

**SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION****On Nexus' between Politicians and Criminals in the Context of Vohra Committee Report—Contd.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): I would now take up for further discussion the Short Duration Discussion on the nexus between criminals and politicians in the context of Vohra Committee Report. Shri M.A. Baby has to continue the discussion.

SHRI M.A. BABY (Kerala): Thank you very much, Madam, for permitting me to continue the discussion on this very important issue. While participating in the discussion, I had made a reference that we should with a heavy heart thank Mrs. Naina Sahni. Through her death she had brought the attention of the entire country to the most important problem being faced by our country, namely, the nexus between the criminals, politicians and the mafias. But for her gruesome death, we would not have had this opportunity of discussing the Vohra Committee Report.... and this Report would not have seen the light of day. When I made that observation, a very respected Minister, Rajesh Pilotji, was very vehemently shaking his head in disapproval stating that the tabling of the Vohra Committee Report had nothing to do with the gruesome assassination of Naina Sahni. If that is the position, I would like to humbly put this question: Why then did he take one year, nine months and twenty-five days for submitting this Report to the House for consideration or for the consideration of the public? It is a plain fact. The Report is now being criticised on the ground that it is a tailored Report, it is a truncated Report. An hon. Member of this House has held a Press conference and made a statement that part of the Vohra Committee Report, which is being concealed by the Home Minister, is being released by an hon. Member of this House in a Press conference in Jaipur. This is a fact, if my information is correct. In that case, it is an issue of privilege. The hon. Home Minister, Mr.

Chavan, on the floor of the House has said that this is all what forms the Vohra Committee Report. We, in our own common sense, challenge that. But, anyway, this Report would not have seen the light of day but for the gruesome murder of Naina Sahni. I stand by my views.

Secondly, I am constrained to accuse the Government of not being serious about the very serious revelations made in the Vohra Committee Report. When I make this accusation against the Government they know full well the implications of the seriousness of the charge which I am making. But I am making this charge because at the beginning of the Report itself, the truncated Report or the tailored Report, it is stated—

"Based on the recommendations of the Committee, Government shall determine the need, if any, to establish a special organisation/agency to regularly collect information and pursue cases against such elements."

Then on page 11 at point 13.1 it is stated—

"In the background of the discussion so far, there does not appear to be need for any further debate on the vital importance of setting up a nodal point to which all existing Intelligence and Enforcement agencies (irrespective of the Department under which they are located) shall promptly pass on any information which they may come across, which relates to the activities of crime Syndicates."

This is what the Vohra Committee has submitted nearly 22 months ago—21 months and 25 days ago. What is the action taken by the Government? They generally submit a report and it is in the wisdom of the Government to consider what the follow-up action should be. I am not having any illusion that if a nodal agency, as per the suggestion of the Vohra Committee, is set up, everything will be solved or all the problems related

to criminalisation of politics will be solved. There are some nodal agencies which are simply nodal agencies, in the sense that they have to nod their heads to whatever the Government says. Such nodal agencies can also be there. But I have my fear. In this Report, first of all, it is stated that many of the officers were not forthcoming with information. I am fully justified when I say that a nodal agency can be just an agency to nod to the suggestions of the Government. This is where we have brought down the morale of senior citizens, who are being selected through a cumbersome process and posted as officers of the IAS, IPS or other cadres.

They don't muster courage and they are not feeling free to act as per the rules or as per the direction of their conscience. That is where we have landed the entire country. Therefore, at the very outset, I accuse the Government of folding back the vital information related to the Vohra Committee Report itself. This is not the full report because in the report itself it is mentioned that we have asked written queries. Naturally, to a written questionnaire only written reply would be submitted. Madam, we can speak at length on this subject, but due to paucity of time nobody can do that. There are many important issues to be discussed. But the crucial question which I would like to put is this. Any discussion is not going to serve any purpose until and unless we make the politicians feel that if they hobnob with criminals, if they make use of criminals for various purposes, that would be exposed and subsequent fall-out would be there. Until and unless we inject a fear of public check in politicians who are calling the last shot, final shot in our country, this problem cannot be solved. Madam, we have to make a beginning. Therefore, we demand that the names, which are referred to in the Annexures or the supplementary points given to the concerned Ministry by the Vohra Committee, be made public, whether they belong to the CPI(M) or

the CPI or the RSP or the DMK or the AIADMK or the Congress or the BJP or the Janata Dal of different groups.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Bureaucrats also.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Whosoever it is. Let all the names come out. We have to make a beginning from somewhere. What can be the beginning?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Baby, may I interrupt you for a minute? Your party is left with only three minutes. You have consumed all the time. I have already given you 10 minutes. Please conclude.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Madam, I shall forfeit my future claims of extended time. I have to continue here for another two and a half years. I will never demand extension of time for any speech in future.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Don't do that. It will be an injustice to the Chair.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Madam, you are very judicious. That is why I am expecting this gesture from you because I have to make certain points. Therefore, I repeat it. We have to make a beginning from somewhere. I would like to relate it to the experience of Italy without taking much time. When we speak of mafia, immediately Italy comes to our mind. In Italy, most of the political parties were having over and covert connections with the mafia. They were discussing it in the Press media, but nothing could be done. One magistrate at that point of time, mustered courage and gave a very bold judgment. But, unfortunately, he had to pay a heavy price. He was assassinated by the mafia. When he mustered courage to come out openly against the mafia, he was assassinated. The conscience of the country was shaken by that incident. Spontaneous movements developed in the country as a result of which this connection got exposed and many senior politicians were put behind the bars and many

people had to leave the political activities, including the two Prime Ministers. I don't have any illusion that if something of such a drastic character happens in our country, immediately everything would be over, everything would be pure. The point is we have to make a beginning from somewhere. This is an opportunity, thanks to the role played by the media and the Opposition in demanding the tabling of the Vohra Committee report. In spite of our demand, the Government was not willing to do it. Many spurious reasons were given. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister said that it was a 100-page document, and so, how he could table it. I do not know whether there is a 100-page document or not. I also do not know whether V.C. Shuklaji is correct or Chavan Saheb is correct. But, now at least part of the report is bizarre and I would say that even this part of the Report reveals sufficiently. And, this report says that there is a nexus between the criminals and the politicians. Without any solid proof no committee of bureaucrats would muster courage to say that the politicians are involved. Therefore, we logically ask this question, Madam, through you, from the Government, "Why are you hesitating to name them?", because the Government is in possession of the names, because the Committee has to give some evidence to state as to how they have come to the conclusion that politicians are involved.

Narayanadasamyji has very rightly stated that communalisation of politics is also a crime. He was referring to the destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya and he was saying that it was a crime committed by a section of our society who have their political party organisation and all that. From that I make this formulation that communalisation of politics is also a crime. But, in this context, again, I am constrained to blame the Congress(I). The Congress(I), being the largest political party till very recently, had to contribute more towards cleansing the system

and mustering courage to Take a bold position on serious issues. For example, I am squarely referring to the Darbara Singh Committee Report. Unfortunately, we cannot demand that that Report should be tabled because this was a committee constituted by the present ruling party, the Congress(I). That report has not seen the light of day, because so far as my information goes, on the issue of communalisation of our society and the role played by communal parties, the Darbara Singh Committee has made some very crucial and important suggestions, which is inconvenient to the ruling party because... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Name the communal party?

SHRI M.A. BABY: No, q\$ In that Report, Darbara Singhji evefl suggested that the Congress' should not have alliance with the Muslim League. If you accuse the B.J.P. of Hindu fundamentalism, is Muslim fundamentalism okay? Therefore, I do not want to drift from the subject.

But, my point is that when we view the entire issue from the political system,

criminalisation of politics is the gravest challenge that the political system is faced with today and an equally grave challenge is the communalisation of politics, which is a criminal act. On both these issue, the present ruling party at the Centre for their own vested convenience have not come out clean.

Madam, similarly, the Vohra Committee Report makes a reference to the parallel economy that is functioning. There have not been many references on this, but on page 4, the last paragraph... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Rajasthan): You have said that they are running a parallel Government.

SHRI M.A. BABY: At one place there is a reference to parallel Government. At another place there is reference to parallel economy, which explains the

fiscal crime, the financial crime, etc. I would make a piling reference to that saying that with globalisation and liberalisation, crime has also been globalised. About fiscal crimes, recently I have seen one report in the newspaper, you might have seen as well, as per that report, during the last three-four years there has been a sharp increase in financial, white-collar crimes. That is how this survey has exposed this severe and serious problem faced by our country. So, economic crimes I refer to, without any feeling of exaggeration. The Bailadila deal is an economic crime committed by the present Government. Nothing less.

[The Vice-Chairman, Shri Satish Agrawal, *in the Chair*]

Now, I want to put a question. When a criminal investigation is going on against a particular fiscal crime, if a very important Minister demands that the inquiry should be delayed, soft-pedalled is that a crime? If that is a crime, an hon. Member of this House, when he was the Minister for External Affairs, carried a written letter to a foreign country where an investigation was on into a financial crime, namely Bofors,...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): He had to resign.

SHRI M.A. BABY: No, that is the question. That is the lack of accountability in our country. He quietly resigned, but nobody knows from whom he received that letter.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: And the contents of the letter.

SHRI M.A. BABY: And what is the content of that letter? I am very sure knowing that hon. Member as we do that hon. Member *suo motu* might not have the courage to take this kind of a letter as a Foreign Minister to a foreign country demanding that inquiry to be soft-pedalled. Now, Sir, I want to put a question, through you, to the Government. Is

forgery, forging of documents, a crime? If it is a crime, then there was an incident where our senior IFS officers were used by a former External Minister to fabricate documents against a very prominent political leader and later on that former External Affairs Minister happened to occupy the position of the Chief Executive of the country today. He had to admit before the Lok Sabha, if my memory is doing justice to me, that he as the External Affairs Minister supervised this forgery, this crime on the basis of instructions from above. Being a God-fearing man, I don't know, what this...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to submit that we are discussing the Vohra Committee Report about the nexus between criminals and politicians. The hon. Member is quoting about an External Affairs Minister and so many other things. ...*(Interruptions)*... Kindly have patience. Sir, I would like to submit in this august House, let the level of discussion be in the highest order without identifying any single incident. If it continues, then we will have to go back to West Bengal, then we will have ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): It is not the question what you want. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let us not be too low in this matter...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal): You are free to do so. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let us have a discussion in the highest order. Let us discuss it cutting across party lines. It is my humble submission to the hon. Members ...*(Interruptions)*... I hope the hon. Members from the other side will follow that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to make one point. The hon. Member

has been referring to a very specific case of forgery committed by a politician who is now holding the highest office of the country ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Who did it? You prove it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUTA: If the hon. Member says that ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Why do you make all these allegations?

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: He can say whatever he has in mind about West Bengal. We will accept it. ...*(Interruptions)*... You put in here on the floor of the House. ...*(Interruptions)*... There is nothing to hide.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Dr. Dasgupta, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Baby, the scope of the discussion is limited to the nexus between criminals and politicians and bureaucrats. So, cases of forgery, white collar crimes and so many other things are very much there. But, you can avoid that. There are so many other Members who want to speak and the time is very short. We should not waste our time.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Sir, my submission is that I will go by your wise guidance and counselling. My only submission is that we should not feel shy of confronting the actual problem in its entirety. The value of public life, which is being referred to in this report, is going down. I am very happy that my hon. colleague, Mr. Narayanasamy, is speaking about the high standard being maintained in the discussion. I am for that. Therefore, if there is any fault with me or with the Members of my Party, those who are in public life, who are supposed to serve the people, their privacy should be very limited. All their public activities would be subject to public scrutiny. We should be prepared for that. When Mahatmaji was asked why he had joined politics, he said, "Due to my concern for the people.

This is the only way in which I can do something for the people." In spite of our philosophical reservations about some of the ideas of Mahatmaji, this is the only reason for which we join politics. When we make this claim, this claim should be in tune with our parties also. If somebody commits some error, whether he is the Prime Minister or anybody else, cannot we criticise him on the basis of the facts? How are you going to improve? Therefore, if Narayanasamyji wants to say something about Shri Namboodiripad or Jyoti Basu or Harkishan Singh Surjeet, we are prepared to listen. So, they should also be prepared to listen because they are in public field. This is my only submission. *(Time Bell rings)*. When the moral standard as a whole...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Kindly conclude.

SHRI M.A. BABY: We will criticise Manmohan Singhji for the policy that he pursues. But we will not say that Manmohan Singhji is corrupt. At the same time, the liberalisation that is taking place in our society is giving scope for people to uphold certain values for whatever you do. If you make money, if you become successful in the normal sense of the word, if you become rich, that is the final goal. This kind of a value system, knowingly or unknowingly, whether Manmohan Singhji wants it or not, is percolating down to the conscience of the people. That is why we get reports that while collar crime is increasing. Sir, my submission is that we have to make a beginning. We cannot spare anybody. Therefore, as a beginning, whether it is a political crime or whether it is criminals joining politics or politicians committing crimes, we should not feel shy of confronting the matter. Sir, I want to make a passing reference to what has happened in Kerala. A sitting Member of the Kerala Legislature was sought to be assassinated. Fortunately, in spite of two bullets going through his neck, Mr. Jayarajan, who is a close friend of mine and is a sitting MLA of the Kerala Assembly, survived because

he is a robust man. Both the criminals were caught. What was their confession? In their confession, they said that another sitting MLA of Kerala Assembly, who happens to be the DCC Secretary of Kannur District, gave the pistol and money. He is the man who actually remained behind the movement of the trigger.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You are not understanding my point.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Nobody needs to understand. My point is that I do not say that criminals will not infiltrate into the political parties.

My party's Government is in West Bengal for the last 18 years. Anti-social elements and criminals naturally would try to infiltrate into my party in West Bengal because that is the ruling party for so many years. And there is a very good possibility of that party and United Front continuing in power, continuing in office, I am sorry, not in power, but only in office. The State Governments don't have much power. But the power problem of West Bengal has been solved. Anyway, due to this fact there would be efforts by criminals to infiltrate into my party. There should be some mechanism in every party. There are hundreds of people expelled from my party during the last many years due to their criminal records. This model can be emulated by other parties. Here I am citing the case from Kerala that in spite of the confession of two criminals that an MLA was behind sending them pistols, that MLA continues to be in the Congress-I, he continues to be the DCC President.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: That is why, I said, West Bengal case was mentioned. That is why I told the hon. Member to avoid all these references. How many times Ms. Mamata Banerjee, the Congress Member of Parliament was attacked by the CPI(M) people. It is a hard fact. Kindly don't quote all those things. You tell the principle. You tell who the real criminals are. You tell that.

Let us do it. Let us not bring in Kerala politics here. The hon. Member cannot bring in Kerala politics here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mr. Baby, you must conclude now. Your party's time was only three minutes and you have taken 28 minutes.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Sir, I am concluding now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): You are not the only speaker I have got 31 more names in the list to speak on the subject.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Sir, you remember, some Members of the House were so exercised over the fact that sufficient time was not devoted to this. But we have decided—I do not want to refer to the BAC discussion—that whatever be the form of discussion, there will be sufficient time available for Members. Sir, now, I want to refer to one instance where something which no political party would have even thought of doing was taken recourse to by a major political party. Tripura is a State where the Left Front has been in power for quite a long time. There is an anti-national terrorist outfit, namely, TNV. Sayeed Saheb knows about it.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.M. SAYEED): There are nationalist terrorists also!

SHRI M.A. BABY: No, no, I do not know. I will reply. When Bhindranwala was referred to as a very pious leader, maybe he would have been a nationalist terrorist.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: (Punjab): Sir, if I may interrupt for a while. All National Front and Janata Dal leaders were there who encouraged the entire terrorism in the State of Punjab, and the entire leadership only recently, and most of the M.P.'s—I do not want to name the person—got elected on the slogans of Khalistan. Khalistan slo-

gans were raised in that election in 1989 where the leadership of the Jaqata Dal and the National Front got elected. I do not really want to bring the debate to this level. ...*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI M.A. BABY: No, no, I Would yield to anybody. With regard to Punjab .....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): ..Mr. Baby, you should not yielti to everybody, you have to yield to the Chair because you have taken 900 per Cent time.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Unless, the Chairman agrees, I Iwon't yield to anybody. Regarding Punjab also, Sir, there are allegations. Against the present Punjab Government also there are allegations. I wish those allegations were not there. I wish that allegation was not there. Now, Sir, what has happened in Tripura is that the P.C.C. President writes to the leader of the TNV to start terrorist activities so that the Left Front Government would become unpopular. I have the dates on which the letter was written. And accordingly, TNV starts massive killing in Tripura. Think of those innocent children, women or pedpTe, both tribals and non-tribals, killed by the TNV at the instigation of a political party whose only consideration is to recapture power at any cost. Sir, I am generally not for making wrld allegations. But I am standing by this allegation. I am prepared to prove it. Sir, if a political party can stop to that level, encouraging the criminal terrorist gangs and requesting them to start massive killings in a State so that under the pretext of the law and order situation going out of hand, that State can be declared as a terrorist-affected area under the Disturbed Areas (Special Powers) Act, and then the Army is deployed and the elections are held and the elections are also rigged—I do not want to go into the details—then is this not a political crime? When innocent people are being killed and the terrorist organisation is being asked to engage in criminal activities of massive killings, when a politi-

cal party is organising this kind of activity, in spite of that party being the ruling party at the Centre today, I do not know how that party can be described. (Time-bell) Sir, I am concluding.

What is required is this. Let us not try to speak platitudes that this is affecting every political party, that we should collectively try to avoid such things and all that. We have to squarely face the truth. To begin with, thanks to the Vohra Committee Report, thanks to the fact that the Vohra Committee Report has exposed something which is already known to the people, viz. the nexus between the political leaders and criminals, we are discussing the subject today with the the utmost seriousness. If posterity should not blame us, then, being political party members, being Members of this august House, we should show the courage to demand that if this Government has the names of the politicians belonging to any political party, as found out by the Vohra Committee, as a beginning, let those names be placed before the public view so that politicians in future will fell that if they hobnob with criminals, there will be some occasion when they would be exposed. Now, related to this, there has to be electoral reforms. It is a very important aspect, but I am not going into it. When we deal with criminalisation of politics, when criminals are used for electoral purposes, to ensure electoral victory, there has to be electoral reforms, including the form of election. We propose that the system of election should not be on the basis of the present form. It should be changed into the form of proporational representation, either by list system or various other methods which are there. Then, there should be a public scrutiny of the funds of the political parties. To begin with, political leaders, Members of Parliament and Assemblies should declare their wealth. On an annual basis, it should be submitted to some authority, and it should be subjected to scrutiny and all that. So far as bureaucracy is con-

icerned, Sir, there should be very clear-cut rules with regard to promotions, postings and transfers. Now the bureaucrats are not mustering the courage. If a Minister tells some bureaucrat to do something illegal, he does not have the courage to say 'no' because he knows that he can be packed away to a most unceremonial post or to an unceremonial area. If we have clear-cut provisions for promotions, postings and appointments and things like that, officers will not behave like that. So, to begin with, the political leadership has to show that we mean business and our life is transparent, our public life is transparent. Only then the corrective process will start. Therefore, I repeat that the names should come out, and the full form of the Vohra Committee Report should come out. If there is something very sensitive, if some portion cannot be divulged from the angle of the security of the country, 'we understand that. We would not demand that and we are responsible people. But, other than such sensitive aspects from the security angle, the rest of the Report should be made available to us. This is my demand. Thank you very much, Sir, for your indulgence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mr. Kishore Chandra Deo. Please bear in mind the constraint of time. I am not restricting you.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I would try to be short, as far as possible.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): You can make your valid points within a short time. Precision is a very rare quality which you, fortunately, possess.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO: I totally agree with you, Sir. I shall try my best.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. Sir, we are discussing, today, a very sensitive issue, in an election year. Well; all of us sitting in this House, from all sides, are

political animals, political beings and, therefore, it is but natural for some of us to politicise this discussion, to some extent, because of the circumstances and the situation in which we are placed. I do not want to blame anybody for this.

, But, before I begin, I would like to make it very, very clear to the Members sitting on all sides of the House that I have not risen to trade charges. Neither have I risen to blame any political party for what has taken place in the last several years. Therefore, if I say something to explain my point, in a particular context, I would only implore the Members on the other side to bear with me because it is not with any malice or with any anger or with any rancour that I am going to speak on this issue.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, about a week ago, when this debate began, all of us witnessed, the range and fury of one Member from the other side, of this House because of certain remarks which were made in the Vohra Committee report. Now, Sir, after all, the Vohra Committee report has only confirmed certain apprehensions that have remained in the mind of the entire nation, not now, but for quite some time. To be very frank, I was not upset or surprised over what the Vohra Committee has mentioned, excepting the fact that this provided a stamp of authority to the apprehensions that many of us had.

Therefore, there is nothing in the report for us to really get worked up, to that extent. There was only one thing in the report which surprised me, one thing which\_ I think, should concern all of us. One page 4, para 6.2(H), the report says: 'Even members of the judicial system have not escaped the embrace of the mafia'. This is a very sad observation which has been made. This is an observation about which all of us, I think, should be concerned.

Talking about the nexus, it has been said that, basically, it is politician-criminal nexus. I would like to amend this a

"little bit. It is a political-bureaucratic-media nexus. And now the report talks about the judiciary also. It has not spared even the judiciary. Therefore, it is an all-pervasive nexus. It is more like a carcinogenic virus, eating into the very vitals of the, fabric on which our nation stands.

Many of the Members from the other side were very, very vehement in questioning the Government as to what had happened what the Government had done, during the last twenty-two months since the report was submitted. The report may or may not have been laid on the Table of the House. I also would like to know from the hon. Home Minister as to what been done with suspect to the contents of the report, for the last twenty-two months. But that is not the basic question which concerns me. Has this developed only during the last twenty-two months? I would like to ask Members from all sides of the House. I would like them to think about this. Have we asked ourselves this question as to what we, and even political parties, have done, not during the last twenty-two months, but during the last twenty-two years to save the situation from becoming worse.

My hon. friend, my hon. colleague, Mr. Baby said that communalisation of politics is a crime. I did not want to go into this aspect, but I have to, because he squarely blamed the Congress(I) and he also mentioned that he had Ayodhya in his mind. Sir, I would only like to remind my hon. friend that if that was his view and the view of his party. The view that communalization of politics also amounts to a crime. In 1977, wasn't his party a party to getting that party which he has in mind into Parliament in large numbers?

SHRI M.A. BABY: There cannot be a greater crime- than the Emergency.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO: That is all right. But what happened in 1989. There was no Emergency. Was his party not a party to getting that

party into Parliament in large numbers? Well, when elections come you go to the people, then you have some kind of alliance—holy or unholy, I do not want to content on that—but you get them into Parliament in large numbers, give them political credence and credibility, and ultimately they blame the Congress (I). I don't want to get into this kind of an argument or join issue on this.

And the hon. Member said that after privatization and globalization has come, crimes have increased. May be, but does he mean to say that before hon. Shri Manmohan Singh became the Finance Minister, there was no nexus between criminals and politicians in the country or that politicians and bureaucrats and media persons were all pure before that? Let us not deceive ourselves. And though this is an election year and the political angle is there in everybody's mind, I think this is too serious an issue for us to get diverted into these areas, such an approach is not going to help us in any manner.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, as my friends on the other side have pointed out. It is very, very unfortunate that this House has had to discuss this over the slain body of a young lady, but is this the first incident or is it going to be the last? If this had not happened in the nerve centre of the capital, almost at a stone's throw from Parliament, would the House—I mean all of us—have discussed this? The Opposition demanded it, yes, but has the Opposition demanded a discussion on the Vohra Committee report when so many other incidents had taken place in many other areas? You yourself have given instances. I am not going to speak about who was affected and who was the accused, CPI(M) or Congress(I). That is 'not the question. I have not risen to defend anybody. This is not an issue in which you can defend a person even if he belongs to your own party. That is not my criterion, contention or idea at all. But wasn't a Congress MLA also murdered the other day by her husband who

is also a politician? Weren't there several other cases of forgery also which were reported in the newspapers? It all depends on attitude. Of course, when something happens in the capital, the focus is of a different nature entirely. Today we are discussing this, but this doesn't mean that such incidents had not taken place. As I told you, it is not 22 months but 22 years which have brought us to this impasse or state that we are in today.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Vohra Committee has detailed the reasons why this criminalization has taken place. I do not want to take the time of the House by repeating all that has been mentioned. They have mentioned about the narcotics syndicates and mafia, about the land grabbers and the land mafia who are involved in this and several other criminal categories which form a part of this cartel or nexus in our country. But the point is, as I had earlier mentioned, there is a nexus now not only between politicians and criminals but also with the bureaucrats, media persons and other categories who are a part of this spectrum. I think we, as politicians, should take the prime responsibility. I think one of the main reasons for this has been the urge of some or many of us to find an easy way out power. This has evolved over a period of time where many of us, politicians, have made use of such criminal gangs for capturing booths or for rigging votes or whatever it is, to get elected Parliament, to get elected to Assemblies. And once that started, the day was not far away when those who got you or me or some of us elected, wanted themselves to be a part of this power structure and that is what we have today before us.

If we have to get rid of this, first of all a method a way has to be found by which you should not be able to get elected with the help of Mafia gangs or criminals to a legislative body including Parliament.

In this connection my hon. friend Mr. Baby mentioned about electoral reforms. I appreciate that. Certainly this is a very very important aspects. You should

decide where you begin with whether the chicken has to come first or the egg has to come first from where you start and where you go. Otherwise it becomes very difficult. I think, electoral reform is a very very important factor connected with this.

But, then what kind of reforms do we want? In my opinion, it is not a question of just amending a few sections of the Representation of the People Act or of putting in a few new clauses here and there. You have to find a method a way the means by which the booth-capturing and rigging would stop. Whether this can happen or not is a question which can be discussed, maybe on some other occasion when we discuss electoral reforms, but in short a short and crisp manner. I would like to convey this to the House. Various committees on electoral reforms have gone into various aspects of how this can be controlled. One way which appealed to me could be a good beginning. Of course, it would cost money. Well if we have to preserve democracy a certain amount of cost will have to be borne for that.

Mr. Vice-Chairman we should have electronic machines. Though we have manufactured the machines, we have not used them. We should have a multi-purpose photo identity-card, not the type of card which is being issued now, but a type of card which will have all your particulars, with a hologram code at the back, which cannot be duplicated. Along with that, we should have a scanner or a reader which can read the printed holographed code on this card which would automatically switch on the electronic voting machine. Then, it will become very difficult for anybody to win an election by rigging votes. If any Member is interested in it. I can elaborate it during a separate discussion in this House or privately. If this change is made, to rig votes, you will have to get a number of genuine identity cards, manage it with the presiding officers and the agents of other political parties. The

question of capturing a booth does not arise in this case because you can capture a booth but you cannot win an election by doing that. One has to think about these concrete and permanent measures.

Secondly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, after all, if you go through this entire gamut of criminalisation that has taken place. I would like to submit very humbly that, today, one of the entry points to most of the political parties, is the youth wing. So, I appeal to all the political parties, including my own party that one should be very careful in scrutinising the entry of youngsters into the youth wing. This is a socio-economic problem. It has to be dealt with in a multifaceted way. Because of the population growth, unemployment and economic disparities stare us in the face today. So, I personally feel that the youth wings of parties are becoming more and more active and volatile also. Today, they become more and more vulnerable to the entry of anti-social or undesirable people into our political system.

Then, I come to bureaucracy. Whether it is the bureaucracy, the political wing or the judiciary, one has to get to the root cause as to why it has happened. It is not only because of fear of getting transferred or because of expectation of getting a plum posting that they oblige you. After all, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, one has also to look at the practical aspects of these things. I think, the remuneration, the pay-scales and the facilities of all these categories will have to be revised.

3.00 P.M.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the House of Commons, while discussing the judiciary, Sir Winston Churchill had once remarked, "If you have cheap judges, justice will become expensive for you; and if you have expensive judges, justice will become cheaper for the people to get." I think this applies to all other categories, whether they are bureaucrats or various other people under these categories. I think this is the aspect which has to be looked into in a serious

manner. For example, when it comes to politicians—MLAs and MPs—and each time your salaries and allowances are raised, there are front-page articles written on the newspapers and then we get flustered and we say, when there are so many millions people, below the poverty line, why should increase our salaries and allowances. That is all right if we think of it in that way, but, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for functioning properly at a particular place, with certain responsibility, one has to be looked after well by the country. In a democracy, Parliament is the highest institution. If you cannot maintain and pay 800 MPs well, then you are not fit enough to have the Parliamentary system at all. So, these are the aspects, which are to be looked into dispassionately.

We have also heard about how the media has been behaving. There have been reports about the media persons having been distributed largesse, the media persons acting as liaison men, blackmailing people. There is yellow journalism being practised even at the local and district levels. Sometimes some of us fight shy of raising this, because we don't know what the same media would write about us. But these are facts which have to be faced squarely, since I think we all are parts of the game. We may be the accused No. 1, but you cannot also let the accused No. 2 and No. 3 go scot-free.

When the debate on it had started the other day, Mr. M.A. Baby had said that there should be an ethics committee. I have nothing against the ethics committee. But, Sir, have not we really transgressed the barrier of ethics and morality? Otherwise he would not have been here from his State. You have an ethics committee.

Some Members want that the accounts of all Members be updated annually. I am totally for it. I have no quarrel on it at all. But, then, is there not something called *benami* accounts and *benami*

properties? How many of those who have ill-gotten money really keep it in their names or in the names of the members of their family? So, I have nothing against the suggestion of declaring your assets or having an ethics committee, but these alone are not, going to solve the problem. It is much more deeper than what we think. It is not as simple as that. So, this has to be viewed in its totality.

Several Members have specifically demanded the names with respect to certain documents that have been mentioned in the Vohra Committee Report. But, Sir, is Vohra Committee everything? What about the period before the Vohra Committee? This concerns, as you rightly put it, about the last 22 months. But what about the period before that? There may be sensitive documents in that. For several reasons the Government cannot place them on the Table of the House and there are several other complications. But we must not forget the fact that the law and order is a State subject. So, a lot of this information will naturally be available with the State Governments. Anyway, I am not against that either. I would only appeal to the Home Minister to go through all that information because, after all, it is one some basis that this Report has been written. So, let the Home Ministry or some of the officials with a proper track record go into these details. After getting individual and proper evidence from the States and from whatever records they have, not of the last 22 months, but of the last 20 years, because I think it is at least two decades since the this trend had started to bring us where we are today, let the Government make the names public, not only of the politicians, but also of the bureaucrats, media persons and those in other categories who are involved in it. I have nothing against it. In fact, I would welcome such an action.

I hope the Home Minister will reply, and will react to the demand that has been made by several Members and the

suggestion of mine that the names pertaining not only to the specific period, but a much longer period, after authenticating and after being convinced of the names and the number of people who were involved, should be placed before the public. Let this country know about it.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Are you demanding the names of politicians having nexus and whatever information these agencies have not only during this period but prior to this period also should be brought forward?

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO: Yes.

SHRI M.A. BABY: We support you.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO: They have been getting information from the States. Let the Government have a special cell or a special committee to go through the details and be convinced. Once you give the names without enough proof, then, you are damning that person for ever. Once the Government is convinced and satisfied that certain cases are there and some people are involved, let the details and their names be placed on the Table of the House or let their names be announced.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me finally mention that this is an issue in which everybody will have to cooperate and everybody will have to discuss and come to a certain decision very, very, dispassionately. I do not think that any political party is above this thing. This is a problem that confronts the nation. Any amount of mudslinging or allegation against one another or politicisation of this issue is not going to help anyone. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this has really tarnished the image of our country and our polity. Unless certain concrete steps are taken, I do not think that we can get away from this. Just giving good speeches or using flowery language and words nor can all the scents and perfumes of Arabia wash the spots of blood which have

stained the body of our polity. We will have to be forthright and tell the nation what we mean.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, finally, before I end, I would only like to mention one thing that after this most gruesome, the most foul, the most detestable murder of Naina Sahni—as a result of which we are discussing this issue today—unfortunately, there was a kind of posthumous character assassination of the slain lady. It do not know for what purpose. But it is really unfortunate. I only hope that a day will come when this most foul, most gruesome, murder will be remembered by the country as a sacrifice towards the dismantlement of these syndicates and criminal nexus within the country. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Thank you very much, Mr. Khsore Chandra Deo. Now, Mr. Inder Kumar Gujarat.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to express my disappointment and my disappointment is not with the Vohra Committee nor is my disappointment with the statement of the Minister of State for Home Affairs who has made this statement before the House the other day giving details about the things that were going on. My disappointment is with the way that we have dealt with it. For days it has lingered on. Leisurely we have gone into it. Even today when we talk about it, we are not talking about it to manifest any determination on our part to do something. I do not want to blame only the Government. Of course, the Government has been blamed for the lackadaisical way they are dealing with it. The Home Minister is not bothered. The Minister of State for Home Affairs sometimes comes and sometimes doesn't come. The whole thing is going on like this. But I must say that the Vohra Committee need not be looked at in

terms of whether names were given or not. That is not so important to me. It is also not important to me whether they have blamed one person or the other or not. The Vohra Committee report, to my mind, rings the bell. And, I think, one has to listen to this alarm bell. Unless we listen to it, we will not be able to sort out the difficulties that we are confronted with. What does the Vohra Committee say? I am not quoting chapter and verse. That has been done in a variable fashion. It says that there is a parallel Government running. Who are running the parallel Government? It is hinted, but not identified. It says that the nexus is now coming up increasingly between politics and crime, etc., etc. It also says that sometimes, seven tonnes of RDX material could land in Bombay. Only part of it was used to blow up the Exchange. One day, we will also see that nuclear material have also come here and then we will not know how to deal with it. It also says that there is an increasing traffic of drugs going through India. Well, it also says that the judiciary has been paralysed. And that, perhaps, was the reason why the TADA was brought in. All through the Punjab crisis—and now in Kashmir—you found the situation that through the judicial process not even one person was convicted. I do not know if you are feeling concerned about it or not.

It also says that it has a security dimension. I am only talking about Pakistan as it has been confronted with a CIA report. The CIA report has given in detail the type of drug-trafficking that is going on via India and also the types of money and guns that are coming with it. This is the detailed report. I will not take your time in talking about that. After the report was issued, they identified three Mafia kings in Pakistan—Iqbal Baig, susheel Bhat and one more. All the three of them were sent to America on American request. They have made a statement there. This is what the CIA report says. They have said, "All our

transport was going on via India". I am quoting. "We deal in drugs, guns and money, etc. and we have sent them through our friends in India". Did the Home Ministry ask somebody? Who ate those friend? How is the money going? Have those friends been identified? Has an inquiry been made about those friends? It does not end here. The study also says it is very interesting. It is our own study now, not the CIA study. We recently undertook a study. That says that interestingly, along the Punjab border, for a width of 25 miles, suddenly, the Government of Punjab found that almost no income was coming from excise. Punjab is famous for several things. One of the things it is famous for is that it enjoys booze. Suddenly you found that there was no excise income. What do they find? The inquiry finds that Rs. 300 crores which was originally coming as excise from that regions suddenly dries up. Not that people suddenly became Gandhian or they stopped drinking. But the booze is now coming from across the border. Then, Mr. Iqbal Baig, in America, says, "Now that Punjab has been sealed, we are doing business via Gujarat and via South". Has anybody gone into this? Has there been an inquiry as to whether the operation is shifted? What steps are we taking to stop this? The CIA has not revealed any Indian names. But, if they have the Pakistani names, I am certain that they have the Indian names also. Has the RAW or any intelligence agency, whatever we call them, got in touch with them? Have we got in touch with them to check up who those "friends" are who are conduits for all these things? This morning, somebody, outside the House, was saying, "Malwa used to be very quiet. Now, every house has a gun". Gun traffic is coming in. Guns and drugs go together. This question was put even to Mr. K.P.S. Gill, who is famous for several things. He said, "Well, you know, this is not part of my charge". Then, whose charge is it? I wish the senior Minister were sitting there and I could

have asked them. I have great regard for Mr. Sayeed.

I do not know if he looks after RAW. I do not think he has access to it. The tragedy is that it is a different thing. All the intelligence agencies are now not a part of the Home Ministry. They are under the direct charge of the Prime Minister. Be it RAW, be it intelligence or be it anything, they report to the Prime Minister. Well, all rights. Is there any system to check up also that there is no pollution in the intelligence agencies? Some time back, we have found in America that a difficulty has arisen about the CIA. The Parliamentary control was extended and a Committee was set up. Here in this House, at one time, I raised the point and had said: "For God's sake, if you do not want to set up a Parliamentary Committee, set up a Ministerial Committee at least. Let the Minister at least know what is happening, what type of job they are performing and what type of job they are not performing." But nothing has been done. I was not here this morning to talk about what should be one and what should not be done and what should have been done. I do not want to make it a party issue. I do not want to point out a beam in the eye of others without finding a mole in my own eye. Mr. Vohra has thrown a challenge to all of us. Do we look at it as a challenge? Do we believe that it is something worth responding to? The bell, I think is tolling, and if we do not respond to it, we will be in a very difficult situation. Let us begin with Parliament itself. Apart from the general thing to which my friend had objected that we should not paint it black, the fact also remains that within our system, there is not check. Only in the recent past, we read a news that in the official apartment of a Member of Parliament, a woman was murdered. We kept quiet. We did not do anything. I am not bothered about the party. The issue basically is: "Is this not an escape route that we have found that whenever a matter is *sub-judice*, we

keep quiet? A criminal can continue to be a criminal till he is convicted and by that time his term is over. A woman can be murdered in his flat, but no action is taken. A Member of Parliament forges a passport and replaces a diplomatic passport but no action is taken because Parliament thinks it is not its responsibility. To keep our house clean, we believe, is not our responsibility. Is it not a fact that all these things happen and we are confronted with the reality? A few days ago, I was seeing a TV programme made by one of the TV programme makers, confronting some of the sitting Members of Parliament before the camera, with their own criminal records. Did we react to it? Did the Ministry react to it? Did the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha react to it? Did the Speaker of the Lok Sabha react to it? Did any Privilege Committee react to it? We are totally immune to these things and we are letting this happen increasingly. Therefore, I feel concerned not only because I am a sitting Member of the House but also because if the esteem for the Parliament goes down in the eyes of the people, then God help us and it is happening and unless we really attend to this in our own way, we cannot solve the problem.

Sir, I have taken the courage of writing to the Chairman and the Speaker, requesting them to set up at least some sort of an Ethics Committee. My friend, Mr. M. A. Baby, has asked for filing a statement of the assets and liabilities. Fine. Let every Member of Parliament file a statement of all the prosecution cases — civil or criminal—filed against him in all his life. Let the Committee look into this. That should be made a rule and the Ethics Committee should also have an agency like Lokpal at its disposal so that the investigation can be done. Once you begin with the Parliament, then it will be easier for you to ask the State Assemblies also to do it. If you do not stop this, then, I am sure, the situation is going to be very difficult

and, this 'escape route', again I repeat", that everything is *sub judice* will be there. Sir, in this very Parliament, there was a time when the Mudgal incident took place. What was the Mudgal incident by comparison? Mudgal was a sitting Member of the Lok Sabha and was a practising lawyer in Ludhiana. He had taken fees from his client and asked a question... Great Jawaharlal Nehru, the leader of the same party, moved a motion for his expulsion from Parliament. Do we have that courage today? We have criminals, as I said, in whose flats these heinous crimes take place. Do we have courage to expel them even from the party, leave alone the Parliament? Do we expose them? We only leave it to media and then say that the matter is *sub-judice*; if we really do something, then something else will happen. These are the issues that are confronting you! A situation has come when that nexus is going to get you from the throat and a day might come—and it has happened in various countries of the world and I will not name them—when the power and authority would be held by the mafia. My friend has talked about Italy. What happened in Italy after all? What happened there? Year after year the Prime Minister's seat was occupied by the mafia nominees. I can give you a detailed list of the Latin American countries where the Presidents and the Prime Ministers are the mafia nominees. Do we want that stage to come over here or are we waiting for that day to arrive or shall we raise our voice before that? Well, we have to devise some strategy, some sort of a consensus, to work it out. My complaint against the Prime Minister and the Home Minister is not that they are not giving us names. My complaint against them is that they have not ever moved after that. They have set up a nodal Committee. Can the nodal Committee solve the problem? The nodal Committee, after one year, will again give us a report. By then, we may or may not be in this House.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): After the matter came before the House, they set up the nodal Committee.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: That is what I am saying. How does it help? Therefore, I suggest that we should

do something straightway. The flood is already above the danger-point. I have been associated with Parliament for the best part of my life. I have said in the beginning, I have never been more concerned, more disappointed and more worried than today. And I am more worried because we lack the internal cleansing process. In any institution which lacks the internal cleansing process, be it individual or collective. We are always at each other's throat. I blame Manmohan Singh, Manmohan Singh blames me. I mean, this is not the way. That is why the first step we must take, as I said, is to set up an Ethics Committee without delay, and while nominating members to the Ethics Committee, please take care that things could never go wrong again. Do we appreciate also that the CIA Report regarding Pakistan has some implications for us also? People are kidnapped in Kashmir. Punjab we passed through. Even now, the North-East is coming to a difficult situation. We do not see any difficulty in this. One incident alone in Bombay, we see it as an isolated incident. We never look at it as a chain of incidents which can occur again and again. Therefore, I feel that unless we are in a position to sit up as a nation, as a Parliament first, and the Government as the foremost, things cannot be corrected. My friend referred to Italy. Italy has gone through a very painful process. I am not going into the details of that. It is now passing through the cleansing process. That is what is strengthening it. What do we learn from this? This cleansing is an important factor and an important urge that we must face. Therefore, I do not want to take more time but I only want to say that the

Vohra Committee has served the purpose, that is expected of it. It has rung the bell. Don't ask them to do more and don't expect from them more than what they have done, and if we do not want to listen to an alarm bell, God help us. Thanks a lot.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Thank you very much, Mr. Gujral. Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan — not present; Shri Surinder Kumar Singla — not present. Shri Triloki Nath Chaturvedi. Mr. Chaturvedi has made a request to me that he has to attend a meeting; so he should be called first. After that, Dr. Dutta will speak.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is an important subject - - the nexus between criminals and politicians—which has been exercising the minds and touching the sentiments and the feelings of the people all along, if we look into any magazines or anything else of the last few months, we will find that this is the subject which every where is being discussed. I would like to mention that certainly it is a matter of satisfaction that this nexus has been exposed and there is a slight glimpse of it in this very Report. I don't think that this is a report as such, but some thing of an exploratory exercise, an essay, on this entire question. There are one or two things which are important about this Report. One is that in the body of the Report it is mentioned—it has been there for long and the Report makes it clear in black and white—that the people are known to the Government for long and the Government has also the information about this kind of nexus for fairly long. While saying this, it also admits that since 1986 there was a report with the Government of Maharashtra and with the Central Government also about the nexus between the criminals and a particular group of politicians in that state.

Sir, the second important thing, which you may remember, is that the Report

says that the people concerned are afraid of giving even their suggestions in writing and opening up about this. This is a very dangerous trend. This is a very dangerous trend that the officials and institutions themselves, who are supposed to contain this, menace who are required to bring to the notice of the Government the problem, solutions and remedies, should feel hesitant, inhibited, to express their opinions freely and frankly. This is a very important admission. Another important thing about the Report, which I would like to mention, is that it refers at different times, rather at different places, to the politicians, the criminals and also the administration, the people in the administration, the bureaucracy and in its wider sense whoever may be the people, as a whole. Then it goes on to recommend that we should have a nodal agency and so on and so forth. When we look at this Report and its timing or the circumstances which forced this particular Report, our entire mind is rather occupied with the fact that there was a particular case, which is now known as "the tandoor murder or whatever that be. This now frankly gives bad name to the politician as such or to the dubious kind of politician a new name—tandoor politician. I just saw an article by a ' writer, who is a very well-known, and important writer, who does not write things lightly in a magazine. I would just read out one or two sentences from this particular issue. It is not necessary to refer to it. This particular article in Sunday says—this is by Mr. Vir Sanghvi—

"The common perception of politicians is that they are corrupt. But when the people use the term they refer to Ministers who take bribe and return favours. The Sushil Sharma case demonstrates that even lower level politicians, who have never been elected to anything in their lives, still make fortunes."

That is why the entire spectrum of politicians has come under disrepute and that is why they detest the very word.

Before I go to the other points, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one or two things which would show how the nexus grows. Actually it does not grow. One *do&t* not know what the reality is. I am reading this because there is a question about this point also in this article. I don't want to go into the details. But there is a lot of it in the article which says about Sushil Sharma's style, the way he lived, so on and so forth. Yet, he had never done a day's honest work in his life. He had three sources of income, all related to politics. The first was the Bagia Restaurant, which the ITDC gave on lease to Sushil and his partners because of political considerations. Sushil had no expertise in food and beverages and he had no money to invest. But, he earned 16 to 50% of the profit because he had helped to swing the deal. This was the first source.

His second source of income was the liaison work. He procured a contract to supply milk, an area in which he had no experience, sub-contracted it, and kept a hefty cut with him. He had to do no work for the money. It was his reward for having influenced the Ministry of Agriculture. There was a question also earlier about the supply of sub-standard milk etc. by Shri Som Pal. The next is the other liaison work, which included asking people to pay for introduction to politicians. Apparently, he asked Shri D. K. Rao, the IAS officer, to whose room he went after the murder, to pay Rs. 5 lakhs in return for getting him a good confidential Report. This is the kind of liaison that he did. We have also read in the newspapers that the Prime Minister, had asked a particular Minister why the file of Rao had been pending -In his Ministry for more than a year.

The third and the most lucrative source of income was real estate. Sushil would acquire properties where the title was in

dispute. He would do this with the help of toughts, etc. In this manner, Sushil Sharma used politics to make his fortune. Who says crime doesn't pay? It always does, provided you call it politics. And we are supposed to be in politics. This is the most unfortunate thing. Frankly, what is politics? Politics is supposed to be an instrument to translate people's aspirations into public policies and a mandate for governments. But this is the kind of politics that has been going on for the last thirty or forty years. There are a number of such references. If I may remind the House, with due humility, Rajaji, as early as 1921, in his Jail Dairy, expressed his apprehensions in this regard. Even Mahatma Gandhi in 1946 and 1947 — when Mr. Kelappan from Kerala wrote to him — referred to in his speeches the kind of things that were going on. Not only that, I may remind you that even the late Mr. Sanjivayya the then Congress president, referred, to rags-to-riches stories at the Indore Session of the Congress. So, this is the criminality which breeds within the Government itself. And, criminality from outside feeds on it and feeds it. This morning itself, there was a question about allotments, whether it is allotment of a petrol pump or allotment of houses. It is within the Government itself that criminality begins. Then the nexus gets established. Sir, there are a number of reasons as to why this kind of a thing is happening. I would very briefly mention these. The first is the decline in our moral values and moral standards, which is the crisis of character. Mr. Baby has very rightly mentioned about that case. That shows what has happened during the last three or four years from the highest to the lowest down below. That one particular case will expose the criminal nature of our politics, where the aim is only to capture power at all costs. Where there is a confession of the highest : in the land under the influence of somebody above him. He had to do this kind of a thing which is nothing but fabrication of records, which is forgery,

, which also establishes a link, which I, misuses or abuses the authority of the officers. So, this is the crisis of character. Our President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, had warned the country and this had created a lot of problems at that particular stage. Sir, this crisis of character is there, I think, for two particular reasons. One is the dichotomy between practice and preaching. The second thing is that any restraining factor which was moral education in this country is not there. I am glad that Mr. Madhavrao Scindia is present here. You talk of moral education and then this bugbear of secularism will be raised. The second point which I would like to mention is the regulatory regime of planning and the public sector, and it is not the public sector which is to be blamed, but the way it was used as the milch cow. And now, you are unwinding the planning, disinvestment. We have seen reports regarding disinvestment. There again an effort is being made to make money, sir, whether it is blue collar crime or white collar crime, our attention is only where the blood flows. The only question is how we are just trying to promote this criminal tendency in this country. Sir, thirdly, I would like to mention about the rule of law which is being diluted and distorted. Some people are above the law. One can go on giving umpteen examples of such cases. Not only this, Sir. Only because of this, we find the highest in the land consdrting with the criminals and I don't want to give examples again. It is not only the mafia of today, but also the mafia of yesteryears and whether it is the coal mafia or the land mafia, or the smugglers etc. Nothing seems to invite any social disprobation. This is the way in which the rule of law is being distorted, you take any case. You take any particular matter from L. N. Mishra's case: Of course, we know the famous case in his own time, but even in his murder case, nothing is being taken to its logical conclusion. We know about a number of cases which are

registered with the police. We even know about the HDW, that a case has been registered in which names of a number of senior officers were mentioned for purchase of submarines. But what has happened?

We always hear about the *Swamis*, Chandraswamy and many others. I have never seen him. I don't know much about him. All we know is the kind of attraction that he exercises over the people. But, then we find in the Press that at a particular time he is arrested in Madras. Sometimes they say that he is arrested in other case. This is the lifestyle of these people. What has happened to those cases whether they are Customs cases, whether they are arms cases or mafia or whatever it is? We don't know about it. The unfortunate thing is that these cases are used only by the Government to settle political scores within the party or for their own political purposes. Then the hobgoblins, the ghosts of 'these cases are raised at a particular time. On which side a particular person is? We used to hear a lot about the sugar scandal or something. Then, we read in the Press that a particular Minister had shown certain files, that a case has been registered by the CBI against him. Then he began to bleat and then remained completely silent, while he was earlier trying to show that he was roaring like a lion. That is the rule of law and that is what we are doing for it. Sir, in the 1970s, there were a number of inquiries held whether it was in Punjab or whether it was in Bihar or whether it was in Orissa, against the Ministers and others. But, what happened? In this country people have come to believe for the last forty years that if there is corruption, they say that they are two sides of the same coin. No a single Minister has been sent to jail. ....(Interruptions)... I know the kind of speech that Shri Gujral made here while paying tribute to them. This is the like the Shakespear's Julius Caesar and he knows what it ultimately will lead to.

This is not for me. I am a mild person and a vegetarian. I do not believe in this kind-of situation. I know only one and it was due to case Sardar patel. There is only one case of Minister going to jail. While Nixon went, his deputy, the Vice-President, went first. What happened in Japan and what happened in Italy? The determined magistrates in Italy took action and it is said that probably there were more politicians behind the bars than outside. So, this is the kind of a situation in which we are now. I do not want to dilate on sex and violence and crime in cinema and the kind of permissiveness. But, unfortunately, there is no other means to livelihood and for money politics is there to gather the money. For that there is muscle power. That is where there is misuse and non-use of authority. This shows why the authority of the Government which should matter, is so disreputed today. There are occasions when they do not use their authority and there are instances when they will misuse their authority. False cases will be registered. I know a case which I will not name, but this was just before the Emergency. But I will certainly name the person who came to Delhi as DIG. His name was Mr. R.D. Pandey. After a great difficulty, we got a good DIG. one morning he came to me and his son was suffering from some disease. He told me that he wanted to go back. When I asked him why he was doing so, he said, "I do not want to be prostituted. The Home Ministry has asked me to register a case against a particular contractor in the MCD." I met him later after 10 years in U.P. when I was sent by the Prime Minister to look into the case of the murder of Shri V.P. Singh's brother. Then only I met this gentleman. This is the kind of use, abuse and misuse of authority. This is the climate. This is the kind of things that happen. You brutalise them. You misuse them. When they are misused, you say 'that they belong to this party or that party. Sir, we know what the conclusions of the various reports were that came after the so-called

police mutiny in the 1970s. The conclusion was that they were watching their masters as to how they used to behave. But then they get disillusioned and felt that they were getting nothing. They are being treated like this. I do not want to go into the details. (*Time Bell rings*) I will just conclude, Sir. I am grateful that you have given me this opportunity to speak. I will just conclude, Sir. I know the kind of lumpenisation that took place during the Emergency and thereafter. This is the off-spring of lumpenisation which are ruling the roost in the country today. I was Secretary to a Chief Minister long back even before I became the District Collector. That was a time when there was a little bit of odium in a particular State that the Home Minister of that State had some filiations with the border summers. : Nehru rang up the Chief Minister. I had brought that particular case to Delhi. I had also with me the letter of resignation. That was the standard. In this very parliament we had the Mudgal case. Now, how lightly we take the allegations. They are making statements and you cannot ask questions. Statements are being made. Everything is there. That is why I would like the conduct of the Ministers and others not to be immune to all this. It is for all of us. It is not the question of ideology of a particular party. What image we have in the public mind? As one who sells telephone connections. We expect people to make sacrifice. They have not only used and "misused the authority but they have also exploited all the economic resources which the development could have provided. I would like to mention that there is pulverisation of the police and the administration. It is not only police, but many other authorities. Whether it is the Report of the CAG or whether it is the Report of the PAC, they hinted directly or indirectly. About the Gold Star, we knew in advance. Even the securities scam made it clear. It was known that the Gold Star is lily white and nothing is going to happen. Sir, it is not only the question of

criminalisation of politics but it is also politicisation of crime and commercialisation of both. We have not only commercialised crime and politics it, but we have criminalised the State as such. Why all this is happening? The Minister of State for Home Affairs, is here. He tells the police to teach them a lesson and 'we will ignore everything.' Do not think they are only to teach a lesson to Mr. Arjun Singh or Mr. N.D. Tewary or Mr. Joshi or T.N. Chaturvedi when any demonstration takes place. They are also prepared to teach a lesson. You ask them to teach a lesson. I do not want to go into the details of this thing. Such politicians and such politics, are subversive to the national security because they are subject to all kinds of blackmail. The foreign agencies take advantage of this. Unfortunately, it is the decline of the standards and I regret to say all this. The Press in which we have some hope has been given Rs. 40 crores in a particular State. This is not the first time that it has happened. That is why, Sir, criminalisation of politics, as I said, is the result of this permissiveness, the result of keeping only the power in view, completely, irrespective of all kinds of ethical considerations. It is not a question of philosophy or something, it is not a question of 'Do unto others what you want to be done unto you.' Even that kind of rectitude, had been completely ignored and that is why, Sir, there is no accountability. One Mr. Mudgal was thrown out by a resolution and that is why it is necessary that so far as the administration is concerned, it must be strengthened, it must be depoliticised. That is a subject in itself. But I would like to submit that this will be an unfortunate day if we only discuss this particular subject and we do not do anything effective about these things because for the last 25 years this problem has been staring us in the face. If only we are allowed to go away without taking any effective and corrective and sustained action, I think posterity is certainly going to blame us for just trying to be the gravediggers of democracy. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Shrimati Jayanthi Natarjan. Absent. Shri Surinder Kumar Singla. Absent. Shri K. Rahman Khan, absent Dr. B.B. Dutta.

DR. B.B. DUTTA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are indeed thankful to the hon. Home Minister, Shri S.B. Chavan, for placing that Vohra Committee Report before this House. We have got an opportunity to speak and to discuss a very important phenomenon, a very dangerous phenomenon in which our administration and governance at various levels is getting enveloped. And people are suffering from deep agonies. In various parts of the country, this phenomenon has caused loss of many lives, many people's interests have been jeopardised and that is why we welcome the Report. Mr. Vice Chairman, a charge has been levelled against the Government, that had not Naina Sahni been murdered in such a manner, possibly the report would not have been placed and the Government is being criticised on the account. I am not going to defend the Government on that account but I would like to ask the Members of the Opposition — they are respected leaders — what is the role of the Opposition in a Parliamentary democracy? People are angry and they have got every right to charge equally the Opposition. It is not only the ruling party which rules in a Parliamentary democracy but the Opposition also indirectly rules and more powerfully sometimes by bringing out the lacunae and lapse, of the Govt., if there are any. But I think we have come to a situation when all of us acquired the habit of sleeping. This is my point. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Report, which is being euphemistically called a Report is not a full-fledged Report because it has not gone into the depths and dimensions of the problem, that is, the very subject-matter of the Report. However, the Report, firstly, is an official endorsement of this dangerous phenomenon, what is being whispered by the common man about his agony. This is the

first official endorsement and that is how this Report is very important. Now, about the plus and minus points in the Report, I would like to point out a few things. I find that the Report has given only one concrete suggestion that a nodal agency should be immediately set up—and which now the Government has set up—for getting the names out, who the criminals are, who the party are to this nexus. We have to now look forward to that agency which has just been born. Therefore, I am not going to elaborate on this thing further. In the future, we will have an occasion to see how this nodal agency has been able to contain this phenomenon and to what extent. But something is missing from the Report. That is very basic to the problem. That is what I want to point out.

Sir, the Report has talked about criminalisation of politics and has given a graphic description of a phenomenon which starts with an accumulation of money power by small gangs in cities, towns and other areas, and then they acquire the muscle power, and then they acquire the political power. Now, this combination of money power, muscle power, and political power has meant a very serious blow to the very foundation of our democracy. When these three things combine together, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir—I am a witness to it; partly I am a victim of it—the constitution of elected Governments and all these things become a farce because it is the combination of these three things that determines anything. They conduct elections, they rig elections, this farce is going on before our own eyes. This is what is happening. Is this not happening in many parts of India?

For this, all political parties present in this House have to take the blame. This is happening everywhere. In whichever State the Congress is in power or other political parties are in power, nobody can say, "No, we are not guilty of this". So, it involves us all. Let us be very honest about such an important issue. It is a

negation of democracy. We are a democracy. We are proud that we are the largest democracy in the world. But are we practising democracy correctly? Have the people really been able to exercise their power honestly? Do they matter in the process of formation of the Government? Do they matter at all? These questions have to be asked and answered.

Sir, another thing which through this phenomenon is also very basic, and it is eroding the secular, socialist structure of our society and democracy. The basic unit of a society is a family. In fact, family is the unit where the first spark of humanity comes. All those basic values that sustain a society, that sustain a polity, that sustain a nation, are there in the family first. Now, whenever murders take place, whenever people are being driven out of their localities, whenever their properties are being ransacked or burnt, what happens and how these families suffer, are not counted. A fashion has now come. If I talk about killings in a certain small State in the North-East, people point out, "This is nothing; only two killings in a week; you see in Bihar; it is much more." And then they will come to the global scenario. They say that violence is a global phenomenon. I know, there is a tendency to explain things away. This is too bad for us because we do not understand the agony of a mother, we do not understand the agony of a mother, we do not understand the agony of a father, we do not understand the agony of a brother or a sister. And what happens when the family is being afflicted with such agonies, and the family's relations are afflicted, and the community is afflicted? I am not going into the process of discussion. But I can tell you that at our stage of our history of we had witnessed warfare between communities. Now, I find that intra-community and intra-ethnic group violence has started. Why? It is because we have taken cover under statistics that the killings are not more, it is negligible in the context of what is happening elsewhere. If I ask in the North-East, they will say.

when compared to what is happening in the rest of the country, it is negligible. You are taking cover under the misleading statistics, without understanding that the families are becoming full of poison, full of venom. And this is poisoning the entire society in India today. And one day this situation will explode and we will have a kind of civil war.

4.00 P.M.

Today, there are parts of the country where people say: 'You cannot depend on the police; you cannot depend on this and that; you have to have your own private army; you have to have your own bodyguards'. This is the phenomenon we come across in the country. This is what is happening.

The Vohra Committee report is an endorsement of this. The report has not, at length, spoken about everything. Therefore, I demand that this problem should be studied in all its depth and dimensions. There should be a high powered commission to study this. All the concerned people should be involved in this so that they would understand and then proper responses, proper administrative responses, could be there.

Sir, the Vohra Committee report is deficient in another aspect. Indirectly, it has admitted one phenomenon, though it did not say it openly. Somewhere, on one page, the report says that these people, the criminals, have managed to get themselves elected as Members of Legislative Assemblies and Members of parliament. Now, here, conceptually, the problem is not one of criminalisation of politics. It is a phenomenon of politicisation of criminals. The political parties are directly responsible for this politicisation of criminals because the highest body in the various political parties has endorsed the nomination of these persons. They have selected these persons and have nominated them. Therefore, no political party can escape from this.

The hon. Members, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta and Shri Trivedi, were threatening

that they would bring a privilege motion. They said: 'You must give the names of Members of Parliament who are involved'. But this is beside the point. The Vohra Committee has pointed out this phenomenon where the responsibility is on all of us. Why should we not confess that this phenomenon is very much there? We are also guilty. All the political parties are guilty. Therefore, I want that this aspect also should be dealt with properly.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, another angle has been left out in the report. The report says that criminalisation of politics started from 1967. I beg to differ. How did they come to this conclusion? I do not know. There is no corroborative evidence given for this in the report. But as far as we know, one fertile source for criminalisation of politics, and politicisation of criminals, one main source, is communal-ism. Criminals were taken by the order to achieve a goal. They were decided by communal interests.

I would say that this phenomenon started long before partition. I can give you one instance. It is instructive for us. We can learn from this. In 1945, Mahatma Gandhi went to Calcutta, at a time when election fever had gripped West Bengal. Election was just on the anvil. At the time, Shri Fazlul Haq, the veteran leader who moved the Pakistan Resolution in 1940, came to see Gandhiji. By that time he had dissociated himself from the Muslim League, he had formed his own party. He came to Mahatma Gandhi and said: 'Bapuji, I am not able to hold a single meeting; the goondas are spoiling my meeting; they are beating my people; the Muslim League goondas are doing this'. He said: 'I want your help; I want you to talk to the Governor of Bengal to help me'. Mahatma Gandhi, in his characteristic way, said: 'I will definitely talk to the Governor to help you, but I would like to ask you one question: why have you come to such a pass?'. Gandhiji said: 'If you are the leader of your people, your people should solve the

problem; they should stand by you; they should not allow goondas to come to your meetings'. 'My suspicion is that' Mahatma Gandhiji said: 'I admit that the Muslim League is also not too much with the people; they have taken up a fanatic slogan, but you should have been able to counter it, which you have not been able to do'. Gandhiji told Shri Haq: 'I always blame the leaders; If they move with the people, If they do not change their political opinion too many times, they would have been able to mobilise the people and fight this out; anyway, I would talk to the Governor'.

Now, Sir, this specific reply of Gandhiji is relevant for us even today. Are we with the people? What do we see? If we are weak, we depend on the goondas. Wherever we are weak, we depend on rigging. Wherever we are weak, we depend on money power. Why should we do it? Why should we do it if we are with the people and for the people? If we are honest to the people, if we are honest to the people's interests, even if we are thrown out of power. Let us be thrown out of power, so what? People can become more powerful even being out of power. If we do not take this attitude, I tell you, nothing good will happen to us.

Communalism is the greatest source, I have seen it myself. We were born at a time when the Second World War was there, and we have all grown up with communal riots. I have myself seen riots at my teen age, in my college days, in my University days. And I can tell you, all the criminals appeared in India and if they politicized criminals and criminalized politics, it is through the communal channel. They, at one time, championed either a linguistic cause, and ethnic cause or a religious cause, and they have mixed up with them. That is why I want that a high-powered committee should go into it to find out what are the communal channels through which they are coming. By flocking to the political parties and capturing their highest policy-making machinery, they are getting themselves

nominated. This is the crux of the question.

Sir, I have got a few suggestions to make. If such a high-powered body studies the whole gamut of the problem, then my suggestion is also this that they should have a fresh look to find out what improvement can be made in our Criminal Procedure Code, because it is our sufficient as it is. Many police officers who have retired, veteran officers, say that at the time of riots and all such things they found it difficult to cope with them with the present laws. In the Representation of the People Act now there is a provision that if somebody is convicted, then he is not fit to be given a nomination. But I think we should be very stringent. There should be some amendment to the Representation of the People Act, that if there is a *prima-facie* case against any body or if there is a criminal nexus, he should be debarred from being considered as a nominee. This is my second suggestion.

I have a third suggestion also. I beg to differ from the hon. Member, Mr. M.A. Baby, who said that it is not a question of all political parties sitting together. It is a question of all political parties sitting together. That is how you can do it. Open your minds and let the nation- come out of the morass in which it is bogged down today because, if it remains like this, no Prime Minister, no President, no Chief Minister will be able to rule this country. They themselves will be at the mercy of these mafia groups. Therefore, let all political parties sit together and adopt a code of conduct on certain basic issues. We do not want any rules and regulations. On certain major issues which are throwing a challenge to our polity, to our nation, let them agree, and once this code of conduct is mutually agreed upon, it can be enforceable even by the Election Commission at the time of elections. The Election Commission can take note of it and enforce it. These are a few suggestions which have come to my mind.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I come from the North-East. Hon. Gujralji has said that the judicial procedure is very slow. I can inform you and him and the entire House that the judicial procedure is not only slow but, if you ask me, for me it is dead; it does not exist. There are parts of India where it does not exist. I have not seen during the last two decades, a murderer being brought to book. A murderer confessing to the crime, making a confession before a First Class Magistrate, is there but the case has not come up for hearing in the court. And the same murderers are getting elected and holding high positions in politics. This is the phenomenon.' When no murderer is being booked, no murderer is being punished, why should not the murderer's group extract money? Extortion and extremism has become an industry, a high-profit industry, a no-risk industry. You bribe the police, you bribe the politicians. In every political party you will have your channels everybody is willing to help you for his own personal end at the expense of the party. The party high command will be taken for a ride and the criminals rule above ground and they rule underground. This is the phenomenon. Underground they control by their entire mafia group, collecting money; overground also they rule. There are areas in this country today where a State Government Cabinet decision will not be taken until and unless it is agreed to by these elements—I am telling you. Let me inform this House, this is the pass we have come to!

Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I make an impatient appeal to all political parties. Let not our Left Front people say that they are out of it. I know it. I go twice a week to Calcutta. I know what is happening there. I know about the condition of my own party. I know about the condition of the BJP. We have got first-rate information. So let us all sit together and get out of it because it is with all political parties. Very very respectable leaders very honest leaders genuine leaders are sitting here. Should we all become

irrelevant? If these ladders become irrelevant today the political parties will become irrelevant. Then Mafias will fight elections. I do not know what kind of elections.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman for giving me the opportunity to say these words. Thank you once again.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, it was in the year 1968 that I got elected to the Tamil Nadu Legislature and I became a Member of the Tamil Nadu Legislature. It is nearly 27 years now. From then continuously without any interruption. I have been either a legislator or a parliamentarian. When I retire most probably it will be 30 years continuously. There have been many politicians who have been in legislatures intermittently. They may be in politics. They may be in power. They may be out of power. They may be in legislature or they may be out of legislature. I am one who will retire most probably after 30 continuous years, something like the government service without even one day's interruption.

When I joined politics in 1968, one thing that was uppermost in our minds those days was the respectability that we got by becoming a Member of the Legislature. That was the only interest. The second thing was that you would be very helpful to the people. Naturally you will be highly respected. That was the motive with which we all came to politics those days.

When I went to the Legislature of Tamil Nadu, the salary that I got was Rs. 250 and we were paid Rs. 25 per diem. Since I come from an agricultural family my parents and grandparents had earned and saved something. ...*(Interruptions)*.

Even in those days it was very difficult to live with Rs. 25/-. ...*(Interruptions)*.

I was elected to the Tamil Nadu Legislative Council in 1968 from a graduates constituency. I was representing the Swatantra Party those days. I was a

Member of the Upper House of Tamil Nadu for four terms consecutively. Then I was nominated by the Governor. Then I was nominated by the then Tamil Nadu Chief Minister MGR. Several nominations came to me and I was elected.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Why do you give your own example? People like you are very few.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, why I am telling this is.. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.M. SAYEED: I have been a legislator for the last 28 years continuously. I am senior to you by one year.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir he says that he has been a legislator for the last 28 years continuously. I am very happy about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): You monopolise it. You don't permit anybody else to come in.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: With the small amount of salary we were receiving it used to be a full-time job.

In 1959, I wanted to join some political party. Then Rajaji came. He started the Swatantra Party. I had not had an opportunity to work with Gandhiji. Rajaji was highly respected in Tamil Nadu. I thought why I should not join him so that I would have an opportunity some time later to say that I belonged to that party and that I was closely connected with him. I was very fortunate. I was in that party. I was the District Secretary. I was the State Council Member. I was the Central Council Member. I held all positions. I had an opportunity to be with him.

When I was the District Secretary of my district unit of the Party there was an incident which I still remember. The Preliminary Conference of the Swatantra Party was held in Thanjavur. At that time he was opposed to Nehru. He was opposed to Kamaraj also. It so happened that when the Conference was held Mr.

Masani, Mr. Ranga and Rajaji came to that Conference. Immediately after the Conference Rajaji was to go to Madras. Rajaji had a propensity of going to the railway station one hour before the departure of the train. So he said, "The train leaves at ten o'clock. I have to be there at nine o'clock." We said, "The railway station is very near. You can go to the railway station within fifteen minutes' time. There is no necessity for you to go to the railway station." We all tried to persuade him. He said "No, no. We have to be very punctual. My habit it that whenever I go by train, I have to be one hour before at the railway station." So, we all went to the railway station. Mr. Masani did not come. Mr. Ranga came later. Rajaji was the first. We all went there. We raj to the Railway Station Master and told him that Rajaji had come and we wanted a chair for him to sit in the platform. The Station Master said, "My youngmen, I would not give a chair. I ant mortally afraid. Your old man is opposing Nehru Ji. He is opposing Kamaraj Ji. If I have a chair, tomorrow my Station Master's position will be at stake. I would not give a chair." I did not know what to do. We were young in those days. So, we ran outside the platform and got a chair from a shop and brought it to the platform. In the mean time, he was standing and watching what was happening. He asked me: "Young man where had you been?" I told him that we had gone to fetch a chair. "The first lesson I want to tell you, youngman, is that you should not be after a chair in politics," he said. That was the thing that he was telling, that politicians should not aspire for chairs. But, now politicians aspire only for a chair. That is the difference. During those days when somebody wanted to recruit somebody for politics, he would ask if he had got any other profession, he never wanted a full-time politician. That is what he used to say. If he is a full time politician, he will start earning in politics. He should earn somewhere and spend money in politics. That kind of a thing he wanted.

Unfortunately, over a period of time we could not do politics in Tamil Nadu, because by that time politics had become a full-time profession. In the beginning we used to have only 50 per cent of the time after we concluded everything to devote to politics. It was not possible to do politics in the evening after we concluded everything. So, Rajaji's scheme even then was not working in 1959. During 1958, when somebody became a politician or when somebody became a legislator, he used to get respectability. Gujral Ji and Trivedi Ji were also talking about the respectability of the legislators, Parliamentarians, politicians and Ministers. They said respectability was being eroded. Sir, I have been one who had been seeing cinemas very frequently. I used to see films sitting for two to three hours. Now, for the last about 20 years I have not been going to see pictures at all. If we see any Tamil picture, we find a politician being depicted as the worst criminal. I do not know how many of you are seeing them. In most of the films the politician depicted to be in league with mafias, smugglers and even the Minister is shown thereatening a police officer and how he gets sandalwood, etc. This is the whole story in the films. The result is that these days what to say about the middle class people, even the young children do not have any respect for the politicians. When I was the Presiding Officer of the Council, one legislator came to me and asked me that he wanted to move privilege motion against a filmmaker. I told him that it was not possible since if he did so he would all the time be transacting on the privilege motions and he would have to go everyday because it is so in every story of a film. That is the condition in which we are operating. We first become legislators and then become a Minister. Whether we are respected or not, we get power. Ultimately what happens is that by getting the power, we start getting money also. In Tamil Nadu, there is a proverb which says a monkey by itself is very mischievous. If a monkey drinks today, it becomes very mischievi-

ous. In politics you get power. Power itself goes into your head. Suppose by that power you are able to get money also.

Then both join together and you lose your head. Somebody asked me what was the connection between power and money was. The connection between the two is the same as between iron and magnet kept together. If you have the power, you have the money. So, ultimately over a period of time when you are in politics, through power-brokering as legislator or Minister or whatever it is, you start earning money. Money comes so easily. The other day some other friend was saying that money comes disproportionately. If you are in any other profession, say, you are a doctor or a lawyer, you have to acquaint yourself with certain education and practice and then you start earning money. Suppose you are a top cardiac surgeon. Perhaps you may earn some lakhs of rupees. But, if you are what to talk of being a legislator, a budding legislator, and if you are very close to a Minister, you can make lakhs and lakhs of rupees very very easily. This is the kind that is going on in politics of today. Ultimately, what we have been saying is that they come to the Government and earn money. Then, people say, "Since the Minister is earning money, the other man is also earning money." Then somebody says, "Without money how do they go into politics? Politics need money. Elections need money." We try to say that you make money when you are in power because tomorrow when you are out of power, what will you do? You cannot contest elections. Somebody wanted me to contest an election. He said, "I will make you a Minister." But I told him, "I do not want to become a Minister because I cannot spend that much of money for politics." The salary of a Minister is Rs. 1,50/- . Tomorrow, after becoming a Minister, a number of people may come to my house. If I start giving coffee to everybody, then, that Rs. 1,500/- will vanish. From where do I get the money? If you are going to contest an

election to the MLA seat, you have to spend Rs. 10 lakhs. If you are going to contest an election for an M.P. seat, you have to spend Rs. 20 lakhs. The other day I was coming by the DTC M.P.s. van. Somebody asked me, "You belong to so and so party. Why are you coming by this van? What has happened?" The question is, if you are a leader of a political party, you are not supposed to come by a van. You have to come by a big car. That is the position. For those rainy days, you have to earn while you are in power. Everybody accepts it. While you are in power, you earn money. Suppose you are out of power. That money will come in handy when you contest for the next elections. Again you earn money. So, this cycle goes on. Whichever may be the party, either the ruling party or the Opposition party, this is what is happening. So, money becomes such an important proposition. Both money and power combined together, naturally, you will win the election. Unless you win the elections, you cannot come to power. So, for winning the election, you need money, you need musclemen. Even by criminality you want to come to power. This is what is happening.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Mr. Swaminathanji, will you yield for a minute? I want to substantiate what you have said. There was a story of a politician who got elected from a constituency. Later on, he earned money. Next time, he wanted to contest the election, he went before the electorate and requested them to vote for him. The electorate was very unhappy. They said, "Why should we vote for you? You have made a lot of money." The politician told the electorate, "That is precisely why you should elect me because when the new man comes in, he would start collecting money. So, I have already collected some money, I will do some work. I will take a little money. So, you elect me."

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यही प्ली था कांग्रेस का 57 के चुनाव में कि हमारा तो पेट भर गया, जिनका नहीं भरा, वह खाएंगे ... (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Then, somebody said, "If you become very corrupt, then, naturally, you will not get elected." My honourable friends here may remember that in Tamil Nadu Assembly an incident took place. The Chief Minister of the State accused another Minister in his Cabinet. The Chief Minister accused him, "You are the most corrupt man in my Ministry. You have accumulated so much wealth and property." When he went out of his party, he opposed him within the Legislature. It was true that he was the most corrupt politician in Tamil Nadu. Later on, in the next elections, he was the only person who got the maximum number of votes. Why I am saying is this, if you are really corrupt and make a lot of money, that money goes a long way in getting you elected.

One Chief Minister told a politician of his party that he should contest an election. He told him, "How can I contest an election? I do not have the money. If you can give me about Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 lakhs, then, I will contest the election." He went away. He did not reply anything. Later on the Chief Minister said, "What sort of man is he? He is not the proper man. I gave him some position as the President of some board. I made him a trustee of a temple and all that. This fellow has not earned any money. He is a useless fellow. He will not be good for politics." This thing has not only happened in politics but it has happened in business also. The other day I was sitting in my office because I have a business. A former collector of a district in my State came to me and said, "I understand that you are going to advertise for the posts of Managers (Administration). I am interested in applying for it. I was formerly a collector. Now, in my own way, I have to be in business because I had been a very honest man. For twenty years, I had been an administrator." Then, I told him "All right, I will think about it and let you know." Then, there was a business man, a Chettiar.

He was a Vysya community man. He was sitting beside me. After this man had gone, he told me immediately, "This man is unfit for business." I asked him, "Do you know him?". He said, "I do not know him. But this man says he was a DRO, he was a Collector for 20 years. And now comes and asks for a job! Don't give him any job in your company. He is an unfit man." This is what is happening either in business or in politics.

One boy, a medical college student, came to me. He is a close relation of mine. He said that his father was quite useless. His father is a manager in a nationalised bank. I asked him, "Why are you saying so?". That boy was doing the third year of his MBBS course. He said, "My father says he is not capable of getting marks for me." This is what the student says! So, now, to be a capable parent, you should not only be capable of getting marks for your boy, but you should also get him admitted in a college. If you are not able to get him admitted, he will say, "Useless father!". So, if you are a businessman, you should make a lot of black money to give to people. Likewise, a politician should also make a lot of black money. Unless you separate this combine of power and money, it is going to play havoc in this country. That is what I say.

Finally, I would only say two things. We see three reports in today's 'The Hindu'. I am not going into any party matter. One report is about the discussion in the M.P. Assembly regarding the smuggling of arms in the State in the Malwa region about which Gujralji also made a mention. This is relating to an adjournment motion on the alleged smuggling of arms across the Gujarat border and the seizure along with a US Carbine-30 from a farmhouse near Indore which is closely associated with a corporator from Ratlam. This is what they say: "A truckload of arms and ammunition, including 37 AK-47s, AK-57s, RDX and other things have come

in." This is one thing that is reported in *The Hindu*'.

Another report is about an incident in Rajasthan. We are now getting panchayats. We are saying that panchayats will be a redeeming factor, many people say that when Panchayats come, They will see to it that roads and other things are laid. Administrators and politicians are becoming very corrupt. The panchayat people will oversee everything and see that the money is spent properly. What has happened in Rajasthan? Three 'harijan' people were murdered. Why were they murdered? There was a nexus between the panchayat members of the locality and an officer, one engineer and one gram sewak. All these people joined together and made a lot of money. Now, the Collector of that area—they call him District Magistrate—came and made an inquiry. These three 'harijan' boys were witnesses against all the panchayat members, the gram sewak and the engineer. They got so much offended that they not only murdered them, but when the inquiry was going on, the District magistrate was surrounded and gheraoed by the panchayat members. That is what is happening. I was also one who was saying that when we established panchayats, everything would become all right. Now, what may happen is, the corruption phenomenon which is in Parliament and the legislatures may get into the panchayats also. Panchayat members may start earning money. The power that you are giving, they may start earning money. They may use it for that purpose. I do not know how you are going to prevent that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Then it is decentralisation of corruption!

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Yes, decentralisation.

I have one more thing, there is a report in *'The Hindu'* about corruption of officials. Six motor vehicle inspector?

were arrested by the Central bureau of Investigation, in one man's house, they have found about Rs. 1.25 lakhs. That is nothing. They have found deposits worth Rs. 15 lakhs and jewels worth Rs. 16 lakhs. All these things, we can understand. The total value of the seizure was Rs. 1.5 crores. That is the kind of corruption we have. I can understand a motor vehicles inspector making Rs. 1,50,000. Even Rs. 1-1/2 lakhs, I can understand. But he has made Rs. 1.5 crores in Delhi, under your very nose. This is what is happening.

It you consider all these things, we are in a very bad position and unless we rectify it very early by drastic action, We will be in serious trouble. This democracy will be in serious trouble. In conclusion, I would like to say that an all-political party leaders meeting—not only parliamentary party leaders, but political party leaders meeting—should be immediately convened by the Prime Minister to find methods to clear public life of corruption and criminality. I suggest that the Prime Minister should call a meeting of all the leaders of the political parties, not the Parliamentary parties, because in some Parliamentary parties, the political leaders have to take action. Suppose an opinion has to be given by my Chief Minister and the General Secretary of my party.

In their party, their chief will be sitting somewhere else. So, it is better that a meeting of the political parties' leaders is called at the level of the Prime Minister and not even at the level of the Home Minister and we should try to chalk out an immediate plan as to what exactly we should do. This is one thing. After having arrived at a common decision, the same should be implemented immediately, especially before the next General Elections. The General Elections will be somewhere in February or March, 1996. So, you have still time. Some credibility has to be built with the people that some action is being taken in this respect.  
(interruptions)

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI (Gujarat): Mr. Swaminathan, I would be grateful if you yield to me for a minute. The suggestion is very welcome. But as per the report, the leaders of the political parties—they have not identified the leader!;—themselves are criminals and mafias. (*Interruptions*) if you call the leaders and discuss it with them, maybe, you are discussing it with some of the mafias themselves.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: You see, there is a proverb in Tamil. Suppose a woman has committed a sin, that woman can go to the Ganges and have a dip and remove her sins. Suppose the Ganges itself is sinful, where will it go? So, a woman who has committed some sin, can go to the Ganges, have a dip in the Ganges and remove her sins. Suppose the Ganges itself becomes sinful, where will the Ganges go and have a dip? There is no other place. So, we should have a meeting only with the leaders that we have, may be, we have criminal leaders. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): That is all. Don't get disturbed.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: we can operate with our leadership because we have our leaders, good or bad, and those leaders should come together and find a solution because the stake is very high. They themselves may get into the whole problem tomorrow. In that event, they themselves will be engulfed by criminality. Tomorrow the criminals will come and occupy the office of the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister. So, before they come and occupy these offices, it is better to stop them from coining and occupying these offices, it would be in your own interest because you want to occupy these posts. You do not want the criminals to come and occupy these posts. Otherwise, tomorrow, somebody will say that a criminal has occupied the post of the Prime Minister. So, beware! Stop them

from coming so that you can continue occupying your posts. That is what I am saying. At the same time, the Central Government, in consultation with the party leaders, should bring in a legislation for the constitution of the Lokpal which should include the prosecution of the Prime Minister, the Central Ministers, the Chief Ministers, the Members of Parliament and the MLAs and other public figures.

Fourthly, there should be a code of conduct for political parties so that they may not choose anyone with criminal character. There should be a code of conduct immediately devised so that no political party chooses anyone having a criminal background.

Fifthly, the nodal agency should not remain only with the Secretary to the Government. I personally feel that the Secretary can do nothing if the Minister is having a criminal background. If the higher-ups have criminal record, what will the Secretary do? So, the nodal agency should be manned by a body of independent persons. It should not be manned by a Secretary because the Secretary will not be in a position to do anything if the other party happens to be a Minister.

Sixthly, the party funds should be audited by an independent agency such as the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. Such an agency exists in Germany. So, the accounts should be properly audited.

There should be a legal provision to require that all receipts of money, in excess of Rs. one lakh which are given to the political parties, should be given only by cheques.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Ethics Committee, as suggested by Shri Inder Kumar Gujaral, on the lines of the Privileges Committee of Parliament, should be constituted, and whenever a complaint is received by this Committee, the Committee should have powers to go into it and even remove the Member as

had happened in the case of Mr. Mudgil. So, I suggest that the Ethics Committee should be constituted immediately by Rajya Sabha. These are some of my suggestions. Thank you very much, Sir, for having given me a very valuable opportunity to say a few words.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL):** Thank you very much, Mr. Swaminathan, for a very refreshing speech.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम लोग अपने युग की सबसे कठिन समस्या पर विचार कर रहे हैं क्योंकि राजनीति के अपराधीकरण की सबसे कठिन समस्या इस देश में हैं।

जैसा कि गुजराल साहब ने अभी कहा और दूसरे मित्रों ने कहा कि जो नशीले पदार्थों का व्यापार करते हैं, वह भी इस में बड़ी तादाद में हैं और जो लोग हथियार लाते हैं या बेचते हैं, वह भी इस में शामिल हैं। यह एक ऐसी समस्या है जिससे कि डेमोक्रेसी को ही खतरा है, पूरे देश के लिए खतरा है और इस का तुरंत कोई हल हो जाएगा, यह हम को नजर नहीं आता। यह काफी कठिन काम है क्योंकि ड्रग्स ट्राफिक के बारे में जब हम बात करते हैं तो अमेरिका जैसा देश जो कि रिसोर्सेस के मामले में बहुत पारफुल है और जहां कि ड्रग्स रिलेटेड क्राइम्स टोटल क्राइम्स का 40 परसेंट है, वह चैक नहीं कर पा रहा है। इस तरह यह एक कठिन समस्या है, लेकिन कठिन होने के बावजूद भी इंसान ही इसे काबू करने की शुरुआत करता है। दुर्भाग्य से हमारे साथ दिक्कत यह है कि हम इस वक्त इस सवाल पर विचार कर रहे हैं। जबकि हमारी सरकार की छवि सबसे नीचे गिरी हुई है। आखिर कोई लीडर ही तो इस समस्या के हल की दिशा में चलेगा और तभी यह काम हो सकता है।

महोदय, जैसा कि बहुत से मित्रों ने कहा और हमें पहले से ही मालूम है कि नेहरू जी के समय में, जिनके वक्त की अपने तारीफ की उन के वक्त में भी संथानम् रिपोर्ट दी गयी थी कि ये सारे काम हो रहे हैं। तो यह कोई नहीं बात नहीं है, लेकिन अभी सब से बड़ी समस्या यह है कि सरकार की प्रतिष्ठा सब से गिरी हुई स्थिति में है और ऐसी सरकार कुछ कर सकेगी, इस में मुझे शंका है। अब राजनीति में जब भ्रष्टाचार आ जाये या समाज में जब कोई कठिन परिस्थिति आ जाए भ्रष्टाचार की या प्रशासन अगर बहुत भ्रष्ट हो जाये तो इस सब के लिए डेमोक्रेसी में एक दावा है कि पोलिटिकल पार्टीज उसे

दुरुस्त करें क्योंकि पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को ही यह अधिकार भी है और क्षमता भी है कि वह जन-मानस को परिवर्तित करती हैं, जन-मानस को वही बदलती हैं। एक आफिसर जन-मानस को नहीं बदलेगा, उसे तो पोलिटिकल पार्टीज ही बदलती है और अपने देश में पोलिटिकल पार्टीज की क्या हालत हो गयी है? बहुत-सी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं जिन में कि चुनाव ही नहीं होते हैं। मेरे ख्याल से कुछ लेफ्ट पार्टीज और भारतीय जनता पार्टी छोड़कर किसी के चुनाव नहीं होते।

**डा. मुरली मनोहर जोशी :** (उत्तर प्रदेश) इसी कारण सुखी हैं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र:** हमारे मित्र लोग दुखी होंगे यह जानकर, लेकिन यह हो रहा है। कई पार्टीज व्यक्ति पर आधारित होती हैं। एक-एक पार्टी, एक-एक नाम पर है। अभी स्वामीनाथन जी बोल रहे थे। अब नाम लेना ठीक नहीं है, नहीं तो इन की चीफ मिनिस्टर ही इन की पार्टी हो गयी है। आंध्रप्रदेश में ऐसा हो गया कि एक व्यक्ति चाहे जिस को हटा देगा। अब “कलीग्स” नहीं समझते जैसे कि पहले होता था। तो सब में बड़ी समस्या राजनीतिक पार्टीज को सुधारने की हैं। अगर राजनीतिक पार्टीज सुधर जाएं तो फिर दूसरी बातें भी की जा सकती हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस संबंध में सकारिया कमीशन ने देश की सबसे बड़ी पार्टी कांग्रेस पार्टी के संबंध में क्या लिखा है, वह उस के पेज -15 से मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ-

"As the old guard of the pre-Independence days began to vanish from the political scene by sheer efflux of time, a composition of the Congress Party underwent a change, Particularly in the States. The new political leaders were distinctly different from their predecessors. They were younger and not steeped in the Gandhian traditions of pre-Independence era."

अब “गांधी टोपी” किसी को नहीं दिखेगी।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सतीश अग्रवाल) —** संघ प्रिय गौतम जी पढ़ने हुए हैं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र:** वह कांग्रेस पार्टी में हैं?

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सतीश अग्रवाल) :** नहीं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** मैंने सोचा कि शायद कोई चेंज हुआ हो। प्रधान मंत्री जी भी पहन कर जाते हैं तो शोक से कभी एकाध बार देखा है।

"Political life was not seen as in the days of freedom struggle as a sacrifice for the nation. Rather, it became a political career and a means of reaching for power and wealth in varying proportions."

"It was no longer the lawyer or the doctor sacrificing a lucrative practice or the teacher throwing up his calling to join politics. It was the local leader commanding money, muscle power, caste and communal loyalty who came to the forefront of State politics."

जड़ जो है, वह यही है। पोलिटिकल चरित्र कंपोजीशन बिल्कुल बदल गया है। जो वह गांधियनिज्म, आजादी की तरंग में हम लोग थे, वह बदल गए। खतरा यहां से हो गया है और जब पोलिटिकल पार्टी सी हो जाएगी तो एम.एल.ए उसी का नोमीनेशन होगा। एम.पी उसी का नोमीनेशन होगा। यह कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है। यह कांग्रेस के बारे में बात कहीं, द दूसरी सबसे बड़ी पार्टी है हमारी भारतीय जनता पार्टी।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री रजनी रंजन साहू :** बिहार आपकी पार्टी बहुत अच्छी है, बहुत बड़ी है।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** क्या?

**गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री राजेश पायलट) :** आपकी पार्टी अच्छी, बड़ी पार्टी है।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हमारी पार्टी तो बहुत छोटी है। साफ-साफ बात होनी चाहिए। अगर हम इतने मजबूत रहते तो यह सब नहीं होने देते। हम यह आपको कहते हैं।

**श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री :** (उत्तर प्रदेश): आप जितने परिणाम में हैं, उतने परिणाम में आपकी स्वच्छता है?

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हमारा ख्याल है, हमने एक दूसरे दिन भी कहा था, कोई इंडिपेंडेंट कमीशन सेटअप कर लीजिए। क्राइम और करप्शन में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से हम कहते हैं कि लोएस्ट होगा।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम :** भारतीय जनता पार्टी से ज्यादा होगा।...(व्यवधान)...

चुनौती है हमारी।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** तो चुनौती लीजिए।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम :** हम चुनौती स्वीकार करते हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सतीश अग्रवाल) :** संघ प्रिय गौतम जी, प्लीज।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हम आपको यह दिखला रहे हैं। भा.ज.पा. के बारे में कल का हिन्दुस्तान आप देखिए। आप चुनौती लेना चाहते हैं। इसे देखिए-रिवल्वर के जोर पर आम सहमति का खेल, भा.ज.पा. संगठन का चुनाव। पार्टी सूत्रों के अनुसार कुछ लोगों ने श्री चंदौलिया के घर जाकर उनके बच्चों को भी धमकी दी। बाद में उन्हें मतदान केन्द्र पर निहाल सिंह ने धमकाया और जबरदस्ती नामांकन वापस लेने पर मजबूर किया। श्री चंदौलिया ने नाम वापसी के समय नामांकन पत्र लिखा है कि उन्हें धमकी दी जा रही है, अपनी जान बचाने और संगठन के हित में चुनाव से वह हट रहे हैं। अब लीजिए चुनौती, हम आपको दे देते हैं चुनौती। आप ही ने चुनौती दी, आप चुनौती दे रहे थे। अब ले लीजिए। आप ही चाह रहे थे, हम तो नहीं चाह रहे थे।...(व्यवधान)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सतीश अग्रवाल) :** प्लीज।...(व्यवधान).... सीनियर मैम्बर को आप डिस्टर्ब

He has right to speak. Maybe, it is inconvenient to you. But it does not matter.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** इसलिए हम यह कह रहे थे। आप तो शहर के रहने वाले हैं, हम लोग देहात में ज्यादा रहते हैं और देहात में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, देहात के लोग कहते हैं कि भूत लगता है। भूत प्रेत जो होता है, वह लगता है। क्या होता है कि ओझा बुलाया जाता है। ओझा सरसों लेकर झौंकता है तो भूत भाग जाता है। अब अगर सरसों में ही भूत हो तब क्या किया जाए? इस देश में सरसों में भूत हो गया है। पोलिटिकल पार्टी ही क्राइम आर्गेनाइज करने वाली बन गई। मोस्ट डेंजर्स, हमारे लिहाज से, यही घटना घट गई है। अगर इसको सीरियसली देखें तो कुछ निकल सकता है रास्ता, वरना यह जो सोच रहे हैं टिट,बिट कि प्रधानमंत्री एकाध

मीटिंग बुला लेंगे, यह कर लेंगे, वह कर लेंगे इस सबसे काम नहीं होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे मित्र कह रहे थे, स्वामीनाथन जी, कि राजा जी ने कहा था कि जो होलटाइमर है वह राजनीति न करे, जो कुछ पैसा कमाता है वही राजनीति करे। तो आज वही करता है, पैसा कमाता है और राजनीति में आता है। तो यह फिट कर गया। यह सब इस तरह से नहीं हो सकता। मैं इस चीज की ओर आपका ध्यान चाहूंगा कि क्या क्या गवर्नमेंट करें। हमारे लिहाज से इसके लिए आल साइडेड एफर्ट की जरूरत होगी और प्रोलोंगड स्ट्रगल करना पड़ेगा तब होगा और बहुत से लोगों की जान जाएगी। अगर मंत्री जी भी करेंगे तो वह भी जाएंगे। इस देश में जिसका प्रधानमंत्री मारा जाता है, तब भी उसकी इन्कवायरी इतने दिन चलती है। अभी तक वह इन्कवायरी चल रही है और अगर हम मारे जाएंगे तो उसकी तो इन्कवायरी होगी ही नहीं।

**श्री वीरेन जे. शाह:** 11 साल हो गया।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र:** हम लोग मारे जाएंगे तो कुछ नहीं होगा। वह प्रधानमंत्री कौन थे? वह थे, जिसने दूसरे शब्दों में कहा था कि पावर ब्रोकर्स ने कंट्रोल कर लिया है कांग्रेस आगेनाइजेशन को। ऐसा एक प्रधानमंत्री था, जिसने कम से कम कहा तो था। हमारे लिहाज से अगर गवर्नमेंट चाहती हैं, हमको विश्वास नहीं है, मंत्री लोग बैठे हुए हैं, हमको विश्वास नहीं है, मंत्री लोग बैठे हुए हैं, तो पहला काम करें कि ट्रांसपिरेसी को ईश्यू करें प्रत्येक कांटेक्ट में, प्रत्येक हाऊस अलॉटमेंट में। आज भी आप बहस कर रहे थे गैस देने में, तो हर चीज में ट्रांसपिअरेंसी अगर आ जाए तो हम समझते हैं कि काफी

हद तक, 10-20 परसेंट तो इसी से खत्म हो सकता है। अगर गवर्नमेंट चाहे तो इस काम को कर सकती है।

अब मैं अपने मित्रों से सहमत हूँ कि पोलिटिकल पार्टीज का एक कैंडिडेट सेटअप करने का कोड आफ कंडक्ट हो लेकिन इस कोड आफ कंडक्ट की देखभाल इलेक्शन कमीशन करें अगर हम ही लोग करेंगे तो हम लोगों के सर्विधान में तो है ही कि चोर-बदमाश नहीं आना चाहिए, यह तो पहले ही है। इसलिए कंडक्ट की देखभाल करने के लिए उसको कहें ताकि कोई क्रिमिनल नहीं आए और अगर पोलिटिकल पार्टी आनेस्ट हैं तो हम अभी यही कहेंगे कि होम मिनिस्टर हैं, आप भी तो हमारे राज्य गृह मंत्री हैं, सभी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को राजी कर लीजिए और अभी जो सदस्य हैं उन्हें की एक नोडल एजेंसी बनाएं उनके जरिए से आप सबकी रिपोर्ट जमा

करें और चाहे प्रधान मंत्री हों, चाहे गृह मंत्री हों, उनके साथ एक कमेटी बनाएं जो राजनीतिक पार्टियों में, अपोजीशन हो या दूसरी पार्टियां हों, इस बारे में देखें। अभी जो लोग हैं उनके चरित्र को देख लीजिए, कई पार्टियां में से लोग हैं जो 6-6, 7-7 मर्डर करके आए हैं, जो माननीय सदस्य हैं अभी भी। तो यहीं से क्यों नहीं बिगेन करते हैं?

**गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री ( श्री पी. एम. सईद )**  
राज्य सभा में है।?

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** अब कौन सभा में हैं, अगर यह देंगे तो आप तुरंत उठ जाएंगे कि मानहानि करते हैं और आपको तो मालूम ही है कि कहां- कहां हैं, आपसे तो कोई छुपा हुआ नहीं है, आपको अपनी पार्टी के बारे में भी पूरा पता है।

**श्री वीरेन जी. शाह:** राजेश जी, जरा आगे—पीछे देखेंगे तो नज़र आ जाएंगे।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** तो, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कह रहा था...(व्यवधान)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष ( श्री सतीश अग्रवाल ) :** मिश्र जी, जरा एक मिनट के लिए क्षमा करें। ऐसा है कि मुझे किसी मीटिंग में जाना है और अभी कोई दूसरा पैनल वाइस चैयरमैन अवेलेवल नहीं है। अगर सदन की अनुमति हो तो

(श्री एम.एम बेबबी पीठासीन हुए)

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि इसके लिए आपको जो इलेक्शन कॉ लॉ है रिप्रेजेंटेशन आफ पीपल्स एक्ट, उसको अमेंड करना पड़ेगा। सभी पार्टियों के मेले से आप इसको करवा लीजिए, इसको आप कर सकते हैं। लेकिन राजनीतिज्ञों के बारे में कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि नाम पब्लिश कीजिए, यह अभी संभव नहीं है क्योंकि ज्यों ही नाम पब्लिश किया जाएगा तो दूसरी पार्टियों के लोग यहां तुरंत आ जाएंगे। जीरो ऑवर तो हमारे यहां सबसे स्ट्रांग ऑवर हो गया है, बाकी जो 24 ऑवर है, वे इतने इम्पोर्टेंट नहीं हैं जिनका कि जीरो ऑवर है, तो आएगा कि पोलिटिकल विक्टिमाइजेशन हो रहा है। इसलिए जो लिफ्ट आए उसको लेकर के, हमने जो आपसे चर्चा की है कि एक एपेक्स बाडी बने जिसमें प्रधान मंत्री रहे या जो भी आप तय करें और रिकग्राइज्ड पार्टी के नेता रहें और वे इसको बैठकर के सार्ट-आउट करें कि इस तरह की बात हो रही है। यह बिगेन कीजिए नहीं तो हमको पूरे पुलिस रिकार्ड पर ही भरोसा नहीं है,

वह आएगा, वहां लोग जांचेंगे। राजनीतिज्ञों के बारे में उसको जांचने के लिए दीजिए कि वह इसको करें।

दूसरा जो सबसे बड़ा सवाल है कि अगर आप क्रिमिनलाइजेशन आफ प्रोलिटिक्स को रोकना चाहते हैं आपने नोडल एजेंसी को तो बनाया है शायद, जैसी कि आपने चर्चा की है, कि आपने बनाया है। हमारा ख्याल है, एक बहुत पुरानी बात है, “चाणक्य” ने लिखा था कि अगर भ्रष्टाचार को रोकना है तो उसका तरीका यह है कि अफसर ही खुफिया, उसी में बहाल कर दीजिए। संस्कृत में उन्होंने कहा था कि:-

कंटकम नेव कंटिका

माने कांटा निकालने के लिए जैसे कांटे की जरूरत होती है, वैसे ही सरकारी अफसरों में जो भ्रष्ट हैं उनको उसी में रखकर के खुफिया को रखकर के साथ के आप कांटे को निकालिए। तो हम यह चाहेंगे कि पहले आप आई.ए.एस., आई.पी.एस. अफसरों को दुरुस्त कर लें। मंत्री महोदय हम आपसे कहना चाहते हैं कि बहुत से आपके आई.ए.एस. अफसर और आई.पी.एस. अफसर फंड कलेक्ट करते हैं और मिनिस्टर को देते हैं हैं, सरटेन कमीशन लेते हैं ओर रख लेते हैं। एस.पी.जे. आर. देअर, हम जानते हैं उनको जो अपराधकर्मियों से पैसा जमा कर-कर के देते हैं। यह तो आपकी अपनी सर्विसिज हैं, इसके लिए तो आपको किसी को पूछना नहीं है तो यहां क्यों नहीं “कंटकम नेव कंटिका”, यहां शुरू कर दीजिए अगर आप ईमानदार हैं तो, लेकिन अगर आप लोग ही लेते हैं तो शुरू कैसे होगा। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

**डा. मुरली मनोहर जोशी :** वह तो दोनों की कांटे हैं ना।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** इसलिए हम यह चाहेंगे कि सेन्ट्रल सर्विसेज को आप स्टार्ट कीजिए। जो नॉडल एजेंसी हैं वह हमारे एजेंसी से डिफ्रेंट है, वह इंफर्मेशन कलेक्ट करे, आपके आई.ए.एस., आई.पी.एस. आफिसर्स या सेन्ट्रल सर्विसेज के लोगों का हो, नेशनल ट्रिब्यूनल सैटअप कर दीजिए, उनका केस वहां रैफर कर दीजिए। हम लोगों ने उनको आर्टिकल -311 में काफी अधिकार दिए हैं कि वह स्वतंत्र रह सकते हैं, उनको कोई रोकने वाला नहीं है। तो इसलिए आप वैसी कमेटी सैटअप कर दीजिए। वहीं जांच करे, एम्पॉवर्ड रहे कि उसमें फिर आर्टिकल -311 आकर रोके नहीं और वर्षों लम्बे केस न चले, वैसा कानून बनाकर आप उनको दीजिए।

एक दूसरा सबसे बड़ा काम कीजिए, जो सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक है, वह यह कि ट्रांसफर और पोस्टिंग का राइट मिनिस्टर्स से छीन लिया जाए। अफसरों की कमेटी रहे हर जगह, हर जगह मायने हर स्तर पर, ऊंचे स्तर पर और वही ट्रांसफर, पोस्टिंग करें। होता क्या है कि जहां- जहां इंकम की जगह है वहां मिनिस्टर्स अपने आदमियों को भेज देते हैं और

उसी के जरिए पैसा जमा कराते हैं...*(व्यवधान)*.. नॉडल एजेंसी केसेज जमा करे और केस जमा करके ट्रिब्यूनल को दे दें, क्योंकि ट्रिब्यूनल उसको देखेगा, एजेंसी तो आखिर जमा करेगी नहीं, तो कौन जमा करेगा। केस को जमा तो करना पड़ेगा। इसलिए हम कहते हैं कि ट्रांसफर एंड पोस्टिंग के अधिकारों से मिनिस्टर्स को वंचित कर दिया जाए और हाई आफिसर्स की कमेटी बनाकर के इसको डील करें, तभी अभी की स्थिति में इसको रोका जा सकता है।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): The Committee has also gone into the nexus between the administration and the politicians. It is not only the politicians who are to be blamed. The administration is equally involved. Please don't take it on the political angle only. There is nexus between administrative sector, political sector, industrial sector, etc. So, it has to be a combine of all these sectors.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: From politicians, now I am coming to the bureaucrats.

SHRI JAGMOHAN (Nominated): Will it include Godmen? You said nexus between bureaucrats, politicians, etc. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Yes, it will include all... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JAGMOHAN: You have seen today's report in the *Tribune* which attributes certain decisions to you relating to inquiry about a Godman who is controlling all the politics in this country. So, would you be able to say something on this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: We have received the report on Chadraswamy. I think you are mentioning about it. We

have received a complaint and the Government ordered a probe immediately to check up what his activities are where he is at fault. He will be treated as per the law. He is hot above the law. The law will take its own course, and whatever is needed will be done. ...*(Interruptions)*...

**SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI:** We compliment you for this... *(Interruptions)*...

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र:** मैंने वही कहा जो आपने कहा मंत्री महोदय। ब्यूरोक्रेट कैसे इसको करते हैं और वह कैसे क्राइम करवाते हैं, क्रिमिनल से वह कैसे जुटे हुए हैं यह हमने कहा। इस सिलसिले में हमने कहा कि मिनिस्टर्स में ट्रांसफर, पोस्टिंग के अधिकारों को हटा दिया जाए। इसलिए जहां तक इंकम की जगह होती है वहां मिनिस्टर्स अपने आफिसर्स को जिसमें उनका लिंक है वहां उनकी पोस्टिंग कर देते हैं। यह सबसे खतरनाक होता है। इसलिए हमने कहा यह नहीं कि ब्यूरोक्रेट बहुत ऐसे हैं। अगर ब्यूरोक्रेट दुरस्त हो जाएंगे तब तो कोई पॉलिटिशियन भी करप्ट नहीं होगा और अगर पॉलिटिशियन करप्ट नहीं होगा तो ब्यूरोक्रेट भी नहीं होगा। यह दोनों पर डिपेंडेंट है और इसी से तो चलता है यह बिजनेस। सबसे करप्ट जो हिस्सा है वह है बिजनेसमेन का। कुछ चर्चा की गई है इस रिपोर्ट में। यह सब को करप्ट करते हैं। पॉलिटिशियन को भी यही करप्ट करते हैं और एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर को भी यही करप्ट करते हैं। अगर यह देखना हो तो संथानम् कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में देखिए जहां पर कहा गया है कि अच्छी-अच्छी कम्पनियां खूबसूरत लड़कियां लाकर रखते हैं और आई.ए.एस. आफिसर्स वगैरह के पास भेजते हैं। यह संथानम् कमेटी रिपोर्ट है, नेहरू जी के वक्त की रिपोर्ट है। हम लोगों ने यह रिपोर्ट नहीं बनाई है। इसके बारे में हमारा ख्याल है कि आपको ऐसे बिजनेसमैन को जो इस तरह के काम करते हैं, जैसे खोटा सिक्का होता — काउंटरफीट, वह डिक्लेयर कर देना चाहिए —

**To be debarred from busniess.**

**3PR sm** अगर आप चाहते हैं कि इसको हम कर सकें। यही काफी डिफिकल्ट है, लेकिन इसको करें।

दूसरे जैसा कि इसमें चर्चा आई है क्विक डिस्पोजल ऑफ केसेज। इसके लिए तो आपको पूरी जुडिशियरी रिफार्म करना पड़ेगा। जो मैथड हमारे यहां टाइम पिटीशन लेने का, कन्ज्यूमिंग टाइम लेने का और एन्डलेस अपील का, तो इतना समय कहां चला जाता है, लगता ही नहीं

है कि मुकदमा कभी खत्म हो सकता है। तो इसलिए उसका कोई रास्ता निकालिए कि करप्शन के केसेज में और क्राइम्स के केसेज में डबल क्राइम जो इस तरह के हैं, पोलिटिशियन जो करते हैं, उसके लिए हम लोग करें।

एक और बात में आपसे सजेस्ट करूंगा, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चाहे तो उसे कर सकता है, वह यह है कि अखबारों में आम तौर पर करप्शन की बहुत बातें आती हैं। अगर गर्वनमेंट यह एक सर्कुलर दे दे कि जिसके बारे में आया है, उससे ऊंचा अफसर तुरंत उसकी जांच करा कर अखबार में प्रकाशित कराए तो सब डरने लगेंगे। इसमें तो आपका कोई पैसा खर्च नहीं होगा और न पार्लियामेंट को कोई कानून बनाने की जरूरत होगी। इसलिए इसे करना चाहिए।

दूसरा, आपकी जो अपनी चीजें हैं, जैसे बैंक हैं, रेलवे हैं, प्राइवेट ट्रांसपोर्ट है, एयर है, स्मगलिंग और गड़बड़ी करने में इन सब एजेंसियों का इस्तेमाल होता है।

पब्लिक सेक्टर है, बैंक है, बैंकों में आपने कानून बना दिया कि सारी चीजे गुप्त रखेंगे, वहीं से वे करते हैं गड़बड़ी। हमारे खुफिया विभाग के अफसर जाएंगे, इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो के लोग जाएंगे और कहेंगे कि हम डिस्कलोज नहीं करेंगे, बैंक की सीक्रेसी है। रेलवे को हम जानते हैं कि जब डीटोनेटर भेजा जाता है रेलवे से और पार्सल क्लर्क मिल जाता है और वह खबर नहीं करता है और पुलिस को कहता है कि हम आपको नहीं बताएंगे। यही प्राइवेट ट्रांसपोर्ट वाले करते हैं। तो ये तो आपका अपना मामला है। एयर में भी ऐसा हो रहा है जो हम लोग देख रहे हैं। तो यह तो आप कर सकते हैं पहले ही और आखिरी बात हम जो कहना चाहते हैं कि राज्य सरकारों का भी बहुत बड़ा रोल है लेकिन हम केन्द्र की चर्चा इसलिए की यहां से शुरू किया जाए और राज्यों में भी हमारे आई.ए.एस., आई.पी.एस. अफसर तो हैं ही। तो फिर उसी तरह का राज्य के स्तर पर करना होगा। हम तो चाहेंगे कि जहां आपकी बी.जे.पी की सरकार है, वहां से काफी खबर आ रही है, राजस्थान और अन्य जगहों से कि स्मगलिंग और ड्रग-ट्रेफिकिंग बहुत ज्यादा होती है। अब बार्डर स्टेट है, कोई इसमें आपके चलते होता हो, ऐसा हम नहीं कह रहे हैं। पहले से ऐसा हो रहा है लेकिन अभी तो आपको कुछ करके दिखाने का समय आया है कि आप कुछ करके दिखाएं तो नई बात समाज के सामने आए कि हम इसको करना चाहते हैं। तो इसलिए हम चाहेंगे कि अभी बिना इसमें गए हुए कि

मौलिक परिवर्तन किया जाए संविधान में, वह तो लंबी-चौड़ी बात होगी। हमने कुछ आपको सुझाव दिए हैं जो आप तुरंत कर सकते हैं बिना बहुत बड़ा मैलिक परिवर्तन संविधान में किए हुए लेकिन इसके लिए पोलिटिकल विल चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका सर्वथा अभाव है और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को तो शायद खोजने से भी नहीं मिलता है क्योंकि विचार ही करते रह जाएंगे वे। पांच वर्ष तो उनके विचार में ही चले जाएंगे और अगले पांच वर्ष में डिलीवरी होगी। तो इसलिए हम इसके बारे में आपको क्या कहें लेकिन अगर आप चाहते हैं कि डिलीवरी टाइमली हो तो कोई इंजाम कीजिए। उनसे आप लोग जाकर डिसकस कीजिए कि सारा देश तबाह है...(व्यवधान)...

**डा मुरली मनोहर जोशी :** हेल्थ मिनिस्टर यहां हैं...(व्यवधान)... स्वास्थ्य मंत्री हैं यहां पर, वे कर सकते हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** डिलीवरी? स्वास्थ्य मंत्री को तो वे ही लाए हैं डिलीवर करके। कहां से हम कहें कि तुरंत ही ये डिलीवरी कर देंगे? तो इसलिए आए हैं स्वास्थ्य मंत्री तो बहुत अच्छा है, काम करें।...(व्यवधान)... इलेक्ट हो कर तो आए हैं, हम कहां कह रहे हैं? यहां जो भी आए हैं...(व्यवधान)... हमने कहा कि वे डिलीवर्ड हुए हैं, कैबिनेट में हैं, इन्होंने हमसे कैबिनेट की बात कही है तो इसलिए हमने कहा है। वैसे तो सभी माननीय सदस्य हैं यहां, कोई किसी से कम नहीं हैं। तुलसी का पत्ता चाहे छोटा हो चाहे बड़ा हो, सब पूजा के लायक हैं।

**डॉ मुरली मनोहर जोशी :** आपसे यह सुनकर बहुत प्रसन्नता हो रही है।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह (बिहार):** उदाहरण पंडित जी ने दिया तो तुलसी का बहुत अच्छा।

**श्री वीरेन जे . शाह :** किस तरह की पूजा के लायक हैं?

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** असल में आप कम्युनिज्म के बारे में जितना गलत समझे हुए हैं उसको तो हम हम नहीं बता सकते हैं।

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** सी.पी.आई और सी.पी.एम बिना तुलसी के पत्ते के पवित्र नहीं होगी।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने संक्षेप में यह कहा आपने को लिमिट में रखकर कि अगर इसको करना हो तो अभी भी वक्त है, इसको किया जा सकता है। पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ से शुरू करना चाहिए, यही हमारा कहना है।

5-00 P.M.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.A. BABY): Now, hardly there is one minute for 5 o'clock at 5 o'clock, we have to have it.

Half-an-Hour Discussion. Now, it is 5 o'clock. Now, we take up this Half-an-Hour Discussion and it would be better if we conclude this Half-an-Hour Discussion within half an hour.

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: With your permission, I want to tell you in one sentence only.

**विपक्ष के नेता ( श्री सिकन्दर बख्त ) :** अब तो अंग्रेजी में हो गया।

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** मैं हिन्दी में कर रहा हूँ। महोदय, यह राजनेताओं की ही मनोवृत्ति है कि हम राजनीति अपराधीकरण पर इतने खुले दिल से देश में चर्चा कर रहे हैं और इसलिए इस बात के लिए दाद देनी पड़ेगी कि भारतीय राजनीति और भारतीय राजनीति के लोगों का मोरल अभी कम से कम ऊंचा है कि अपने दोष को देखने के लिए सारी दुनियां के सामने चर्चा करत हैं। यह भी मिसाल अपने सामने रखनी पड़ेगी। इसलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ कि एक अधिकारी ने रिपोर्ट दे दी, लेकिन यदि आप देखेंगे कि राजनेताओं के बारे में अगर इस तरह की बातें हुई हैं तो हर जगह इस तरह की बातें हो सकती हैं। लेकिन उससे मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि भारतीय राजनीति का बिल्कूल अपराधीकरण हो गया है या बिल्कूल मोरल गिर गया है या सब के सब राजनीति में जो लोग हैं, उनका स्तर गिरा हुआ है। मैं यह नहीं मानता हूँ। मैं अभी भी मानता हूँ कि राजनीति दल ऊंचे हैं। मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि महात्मा गांधी की 125 वीं जयन्ती मनाई जा रही है। उसमें हर किसी को दल से ऊपर उठकर इस बात का निर्णय लेना चाहिए, कम से कम गांधी जी की 125 वीं जयन्ती के वर्ष में हम कोई अपराध नहीं करेंगे। राजनीति को

अपराध से मुक्त करेंगे और अपराधों को राजनीति में नहीं आने देंगे। यही मुझे कहना था। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.A. BABY): Anyway, nobody concludes that all politicians are criminals.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : महोदय, यह जो चर्चा है इसे कल के लिए कर दीजिए। वोहरा कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पर जो चर्चा है, इसे कल के लिए कर दीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.A. BABY): Now, we have this Half-An-Hour Discussion. At 5.30 p.m. Rajesh Pilotji Made a statement yesterday on LTTE escape from Vellore Special Camp. We will have to have clarifications from 5.30 p.m. Therefore, I do not think the rest of the discussion on the Vohra Committee Report can be taken up today. Naturally, it can be taken up tomorrow, including the reply.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI: Can I make a point here if you don't mind, on this Vohra Committee Report? Hon. Shri Gujral also mentioned that the way we are treating the whole thing, I do not mean to say that it is done intentionally. But just yesterday, suddenly at about 4 o'clock the business was included saying that we will discuss the Vohra Committee Report because there is no other business before the House. Today, in the morning it was said no Vohra Committee Report, we will discuss J&K. I suddenly found at 2.30 p.m. that we were already discussing the Vohra Committee Report, I do not think that this subject requires such a, — if I may use the word, I may be pardoned, — callous treatment, without any intention,—I do not attribute any motives or intentions; but I feel that even if we are going to discuss it tomorrow, then we should know that; yes we are discussing it tomorrow. It should be very specific Sir.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.A. BABY): Yes, it will be taken up tomorrow. The rest of the discussion will be held tomorrow and the Home Minister will reply also.

#### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

##### On points Arising out of Answer to Unstarred Question 641 Given on the 16<sup>th</sup> March, 1995 Regarding Trade of Vital Human Organs

डॉ मुरली मनोहर जोशी ( उत्तर प्रदेश ) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय , मैं आपका बहुत अभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे इस परिचर को शुरू करने का अवसर दिया। यह सवाल मैंने अतारकित प्रश्न संख्या 641 , 16.3.1995 को राज्य सभा में किया था और उसमें मैंने यह प्रश्न किया था कि क्या सरकार यह बताएगी, उस समय प्रधानमंत्री जी इस मंत्रालय का काम देख रहे थे अतः मैंने प्रश्न किया था कि क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

(क) क्या सरकार को गुर्दों और अन्य महत्वपूर्ण मानवीय अंगों की विदेशी प्राप्तकर्ताओं को की जाने वाली ब्रिकी के मामलों में हो रहे रही वृद्धि संबंधी समाचारों की जानकारी हैं? यदि हां तो इस संबंध में सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया हैं?

(ख) क्या सरकार को इस व्यापार में दलालों, डाक्टरों और दानकर्ताओं के बीच सांठ-गांठ होने के संबंध में जानकारी हैं? यदि हां तो तत्संबंधी ब्यौरा क्या है?

(ग) क्या यह सच है कि अंग प्रत्यारोपण संबंधी नये अधिनियम के उपबंधों के कारण यह कार्यकलाप चोरी — छिपे किये जाते हैं? यदि हां तो इस स्थिति का सामना करने के लिए क्या निवारक उपाय किये जाने का विधान है?

इसका जवाब सरकार ने दिया कि सरकार के पास ऐसी कोई सूचना नहीं है और बाकी “ब” और “स” का जवाब दिया था कि जी नहीं। इसका अर्थ यह है कि 16 मार्च तक सरकार के पास कोई जानकारी नहीं थी कि हिन्दुस्तान में गुर्दों का अनैतिक व्यापार, मानवीय अंगों का अनैतिक व्यापार हो रहा है। मैंने उस समय के स्वास्थ्य और परिवार कल्याण मंत्री को पत्र लिखा और उनको कहा कि देखिए आपने यह जवाब दिया है। लेकिन मेरे पास जो समाचार पत्रों के माध्यम से सूचनाएं हैं वह यह हैं और उन समाचारों की मैंने विलपिंग लगाकर उनको भेज दी इस पर उन्होंने कहा कि हमें कोई जानकारी नहीं है। श्रीमन् यह समाचार पत्रों में छपा हुआ है, दिल्ली के समाचार पत्रों में छपा हुआ है। मुझे यह देखकर धक्का लगा और बहुत अचंभा हुआ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार दिल्ली में बैठकर यह कहती है कि इसकी कोई जानकारी