

[Sh. George Fernandes]

'it' is mentionall that so and so member supported or oposed the motion. In the very beging of my spech it has been withen that

[English]

"Shri George Ferandes opposing the Motion said

[Translation]

They work throughout the night. (interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: This mistake has to be corrected. I think we will look into it.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): They are helpless (interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MRUTNAYA NAYAK (Phulbani): Sir, before the Motion is taken up, I would like to make one point, It seems that the contention of the Motion is on the scam and the JPC has not submitted its report. Are we doing juste to the funtioning of the JPC by admitting such a Motion I think you will consider it.

MR. SPEAKER: Well, I think all Members are very senior Members and they know the procedure and rules and I am sure that the will follow the rules and discuss the matter in an apporpiate manner.

1205 hrs

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

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Vajpayee may now speak

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is needless to say that I rise to support the Motion of No Confidence in the Council of Ministers. The present Government was constituted open 21st June, 1991. More than two years have passed. When this Government was constituted it was not in majority. Even today it is not in majority. But it has succeeded in proving its majority in the House. The Government is running and if my Congress colleagues like, they may consider it a great achievement.

At the time of constitution of the Government the country was fed up with 12 month and 6 month-Governments. It was in search of stability. The people of the country wanted to get relief from economic crists, which was mainly a creation of previous Congress Governments. Th people were hopeful with the aged, enlightened and experienced leader, Shri Narasimha Rao, that under his leadership, the new Government will lead the nation in the right direction. Because the Congress Party was feeling it leaderless after the death of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The people thought that dynastic rule was coming to an end and politics would take a new turn. The people had exceptions from the Government. In this optimism the people forget that the Prime Minister had been working as the Minister in previous Congress Governments also. It had gone into oblivion that Shri Narasimha Rao was handling the Ministry of Home Affairs when innocent people were being killed after the murder of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The people forgte the matter regarding the St. Kitts.

The hon. Prime Minister had proposed to run the entire country on the basis of consensus. Efforts were made to get rid of economic crisis. But this situation could not be maintained for a long time.

Congress session was held in Tirupati. I do not know whether it was an endeavour to link the politics with the religion or not. But in Tirupati

people observed with surprise that the former Minister of External Affairs was taking a letter regarding Borfors case to hand over it to somebody. He forgot the man from whom he had taken the letter. But he could not forget the man to whom it was to be delivered. In Tirupati session he had played a pivotal role by presented a resolution on foreign policy. He had deputed to be a Minister External Affairs people were perturbed.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my colleagues belonging to the Congress Party discussed the economic reform, yesterday. They had highlighted the changes took place to some extent due to these economic reforms. But they have not discussed the otherside, the darker side of the situation. External debt is increasing. I do not want to make my speech difficult by quoting dates. But the statistics are very clear and the country is under debt. The situation is that we will have to take loan just to pay the interest incurred on loan taken. It is fact that foreign exchange reserve has increased. But proper attention has not been paid to the deteriorating financial position. Debt has increased. Import has increased. As regards export, the position is totally hopeless. Customs Duty has been reduced whereas it has not been done in the case of excise-duty. Indigenous industries are in the crisis. Factors are on the verge of closure. The Prime Minister has said in the statement that if we get fertilisers at cheaper rate why should we purchase indigenous fertilisers. Would the Government allow factories in the country to be closed down.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO): At the some time I had also said that the Government would make efforts to make these factories economically viable.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: If any factory is running in loss, closure should be the last resort. If improvement can be made production can be increased and cost can be reduced then it should be done and the Government should not close it down. The Government is saying something and doing something else.

The factories are going to be closed down. The labourers are becoming jobless.

On 16th December, 1991 the Minister of Finance had said in this very House that the new economic policy would neither have unemployment nor close down the factories. This assurance has not been fulfilled. I was going through the Report of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Industry. The Government has allocated large amount for voluntary retirement scheme. Perhaps it had the intention to spend Rs. 788 crore under this head but where are the alternate opportunities of employment and there have not been provided. The workers should be given proper training and be engaged in some other useful jobs. The Government has failed to do so in this regard. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the basis of industry in the countries not sound. There has been reduction in generation of hydel electricity, production of crude oil and fertilisers. The production of crude has been going down and import of petrol has been increasing. We are spending Rs. 22 crore as foreign exchange every year for the purpose of petrol. Now it has become difficult to understand the economic scenario as explained by the Minister of Finance when there has been reduction in production of hydel electricity, crude oil and fertilisers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Dunkel Proposals have become the topic of the day in the country. Contrary statements are being issued. The Minister of Food and the Minister of Agriculture are not present here. The Minister of Commerce has retired from the membership of the House. He has been put in trouble. Really he is my old colleague. I have sympathy with him. Some arrangement should have been made for his re-election from somewhere? The Government is solving its purpose by leaving him in the midst. But I was referring to Dunkel Proposals. The statements of Shri Jakhhar Saheb and former Minister of Commerce are totally different. The Prime Minister does not speak anything at all.

SHRI MRUTYUNJANAYAK: He will speak afterwards.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Yes, he will have to break his silence tomorrow. But it is a policy related matter. Could consensus not be achieved in respect of economic reforms? Whether any such efforts were made? I do not think that the colleagues sitting on my left do not want economic progress of the country or to get rid of the country from economic crisis. If there are difference in modalities, those could be discussed.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we had welcomed this new economic policy with the hope that unnecessary controls would be removed practice of delaying tactics would be stopped entrepreneurship would be give full opportunity to prosper and we would be able to face the challenges of the changing world. But what happened? There was a securities scam. Perhaps the Minister of Finance might remember that I had cautioned about it while speaking on the Budget. At that time when there was the boom in the share market, the Government, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Finance. The Reserve Bank of India was busy in self-prass and watching that boom in a very happy mood it was being considered as success of economic reforms. At that time I cautioned the House that we have no objection in bringing the tiger out of the cage. But we will have to keep in mind that this tiger may not be converted into a man-cater. But it happened so. That man-eater is hunting one after another.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to go into the Securities Scam of Rs. 5000 crores, since the matter has been referred to a Parliamentary Committee. I would like to congratulate the Chairman and the Members of the Parliamentary Committee because they have been discharging their duty properly till now. During the regime of previous Governments we had devalued not only the Parliament but put a question mark on the reliability of Parliamentary Committees. My colleague, Shri Shakarandji is present here. The report presented by him is also available here. The opposition did not participate in it. It was our mistake. But the matter

was covered-up. Now in the light of revelation of secrets being made in the case of Bofors, the Report of this Parliamentary Committee stands nowhere.

We hoped from the present Parliamentary Committee to follow its traditions, though it has the Members belonging to different parties would try to bring out the facts rising above the party line. I hope that this tradition will be maintained and the Parliamentary Committee will not only touch the matter ordinarily but go into it deeply.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this No-Confidence Motion is not related to the economic condition of the country. I had discussed economic condition earlier also. Today the corruption that has spread over at the high level is the matter of grave concern for the people of the country.

What is happening in other countries of the world? I remember that once Shrimati Indira Gandhi had said "Corruption is a global phenomenon", Perhaps she wanted to save the country from outside attack. Regarding rampant corruption in India she said that it was a world wide phenomenon. But today a global challenge is being given against this globe phenomena. A movement is going on to purify the public life in Japan, Italy Britain, Germany and Mexico. Two industrialists have committed suicide in Italy. Hundre are in jail. Many are being put in locks on the charges of corruption. In Japan, the 45 years old party had been defeated in elections. That party had played an important rule in making Japan stand on its feet after defeat in the war. corrupt politicians unscrupulous industrialists and mafia leaders had entered into a nexus there. The process of exploiting the country has been going on for years. In the last, the people have taken arms up and it has used insurgency in the Liberal Democratic Party.

A Minister in Britain had to resign and there were similar cases in France and Germany, You cannot, therefore, prevent someone from referring to corruption or you cannot say that this

is an exaggerated view of corruption, or you cannot say that this is an exaggerated new corruption or that efforts are being made to take political mileage out of it. The question remains as to who is involved in the scam? The issues related to scam are coming up which are unlikely to be covered in the probe of joint Parliamentary Committee. Allegations are being leveled against people occupying high positions? Why is it so that a particular person who says something against another person holding Commanding position gets the confidence of the majority of the people of the country? Why is there a crisis of credibility? It is unfortunate for the country that the people are watching with concern the critical decision whether the hon. Prime Minister is right or what is being said by a stockbroker is right. On my part, I can say that I believe in what is being said by the hon. Prime Minister, but my belief is not enough, what is important is what the people think. Why is there so much erosion of credibility? The fact remains that there has been erosion of credibility and the reasons is that there have been a number of incidents in the last 2 years resulting in loss of faith on the part of people. Now the country faces credibility crisis and we have to find out the reasons. I feel anguished while saying it, but now you cannot keep mum over these issues.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I remember of the days, 30 years back when Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Prime Minister in 1956. Shri Kshvedeo Malviya then was a Union Minister in the Ministry of Mines and Energy. He has some transaction with Sriajjudin and Company. There was a raid in the Office of Sirajjudin and Company in 1956. There was an allegation that the company had indulged in the evasion of income tax and custom duty. The documents that were seized in the raid had the deference that money had been given to some Union Ministers. A Calcutta daily published an in this regard in news edition of February, 6, 1963. The question was raised in the House and the Prime Minister had assured to set up an inquiry Committee. Shri Malviya accepted in the executive committee meeting of Congress Parliamentary Party that he had rec-

ommended to Sirajjudin to provide Rs. 10 thousand to a candidate who was contesting assembly election from the Minister's Parliamentary Constituency. The Prime Minister consulted the Attorney General and set up a Committee under the Chairmanship of Supreme Court Judge Shri Das. Malviya ji had a complaint that the report of Das Committee was not being shown to him and that he was not being allowed to go before the judge along with his lower. Nehru Ji said that there was no need of that and that he had set up the said inquiry just for his own satisfaction. Report of the Committee, however came later on and Malviya Ji had to quit. This happened 30 years back. The matter involved Rs. 10 thousand and subsequently the Minister had to resign. Now after 30 years in almost similar circumstances there is no resignation even though the matter involves million of rupees.

Now no one asks for the resignation of the Prime Minister. We the Member of Opposition parties make this demand. The hon. Prime Minister does not ask for resignation from his colleagues nor does the Congress party ask for the Prime Minister's resignation. That is why this motion of non-confidence has been moved.

We should, however, think of this degeneration. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Nehru Ji did not compromise even though the matter involved Rs. 10 thousand only. How many of us can say from the core of our hearts that there has been no degradation in political life. There is a nexus between Politicians in political life. There is a nexus between Politicians and criminals. A news has appeared that perhaps a committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Rajesh Pilot has been set up to trace the aforesaid nexus. Now I would like to know whether any such nexus has been traced and whether any action has been taken. Why so much time was taken to deny the allegation brought forth by Harshad Mehta. This has not been determined so far as to where the hon. Prime Minister was present during that time. Contradictory statements are being made and different facts are coming to light. This has aggravated the suspicion. This should not have

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been so. It should have been clearly denied on the very next day Hashrd Mehta did not meet the Prime Minister. The issue of taking money could have needed automatically. But there was no such denial. There was a complete silence in the beginning. It was perhaps thought that the issue would not last longer. We have to understand that the issue of corruption grips the country today. Corruption has become a part of the system it has become a way of life. Whenever there have been changes in set up of the country there have been changes on two occasions in the past and third is on the cards. Corruption has been the main issue on all those occasions. The clarion call for purification in Public life given by Jai Prakash Narayan and the movement for restructuring of Gujarat had been responsible for a change over there. It is different that the change was short-lived, but the fact remains that people want change. The Befors, issue was the main issue of the elections in 1889. Now once again the issue of corruption tops the national agenda. You may what it has to do with the common people. It is deeply related to the sentiments of common people. They have to resort to bribing in matter of daily life. Work is of done whiteout bribing. There are complaints of mass-scale transfers need through bringing in President's ruled states. Transfers has become a business. Bribe is not called bribe in Uttar Pradesh, it is rather known as

'Suidha Shulk' The Common people are affected by this practice. They Indulge in to this practice since they have to compromise for getting their work done. They cannot jeopardise their work by resorting to quarrels. They, however, feel pained, They have to go to officers., police stations, courts etc. in connection without their work. Corruption has come general phenomena. So when corruption on high level is exposed, and when it come to the notice of a farmers who ploughs the field or to an artisan of Mudabad who makes utensils or to the poor women of my constituency of Lunch engaged in Chicken work we see a smile on their gloomy

faces. It is, however a different, after that their smile is short lined and they have to weep later. I ask, should there not be a serious consideration over the issue of corruption? Should we overlook the issue related to harshae Meta I would say that th allegations made by Harshad Mehta would not have held water had the two colleagues of the hon. Prime Minster I fail to understand as to what type of colleagues they are would not have demanded for political protection to be provided to Harshad Mehta. I am not ware of the station that made Shri Shared Pawar to make such a demand. It is said that the adopted this stand to escape allegations that we likely to be inflicted on him. Shri Arjun singh had gone to apprise and no sooner had he come back than he also demand that Harhad Mehta be given political protection. When colleagues of the hon, Prime Minister suggest that the particular stock-broker should get protection, what impression will the common people form? Did these Ministers, ask th Prime Minster before making such a statements. These contradictory things support the suspicion. There were cases on corruption and allegations were also heaped earlier on high positions. The majority that the paths mustered by masking compromises and horse trading cannot do justice to the country. The Government is buying electric locomotives. The Parliamentary Committee which opines that here is no need of buying electric locomotives since the institution the cnitaranjan Locomotive can suffice the requirement. Government is buying electric locomotives. There is a the requirements. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee belongs to the Congress party and the composition of the Committee has a majority of Congress men. The Committee is unanimous and I have extracts of the report with me. It has been stated in the report that the Finance Commissioner did not perform his duties. The suggestion of the two former Chairman were ignored. There was a deal of those engines which we did not require. I am not ware as to what irregulars had been committed there, but when the unanimous report of a Parliamentary Committee is rejected in that manner, it is but natural in the situations it prevails, to have a

suspicion. How did the situation deteriorate to this extent. How is there so much erosion in the credibility of political leaders. I also find myself a part of it. Where have we reached, where are we heading to? We are not in politics for this. Those who sacrificed their lives and youth in jail for achieving freedom are in docks now. We were destined to witness such bad days that are there now. We are now required to take bold decisions unambiguous designs. The cahoots of corruption should now be closed and for that certain steps are required to be taken. I may be excused, but I must say that this Government cannot take those steps.

The Congress Government could not take any meaningful steps to effect electoral reforms. This issues there for several years. This issue was raised even during 1977. Can election be fought without black money? What is the source of black money? We all the aware of the source? Those who provide us black money for fighting elections want our recommendations when the elections are over. Democracy is disgraced, the faith of the common people is shaken in the system and fingers are being raised against the leaders.

Can we not be serious about electrical reforms? A Select Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Shri Dinesh Goswami. Where are the recommendations of that Committee? The ruling party is not interested in these matters. They are not concerned about fighting elections though honestly earned money. The election expedite is increasing manifolds. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had contested election for Lok Sabha for the first time in 1957. I had two jeeps at that time. I took one jeep from Lucknow which was provided to me by my party and the other jeep was provided to me the people of Balrampur. They had collected money to provide me petrol for the jeeps can anyone contest Parliamentary elections with two jeeps at his disposal today. A limit has been imposed through rules which is ridiculous. Is misleading accounts not presented in this regard? Do we not start our Parliamentary career from that point?

Does it not bite our conscience? we wake up only at the instance of some big act of corruption and we become oblivious of it only little later. This tendency should be checked. Elections fought with the aid of black money cannot generate pure political atmosphere. (interruptions) Mr. Speaker, Sir, if our colleagues of the Congress Party feel that what I am saying is worth objecting, then I have nothing to say. (interruptions) Yes, that is what I am saying. This I have already said. I am also the part of this system, but why should we all not change the systems and why not this Government should first be changed before we begin the whole system. This Government has completed two years but not steps have been taken by it in this regard. Allegations are being heaped one after the another I was just referring to the issue of electric locomotives. Similarly, there is an issue related to Gold Star. Family members of Ministers are involved in these cases some where or the other. What is this all? These are serious things. What is required is to give a fresh thought on it in a new way.

Bhartiya Janata party has decided in its Bangalore Session, that it would accept money for elections only in form of chaques (interruptions)

Our colleague Shri Indrajit Gupta asks whether we were not accepting it earlier. He know the answer himself. I do not expect such a reaction from, him. The matter calls for a unanimous decision. A new initiate can be taken. Better late then never. Let us decide. Expenses of the party is not mended with the expenses incurred by candidates. The party may report to undue expenses What is the source of this income? This is polluting the public life and political workers are deviated. This should be checked. We can make a beginning. Do we early possess will power for it? Can we give a new orientation or should politics go on following power by way of manoeuvring? This practice should be alteraed. The issue of purity in public life is here before us with all seriousness. There should be some solution to it, but the question is

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what is that solution and who is to find it out?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is argued that political stability is required in the country. For achieving that stability, it can also be argued that what is happening should be allowed to happen. All right, stability must be there, but now the country has reached such a juncture, that we can take up some basic changing without affecting stability what I mean to say is that system is set on the path of development and therefore bold steps should be taken to bring self-reliance. There was a blood bath in Punjab in the wake of terrorism, but the valiant farmers of Punjab never put down their ploughs. They never shirked from their work. President's rule was imposed, army was deployed but the people of Punjab remained engaged in their work. They were fighting out terrorism on the one hand while on the other hand they kept filling the granaries of the country. Several foreigners asked me that though Punjab is the budget supplier of food grains why was the Government not able to curb terrorism there. What would happen? I told that terrorism would be contained and the farmers of Punjab would not also put down ploughs. Guns were defeated by ploughs.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who solved the problem. The Congress Party.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I was expecting this question.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Who created this problem?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: When you ask as to who solved the problem, Khurana ji is right to ask as to who was responsible for creating the problem. (interruptions) After creating the problem, they were least in meditation like sages. We should not go into it. The people of Punjab deserve thanks. I would like to thank the Sikhs of Punjab who are struggling against terrorism and are determined. If you say that

the Government is responsible for improving the situation then Kuranaji is very much right to ask as to who ultimately created this problem. (interruptions) They say that they should similarly be allowed to indulge in corruption which would ultimately enable them to improve the situation of Kashmir as well. Mr. Speaker, Sir, deterioration of situation in Kashmir can also be attributed at length to lack of cleanliness in public life. A sum of Rs. 72 thousand crores has been provided by the Centre for the development of Jammu Kashmir. Yet there is no change in the life of the poor. People are deprived of items of essential requirements. Money has been grabbed. This is also one of the reasons why the youth of Kashmir have gone astray. Corruption breeds disintegration. It desecrates all walks of life. This corruption is also a hindrance to the pace of our economic policies. So less control and regulations are better. Our colleagues sitting to my left side should note the point that practice of providing quota will result into exploitation of the people. It is right that the State has its responsibility in a developing economy. In this regard we do not agree to the policy of the Government. This is a developing country. Here 38 per cent people are living below the poverty line. There should be such Government which may take care of them. It should be sympathetic towards them and have compassion for them. This country has been famous for its humanitarianism, and kindness. But day the source of mercy in going to be dried up. But that is a different aspect and I do not want to go into its details. Some people are distressed. Therefore, whenever any issue of corruption is raised, it should be clarified and contradicted immediately. Immediate action should be taken and the guilty should be punished.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have a copy of the interview given by an hon. Minister of State in the Central Government. He is also involved in it. His interview was taken for a Doordarshan programme. There is a 'Prithvi Nandi Show' programme of the Doordarshan for which the interview of an hon. Minister of State was recorded. Its cassette is available here and literal

reporting has been covered here. This interview was taken after the Ramaswamy episode. Perhaps you might have understood my indication as to who is that Minister State He was asked.

[Translation]

Do you not feel that this has somehow blurted the morale age of your Party's position on corruption in the high office?

[Translation]

The answer is quite long. Therefore, I would not like to read it completely. I am quoting from it. Shri Bhardwaj is stating.

[Translation]

"What about the scam; how many of your Ministers are there? I know personally, several people who used to roam about and flaunt around with Krishnamurthy, Chaturvedi and this Harshad Mehta was in everybody's bedroom. Fortunately, I was Minister of Planning. Otherwise he would have come to my houses allso. He gave lot of money to the people, people, political people."

MR. SPEAKER: You can give a List. You may not quote it.

(interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I would like to congratulate Shri Bhardwaj for this outspokenness. It projects the position of the internal health of the Congress Party. The Cabinet is divided. They are at daggers drawn. How can they give a new direction to the country If the country is to be inspired for the reconstruction it should have a inspiring, pure-selfless leaders. First the hon. Prime Minister had formulated the policy on the basis of pungent

but liberal nationalism. The same was the tragedy with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. His speech delivered at Bombay did not comply with his dreds he performed. I do not know what sort of curse it is. But I would like to take you take to the statement of Shri Bhardwaj.

MR. SPEAKER: No, No, not like this.

(interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: No, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very essential. I am ready to authenticate it.

Allright I will be brief

[English]

"Q. There are lobbies within your Party which have vested interests in the way that decisions go in case of like Arjun Singh, in case like Shared Pawar"

A. Arjun Singh is my sworn enemy today I am not involved in his litigation. He does not rely on me. He is a friend of Shivdhanekar, Fotedera and Bhanjan Lal. This is big group and very moneyed people. They have see to it that I remain only a Minister of State and first they succeeded in putting me into the plank that if he remains there, he will not allow this. I have never allowed them a succeeding never. I told Rajiv Gandhi that Bhanjan Lal was abusing your mother when I was defending her and then he switched over lightly coming to Sanjey Gandhi in 1988, brought all his Cabinet, in the open Cabinet, and then his present Prime Minister scolded me "What are you saying, why do you speak like this?" I said we areee cheating the ladder. Buta Singh was an Akali Shivshkar was maceration actually. I give him selheter in Delhi but all these are my enemies today whom I helped. Because I did not share their money they had collected, so much money you cannot imagine."

SHRI BUTA SINGH (JALORE): I was an Akali, no doubt but this Party never collected the money.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, what do the people say about it?

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): A lie director test of Shri Bhardwaj ji should be done. *(interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: It is not limited to what the political opponents say it is far beyond this. It has crossed the limit. We are entrapped in a very critical situation and it is necessary to full the country his of it. We should think about it. If the successive Governments contune to play eith the future of the country and if th leaders are concern about their vested interests only, then what will happen to this country?

I know that I have made certain harsh comments. Centrally I am not in a habit of making such harsh comments, but today I could not restrain myself. I have been a Member of Parliament for 30 years. I have seen many Prime Minister one after another, but my new point had never been negative. I have never opposed for the sake of opposition alone. But today I am compelled to speak a truth. If somebody is but by my comments I beg his pardon. But we should not do any such thing for which the future generation may not ever forgive us. We should keep this in our mind, this is my request.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: shall we rise for lunch? Thank you. We will come bank to the house at 2.00 P.M.

13.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till fourteen of the clock

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at four minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MOTION OF NONCONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINSTERS *CONTD.*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Somath Chatterjee to speak.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (BOLPUR): Hon Speaker, had said that he would call Shri Chidambaram.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Would you like to speak, Shri Chidambaram?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBAR. (SIVANGANGA): As you wish.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE: L. hear them also.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right. You speak Chidambaramji.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBRRAM: Thank you.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, after the intervention of hon. Shri Vajpayee there is no doubt in anyone's mind about the fate of this Motion. He was reasonable, even tempered, friendly and virtually set the tone for what I believe will be the inevitable result of this debate, the defeat of the Motion of Non-Confidence in this Government. Yet as the day wears on and perhaps tomorrow, the fever might rise. He might hear distingushed Members raise the level of rheto-

ric raise charges and accusation against this Government and ask that this Government should go.

In the brief time that I will take, I shall try to give reasons, I shall try to present some facts and I shall try to meet with some basic fundamental issues which trouble many of us, not only as Members of Parliament but as citizens of this country. Firstly, this distinction between a majority and confidence. From day one we know and if at any time, we have forgotten that we have done so at our peril and I think, we should be reminded of that we are not a Government with an absolute majority in this house. And if anyone of us has acted as if we have an absolute majority, therefore, not willing to forge a consensus, I think, we would be reminded of that. But not having a majority is not the same as not enjoying the confidence of this House, it is not the same as not enjoying the confidence of the people. Today as we speak in this House, we speak not only to each other, we also speak to the people at large in India and abroad. The people of India and the world look to the Parliament of India to provide the leadership, to provide the direction to where this country will go and what our goals are and what our destinations are. Indira ji did not have a majority for several months of her Government.

Yet, she commended the confidence of this House and the confidence of the people. Looking back, I have no hesitation in saying that although the Rajiv Government had a overwhelming majority in the House, at some point of time, towards the end of the tenure of that Government, we seem to have lost the confidence of this house and the confidence of the people and it was reflected in the elections. There is no harm in admitting that fact. But, today, I believe, we enjoy the confidence of this House and that will be demonstrated tomorrow. I also believe and I say with humility, we enjoy the confidence of the people of this country and what will be demonstrated whenever an election is called which, I believe, will be called after this Government serves its full term of five

years.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum): A very substantial part.

SHRI PC. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, let me first deal with this rather extraordinary configuration that we find in this Non-confidence Motion. There are parties which support the emotion, the substance of the motion as well as the reasons for the motion. There is a party which I believe its leading spokesman said that they support the substance of the motion but not the reasons for the motion. And, we are a party who oppose not only the reasons for the motion, we also oppose the substance of the motion. The House is, therefore, not unanimous in either supporting the motion or opposing the action. The House is a divided house. It is divided into two ways; it is divided three ways. Perhaps more than three ways. In a sense, it is a reflection of the mood of the people.

SHRINITHISH KUMAR (Barh): What about the division in the ruling party?

SHRI PC. CHIDAMBARAM: In a sense, it is a reflection of the mood of the people. There is hope among the people, there is also a sense of despair. There is a sense of satisfaction that we have made progress, there is also a sense of disparity that we are not moving faster. There is satisfaction that we seem to have come to grips with the problem of terrorism in Punjab, but there is despair that the problem in Kashmir seems to be getting out of hand. We could go on; I could multiply examples. But that is the mood of the people, it is not surprising that the House also reflects the mood of the people. The House is also divided; if the House is not unanimous the House will not be unanimous in this motion and that, I believe, is another reason why this motion will be defeated.

Sir, I want to just take a few minutes to talk about one of the reasons, one of the limbs of the agreement in the motion the fights against

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communalism and the charge. That the Congress Party and the Congress Government have been soft on communalists.

Sir, I believe that all of us wish to build a secular and plural India. In fact even the B.J.P. says, when it has to say, that they believe in secularism. The question is of our definitions of secularism. What do we mean by saying we are 'secular'? What do we mean by saying "we wish to bill a plural society"? The Constitution speaks of a secular India a secular State. In the beginning, our founding fathers, at least as some of us were growing up, we were told that the State will scrupulously keep away from religion, the State and religion will be separate. But over the years, I think we drifted on this approach. We started I believe quite genuinely, talking about serving dharma masbhab respect for all religions. Today, when we find respect for all religions has degenerated into respect and toleration for every form of fanaticism and obscurantism.

Charlatans, mountebanks, bogus Godmen seem to spread their wings everyday. This fanaticism and obscurantism and the desire to ride to power on the tiger of a fanatic, obscurantist dogmatic ideological has fuelled and sharpened the edge of communal hostility among various communities. The BJP thinks, and I do not think they hide it, that they will ride to power on this wave for a communal, fanatic and obscurantist ideology. In fact there have always been three Vajpayee - the poet Vajpayee, the philosopher Vajpayee and the politician Vajpayee. Today I did not find the poet Vajpayee nor did I find the philosopher Vajpayee who went on TV and said who will listen to the voice of sanity? When the proclaimed with anguish who will listen to the voice of sanity when he proclaimed with anguish who will listen to the voice of sanity? he was not addressing the Congress benches; he was addressing his own party. Today the opposite is absent the philosopher is absent view have the political who

speaks about a change of Government, a politician who think he is on the threshold of power. I wish him well like I wish everybody well. My fear is, if we do not take up, if the secure force do not untie, Mr. Vajpayee may well turn out to be right. My regret is that the Left Front and the National Front who share our fear of the rise of communal, fanatic forces in this country will join hands with them in supporting this motion.

The BJP thinks it is its patriotic duty to defeat this Government and come to power. The Congress thinks it is its patriotic duty to defeat this motion and continue to govern. But what does the Left Front think? What does the National Front think? Do they think it is their patriotic duty to defeat the Congress Government and install the BJP Government?

SHRIMITISHKUMAR: We want to defeat you both.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: But the hard truth which I will tell my friend has earned the sobriquet of being the resident wit of this House is that you will not come to power. The hard truth is that you will split and split so many times that you are providing Newton's laws of physics again and again.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack): We went to defeat the RSS Prime Minister first.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: All of us, political parties are certainly opportunists. If there is an opportunity, you try to seize the opportunity. If there is a wave, you try to ride the wave. But this is neither the time nor place to play this game of opportunity. I deeply regret that the Left Front and the National Front should have joined hands with the BHP in sponsoring and supporting this motion.

Reference has been made here to Kashmir. I don't know much about what is happening in Kashmir now except that I read in papers and what we are told in party meetings. So I will not

speaking about that; I am sure one of the Ministry in charge will speak. Let me go back five or six years to Punjab. In this very House, time and again, I was mocked, ridiculed when we said our Punjab policy will succeed. I do not claim all the credit for it. Much of the credit must go to the people of Punjab, particularly the farmers who kept up the production and the workers who kept the factories and mills going under grave threat.

Much of the credit must go to Mr. K.P.S. Gill and the brave Punjab police who stood against terrorism at an enormous human cost at a cost which is unparalleled in history of any civilian police force. Much of the credit must also go to Mr. Beant Singh and his Government who under tremendous difficulties, whatever the other faults may be they have shown great determination in bringing about peace in Punjab. But, all this goes back to 1987. All this goes back, in fact, to a particular date in 1988—April, the 4th, 1988 when we worked out a Punjab Plan. When I came to this house and said, "We are fancying the border" we were ridiculed and asked, "How can you fence a border? Is this fancying impregnable. Is it a great wall, is it iron curtain? Is it such an impregnable fence that nobody will come through? Today, it is fancying of the border which has contributed, first and foremost, to the reception, not the elimination of infiltration into Punjab. We said, 'We will withdraw the paramilitary force to stationary guard duty and give the Punjab police, the right and the duty to fight terrorists.' We were criticised for that. We were told, "Send the Army". We said "No. We will not send the Army". We were told, "Send more paramilitary terrorists" we said, "No. We will place our faith in Punjab police". I could go on and on. But the fact remains that our dogged pursuit of a policy which was adopted on the 4th April 1988. It is known as the Punjab Action Plan, our faith that this will take us through, our faith in the Punjab police, our faith in the people of Punjab, has guided results today.

I do not know if there is a Plan for Kashmir.

I would like to believe, there is one. It here is intone, I am sure, one will be made; we will join hands together in making one. But, if a Plan for Kashmir is made, if we place our faith in the people of Kashmir, if we respect the sentiment of the people of Kashmir for greater autonomy think the Kashmir problem can be solved. No problem is irresolvable.

In this five years of Rajiv Gandhi's Government, many problems were resolved. We have an Accord on Punjab; we have one in Tripura; we have one in Mizoram; we have one in Darjeeling area and Assam; and it is possible I believe, to solve the problem of Kashmir. The problem will not be solved by mutual recrimination. The problem will not be solved only if the Opposition is willing to sit with the Government and work out a Plan for Kashmir, as we did for Punjab. And believe me, five years down the road, the next Lok Sabha will say, someone will stand up here and say, "Five years ago, we started a Plan for Kashmir like the one for Punjab; like Punjab returned to peace, Kashmir has returned to peace."

Sir, I wish to turn to economic reforms. (interruptions) Economic reforms is a matter of faith. Faith is either on the syllogistic foundations of reasons or on the unseen rock of intuition. In the case of the BJP, I suspect it is the latter. Instinctively intuitively, I think, they are coinventors of idealisation. I do not think and I said this on the last occasion and I say this to my friend, Mr. Jswant Singh. I don't think, you yet, have a coherent economic philosophy. I spent several days with Mr. Jay Dhubsi and I told him, instinctively, intuitively, you seem to have grasped the meaning and context of liberation. When they went before the CII to present themselves as a Government-in-waiting. I think, they said anything which they will not say here. We shall leave that aside.

In the case of the Left Front, in the case of my friends from the community parties I see there is a fundamental difference. The syllogistic foundations of reasons on which that ideology is

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built is indeed different from the sullogistic reasons on which that ideology is built is indeed different from the fuylllogisc reasons on which loiberlisation and market—friendly economic ideology is built. I think, we should econgiscne that. There is no point in quarrelling that you are not accoeting my ideology.

In fact, I want to askj my friends from the Left Fornt. is there any other country in the world which complety share what the CPI and CIP (M) in India are saying today. We do not like the United States. So throw it out. We would not isitem to United States. We do not like the World Bank and the IMPF, if for nor reasons except that they have their hhedquarters in Washigton. We will throw out that also. But will you listen to Japan? That is the target aid 0gier to Inida. US is not india's largest aid-giver, it is Japan which is India's largest aid-giver. Would you like to listen to the Japanese? Would you like to listen to Europe? India's larges trading partner is no longer the US. India's target trding partner is the European Community.. Shall we listen to Belgium? Shall we listen to Switzerland? Shall we liseten to our frinds in Eurpouse? India's lager growth does not come from trade wit the US. India's targets growth i trade comes from trade with the ASEAN. countries and the Far-East. Shall we listen to Malaysia? Shall we listen to Indonesia? Shall we listen to Philippines?

We do not like to World Bank. We do not like the IMF. Shall we listen to the Asian Development Bank, our own bank? Shall we listen to UNCTAD? Shall we listen to ESCAP? Who shall we listen to? You will not listen to Dr. Manmohan Singh. Will you listen to Dr. Jagdish Bhagwati? Would you listen to Prof. T.N. Srinivasa? Would you listen to Mr. Prahalad? Who will you listen to? Why should we assume that the whole world is hostile to us? Why should we assume that Indians and others in the World do not share even a shred of wisdom and all the wisdom is with us?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: This justifies the no confidence motion.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The environment in the world is friendly to India and we need economic space. We need capital. We need technology. We need market access for our products for our goods and services. There is no way in which Indian can isolate itself from a global economy. (*Interruptions*) I am going to express reservations also.

Therefore, when Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's Government and Dr. Manmohan Singh initiated a process of liberalisation, it had many many components - deregulation, delicensing soon. I am sure, nobody even here seriously opposes deregulation and delicensing. Licensing and regulations over the last 40 years have only encouraged rent seekers. People who exploited licences and controls, were friend seekers. What I believe you really want and we want is a system which will regard hard-work, which will generate jobs, which will create incomes and which will raise the standard of living of the people.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH (sheohar): As you have been rewarded by the Prime Minister. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: And if we share all that, we have walked down a road for 40 years. I am not saying that the road was wrong. It is no part of my duty standing here to second-guess our founding-fathers. The road brought us great benefits. We did become a strong nation - self-reliant in many things. We can make anything from a ship to satellite. We can split the atom. We are among one of the most advanced nations in the world in many areas of technology. Yet, it has brought us great disappointments also. A large proportion of our people live below the poverty line. A large number are illiterate. A large number are denied basic facilities. In the 80's, it became clear to us that the growth rate that we had witnessed in the 60's and 70's was an unacceptably low growth rate. We needs to

raise this rate of growth, put India on a high growth path if the benefits of economic progress must redound to the people of India.

The question is how to put India on a high growth path. China has been on a growth path of 12 per cent a year and this year, it is 14 per cent. China attracts vast amount of capital we prided ourselves when the UNCTAD report said that India, in 1992, attracted a billion dollars worth of foreign investment. It has attracted twice as much as what was attracted last year and therefore, we get a pat of congratulation. But China, during the same period, attracted 15 billion dollars worth of foreign investment. It has attracted twice as much as what was attracted last year and therefore, we get a pat of congratulation. But china, during the same period, attracted 15 billion dollars. In order to put India on a high growth path, we need capital and technology. Today, it is a hard truth that capital and technology are in the same hands. You will not get capital if you are not willing to accept the technology and you will not get technology if you are not willing to accept the capital. We need economic space for our goods. Our goods and services must reach the world market. Our farmers and producers must get world prices. And the only way we can do that is to upgrade our economy, turn the vast potential which India has, use this great opportunity to become, believe me, one of the sixth or seven largest economies in the world. That is possible. Sir, there are two kinds of economies, one is the market which is a world scale market and the other is the market which is home for world scale competition. US is a world scale market; Japan, Germany and the European countries as a whole are world scale markets. There are only five countries in the world which have the potential to become world scale markets. They are China, Indian Mexico, Brazil and Indonesia because of their population. There are many countries which are small and which are home to world scale competition. They are Switzerland, Finland and Belgium. They are small countries which encourage world scale competition. Today, they have high per capita income and leadership in

many many areas. We have the capacity and we are in a race with China in this. We have the capacity to become not only a world scale market which we are but a home for world scale competition. China is ahead of us at least by six to seven years. Do we not have the desire to catch up with China? Do we not have the desire to catch up with Indonesia or Mexico? And the only way it can be done is to make India economy market friendly and competitive.

I believe in liberalisation. But I do not entirely share the philosophy of free market because market is not a perfect mechanism. It is closed for the very poor. Read the answers given by Dr. Manmohan Singh very closely; he is not holding his cards to his chest; he speaks to the press. His answers have been fashioned in the crucible of experience, the experience of other world economies. Consider the question of disinvestment. I do not support indiscriminate disinvestment. I do not support privatisation of every public sector undertaking but where a public sector undertaken is in a competitive market, the segment of economy, I believe that it should be privatised. But we still need to keep some undertakings where we believe and think that without privatisation, we can make them efficient. What did we do with STC and MMTC? We told STC and MMTC to be competitive and what is the result today? MMTC we told STC and MMTC to be competitive and what is the result today? MMTC made more profits in 1992-93 than in 1991-92 despite its turnover falling by one a half. From over Rs. 7000 crores, its turnover came to Rs. 3000 and odd crores and its profit went up from Rs. 81 crores to Rs. 3000 and odd crores and its profit went up from Rs. 81 crores to Rs. 86 crores this we did by asking MMTC to become competitive. There are various options in the menu; privatisation may be one option for certain industries. Virtually, nobody is advocating indiscriminate privatisation. What we are saying is, make the public sector competitive; make resources invested in the public sector yield results, yield reward and yield profits; make the public sector lean and efficient. And if this is liberalization, if this is making your

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economy stronger and leaner, I cannot see what is wrong with that. My friend Ghulam is not here. Today, Indian Airlines is extremely competitive on Delhi-Bombay sector and Delhi-Madras sector. But it is not so on Delhi-Ahmedabad sector. Why? I think you should ask yourselves this question. I think each issue can be addressed and each problem can be addressed.

What did we begin to do? What we began to do in June 1990-91, a story which is being repeated many times, is to bring about macro-economic stabilization. Have we succeeded or not?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Have you?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I believe, we have, Somnathda! And I believe, everyone in the world who has looked upon India with great affection and friendship and who wants India to prosper, recognises that we have brought about macro-economic stability. The BoP problem is more or less resolved. It is under control. Inflation is down from 17 per cent to 5.4 per cent. Fiscal deficit is under control. India today is a place in which foreign capital is willing invest.

Now, there are micro-economic deficiencies. And I have been hard on the Government that it is to addressing micro-economic inefficiencies and micro-economic deficiencies. We need to carry through this reform process horizontally across many many Ministries and Departments. Liberalization does not start with the Finance Ministry and Departments. Liberalization does not start with the Finance Ministry and end with the Commerce Ministry. It is not liberalization in the Finance Ministry and liberalization in the Trade Policy and Industrial Policy. There are a whole range of things which have to be done. It has to travel down vertically to State Governments and many many organs of the State which are below the State Governments. And today, the agenda is piling up. We have with

us the Narasimham Committee Report. We have the Raja Chelliah Committee Report. We have the Raja Chulliah Committee Report. And we will soon have the Malhotra Committee Report on Insurance. All these reports have to be acted upon. We have to act upon these with speed and determination. We have to address the infrastructure problems infrastructure of our Electricity Boards and of our Ports. I always tell Jagdish that we have to address the infrastructure problems of our ports and roads. We have to address the question of shipping, we have to address the question of transport, power, steel and gas. When we are into the second full year of adjustment, how do you pronounce a verdict? The experiment started in June 1991. It gathered speed in July. We faced a grave balance of payment problem. We are aware of all that. The first full year of adjustment has been 1992-93. 1992-93 saw the growth rate go up from 1.6 per cent to 4 per cent. And yet, in the beginning of the second full year of adjustment, we are willing to stand up and pronounce judgment on the liberalization programme! I would most earnestly appeal to all sections of the House that this is not only not fair, but this is most unjust. This programme must continue. This programme of macro-economic stabilization and reform of micro-economic segments must continue in the second full year, in the third full year, in the fourth full year and finally in the fifth full year. It will yield results if only we persevere, if we stick to the path that we have chosen and if we continue to proceed on that road with speed and determination.

Sir, there are many things about which one can be unhappy. In fact one is unhappy when one finds that the agenda is piling up and the speed of change and liberalization is slowing down.

But why has this happened? Vajpayeeji mentioned about exports. I am glad you mentioned that Vajpayeeji. The year 1991-92 ended with the average of -1.9 per cent. I am using this example only to illustrate the point that I am making, that we must persevere and not give up half way, which is what you want us to do. I r

1992-93 export to G.C.A countries went up month after month in dollar terms. It was 12 per cent and in November 1992 it reached a peak of 13.38 per cent in dollar terms. We would have ended the year with 15 per cent, which is the growth rate envisaged in the Five Year Plan. But then disaster struck on 6th of December. Disaster struck again on the 6th January and disaster struck on 6th again on the 12th March. From 13.38 per cent in November 1992 the growth rate of exports declined to 11.5 per cent, 11.4 per cent, 10.5 per cent by February before it stabilized at 10.86 per cent. In the first two months of this year, that is April and May, exports are up by 30 per cent. Not that I believe that will remain at 30 per cent throughout the year; it will not remain 30 per cent throughout the year but if there are no derailments; if there are no man-made disasters, if there are no party politics-made disaster, the year will end with export growth of 15 per cent.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijayawada): It is a wishful thinking.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Shri Rao, it is not a wishful thinking. The agriculture, which you are fond of will contribute Rs. 3000 crores to the export this year

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE: Knowing pretty well that even agriculture has that much of potential what liberalisation has been done in agriculture sector?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will answer that. What we have done to agriculture is: we have removed all restrictions on imports for agriculture. What we next intend to do is to remove quantitative restrictions on agriculture exports. When both these things take place, this

is what Prof. Bhagwati and Srinivasan recommend that if you remove all QRs in agricultural export the full potential of India's agriculture will be seen. Today we are unable to do that for a variety of reasons but many QRs have been removed; many restrictions have been removed. If you go down to Bangalore, to Cochin or West Coast you will see tremendous enthusiasm among agriculture, floriculture, sericulture and so on. The whole area of agriculture and agriculture related activities are now booming and blossoming. The point is, we can export wheat, rice, sugar, cotton, grapes, fish, flowers, orchids - we can export practically everything that is grown in our country provided you do not create man-made disasters in this country. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL KANIT CHATTERJEE: Perhaps the only other condition would be that you do not reduce the number of people below the poverty line significantly, otherwise they will eat up the whole thing.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am going to deal with that. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee.

Sir, as I said, the market is not a perfect mechanism. The market is, in fact, cruel and harsher on the poor. I concede that in 1991-92, the Budget as a whole and the allocations did give a signal that we are withdrawing from social welfare activities, anti-poverty programmes and direct beneficiary programmes which would have helped the poor. But it is not, as though, that within the Party, there was no debate on that, within the party, there was a debate, but the Finance Minister, for reasons, which he has explained more than once pleaded a certain helplessness in providing the allocation for 1991-92. But, look at 1992-93 and the Budget of 1993-94. Have we to vastly stepped up the allocations on every sector that you are talking about? I am one with Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee and all my friends in the Congress Party are one with Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee in calling upon the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister that allocations

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for property alleviation programmes, allocations for direct beneficiary programmes and allocations for social welfare programmes must be stepped up. But, how will the state do this? The state will do this only if we withdraw from areas of activity where our resources are frittered away and inefficiently deployed. The State has to withdraw.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is from the public sector.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: If the Public sector is efficient, we must remain in the public sector and if the public sector is inefficient, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee, you will join me in saying that the public sector must be made accountable.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: Excuse me. You have used a fantastic argument that if there is a competition, if the field is competitive, then the public sector should be converted into private sector. Why should that be so?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I did not say that.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: You did say that:

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will tell you what I said. I will repeat what I said.

I said that in a competitive market segment, where there is competition, where the public sector does not have to play any unique or significant social role, there is no reason why the public sector should there. In Himachal Pradesh, do you know that Himachal Pradesh Tourism Department runs taxi cabs? Why should Himachal Pradesh Tourism Department run taxi cabs? Why should many many Tourist Departments run hotels and every one of these hotels are running at a loss?

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: Tomorrow, you will say that public sector has achieved a monopoly, therefore, it should be abolished. You will have it both ways.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not saying that. Our Manifesto says that in areas where the private and joint sectors have developed capabilities, the public sector must withdraw. We went to elections on that Manifesto.

Sir, the point of departure between learned friend and myself is that the syllogistic reasons on which his faith is founded and the syllogistic reasons on which our faith is founded are different. We could argue this until the end of the day. The point I wish to know is - are there any takers in the world, anywhere, for his philosophy and his ideology today?

Sir, I believe that Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation is run by a private sector house. I believe, the Government of West Bengal borrows from peerless. I believe Mr. Jyoti Basu supports privatisation of IISCO. Every one is right, each one of them is right.

I said that I believe Mr. Jyoti Basu and the Government of West Bengal support privatisation of IISCO. If I am wrong, Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev will correct me.

I believe, C.E.S.C is run by a private sector house. I believe that the Government of West Bengal borrows from the Peerless. Each one of them is right. Why they should complain when we apply the same medicines to some of these units elsewhere?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You are borrowing from IMF. What is the difference?

I thought he was addressing to the IMF Board and trying to make out a case for further IMF loan.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Today, Dr. Manmohan Singh and the Government of India

in a rare act of statesmanship invited two of the most distinguished Indian economists anywhere in the world - Prof. Jagdish Baghwanti and Prof. T.S. Srinivasan - to do a mid-term reviews of India's economic reforms.

SHRINIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: We have not been given a copy of this.

SHRIP CHIDAMBARAM: Copies should be circulated.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERNEE: Did you get it alone?

SHRIP CHIDAMBARAM: It has appeared in the paper. (*Interruptions*) In my submission, it is an honest and a very erudite analysis of India's economic reforms and where stand today. It has welcomed many features of the liberalisation programme. Certain dangers are also pointed out; certain deficiencies are also pointed out. I will not go in great detail into them. This is my copy. But I am happy to share it with you, Mr. Nirmal Kanti Chatterjee. I will get another copy of this. For example, this report cautions that we must move with speed in the infrastructure areas; we must move with speed on agricultural reforms and financial sector reforms. It also says that we may not have borrowed too much yet, but we are at the very edge of danger and we must give a boost to the exports and the flow of foreign capital and foreign funds in order to meet our debt services obligations. But, I think, all these things are in aid of the economic reforms programmes. We cannot scuttle these programmes; we cannot stop them half way. We have to go along as the only way to put India on the high growth path. Today, we are on a track and we are on the train which is moving in one direction. Some of us are unhappy that the train is sometimes moving slowly; the train has to move faster. We have to go ahead with speed, determination, deliberate speed. But what the BJP wants to do is to derail this train and ride on the tiger to Bulerk. What the Left front wants to do is to reverse the train into another direction and go back on the direction we are

going.

The choice before the people is very clear. There are three choices. Are we, as a nation, determined to move on a path that we have deliberately chosen with all deliberate speed? I think we are and we must do so with consensus. This is the last point which I wish to make.

We began the tenure of this Government with a consensus. This consensus, is being unfortunately, eroded, eroded at the base; it is also eroded at the edges. Maybe part of the blame was ours; maybe we did in to make enough effort to keep the consensus going. But we must formulate a new consensus to push our economic reforms. Consensus to push our economic reforms.

Although the people of India - many of them - are poor, when they go to the polls, they really vote a dreamers; they elect dreamers; they want us to dream great dreams for India. We must have a dream of India as one of the six or seven most powerful economies in the world, strong, self-reliant, competitive, efficient, a leader in many sectors, and at peace with itself and at peace with other countries in the world. This can be done. We have made a beginning with SAPTA; we have reached beyond SAARC countries to ASEAN and we are reaching beyond to APEC.

In fact, if you will read Prof. Bhagwati and Prof. Srinivasan, they recommend that India should forge closer relations with other economic organisations, other economic facts which are formed elsewhere in the world. I believe, at least the people of my constituency, the people of every constituency, poor or rich elect a dream, they elect a dreamer. They want us to dream great dreams for India.

I think, today, this Government, this party has embarked upon the course of recovery and nation building, which is in fact a new beginning. A new beginning cannot be scuttled or short-circuited in the middle of this exercise. We must

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dream of an India, we must join together in building an India which can become one of the six or seven most powerful economies of the world. That is the path on which we are embarked upon, that is the path on which we are embarked upon, that is the path on which we must travel, that is the path we must take. But we can do so only if we are secular, only if we are plural, only if we are tolerant and only if we are willing to accommodate the great plurality of India.

But BJP, unfortunately, has turned its face on secularism, has turned its face on pluralism, has turned its face on the need to be tolerant and to live together. That is the road to disaster. We must stop this country drifting on the road to disaster. All secular forces, all patriotic forces must join hands together. There is great danger. Unless we stop the rise of fanaticism and obscurantism, we will not achieve anything, we will not abolish poverty, we will not create jobs and we will not create incomes, we will not do poverty alleviation programmes, we will not do infrastructure building, we will not do anything to wipe the tears of the people. But then if we talk about people we are not talking about people who must remain poor for ever and ever. We are not talking about poor people in the sense that the people will remain poor for all times to come, irrespective of what we do or what we do not do. What we want to do is abolish that poverty, the endemic degrading humiliating poverty in which 30 per cent of our people live. That can only come out of growth.

I ask the Left Front, the Janata Dal (National Front), even at this hour, to sit up and ask themselves to tell the question, what is it that you achieve by joining hands with the BJP in this motion of no confidence. What is it that you intend to achieve? I have not heard an answer and I am sure I will hear an answer when Shri Somnath Chatterjee and other speak. We need an answer for that, what is that you intend to

achieve'. Unless we stem this drift into which the BJP Wants to take us, we will not be able to do any nation building. We will not be able to implement our policy, we will not be able to implement your policy, we will not be able to implement any policy for that matter. This motion must be defeated. This motion must be defeated and we must sit together and form a consensus on economic reforms for the country. We must forge a consensus on nation building of this country.

I am sure after the din and bustle of this debate when we sit down to vote, I am sure there are forces, there are people in the House who will ask themselves the question which I have asked most humbly and will give an answer. The answer can only be to defeat this motion against this Government.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, I agree with Shri Chidambaram that the people of this country have dreams. The dream of a secular India, progressive India, a pro-poor India, a caring India, a loving India, an India which is really free in all senses of the term. I am sure the country today believes, these poor people, the people of India who have dreams that they can succeed in achieving this dream if they can get rid of you as well as BJP from the political life of this country.

1500 hrs.

[SHRI RAM NAIK - *in the Chair*]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I cannot forget what had happened on the 7th of November 1990 on the floor of this House. Who joined whom, Mr. Chidambaram? The crime of Mr. V. P. Singh's Government was that it was fighting against communalism, fanaticism, and fundamentalism and it said: "We shall sacrifice our Government but we shall never compromise with communalism." you did not respond then, Mr. Chidambaram. you took great pride that day in defeating the Government of Mr. V. P. Singh and you had openly sided with great gusto and glee.

I was here, I remember what I saw in the face of Mr. Advani and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi that day; and how did you join with them. And that was the beginning when the very secular fabric of our country came under a serious attack. You are responsible for it, Mr. Chidambaram. Please do not give us lectures. I do not belong to the IMF....(Interruptions) You do not have monopoly of either wisdom or patriotism. Nor do I claim monopoly. But the trouble is that you think that you can give lectures to everybody without following them yourselves.

In your inability to deliver the goods for the common people of this country, you tried to shift the responsibility on others. You do not consider what sort of a Party that you have; what sort of a leadership that you have to day. Even the leader of the Government, the leader of the Ruling Party, the Prime Minister of India, today is struggling to prove his innocence, if possible, on a charge of corruption. This is the strange pass to which this country has come to. This is your achievement, Mr. Chidambaram. It is good that you have left the Government and gone there and making money...(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Only less than him....(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I wish, I could go there more often...(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Chidambaram has been the third speaker from the Treasury Bench and the speeches that we have heard very clearly justify, as I said? little earlier and by way of an interruption, our position to bring this No-Confidence Motion in view of the prevailing situation in the country. But we have very clearly mentioned the grounds on which we have moved it and in what areas the Government has totally failed.

Of course, Sir, the BJP has supported this Motion. They have obviously to support this Motion. They cannot on their own support a part of this Motion. But, Sir, the Leader of the

Opposition and the Leader of the BJP has not referred to one of the main grounds of this Motion because I know they have realised that they are themselves guilty of one of the heinous crimes, which has been committed in this country resulting in a communal divide of the people...(interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND FORESTS (SHRI KAMAL NATH): Very good.....(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, nearly five decades have elapsed since this country celebrated her independence from foreign imperialist domination. But celebrated her independence from foreign imperialist domination. But precisely after two scores and six years, the people are asking, are we really free; are we really civilised; is it a progressive nation; and is there any attempt in this country to solve the basic problems. (Interruptions) You may be laughing for the last time, Mr. Bhosle. I do not know.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRONICS AND DEPARTMENT OF OCCUPATIONAL DEVELOPMENT) AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMETNARLY AFFAIRS

SHRI RANGARAJA KUMARAMANGALAM: Laughter is always there.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: The history of the Congress rule in this country is the history of the betrayal of the common people. It is a history of exploitation and, the history of surrender to forces of divisiveness and fundamentalism. The history of the Congress rule in this country is the history of poverty, history of illiteracy, history of unemployment and malnutrition. And last but not the least, the direct result of the Congress rule over all these years is the corrosion of our body politic for all pervading

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corruption even at the highest echelons.

Sir, by acts of omission and Commission, the Government has lost all its credibility. In this country these days gimmicks have assumed greater importance than performance. Political and financial morality are now treated to be outdated concepts. At the receiving end are the teeming millions of this country who have to undergo the sufferings and have to struggle for their bare subsistence.

It seems that we have a Council of Minister s but we have no Government in this country. That is why we find that when in this country we are told of our economic policy, our industrial policy, trade policy and so on and so forth, there is no Minister of Industry to do full-time job. For months together there is no Minister of Commerce. Somehow you could get one; but you could not manage to get him elected within six months.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (DEOGRAH): That is because of Chief Election Officer of West Bengal. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You do not have a Minister of Defence for that matter. (*Interruptions*) One wonders whether the Government - whatever the so-called Government is there - has it got a mind of its own? Is there any sense of direction? Have they any sense of commitment to any basic principles? And that is why we find this situation now. Shri Chidiambaram is talking of secularism. But who is compromising with these forces of fundamentalism and disruption?

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: At the moment who is?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Who has bartered away our economic independence that we solemnly built believe? Who has allowed to day greater and greater division amongst the

people of this country? It is by your inaction and by your failures.

Therefore, I say that this is Government which is of malfeasance and nonfeasance and in vital areas concerning the governance of this country, this Government has abysmally failed to protect the interests of the common people and of the country as whole. And the necessary result is that they are entering into manipulative politics. And that is why this Government has not the courage to bring that Bill before this House to which they are committed to the country and to this House, to separate religion from politics.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: It is coming. Notice has to be given. Why are you so impatient? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Do you think you will be there to pilot the Bill? (*Interruptions*) And I charge you this is because of your arrangement and understanding with B.J.P. that you have not brought it so far.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No cross talk please.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Prime Minister today is leading a hotchpotch combination of disparate forces. There is no unity of mind or unity of purpose and far less, unity of policy in the Government, and the Prime Minister is more busy saving this gaddi than addressing to the serious problems of the nation and he is being gaddi than addressing to the serious problems of he nation and he is being treated by many of them on that side as almost a lame-duck Prime Minister and that Prime Minister's authority has become such that neither the Election Commission listens to him nor Mr. Bharadwaj listens to him. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, there are now people I find even in the Treasury Benches there, who scoff at the Prime Minister's office outside. How can this country run when there are serious situations? Sir, can

anybody deny seriously that the country is facing many serious problems which are shaking the very foundation of our constitutional set up and affecting the integrity of this country? But who is responsible for aggravating the situation? What happened eight months ago in this country when we had to face a communal holocaust brought about by antinational, if not criminal, activities on the part of political party along with its fundamentalist cohorts and the country had to go through the trauma of 6th December incidents and their aftermath? And what did you do? What did the Government do on that date, the 6th of December? Sir, by a deliberate omission and studies inaction they brought about a lasting shame on this country and the people of this country and a structure which was the embodiment of secularism in his country was allowed to be demolished and for eight hours, if not more, the Prime Minister and his colleagues enjoyed the salubrious climate of Delhi when to the whole structure was being demolished and they could not move a little finger. This was the so-called commitment to secularism and you are giving us lectures today here.

Sir, when that demolition was taking place by gangsters and marauders, the Government of India was somnambulating. Therefore, one cannot avoid today - as we charged on that day, and I charge today also, that this Government is equally guilty as the BJP for the events of 6th December and what followed thereafter. Who has gained? Who was benefited by the incidents of the 6th of December? Innocent lives were lost, children were burnt alive. When we went to Bombay we heard about that, they told about the ghastly incidents, crores and crores of rupees worth of properties of innocent people were destroyed or damaged. Who was benefited, I would like to know. Up till today there is no explanation from the Prime Minister of this country as to what was happening at Delhi from 12 Noon on the 6th of December till Eight o'Clock when he went on the air. And where is his promise? How has he kept his promise to build the mosque? Now Mr. Prime Minister is not here. Mr. Prime Minister has not expiated his

sin, not has he kept his solemn promises given to the people of this country, to the nation as a whole. And what we find today at that place? A make-shift temple, so-called temple, at the place of that mosque and for the last eight months what this precious Government has done to solve the problems? The only visible thing that we have seen is the Prime Minister's combabulations with some Sankaracharyas and some Swamis resulting in the so-called Ayodhya package.

Sir, this country belongs to the people of all religions, language, caste and creed. This is not the monopoly of only one section of the people. Our constitution guarantees a secular structure of our country. But our Prime Minister has chosen whom as his advisors? Whom is he discussing with for the purpose of solving the basic problems of the State? Sir, he has chosen Sadhus and Mahants to solve the basic problems of the state. Such a problem can only be solved by a secular approach and not be pampering those, whose avowed objective is to espouse the cause of the people of one religion at the expense of another.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if this Government had had any sense of shame left, if they had anything left to think rationally, then they would have avoided the ludicrous and the disgusting spectacle of the Som Yagya that has taken place and which has made India a laughing stock of the whole world. This is the way you are behaving.

Sir, today, secularism has lost all meaning in this country. And I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether you think that the minorities have a right to live in this country or whether you shall go on pampering the fundamentalists for the sake of getting support for your economic policies. There is too much of Nagpur syndrome now.

Sir, what is the Ayodhya package? It says that Ram Temple will be built at the site where the Mosque was. Who has said it That is the recommendations of the Sankaracharyas. (Interruptions) I hope this will wake up Mr. Chandulal

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Chandrakar. I think he is the spokesman of the Congress Party. When he says something, whether he is allowed to think or he reads our something, I do not know. Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar said that the stand of the Sankaracharya is in line with our thinking.

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDNLAL CHANDRANKAR (DARG): We have never said so.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You have gone on record. Do not forget that. Are you denying it now?

[Translation]

SHRICHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR: You please listen to me. I have never said this. you can say there whatever you like.

[English]

SHRISOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Probably your Prime Minister has said that.

SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR: Whoever it may be. But why do you put it in my mouth?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: But that is what I got in the papers.

Sir, now it seems very clear that the Prime Minister is relying on the decision which he expects to come from the Supreme Court with the help of, probably, Mr. Chidambaram, on the reference under Article 143 that they will find there was a temple. According to us, it is monumental folly on the part of the Government and it is betrayal of the people of this country to have made that reference under Article 143 of the Constitution to find out what was there 500

years before at that place. I would like to know with all solemnity and sincerity and please tell us what was your intention. Supposing there was a temple, would you justify demolition of the mosque? I would like to know that. You have to answer that query. If there was a temple, then was BJP justified in demolishing it?

Therefore you should hold a ceremony of making over that plot of land to BJP or which ever trust for the purpose constructing a temple at that very spot. With your kind permission, I wish to read only a few lines from a book, the observations of Dr. S. Gopal:

“Basically it is irrelevant whether a temple had or had not existed on the site where the mosque now stands. India cannot revert to the approaches of mediaeval politics, and set about destroying, under any circumstances, existing or erstwhile structures of worship. That such demolitions had taken place in the past offers no justification for such vandalism now. Today attention is centred on a mouse: tomorrow agitation may develop over a temple. It is established that some Buddhist and Jaina shrines were destroyed by Hindus. How far back in history does one go, correcting the past as interpreted to one's own liking? It is pointless for religious leaders to exchange and assess what they regard as evidence, as it is to make reference to the Supreme Court to pronounce on the validity of such data.”

We have not been told till today what is the justification of this reference to the Supreme court under article 143. Mr. chidambaram., you are talking of consensus. You believe in consensus with BJP alone, with none else. We understand Puri Sankaracharya has announced that the next meeting of the Sankaracharya will be held in Hardwar around October, November this year. At that time there will be a meeting of Marg Dhara Mandal of VHP sponsored

Ramjanambhoomi Nyas. They have already given ultimatum to the central Government to had over the acquired land to the Nyas by 14th of October, failing which they would summon another Dharma Sansad. We know what followed from Dharam Sansad. If these Dharma Sansads and Sankaracharyas act simultaneously, views have been generally acceptable to you. Therefore, we find that neither politically, nor ideologically, nor administratively you are meeting the challenge of these communal forces. The consequence is, the future of the minorities and of the country as a whole will be disastrous.

I would like to know, how many of my friends in the Treasury Benches are supporting Ayodhya package. This is the flippancy that has brought you to the present situation. Do you support this? I would like to know from my friends on the Treasury Benches. Do you want, there should be a temple where the mosque was. Let the Minister of state for Internal Security, Mr. Rajesh Pilot say. What is the Government policy on this.

They have already said that they are very very keen that politics should not be mixed with religion or religion should not be mixed with politics and they will try best to bring about changes in the law of the country, the Constitution of this country. For month and months, you could not make up your mind. You are going on only assuring the people of this country and just on the eve of the no-confidence motion, you somewhat prepared a sketchy draft and now, you are taking recourse to this no-confidence motion to justify that you could not bring it earlier.

Why you could not introduce today? Who is giving relevance to the communal forces in this country? Who is permitting today the mixing of religion with politics? You are not looking at yourself. There is no introspection. It is very easy to say "you have joined hands with BJP." I have not joined hands with BJP. No Party is more committed to fight against communalism than my Party and the Left Parties and the Janata

Dal... (Interruptions)

Shri P, Chidambaram was referring to some procured reports on inspired reports to justify the Got economic policy. I am reading from a book, with your permission, called "Khaki Shirts and Saffron Flags". I will read, with your permission, a few lines:-

"On 6th December, 1992 the Babri Masjid was destroyed. This was not simply the consequence of spontaneous vandalism. Behind the action lies the long history of Hindutwa politics which celebrates aggression and violence, declares war against other communities and scorns at legal and democratic norms.

The events of December 6 and after, reaffirm that RSS and VHP dictate politics of the Hindu Right. They define the limits within which Bharatiya Janata Party can manoeuvre.

The Hindu Right also talks in two languages, the language of democracy and that of authoritarianism, the language of law and that of force. The BJP claims to function within a constitutional, democratic, legal framework. But the activities of the RSS, VHP and the Bajrang Dal mock this framework. The politics of Hindu Right derives its dynamic from the complex relationship between these, seemingly opposite tendencies: from their complementarity and contradiction. December 6, 1992 revealed the sad logic of this complex. It revealed the hollowness of the BJP's democratic rhetoric and the ugly power of the violent forces of Hindutwa."

This is why we are concerned. But there is no realisation on the part of the treasury benches. That is why, we are unable to support this Government's policies and specially its complete failure in maintaining the secular structure of this country and its open and shameless

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compromising with the forces of fundamentalism and communalism and the result is today they are gaining in strength and you have no political will or the will to fight against this cancer in our body politic... (*Interruptions*).

• We had a lot of peroration from Shri P. Chidambaram on economic policy. But the common people of this country are not interested in your semantics. They are not interested in your peroration only. They want results. If the people of this country had accepted your economic policy, our opposition would be of no avail. But the question is, do they accept your policy. This is how you delude yourselves. I hope Dr. Manmohan Singh will participate in this debate and please, apart from your usual quota, you give us something new on this.

I would like to know what is the Government's stand on the principle of self-reliance. What have you done? What have you done to provide employment? You have to specify it. What have you done to help revive the sick industries; to strengthen the base of our own industries - the small-scale industries and the cottage industries? We have never objected to the loosening of the bureaucratic controls. We never said that there must be bureaucratic controls breeding corruption. We never said that. As a matter of fact, the State from which income has suffered and it has suffered because of the licensing system that was followed in this country. Because of political reasons, licenses were denied to us; licences were denied to West Bengal. Therefore, we are not enamoured of this system of licensing. We also know - whichever part we come from - that so long we have the misfortune of having you dictating the economic policies, deciding the economic policies of this country, we have to follow it willingly or unwillingly. We cannot have islands of our own. We have to follow it willingly or unwillingly, rightly or wrongly; we cannot help it. Therefore, we cannot have a new economic policy, new industrial policy in any particular State or in any particular

area. I know Dr. Manmohan Singh will say what is happening in West Bengal; what Jyoti Basu is doing; what China is doing. I think that is the only answer. When I remind you all of your commitment in your manifesto about providing jobs, about lowering the price-level, you have no answer. Dr. Manmohan Singh will say who reads the election manifesto! (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: I will reply to every question.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Has it already been written out? he will deliver the same speech again. What we have been objecting to, we will continue to object it. The situation has become more serious because, in the name of liberalisation, you have surrendered our economic sovereignty and given a go-by to the principle of self-reliance. We have become mere supplicants before the financial marauders like the IMF, the World Bank etc. How has this policy served us? You have to say that. I do not know. I have yet to see the selective circulation of that report. I do not know about it. When we get it, we shall try to find out what is there.

What has happened to us? What has happened to this country? What are the direct results of your economic policy? Which section of the community in this country has benefited? how many workers have benefited? How many unemployed people have benefited?

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: We will give all the answers.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You will give all the answers if you have the opportunity! But that is all the more reason why you should go. Uptill today, you have not been able to give the answer. You will give it later on.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): All of your points will be answered with

special reference to West Bengal.

MR CHAIRMAN: I expect the Ministers not to have this type of a cross-talking.

(Interruptions)

SHRISOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I know that, I quite expected that. But they are always having inferiority complex vis-a-vis West Bengal. They would like to be associated with West Bengal so far as the ideas are concerned because that will give them a progressive image.

Sir, I am sorry to say one thing. Some statistics should have been given. Mr. Minister, you will give your own make-believe statistics. This wholesale price index total is your own publication and not mine. I do not control any Press. It says that the external debt is of the order of Rs. 2, 02, 972 crores. There is an increase in end-September 1992, The gross total was Rs. 1, 110 crores. It has come to Rs. 2, 02, 972 crores.

And now are are told of some imaginary export rates. Now the position is, we are almost in a debt trap. Our country is facing a debt service obligation of more than six billion dollars for 1994-95. Of this over three billion dollars should go towards payment of interest on both multilateral and bilateral credits. As on March 31, 1993. We have an outstanding obligation of 40.2 billion dollars towards external assistance 11.7 billion dollars towards IMF loans, 1.7 billion in short-term loans. As against this, we have foreign exchange reserves of 9.8 billion dollars only. This is repro of the India bankers and they say that the India's foreign trade exports between April 1992 and February 1993 rose of 12.6 per cent in US dollar terms for the year 1992-93. Shri Pranab Mukherjee, as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission called a meeting of some MPs and he circulated a paper and the definitely said, unless there is an increase in the export growth rate of at least 12.6 per cent, the plan would fail. It has not reached that stage. how do

you propose to meet up the requirement of plan projections? For two years, you have not been unable to do it. Now we have been told that because of the events of 6th December and afterwards, you have been unable to do it. how do you expect to achieve a magic? Even if you survive, do you think they will let you function properly? September-October is coming. Threat has already been given. They can thrive only on communal divide, only on disturbances with your willing or unwilling help. These are matters you are not yet advertizing to. It seems to be a self-created euphoria. Nobody is coming here. Everybody is talking of foreign investment. But no foreign investor is coming here yet. I had an occasion to make to someone. I am a very humble person. I am not much of an expert in economics, not at all expert in any subject, far less in economics and at least not in economic jargons that Mr. Chidambaram has mouted today. Now that gentleman says - he is a very big person in insurance business - he says, 'we are waiting, we are watching.' I said, 'how long?' he said, 'let us see.' 'Will this Government survive Mr. Chatterjee?' he asked me. I said, 'that depends on their bonobbing with the official opposition.' They are still watching. I do not enjoy as an Indian our Prime Minister going abroad to different countries asking for investments. 'please come and invest in my country, please come and investment in my country.' How likes it look? You cannot at that the on your own terms. You have to go to sojourn, to outside sojourn for the purpose of persuading them to come. Nobody is coming. How many German concerns have invested there? How many Japanese have invested? How many French have invested where the Prime Minister had gone. How many US concerns have invested, actually invested? We were told of a Japanese village here, a township. Where is that Japanese township? As I said, if the country would progress in spite of us, please do that. We are not stopping you from your carrying out your economic policies.

You are doing it in spite of our objections and opposition. The people of this country have

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expressed their view. They have held bands, hartals. but, you are not listening to them; you do not care for the ordinary people, the workers, the farmers, the tillers and the unemployed people. You are gloating under certificates given by your benefactors. And today, Sir, we are told they are sitting in Delhi, that this Government has to go to them and satisfy them that our Government is policy meets with their approval. Do you approve all the politics we are talking? If they say 'yes', they come and shout here.

Dr. Manmohan Singh, I would like to know whether we are getting into a debt trap or not. As I said, when there are 4 crores of registered unemployed, what will be your contribution when we come to the end of your period. If for five years, which is most unlikely to happen, this Government lasts? How many will be unemployed? What about your training and redeployment? How many workers have you trained and redeployed? How many have been sent on voluntary retirement? What is your renewal fund for? Please tell us. And, what is the role of the BIFR in this country?

Sir, over two lakhs of units are sick in this country, not only in West Bengal but in every State. They will say, Oh! they are lying in West Bengal. They are in your Maharashtra also and about U. P., I do not know; kpl Nath Rai may have swallowed the by this time. Maharashtra, I think, is number one.

Now, what is the role of BIF? How many units have been revived through BIFR? We would like to know these things. There have been promises, Sir. I charge this Government that they have deliberately misled us. The Prime Minister agreed, Dr. Manmohan Singh agreed, Shri Snagma agreed and everybody committed that there will be a unit review of these big sick industries and an attempt will be made to make them viable. And that has been kept by breach. I have been reminding the Prime Minister. Where is all this unit by unit review in consultation with the

workers' unions? On the other day, he told me. "Somnath Ji, I have got a report and I will send it to you". Who was prepared these reports? We do not know about that. Two years have gone. You are only talking of market economy, market friendly economy, home based economy and something like that which I could not follow. I must admit that honestly. But, the end result is zero; the end result is negative. Shri Chidambaram is patting Dr. Manmohan Singh and Dr. Manmohan Singh is patting Shri Chidambaram on the back. The people are suffering. This is a wonderful Government and what shall we do with them?

And now you (the Railway Minister) come at the right moment.

this is our principle of self-reliance. Vajpayee Ji, referred to it also. Of course, on economic issues he took very little time. But, what happened? He rightly reminded us. What about Chittaranjan Locomotive works? The orders are not there. There is a Parliamentary Committee which has unanimously made recommendations. Now, you must have a foreign multinational - ABB - to build these projects. What is the special charm in it? The country is not taken into confidence; Parliament is not taken into confidence. Our industries are dying; an industry like BHEL is becoming sick because it has no orders and other big industries are having no orders. SAIL has become sick.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: SAIL is not sick.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is happening every where, Sir. What we have been saying is that this is not a question of theoretical competitiveness, global competition.

Unless you strengthen your own economic and industrial base, you cannot possibly compete globally. Here global competition means - according to Dr. Manmohan Singh's theory; of course he has been changing his theories; earlier he had held other views - allowing a foreign

ancestor here, allowing a multinational here; they may produce here something and then there will be competition. What is happening? Pepsi Cola and Coca Cola have strated potato chips, salt, as Mr. George Fernandes reminded us, and all that. This is their only investment. Now your own economic base is weak, your industrial base, whatever was there, has been weakened. You are dismantling your own industrial base and not strengthening it. That is why today we have n prestige and standing in the world: people are only looking at us with contempt and sometimes probably with some sympathy.

I do not wish to remind you the direct result of this economic policy. Where is Shri Rameshwar Thakur? Why does not he come here these days? He went on the TV and said this is the result of our economic policy. the securities scam was not used. Harshad Mehta was on the cover of several economic journals in the country. They were very happy. Not one word of concern was shown or expressed by Dr. Manmohan Singh. Where were you then? What were you doing as the Finance Minister? What did you understand? What sort of economist you are. I do not know. Could not you realise that what was happening in this country was something unreal? Companies which had been lying closed for years had their shares selling at Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000. Did not it strike you? You have got the Reserve Bank of India and so many other organisations sin your Ministry. So called brilliant economists are there. What were they doing? I hope JPC will give its proper verdict and some heads may roll, if any of these heads remain any longer after tomorrow.

The position is that it seems that we have to depend on IMF or World Bank on our commercial borrowings. But without building up our export capabilities the country will be in gravest predicament. Imports have gone up to 16.5 per cent in 1992-93. There was trade deficit of 1991-92 some experts said that if the exports do not pick up by another 15% in dollar terms this year, a balance of payment gap in the current year

is likely to further widen.

This is the doctored statistics about the price index. As I always say the wholesale price index may be showing a downward trend; but the prices are going up of many essential commodities. Excise duty concessions have not reached the consumers. Industry finds it difficult to pass on the reliefs in all cases in full because of pre-Budget increase of administered prices, railway freight hike, rise in sales tax and minimum wages, etc. The industrial growth in the past two years has been mere 2.6 per cent during this Government's tenure. How are you going to solve these problems?

Sir, the other importance point I wish to touch is this. I do not know how long this Government is going to last. I do not know whether there is any point in making these statements. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (KATWA): Next Government. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: The next Government comes. after we are able to tackle them. You would not tackle them, we shall have to tackle them.

Sir, the position is this that our prestige and standing abroad had received a great setback. Today, the position is that even the contracts, the solemn contracts entered into with this country are not being honoured. The refusal by Russia to supply cryogenic engine technology is a clear symptom that this countries friendship has become a dispensable commodity.

Today, how the US Government are taking up one decision after another against our interests? There are constant threats to the use of Super 301 Clause. There is a constant pressure on us to open up our economy, the human rights harangue, the continuous duplicity in regard to Kashmir and the arm twisting pressures, trying to force us to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty now over and above. this embargo his

[*Sh. Somnath Chatterjee*]

come. Has the time not come for us to wake up? When the Prime Minister talked in Gorakhpur about Russia failing to honour the agreement, he did not say one word about the America's role in this. Openly and unavowedly, they have refused to supply the technology because of American pressure. And our Government has not the courage to say or speak one word against that. And our Government has not the courage to say or speak one word against that. You are always surrendering to them. Where do we stand? Is it because of our necessity to obtain IMF loan or the World Bank loan, that you can't afford to annoy the United States of America?

Mr. Chairman, today this country, in all sphere, is facing a situation where this Government has forfeited its rights to government has forfeited its rights to govern. They have neither the capability to govern nor the will to govern. They do not have the united party; the Prime Minister cannot give the leadership. They cannot even find an alternate leader. They are snipping at one another. This is the position of this country. And who are suffering? Who are at the receiving end? The ordinary common people of this country who are waiting to be subjected to communal holocaust any day in this country. The minorities are being treated as second class citizens. That is their fear. There is no safety nor security of the people of this country. There is scandal abounding in this country.

About the Before issue, now everybody's name has come. What have you done? What has this Government done? Does it not come under the Finance Ministry? It does not. It comes under Defence Ministry. Then, what is the Prime Minister doing? What is your Defence Minister? What are you going to do on the Before deal, we would like to know. There have been three speakers from the treasury benches. What have they said about the security scam? Some heads should have rolled by this time. Suffi-

ciently we know what has happened. One neck was put ahead and that had been chopped, we know.

The direct result of Dr. Manmohan Singh's economic policy, as already pointed out, is Rs. 12,000 crores security scam.

There is now clear evidence about Bofors beneficiaries. (*Interruptions*) Now we have to take action.

Then, there is suitcase economy.

last but not the least is the scandal of disinvestment of shares of public enterprises. This is one of the biggest scandals that this country has faced. This Government does not seem to bother at all. The CAG has estimated that the private institutions have made gains to the extent of 126.62 per cent to 615.53 per cent - over Rs. 3,000 crores. Till today, there is no explanation. Nobody is accountable for this.

You are trying to meet your budgetary gap by sale of shares of public enterprises. Who are getting these shares? What is their interest in acquiring minority shares in these concerns unless they know that ultimately you will give them majority shares. This is how you are suiting the giants - our public enterprises - which Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had assiduously built up. These are called temples. He called them temples of modern India. His successors are destroying these temples. You have destroyed the mosque and destroyed secularism. You are destroying the public sector enterprises, you are desecrating the temples which Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had built up. This is the present Congress! You are no longer Congress. You are Congress(1). Do not talk of Congress. Somebody remained us about 105 years of Congress. There is no such Congress any longer in this country.

We have consciously brought this no-confidence motion. We have identified the areas in which the Government has totally failed. The

greatest menace to this country is the dismalling of our secular structure - the encouragement given to fundamentalist forces. The Prime Minister of India is there like a sleeping Buddha. He does not seem to be concerned at all. Therefore, for the sake of this country, go so that this country may have a secular, progressive and pro-people Government which this country badly needs.

SHRI P. C. CHACKO (TRICHUR): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I stand to oppose this no confidence motion moved by my Marxist colleague. Incidentally, I would like to go back to the history of no confidence motion in this House. I would like to qualify this no confidence motion as the silver jubilee of no confidence motions moved by the opposition in this Parliament.

16.00 hrs.

Sir, since 1947, since the Congress Government first assumed office, this is the 25th No Confidence Motion moved by the Opposition. This House and everyone knows very well as to what was the fate of all the previous No Confidence Motions. This silver jubilee of the No Confidence Motion is also going to meet with the same fate as that of the previous 24 No Confidence Motions. The precious No Confidence Motions against the Government were moved by Mr. Vajapayee and Mr. Jaswant Singh. At that time, our communist friends had grievance that they could not make an opportunity to attack this Government in their own ideological perspective. Fortunately now, they have an opportunity to move the No Confidence Motion against this Government. We have no grievance or grouse against them. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee or Mr. Indrajit Gupta have decided to oppose the Govt for practical reasons best known to them. I still have a fervent hope and appeal in this country, it is only with the Congress. Kindly understand this point. If you could have some sort of an understaind, it is only with the congress party. Comrades, if it is the question of minorities, your new found friends B. J. P. will not come to your help, it is only the Congress which

can be with you. Mr. Narasimha Rao made this appeal not now but in the Congress Session at Thirupathi that secular forces of the country should be united. It did not fail in your deaf ears. We are not responsible for that. Just now, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee mentioned about Kanpur meeting of the Prime Minister. There also, our Prime Minister said the same things that the secular forces of this country should unite. We have no grouse that you have moved this Motion. Still there are many hours left for voting. We are to vote only tomorrow. So please think thing before you vote. You are waking with communalism of their country. Otherwise you will be going to the dust bin of your history? The birth places of the communist parties like Russia, east European countries this party is own to the dust bin of history. Do you want to follow that path? You are the last surviving example of Communism in the world and you also want to go to the dust bin of history. If that is our fate, then no boy can save you. The leaders may have reasons to do this opportunit alliance but a not the back benchers; I will come to that letter. This No Confidence motion is the by-product or the offspring of the unholy alliance of the communal forces and the left wing adventurist, where is this going to take this country? My friend, Mr. Ajoy Mukhopadhyay who moved this Motion, expressed his ignorance we did not know where this country is going. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee made a reference about congress History. It is not 105 years old party but 108 years old party. I am standing here with the legacy of the Congress party which is 108 years old: It is refreshing for us to go through its history. But for the communists, it is not very good to recollect their past history. In your past history of 55 years, there were many somersaults. When China attacked this country, what was the stand you took? There were instances of your betraying your motherland. You remember that Congress party fought for the freedom of this country and this is the party which fought against communal forces in the country. So, with that proud legacy, we are standing before the people of the country. I am not trying to beittle you. I am requesting to your conscience that this is probably the last oppor-

[Sh. P.C. Chacko]

tunity for you to world your party. Mr. V. P. Singh and Mr. Somnath Chatterjee can take this line and leaders may have their own justifications. They are hobnobbing with their worst enemies: we can understand that hobnobbing for power. But did you think for a moment as to what will happen to the poor people when you go back to your constituences?

Mr. Nitish Kumar, will you please show some patience?

16.05 hrs

[SHRI PETER G. MARBANIANG *In the Chair*]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: I am only supporting you. While you are speaking so well, your name has not yet appeared on the TV screen outside.

SHRI P.C. CHACKO: That is all right. I have no complaint on that count. Let me pose a question. When you go back to your constituency. How are you going to explain your stand to the people? my friend Shrimati Suseela Gopala is sitting here. I know she will find it difficult to go to Kerala and explain her Party's stand. When the people of her constituency question her as to why they have entered into this unholy alliance, at the most, she can only reply, "What can I do, it has been decided by Somnathji" So, when you go back to your people, you just cannot give any justifiable explanation and convince them. Whatever be your faults, whatever be the aberrations of the Communist Party in the past, I cannot question your sense of purpose and I do not doubt your dedication to public life. I am not questioning that, I also know that your dedicated rank and file believe in you one hundred percent. They look up to you with the hope that you are fighting the communal forces of the country. When you go back to them, what are you going to tell them about this alliance? you will not have any explanation.

Anyway Sir, this is an interesting situation which is now prevailing in the House. Our leader Shri Narashimha Raoji once made a public appeal that we should stand united. Let me tell you, even today, the Janata dal is not free from the pricks of the conscience that of their leader betrayed Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress Party. Whatever may happen, Shri V. P. Singh can never correct himself. But does that mean that young people like Shri Nitish Kumar should also fall into this trap? Throughout this life Shri V. P. Singh can never be free from the pricks of his conscience... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please try to throw light and do not generate heat.

SHRI P.C. CHACKO: In fact, Shri Nitish Kumar reminds me of one thing. I am thankful to him. They have been propagating this idea for the last few days in the lobby. And our friends in the Janata dal were advising us to change our leader. Supposing, we were to ask them to change their leader, how will they feel? If I were to tell Shri Nitish Kumar that Shri V. P. Singh is spent force and that he should be sacrificed, will Shri Nitish Kumar agree? This is a party which fought the British imperialism. We are not afraid of any sort of situations. Shri Narasimha Rao is our leader and we can face this No Confidence Motion. I may tell you that we have the legacy of defeating 23 no confidence motions. This is the legacy of the Congress party and we are bold enough to face your no confidence motion too. Please do not have any wrong illusions. This motion will be defeated by us. You want us to be try own leader. This is the talk that we have been hearing in the lobby for the last two days. You also think that after he goes out, we can have some other adjustment. Such an idea is not going to be sold here. If you think on these lines, you are living in fools' paradise. You do not realise the political situation in the country. Why are we supporting the Government of Shri Narasimha Rao? Why are we opposing your motion. You please go and ask Shri Biju Patnaik and Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav. Then you will know the answer. This is the only question that

I want to put to Shri Nitish Kumar. Have you consulted your leader before coming here? Please do not do so because then you will be doing with Shri V. P. Singh...

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Please don't discuss our political situation. Please discuss the country's political situation.

SHRI P. C. CHACKO: I have to do it because I have all the sympathy for you. Here, in Delhi, Shri V. P. Singh may be able to misguide you. But when you go back to Patna, what will happen Mr. Nitish Kumar? You please ask your conscience as to what you are doing is correct or not.

Sir, basically, the question is this. The mover of the motion says that there is an economic crisis in this country, there is widespread corruption in the society and that there is an all round failure on the part of the Government, and that is the reason why this motion is moved. We are willing to have a discussion on these aspects. We are ready for a discussion on the economic situation. I need not go into the details. I have got the figures with me and those figures will speak for themselves. I do not want to take the time of the House. All the aspects have already been well explained by Shri Chidambaram. I may reiterate it is not the opinion of the World Bank as Shri Somnathji thinks. It is the sensible opinion of every India.

It is not an opinion of a lawyer or an Opposition leader. It is the opinion of an average Indian who is living in the slums of this country. An average Indian wants this country to progress. Liberalisation is the trend of the World Bank and we have to move with that trend. By doing this we are opening an opportunity for us to survive. Why don't you consider it with an open mind?

I must express my congratulations, my appreciations for the most beautiful speech that I have ever heard and which was made by my hon. friend, Shri Fernandes. I wish Shri Fernandes would stick to his own speech till he goes for

voting that is tomorrow evening. I was reading in today's paper that Shri Fernandes made a still better speech when he was defending his leader Shri Morarji Desai on a previous occasion. But before sun set that day Shri Fernandes crossed over to the opposite camp. I am astounded that he is going to take up the "Salt Satyagrah". I can understand that the people who betrayed Gandhiji should pay the fine by undertaking a satyagrah but they should stick to their words.

I am a Member of the JPC which was set up to inquire into the security scam. I am not going into the details of what is going on in that Committee but some of my friends, including Shri Fernandes and Shri Fernandes and Shri Jaswant Singh, while speaking on the motion quoted certain information which exclusively they were having as Members of the JPC. I do not want to quote any information but I only want to remind my friends that people of this country have tremendous memory. Don't try to fool them. Shri Fernandes, standing in this House announced that he will name six ministers involved in the scam. One and a half years have passed since then but he is yet to give the names. Even the information which he is having as a Member of JPC, he is trying to distort that information.

Yesterday, one of the hon. friends of opposition said that Shri Chidambaram purchased promoters' quota shares. Shri Chidambaram was sitting here but he did not wish to answer that, Sir, the fact is that he purchased shares of a private company, a company whose shares were under-subscribed. Yesterday, Shri Jaswant Singh said that there is nothing wrong in it and just because of it he should not have resigned. Today, Shri Fernandes is saying that he purchased promoters' quota shares. I would like to request him not to play politics here and do not try to distort fact formation. We have evidence papers with us. We should respect for the norms: for the decency in public life. Shri Chidambaram should not have resigned but he resigned because we in the Congress are more responsible people and that is why he took the

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moral responsibility of what was happening we cannot expect this either from BJP, Communists or JD Members. It is the exclusive example of Congressmen.

Now, I would like to highlight the country's balance of payment position. It was very effectively explained by Shri Chidambaram. Our former Prime Minister is sitting here in the House who looted the coffers of our country and handed over empty coffers in to our Prime Minister. Our Government inherited a bankrupt coffin, economy,

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (MAYILLADUTURAI): He looted the Treasury and filled the coffins.

SHRI P. C. CHACKO: What I mean is coffers; but it is right.

Our balance of payment position has improved. Your allegation is that our foreign debt is going up; we have borrowed money and that is why our foreign exchange reserve is increasing. We have no tall claims. We have borrowed money but you should also remember one thing. There was nobody in the whole world who was prepared to touch us with a barge pole. Now, there are countries queuing up to help India. That is how our credibility has gone up. This has happened during the last 24 months. Is that the reason why you are moving the No Confidence Motion? I would like to ask the mover of the Motion, Shri Ajoy Mukhopadhyay, is that the reason you are blaming us for.

Do you know what is the reputation of this country in the comity of nations? Now, country after country are coming forward to assist our country. Can you tell me which country does not want assistance from the World bank? Are the Communists against taking loans from the World Bank? Kerala was demanding a Thermal Power Station at Kayamkulam? Do you know what happened? Mr. Jyoti Basu, could take away

that from us. Barkreshwar Project was given the World Bank assistance. Mrs. Suseela Gopalan, also went to the well of the House demanding assistance to this Kayamkulam Thermal Power Station. Kerala did not get it. So, don't say that they are against external assistance. They are standing in the queue with a begging bowl for the World Bank assistance or OECF assistance or any assistance which is coming from the capitalist countries and they come here and accuse the Congress Government. Sir, not only the Bop, but also the industrial growth rate, the GDP etc. have increased. The agricultural production has gone up very high but they are saying that the Government has no role in that. Even if there is a flood or a drought or something like that, they say that because of this Government, these have occurred. When the agricultural production is going up, they are saying that Mr. Narasimha Rao has nothing to do with that. This is treacherous. Please, do not stoop down to this level.

Now, they are saying that they are against dis-investment. Mr. Chidambaram said that he is not for dis-investment as it was there. I am in favour of dis-investment. If you say that something is wrong with the dis-investment policy, Dr. Manmohan Singh is here, who will explain to you. You don't think that we are going to keep mum on this issue. We will take full responsibility.

You know what is happening in the world? You take some examples of East-Asian countries or China. You know what is the contribution of the public sector towards GDP in China? Fifteen years ago, the contribution of public sector towards GDP was 85 per cent. Now, it has come down to 55 per cent. Can any communist dispute these figures? I have umteen number of such examples. Where can we invest the hard-earned money of the Indians? Should we invest it in the Airlines? Should we invest in the priority sector where common man's daily necessities are to be met viz. development of public transport etc.? So, regarding priority, we have to decide. So, dis-investment of some of the public

sector companies is definitely a must. Whatever distorted story the Communists may give, this country will go through whatever distorted story the Communists may give, this country will go through this economic re-structuring programme: economic reforms programme. Nobody can stop it. You may be able to score a point sometimes, we are not angry for that. We know that you are unhappy. You can have the privilege to do so.

A question was raised as to where will we go tomorrow. Many of you are thinking that you can defeat us by manipulating the arithmetic of numbers. You are thinking that the number is in your favour because the Congress is in a minority. You are thinking that this Government will go. I saw that you were very jubilant and very happy in the Central Hill. I have seen your faces.

Mr. Chandabaram asked you a very pertinent question and that is, if you do topple this Government, whom are you going to help? You will be helping BJP to come to power. You may also be thinking that you can get some Congress people in that process. You want to make some sort of hotch-potch arrangement. I want to tell you that those days have gone. You cannot defeat the Congress party. The Congress Party will survive so also this Government. This Government will survive to implement the economic programmes that we have undertaken.

You were asking, what did we achieve? I would like to mention that already we have narrated, one-by-one, our achievements. Now, I am sure, you cannot utter a word any further.

When the first No-Confidence Motion against this Govt was brought before this House, the main allegation was about Punjab. You took hours and hours to discuss about Punjab. In spite of that, the Punjab problem is solved by this Govt you could not say anything about Punjab. So, also in the first two No-Confidence Motions, you raised problems regarding Assam, That problem is also not there now. It appears, if all the problems are solved, the opposition they will

feel very unhappy and depressed.

Now they are asking what is happening in Kashmir. If anybody wants to understand it, I would especially request Mr. Syed Shababuddin to look into it. I think he is the person who is closely following the qualitative improvement which has taken place in Kashmir. I request you to make a close study of it. We are not making any tall claims. The Government itself has stated recently after solving Assam and Punjab problems. The first item on the agenda of the Government is to solve the problem of Kashmir. But we are faced with international forces and also all sorts of destabilising forces across the border. So, it has become a little complicated. But we can, with confidence, say that there is a qualitative improvement in the case of Kashmir also.

We know that you will come with another No-Confidence Motion against this Government after some time because this is the only profession probably you know. By the time you come with another No-Confidence Motion, this Government will solve the problem of Kashmir also. We are sending Mr. Rajesh Pilot, the Minister of Internal Security to visit Kashmir frequently. You know what is happening there. You cannot imagine any other person having meeting with dangerous persons. Everyday we are passing through difficult conditions there. You do not know what he is doing; he is trying to bring normalcy and peace over there. We are taking the risk of going to the Valley and meeting trouble people, talking to them and helping them in all possible ways.

We are trying to reactivate the political process. There also, our Left friends cannot rely on the people who are sitting on the other side. You cannot agree with what they say. We are trying to bring normalcy over there. Problems after problems are resolved. There is wide prospect in the economic situation; and this country can look towards the world with pride that this country has solved many of the problems. If this is our mistake, if this is our crime, you can

[Sh. P. C. Chacko]

take any decision. If this is our crime that we are trying to solve political and economic problems, if this is our crime that we are trying to solve political and economic problems, if this is our crime that we are trying to solve socio-economic problems for which you are going to hang us, you are going to punish us, we will receive it with both the hands happily because the people of India want that.

Then about the clock and bull story made out by Mr. Harshad Mehta. He has said that he has paid Rs. 1 crore to the Prime Minister. All the evidence is before the JPC. I am not going into the details of it. The JPC. I am not going into the details of it. The JPC is going to take a decision on that. We are waiting for that decision. You know what is the net result is the Government falls? Have you ever thought of that? We know the direct consequence is this Government falls, if this House is dissolved. If the JPC goes, who is happy? Mr. Harshad Mehta is happy. He is having hundreds of crores of rupees black money. (Interruptions) You should have the patience to wait at least for one month. We are expected to submit a Report before the end of this Session. I wish the champions of the fight against corruption should have waited at least for one more month for the JPC to file their Report. According to their calculations, this Government will be out of office today and this House will be dissolved tomorrow. Where will the JPC go? Money bags from Bombay are roaming around (Interruptions)*.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record.

SHRI P. C. CHACKO: I fully appreciate the stand taken by Shri Nitish Kumar. I am far away from Janata Party. I have nothing to do with their politics. But I am sure that Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav will not definitely permit him to join hands with BJP to form a government. If that is a case, how are you going to survive? There are many types of people in your party. They can go

to any side. But Mr. Nitish Kumar cannot go like that. You have a certain hold on them. If it is so, why is this No-confidence Motion now? Mr. Harshad Mehta wanted the JPC to be dissolved.

We the 30 members of JPC, I am sure, irrespective of our political affiliations have been working hard and have come to certain conclusions. Many valuable suggestions for economic reform of this country is going to come in the JPC report. The report is on the verge of submission and now they have decided to dissolve this Parliament and thereby dissolve the JPC. What treacherous game you are playing, the people of this country will see. So Sir, the unholy alliance of the communal forces and Left Wing adventurists and also the money of Harshad Mehta is playing the game.

Yesterday, a polygraph test was cited here. By the Polygraph Specialist, Shri George Fernandes. Shri George Fernandes has made a polygraph analysis and the report was quoted here. I do not know who has authorised Shri Jethmalani as the report of polygraph test is entrusted with Shri Jethmalani. You might have seen in today's paper that the people who conducted the polygraph test have addressed the result of the test directly to Shri Jethmalani as he is the custodian of all these enquiries. What does it mean?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not mention names!

SHRI P. C. CHACKO: This letter has been reproduced in the newspaper and also it has been cited here in the House.... (Interruptions)..... Our hon. and senior Member Shri George Fernandes wants our Prime Minister to go through the polygraph test. If some of the opposition leaders are put through the polygraph test then that will be as good as a Sherlock Holmes Novel. If all these together, it will make a 'crime thriller'. That they are put of people they are. So nobody is going to believe this

polygraph test. There are irrefutable evidence before the JPC which we are going to see, which every JPC member is having that the Prime Minister of India was in his office from 0950 hrs. to 1315 hrs. On 4th of Nov. '91 This irrefutable evidence is there and still they are saying that Harshad Mehta had met the Prime Minister.

This Bombay scamster claiming in that he met Prime Minister only once in his life time and offered money. I want a little money." The Prime Minister is asking him. This is shameless conduct. This is the campaign of vilification, which is not even upto your level. Please give up these things.

There is deliberate attempt to pollute the politics and public life of this country and to create misunderstanding. Shri Narasimha Rao is not one single individual, he is a representative of the economic emancipation of this country. The character assassination of the leader of this country is amounting to destroy this country. This is treacherous. Even at this also moment, I plead with you to withdraw hold from this treacherous course. I have more things to say, but the time does not permit that.

I only wish that the former Prime Minister who is the champion of this no confidence motion at least could resolve their problems with their own friends.

yesterday, we could not see Shri V. P. Singh here. He was very busy yesterday with something else. Recently, he made an announcement that he was retiring from active politics. You know what is the reason for this? It is very interesting. In the context of this no confidence motion, it is very relevant because we have to decide who is going to be the next Prime Minister. He said, "I am the stumbling block for the opposition unity so I am withdrawing from the scene." The self-assessment of the former Prime Minister is excellent that he himself is the stumbling block of the opposition unity. That is a great recognition be owed on your head, please retain it. We are happy.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA: He is retiring but the Swiss Federal bank is not retiring.

SHRI P. C. CHACKO: Mr. Jena, you are correct. The Federal Bank is the biggest private sector bank in the country, which is not involved in the Scam. You do not know that... (Interruptions)

SHRIMANISHANKARAIYAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, with your permission, may I remind Mr. Jena that Mr. V. P. Singh has described it as a silly experiment... (Interruptions)

SHRI P. C. CHACKO: If I remind Mr. Jena, it will embarrass him. I do not want to do that.

The conscience of all the Members of this House, irrespective of their Party affiliations, is against this No-Confidence Motion. The people of this country are against this No-confidence Motion. The people, who are living below the poverty line and who are struggling for their daily bread, are against this No-confidence Motion. Some of us strongly oppose this No-Confidence Motion. I request every Member of this House to oppose this No-Confidence Motion.

[Translation]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Fatehpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have brought No Confidence Motion in the House and the people of the country have lost their faith in their Government. Though, the voting on this motion in the House will take place tomorrow only but the people of this country have already voted against this Government. Counting of our votes in this House will be done tomorrow but when the counting of votes in this House will be done tomorrow but when the counting of votes cast by people will be done that will clear the whole picture. Not only we people but the entire nation has lost its confidence in the Government. you may admit it or not but you have also lost your self-confidence. You party members will cast their vote in your favour but they have lost their self-confidence under the present Prime Minister.

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

The hon. Prime Minister is not present here. I would like to request him to have mercy on his supporters. They should be assured that in which direction they have to move. Today, which section of the society has faith in you. As far as the common man is concerned, the Prime Minister and his Government has become a heap of unfulfilled assurances. On what basis should the youth believe you? Should they believe you on the basis that avenues for higher education have been closed to him due to privatisation? Should the young people from poor and middle class families believe you that no opportunity for higher education has been left to him? On what basis the farmer should trust the Government? Is it the basis that ever since the Government has come to power, the prices of fertilizers; diesel, electricity, water have gone up. Their undraining toil is not rewarded properly. How can the labourers trust the Government? Only one policy has been framed for them. The working class has lost its confidence in this government ever since it has taken office because of rising prices. The Government has formulated only one policy, i. e., the exit policy. Should they express their confidence in the Government only because the Bill related to the participation of labourers is lying pending with the Rajya Sabha for the last two or two and a half year and the Government is not paying any attention to it? Somnath; was referring to Voluntary Retirement Scheme and Golden Hand Shake for them. But if at all this scheme is to be implemented somewhere, then it should be implemented for the Prime Minister. He cannot be retrained but he should take voluntary retirement before training others.

AN. HON. MEMBER: How many times you have done so?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I sought voluntary retirement on several occasions when I was Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and when I was as Finance Minister and when I was Defence Minister of the country.

SHRI VILAS MUTHEMWAR (CHIMUR): You had fled at that time.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I did so only after I dislodged the Government successfully that you could not form a majority Government as yet. This is the condition of farmers and Youth. But what is the condition of the weavers today? Should they have confidence in the Government only because they have taken up space instead of working at handlooms? You may visit Benaras, Andhra Pradesh and Basti and witness their plight.

AN HON. MEMBER: Now please tell about your rule.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am telling about the rule of your Government. I am telling about the rule by your Prime Minister. Downtrodden were killed in Chundur in Andhra Pradesh. Not a single person has been prosecuted so far. Should the confidence be expressed for this reason? Should the downtrodden express their confidence in the Government because the right for their promotion in jobs they enjoyed after the Independence has been withdrawn? Should they express their confidence only because, be it Chundur or Sumer, the situation has worsened almost everywhere? He is the same Prime Minister who was the H. M., i. e. Home Minister in 1984. The H. M. does not imply Harshad Mehta, rather it implies the Home Minister. Thousands of Sikh brethren were killed here but nobody has been sentenced. Should the people belonging to the backward classes express their confidence in the Government only because the ray of hope, that they had seen after thousands of years, when the supreme court gave its decision on the Mandal Commission not by a dagger but by poisoning them?

In the report of a Government committee it has been written that the persons having two thirds of government land below the fixed ceiling will not be given reservation facility. In the jobs in states a person is promoted from class III

to class II, i. e. if he becomes a supervisor form a clerk he cannot enjoy the reservation facility. Today the Governemtn has tried to put out this ray of hope. Therefore, does the Governemtn think that they should repose theri faith in it?

When the Ramaswamy issue is raised, Minister the Prime Minister loses his wisdom is the top most. The office of Prime in the Executive. This office is meant for office taking decision and acting. But when the issue of corruption is raised he becomes neutral. Is it a neutral Governemnt?

[Translation]

Somyagya has been performed by Chandraswamy. In such a situation, will the people having faith in secularism, trust the Government? Indirectly, the Government is trying to link politics with religion. When Government performs Somyagya and does all such type of things and approves these things, how will it say that religion should be delinked from politics. The public observes and understands it minutely. Should the justives moving people trust this Governemtn because the verdict of the Supreme Court was thrown to the winds on 6th December and the hon. Prime Minister kept sleeping in his bedroom, even the meeting of the Cabinet had been convened in the evening? Should minorities trust the Government because the hon. Prime Minister had assured them from the ramparts of the Red Fort that Babri Masjid would not be demolished but that mosque was demolished? In this way their faith and confidence have been shaken. Interestingly, the hon. Prime Minister is still in his Chair despite his repeated assurance given from the ramparts of the Red Fort on 15th August. Under these circumstances, Should the people repose their confidence in this Government?

Should the riot-affected people trust this Government because when the hon. Prime Minister visits Bombay to have a look at their sufferings, he does not get down from his car. To get down from his car is a far cry, he does not even talk to anybody by putting down the window panes of his car. I don't know which links of

confidence connect this Governemtn with public? Should the freedom fighters trust this Governemtn because marching to the sea coast of Guharat Gandhiji declared the struggle for independence of India by making handful of salt and this Governemtn is making declaration of slavery of India by selling the right of making that handful of salt to the Cargill Company?

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLAR): I am on a point of order. I hope I would request Mr. V. P. Singh to stay on because I am making a statement on this. I hope he sits down, not now, but when I speak. You must know the truths.

[Translation]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right, if there is anything, kindly tell us. There is anguish in our hearts.....

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLAR: I will tell before the house as to what is their anguish (*Interruptions*) Don't make noise. I am talking with him. Why are you making noise. I am talking with him.... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, you will have to listen to me. I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (BARH): An hon. Minister Jagdish Tytler is standing.....

[English]

Mr. Chairman, I seek a Ruling. This unruly behaviour is this proper behaviour according to Mr. Nitish Kumar? He is also on the Chair. Let him say so.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, let us conduct ourselves for the benefit of all.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARA-MANGALAM: Sir, this is intimidation. Such intimidation is not called for. *(Interruptions)* If you think you can misbehave, the Speaker also misbehaves.

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Being an hon. Minister he behaved in such a manner....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Who started this. He started this. I asked him not to make noise.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Does this behaviour behave any Minister....? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will listen attentively whatever Shri Jagdish Tytler will say. If we have lack of knowledge he will improve it but I am saying this on the basis of information available with me. I was saying that the Government talks of trust. Who is the Minister of Industry now? The hon. Prime Minister is also the Minister of Industry. Should we trust him because under his ministership coupon rates of the shares of public sector undertakings had leaked and the foreign banks fled the country? The Comptroller and Auditor General has submitted his report in this regard. After they have placed the country, the foreign banks gained an upper hand in respect of economy of the country but the Government could not take any action, so under these circumstances, should we trust this Government. Today, newspapers of the country are full of news of Harshad Mehta and Befors. I don't know what is right or wrong but at least our heads hang in shame and our feelings are hurt. I ask as to what is the reply to all these issues? The reply

is a deep silence... Sir, whosesoever is a human being speaks out but the power of silence is either possessed of our hon. Prime Minister or by Gods. We go to him and want to know something but he remains silent. It seems that he has attained divine power. We had been taught that 'Sarwanavad Ekarasya'. Before him we can get tried and defeated because we could not be able to make him speak about anything, but it is not so important. Today the country is getting defeated. They talk of survival of the Government. The Government may survive today but it is the question of survival of the country, so we have brought this Motion here.

I start from the Ministry of Industry as the hon. Prime Minister himself heads this Ministry. CAG has submitted its report on public sector undertakings. It has been clearly stated in the report that irregularities have been committed in allotments of shares of public sector undertakings. Whatever prices have been quoted after assessing their reserve prices... *(Interruptions)*.. Whatever the prices had been quoted was lower but again the prices have been lowered. This is not an ordinary reduction, it is a heavy reduction which varies from 22% to 87% and these shares have been sold at these reduced prices. The Government has not been able even to keep its due commission on the selling of shares. As Shri Somnath Ji said that those people gain who sell their shares at prices two-three times more than the price at which they purchase these shares from the Government. We can tolerate it if only financial institutions would have sold them. Making back to back arrangements the Government sold the shares of financial institutions to the brokers and then it again purchased them. It should also be looked into as to who is the mastermind behind it. The financial institutions were involved in this game only as curtain; actually the brokers have purchased them. Who is the Minister under whom our country is alleeced. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Industry Shri P. V. Narsimha Rao that if all these things happen under his Ministry, it is worth considering as to who is responsible for it. The CAG has stated in his

report that the Government suffered a loss of Rs. 3442 crore but the people think that the actual loss is two-three times more than it. I would like to submit that the Government should reconsider the system of assessment of public sector. As per the Government assessment paid up capital of SAIL is Rs. 4000 crore; but the price of its land excluding the colonies, is Rs. 30 thousand crore. The value is assessed after depreciating the book value. Shri K. Ashok Rao is in NCOA. He has cited an example that a company having property worth Rs. 8000 crore is purchased in Rs. 450 crore only thus the methods of assessing value needs improvement.... To some extent privatisation is good but excessive privatisation which is being done is bad. Excessive privatisation means dominance of nearest and dearest people and one name figures among the nearest and dearest that is Gold Star. I will go into it later on. I would like to ask one thing about public sector that Ajay Kayaan got a lion's share in selling the shares of P. S. Us and so far no action has been taken against him. Kindly tell the House whether Ajay Kayaan was the Manager of Highights Issue Manager of Gold Star or no, whether he is at present a share holder in the Gold Star or not and also clarify whether he is being protected because of his position in the Gold Star. What is Gold Star? Who is the Promoters of Gold Star? The promoters of Gold Star are N. Krishna Mohan, P. V. Prabhakar Rao the son of Shri P. V. Narsimha Rao.... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI BH. VIJAYAKUMAR RAJU (NARSAPUR): In 1989 itself, they gave the loan. For the Gold Star company, Your Government only sanctioned the loan. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please avoid the names.. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I do not mean to say that the father is solely

responsible for the acts of his son. But I have been asked so I have to tell his father's name (*Interruptions*) the son may not be good and may follow the footprints of his father too. I do not want to link his actions with is father. This is a separate issue and will be discussed separately and I do not want to go into the names of those persons. I would like to confine to the Gold Star only. This company was incorporated in January 1986 and its public issue came in the market in 1991. All of us knows that 91 follows 90 and by this time the paid-up capital of the company increased to Rs. 45 crore. There are some associated companies of Krishna Mohan i.e. M/s Khanna Investment; M/s Krishna Rao Investment, now newspapers have published about these companies so I can base myself on the news published in these newspapers. A study has been conducted in this regard and a mention has been made in the outcome report of the study about the Refund Order Account. It means that the excess money collected for shares by the promoters from the public is debited in this account. Suppose, a person applied for 20 shares, he deposits money for 20 shares but he has been allotted only 10 shares, then the amount of remaining 10 shares would be debited in the refund order account, which will be refunded to the concerned person. This amount is debited in the account of Trust and it is to be refunded to the person who had deposited it for getting shares. This amount can't be used in any other head. It is against the law. The hon. Finance Minister is present here. Will he be pleased to state whether an overdraft can be made against this refund account. Here over-draft means, the misappropriation of public money. That amount can't be spent on any other item. I would like to know whether this over-draft has been made or not against this refund order account of the Gold Star, if so, why no action has been taken against the persons responsible for such a big scandle. Along with it, the report of the investigation does not clearly reveal whether the amount taken by the Promoters from the parties was due from promoted and money taken from them was theirs or not. The finance Minister is here and he knows that the money is transferred from

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

cash credit accounts for this overdraft; which is completely an illegal process. Very interestingly such a big amount was transferred without the authorisation of the Reserve Bank. Authorisation of RBI is required to transfer money from cash credit accounts to reserve account but it has been done without authorisation of R.B. I. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Please listen attentively. It is as an interesting thing. When investigation is started.....

[*English*]

SHRI BH. VIJAYAKUMAR RAJU (NARSAPUR): Can I rise a point of order?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Under what rule?

SHRI BH. VIJAYAKUMAR RAJU: Under Rule 376.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI BH. VIJAYAKUMAR RAJU: Shri V. P. Singhji is talking on a matter which is under investigation by JPC. Parliament entrusted the job to JPC. Investigation is going on. JPC also asked the concerned organisation to inquire into the matter. Is it fair to raise this point in the House now? That is my point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Shri V. P. Singh may please continue.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, it is very interesting thing. Listen attentively. When inquiry was conducted to find out as to how the over-draft was made, the representative of the company said:

[*English*]

"It is submitted to the Committee that

as the data relating to returns at the end of the register got corrupted on account of computer virus".

[*Translation*]

The data has been corrupted on account of computer virus. This virus of corruption has not even spared the computers, and as a result of the data got corrupted. Will anybody believe it? There is no logic in it that data got corrupted on account of computer virus. They, themselves, corrupted the computer. Share allotment of the Gold Star Company was finalised on 23 July 1992.

17.00 hrs

Share allotment was finalised on 23 July and the company came to know that it got the amount of subscription twofold. At that time the company knew well as to what was the actual amount of subscription. The company opened account on 8th August in State Bank of India in Hyderabad. The company has not deposited the full amount of subscription on that day, and it deposited only Rs. 10 crore and it took six months to deposit the reasonable amount of Rs. 4 crore in Bank.

Could they misused the money of shareholders. Who was responsible for this scam, a detailed inquiry should be held. Kaveri Consultant is a sister concern of Gold Star, which was entrusted the job of auditing the accounts. But the job of aiding Promoters' Shares and their refunds was not given to it and only the job of auditing public shares was given to it. Why was it done in such a way. Except promoters, no one knows how much money was collected. There had been reports that Rs. 12 crore were given by us but there is no proof of it. Thus the finding of inquiry conducted by 'SEBI' has come in newspapers.

[*English*]

"It stands to reason that refund order

account can under no circumstances run into an overdraft nor there can arise any occasion to supplement such overdrafts from outside.

[*Translation*]

The Gold star had been illegally depositing money in it by acquiring loans from outside from the very beginning. I would like to raise one or two points on this issue.

[*English*]

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is quoting from various documents of SEBI and other documents which have been supplied to the JPC. Therefore, I would like to know from you whether it is proper that all these documents which are under consideration of the JPC ought to be discussed in this House?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Why not?

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: I am on a motion of breach of privilege. Has the Finance Minister got any right to disclose here what is there with the JPC? I am on that point. Where from has he got it? I do not know. Has he got any right to declare before this House that these are the materials before the JPC? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BH. VIJAYA KUMAR RAJU (NARSAPUR): You are a Member of the JPC. Why have you kept quiet? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JADISH TYTLER: Why are you asking this question? Nobody is speaking anything about it

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: He has specifically said that these are the reports of the SEBI presented to the JPC. Is this not a breach of privilege? I want to know from you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let me set the record straight. If Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has

quoted from the papers supplied to the JPC, I am afraid, you cannot do that.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: I come to my point. If that is true, then this is a matter of breach of privilege. He has disclosed it.

MR CHAIRMAN: Please do not quote from those papers supplied to the JPC.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (ROSEARA): We are not the Members of the JPC. How can we know about it?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (BANKURA): I am on a point of order. Neither the Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh nor Shri V. P. Singh is member of the JPC. How does Dr. Manmohan Singh know that this particular document has been supplied to JPC?

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: I would say that the JPC asked for certain documents about the Goldstar case to me. We have supplied those documents to the JPC. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. V. P. Singh, please do not quote if they are the papers of the JPC. Please do not quote in this House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (MUZAFFARPUR): He is not quoting from the JPC papers. We are also the Members of the JPC. He has no access to the JPC document. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is that? If he says that he has not quoted from the JPC paper, you can charge him. You can bring a breach of privilege against him. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: You cannot mustle the whole Parliament by naming JPC, JPC. The whole public knows it. We will not allow this. How can you run the Parliament like this? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK (BOMBAY NORTH): I am not a point of order. A Member of Parliament has a right to bring any document from anywhere. And he has every right to procedure it here, whether he steals, borrows or brings from anywhere. Nobody can challenge it. The only point is that the JPC Members cannot say what has happened there. He is not a JPC Member. He has every right to produce any document from wherever he can bring that. You cannot challenge it.

SHRISRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, right from the beginning of this debate yesterday and today, this matter was raised here by at least two Members and the hon. Speaker has made an observation about it. I cannot call it a ruling, he made an observation when it was raised, that this was a delicate matter and the scam was before the JPC. (*Interruptions*)

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

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please address the Chair.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: The matter was raised about what will be the type of speeches, to what extent Members, while speaking, can refer to the matter covered under JPC examination? The hon. Speaker has made an observation today in the beginning by saying, 'this is really a matter which needs to be considered from that angle.' He said, 'senior Members and Members who are participating in the debate, while participating in the debate, they should keep this point in mind.'

He says that the Members, while participating in the debate, will conduct themselves in a dignified manner. This is his observation. This is the type of conduct, this is the type of dignity we are made to expect from a senior Member who had also the distinction of having been the

Prime Minister earlier. This is his conduct. Kindly see the observation made by the hon. Speaker today, that is, what type of reference can be made to scam which is being discussed, which is being probed into by a Parliamentary Committee.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: Sir, on this point, please listen to me also.

[*Translation*]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this debate whenever anyone produces any comfortable fact with clear cut proof, that is being stopped in the name of JPC. JPC is not above Parliament. It is right that when JPC has been entrusted with some work, and before it submits its report no JPC Member can quote its documents here. But M. Ps and all other Members have right to bring any document here and it can be presented in this House as and when it is required to do so and if there is a need to authenticate it, it can be produced after authentication. You cannot deny our rights. A conspiracy is being hatched to stop the debate in the name of JPC. But in reality the thing is that these people are feeling uncomfortable whenever some facts are produced here.

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have to make a submission that some documents are produced before JPC by government and some are produced by people who are investigated but I would like to draw the attention of the House to the reports appearing in newspapers for the past two days. The documents produced by some persons from the Prime Minister's Office have appeared in newspapers of the country. Can you stop a Member from referring to some documents sent from Prime Minister's office or published in newspapers? It will be very strange, if you try to gag a Member of parliament in this manner. You please listen to me first.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is not the way. I would like to submit only this that if the Govern-

ment wants to stop any debate in this House, then it should first release the documents of JPC other committee to the press and then it should release them outside the Parliament. I have got these documents from newspapers and we should be given opportunity to discuss it in the House. So you please allow Shri V. P. Singh to speak. I can authenticate that the documents he possesses are not documents of JPC as I have set the documents of JPC personally.

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: I am on a different point. This is a point of order. The point is that all submissions to JPC which come through the Government or via the Finance Minister, they are marked as 'secret and confidential'. There are other matters also which reach JPC, which perhaps, they require that it should not be given to the Press. Here, such a confidential and secret matter which has been sent to the JPC has been disclosed by the Finance Minister before the House. I want your ruling on whether such a secret and confidential document which has been sent to the JPC can be disclosed in this manner by the Finance Minister. I want your ruling.

[Translation]

SHRI RABI RAY (Kendrapada): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I did not expect Shri Manmohan Singh that a person like him is not well versed with of procedures and rules of this House that he raised such an issue. For your information I would like to read out from the book of 'Shakdher and Kaul' as to what is provision for producing the documents in the House.

[English]

"A member can ordinarily quote from a document that is treated by Government as secret or confidential, and which the Government have not disclosed in public interest. There is a possibility for such a document to be contained through leakage or stealth or in any irregular

manner, and there is no compulsion on the member to disclose the source from which a copy thereof has been obtained by him."

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you should have informed the persons who advise you that all the Government documents are supplied to members of parliament. Suppose a Member is given document JPC a and he quotes from it before you, would you stop it? I could not understand, how does hon. Manmohan Singh, say of who is a wise man, that every member has to authenticate the document. I would like to say that the statement of hon. Manmohan Singh does not contain any fact and it is contrary to rules.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was asked whether I was quoting from JPC documents or not? How can I say whether the documents are of JPC or not. you are asking a man who is not a member of JPC and you will punish me on the basis of his reply. How can I come to know; if you have any objection to my quotations, I would like to submit that I have not quoted. I have just given the facts. If the facts are incorrect, you may say that they are incorrect. We do not have documents but we can refer notes.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: An hon. Member of this House has number of ways to have access to different secret documents. The JPC is the creation of this House. Many many documents are lying with the JPC. The Hon. Finance Minister just wanted to most probably inform the House that the same matters are there in the JPC. There is nothing wrong in that. I would, however, request the hon. Member who is on his feet, who is the former Prime Minister and a very senior Member of this House also to respect those matters which are lying with the JPC which this House itself has created. I request you not to expose those matters even if you have them.

But, if you think that in your speech you have to then go ahead.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you and assure that I would not quote anything further. I have notes with me but I will not quote from them. I would like to ask a question pertaining to Andhra Bank Financial Services Limited. I will not quote anything but can see my notes. I would like to know from you that whether it is fact that Shri Krishan Mohan from Gold star had requested you orally for the loan of Rs. 2 crore. Is it so that anyone orally make request and get loan... Can anyone get loan without signing the documents. The second thing I would like to know whether there had been a contract with Andhra Bank Financial Services Limited at the time of granting the loan to it, or the money was given through cheque directly. I think there should be a contract.

I would like to know who has given money to Krishan Mohan through Andhra bank Financial Services Limited. Whether it is truth that Hiten Dalal had given him Rs. 2 crore through cheque. You please reply to my question.

[*English*]

SHRI BUTA SINGH (JALORE): Sir, with your permission, I want to seek a clarification from Shri V. P. Singh.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am not quoting, I am only asking a question. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now hon. V. P. Singh has asked a question whether anyone each be given loan on oral request. I would like to ask Mr. V. P. Singh that can a Finance Minister appoint a foreign com-

pany orally to audit the accounts of the Government of India.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He could do so and did it. I would not like to go into it. People have decided the matter.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: But the Finance Ministry did not have any approval of it. This matter never came before the cabinet. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

1724 hrs

(MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to know from Shri U. P. Singh as to whether a Finance Minister could appoint a foreign company, an extension of the CIA, to look into the accounts of the Government and the private sector in India, without going to the Cabinet, without reporting anything on the file? Can he do that? Could it be possible? If that is possible, I do not know, Dr. Manmohan Singh could explain it. But I want to know from Mr. V. P. Singh as a Finance Minister was it not an act of treason in this country?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I rememehr, on this issue, there was a debate in the previous Lok Sabha. You were in the Chair or Mr. Jakhari was in the Chair. Mr. Buta Singh - I have a great respect and love also for him made a long speech on this. And the net result was the Chair cancelled all his speech. (*Interruptions*) Whatever he made, it was cancelled. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Sir, can a Finance Minister, under the rules and business of the Government, appoint a foreign agency to look into the accounts of the Indian businessmen without the approval of the Cabinet?

I am asking him a question. Let him say, 'Yes' or 'no'. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. CHARLES (TRIVANDRUM): There was a structure against you by a Commission. Can you deny? (Interruptions) What do you say about that? (Interruptions)

[Translaiton]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, whether it is fact or not that Hiten Dalal gave Rs. 2 crore to Andhra Bank Financial services Ltd. and the amount was deposited in the accounts of Gold Star. As per the news-items, Krishan Mohan says that the amount was received personally then why was not deposited in his personal account, why in the accounts of the company. Is it not a fact that the amount was given to Gold Star Company for providing shares to Andhra Bank Financial Services Ltd., which were kept by it as trust money for Hiten Dalal. The money comes to Gold Star and then given to Hiten Dalal, I would like to know the conspiracy behind it as this creates doubt in our minds. Whether it is fact that promoters, are entitled to subject issues. The amount come to Rs. 8.80 crore and a sum of Rs. 2 crore is paid. All these amounts could not be verified even today and if it is a fact, what action is being taken on it.

I would like to know whether it is not a fact that the application given by Gold Star and the application given to stock-exchange and the one given to a different company and the application and shares shown there all differ from one another. Was there any irregularity in amount shown by each. You can reply as you know better. You can either say yes or no.

Besiees, is it not a fact that Shri M.N. Ganti was told that these shares are of the value of Rs. 100 each and the purchase of these shares was shown on July 24, 1992 and then these shares were concerted again into Rs. 1000 each and this transaction was done on 18 September 1992. Even the dates were not shown correctly? Even ordinary details like number of shares applied, cheque number, amount paid etc. were not shown in the applications. Sir, all

these things are missing in the applications. Even then no action has been taken in this matter. The promoters have not given genuine accounts of the rights allotment of the shares, be it for the sum of Rs. twelve crores. These figures do not tally. There is bungling of in accounts in the refund also. If this is true, I would like to know the reason for not taking any action in this regard. Why no action has been taken against Ajay Kayen? No action was taken against anybody. Krishnamurti's son was delied thought of taking loan, Krishnamurti's. I would like to know as to why no action is taken on the decision of the House. The Government should give clarification in this regard. It is more serious than the bungling itself. I am not quoting you can give reply. If you do not give a replay, we would think that it is a question mark on the Government, Gold Star is the only one star of the galaxy of stars.... (Interruptions) Rao Sahib, action should be taken against all the persons.

One point is being raised by Shri Buta Singh. He emphasizes again and again on the same point. he knows everything, so we would have to come to that point... (Interruptions) What is the achievement of this Government ever since it took office? The Government removed the officers who had done a commendable job with hard work and sincerity. First Shekhar was removed and then Madhavan. When question are raised, they do not answer. They forget who was Solanki. Warrants had been issued against Win Chadha. It is known whether he escaped to Dubai or any other place. When our Governor was in power we were trying for his repatriation. As soon as our Government went out of power, his warrant has come to naught. How did it happen? He is free to come and go anywhere. You can bring Niranjana Shah to this country but not Win Chadha. The name of Hindu has been mentioned. I would like to know if this Government would attach his property in this country? The other Government has attached his bank accounts. Although it is a loss to this country, even then the Government took the step of attaching his property. Does the Government propose to attach the property of Hindu and black-

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

list all commercial transactions. He should be stopped from making any transactions in India. We have done so in the case of Bofors... *(Interruptions)* We have been hearing of Kotrochi for quite sometime.

I would like to know whether Government had taken any step to ban his movement in and out of this country. If it has not taken any action, Why? When we were members of CCPA, we had to travel by some other car but his car could enter straight way. Today he had issued a statement... *(Interruptions)* His statement reveals that he has money but that is not of Bofors. It is a matter to think that when FIR was lodged, the Swiss Bank became cautious.

They don't freeze accounts of someone in haste unless they convinced themselves that the money relates to Bofors, they will not freeze accounts. An announcement was made that the accounts were frozen, but actually it was not done. I do not know whether FEERA is applicable to Indian Nationals or Income Tax clauses are applicable to them or not. At least he should be stopped from leaving this country and money should be taken back. It has become clear that the report of the previous JPC was a mere eyewash. A new JPC should be constituted. All the documents should be brought before the new JPC.

I think Chitra Subraminiam deserves praise because she has contributed a lot to the investigation of this case risking her life. If I were to reveal the names of all the officers who helped in the investigation of this case, they would be punished. So I would not take their names. The Government tried its level best to hush up the case but the media did a commendable job.

Shri Jagdish Tytler has raised the Cargill issue. He has made an allegation that our information is not factual. I am putting forth my information. If he has got some other information, he may please give it to us. I would like to

know whether it is not a fact that Cargill company gave an application to P.M. office for grant of 15 thousand acre of land out of sixty thousand acre in front of Kandla Port. Is it not a fact that such an application had been given in P. M. Office. Is it also not a fact that the applications was given in a particular month and it next month received approval. I would like to know whether it is a fact that the trustees of Kandla Port Trust rejected it and opposed it when it was presented before them. Did they not say that it should adversely affect the expansion work of Kandla Port Trust. Did they not reject it on the ground that it would give rise to unemployment, affect environment, and security of the country. After partition, Karachi became a part of Pakistan. Although it is true that the western nations are not using this place for naval exercise, still it has great potential. There is a law in this country that person can be jailed as photography is banned in and around an aerodrome or port, but Government is now allowing a foreign company to instal itself just one kilometre from the kandla Port. It can prove to be detrimental to our security... *(Interruptions)* If no other person has drawn attention to it, I would like to do that. I would like to know what is this Cargill company? Is it the same company which has an annual turnover of Rs 1 lakh 92 thousand crore. It amounts to almost one third of our GDP. Australia has set up a factory where only fifty people produce 20,000 tonnes of salt. Now we produce 1 lakh 40 thousand tonnes of salt and a big share of it would be exported. Even today we export salt after meeting our domestic requirements. Once when Gandhiji launched Namak Satyagrah salt was a symbol of our Independence. Today when Cargill company would take over the production of salt, it would become a symbol of slavery. Since I have also the experience of sitting in the treasury benches, I am not putting this question to Shri Jagdish Tytler as I know that asking a question is just like committing a crime. Since the decision has been taken by P. M. Office, the prime Minister himself should answer the question. As it concerns national interests and national security, the Prime Minister should reply. We are not ready to accept a situation that something which

had symbolised freedom of this country should now symbolise slavery for the country and since the decision has been taken by the P.M. Office, you can not answer the question.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I would reply.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No Sir, I am not asking you. The decision has been taken by the PM Office. The Prime Minister himself should come and answer the question, when all the members of parties irrespective of party affiliations are agitating on this issue. I would like to praise Shri George Fernandes who has raised this question. It is not a issue which can be suppressed. It should be clarified otherwise the struggle would prolong.

I thought Shri Manmohan Singh would speak and I would be able to hear his views first but he is very intelligent. I think he would give a reply in the end so that he has the last word. In regard to our debt financing strategy:-

[English]

Our debt financing strategy is in fact basically based on the issue of balance of payment and it is managed by the inflow of foreign investment. It is one of the basic strategies of bridging up the financial gap. As per your strategy a certain minimum amount of dose - an initial dose of about Rs. 9000-12000 crores per annum - will be required for which we have serious reservations. In order to sustain this and to absorb this and also to serve as the reparation there has to be an annual inflow of about Rs. 3000 crores. I would like to know if it is forthcoming as per your assessment.

There was a time when commercial borrowings were not allowed. You know it very well. You did not allow when you could and I also did not allow it when I was the Finance Minister. Short term commercial borrowings have created serious problems apart from other problems of revenue deficit, etc. This problem started in early eighties due to various reasons. There

is no point in saying that it started during this Government's period or that Government's period. The mis-management of various macro parameters started right from eighties. How long can we go on managing debt by taking debt? This has created a very serious problem because after all we have to repay this. The only way we can get out of the debt trap is through export. I would like to know out of the investments which are coming in; how much investment is being made to build up the export or is it that they are aiming at the consumer market of the country.

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: Bulk of the investment is export oriented.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Generally you say that technology will come up which will improve the infrastructure and there will be a general improvement in our quality and our competitiveness. This is your general approach. But apart from the long term benefits you have to think about the medium and short terms also. In the medium and short term categories a number of items come, for example the perfumes, razor blades, cosmetics, etc. which will generate rupee profit.

But, from where are they going to generate dollars? How are these short-term and medium-term loans going to survive? During this period, are we going to go in for further doses of borrowings or are we going to go in for a deeper death trap? As Mr. Somnath Chatterjee said, all these things are going to make our environment competitive. We are too protective an economy because of which controls and so on, are being dismantled. But in increasing the competitiveness, how much reliance, are we having on the competitive Indian industries? A lead will have to be taken by the multi-nationals for making the Indian industries competitive. How much competition will our industries survive? What is the role of agriculture in the whole economic policy? I would be very happy to hear Dr. Manmohan Singh. He agrees with me. How much has been given to infrastructure in the agriculture sector?

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

How much commitment has come? I can take a number of such problems but at the moment, I am not going to do so. I shall take up those problems during some other debate.

There have been suggestions as to how to meet the external debt trap, foreign investment, modernising the technology and so on. They have quoted the example of China. It should not be forgotten that China prioritised its investments. It built its infrastructure first. It made clear the role of its own national industries. Therefore, it could absorb, without adverse effect, foreign investments in a particular area.

Are we prioritising production in which these multi nationals go? Which technology are they going to bring in? What will they import? Even Japan prioritised what they are going to produce. They went in for Cameras; they went in for electronic items. They decided a technology. They also decided as to how to get on with it in the national context. They did not do just like that. This requires autonomy. This requires authority. My basic point is that, this authority or autonomy to prioritise had been lost to the IMF and the World Bank. Therefore, we cannot dictate anything. This is the issue that we have to take up in our economy.

Many statistics have been given saying that the rate of inflation has come down. I would like to give you an example of doctor. "One day, a patient suffered from a fever. His temperature rose to 106 degrees. The very next day, the temperature went up to 107 degrees. The doctor told the patient that yesterday, the temperature was 106 degrees and within a days time, it rose up to just 107 degrees. That means, you are in a better position."

So, we have accept that 107 degree temperature is better than the 106 degree temperature because it rose by just one degree. But then the patient died.

Now, I will come to the growth rate. The figures regarding growth rate have been compared. They compared the figures of 1992-93 which was 4 per cent with the figures of 1991-92 which was 1.2 per cent. So, it comes to 5.2 per cent. On that basis, the figure of GDP rose to 5 per cent. They have made this claim. But, you must also see that population has also growing by 2.1 per cent. In two years time, it will be 4.2 per cent. If you take the per capita income, it was round about 5 per cent and if you take the over all figures, according to the calculations of Centre for Monitoring of Indian Economy, in 1992-93, it was not 4 per cent but it was 3 per cent. So, the per capita income will come to .

You have given the gross figure of growth which is not relevant; it is related to population. People live. How has this growth affected the per capita income of the individual? That is relevant in a poor country where 40 per cent of the people are below the poverty line. Mere data of growth has no meaning unless it is per capita related to an individual.

Now there is funny situation about import. Now, it is being claimed that import has come down. Earlier it was said that growth was not there because of import. Today, stagnation and import so being taken as an achievement. It is indicative that it is a stagnation of the economic health and nothing else, this import which has fallen, because your whole strategy was based on liberalisation of imports which will give an impetus to production; this imports to production will lead to greater imports. This was your strategy. In that very strategy, the first link is missing. How do you answer that?

Now the cuts have come in the capital expenditure and not in revenue expenditure. The expenditure on bureaucracy has increased by 11 per cent, but cut on capital expenditure will lead to erosion of maintenance. Ultimately, many of the power stations will not be able to maintain themselves. So, this mere mechanical achievement of fiscal reduction, fiscal deficit has no meaning. How are you going to do about that?

Now the Reserve Bank is supposed to give its profit to the Government. First time it has happened. Before that, the Reserve bank never gave its profit to the Government even of a very small amount; now it is almost a large amount. NABARD and IDBI are being starved because of this transfer of profit to the Government. So, with all these reasons, whichever side we may look, there is nothing which brings confidence in this Government. I would plead that there should be conscience not only from this side but also from the other side, though many a time on an earlier occasion, conscience may be absent. Instead of saving the Government, let us save the country and that will be a great contribution to the economic development of this country. Thank you. (*Interruptions*).....*

MR. SPEAKER: This is not being recorded.

Will you speak?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (MIDNAPORE):
No.

Should we sit for some more time because time tomorrow will be limited?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (PONNANI): This is a very important debate and all of us must get a chance to speak. It has to be extended. Many speakers are there who want to speak. Smaller groups have not yet spoken.

MR. SPEAKER: Tomorrow also we will try to find out more time. But if we do not sit today, it will be difficult to accommodate all.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Let us sit upto 7 p.m.

MR. SPEAKER: Let us sit for one more hour.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to participate in this debate on No-confidence Motion with a feeling of great disguise. This I say so because the country

today is at the brink of disaster and this situation has been brought about to a great extent by this Government of Shri Narasimha Rao. This has to be understood very clearly.

Shri Ajoy Mukhopadhyay is the mover of this motion of no confidence against the Government of this country. No doubt, he has mentioned so many things. He has mentioned about the anti-people economic policy, growing unemployment, price rise and corruption at high places. All these things have been mentioned. There is some trust in all these facts.

You know fully well, today the common man is suffering because of rising prices and his backbone is completely broken. As far as corruption is concerned corruption is increasing day by day in higher places. This is the situation today and together with this what feels is that there is no security for the minorities and dalits in this country. I say this because no social justice has been done to the minorities and dalits particularly in this country for the last 43 years in which the major part of the Government was of the Congress party. This is a reality.

Now again what Shri Mukhopadhyay has said is about the Government's compromising attitude with these communal forces on Ayodhya demolition and aftermath. This is one of the topics. That is why we have moved this resolution. I am more concerned about this because this matter directly concerns the minorities.

One thing I will tell you that as far as the election manifesto of the Indian National Congress is concerned, which was issued in 1991, it is said on page 18 of it that the nation is in great peril. After seeing that manifesto, today we see that nation is in greater peril than it was in 1991. Today the situation is much worse than it was in 1991.

Then the Congress party pledged in its manifesto to fight against deep roots that have been inflicting on body politics. It pledges to fight against politics of communalism and casteism.

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

It pledges to protect the unity and integrity of the country and pledges to end spiralling prices, to end poverty and unemployment by the turn of the century. These were the promises made, the pledges mentioned in the manifesto as far as I am concerned. But I am sorry to say that not one single pledge has been fulfilled.

I am particularly concerned about one fact, that is the pledge to fight against the the Babri Masjid? I must tell you that 6th December was the darkest day in the thousand years of history of our country. I must say that in the thousand years of history of this country such a tragedy has never taken place.

18.00 hrs.

That is the darkest day in the history of the country. Who is responsible for this? It is the Congress Government, which is responsible for this. I know what the BJP is. It is a fascist Party. They have got Sangh Parivar. The RSS, BJP, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and all these Parties are there. I know that they had designed to demolish the Mosque. You must understand that the fascist forces will have that objective. Who have helped them? Who collaborated with them? That is the question today. I am sure, the BJP and the entire Sangh Parivar could not have been able to demolish Babri Masjid had there not been a collaboration, a connivance with the Central Government headed by Shri Narasimha Rao. This fact has to be understood. Why do I say this? There is a reason for that. Now, what is the position today? The Constitution was flouted. The dignity of the judiciary was completely crushed. Together with this, secularism was destroyed; together with that also, the integrity and the solidarity of the country was thrown to windows. This is a reality. The Constitution is in our favour of protecting the Babri Masjid. The Government could have resorted to the provision of the Constitution. But it failed to do so. The Government could have upheld the decision of the Supreme Court. The Supreme

Court had given a directive that either the Babri Masjid structure that was there can be demolished or constructed. But the Government did not care for this, closed its eyes completely and instead it supported the demolition of Babri Masjid on 6th December 1992.

In such a situation, the Prime Minister made a declaration from the Red Fort that Babri Masjid will be protected. What were the words used? One must understand it. The speech of the Prime Minister from the Red Fort in Delhi on August 15, 1992 was broadcast wherein the Prime Minister had said that the Babri Masjid structure will be protected and the temple will be built. That is not enough. What did he say as far as the Manifesto is concerned? Their Manifesto has said: "The Congress Party is committed to build a Ram mandir". Further, their Manifesto says:

"While we were negotiating a settlement on this issue, we will fully respect the sentiments of the communities involved. If such a settlement cannot be reached, all the parties must respect the Order and the verdict of the Court. The Congress is for the construction of a temple without dismantling the Mosque."

It is very clear. The declaration has said so. The Prime Minister had made such a declaration many times. And whenever we met him - met six times the Prime Minister had promised that the Mosque is going to be protected and nothing can come to the Mosque. Every time we met him, he has said this.

Sir, until that black day, the Muslims had some confidence on this Government. They expected that there was some lota of justice left in the Government of this country. They expected that they will have some security in this country but with the demolition of the Mosque, the entire confidence had been lost. It is not our confidence that had been lost, but it is the secularism, which had been shattered. Then, the tragedy of 6th December had brought about a bad name to us, shattered our image throughout the length and the breadth of the world. This

is what the Congress Government has done. Having promised here, it pledges to protect the Mosque and pledges to fight against the politics of communalism. My heart pains and bleeds because of these.

They went against all the provisions of the Constitution and just put the judiciary into shame. Judiciary has been destroyed. Has anything been done so far? Let me ask this question to the Treasury Benches here - has anything been done so far after the demolition of the Babri Mosque to assuage the feelings of the Muslims in this country. Can you give one example? I challenge you to give one single example.

Nothing has been done by the Prime Minister and this Government to assuage the feelings of the Muslims in this country. The Babri Mosque was demolished. Our hearts bleed. The demolition has shattered our name; it tarnished our image in the world. The President's rule in Uttar Pradesh came after the dismissal of Kalyan Singh Government after his resignation. What a joke it is that was played on us. They dismissed the Kalyan Singh Government after his resignation. At 5.30 p.m. he resigns and at 7.30 p.m. his Government is dismissed. And then came the President's rule. And on 7th, within 48 hours, how could the makeshift temple come over there? It is surprising that the secular government of Shri Narasimha Rao has not come about with any solution.

1806 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

And now what happened? The Prime Minister comes forward with a package. You can understand how humiliating and how insulting it was to us. We went and begged of him not to do it and stop it. We did it not once or twice but several times when we went to him saying not to have this package. And what is this package? It is an ordinance to acquire the entire place of worship of the mosque. I do not say all these things. I said to stop this. Shri V. P. Singh was

here, he has just now left. When he was in power, an ordinance was brought out. But within three days it was withdrawn. At least that much he could do to understand the feelings of this country. But here is Government which has done nothing. They said - whatever you may feel we do not care; we will go and approach the Hindu fundamentalists for support. That was their approach.

Justice H.M. Seervai in the magazine "Muslim India" said and I quote:

"The ordinance is void because it violates the fundamental rights of Muslims and Muslim denominations to the system of religion conferred on them by Articles 25 and 26..."

What is this? You are playing with the Constitution. You are massacring the secularism and you say that you are having a pledge to fight politics of communalism. This is how you have been doing it. I am saying all this because my heart bleeds and plans. Can I ask you to give one example of what you have done to assuage our feelings?

You have set a bad precedent by acquiring this place of worship. Today the mosque is going to be acquired. Tomorrow a Gurudwara may be acquired; day after tomorrow a Church may be acquired and then even a Mandir can be acquired. It is all against the Constitution of our country.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH (BALRAMPUR): More than 3,000 temples have been destroyed. History bears testimony to it.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: When was it?

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: You know very well when it was.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: It was centuries back. I am talking of recent history; of

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

facts and realities. Please understand this.

And of these Opposition leaders, Shri Somnath Chatterjee has spoken about referring the matter under Article 143 to the Supreme court. The decision of the Supreme Court is not at all mandatory; it is only advisory. We may or may not accept it. We insted that the matter be referred under Article 138 of the Constitution. This would have given a feeling of comunal harmony. But what has been done? It is very sad that such a state of affairs has been there.

Shri Narasimha Rao had every right to stop this tragedy; this disaster under the Constitution. He had every right. I do not say this. Justice Several says.

I will quote, sir, with your permission from an article writtem by legal luminary, Mr. Seervai and reproduced in *Muslim India*, May 1993. Here he says:

"The Prime Minister appears to have treated the problem of Ayodhya as one of political expediency. The only regference he made to our Constitution was to say that 'under the Federal Constitution the Centre could intervene only after imposition of President's rule."

But Mr. Seervai points out as follows:

"Articles 355 is such a provision, and it overrides all state laws to the extent that they conflict with, or hamper the discharge of, the duty imposed on the Union by Article falls into two parts: The first part runs: "It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance" and the second part runs" and to ensure that the government of every state is carried on is accordance with the provisions of this constitution."

What did they do? The Constitution was on his side. The entire National Integration Council was with him. My friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta is

also there on the National Integration Council. My friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta is also there on the National Integration Council. My friend on this side is also there on the National Integration Council. All the parties gave a blank cheque to the Prime Minister to proceed. Full powers were given to him. The BJP was isolated, and we wanted the Prime Minister to proceed. What did he do? Nothing. Then they wantonly destroyed the Babri Masjid. There was a provision in the Constitution against this, and then again the National Integration Council gave him full powers to save the mosque. But nothing was done. The provisions are there in the Constitution for this. Then, Sir, how pathetic it is that on the 6th of December the mosque was demolished! The entire Muslim leadership - all scholars, all eminent professors, intellectuals, educationists and all others - met the Prime Minister on that day and told him point blank, 'Mr. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, you lost our confidence, please resign and go'. He did nothing. But then he said one thing. He said:

[*Translation*]

He was betrayed, who betrayed him?
I would like to recite a couplet:

"Ki Mere Qatl Ke Baad Usne Jafa Se Toba,
Haye, Us Pasheman Ka Pasheman Hona".

[*English*]

This means he is repenting after murder. Similarly, he is repenting again. He said:

[*Translation*]

He has been betrayed and this is the case.

It was not against the Muslim community alone, but it was against the nation. He was referring to the BJP. They have betrayed him. So, it was not against the Muslim community only, but against the entire nation. And after saying '*Vishwasghat*' he promised one more

thing. He promised that the mosque will be rebuilt at the same place. But it was not rebuilt. This promise was given to us. And what was done? Again I quote from that article which says"

"The destruction of then Babri Masjid had deeply wounded the religious feelings of the Muslim community through India. And the least that could be done to soothe those injured feelings was to assure the community that the Babri Masjid would be rebuilt. The Prime Minister gave that assurance on December 7, 1992, and he referred to it on February 7, 1994. In the B.B.C. 'Phone-in Programme'. He said, "I thought it was necessary, it was my duty to rebuild the Mosque."

I emphasise the word 're'. "Rebuilt" means build on the same place.

AN HON. MEMBER: Ask Mr. Jaffer Sharief.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Mr. Jaffer Sharief is one of the members of the Government. But ask the Prime Minister, who was responsible. "Rebuild" means build at the same place. Has he built it now? No. Again *viswasghat*.

What is happening now? He has said in the package that two trusts will be created, one to construct the mosque and the other to construct the temple. Now, they are searching people, catching hold of some *Sanyasis*, catching hold of some *Moultvis* who can sell their conscience and who can be members of those trusts.

Sir, I want to tell you one more thing. In the Congress Party's manifesto it was said that the Congress was for constructing the temple without dismantling the mosque. Let me tell you what the BJP manifesto says. It says:

"BJP firmly believes that the construction of Shri Ram Mandir at Janmasthan is the symbol of the vindication of the cultural heritage and the national self-respect."

Now, Mr. Narasimha Rao has placed his full faith not on the Congress Party's manifesto where it was said that the Babri Masjid will be protected and Ram Mandir will be built without having any damage to the Babri Masjid, but he is acting upon the BJP manifesto. This is how the pledge to fight the politics of communalism and fascism has been broken.

Sir, then came the *som Yagya* of Chandraswami which was a farce and which was a complete failure. Chandraswami comes and advises us that Muslims should forget the mosque, at the inspiration given by the Prime Minister. Then, there is a conclave of *Sanyasis* and at Gorakpur, the Prime Minister says that temple is going to be constructed at the place where the mosque existed. How can we believe him? How can we have confidence on such a Prime Minister? What feelings will go to the Muslim masses, to the secular minded people, to the right thinking people if we oppose this Motion? You must understand this. I am not responsible for this. The Congress Party's behaviour, their politics and attitude that have brought us to this situation. I want to see that the Congress Government exists, because until 6th December, 1992, I believed that Congress was a secular party. I believed it. But the Congress has lost all the credentials of secular party on 6th December, 1992, because the Prime Minister was responsible for the destruction of the mosque. This was done against all the provision of the secular Constitution. I am not saying this out of emotion; I am saying this because of all these things that had happened.

SHRI ABDUL GHAFOOR (GOPALGANJ): Then, who will be the Prime Minister tomorrow?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: It is for the Congress Party to decide whom they are going to elect as their leader. It is their prerogative. It is not for me to decide. If they can change the Prime Minister, that will be in the interest of the nation. They can change their policy also. It is only my opinion, but they have to do it.

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

Sir, there are two things. Firstly, they must come forward boldly to save the nation and chase the Prime Minister. Secondly, all the secular forces, patriotic forces, backward classes and the minorities should come together to fight fascism in this country. The Congress can come along much better then. They must establish their credentials. They must regain the confidence and they must join the secular forces. Then, let us all put together, fight the menace of fascism in their country. Then only we can succeed.

Sir, much has been said about corruption and much has been said about Harshad Mehta. I do not want to go into the details. I am not going to sit on judgement whether the Prime Minister has taken Rs. One Crore or not, or whether he has given Rs. One Crore or not.

But one thing is very clear. For the first time, the Prime Minister of the country has been charged of taking Rs. one crore. Therefore, he has come under the cloud. The credibility has been lost. If necessary, he has to face the enquiry and appear before the JPC to clear himself. He may not like it but that is the reality. We want that the Prime Minister should be cleared. We want the Congress Party which has been a secular party, which has got the glorious past history, which has fought and gained freedom for this country should come forward, regain its secular credentials and fight fascism together with all the other democratic, secular and patriotic forces in the country. I say this because the minorities have lost the confidence. There is no social justice, no security.

Who is responsible for the post-demolition riots in the country and the violence in the country? It is the Congress police and the fascist forces who are responsible. We went to the Prime Minister four times. There was a meeting of Muslim Personal Law Board at Delhi on 9th January, 1993. After the 6th December riots, the second round of riots started. Then, under the

leadership of no less a person than Syed Navi Alimia, all the leaders of the Muslim community went to the Prime Ministers demanding immediate action to stop the killings of the citizens of this country and save the country from disaster. We requested him to deploy military over the riot affected areas; hand over Bombay city to the military. He promised and gave us a complete assurance but nothing had happened. The same thing was repeated again. The second day, I again along with other leaders of the Muslim community met the Prime Minister. He assured the same thing but nothing happened. There after again in the house of Shri Jaffer Sharief, all available Muslim MPs who were in Delhi, all available Muslim Ministers, including Shri Salman Khurshid had gathered and we made two demands. Please dismiss Mr. Naik from the Chief Ministership since he had failed to protect the citizens of the country who were in Bombay and hand over the Bombay city to Army. But nothing was done. There is no value for the life of the citizens of this country. There is no security for the innocent people, minorities. This is what has happened during the post-demolition period. This is our experience. This is not hearsay but a fact. My heart bleeds.

I want the Congress Party to come up as security forces, to fight against the fascist forces. People like Mr. Charles are here who are secular. But what about those who are responsible for the demolition of the mosque?

Now minorities are there. India is a multi religious, multi cultural, multi linguistic, multi racial country. All have to live together in harmony but protecting their own identity. In times of crisis, all of us have to come together. It is only unity in diversity. You cannot crush one religion; you cannot destroy a language or culture or destroy a race. It is not possible. All of us have to live together harmoniously, with cordiality, with goodwill, with understanding and tolerance. We have to re-build such India. But here what is happening? The fascist forces are trying to destroy minorities. Now again they want to defranchise us. Lakhs and lakhs of

names have been removed from the voters' list in Delhi, in Assam and in Bengal.

Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims are called infiltrators. People whom they like, they come. They are refugees. This is discrimination. If people whom they like come, they are called refugees. All this is done in the name of Bangladeshi. These people called refugees. All this is done in the name of Bangladeshis. These people have come here centuries back. They cleared forests and they have cultivated lands....(Interruptions)

Now they are sought to be thrown out or disenfranchised. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (PADRAUNA): Nearly 1.5 crore persons have come here from across Bangladesh about whom you say that they belong to this country only.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: They had come during British period some 100-200 years ago. They cut down jungles, killed snakes, adopted agriculture and thus earned their living. Today, their next generation has come into existence and now you want to us them. This is unjustified.

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA: Today, nearly 2.5 lakh Hindus from Kashmir are begging on the roads, nobody is there to listen to their woes? (Interruptions)

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I want to say:

"X Ekia kh Ka Jalta Hua Ghar Dekh Raha Hun Dekha Nahin Jata Magar Dekh Raha Hun,

I would like to urge the Government;

"Sakht Janni Ki Daad De Ae Dost Ji Raha Hun Tere Jamane Mein.

I want to tell the hon. Prime Minister that it hardly matters that justice has not been done to Muslims till date. They have not been consoled since the demolition of the mosque, on the country salt has been rubbed on their wounds. I want to say that:

"Ki Mere Qutl Ke Baad Usne Jafa Se Toba, Hai Us Joo Pashema Ka Pashema Hona.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA: The Congress did everything for you but you betrayed the Congress. The Congress yielded to your terms and did not bother for the House. (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Again, what about giving full diplomatic status to Zionist Israel, the great terrorist country in the world? Had Shrimati Indira Gandhi lived or Shri Rajiv Ganhi lived, such a thing would not have happened. He would have never recognised Israel. They wanted aggression against Israeli. Palestinian should stop and that justice should be done to the Arabs of the region. That is what you have said in your Congress manifesto. This is Congress manifesto.

"The stakes for India being high in this area, the congress will work in close association with countries of the region towards ensuring sustained peace and stability.

The vacation of Arab territories illegitimately occupied by Israel and just, comprehensive, definite settlement in West Asia including Palestinian homeland."

Shri Sharad Pawar, the former Defence Minister and now the Chief minister of Maharashtra has journeyed to Israel. Our Shri balram Jakhra also goes to Israel to learn about agriculture. They want to gain advice from Israel to solve internal problems of india.

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

All these are the factors which shake our confidence in the Government and therefore it is not possible for us to support the Government on the floor of this House when the No-Confidence Motion will come up for voting. We may, therefore, support the motion of no-confidence moved yesterday. (*Interruptions*) You also joined the BJP to pull down the V. P. Singh Government.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Sir, yesterday my hon. friend Shri George Fernandes made some mention about the Cargill Project. I would like to make a statement on that and clarify certain other points. I am also glad that the former Prime Minister also had made this point. He asked me something. I would like to clarify his point also since he has spoken in the House for so long a time. On that basis, I would like to make a statement.

Yesterday, in his speech in this House, Shri George Fernandes made a few statements in regard to a Salt Manufacturing Project at Kandla Port by M/s. Cargill of USA. I heard the speech of my friend Shri George Fernandes with rapt attention. It had theatrical tones; it did not create the effect of a drama—high drama at that. Sir, I was disappointed to find that a former Minister in the Government of India could make this House listen to a factless fiction. A factless fiction, which the author knew, was untrue. I am not in a position today to say that Shri George Fernandes is a responsible person. It appears to me that long absence from authority has resulted in serious frustration bordering on absolute irresponsibility in making statements in this House, where we all sit and debate on facts and state our opinions based on convictions.

It is not my subject to go into the wider question of economic policy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Jagdish Tytler, are you making a statement?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Yes, I am mak-

ing a statement.

SHRI BASUDEBACHARIA: I would like to know whether it is a suo motu statement.

SAHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I want to make a statement. I would like to touch upon only the limited aspect of the Cargill Project for manufacturing industrial salt—the limited aspect of the Project for manufacturing industrial salt on a 100 percent export basis. Presently, I cannot go into the merits or demerits of this project. This limited issue that Shri George Fernandes has raised is that the Ministry of Surface Transport has allotted 15,000 acres of land to M/s. Cargill by pressuring Kandla Port Trust. I would not like to use harsh words nor be as dramatic and theatrical as Shri George Fernandes has been yesterday.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Jagdish Tytler, I just take one minute. Normally, if you were to make a statement, the text of it should be given before hand.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Well, I am changing the wording and not the statement. I would like to ensure it. I will do that.

Yesterday, Shri George Fernandes said two things: that 25,000 people are going to lose jobs and the Ministry has given 15,000 acres of land. I said that if he can prove, then I am prepared to go out of my seat. I still stand by that. But there is also a condition that if he cannot prove these two charges, then he should also have to leave the seat. That is for him to take it or not to take it.

I would like to mention about one of the first two things which Shri George Fernandes made. Shri George Fernandes has given an Affidavit in the Gujarat High Court and I quote:

"Pending admission, hearing and final decision of this petition to issue an interim injunction restraining the Kandla Port Trust from reconsidering Cargill's proposals and from pass-

ing any resolution to allot land to Cargill....”

This means he is saying 'to allot'. This means that if Shri George Fernandes had known that then land has been allotted to this company, he would have said the cancellation of the allotment of the land which was given to the Cargill company.

I would just like to come to the sanction now. I am sure Shri George Fernandes knows that before the foreign investment is sanctioned, clearances of the Foreign Investment Promotion Board and the Cabinet Committee on Foreign Investment have to be obtained. Being a former Minister, Shri George Fernandes must be knowing this. Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh who was a former Prime Minister must also be knowing this. These clearances are only an 'in Principle' clearance. This is not like giving a go-ahead to anyone to do everything that is possible. It is not at all like that. I come to it. I will give you the information. These clearances are only an 'in principle' clearance. The Foreign Investor has to satisfy all the agencies concerned, namely, Environment, Defence etc. before the project actually is implemented.

M/s Cargill had applied for this 15000 acres of land. Initially the Kandla port Trust informed Mr. Cargill that his request had been turned down. But when the representation by M/s Cargill to the Ministry was again taken then the Project Trust Board on 9th December, took up the project and they rejected the projects. They neither accepted the project nor did they reject it. The reasons which they give for the rejection was, 'the subject land may be acquired by KPT for its own development in future, so we cannot give this land; likely increase of siltation in the navigation channel due to salt manufacturing activity, we cannot give you land. The project may cause environmental degradation, we will not give you the land. Salt ban activities may have ill effect on the mangroves in that area, so we are not sanctioning the land. Lack of adequate justification in respect of relevant need, utility of the project, we cannot give you the land. Also they

mentioned that due to strategic importance we cannot give you the land. So they rejected it. They applied to the Ministry. This is where we come in. We did ask the Kandla Port Trust to re-examine the proposal. What did we say in the letter which I wrote on the 9th February, 1993. This is an extract from the file No. Pt. 17011/55/92-Pt. I had said, 'a detailed project report and studies may be prepared covering all relevant issues including hydrological, environment, navigational, safety, future development of the port and also the defence related aspects of such project. This study must be done before any final decision could be taken.

Also I have mentioned that any such detailed study would mean heavy investment into the study. It would, therefore, be appropriate to give a positive signal to the project investor that the Government has an open mind on the project and also prepare to encourage any foreign exchange investment which would mean more trade revenue to the Board and to the country. Hence, the Kandla Port Trust may be advised to reconsider on their own decision and after the study is completed'. This is where it stands today. No land has been given. Even remotely a letter is given that this particular land is going to be given. Nowhere has the Defence Ministry come and said that our permission should be required.

Another thing I would also mention to you is that in the Consultative Committee this issue had also come. Hon. Members of opposition were also there and a question was directly asked because an agitation had been going on. Shri V. P. Singh and also the former Speaker had visited the place. They all had said. 'lakhs been given. We have sold out our country. Even yesterday they mentioned that the country's secrets have gone out because photographs have been taken. I would like to tell you that these photographs are taken by our satellite. These are available in the market for Rs. 25 and the address is also given of Hyderabad. Anybody can go and get it. These are the places where sale can be made. Even Kandla Port Trust photo

[Sh. Jagdish Tytler]

graphs are there. It is not a secret fact that we are going to compromise with the security of the country or of the defence. I do not understand it. Even suppose they fulfill all the conditions, if a particular project does come to this country, it is going to create jobs. How can they take away 25000 jobs and from where? I do not understand this. Even if they had a proposal in Australia and they employ 20 people, you take it like that. If they are going to produce industrial salt with 99.5 per cent purity and they are going to produce industrial salt with 99.5 per cent purity and they are going to export 100 per cent, they are not going to infringe upon other salt manufactures.

And an interesting thing is that not a single salt worker has protested on this. Otherwise, the project would come through. I think, wages-wise also, they will have to compete with the foreign companies and maybe, in the long run, all the hundreds and thousands or even lakhs of workers, who are getting very small amounts of money, they will be given better facilities. So, first of all, the question of giving land does not arise. We have not given the land, and neither we have given them in writing that the land will be given to them. What we have said, what the Ministry has said is that we will have the project report ready and subject of the clearance from the defence, the environment and also keeping in view the requirement of the Port, and after they have completed all these things and the Board, if it decides to give it on an hundred per cent export unit consideration, I think, we have no objection. But at the present, as the situation stands, no land has been given. This is the clarification I wanted to make.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is a rule. It was not a statement, in fact it was a speech. The Minister has talked about responsibility and irresponsibility at length. Who is responsible for it, I will discuss this issue later on. In the very beginning the Minister mentioned about filing a writ petition in the Court on which stay had been granted. He

has read out this affidavit in the House in which I have raised my voice not only in the country but in the entire world against it. The only difference is that he had written a letter to the Kandla Port Trust, who is instrumental in getting this work done. He says that he had written a letter on 9th whereas the letter was written on 11th, I have got a copy of it....

[English]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: It was dated 9th, and it was sent by the Ministry on the 11th. I had made a note to the Ministry. I am sorry, I should have read the Secretary's note also.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: This letter is written by Director, Ports Shri R.N. Verma. I do not know whether a letter, written by a Minister is signed by Director Ports or a Deputy Secretary. I do not know, how does he run his Ministry and that how a Minister writes letter and Director, Ports puts his signature on it. The letter which is in the file shows the date as 9th whereas this letter bears the date as 11th. He read out some portions of this letter. The letter begins:

[English]

Government of India
Ministry of Surface Transport
(Ports Wing)

No. PT-17011/55/92-PT New Delhi,
February 11, 1993

To

The Chairman,
Kandla Port Trust,
Gandhidham.

Subject:- Cargill's proposal for allotment of land for salt project at Kandla Port.

I am directed to refer to Resolution No. 66 of the minutes of the special meeting of KPT Board of Trustees (meeting No. 5 of 1992-93)

held on Wednesday, the 9th december, 1992 rejecting the proposal of M/s. Cargill Southeast Asia Limited for setting up a salt project on KPT land and to concey the Government advice in the matter as under"-

As a matter of Governemtn's policy of liberalisation and encouragement to foreign investors, the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB) of the Government of India have given approval fo the above project."

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Approval was for the project and not for the land.

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: A project cannot be in the skies, Sir! A project must be on the land. I did not know that this Minister will say that he was having a proeject flying in the air.

[Translation]

You are making a mockery of the House as well as of the country. If his intentions are good, then he should come forward with a one line statement that Gargil will not be allotted any land. But he is saying something else.

[English]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: How can you say that? A project is a project. It is a hundred per cent project. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Where will the project come up, Mr. Minister?

[Translation]

Why you be fool us. You are just palying with it and cannot go imagine about the number of people going to be affected by it and you are trying to save yourself by merely playing with words?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: How could

there be a project without a land?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: He was a Minister and he knows about it. Can he specifically say that during is tenure he never gave clearance for a project?

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: How have you cleared the project? You say that no land has been given. When the project has been cleared, the project will be held where? Will it be at Jamuna?

[Translation]

Will it be built on the water of river Yamuna?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Every month 10-15 projects are cleared. A project is cleared within five minutes. Where is our kandra Port Trust? You do not understand the facts and distort them to befool the people... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Your contention is that the hon. Minister has said that no land has been given.

SHRIGEORGE FERNADES: I have never said that the land has been given. He himself read my note.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: You go through your speech.

SHRIGEORGE FERNDSEAS: Mr. Deputy Spelar, Sir, my speech is on record. We have been fighting this battle for the last three months and have also moved the court. My speech is on record. They may shout but they can neither suppress my voice nor change my opinion on it.

SHRI JAGIDSH TYTLER: When he is exposed he says no land has been given. His sole complaint was that the land has been given. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MANI SANKAR AIYAR (MAYILADUTURAI) : I myself distinctly remember hearing Mr. Fernandes having claimed that the land has already been allotted. He is trying to get out of the what he said. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Thousand of projects are cleared everyday. There are hundreds of foreign projects coming to this country. That does not mean what he says. People are coming with projects of thousand of crores of rupees.

There are five or six projects which are cleared. A project has been cleared on Defence, a project has been cleared as Power. That does not mean that the land has been given, the coal mines have been given. They have to go through the process of this country. He was a Minister and he knows that.

SHRI GEORGE FERRENDÉS: Please listen to me, Sir, I am now reading the affidavit filed by the Kandla Port Trust after the letter of the Minister of Surface Transport reached them.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Minister on the floor of the House has said that the land is not given.

SHRI GEORGE FERRENDES: I have not said that the land is given.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: We want the Press to listen to this. The whole agitation was on the point that the Government has given the land away.

SHRI RAM NAIK (BOMBAY NORTH) : I am on a point of order Sir. No Member and not even a Minister can refer to the Press while speaking in the House. No reference can be made to the Press by any Member. We have to work according to rules. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERRENDÉS: I am not

concerned with the number of projects that are cleared.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: You should be concerned with it. You have told the poor people there that.....*

[*English*].

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: I am in a bit of confusion Sir. I was not in the House for a few minutes. I would like to know who has been called by the chair to speak. Because speeches are going on without who has been called by the Chair to speak. Because speeches are going on without anybody being recognized by the Chair. If the House is going to be run in this fashion how can there be order? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK: What about my point of order Sir?

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your point of order is upheld.

[*Translation*]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: It is a matter of giving Rs. 60 to a worker who is earning Rs. 15 only... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. Just now Shir Tytler has mentioned that they are saying there. It is unparliamentary and should be expunged. He has also made allegation that people are being brought forward for agitation by given Rs. 15 or Rs. 60... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: He has not heard me properly. What I have said is that of foreign company comes there to a manufacture salt, the workers, who are getting rs. 20 may get Rs. 60. It will benefit thousands of workers. This

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

is what I have said.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: You will invite the foreign companies because Indians pay Rs. 20 and foreigners will pay Rs. 60.....That is why they will bring foreigners. *(Interruptions)* It makes their intention very clear....*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: I am on point of order. I want to be heard. Since I have identified may I request Mr. George Fernades to hear me? The Chair has identified me.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: The Parliament must hear me. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: You will be heard. But, at least given us chance. Is this the way we are going to achieve the House? Is this the way we are going to conduct ourselves? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: But, you will have to hear me. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Can I plead with you? Will you please take your seats. Sir, this is not correct. *(Interruptions)* Being a senior Member of this House, he should know the method. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In this connection, I give a ruling. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Sir, being a senior Member of this house, he cannot adapt this system that I shall say when I want, what I want and where. Then, I shall not be identified by the Chair. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Min-

ister will you please go through what he said in the House? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: I have told the Minister also. Please sit down. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: You are disciplining me. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: I am requesting you too. May I request you? I am not disciplining you. I am requesting you. *(Interruptions)* There is something in the House called discipline. *(Interruptions)* I am addressing the Chair. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, may I request you to plead with the Member to take the seat? I have a request. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri George Fernades, you will have a chance.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I understand that strong emotions are there on the matter. It is not that it is matter to be treated lightly. The hon. Minister made a point of view, all right. The hon. Member wants to reply in his own way; he can find the time and the method under the rules. Some other Member was identified to speak. May I make only one request? We had a debate that has gone on very nicely for the last two days. My request is, through you, Sir, to all the members of the House that let us try and adopt some sort of restraint so that what they want to say goes on record, everything is heard and things go on smoothly. Otherwise, there is no purpose. The debate becomes acrimonious and there is no advantage on both the sides. Let us have debate which is parliamentary in nature. That is my only request. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri George Fernades, your purpose is this. you wanted to

know whether the land is given to the company or not.

(Interruptions)

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: No, Sir. I never asked whether the land is given to the company or not. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I am happy that he is saying like this now.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: So far as the details are concerned, today is not the last day.

(Interruptions)

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: No. That is not the point *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kindly hear me.

(Interruptions)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: A statment has been made here about this *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. George Fernandes, he has brought it to your notice.

(Interruptions)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: But, he has said that I have been telling untruth to the country. That is the sum and substance of what he has said. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: But, you have. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That word can be changed. The hon. Minister has said this for the purpose of this House. Suppose you have any doubt, you can bring it in any other form. We

have got a number of days.

(Interruptions)

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: When the statement has been made, I have to reply to it. I have to clarify my position. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARA-MANGALAM: If you are to be heard, certainly there is a procedure; you can raise it on the floor of the House and proceed according to the rules. *(Interruptions)*

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: I will only clarify my position. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARA-MANGALAM: Let it go on record: let him say what he wants to say. We will check up. If there is difference, I think, it is a matter of privilege. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us also hear him.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARA-MANGALAM: If there is difference in what he is saying now and what he said then, I will raise a point of privilege. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I have said that the Government of India had cleared a proposal. It went to the Port Trust. The Port Trust rejected that proposal. That is part of my statement before the Court. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: What is the statement made in front of the people? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARA-MANGALAM: I am willing to stand corrected, Sir. In fact, the hon. Member is not telling what he considered as truth. I am very clear about it. I am willing to go. Let us cross-check the

records. What he has said then was first the Port Trust rejected; they the Government approved; and thereafter the land was given or not. I was present there when he said it. I am willing to take it on. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is the subject matter before the Court?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNDDES: I have filed a writ and I have got a stay against the Government of India. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Since the matter is in the Court, it amounts to *res judicata*. This matter cannot be discussed here on the floor of the House. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No further clarification can be taken up; nothing can be taken up

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: He says that the stay on the cancellation of the land?

Let him say. I want that the people should know all over the country. The BBC quoted him. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us not deviate.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Not an inch of land has been sold.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: You have sold out of the country. (*Interruptions*) My charge is that the country has been sold. (*Interruptions*) You cannot give an inch of land. (*Interruptions*) I have a stay in the court against you. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Nothing will go

on record.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kindly have your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The matter is pending before the court. So, this House has no jurisdiction to discuss a matter which is pending in the court. It amounts to subjudice.

My ruling is that this matter cannot be discussed on the floor of the House.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I call Mr. Narayanan.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. George Fernandes, you have bried the House. The matter is pending before the court. If you had told earlier that the matter is before the court, I think, nobody could have any chance to express the opinion.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: But that does not answer my question.

There is a statment which has been made here. You are not allowing me to make a submission. (*Interruptions*) The submission I want to make is number one is about the letter with which the Ministry is concerned. Number two is that the Kandla Port Trust, which is under the Surface Transport Ministry, has filed an affidavit in the court in response to the writ petition filed in the District Judge's court Ganhidham in Kutch where a stay was given by the court on the 19th of February on the basis of which the Kandla Port Trust could not hold its meeting on the 20th and allot the land as directed by this Government.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Has the land been given? (*Interruptions*) According to the earlier speech made here, even at the gates of this Port Trust you stood up and put garlands. And you say:

[*Translation*]

That country has been sold, land has been sold. how the country has been sol? (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Suppose in the begin in iteself if any hon. memembr had brought it to the notice of this House that the matter is pending before the court, probaly nobody had a right to speak on this a prticular subject. It would ahve amcunted to subjudice. But unfortunately, of very late, it has been brought to the notice of this House that the matter is pending in the court.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: He raised it. Shri V. P. Singh raised it. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kindly cooperate.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are agitated on a particular issue. If you want to bring many documetsns to the notice of this House, you are that liberty to bring it to the notice of the House according to the rules and take up the matter on the floor of the House and discuss it threadbare.

But for the time being, my request is to allow the other Members to participate in the discussion.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: So, you appoint a House Committee. I will present all the documents. (*Interruption*) Let the Minister

agree to a House Committee.

MR. DEPUT SPEAKER: I called Mr. Narayanan.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(*Interruptions*)*

19.00 hrs

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are hon. Members who want to participate and most of the senior Members have spoken. If you all agree, we can sit for another half-an-hour or 45 minutes.

SEVERAL HONOURABLE MEMBERS:
No.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right. Mr. Narayanan will start now; we will sit for only one minute and then we will close.

SHRI P. G. NARAYANAN (GOBICHETTIPALAYAM): Sir, I rise to support the No Confidence Motion moed by Mr. Ajoy Mukhopadhyaya. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Sir, he is telling a Memembr of our party; "Can you come to Madras? Does he want to threaten us? Suppose, we say the same thing, will he be able to sit here?"

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take you seats. Mr. Narayanan is on his legs.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: As it is matter of privilege, I seek your ruling on this, Sir. He dare not say such a thing. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN: Only with our support, you are sitting here.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR: It is a shameful betrayal on your part. (*Interruptions*)

meet tomorrow at 11 A.M.

19.02 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Narayanan is on his legs and he will start the discussion tomorrow. The House now stands adjourned to

The Lok Sabha then Adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday July 28, 1993/ Sravana 6, 1915 (Saka)