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh was giving assurances to the Central Government which turned out to be thoroughly bogus. If Shri Kalyan Singh had any idea about the importance of the commitments he had made to the Supreme Court, he should have anticipated the grave risk he was taking in handing an unmanageably massive crowd, which by its very nature was beyond any discipline.

Instead of asking for more central force, the Chief Minister was protesting against the despatch of whatever force the Union Home Ministry had sent as a matter of precaution. The main point to note is that the B.J.P. Government in Uttar Pradesh were assuring the judiciary, Parliament and the public that the disputed areas would not be touched as per the Supreme Court directive. It is not only that. During the critical days after the National Integration Council meeting on November 23, senior B.J.P. leaders were

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working out some settlement terms with the Central Government.

The unfortunate incident of 6th December has threatened the secular fabric of our country. On behalf of the All India Anna D.M.K. I condemn the demolition of the mosque.

In Tamil Nadu, the Government of Tamil Nadu called a total bandh on 10th December to protest the demolition of the mosque. I feel the Government of India is justified in dismissing the Government of Uttar Pradesh on this ground.

No doubt the U.P. Government is fully responsible for this happening, since it was as much the Centre's solemn duty to protect the Babri Masjid structure. It was all the time given out that the Centre was on the alert while the talks for a settlement were continuing. The hon. Prime Minister himself had made the solemn assurance on 15th August in his speech from the ramparts of Red Fort that the mosque would be protected as much as the Government would like the proposed temple coming up. When there was sufficient time for the Centre to come to a negotiated settlement on this sensitive issue, neither the Prime Minister nor the Government utilized this opportunity fully to solve this issue amicably.

This communal approach can hardly be halted by mere seminars on secularism, but only by launching a nation-wide mass movement for Hindu-Muslim amity, which alone can provide the surest guarantee for genuine secularism in the country.

After this incident of 6th December, the Government has banned the five organisations. In a crackdown on the five organisations, the State Governments including those run by the B.J.P., have arrested many activists, raided their offices and sealed their bank accounts. In my State-Tamil Nadu 135 activists have been arrested and prosecution launched.

Eleven bank accounts of the banned organisations have been frozen and 34 places have been declared as unlawful. Our hon. Chief Minister Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi strongly and unequivocally condemned the demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya and the forces which have caused the communal violence in the country.

I, on behalf of the All India Anna D.M.K. Party express our anguish at the happening and wish to reiterate our resolve that the Party will ceaselessly endeavour to uphold the secular and democratic traditions of our country and for the maintenance of the Rule of Law.

We also convey our sympathies and condolences to all the victims of the tragic incidents which have been caused after the Ayodhya incident and demand from the Government all necessary steps to rehabilitate the affected people. We also appeal to the people of the country to maintain peace and communal harmony.

I would like to say a few words on the dismissal of the B.J.P. Governments in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. I feel it is a political blunder on the part of the Government.

SHRI ANBARASU ERA (Madras central): Sir, I am on a point of order. The very same Government had wanted the dismissal of Karunanidhi Government. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order.

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN: Sir, instead of weakening the sectarian forces this step is likely to strengthen them. Dismissal of duly elected Governments is certainly not the answer to the problems created by the Ayodhya outrage. The grounds on which the President's Rule was imposed in the three States can be questioned by all those who have concern for the smooth working of the Constitution. In invoking Article 356, the Centre has chosen an easy but ineffective course to overcome the crisis it faces. Sir

Article 356 should not be used for taking political vengeance. Sir, I feel that there is no justification in the dismissal of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh Governments. The BJP is not a banned organisation. In U.P. the question is different. The U.P. Government has violated the Court Order, but these three Government have not committed any violation of such Order. So, the Central Government used Article 356 in these cases arbitrarily.

The law and order situation in those three States is relatively good when compared to Congress-ruled States like Maharashtra. The Centre should have at least followed the guidelines spelt out by the Sarkaria Commission in this respect. There was no breakdown of law and order in these States that could even remotely warrant any Central action against their Governments. While more people died in Congress-ruled States, there were only a few deaths in those States under BJP control. On mere apprehension about maintenance of law and order in these States, the President or the Prime Minister should not have acted and this will definitely go against the Constitutional propriety. The Centre should have waited for concrete proof of the State Governments' refusal to enforce the ban before deciding to dismiss them. The Prime Minister thought it wise not to swim against the current. Now the three Governments have been dismissed and the Assemblies dissolved. Dismissing non-Congress Government is not enough for building future hopes. The Government and Party has to develop internal cohesiveness and work out a clear political strategy for itself and the Government ensuring that the democratic values are not violated further by any Party or group.

So many things have been happening within the country during the last few decades in the name of religion, secularism, protection of minority interests etc. The calamity of December 6 was the logical end of a series of exercises in political expediency. The Ruling Party also must own up its own quota of failure. It is now time for all to sit down and take stock of events. People must

be told bluntly that religion is their private affair and the State stands committed fully to secularism. We have already paid a heavy price in the name of religion. Ayodhya cannot be allowed to be repeated again. This must be the end of it.

Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister, to the following serious and urgent matter relating to the deployment of the Army personnel in Tamil Nadu.

All of a sudden the Army has been sent to Tamil Nadu. Neither the Chief Secretary was informed nor the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu was consulted in this matter. On the 15th morning, at about 1.00 a.m. 500 Army personnel landed at Tiruchy without any information and without any clearance by the Tamil Nadu Government. It is learnt that they belong to 93 Shield Regiment, Hyderabad. After their arrival, they have been contacting the Collectors of Tiruchy, Thanjavur and Quaide Millet Districts without any information to the Government of Tamil Nadu.

On 17th, Army personnel moved to Madurai and they have also contacted the Collector of Madurai. It appears that in these meetings they have been enquiring about the communal situation in these districts of the State. Tamil Nadu has been very peaceful after the Ayodhya incident and compared to the rest of India, it is practically trouble-free and fully under control. There had been only two deaths in Melapalayam in Tirunelveli district due to police firing and not due to any communal clash between Hindus and Muslims. It is surprising and shocking why Army has been sent to Tamil Nadu which is most peaceful even after the Ayodhya incident. As a matter of fact, Tamil Nadu is an oasis of peace in the whole country.

Consequent on the arrival of Army, there has been much agitation and panic in the minds of the people. Army had never been called by any Tamil Nadu Government after 1965 anti-Hindi agitation. It is learnt that there had been wide rumours that the Tamil Nadu Government is going to be dismissed

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and newspapers seem to have prepared editorials. I, therefore, strongly condemn the deployment of Army personnel without the knowledge of the Tamil Nadu Government and their moving about in the State of Tamil Nadu without any approval by the Tamil Nadu Government and their contacting of the officials of the State Government without any permission. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister the motive behind deployment of Army in Tamil Nadu which is the most peaceful State.

Finally, I agree that the Nation is passing through difficult days, but for this, not only the ruling party but the opposition is equally responsible. At this critical juncture, there is absolutely no justification of any No-Confidence Motion. The need of the hour is to restore normalcy, confidence and communal harmony. At this juncture, we do not want to destabilise the Government of India. I, therefore, earnestly hope that the Government will not shirk the responsibility entrusted by the people and make all out efforts to fully satisfy all demands, expectations and needs of the people so that an effective parliamentary democratic system is ushered in.

With these words, I oppose the Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers and I request for its rejection.

**THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS (Shri B. Shankaranand):** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry the mover of the Motion is not here at the moment, because I wanted to say something to him.

**MR. SPEAKER:** He said he is not well and he sought my permission to leave the House.

**SHRI B. SHANKARANAND:** I was all the while wondering as to why of all the people, the BJP has brought the No-Confidence Motion. They were not allowing the House to run before they brought this Motion

for a couple of days. If I can understand, perhaps after the calamity on the 6th, in the guilt they were finding themselves isolated in the country. They had no face to show to the nation. They were finding the way as to in what way they should enter this House and beg excuse of this House. There were demands that Mr. Advani should be let off; let him come to the House so that the entire House condemns him. That was the demand. May be, in the heart of hearts, they may be happy that he is not here. Otherwise, you could have seen the whole House condemning him. That must be the reason why this difficult task had been assigned to Vajpayeeji. I could hear his speech entirely from the beginning to the end. He never said a word about his objections to the performance of the Government or he has said as to why he is moving this Motion of NO-Confidence against the Government. As a matter of fact, he gave no reason though he said so many things in his long speech. This difficult task would have been performed only by Mr. Vajpayee and nobody else in the BJP sitting before us. I feel for a senior leader like Mr. Vajpayee because he found it very difficult to express because he found this occasion only to beg excuse of this House for the guilt his Party has committed. That is how, we take it. But one thing he did intelligently, he did try over a long speech to cover up the mistakes, the blunders committed by the BJP both on and after 6th December, 1992. He tried it very intelligently. While trying so, he did try to crack a cleavage in the Cabinet by citing the examples of Duryodhana Dussashan and Dharitrashttra. Perhaps he was speaking about his own Party because he was finding many Durodhanas and Dussashans behind him and that made him to say so. Instead of saying to his Party, he just pointed the finger at us.

Listening to Shri Vajpayee, I should say, the House should know, most of the BJP Members sitting on this side should know, Narashimha is at the helm of affairs and not Dharitrashttra. There is no question of Duryodhana and Dussashan playing with him that much I can say.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH (Mirzapur): Leave aside the talk of Duryodhan and Dussashan and tell us about the position of oil Industries.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: It is not going on record.

*Interruptions*

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing is going on record. All these things are not going on record.

(*Interruptions*)\*

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

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: You follow your own line. You do not have to respond.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: When one is losing the battle, he tries to pick up a quarrel. The subject-matter of the no-confidence motion was not what the Members are raising today. I am prepared to answer this question if it is raised, keeping the record straight....

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing is on record. It need not be replied to.

[*Translation*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am just telling you that who is conspiring to loot is the country.....(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

Mr Speaker, I have risen not to score a debating point on anybody's speech. The

nation is passing through a very serious crisis. I see today in the country, atmosphere which was existing at the time of partition and before partition. All the leaders, all the parties here today are really aware of these things. What is the need of the hour today: should there be communal harmony or not; should there be peace and tranquility in this country or not; should we not do what we should have done to keep this communal harmony, the tranquility which is the most fundamental basis for the nation, for its unity and integrity? Should we not do such things?

What has been done on 6th December is not only a guilt but a crime against the nation. The BJP Members who are sitting before me, I do not know, what labels they have under their garment. Above that, they have the cloth of BJP. How many belong to Vishwa Hindu Perished, how many belong to Bajrang Dal, how many belong to the R.S.S., of course, it is for you to see. Truth you have to speak and I will come to that point. (*Interruptions.*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: What do you mean by mentioning the name of R.S.S. We do not want protection from you. We have already declared our affiliation with R.S.S. I am a member of R.S.S. which is a banned organisation. You may hang me for this affiliation.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: If you have done any such thing you will definitely be hanged.

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: We are ready for that. We would celebrate it, if we are hanged for the sake of the nation.

[*English*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Mr. Speaker, Sir, today by these loudmouthed speeches, they are trying to convince this country that they have not committed any

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crime. The entire world is now looking at India, whether India had the moral authority to speak to the world. Other leaders are looking at us for direction, help and assistance in solving world problems. That moral authority you have disturbed. you have destroyed the confidence that the nation had kept.

This is the situation today. Will this no-confidence help build up the atmosphere that we want to create? I have heard many people and many leaders asking where is the Government. The need of the hour is a strong Government. It is only when there is a strong and stable Government that protection can be given to the minorities, the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes. But you want to destabilise the Government.

Don't point finger to the Prime Minister. The nation is fortunate that we have Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister of India. He had started on a philosophy of consensus. He wanted to carry the nation on progressive path carrying everybody with him. Is it a crime or mistake to trust you people? He expected help from you in this building activity. Who betrayed him? You are the betrayers in the entire atmosphere. You betrayed the Prime Minister. You betrayed the nation. You betrayed the Hindu society and the Hindu religion and its philosophy. Not only they attacked the disputed structure. Not only they betrayed the people, They betrayed the judiciary is of this country also.

What the press had done? They made an attack on the press. In the name of kar sevaks, I do not say gangsters, they attacked the press people, who are very important media persons. Many of them went and met the President of India also and they submitted and I quote from the papers:

"We as professional community feel betrayed. The experience of last Sunday was unique and hair-raising. Hundreds of media men and women were kicked, punched, knifed, terrorised and set upon by

frenzied mobs."

Naturally, the President was shocked. It is but natural for the Government that we have set up inquiry in these matters also.

Do you want to weaken the Prime Minister and the Government? What do you expect at this hour of the nation? Naturally, the good of the nation is at our heart. We expect a strong Government and a strong nation. That is what the Prime Minister is doing. Is it his mistake to be a democrat? With the best intention of containing communal harmony, he trusted you and you promised to keep peace and you promised him not to pull the mosque. But what have you done? You have not only betrayed him but you have betrayed the entire nation also.

I do not want to take much of the time of the House. It was done on 6th December. My friend just now said that 6th December was the Parinirvana day of Dr. Ambedkar, the great son of this country, who gave Constitution to this country. I am going to quote him at the end of my speech here.

Now, at the same time, on the morning of 6th, the Prime Minister came to garland the statue of Dr. Ambedkar. Do you know who were the people present there? They were all the people who were the suppressed and the oppressed lot of this country, who have their high expectations from the maintainers of the Constitution and the Government maintains a Constitution. The *Buddh Bikshugan* was there near the statue. All the Buddhists of this country had gathered at the Boat Club and they were agitating there. What was the reason? The reason was that they must be allowed to have their management in *Bodh Gaya*. They have been disturbed by the so-called Hindu religious people. Now, if this is the case, if you want to disturb every other religion and its functioning in this country, perhaps you are doing injustice to this country. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: You reply to

my allegations. You reply as to why three legislative Assemblies have been dissolved. (Interruptions)

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatanam): Mr. speaker, Sir, what is happening? Why are they disturbing us? Are we less in number? (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am coming to that.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: What is it that you are talking? (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SHYAMBIHARI MISRA (Bilaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, all these people are delivering such speeches which would incite communal feelings. Don't make such speeches which would hurt the feelings of the people. Sir, these people have disintegrated the country by delivering such speeches. (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: What they have done - 'they' mean the BJP in the name of God. I do not know whether it appeals the God; whether it appeals Lord Rama. I do not think it so. You must have said that it is done in the name of Lord Rama. Of course. I do not want to go into the history of Ramayana. That is a different matter. The Ramayana is being interpreted by many people in many ways. I do not want to go into those aspects. I do not want to hurt the feelings of any religious community. Everyone should be proud of his religion. There should not be any objection to this. Everyone should be proud of his religion.

Sir, at this moment, may I tell you one thing if I can go into the religious history of this country, during the last many centuries, there has been a Hindu exodus to many other religions right from Christianity to Jainism,

Buddhism etc. The Lingayats and other people have left this religion for Islam etc. Why have the people left this religion? Have you ever tried to examine this aspect? In the name of religion, you have been committing insults, atrocities and indignities on the large section of the society. Is it the Hindutva that you are going to build up in this country? Is it the Hindu Rashtra that you want to build up in this country? Why are the people leaving this religion? Have you heard Dr. Ambedkar speaking on the Vijaya Dashmi day of 1956? (Interruptions) I am going to tell you. I am not going to yield. I am going to tell you now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK: If you can yield for a moment, I will seek a clarification from you. There is likely to be a misunderstanding in our minds. You said that the lingayats have left the Hindu religion. Are lingayats not Hindus, according to you?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am just telling you. If you know the history of Veerashaiva, it will be clear. Lord Bashava who established the Veerashaiva religion was a Brahmin. When he was a young chap, he was a Brahmin who founded the Veerashaiva religion. When he was a young boy, the religious function of given the sacred thread was to be conducted. The elders of the Brahmin community want and told the tender boy like this: "Now you have to get this sacred thread." The Lord young Basava asked Why? Is it necessary? They said: "Yes, unless you wear the sacred thread, you will not be a Brahmin." Three boy further asked: "Who was my father? They said: "Your father was a Brahmin." The boy asked: Did he have *yajonpaveetam*? They said: "Yes". then the boy asked: what about my mother? The elders said that it was not given to her. Then, the boy said: "My mother is not a Brahmin. My father is a Brahmin. Why do you want to give it to me?"

MR. SPEAKER: Let us, by words and deeds, try to unite; let us not divide.

(Interruptions)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: You must listen. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI SHYAM BIHARI MISRA: Mr Speaker, Sir, these people are making such speeches which will disintegrate the country. These people have brought the country in such a position by making such communal speeches. *(Interruptions)* They are responsible for it as they have made such statements. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT: It is not a part of the Hindu society. It is a social evil. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Social atrocities are committed by the large sections of people in the name of untouchables. Is there any religion in this world which treats its own brothers as untouchables—worse than even animals? Can you tell us? Are you not ashamed of it? Improve your religion. If you want to build up the Hindu Rashtra, you do not forget your religion.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHETAN P.S. CHAUHAN (Amroha): In Australia, the aborigine who are Christians are treated very shabbily, they are discriminated. In America also the black people who are Christians are being discriminated. *(Interruptions)*

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

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Do you deny that in the field of Hinduism, indignities, atrocities, insults are not committed on the backward classes and untouchables? Do you want to deny that? Do not deny that. Harijans are not only kept outside, they are

out of the caste. They are called out caste. Have you done..... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHYAM BIHARI MISRA: No cases of atrocities were registered during 17 months regime of B.J.P. in Uttar Pradesh Atrocities were committed in your regime. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You are not supposed to reply to all the speeches made here.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER: It is not good for you. It is not necessary. I am not allowing you.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: He is not yielding and I am not allowing.

*(Interruptions)*[Sh. P.G. Narayanan]\*

MR. SPEAKER: This is not going on record.

*(Interruption)\**

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: He is disturbing me. I am not yielding. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: It is not going on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to tell the BJP MPs that I am not speaking anything against the religion. I am requesting you that instead of going to the Babri Masjid and Ram Mandir, go to the Harijan localities. Go to their hearts and establish your Ram temple in their hearts. Have you ever done that? Please touch your hearts and tell me. Have you gone to these people? What happened in Rajasthan when the Harijans were burnt and killed in large scale? What happened when the temple was not opened in Madhya Pradesh for Harijans, the people who build the temple? *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): You should tell that in which part of Madhya Pradesh it happened. Under whose regime was it done? (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Sir, I should be expunged from the proceedings of the House. It would not be better to keep it in the record. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am saying that nothing will go on record who will speak without my permission. You need not speak without having any purpose. ... (Interruptions)

Virendraji, you please sit down.... (Interruptions)

17.00 hrs.

[English]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: It is a fact that a majority of the Lingayats in Karnataka, today, they belong to the backward class and scheduled castes. It is a fact that all those people who have joined other religions, they were all Hindus before they joined them. That is also a fact. but, why are the people leaving this religion? Can you tell me?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM KAPSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. In spite of your directions to please utter such words which will combine that hearts together and not to utter anything else, it is being done.

MR. SPEAKER: My decision on your point of order is that the Speaker is not entitled to direct anybody to speak in any manner. It is for their judgment and wisdom to say anything which is proper.

SHRI RAM KAPSE: But you have already suggested that.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: May I

appeal to the BJP Members to take up the cause of the weaker sections, to take up the cause of the Scheduled Castes, to take up the cause of the untouchables and other backward classes and not to demolish the structures, and to build temples in the hearts of the weaker sections. Your efforts should be directed to reform religion about which you should be proud of. You should not be ashamed of admitting the guilt and the atrocities committed on the backward classes in the name of religion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, is it the crime of the people who were within the code of Hindu religion, who were denied all social opportunities and other opportunities for economic development? Is it their mistake? It had all been done in the name of religion. I want to quote a paragraph from the judgement on the Mandal Commission issue delivered by the Supreme Court. The learned Judge said and I quote:

"Though I am not inclined to exhaustively elaborate the untold agony and immeasurable sufferings undergone by the people in the lower strata under the label of their respective caste, I cannot avoid but citing a jarring piece of information appearing in the Report. The noted and renowned Sociologist J.R. Kamble in Rise & Awakening of Depressed Classes in India published by National Publishing House, New Delhi had quoted a passage from the issue of 'Hindu date 24.12.1932 as an example of visual pollution existing in Tinnevelly (Tamil Nadu) which the Mandal Commission has extracted in Chapter IV vide para 413 of its report:

In this (Tinnevelly) district there is a class of unseeables called urada vannans. They are not allowed to come out during day time because their sight is considered to be pollution. Some of these people who wash the clothes of other exterior castes working

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between midnight and daybreak, were with difficulty persuaded to leave their houses to interview."...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M.R. KADAMBUR JANARTHANAN (Tirunelveli): Tinnevely comes under my constituency. It is not a fact and there is nothing like that.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am quoting from the judgement. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur): Please tell what happened right from Bofors to oil industry.....(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Please do not defend the indefensible caste system. Are you going to defend the caste system?

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: Nobody is defending that caste system.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: What are you talking about? You cannot defend the caste system. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Without building fraternity, you cannot build a nation.

I do not want to take the time of the House. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL : You have sucked the blood of the exploited people. People like you have taken advantage of them in the name of the exploited people (*Interruptions*)

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT: People enjoying power are talking of disintegrating the society, the country.. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Whatever is said without permission, will not go on record.

(*Interruptions*)\*

[*English*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I once again plead with the Members; let them not defend the indefensible case. Let them not do that. They will be doing tremendous harm to the religion to which we all belong. This country had lost independence; let us not lose it again, in the words of Dr. Ambedkar. I want to quote Dr. Ambedkar when he presented the draft Constitution to the Constituent Assembly. Dr. Ambedkar said:

"My mind is so full of the future of our country that I feel I ought to take this occasion to give expression to some of my reflections thereon. On 26th January 1950, India will be an independent country. What would happen to her independence?"...(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: Reddaiah Ji, you are disturbing Shankaranand Ji.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I want to reiterate the warning given by Dr. Ambedkar. Please, for God's sake listen to the reason... (*Interruptions*)... That shows the guilty mind. I want to continue with the quotation.

"Will she maintain her independence or will she lose it again? This is the first thought that comes to my mind. It is not that India was never an independent country. The point is that she once lost the independence she had. Will she lose it a second

time? It is this thought which makes me most anxious for the future."

Further he says that history has repeated itself:

"It is this thought which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realisation of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creeds, we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds."

This he says in 1949.

"Will Indians place the country above their creed or will they place creed above country?"

This is the question Dr. Ambedkar posed. Ultimately he said:

"Let us not forget that this independence has thrown on us great responsibilities. By independence, we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If hereafter things go wrong we will have nobody to blame except ourselves. There is great danger of things going wrong. Times are fast changing. People including our own are being moved by new ideologies. They are getting tired of Government by the people. They are prepared to have Government for the people and are indifferent whether it is Government of the people and by the people. If we wish to preserve the Constitution in which we have sought to enshrine the principle of Government of the people, for the people and by the people, let us resolve not to be tardy in the recognition of the evils that lie across. Our path and which induce people to prefer Government for the people to Government by the people, nor to be weak in our initiative to remove them. That is the only way to serve the country. I know of no better."

I quote this because on 6th December, you have brought this country to the crossroads. You are dividing the nation. You are dividing the people on the basis of religion. Please do not do crimes against the nation.

By having brought this no-confidence motion, you have tried to wash your sins. You have expressed your guilt. You have admitted your guilt. Beg excused to the House. Beg excused to the nation. The nation is willing to excuse you. In the interest of the nation, do not treat the people belonging to other religions as aliens. They have the right to live in this country. They have the right to govern this country. They have the right to share political power in this country. Let not religion divide all of us and weaken the nation.

I once again say that BJP has really admitted its guilt. Punishment according to law should proceed. We will take all steps—firm steps—to punish the guilty. Let not our brothers, who are belonging to the scheduled castes, weaker sections or minorities, feel that they are an unprotected lot. The country is with us. It belongs to us. We will live in this country. We will die in this country. We will share the progress of this country and future of this country. It is not your monopoly to rule. We are awakened and we will rule this country.

[Translation]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Ponnai) Mr. Speaker, Sir, today our country is passing through a historic phase and 'No Confidence Motion' has been moved in the House. The people who have thrown secularism and the traditions of the country to the winds, the people who have demolished a place of worship have come to plead their case. I don't know how do they dare to do so. They brought dishonour to the country and how they defend it. It is hypocrisy, who will be impressed by it I fail to understand. Everybody is overwhelmed with grief. My feelings are hurt and I am in a terrible throes. Today I know that I am being attached, I am being made the target for damaging the integrity

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and the secularism in the country. What their intentions are, is yet to be understood. Their intention is not to demolish a mosque. There is not a conspiracy to pull down a place of worship. The conspiracy is that a Hindu nation is established in my country after pulling down the mosque. These conspiracies are being hatched. They cannot be ruled out. We have holy book like the Bible the Quran, the Guru Granth Sahib etc. What do they teach? People living here are not ready to accept us the Muslims, our brothers, the untouchables. the backwards.

[English]

They are not prepared to accept us as citizens of this country. They want to make us second-rate citizens.

[Translation]

At the same time, they want that we lose our identity and are rendered not more than slaves. This would not be allowed to happen. So long as even a single secularist is there in the country, this would not happen. We, the Muslims will favour secular forces. We would fight for justice and secularism and maintain our identity, and if the God's blessings are with us, we would succeed.

Sir, I am speaking with deep anguish today. I will have to make some harsh submissions. Truth is bitter:

"Kar mujhe Ghalib is talakh navai se maaf, Aaj dard mere dil mein siwa hota hai."

Since my heart is filled with pain, I am speaking in this manner and I would urge upon my B.J.P. colleagues to please forgive me. I still consider them as my friends because I think God will take them to right path. They will again change and start loving their nation, they will not ruin it, This is my belief and that is why my submission is that my B.J.P. colleagues may please bear with me. I may please be given a little time to speak so

that I may express my views.

I am still hopeful, the calamity had come upon me. There is no such example in history of the last thousands of years. Islam is as old as one thousand and four hundred years and no such incident occurred during this long period. But still I am hopeful. Because I observe that secular forces have stood up. My pure hearted Hindu brethren have raised their voice in every nook and corner of the country and condemned the act and the entire has condemned it saying that they would not let injustice to be done. They condemned the demolition of the mosque. You spoke not even a single word to condemn this act, rather you pleaded for it. Today I am happy that secular forces are with us.

They are with us because they do realise that it is a big threat to the country. They are with us because they feel that the a mosque has not only come down but the hearts of people have been broken. Every citizen's heart has broken. They feel that secularism had been thrown to the winds and (*Interruptions*) law has been violated. It is due to their realisation of these factors that they are with us.

Human unity is talked of. Is it the very human unity of India that blood is shed here. There many others here, should they all be finished? A slogan should be given "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan." It may be that in a country where there is diversity of religious and languages. (*Interruptions*) Where all have to live unitedly with one another and where all have to maintain their respective identities. Today we talk of "Vande Matram". Why do you oppose it. It is spoken only under compulsion. What is this, they say that if you have to live in India you will have to say 'Vande mataram'. Who has put this condition, it is not in the Constitution. This sort of slogan is raised, it is wrong. At present also such slogans are being raised that in order to live in this nation, one has to say 'Vande Matram'....(*Interruptions*) This is the *Kar Seva*. This type of mentality is not proper. I have seen it in Maharashtra that people

there were saying that quit India, quit Hindustan and it is being said to us that even than if we wish to live here we would have to live under suppression:

"Ae Sakht Jani ki Dad De, Ae Dost  
Jiyen Ham Tere Jamane Mein."

We are living at your mercy, your such virtues need to be praised. Today our image has been tarnished....(*Interruptions*) Today you give your clarifications. Who has sown the seeds of hatred in this country. I am asking this question as to who has created an atmosphere of hatred against us? We muslims are as much patriots as you are but who sowed the seeds of hatred and misunderstanding against us in the name of religion and now you talk of shedding hatred. You say that Muslims have been fighting for the last 500 years but this is untrue. There has been no dispute for the last 500 years it only started in 1949 when some fanatics intruded the mosque, till then there was no dispute, nobody had any claim on that mosque but it all started when some people surreptitiously came there.

[*English*]

The idols were placed surreptitiously by mischievous elements.

[*Translation*]

It is clear that you placed idols there and the dispute started thereafter. Now they say that they did not want to demolish the mosque. Prior to this they were not even ready to accept the existence of mosque there. It is in the History that Muslims had been offering 'Namaz' there for the last 500 years but they were not ready to accept this fact and had been saying that this is not the mosque. Then they said that a structure is there and expressed their desire to built a temple there. This all happened before demolishing the mosque. Then you went on breaking your number of promises and the Government of Shri Narsimha Rao was so innocent that she kept on believing their promises. We knew their motives but our Prime Minister believed

them like anything. Where Shri Narshimha Rao became the Prime Minister we knew that he is liberal, wise and intelligent person but I am sorry to say that he could not understand the whole conspiracy and promises were broken. It always happens that Muslims are killed and mosques are demolished and we hang our head in shame but nobody comes with a solution. You have broken a number of promises, Shri Buta Singh also said that on 27th September, 1989 some promises were made but they were all broken. Then in N.I.C. Mr. Advani promised that the mosque will not be touched and peace will be maintained there and they will abide by the court ruling. The same thing was repeated by Shri Kalyan Singh that Mosque would not be touched and it would be protected, not only once but tens of times but those people are nowhere today. They tell here that they are not guilty.

Our colleague Shri Gulam Nabi Azad gave a good speech. I support him. He said that an affidavit was filed and they believed it but they were cheated. Why did you not understand it. Always promises were made and always they betrayed us.

Why do they take out this Rath Yatra. What was its aim, its only aim was to demolish the Mosque and construct a temple. Then there are some other friends who proceeded on Ekta-Yatra. Their only intention was to unfurl the national flag in the Kashmir. They said that till now the National flag has not been hoisted in the Kashmir, what is all this. Then, it was announced that Kar Seva would begin from 6th. Who did all this? It was a sudden unilateral declaration. Discussions are going on and they are making efforts to sort out the things. But what happened, an announcement was made on 6th and two valiant persons one Shri Advaniji and other Shri Murli Manohar Joshi proceeded from Bearas and Mathura for Ayodhya. What was their intention? They were mobilising as well as provoking the people. They were instigating them. We were unaware of it. They provoked the feelings of Kar Sewaks and asked them to come to Ayodhya in lakhs and even then they are saying that they did not

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know what was happening. If you did not know then who else knew it? These things are not meant for maintaining peace. You are responsible for it, you have hatched a conspiracy, you asked the Kar Sewaks to gather there. You made announcements to this effect. On the one hand, you say in the Supreme Court that you would not do anything against the law. You would only do symbolic kar seva chant Bhajans and that is all. Then you make an announcement from there. That we would not chant bhajans but construct the temple

"Dorangi Chhor de Ekranga hoja,  
Sarasar Mom Ho ja Ya Saang ho  
ja."

Do not apply double standards. You cannot do this forever. This type of mentality should not be there. You say one thing in the Supreme Court and the other before the people, how long will this go on? This cannot go on. This duplicity had been unearthed. The biggest tragedy in the history of the World had taken place and with that the traditions of India have been dishonoured, the Law of the land and the Supreme Court have been deceived. I would say:

"Itni Na Badha Tangiye Daman Ki  
Hikayat,  
Daman ko Jara Dekh, Jara Range  
Kuban Dekh."

Vajpayeeji is not here. All these are facts. We know about it. Our heart is burning and weeping. But with that we pity on the innocence of our Government. They do not learn a lesson even after being deceived number of times and in the last the dignity of india is dishonoured and even then your Government does not act.

What Swami Chinmayanand was doing there. Now the truth has surfaced. This is an eye-opener. He was saying that they had given an ultimatum that if the locks were not opened by 8th they would break them because Babri Masjid was locked and prayers

were not being offered there as well as 'Darshan' were not allowed. Who gave this ultimatum? The friends belonging to Sangh gave this ultimatum. Government came under pressure. The court also pressed for it. As a result of it the locks were broken on 1st February, 1986. Then we said that we would go for Shilanyuas, the Government is free to take any action. The permission in this regard was not granted till 9th then we performed Shilanyas. The Government can under pressure. Then what happened that kar seva continued and the Government failed to take any action until the platform was constructed. Our heart weeps, I am saying it with heavy heart, it may pinch you. I said:

"Chaman mein talakh navai meri  
gavara kar,  
Jahar bhi karta hai kahin katon se  
yaari."

this is a fact and one cannot deny it.

You always believed them. You believed them blindly. We had gone near Birla Mandir. It is not such a matter which should be concealed. We said that you have lost the credibility. You said that you have been cheated, but why did you not understand it. You have been unable to recognise these people, we put this allegation on you. You did not take timely action. Had you not been ignorant, evasive then the law of the land, the mosque and the secularism could have been saved and this incident would not have happened. I intend to do some thing and then think about the pros and cons of it and then leave that idea, this has been the tendency of the Government. She did not take any action. When we went to meet the Prime Minister and expressed our confidence in him that he would save the Mosque, the nation and the traditions. We were given full assurance. Then what happened in N.I.C. All the parties jointly supported him in order to save the Mosque, the traditions and the nation. But you did not do anything. It ruined everything and the image of the country was tarnished. You did not take any timely action. You could do it on 26th or 5th Dec. but why

you did not do so. you could even do it on 6th at 12 O' clock. I agree that your central forces could not take any action unless the State Government had asked to do so. But ultimately you were the authority but you could not take a decision. A magistrate was sent there but he was obstructed to go further. Kalyan Singh said that if you wish to go ahead then take arms and do so. The Government continued to remain a mute spectator and the entire force also remained a mute spectator. At 11.30 O'Clock, the demolition of the Masjid begins and the dome collapses and the entire game is over. At 6 p.m. the Cabinet holds its meeting and the Uttar Pardesh Government is dismissed, when Shri Kalyan Singh has already tendered his resignation. These are mind-boggling happenings. Yesterday Shri Vajpayee said that why does the Government say that it will reconstruct the Masjid. This is the promise of the Government and to what extent its image will improve in the world is known to all very well. The image of the Government has been tarnished, the country has been ruined and the Masjid has been demolished, secularism has come to naught and the justice has been murdered. Vajpayee ji says why does it talk of Masjid. Masjid was there and it has to be reconstructed. How can it be said that Masjid was not there... (Interruptions) The Prime Minister had announced from the ramparts of the Red Fort on 15th August that masjid would be protected. It was said in the Parliament also that the masjid will be protected. When it is said, my colleagues get angry. Masjid was there it must be reconstructed there and the confidence which Muslims have lost should be restored. It may probably take some time. It will necessitate dialogue. People will have to be convinced. All sorts of efforts will have to be made. But everything is happening in contrary to it. A platform was raised there and some idols were kept and reports are appearing in newspapers that 'darshan' will also be allowed. The Masjid had been pulled down., platform has been raised and idols kept there which is illegal and is against the directives of the Supreme Court. Therefore, the Government will have to think over it and consult the Supreme Court in this regard.

What is happening today? Babarism reigned supreme continuously for eight days. Why should we talk of far off places. Even what continued to happen in Seelampur is known well to all. If anyone does not know, he may visit Seelampur and see what happened there. Killings continued, houses continued to be blazed, and blood continued to flow in the lanes. Man was killing man and the monster was sucking the blood of the innocent.

The same situation was there in Bombay, Jaipur, Surat, Kanpur, Varanasi, Gulbarga, Calcutta, Bidar and other parts of the country. Everywhere there was the reign of the police. I want to say that it was not a Hindu-Muslim riot, it was atrocity by police. It is quite clear. One may go there and see. Houses were burnt, bullets were fired at foreheads, and chest of people and not at their legs. Houses were looted, burnt and destroyed. The children, who have been orphaned, cannot get back their parents who were killed in riots. The sisters, who have lost their marital bliss, cannot get back the same. The Government should realise all these things. It is the duty of the Government to protect the life and property of every urbanite and the Centre should have controlled the situation immediately which deteriorated in various States ruled by the Opposition which failed to do so. In order to win the confidence of the people once more and restore and maintain peace and harmony, the reconstruction of the masjid is essential. The lost confidence of muslims must be restored.

Moreover, the plice officials who are guilty of dereliction of duty and who did not discharge their duties properly and were involved in killings and lootings, should be suspended, prosecuted and punished, At the same time, riot victims must be given compensation. Besides, the dependents of those killed and shot dead must be paid compensation. It is for the Government to decide whether the compensation amount is Rs. one lakh or two lakh. At the same time, the injured should also be given compensation and he should be completely rehabilitated. If the Government does so, we will

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

think that the Government believes in justice and it can there by frustrate communal and secessionist politics. If such decisions are made and implemented by the Government, peace and harmony can be restored in the country to a great extent.

Now the question is as to what arrangements were made by the Government after the 6th December. The Government banned few organisations. I realise that the Government has done the right thing. These are the organisations which have played with law and conventions, these are the organisations which have impinged the secularism in the country, these are the organisations which have set rule of law at naught, and these are the organisations which have pulled down Masjid. It was quite necessary to put a ban on such organisations. Since these organisations are hostile to country's interests, they cannot be allowed to go scot free. The highest casualties were there in Bombay, because the Shiv Sena enjoys full freedom there. The Government should understand this fact and it should not turn a blind eye to this fact. Rather, it is necessary to take remedial steps. So, these are the organisations which have done a heavy damage to the nation and it was quite desirable to impose ban on them.

So far as justice is concerned, the murderer is hanged, The act of murder will be treated as crime, but what sort of justice is this that the Jamat-e-Islami was banned just to strike a balance? I have made a submission to the hon. Prime Minister who has assured me to look into the matter. It is necessary to understand all these things. Moreover, there are two or three more points that need to be understood. Shri Vajpayee has delivered a long speech here ...

**MR. SPEAKER:** Shri Sulaiman how much time do you want now you have already spoken for 50 minutes....

**SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT:** So, far as divine laws are concerned, they are

not just common laws Governing marriages. Our hon. Prime Minister understands it very well because he is a very learned man. He knows Urdu, Persian and perhaps Arabic as well. He knows what 'Shariat' is. It is a divine law and every Muslim is supposed to abide by it. It cannot be taken as just a marriage law. It is personal law. So far as Sarjah was referred, millions of Hindus and Muslims live together in Gulf countries happily. They earn their livelihood there; bring money with them here and support their families. A drama was staged there. A statement was made in India which was interpreted to the effect that a contempt was made to the prophet of Muslims. They will have to safeguard the country in which they are living. I am telling all these things because today the no-confidence motion is there before the Government. It is very surprising that on the one hand, there are people, who are responsible for all the killings and lootings and violation of all laws and conventions and who took the lives of Muslims, and on the other hand, there is the Congress Government, dedicated to secularism, which showed laxity in making arrangements to avert these happenings. In such a situation, one lands in trouble, but I can understand that even today there are secular-minded people who love justice. I would like to say that it should not be taken for granted that if the Government does not provide us fair deal and if such unfair treatments continued to be meted out to us, our places of worship continued to be desecrated we will have to review our stand to extend support to the Government. We want to live with secular organisations. The C.P.I., the C.P.M., the Janata, the Congress and we all have to fight communal forces collectively. The Government may tackle this problem judiciously. If the Government does not tackle the problem judiciously and does not take concrete steps with various other parties collectively, then, the history, the posterity, and the country will not forgive it. I am hopeful that the Government will realise its duties and try to make all necessary arrangements to provide justice to all.

**SHRI ARVIND TRIVEDI (Sabrarkantha):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, with reference to what

the hon. Member has said, I would like to submit that ....(Interruptions)\*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I am not allowing you. It is not going on record.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. SPEAKER: Shrimati Pratibha Devi Singh Patil.

\* Not recorded.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA DEVISINGH PATIL (Amravati): Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now we have heard the speech of Shri Sait Sahab an hon Member of the House. He said that his heart was bleeding for the nation whereas there were people in the country whose eyes were overflowed with tears out of joy. If a situation like this continues then it would be impossible to maintain peace and harmony in the country. I would like to remind that we have taken the oath of allegiance to uphold the constitution before entering this House. If at all we are sincere and honest to our oath of allegiance, we should not demolish any temple or any mosque. We should rather try to bring peace and harmony in the country.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has said something important in the course of his speech. It is very nice on his part that he did not support that incident rather expressed his concern. He also said that the country is passing through a critical phase. Nevertheless, he said that he would speak the truth and nothing else. Mr. Speaker, Sir, while talking of the 'truth' I am incidentally reminded of an anecdote. A disciple asked his Guru Gurudev, what is the difference between Ram and the truth? The Guru replied that the eternal truth is Ram and Ram is the eternal truth. The disciple further asked as to what was the interrelation among the truth, the Maya and the Brahm. At this the Guruji

explained that during the period when Lord Ram was on exile, he was once passing through a dense jungle. There was a narrow path along which Lord Rama was walking being closely followed by Sita ji who had behind her Sri Lakshmanji. Lakshman did not want to lose sight of Lord Ram even for a second, but the problem was that Sita ji was walking in between Ram and Lakshman which obstructed Lakshman from having a continuous view of Shri Ram. Lakshman requested mother Sita to walk bit aside so that he could have a glimpse of Ram while walking. He said that he was feeling restive without the *darshan* of Ram. When the mother Sita heard it, she started bit walking aside. Lakshman was now able to have a continuous *darshan* or glimpse of Shri Ram. The same is position of the truth, *Maya* and *Brahm* now. It means to say that when *Maya* comes in between the truth and the *Brahm* then the *Brahm* is not able to see the truth. Suppose the party of honourable Vajpayee ji is the *Brahm* and the demolished mosque is the truth i.e. Lord Ram, whose idols were placed or installed in the mosque which has been demolished. His party could not see the truth or Lord Ram, because of the allurements of power that came in between them in the form of *Maya*. The structure was a mosque, but it was the abode of Ram. Namaj was not being offered there, but the *Arta* of Lord Ram was of course being performed. No Ajan was used to be given from there rather the bell of the temple used to ring there. Did any one think whether it could be acceptable to Ram, for whom the mosque was demolished? Was it not a temple? What does the structure make the difference? The structure was an excellent example of the amity in the country as both a temple and a mosque were situated on the same site. It was an excellent example which India should have preserved as a national monument. But the people who have a blind faith in a particular religion cannot provide proper guidance to the people of our country. This was the reason why Baba Saheb Ambedkar had to part with Hindu religion with lakhs of his followers and to join Buddhism. This is a fact which we should realise and accept.

\*Not recorded.

[Shrimati Pratibha Devisingh Patil]

The urgent need of the hour is to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and amity. The whole of the nation is shocked at the incident of 6th December. The situation that developed in Ayodhya was watched not only by the whole country but by the whole world with great anxiety and concern. The sad incident has no doubt caused a set back to the prestige of our country and tarnished its image. This Parliament is the highest institution of the people of this country. It is sovereign. The Parliament does not belong to only one Political Party or to the Government, rather it represents the will of the people of the country. It reflects the will of the people at large. It symbolises the hopes and aspirations of all the Indians, whether they are poor or rich, or belong to any caste, creed and religion, or they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, Buddh, Jains or they are tribals, down troddens or they are men or women. This is the best and highest welfare assembly which thinks for the prosperity of the country and where discussions are held to decide as to which programmes being carried out by the Government in the interest of the people are to be continued or discontinued on the basis of their merits and demerits. This Parliament is thus a temple, a mosque, a Gurudwara or say a vihar for our democracy. In these moments of crisis, I would like to appeal to all to look after the interests of not only their own parties but of the interest of the country as well and try to find some solution to this problem. None of us should hesitate in moving a bit backward or a bit forward if it contributes to the unity and integrity of the country and if it ensures peace and unity in the country. To create stability, unity and integrity in the country is now a matter of paramount importance and essential too. The country will survive when there is stability. And our religion will survive when the country survives. If there is no stability no religion can survive.

The atmosphere of instability and insecurity that has been created in the country is dangerous to one and all. It serves the interest of none. We have all to think with a cool

mind. We need not go into the minute details as to who is guilty and who is not. We have not to think as to what has happened, why has it happened, how has it happened and who has done it. This we have not to do because people are in an agitated mood at present.

I once again appeal to all the hon. Members and leaders of this House to be united in this hour of crisis. The future of the country seems to be dark, our democracy is in peril, our Judiciary is illusioned. There is a threat to public life. We all are equally affected by the crisis. To day the situation is not such that it should be made a prestige issue. If some one thinks that they can form a Government by mobilising Muslims and Dalit brethren then he is under a wrong impression. If anyone thinks that elections can be won and they can come to power by arousing the feelings of Hindus, they are also under the false impression because one can win elections and come to the power but merely gaining power is not enough, it is very difficult to run a Government which comes to power on the basis of communal violence, hatred crime and murder, and it will not last long.

This phase of disharmony and violence is temporary in Indian Culture and in the minds of Indian masses. Indian people always believe in mutual understanding, love, amity and non-violence and that is why Mahatma Gandhi could get success in getting India free from the clutches of British rule without using any violent weapon. He ousted the Britishers from the country after mobilising the people of all castes and religions on the basis of non-violence and secularism. The principle of non-violence and secularism has become the great source of inspiration for the country. It has ousted the powerful Britishers which had enslaved us.

It is my humble request that we should not cut this root. I don't say that we should not follow religion. If we follow religion, it should be in our hearts keeping the interests of the country in our mind. Only then the country can be run. We should not convert every

street, lane, by -lane, village or city into a battle field in the name of religion. We should not shed blood. Don't do evil in the name of religion. Today it is the greatest need of the hour.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to ask as to why this no-confidence motion has been moved against Narasimha Rao Government? It is because he trusted somebody. They say it was unfortunate and the tragedy happened. The people who assured the House, they only have deceived and have created this situation. Now these people are asking us as to why did the Government trust them? Mr. Speaker, Sir, what can be the reply? I try to reply to it. The representatives of the people are present in the house. They should think about the future of the country. I would like to conclude after saying two lines only. I have to say that:

"Desh ke Hit ke Liye,  
hal Nikaliye Jaldi,  
Band Kijaye Yeh khichav,  
Atalji, Raoji, Shahbuddinji Baithiy

Ek Sath Aur Pichhhe Lijiye yeh  
Avishwash Prastav."

• 18.00hrs.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: It is decided in the B.A.C. meeting that we may sit late. We have many hon. Members wishing to speak on this Motion. We are going to sit late in the night and allow the hon. Members to speak.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura):  
Sir, how long should we sit?

MR. SPEAKER: We may sit at least upto 9 p.m. I think the House agrees Shri Mohan Rawale may continue.

18.02 hrs.

[SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA in the Chair]

[Translation]

\*SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay-South Central): Mr Chairman Sir I rise to

support the No Confidence Motion moved by Sri Atal Behari Vajpayeeji on behalf of Shiv Sena Party. Recently in Ayodhya, the so called Babri Masjid was attacked. It was the result of the policies indulged in by Congress Party for last 45 year to appease Muslims for remaining in Power. The attack on Babari Masjid was a retaliation of that policies. Congress party played this politics without caring for the entiments of the majority community and just for pleasing the minority. Though this was purely religious issue, yet Congress Party indulged policies in it, and that is why it has resulted in such a tragedy. When this issue was before the Courts, the Government was telling time and again both in Parliament and outside that Babri Moque will not be demolished. When the matter was before the Courts, the Government had no right to say that Babari Masjid would not be demolished. Supposing the Courts had given a verdict? to pull down the Mosque, would the Govt. have accepted such a verdict? In fact, the Govt. has always incited the feelings of Muslims.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is decided in the Business Advisory Committee that we have many members willing to speak on this motion. So we are going to sit late in the night and allow the members to speake. We may continue at least upto nine o' clock.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: In fact, in a way Govt. was pressurising the Court to give decision prohibiting demoliting of the mosque. In fact, m the Govt. should have said that it would abide by the decision of the Court even if ithe decision was to demolish the mosque. Sir, when the Supreme Court had given decision in Shah Bano Case...

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Madam, I am on a point of order. This is nothing but spreading disaffection among the people of this country, following different religions, following different beliefs. This House cannot be misutilised for the purpose of spreading disaffection among the people of this country. (Interruptions) No derogatory

\*Translation of speech originally delivered in Marathi.

[Sh. Somnath Chatterjee]

things can be said. Nothing can be said which will affect the sentiments of any section of the people of this country. therefore, he should not be allowed to proceed further.

[*Translation*]

\*SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: Sir, I need your protection.

[*English*]

SHRI RAM NAIK: Madam, I want to speak on this point of order. In this House, every Member has a right to express his views. We have patiently heard the wildest abuses given by Somnathji and Suimainman Saitji. But, he has not abused anybody.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rawale, I ask you to keep yourself confined to the NoConfidence Motion and not to say anything on which you have no concrete evidence. Please conclude quickly.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Why are they disturbing him? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Madam, please look into the records later and decide what is to be done.

[*Translation*]

SHRIMOHAN RAWALE: Madam Chairperson, when the Supreme Court had given decision in Shah Bano Case regarding maintenance allowance, which is given in Muslim countries, I remember a morcha was organised in Bombay by Mullahas and Maulavis and they were supported by Congress Party for getting their votes and they pressurised the Gove. Rajiv Gandhi who wanted to take the country to 21st Century was saying that he would do justice to muslims in this matter. But, he could not do it. In Parliament, this issue was politicised. For pleasing Muslims,

the same Congress Party changed the verdict of the Supreme Court. At that time where was your respect for the Supreme Court. At that time where was your respect for the Supreme Court? I can count the misdeeds which have been committed by the Congress Party. When Smt. Gandhi was disqualified by the High Court, later on She imposed Emergency in the Country. Where was your respect for the Courts at that time? There were many such verdicts which were not followed. Many orders which were issued by the Govt. in connection with Kar Seva were not implemented by the Mulayam Singh Govt. A District Magistrate in Kerala had issued order to detain Maulana Bukhari. But those orders were not implemented by either Central Govt. or State Govt. because the Govt. needed muslim votes. They wanted to come to power and they knew fully well that they could gain power if they get muslim votes.

Madam, with your permission I want to present some factual evidence. I want to quote some extracts from the interview of Shri Madhu Limaye who was the great Parliamentarian. This is what he has said in his interview to 'Bombay Sakal'. He said that if digging is done at the Central portion of the mosque, it can be ascertained whether Temple existed there or not. When the disputed structure was intact. it was not possible to carry on digging. But now it is possible to carry out excavation. Hon. Prime Minister is present in the House. So, I would like to request him not to hurry up in constructing the mosque. But, the Govt. should take this opportunity to carry on excavation there and if it is proved that Temple did not exist there, then you can construct the mosque there. Hindu community should also give willing co-operation in constructing the mosque. But if it is proved that Temple was there, then that piece of land should be handed over to Hindu community for constructing Ram Temple and mosque should be built at some distance from the Temple. But now there would be no doubt in the minds of people about the status of this

disputed structure. In no circumstances Hindus should feel that their feelings are not cared and injustice is done to them. There is an opportunity available to you and I request the Hon. Prime Minister to use this opportunity.

Madam, Shri Limaye has also suggested that the excavation at the disputed site should be done under the supervision of the Supreme Court and T.V. networks all over the world should be allowed to shoot the excavation and televise that film on Doordashan and T.V. networks all over the world. The court also should take a film of the excavation. Some Muslim leaders also have agreed to this suggestion. I request the Hon. Prime Minister to consider this suggestion with all seriousness.

Demolition of the mosque was result of outburst of emotions. Hundreds of temples have been destroyed in this country in past centuries. But is there a single instance when a mosque has been pulled down by Hindus? More than 3000 temples have been demolished in this country. But we are asking for only three temples in the country. i.e. Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi Temples. We demand that we want to get back these temples.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rawale, I have asked you to keep yourself confined to the No-Confidence Motion.

[Translation]

\*SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: I am coming to the point. I am speaking on their policy.

Madam, I want to point out that in Babri Masjid 'Namaj' was not offered in several years. According to prophet Mohammad if name is not offered at a place for 60 days, it cannot be called a mosque. Similarly, a disputed structure cannot be called a mosque. This is being mentioned in 'Kuran'.

For the sake of Ram Temple, nearly two lakh people have sacrificed their lives since 15th century. Babar who was born in Ujbekistan had expressed his desire that his tomb should be built in Kabul. In Kabul there is only a tomb of Babar and nothing else exists there to show his memory. He was driven away from Ujbekistan. Finally he came to India where he fought with Rana Sanga. Rana Sanga was defeated because of lack of unity. And in 1528 he demolished the Temple which existed there and built a mosque. I had earlier pointed out in the House that a British officer had written in Lucknow Gazette that in 1528 Babar built the mosque by demolishing the temple. This evidence is by available in Lucknow Gazette. If one looks around the disputed structure one can find that it is surrounded by Laxmanan Temple. Hanuman Temple and Sita Temple. All these evidences must be considered and justice should be done to the people.

As it was the outburst of emotion, this incident took place. This was an outburst of anger by Hindu community. They wanted to avenge the insult which they suffered. In the Second World War when Germany captured Paris, the first thing that the Germany did was to destroy a monument in Paris which was a symbol of insult for them. Babar who was a foreigner here in this country built mosques here, where our temple existed. It is a question of our faith. I do not want to hurt the feelings of any community. But if I tell Muslims who believe that prophet Mohammed got the gospel in Mecca and so also Jesus Christ got gospel truth that it was not true then will their feelings not get hurt?

So, it is our faith that Ram Temple existed there. That is why lakhs of people sacrificed their lives. Hindu religion is one which preaches tolerance. We do not want masjid of any body. But we want our Mandir and this is our demand. Kar Sevaks had gone to fulfil this demand. But during Janata Dal regime, Kar Sevaks were brutally killed, their dead bodies were packed in a lorry and later

\*Translation of speech originally delivered in Marathi.

[Sh. Mohan Rawale]

on thrown into Saryu river. And all this happened in the country which boasts of democracy. In Pakistan also Hindu Temples have been dempolsished .

A lawyer called Pandey had approached the Court in 1986 and pleaded that this disputed structure was Ram Janambhoomi. And after the Court gave the decision there was violence in our country and also in Pakistan. In India more than 40 temples were demolished. Those who call themselves secular should tell us why they kept quiet when 40 temples were demolsished. How many of you had protested at that time against this ? I want to know this from you. The total population of Muslims in India today is more than the population of Pakistan. At the time of partition, there were 1 crore muslims and 1 crore Hindus in Pakistan, but today, there are only 2 lakh Hindus in Pakistan. While in India, there were only 2 crore muslims at the time of partition but today there are 17 crore muslims in India. The largest population of muslims in the whole world today exists in India.

Shri Sulaiman Sait, Member of this House today spoken on secularism. I want to tell him that Hindu, muslim, sikhs, Christains are all brothers in this country. Then why do we have separate laws for Hindus, Christains and Muslims? Arjun Singh said that he is proud to be Hindu. But I feel that one should be Indian first and then a Hindu; Muslim or Christaian. But when we say that we are Indians first, then there should be a common law for everybody. Why there is no common Civil Code in this country?

When Pakistani External Affair Minister Begum Ziza had come to India, she expressed her views and said 'Shariyat'...(Interruptions)

Madam, family planning is opposed in this country in the name of religion. But

there are many muslim countries like Egypt, Malasia, Indonesia.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have asked you to keep yourself confined to the No-Confidence Motion.

[Translation]

SHRI SHYAM BIHARI MISHRA: Madam, Shankranand ji will be allowed to speak on Scheduled Castes and Nitish Kumar ji on Mandal issue. Then why he is not being allowed to speak?

\*SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: Madam when Begum Ziza had come to india, She had said the 'Shariyat' is not the last word of Allah. But for tetting the votes of muslims, Congress has played this polities and it has also opposed family planning. Those who call us observantists, fundamentalists and traitors, I want to ask them how is it that they oppose family planning in the name of religion when it is follwed in muslim countries. We are fundamentalists. But you are secular and still you are doing it.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: It wil not go on record. These things would not be recorded.

SHRIGHULAMNABI AZAD: Let me tell you. I am correcting yourself. Neither the Congress Party nor the Muslims are against the Family Planning. We are for the family planning. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You go by the factual statement where you are sure of that.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: I am sure. I can give the proof.

(Interruptions)

Vande Mataram means that we bow before our mother. They had said that they would not sing Vande Mataram. Vande Mataram symbolises Sacrifice and valour of thousands of people which include muslims also. At that time, there was no opposition to Vande mataram. Now this opposition is only by Congress Party.

[English]

Just non Sait Saheb was opposing singing of Vande Mataram. He was speaking about worshipping of idols. (Interruptions)

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: It should not be forced. You cannot force anybody.

[Translation].

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: Now a word about violence, which took place in Bombay. As this issue was referred to by Saitji and Indrajeet Guptaji, I would like to clarify the position. Sincé there was reference to Shiv Sena. Since the violence started in Bombay from 7th Dec. I was present in Bombay and toured all the areas. (Interruptions)

I want to point out that Police force was inadequate and the Police did not have rifles and other arms. That is why the Police could not protect the places of worship. After the demolition of the mosque the Police force should have been sent. Maharashtra Govt. should have taken care to deploy the Police force. but the State Govt. did not take care to protect places of worships. The Police force ought have been deployed in every area and near all places of worship. But this precaution was not taken. I had taken up this matter with Hon. MInister earlier and requested him that Police force should be supplied necessary arms like high speed revolvers, AK-47 rifles, high speed jeeps etc. But the State Govt. did not take steps which I had suggested. I have seen that Police did not have rifles and they could not give protection.

Those members who are making alle-

gations against Shiv Sena should go and see the situation. There are many areas Like Bhivandi where Police cannot go. I toured many places in my constituency like Nagpada. I met Muslims as well as Hindus and i tried to restore peace there. In certain places. Police personnel were also killed. There dead bodies are missing. I suggest that all places of worships should be searched. let those places be mosues or temples. Six police personnel were killed. Who killed them/ There should be judicial enquiry into the killing of Policemen. We demand that judicial enquiry should be conducted into killing of Policemen. The Govt. should announce as to who are the criminal-sand which community they belong to. The Govt. should announce this first and then taken action against them.

I would like to tell Hon. Prime Minister that today there is a news item in " Indian Express" which says that 12 boxes of arms worth 50 lakh of rupees have been sent from China to kill Kar Sevaks. I want to appeal to the Prime Minister to be very cautious about this. Otherwise, there will be retaliatory out burst again. The name of Dr. Babasahib Ambedkar is chanted so of ten here. He was the framer of the Constitution. But you dismissed foru State Govts. which were constitutionally elected. Of course, Kalyan Singh resigned as Chief Minister. But three State Govts. were dismissed without any consultation with them. Our law is such that it can let off hundred criminals but it does not punish a single innocent person. Even a criminal is given an opportunity to defend himself. But why this opportunity was not given to these State Govts. I would like to tel the Hon. Prime Minister that even now we have respect for him because you took care to see that there was no firing on Kar Sevaks. I appreciate your feelings. But at the same time I want to say that Arjun Singh is bringing you in trouble. His name is Arjun and he is like Arjun in Mahabharata. Though he has shot an arrow towards BJP everybody is aware that it is dircted towards the chair of the Prime Minister. (Interruptions ) To day Mamta Banerjee, communist MP has said

\*Translation of speech originally delivered in Marathi.

[Sh. Mohan Rawale]

that the Govt. is not in a position to control the situation. There army should be sent. That is why Communists are siding with Congress Govt. so that it does not fall.

(Interruptions)

Unfortunately, there is ban on RSS. But the same RSS had helped Congress in forming Govt in Jammu & Kashmir. Just now Gulam Nabi Azad said that young persons have taken to guns in Kashmir. I want to tell him that it is because of the Congress Policy. Independence Day is not celebrated there. Our Nationa Flag is burnt there. 14th August which is the Independence Day of Pakistan is observed there. If somebody celebrateds 15th August by lighting lamps terrorists enter their house and kill them. When thousnads of people were rendered homeless their property was looted or they were killed, where were you at that time? Their condition was also like the refugees. Who came to India from Pakistan at the time of Partition? What have you done for them? You could not do anything to protect them. Nearly 2 crore muslims came from Bangla Desh to India after Bangla Desh war. why did you not send them back to their country? You did not do it because you did not want to lose their votes and you did not want to displeas muslims in this country. All this is the result of the policy pursued by the Congress the culmination of which was the Ayodhya tragedy. Hindu-Muslim riots are very unfortunate. We always have sympathy for the victims of communal riots. Bu: these victims are the victims of the policies of Congress Party. With these words, I thank you for giving me an oppoertunity to speak.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): Madam Vice-Chairperson, events of the 6th of December, 1992 have shocked the conscience of this nation. For long we have come to believe that in spite of all our differences over this issue that the promises which had been made that the

Masjid would be protected, would be kept by the Bhartiya Janata Party. Unfortunately in spite of all their promises all their commitments, it is they who have betrayed the faith of the people, betrayed the Prime Minster's confidence that they would stick to their words and betrayed, if I may say, the nation itself. What followed after the 6th December is now a sad chapter in the history of our innocent people have died, blood has been shed and untold destruction has taken place. But more than anything else, I think, it is the commitment of this nation to secularism which is now being questioned all over the world.

Madam, when I heard Shri Atal Behariji speak yesterday, I believed that there had been a kind of a change of heart somewhere. He seemed apologetic for what had happened though he never apologised. But he did say that none of them wanted it happen and it was, perhaps, an act of vandalism. He even went to the extent of saying that those who are responsible should come forward and identify themselves as if the BJP and the RSS did not know who they were. Unfortunately, by this evening, even that seems to have disappeared and the same of old speeches have come. There were some Members who objected to what the hon. Member was just saying. I do believe that this speech should be on record. It should be seen by posterity what they stand for. I think, this country needs to know that in spite of all that has happened, they are still wanting in to stick to what they have been doing over the last few years. There can be no change with people like this, whether in Parliament or outside.

Madam, it is a strange this that thing party which has been responsible for what has happened should come to this House with a vote of no-confidence against the Prime Minister and the Government. It is they who repeatedly promised that they would abide by all the promises that they had made. Their leaders, both inside and outside Parliament, were saying that the Mosque would not be touched. They gave assurance even up to the 6th that they were going there

for cleaning up operation, for Bhajans, for religious practices and so on. And what happened. Today we are told that they were not able to control their own people. You were there. The leaders were there. You were sitting right there. How is it that you who were there were not able to stop your own people from what they did? If you really believed your promises that you had made to the Supreme Court, to Parliament, to the NIC as well as to the Prime Minister then you should have acted. It is obvious that you have no control over the BJP, over the VHP or the Bajarang Dal or the others who were involved in this whole incident at Ayodhya. You used them and today you are trying to say that you were helpless, they did it, we were not part of this whole thing. It is your refrain: It is now coming to light gradually that you had decided that you would fool everybody and get what you wanted.

I would like to say that after that what has happened. Today around the country, among Hindus themselves, there is a sense not only of sadness but also a sense of shame that a thing like this could happen in this country. There are those in the BJP and maybe in some other parties who said that the majority's sentiments have to be respected, that the majority sentiments cannot be hurt. Madam, we do agree that the majority community has its own traditions, has got its rights and its sentiments. But I would like to say that among them, the overwhelming majority is secular. The common Hindu in this country is the most secular individual. I see no reason why the BJP should believe that they represent all sections of the Hindu people in this country. The majority of them are against what they are doing. They believe in exploiting religious sentiments which they have done since independence. In the 1950s, it was Hindu Hindi-Hindustani, in the 1960s, it was "Gorakshaa," it was the Ganga Jhal movement, and in the 1980s it became Ram Mandir. Each decade, they come out with a new slogan, with a new programme and believe that they can keep fooling this country permanently.

I think the time has come when we have

to, once and for all, get our directions clear. What does secularism means? Different people are interpreting it differently, may be to suit their own interests. Today, in India, secularism means, as has always been to us, that every religion has a place and has a right to exist. We have never said that there is no place for anyone in this country

I am quote just one slogan which the BJP had raised during the last election campaign.

*" Musalmano Ke Liye Do Hi Sthan-  
Pakistan Ya Kabistan "*

These were the slogans which were raised by the BJP cadres during the last elections.

I would like to ask Shri Advani, who is not here today, as to what were his intentions when he said " Why are there no Hindu Muslims and Hindu Christians " as if to be Christians and Muslims, was not to be patriotic or not to be Indian. We are born and bred in this country. Today, though I have never claimed to be a minority.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune): Nowhere that slogan was there. Would you please tell us where it was mentioned?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I have seen the slogans written on the posters and pasted on the walls. I have seen them in Rajasthan.

SHRI ANNA JOSHI: I request you to cite them out.

*[Translation]*

Where has the B.J.P. raised this slogan?

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt her.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I have myself seen it... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. DHANANJAYA KUMAR (Mangalore): The B.J.P. has not said it. It is the creation of your mind... (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: If it was not the slogan of the B.J.P., it might be of the Bajrang Dal or any organisation associated with you. All these organisations belong to your party. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH (Mirzapur): It is not proper to associate Shri Advaniji with the slogan- '*Hindu Hit Ki Bat Kargea Wahi Desh Per Raj Karega*'. But Advaniji had said that he was not talking in the interest of Hindus only but he talked about the interest of all the people of the country....(*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please allow her to have her turn. She has not yielded. Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: We have also gone on election campaign. We have also observed all that what you have written on the walls there. I also know it and I have also seen it. Don't talk much? I have seen it in Rajasthan. (*Interruptions*)

You should also admit that you too have seen it.. (*Interruptions*)

AN. HON. MEMBER: Don't make a wrong statement? (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Yesterday you were talking about speaking truth and today no one is supporting me... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You please sit down....

[English]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I will talk about everything. I have listened for two days without disturbing anyone. I never disturbed anyone of you when you spoke, even when you said worst things.

Madam, the court judgements have been ignored, constitutional guarantees have been ignored and I must also say that the commitments which were made by them have been betrayed. Atal ji is not here today. He spoke yesterday. I believe he is not well. I do appreciate that I must say that when he spoke yesterday, he said that he was was also betrayed. We do realise that Atal Bihari ji and men, perhaps, like Jaswant Singh ji, many of them do not really know as to what is happening though in Parliament, they are saying the things which have to be said. But there are others somewhere else about whose activities perhaps half the time they do not know and yet they are here to apologise on that behalf. Yesterday he said that "I seem to be the only liberal on this side". We do realise that men like him who are perhaps liberal on that side are one or two. But the rest of them seem to think that what they believe in has to become national policy. But I would like to say that this slogan of the Ram Mandir may have brought them more seats last time. I was listening to the speeches this afternoon. It was rightly said to them do not think that you are going to multiply your seats by slogans like this. What you have done today will never be forgotten by public because as I have said, the common Indian is secular. I am a Christian. I do not have to apologise to you for being a minority; nor do I require a certificate from you for my patriotism. I am what I am and I will be what I am. But I want to tell you that if you believe that there is no place for others in this country and that only you have a right to live and do what you want, then you are destroying this country. I can tell you that what you have done in Ayodhya is an assault on the secular foundations of this country. Never before did we

believe that this could happen in independent India.

You are talking about re-writing history. How many years are you going to go back to re-write that history? How many centuries back are you going to go back? You will have to go right back to the Aryans who came from Central Asia and settled in this country. That is where your roots go back to. Do not forget where they came from. How many centuries are you going to go back to? We know who came when and where they settled, what they brought with them, what they built and what they constructed.

SHRIMANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mailadumturi) Send these Aryans back.. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. RASASINGH RAWAT: You are also an Aryan.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: Send people like me. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, I seek your protection. (*Interruptions*)

Do not ask today's generation either of Muslim or of anybody to apologise for what happened five hundred years ago. Do not hold them responsible for what happened five hundred years ago. You cannot go back to that extent.

I would like to ask them, if somebody tells them that the Taj Mahal was built on a temple two thousand years ago, are they going to go and demolish it? Are they going to demolish the Red Fort if they find that something was there long before? Are they going to demolish the Parliament House tomorrow if some archaeologists say that there was some temple here two thousand years ago? What are they talking about?

Let us not go mad in our pursuit for religion. It has been rightly said that those whom the Gods would destroy, He first makes

mad. I believe that this religious madness has gripped the BJP today. You want to cash in on religious feelings of the common, innocent people of this country. You think that you can win your elections and your politics by exploiting the religious sentiments of this nation. Everyone of us are religious people in this country. Do not think that only you believe in something and nobody else has a right to believe.

What may have happened in the past is no fault of those who are living in this country today. If you try to put that blame on them, history is never going to forgive you. Do not repeat the mistakes of the past and remember that we are in a secular free country where we have to live together and we have to work together.

The challenge before us is what is the solution to what has happened in Ayodhya. Various people are saying various things. May be, there is no readymade answer today. But I can tell you one thing that we sit together discuss and find answers; all those of us who are committed to a united India, to a secular India and to an India committed to certain basic ideals; there can be no solution to Ayodhya. You can take another fifty thousand people or another fifty lakhs of people. That is not going to heal the wounds and not going to find a solution. We will have to dedicate ourselves and perhaps dedicate Ayodhya itself to this great commitment of the nation to secularism. Do not think that by building one temple at one time in history you are going to be made heroes for eternity. Remember that your hands today are soiled. Your credentials today as citizens of a secular country are in question.

The very intentions of your party today are being questioned by people who had believed that you were capable of doing something for this country. You today are looked upon as those who cannot be trusted, who betrayed the faith of the Prime Minister, who betrayed the faith of Parliament and betrayed the faith of the secular forces in this country that you would stand by the commitments you had made. If anything, you should

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have come to this House and apologized. Instead you come and you point a finger at the Prime Minister and say:-

"You have committed a crime and therefore you must resign." How is that possible? That is not the way. If there was anything wrong that the Government did, it was our misplaced trust you we believed that you would stand by what you had said.

The dismissal of the Government has been talked about. Yes, we are not apologising for the dismissal of those four Governments. Those who claimed that they were openly from RSS, that they belonged to this organisations, had no right to run the Governments. They have no right to continue to run democratic Governments in a secular State.

[Translation]

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: We are the members of RSS, you get us expelled from the House.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Please leave the House.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: He should be arrested.

[English]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I want to say one thing. Governments have been dismissed by different Governments sitting here at different times for different reasons. You held up Parliament for eight days because Mr. Advani was arrested. In this very House, you sat as Members of the Janata Party in 1977-78 and watched Shrimati Indira Gandhi expelled from this House and sent to jail. For what crime? You sat here and did this yourself.

[Translation]

SHRI CHOTEY SINGH YADAV (Kannauj): It is a point of order. Our colleague has

repeated twice in the House that:

[English]

"I belong to RSS".

[Translation]

He is giving a threat.

[English]

It should come in the record.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: It has been recorded.

SHRI CHOTEY SINGH YADAV: It a person daringly says that he has been behind the demolition of the mosque or hurt the sentiments of people in the country (*Interruptions*)

Those who make laws are silently watching.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You please sit down, it has been recorded.

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: Nobody can question the nationalism of R.S.S.

[English]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: The fact that your Chief Minister resigned, the fact that Shri Advani resigned - that you took responsibility and said, yes, something has happened for which we have to pay the price", means, you had accepted that something had gone wrong and that you had to step down. So, those State Government which were also a part of the entire conspiracy, had to go down. (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: If I am appointed as the Minister of Home Affairs I will arrest you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mani Shankar ji, how will the proceedings of the House be conducted in this manner, you please sit down.

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: Let the Hon. Prime Minister appoint him as a Minister. He wants to arrest us. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him speak, you please sit down.

[*English*]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: If what Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee said yesterday that they did not know who they were, that they were sorry for what the *kar sevaks* did, that they had no control over them, that they had nothing to do with them. I would like to ask: Why were the big receptions arranged and organised by your party and by your leaders for the *kar sevaks* returning home? Why was your party so involved in taking them in processions and in making such big heroes out of them after they had come back from Ayodhya, after this act of 'vandalism', as Mr., Atal Bihari Vajpayee called it yesterday? And yet you say:

[*Translation*]

We were not aware of anything. We were busy in singing Bhajans. A group indulged in this Act. We are not aware of it.

[*English*]

How can you say that when today you show openly that you are taking them back as if they are coming back from a war front having fought a battle for this country and its security? Madam, I would only say this that today there is a sense of insecurity in this country. Those in different parts of the country who have suffered and who have paid a price for this act of betrayal of yours are asking what their future is. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad spoke about the great challenge which faces the Muslim community. Yesterday, Mr. Indrajit Gupta asked, "How is it that none of the Christians have spoken in this House? Why are they quiet?" Perhaps, they have not

been heard because we are a very disciplined community who have never gone to the streets and have never protested. I have got reports here with me. No debate took place in the House during the last so many months of your rule on what was happening in Madhya Pradesh. Our convents have been attacked. If I mention names then you will say not to mention names of people who are not in the House. Members of your party have been mentioned in national newspapers, the names of Members who entered the convents and who dragged women by their hair and who had molested nuns and destroyed furniture.... (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA: (Mandsaur): What did your party workers do in Madhya Pradesh?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Army was deployed in Nagaland and Mizoram to tackle them....

[*English*]

Did your elected Governments in Madhya Pradesh ever apologize for this? Did you ever pay any price for all these acts? Here are the petitions from Christian associations of MP. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT: Poor people have been exploited and forced to change their religion....

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, they do not have sole right to propagate religion and faith. People of all religion are there...

[*English*]

Convents have been attacked and I am very sorry to say that in two BJP-ruled States, nuns have been raped.... (*Interruptions*) If it were to happen to your sanyasins would you have remained

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quiet?...*(Interruptions)*... It has happened in Maharashtra and I am condemning that also.*(Interruptions)*

[*Translation*]

DR. ANNA. JOSHI: What happened in Maharashtra?

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA: What did the Union Ministers say in Madhya Pradesh? I would point out here that communal riots broke out because the feelings of people were incited...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I would like to ask you whether you have gone through the Press reports on this issue. A petition was filed in this regard, have you ever gone through it? Did the Government of Madhya Pradesh do anything? Did they apologise for it? Nothing of the sort took place. It is on records. Even police complaint was not filed.

[*English*]

They are refusing to file the cases. You are refusing because the BJP youth wing is involved.*(Interruptions)*

[*Translation*]

The names of BJP youth activities have been published in the newspapers, but no FIR has been filed till today...

[*English*]

Therefore, I am telling you not to justify it saying that they are individual cases. For that matter, even the mosque is an individual case. What are you talking about? Please remember that for all that you do, there is a reaction also among the common people. They cannot go and create riots and they cannot go and attack like some others might but there is a sense of hurt and a sense of insecurity which you have created in this

country. Therefore, I am saying that today perhaps even more than what happened on the 6th December, what hurts many many people in the country is the fact that Parliament failed to discuss this issue. For almost ten days, you were stalling the Parliament not allowing a debate or a discussion or even a condemnation of what happened in Ayodhya. What were you trying to hide and what were you trying to stop in this House? You were speaking as if an individual of your party was more important than the debate which was to give a message to this nation that this Parliament, this nation and this Government headed by our Prime Minister is committed to secularism and to keeping protecting the interests of the minorities. I would therefore say that the time has come that there has got to be a movement of not only political parties but also secular political like minded people in this country to protect the rights and give a sense of security to all people. I am not saying only for minorities. I say once again that the common people of this country are secular and committed and they are not going to tolerate these acts of vandals. Do not equate yourselves with the terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir or anywhere else! If you are a terrorist, then say you are a terrorist party. Otherwise, accept the secular demands of this country and learn to be a part and parcel of it by respecting the constitutional commitments which have been made to the people....*(Interruptions)*

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: (South Delhi): Hon. Speaker, had announced that the next turn was of BJP. Only one person from our side spoke yesterday as we were told that it was now the turn of BJP..*(Interruptions)*

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am only following the list which has been left by the hon. Speaker.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: You should give at least this much justice to us. You are in the chair. The Debates continued for eight hours yesterday and seven hours today but only two speakers from our side have spoken so far. What is this? Are we sitting here just to be condemned? Will we not be listened sit down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Alright, please sit down.

SHIR MADAN LAL KHURANA: If you do not allow us, we would walk out. Only one member from our party has spoken since morning today. Yesterday only Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee spoke. He had moved the motion. The hon. Speaker had announced in the morning that 5-6 members will be given chance to speak. We have been sitting here since morning waiting for our turn...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Khuranaji, you please sit down. Let Shri Satya Pal Singh speak first. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are a very senior Member. Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: We are also not being heard. This is not the way. you want to suppress our voice....(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have told you that you will also given a chance after him.

(*Interruptions*)

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

18.54 hrs

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr.

Speaker, Sir, only today in the morning you said that four members of our party will be given chance to speak.

MR. SPEAKER: Khurana ji, your members are our members. All will be given a chance to speak. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, permission to speak should be given in accordance with the ratio.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: Let there not be any misunderstanding.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: No member should have any misunderstanding. Two members of your party have already spoken.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: No one of them were a mover.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: He is a member of the Party. He would be replaying also, I suppose. I have already told some of the hon. Members that we will try to adjust as many Members as we can and at least one Member from each affected State will certainly be given and something more also. But, there are so many Members who want to speak. Please don't get agitated. We will give you time.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, two members of the Party which has a strength of 20 members in the House have spoken whereas only one member of our Party having 119 members in the House has been given the opportunity to speak...

MR. SPEAKER: No, this is not the case. Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Let us understand this thing that in this House, the time given to the Members is in proportion to their number in the House. As far as possible, we try to stick to it you will be finding that the parties having less number of Members generally get more time than they should get. We will see to that and you request assured that we will give you time.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I had gone with your permission.

MR. SPEAKER: Listen to me, I was going to call you, although Mr. Jaswant Singhji's name was also there but I had been informed that you were to be called. You had gone out for some work. I could not find you here so I asked Mr. Jaswant Singh. I shall give you time, you had gone with my permission for half an hour and had told me that you would come here but when I could give you time I asked Mr. Jaswant Singh but he said that Mr. Khurana would speak. Therefore do not get agitated. I would give you time. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I had enquired about you from your party colleagues. Mr. Jaswant Singh ji said that Mr. Khurana would speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: First of all Shri Yadav would speak thereafter Shri Mani Shankar and then I would give you time to speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: All right, Shri Khurana would speak after Shri Yadav and then Shri Mani Shankar would speak.

[English]

SHRI RAM NAIK: We are not disputing. You kindly see how many Congress Members have spoken today and in proportion to

that how many BJP Members have spoken.

MR. SPEAKER: I will give you the account of the time tomorrow.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA PAL SINGH YADAV (Shahjahanur) : Yesterday Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee initiated the discussion on this no-confidence motion. He had said at that time that if Shri Advani ji would have been called here and had given a speech here then it would not have unleashed a storm....

MR. SPEAKER: Do not waste your time on it today, come to your point.

SHRI SATYA PAL SINGH YADAV: I am talking about my point only. I intend to say that if Mr. Advani could not come and make a speak here....

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot give you time for such things, considering the paucity of time, come to your point. I know that you are a good orator and last time also you spoke very well, therefore do not mention irrelevant things and come to the point.

SHRI SATYA PAL SINGH YADAV: I know Sir, and I am coming to my point Sir, if he did not come.....

MR. SPEAKER: If you go on repeating this point then I will not allow it to go on record and also not give you time, you come to the point.

SHRI SATYA PAL SINGH YADAV: I want to submit that the B.J.P. Members wanted to show that how much worried was their leadership due to happenings in Ayodhya on 6th December. Many Members from ruling side including Ghulam, Nabi Azad and Rajesh Pilot Saheb gave emotional speeches and reiterated that they are having many video cassettes which shows that what they did there on 6th December. We neither belong to ruling nor we have any cassette but we have seen only one photograph of 6th December, which shows that the way san-

yasini Uma Bharti is sitting on the shoulders of President of B.J.P. Shri Joshi and they are expressing their happiness on demolition of the Mosque and their happiness over it shows that how they planned all these things and acted in a destructive manner. I would like to submit that they have not only demolished a Mosque there Sir. It was not only a mosque or a structure. Sr, it has hurt the feelings of crores of people. An atmosphere of tension is prevailing among them.

Sir, Mr. Advani was arrested and there was nothing new in it. Many others were arrested before this, Kalyan Singh Ji arrested Mulayam Singh Yadav, V.P. Singh was also arrested by Kalyan Singh. Even Mrs. Indira Gandhi was arrested. It is not a big thing to be arrested. It is not a strange thing. Sir, when one does any crime then one is bound to get punishment for that. With that a ban has been put on the communal organisations, this also has been put on the communal organisations, this also has been a practise in the past also. this is also not a strange thing if the Governments have fallen or have been dismissed or have not completed their full term. his has not happened first time, it has happened in the past also on a number of occasions. What is special in it? B.J.P. people cannot say that something strange has happened, or they have been attacked but I want to submit that today the Central Government and V.P. Government both the Government maligned the image of our country. Both the Government remained as silent spectators when the structure was demolished.

Sir, you might remember that in order to avert this national tragedy there was a discussion in the House on 3rd of this month. I had submitted that by issuing order in this regard the Supreme Court was doing its duty and the people of R.S.S. B.J.P and Kar Sevaks were reaching Ayodhya and the setting out from Kashi and Mathura Shri Advani and Shri Joshi were doing their duties but our Central Government was sitting idle. That day hon. Prime Minister was not here but hon. Home Minister was present here, I had asked the Home Minister that as

per the statement of Shri V.P. Singh if Kalyan Singh gives resignation then what would he do? Hon. Sir, I had raised this question that suppose lakhs of Kar Sevaks arrive in Ayodhya and if the U.P. Government tenders its resignation then what would you do? Sir, when in order to protect the constitution Mulayam Singh ordered firing, then 16 persons were killed but today 1600 persons have been killed. At that time I had asked hon. Home Minister that what arrangement would you make for 6th December and it is in the records that Home Minister had said-

[English]

I have made all the arrangement. At this state, I do not want to open my cards.

[Translation]

I do not want to open my card. I have made all the arrangements and I also asked that who would give orders, directions to the 200 odd companies of C.R.P.F. despatched by you as it was under the control of U.P. Government but you did not answer to it. I wish to submit that the Government of Shri Kalyan Singh had presented 5 affidavits and as Prime Minister has told, he wrote 12 letters. It is alright that it is the responsibility of the Prime Minister and he may believe those affidavits and letters but with that it was their utmost duty to make alternative arrangements to control the situation. But Sir, by remaining in active the Government has created such an atmosphere in the country that it has not only hurt the secular forces but also forced the minorities to live in atmosphere of fear. The Government should have made some arrangements in this regard which she did not do and on this some of our colleagues are talking about the resignation of the Prime Minister. I would like to say that this is not the time to ask the Prime Minister to tender his resignation. At this time we should let this Government to be stable. We should not intervene in its working. If we try to create any unstability then the whole of the Nation would come under its grip. I would like to ask the people who frequently quote

[Sh. Satva Pal Singh Yadav]

Maryada Purushottam Ram's name and even clam to be his followers but they must remember that Lord Rama, was such a great person who went into exile for 14 years leaving his throne just to fulfil the wish of his brother but these are the people who are instigating brothers to cut each other's throat for the last of the power. Is it the dignity of the nation. These B.J.P. people today say here as our younger brother Virendra Singh says that we belong to R.S.S. you may hang us. I feel that the law of any country do not permit to hang us. I feel that the law of any country do not permit to hang somebody to death. It may be you facism that you may hang anybody without trying him legally.. You have said twice here..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: I have said that R.S.S. is a nationalist organisation and I am proud to be a member of it. I still say it in the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYA PAL SINGH YADAV: It is not a matter of pride. I am telling this because he said that he should be hanged....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: If it is baned and if the Government permits me to hang, I am ready..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYA PAL SINGH YADAV: There is no such provision of hanging a man of R.S.S. under our law. The question of hanging, therefore, does not arise.. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYA S'INGH YADAV: There is only one big mistake that the Government has committed. As it is said: " Raghukul Rit Sada Chali Aaayee, Pran Jayee Per Vachan Na Jayee ". On the one hand, Dashrath made a promise of Kekayee. It was an oral promise. In order to keep that very promise, he asked Ram to go in exile and he did so, On the other hand, we had a written promise and that too was made to the Supreme Court that they will not allow the disputed structure to be demolished under any circumstances.

But those who appeal in the name of Ram all the time could not protect the structure.

They committed at the N.I.C. meeting that they would never allow the demolition of the disputed structure under any circumstances. Such a situation developed because the hon. Prime Minister said that all the issues relating to it would be referred to the Supreme Court. At that time their leader who is also the leader of the Opposition said that the issues of Kashi and Mathura should also be referred to the Supreme Court. Was it a way to solve the disputed?

I would like to make only one point. The hon. Prime Minister declared that the Government would reconstruct the Masjid at the disputed site. Here I would like to submit that no decision in this regard to be taken under article 138 or 143 of the Constitution or by the Supreme Court. Blood-shed also does not serve any purpose. I say, no action should be taken in haste. If actions are taken in haste, then it would again be dangerous for the country. Through this House I would, there fore like to submit that for the sake of our secularism, there should not be any blood shed and whatever we have to do, we should do it density.

I would also like to submit one more thing. The leaders the B.J.P. throw a challenge again and again to fight a battle of ballot. So, they claim to misguide some people.

[*English*]

They can befool some persons for sometime but they cannot befool all the persons all the time.

[*Translation*]

This just can't materialise. We have been fighting the battle of ballots earlier and we will do so even in future. We have had a long history of elections being fought in Constituencies. I would at least like to appeal to the hon. Prime Minister and this Government that the Government may not ban the

B.J.P. or the Muslim League or any other Communal Party like them that fan communalism but the Government should make certain laws preventing those parties from playing vote-politics out of religious issues. They have used religion for catching votes and they have got the benefit thereof. They have become used to such politics and that is why they are bent upon exploiting religion to the best of their capacity. It is, therefore very essential to bar it.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for providing me an opportunity to express my views. Yesterday when our leader moved the No-Confidence Motion in the House and the language and manner in which he expressed his views about the incident of the 6th of December gave me an impression that he had given a new direction to this House and there would be, I thought, a purposive discussion to solve the issue. But what I see during these discussions is that this House has been made a platform; the B.J.P. has been put into dock being declared the greatest offender. We have been declared communalist and traitor.

I would not like to repeat what Vajpayee ji has said. He, Advani ji and all other members of our party have already said that whatever has happened was unfortunate. We are sorry for that. I would, however, like to remind that the hon. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh immediately resigned following the incident as an act of repentance. He took no time in tendering his resignation and the dismissal of the State Government followed only thereafter. Moreover, Shri Advaniji also resigned as the leader of the Opposition in the House and this is how he expressed his repentance. At this juncture when allegations were made against used and a discussion about that is going on. I would like to ask as to why double standards is maintained. I would like to ask as to why there was no discussion here when a damage was done to the Akal Takhat in Amritsar and when more than three thousand innocent people were killed in Delhi itself. Why the leaders of the Congress Party who were three in the

Government were silent then? The hon Prime Minister was the Home Minister at that time. Why did the question of resignation not come up then? The Indian history is replete with incidents when outsiders massacred the Indian people but the Government of India never massacred its people. Why did the Government keep mum in 1984 for the incidents that occurred at that a period? I ask, did any one come forward for repentance? Was any motion brought? On that day V.P. Singhji stood to shed crocodile tears. But why did he not take any action while he was in power 16 months back now? He was in power at that time he had the Speaker of his own choice he could therefore, have done something at that time. No action was taken against any Minister. It is already 8 years since a commission was set up to investigate into the matter. A committee was also set up. The inquiry Commission submitted its report giving a list of guilt persons. F.I.R. was also lodged against those persons. But 8 years have passed without any action being taken against anybody. The Congress Party is in power, it can take action but why this double standard? I am not saying that what happened in Ayodhya is good. What I want to say is that when a disputed structure is demolished in Ayodhya there is a hue and cry in the country and abroad as well, but when the Akal Takhat is pulled down...(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI GURUCHARAN SINGH GALIB** (Ludhiana): Is the hon. Member aware as to how men had assembled inside the Akal Takhat. Arms were collected there. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** Who declared that terrorist to be a great Saint of the country? Who gave chance to the terrorist to go inside the Akal Takhat?

When every person was shocked at the incident of the 6th of December, the hon. Prime Minister, being the leader of country, could have given a call to all to find out a possible solution to face the situation...(*Interruptions*)

[Sh. Madan Lal Khurana]

It is an irony that the party like Muslim League dare say that we are communalists. If it had been said by some other party, well, it could then be understandable, but the irony is that the Muslim League is saying like those. I agree that a mistake, a blunder was committed on the 6th December but the Government, instead of sensibly controlling the situation, is committing one mistake after the other. The way Shri Advaniji was arrested, the way the R.S.S. and other Hindu organisations were banned and the way the three State Governments, ruled by the B.J.P., were dismissed are some of the mistakes that the Government has committed. This has, however, gone only in our newspapers, who had all condemned our party on the 7th of December have now put the Congress Government into the dock. How the three State Governments were dismissed. An hon. Minister Shri Arjun Singh makes a statement in the morning on the 15th, the meeting of the congress working committee is held the same day. Reports from the Governor is obtained the same day and in the evening it is dismissed. I read an interview of the Governor of Himachal Pradesh in the issue of the *Hindustan Times* of the next day. He says:-

[English]

"Mr. Verma said that the Centre had not asked him for any report and that he was nowhere in the picture".

[Translation]

He said it, he admitted it after some time.

MR. SPEAKER: Refer it.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: It is clear in his interview published in this newspaper that the Government of Himachal Pradesh was functioning very well. What I want to say is that allegations were made against the Madhya Pradesh Government

that riots took place there and against the Rajasthan Government.

SHRI KRISHAN DUTT SULTANPURI: (Shimla): They also resorted to firing. There was the Government of RSS in Himachal Pradesh. We know that, if any Member rises to speak anything about there, he is interrupted by 20 members of their party. The injustice done by them in Himachal Pradesh is known to all.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I have been allotted time. Please let me speak. At other places curfew had been imposed but in Himachal Pradesh neither section 144 imposed nor there had been any riots, why when the Himachal Pradesh Government was dismissed.

SHRI RAM PRAKASH CHAUDHARY (Ambala): Mr. Khurana, our colleagues tell us about the atrocities committed on them. What do you talk about?

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I am sorry to state that Prime Minister has dismissed these Governments in Panic under the pressure of internal politics when he was being challenged by Shri Arjun Singh. This action has been taken in a State of panic. (Interruptions) Prime Minister himself would answer it. Why are you getting involved in it. (Interruptions)

Are they working under preasure or not. I am using the word pressure because West Bengal Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution in this regard and another legislative Assembly is passing a resolution that it should be dismissed.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura): No, no such resolution has been passed.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: It has been passed in that house. This I have come to know from Doordarshan News that a unanimous resolution has been passed both by Congress and these people.

[English]

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: Mr. Speaker, Sir. I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: Sir, the West Bengal Assembly never passed a Resolution for State Government of U.P. While replying to the debate, the chief Minister has said that Article 356 can be imposed. But the West Bengal Assembly has not adopted any resolution recommending imposition of Article 356. This should be corrected.

MR. SPEAKER: While exonerating one, you do not implicate others. Please sit down now. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr., Speaker, Sir, we have been told that RSS is very communal. I would request you to recall the history. *(Interruptions)*

AN. HON. MEMBER: You are wrong....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: A debate should be held the discuss who is communal in this country—*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Khurana, you are looking towards them.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I am addressing you only.

MR. SPEAKER: They will derail you.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: As far as the question of FSS is concerned, when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Prime Minister, he called a meeting of National Intergration Council after the Chinese aggression and had invited the RSS to participate in the Republic Day Celebration and RSS took part in Republic Day Parade with

its full dress on 26 January, 1963. After the Sh. Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister of the country and he too entrusted the responsibility of regulating the traffic in Delhi to RSS during the Indo-Pak War. We still remember that Swayamsevaks of RSS worked with full dedication wearing their uniforms. At that time Jan Sangh Party was there. The Muslim league which had been responsible for the formation of Pakistan should not teach us the lesson of patriotism. *(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER: It is not responsible.

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune): Yes, it is.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: In a democratic country we are being told to learn the lessons of patriotism and communalism from Muslim League. We don't have to learn from them.

Mr. Speaker Sir, one more thing I would like to know from my friends from that Congress Party that in the year 1989 when elections were held in Mizoram. I presenting the photostat copy of your manifesto. Your party's election symbol is also in it. The heading on the first page is 'kristan Government'. You have said it. I would like to know that is this the secularism you preach and is it not the Communalism *(Interruptions)* This is the heading you have given *(Interruptions)* This heading is given in their language. What do you mean by laughing on it. I would like to submit it to you. Language is their's *(Interruptions)* What do you think making fun of it. I would like to present it to you. This is their language....*(Interruptions)* The Heading is KRISTAN SORKAR. Please tell me whether it is Kristan Sorkar or not. If it is not so then what is it? We have not written it—*(Interruptions)* I want to submit that the Government which promises to give a Kristan Government to a state during 1989 elections today the same Government is telling about the Hindu nation. BJP has never talked about Hindu nation. You want to put words into our mouths. We have never talked about Hindu nations. Please tell me whether this Kristan

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Government is the promise of Congress Government or not? Even today you are having a pact with Muslim League or not in Kerala and running the Government there. If you are running the Kerala Government then please accept this before the nation as you have announced that a mosque would be constructed and do clarify as to whether Muslim League is a communal party or not.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, it is not.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: You please say. You say these two things that this the same Muslim League or not which was responsible for the formation of Pakistan by propagating two nation theory...*(Interruptions)* ....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing which is said without my permission would go on record.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: You were responsible for misleading Shri Rajiv Gandhi, so much was his fate. *(Interruptions)*.....

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAMAN SAIT (Ponnani): You do not present the facts. All India Muslim League has its own constitution, aims and objectives..... *(Interruptions)*.....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Reddiah, if you want to speak then you should see the time.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is why I submit that those who sit in glass houses should not throw stones on others. The members of Janata Dal are not present in the House. They were talking too much about temple-mosque dis-

pute. During the last elections you were responsible for getting a 'Fatwa' from the Imam of Delhi? Janata Dal had been responsible for that. Today, if on the one hand Janata Dal says that they do not get involved in the matters of religion and on the other hand they get 'Fatwa' from the Shahi Imam even then they are secular? If they talk of Christian Government even then they are secular? If they sign a pact with Muslim League in order to rule a state they call themselves secular and when BJP talks of three things only food, God and Insaaf and speaks about Ram, they are called communal....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VILAS MUTTEMWAR: What do you mean by 'Insaaf'.*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANNA JOSHI: 'Insaaf' mean justice....*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: None of these people who are interrupting will get the unit to speak because they have taken their time.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir it is being said that BJP has cheated and betrayed the nation and mislead the people. Shri Atal has already said about that. But one thing I have to say that who has not mislead the nation in respect of this temple from 1949? Which Prime Minister did not make promises in this regard? Is it not a fact that a former Prime Minister had made promises in this regard and even then Mandir has not been constructed. Is it not true that an ex-Prime Minister made a promise in this regard and even an ordinance was promulgated which was later withdrawn. Is it not a breach of trust?....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHOTE SINGH YADAV (Kannauj): Please tell us the name of that Prime Minister.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: During the rule of a Prime Minister., the Foundation-

stone was laid, a history had been created during the regime of another and an Ordinance was promulgated which was withdrawn within twenty four hours. Then the third Prime Minister had made promises. He had promised to fulfill the task within two or three months....(Interruptions)

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO): You do not have the patience to wait even for four months....(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I would again make a submission. I would reiterate that I do not lay full blame on you....(Interruptions) Please listen to me first.

I am confident that had the Hon. Prime Minister agreed and joined the hands with the Governmtn of Uttar Pradesh to make an appeal to Allahabad High Court to deliver its verdict on the case of 2.77 acres of land before 6th then such a situation would not have arisen....(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you must be aware that it was declared 6 days in advance that the decision would be delivered on 11th....(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: This made the people feel that on one side the judges hold the court even at 10.00 P.M. on Sundays at their residences to decide the sensitive issues while on the other hand these are the judges who have with held the judgement on the case on which entire country was agitated. I am making this submission hearing already had ended 34-35 days back and on which just to point out the reasons behind the communal incidents....(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the riots were mose unfortunate....(Interruptions) I am coming to the pont of the demolition of the structure also. I do not consider these riots as communal. If judicial enquiry is held in regard to the riots that took place after 6th, it will be clear that these riots were not communal. These

were the riots in which the fundamentalists having a large quantity of arms and ammunition were involved. They attacked the police and Government establishments, and the Police in turn opened firing killing a large number of the persons. Majority of those killed belonged to this category. I would like to quote an instance that took place in Delhi. What happened in Seelampur in trans-Yamuna area? How the policemen were attacked, how the two policemen were killed? Bullets were being fired from the top of the houses in return to the firing being made by police. Rifles were also snatched from them. What happened in Bombay? One of the Minister went to Bombay and issued a statement - I do not know whether it is correct or wrong - that the police picked up the people of minorities made them their targets. Then the hon. Minister of Home Affairs went there and issued a statement commending the action of the police. Such contradictory statements are being issued by the people in Government. Is it the way to improve the atmosphere in the country?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today, I was reading a news-item, I would like to draw your attention to it. The Indian Express dated 18.12.92 has published a news item that an 80 years old BJP worker along with his wife save the lives of many Muslims. This could have taken their own lives. Similarly in Cuttack....

[English]

80 year old Saroj Kumar Ghose, a staunch BJP supporter from Cuttack, and his wife Suama

[Translation]

both of them saved the lives of people who were being burnt alive.

Mr. Speaker, Sir that is why I would like that an enquiry should be conducted into it..

As I submitted in the beginning that life is equally valuable for all and it does not matter who belongs to which community. Life of every Indian is valuable. Therefore,

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we must feel concern for the blood of citizens of every community, whether he belongs to Sikh, Muslim or Hindu community. It is not right on the part of the Government to be a silent spectator if temples are demolished in Kashmir or Gurudwaras are damaged in Amritsar. We should not react to such incidents by saying that the earth is bound to be shaken when a big tree falls. I would submit one thing more before I conclude. What role was played by TV and radio? They brought a bad name to the entire country and created a problem, through out the world. It was publicised as if a very big and important mosque was demolished and 6th December and Muslims were being slaughtered. It was not made clear that the structure was disputed and it consisted a temple also where puja was also being performed and 'Namaz' was not performed there since 1936. Had it been made clear through TV and radio that it was a disputed structure, the problem would not have taken such a turn. But it was publicised as if that the mosques were being demolished on a large scale in India, and that Muslims were being slaughtered. There was a sharp reaction to it. On the other side, BBC reported that a Hanuman Mandir was burnt down in Lahore. But since the Government claims itself to be a secular so it did not think it necessary highlight the other side.. It published the photograph of the disputed structure being pulled down but not of the temple, Gurudwaras being burnt in other countries.

Therefore, my submission is that TV and radio did not lag behind in inciting the feelings of people and creating communal tension. I would like to make another appeal. Yesterday it was declared that the mosque will certainly be reconstructed there. We do not have any objection on the construction of mosque. We are ready to participate in *Kar Seva* for the purpose, provided, it is not constructed within the complex of temple. If the Government wants to be more sure about the original structure that it was a temple or not it may verify it from the remains that have been recovered from there during

the excavation on 6th December. If it is proved that the original structure was that of temple, then only it should construct the temple there, and thus the dispute will be over for ever. This dispute has become the cause of concern for a common man in the country today. Everybody is agitated. The Government has declared that the mosque will be reconstructed at the same but it should see to it that it may not become a matter of dispute for future as this mosque built perhaps in 1527 had come a bone of contention. Therefore, temple should be constructed there to avoid such a dispute.

Members of ruling party said that our number would reduce from 119 to 19, newspapers also published that BJP has been isolated in the meeting of National Integration Council. But the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu rightly pointed out that we may be isolated in this House, but we do represent the feelings of the people of the country. If the ruling party wants to reduce our strength from 119 to 19 and prove that the common man is not with us but with them they should dissolve the House and face the election. They have been a total failure. The BJP Governments have been dismissed in complete violation of Constitution it is virtually a murder of democracy. Therefore, my submission to the hon. Prime Minister is that as he always boasts of moral values, he should resign and face the elections distinguish. This would truth from untruth. This is my submission.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, our friend Shri Madan Lal Khurana - as per his habit has put a question to us while looking at the press gallery. I would like to give reply to that question in the very beginning. I do admit that we committed a mistake by demolishing Akal Takhat, and by reconstructing it. I would like to ask the BJP members who are Shri Khurana's friends, whether they are ready to get the Babri Masjid rebuilt if it has been demolished by mistake.

Our senior member Shri Indrajit Gupta alleged that it was our fault that we believed

'the Sangh Pariwar. They betrayed us. The Prime Minister himself has said that they had been betrayed. But this is not the first instance that Sangh Pariwar has betrayed—

The history of betrayal dates back to 1977. This Sangh Pariwar betrayed Shri Jaiprakash Narain, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Buta Singh, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Shri Chandra Shekhar and now they have betrayed the hon. Prime Minister Shri P. V. Narasimharao. I would like to submit that they had betrayed even me. I was undertaking journey of 5000 Km. from Rameshwaram, to Ayodhya. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM KAPSE: Shri Jai Prakash Narain was the first to be betrayed and you are the last. You want to get your name associated with Shri Jai Prakash Narain....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH: You want to get your name linked with Shri Jai Prakash Narain....

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: This is not going on record. (*Interruptions*)\*

[*Translation*]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: I covered the distance of 5000 km. from Rameshwaram to Faizabad. There was no communal tension anywhere. I had no message except that of love and harmony to convey. But it was alleged that I may violate section 144, so I was arrested? I welcomed my arrest. I told the Sangh Pariwar that if they arrest me they would also arrest the Kar Sevaks when they come. I am not giving this statement just because I want to get my name associated with Shri Jai Prakash Narain, or I consider myself equal to him. Rather I am a small creature in the political field of this country. It was only me who was stopped and at that time not the Kar Sevaks.

That is why I say that Sangh Pariwar has played foul with me. Now Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has said that the Sangh Pariwar has created a biggest example by betraying BJP. It is immaterial whether their number was five thousand or five hundred, but it is certain that they were kar sevaks and related to Sangh Pariwar; they demolished the Babri Masjid. (*Interruptions*) My submission to Shri Indrajit Gupta who had said that these persons wanted to take a ride on a tiger. I would like to say that actually it is not a tiger but it is a donkey. Nobody can ride on a tiger. In this case neither a ride was made on the tiger nor it was made on the donkey, rather the donkey took a ride on a tiger. I do not know whether he can be compared to a tiger or a donkey, but certainly to a crocodile....(*Interruptions*)

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: We would like to use civilized language (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: That is why I used the words crocodile tears, because the person concerned is not ready to condemn the unfortunate incident, he merely says that it was a tragedy. Rather, he should not only express grief over the incident but also condemn the act of the people associated with the Sangh Pariwar. He should clearly state that the act was entirely an unwanted one. He should also give assurance to reconstruct the structure demolished by them. If the hon. Member does not agree, we would take it as they are neither tiger nor donkey, and they shed only crocodile tears.

Here, through their impressive speeches they are teaching us a lesson of secularism. I would like to submit that whatever way they may define secularism, B.J.P. is a party which is not at all secular. What can we teach them, we have to learn a lot today. Many forces among the number 119 have entered Parliament which do not consider this institution as a supreme one. They consider another institution as supreme, and the Sangh Pariwar has given this institution the name of 'Dharm Sansad.'

[Sh. Mani Shankar Aiyar]

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee talked of discipline, he had assured to maintain discipline. If this party had a limited number of members such as two or five or ten, it would have been easier to maintain discipline in it. But when the number has increased to such an extent, it requires capability to maintain discipline in the Party and the hon. Member is not capable to that extent either inside the House or outside the House. Even the saints and sanyasis have been elected as B.J.P. members and they are here in the House, Sadhwiji has also been elected....(Interruptions)\*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: This is not going on record.

[Translation]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: The slogan of 'Jai Shri Ram' is raised in our Parliament, I am worried what will be the fate of the country if such religious slogans as 'Allah O' Akbar' are also raised in the House. I would like slogan like Jai Bharat and Jai Hind to be raised and not a single religion or a single man oriented slogans to be raised.

What lesson we should learn from this experience. We should learn a lesson neither to support nor to take support from these communal forces at any cost or condition. I can say it with pride that Congress is a party which has never sought the support of B.J.P. in any State or at centre. We did keep faith in them but not sought their support. Shri Chandrashekhar is not here at the moment, however his companions are present. They should remember that Shri Chandra Shekhar was the leader of that party which merged these forces into itself, Shri Chandra Shekhar was the President of that party and as a President he never took an individual stand against the dual membership. Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is also there, he first cheated Shri Chandra Shekhar and then

sought the cooperation of the same communal forces to become Prime Minister despite his open declaration that he would not stand with these forces on the same stage. Only a month ago just remember the behaviour of that person who was not ready even to stand at the same stage, what did he do? Only due to his seat adjustment policy made by him in February, 1990, we have handed over the power in four States to these forces. And today we are compelled to snatch power from them to save the country. I would like to submit to Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Shri Indrajit Gupta and their associates that they supported these forces in 1977. When these forces boycotted the membership of the house in 1989 you followed them. In 1990, too, when the Rath Yatra of Shri Advaniji arrived at Samastipur from Somnath the Communists were with the yatra throughout the entire way...

SHRI BHOGENDRAJHA (Maolhobani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, he should explain what he has said in regard to the communists....

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: When Shri Advani started his Rath Yatra, they did not condemn the act and never said that they did not want their cooperation. It was only on 7th November that they condemned it....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHARY (Katwa): Sir, realising that the country is facing a grave crisis. I am not joining issue with Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar.

[Translation]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: However, I would like to give an assurance. You may enquire from Shri Indrajit Gupta he had asked to seek their support...

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: It is all right. Every point need not be rebutted.

[Translation]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: I was speaking in regard to the economic policies, I would like to repeat that when Shri Jaswant Singh offered their support last year, I had suggested to the hon. Minister of Finance at that time not to accept it. Because

[English]

" It is a kiss of death " .

[Translation]

In the end I would make three requests before I conclude. My first request is to the Hon. Prime Minister that a trust should be set up and it should be known as the ' Ram Rahim Trust '. It should be entrusted the responsibility to construct both the temple and the mosque. Neither the Hindus nor the Muslims should know where their contribution is being utilised. The Supreme Court should decide the only matter whether there was a temple or not and this should be decided under Section 138. If the Supreme Court gives the verdict that the original structure was a temple which was demolished later on by Mir Baqui we and AIBMC will agree that the temple be constructed at the same site and mosque somewhere near it. But if the Supreme Court decides that there was no temple, the mosque should be reconstructed at the site and a temple somewhere near that structure.

At the same time I would submit to the Hon. Prime Minister that we should set up a goodwill force so that a movement can be launched against the Communalism and in this process, I would like to request our colleagues from the left front and the National front that they should join hands with us to enable us to challenge the communal forces.

Above all, the members of leftist parties and National Front should take a pledge in this House that they would never support these communal forces. Lastly I would like

to urge Atal Bihari Vajpayee to take the leadership of B.J.P. again, because the leadership of Shri Advani has benefited Pakistan was sent to Kashmir, that is why Kashmir was separated. Similarly, it was due to Shri Joshi that I.S.S. was formed in Kerala. This trend should be stopped and the patriots who are in a few number in the party should take over the leadership of the party.

[English]

SHRI RAM KAPSE (Thane): Sir, please decide whether reference to Mr. Jagmohan forms part of the record or not.

MR. SPEAKER: I will look into it.

MR. SPEAKER: Maliniji, I need not request you to keep the availability of time in mind.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA (Jadavpur): Many people have had their say in this House and since very few women have spoken I request you that let the Parliament spare some time to listen women voicing their views. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I will give you as much time as you need provided you are making a new point. About old points I will just point out that point has been made.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: Certainly.

Sir, 36 hours after the demolition of the mosque, the Central forces were entering and taking control of the Ram-Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid site. At that time, I was in Calcutta and I kept on hearing how this flushing out operation was being done absolutely peacefully, not a bullet had to be used, no blood shed, nothing. And a very senior Muslim citizen who was standing next to me at the peace rally in Calcutta said that they have done this in only 45 minutes; it only these 45 minutes had been spent earlier before the demolition of the mosque...

[Shrimati Malini Bhattacharaya]

Sir, this question has been in our minds all the time: Why not earlier? The situation that we have been plunged into today, does not just involve the destruction of a mosque, of a religious structure but it also means wide-spread riots, terror, armed gangsterism in the name of religion, wide-spread sense of insecurity in the minds of the minorities. The seriousness of the situation is something that we can hardly gague. If one thing that now that the mosque has been demolished now we are rid of that ghost of communalism, they are wrong. We have unleashed, these people have unleashed an unholy force through the demolition of this structure. The seriousness of the situation is also reflected. I think, in the way, in which these two sides Cong (I) and B.J.P. are now trading charges against each other.

Only a few days back before the 6th of December, the situation had been different. I have the Rajya Sabha proceedings here of November 4 when the Home Minister himself had said very definitely that Mr. Advani had not made any statement saying the *kar sewa* will not be confined to Bhajans and *Kirtans*. How did he know? Had Mr. Advani contradicted himself? The statement of the Home Minister says that even without that contradiction, he was sure that Mr. Advani had not said it. Even if Mr. Advani had not said it, for a responsible opposition leader, would it not have been right to contradict that statement which came out in the newspapers because when such an eminent leader is supposed to make such a statement even that has a reaction all over the country. He did not contradict that statement that was attributed to him in the newspapers, but was exonerated by the Home Minister.

Then subsequently we found that when the mosque had been demolished, Vajpayeeji has said. " why was not the President's rule imposed after 1230 hours on that day? Why did the Central force not move in? Well, does Sri Vajpayee not know very well why the central forces did not move in when there was still time? Does he not know that the

President's rule was not imposed because his party had managed to pressurise the Government into not taking any action whatsoever on this point? We also found that the Prime Minister was very much disturbed after the demolition of the mosque. He said: It was a betrayal. He said that it is like a child stabbing the father.

20.00 hrs.

I must say that this is a very curious statement an acknowledgement of paternity. I must say that when parents have such children who can stab them on their backs, then the parents also must bear the onus for having such children and for nurturing such children. Even Dhristashtra had to pay.

[Translation]

The price for all deeds committed by his children like Duryodham and Dushashan.

[English]

Sir, I am not going back to 1986, I am not going back to the period before that and all that has been said at that time. I am only talking of the mysterious inaction of the Government from the beginning of his year when, again and again, in this House and outside, we have tried to point out the way in which the court orders were being violated, the way in which an atmosphere of poisonous communalism was being created in the country, the way in which minorities were being terrorised into a situation of fear psychosis, where fanaticism from both sides might emerge. And, yet, no one heard us.

After the event, Vajpayeeji said: " Why did not the Government take action after 12.30 p.m.?" Vajpayeeji if you had an inkling of the fact that among those people in the Babri-Masjid area, there were hoolligans, who might take over, who might do something, that is, to destroy the mosque, then why did you not join your voice our voices with at that time? The government did not listen to us. If the BJP had joined their voices with others, at that time, maybe the Government would have heard us.

[*Translation*]

Sir, we felt that... \*such an old man can never do't and it is not only...

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Do you like this word very much?

[*English*]

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: We cannot believe that this was a failure of undertaking. We believe rather that there was connivance.

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

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: Sir, this word was used by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs himself. I do not know whether it is unparliamentary. He should know.

MR. SPEAKER: It is ungentle womanly.

(*Interruptions*)\*

MR. SPEAKER: That is not going on record.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: In spite of all this, in spite of our often repeated warning as to what was going to happen....

MR. SPEAKER: Is that a new point that you are making? That point has been made by everybody. Also, I have to consider the letters that I have received here.

SHRI ANIL BASU (Ararabagh): She is pinpointing the point.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: I am only trying to point out, why in spite of....

MR. SPEAKER: The only request that I

am making is that your speech should not disappoint us.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: Sir, I do not know whether what I am saying is going to disappoint some people or hurt some people. But whatever I am saying, I am saying it from my heart. That is all.

I was saying that in spite of our criticism of the Government's inaction, their possible connivance, in spite of that, we are not with this No-Confidence Motion, brought by our BJP friends. Why? Once before, they had brought by our BJP friends. Why? Once before, they had brought a No-Confidence Motion against the V.P. Singh Government. We all know that the V.P. Singh Government may have many shortcomings but it was not on account of those shortcomings that the No-Confidence Motion was brought. That Motion was brought exactly at a time when the V.P. Singh Government was about to take some very firm action against the spread of communal forces. Now what is the moment that the BJP chooses for bringing a No-Confidence Motion? It seems as if everything was all right until the arrest of people who were involved in the demolition of the mosque. It is as if this business of No Confidence started only when the Government finally emerging out of its paralytic state started to take some strong action. It is at this very point that they brought this Confidence Motion. That is why we are not with this Motion.

We also feel that by bringing this No confidence Motion what the BJP is actually doing is to divert our attention from the real disease that affects this Government. On the 25th November, everyone will remember, it is an event to be remembered; at the Boat Club there was a rally of lakhs of people; peasants, workers, middle-class people, women had gathered there to protest against the economic and the industrial policies of the Government, against massive retrenchment, against unemployment, against price. But rise, against capitulation to the IMF and the world Bank. But after that we find that this

[Shrimati Malini Bhattacharaya]

massive upsurge of popular opinion was sought to be selected by the changed force of events that followed after that an everything else took a back seat while Ayodhya came to the forefront. So, we feel that this No Confidence Motion is not the right kind of No Confidence Motion at all; it is meant to cover up the real defects of the Government and it pinpoints an area where we believe that the Government may still salvage the situation, a very difficult situation that we are in.

The BJP has spoken; they have said that they have brought this No Confidence Motion because their leaders were arrested. It is of course a very sad thing if the Leader of the Opposition in this highest House of India in democracy is arrested. However, neither the Leader of the Opposition nor the Prime Minister nor even the first citizen of this country; no one is exempt from the constitution obligations. Those leaders who, instead of restraining the *kar sevaks*, incited them with speeches have lost their immunity as leaders of the people. As such their arrest is something that should have been done before, when the demolition of the mosque started. That was the time. Before that, that process should have started. It came late; but nonetheless it was something which has to be done.

Time and again we have heard even today one of our BJP friends said what is the character of a Ram Bhakt.

MR. SPEAKER: These things are ingrained in our understanding.

There are many many members. This is 8.10 p.m. now. I have a list of about 20-25 Members who want to speak, which I cannot accommodate. Some of them I will accommodate today and some of them afterwards. Please leave that.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: I only want to say that they would have proved themselves as better Ram Bhaktas, as true Ram Bhaktas if on that day they had

stood between that surging violent mob and the structure and they had protected that structure even at the risk of their lives. Then I would have said: They have proved their faith in the saying, "Pran Jayam Par Vachana Jayeen".

We are not fond of Article 356.

MR. SPEAKER: That point has been made very clear by our leader, I believe.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: All right, Sir., I will leave it.

SHRI ANIL BASU: Sir, allow her to conclude.

MR. SPEAKER: Well, she knows the pangs of sitting in this Chair.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: At least you should some what recompense me for the time for which I have waited.

When we find that in the States concerned, the State machinery is allowed to be used in such a way that dangerous things happened in the country, that people are deliberately sent from the States to demolish mosques, that communal organisations are allowed to acquire very large properties, I think, that is when the constitutional breakdown occurs. Therefore, although we are opposed to Article 356, this time, we have not opposed it.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you, Madam.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA: It is not fair. I am coming to my final point. When we say that we are opposed to this no-confidence motion, that does not mean that we are opposed to this no-confidence motion because we support what the Government has done in Ayodhya. But it is for the sake of national unity. We have said this again and again. This is nothing new that if the Government acts like a Government, if the Government acts firmly to stem this tide of communalism, then however much we

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Please conclude.

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

20.15 hrs.

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

#### Twenty-fourth Report

[English]

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

20.15 hrs

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

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

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

[English]

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