

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

....(Interruptions).... Shri Subramanian Swamy has accused us (Interruptions).... He said that it is we who killed Shri Ranjan Wijeratne(Interruptions).... This is what happened (Interruptions) This is how he threatened us... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can give a privilege notice against him(Interruptions).... If you feel that a comment made in this House comes under the privilege motion, you can give a privilege notice(Interruptions).... You have the protection of the House(Interruptions).... You can give a privilege notice and the Chairman will look into it. If you make the House a battle-ground, then it becomes difficult(Interruptions).... Let the Prime Minister speak(Interruptions).... I give my assurance. After the Prime Minister makes his statement, I will permit each one of you to speak(Interruptions).... I will abide by my commitment.... (Interruptions).... I will allow (Interruptions)....

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER

Re. Surveillance at the residence of Shri Rajiv Gandhi by the Haryana Police.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): I am not making a statement. I am only reacting to what the Members said because I don't have a prepared statement before me.

Yesterday, in the other House, a question was raised that two persons were found in the vicinity of the residence of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Those two persons were picked up by the Delhi Police. The hon. Members should remember this fact. There is some restaurant. I have not seen that. They were visiting that restaurant for quite

some time, for two or three days. The Delhi Police men who are posted there to look after the security of the former Prime Minister, caught hold of them, questioned them and asked them why they were loitering in that area for the last two days. They indicated that they are the members of the Haryana Police. They showed their identity cards that they are men of Intelligence for the Haryana Police. They were apprehended. They were interrogated. The preliminary report is that they said that they were instructed by the officers concerned, their officers, to have a vigil on the house of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They have been questioned and they said that a particular Inspector gave this order to them. That Inspector is on leave, has not been available. (Interruptions)

The Director-General of Police, Haryana, says that he has not given any instructions of this type.

No sooner the matter came to my knowledge, I immediately ordered an inquiry. The Delhi Police is investigating into the matter. Other Intelligence agencies of the Police are also looking into the matter. We are trying to find out who are the people responsible for this unethical, illegal and totally undemocratic action. I condemn it, I condemned it yesterday in the House. I assure the hon House and the hon. Members that there is no effort on our side to cover up this incident. I categorically say that the Government of India has no hand or had no knowledge. The U.P. Police(Interruptions) The Delhi Police took action and this itself indicates that the Government of India is against any such manoeuvre or manipulation that has been ordered by anybody. I assure you, Madam Deputy Chairman, and this House that a serious view has been taken by the Government of India. No sooner we get a full report, we shall be able to take action against those who are responsible for this totally unethical and illegal order. That is all I can say.

I can assure the hon. Member that on this question I am ready to go to any length, because some of the Members, after my departure from here said that I am not serious about it. I leave it to you, Madam Deputy Chairman and the hon. House. Since Government inquiries take their own time, if the hon. House so likes a Committee of both the Houses can be formed to go into the matter. Whoever is found guilty will be punished. I assure the House that I have no intention to cover it up, whoever he may be. I leave it to you, Madam Deputy Chairman, and to the House to take any measure and institute an inquiry through any agency, including the agency of the House. I shall be agreeable to that. (Interruptions)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीया उपसभापति जी, यह मैटर बहुत सीरियस है। प्रधान मंत्री जी हरियाणा के चीफ मिनिस्टर को सस्पेंड करें या खुद इस्तीफा दें। जिसके बल पर यह सरकार चल रही है उसके नेता के घर पर निगरानी हो, यह बर्दास्त के बहर है। 24 घंटे हो गये हैं परन्तु अभी तक इस पर सीरियस ब्यू प्रधान मंत्री जी ने नहीं लिया और पुलिस इंस्पेक्टर से बात कर रहे हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है।

The Chief Minister of Haryana should resign. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling everybody. I have names here which have come to me. (Interruptions) I have received everybody's name over here. (Interruptions) Everybody will be speaking.

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह (हरियाणा) : मैडम मेरा नाम आपने कल भी काट दिया था।

उपसभापति : आपका नाम इसमें है नहीं।

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह : आप लिखिये न, लिखने वाले तो आप ही हैं।

उपसभापति : हां, मैं लिख दूंगी अभी आपका नाम है।

One by one I will call. Mr. Kulkarni, are you to speak?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): On my behalf, my leader will speak.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, you have assessed the mood of the House yesterday over spying on the residence of our leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Madam, it is clear that this spying could not have happened without the sanction of political authorities. We are here concerned with the Central Government and the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister has made his statement and has also adverted to various aspects. This kind of functioning cuts at the very root of our parliamentary democracy and the free functioning of the political parties. We demand that adequate action be immediately taken against all those involved. And till such action is taken, we, Madam, belonging to the Congress Party are compelled to walk out and abstain from the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And what about your people who have given the names? Ratnakar Pandeyji

(Interruptions)

[At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber.]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Gurupadaswamy.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call your name.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: They should listen to us. They should

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

courtesy of listening to the opinion of the other Members of the House. It is not their problem only. It is our problem. It only shows how sceptic they are to the opinion of the other political parties represented in the House.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let Mr. Gurupadaswamy speak.

SHRIMATI BHOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Madam....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call your name.

SHRIMATI BHOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I entirely support Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call your name. You can speak.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I agree with the Prime Minister on one thing.

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: The ruling party is sitting there.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, we are over-awed by the size of the ruling party!

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Thank God, there is no procedure in the Rajya Sabha to move a no-confidence motion against the Government. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Wait a minute. Will we have some order?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, I would agree....

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): They cannot even command quorum in this House but they claim that they are ruling the country. What a fun, what a shame!

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, we are not walking out because the House has to be adjourned for lack of quorum. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, those who have walked out, they have walked out. But those who are present, if they want to make their own comments, let them make. I am asking Mr. Gurupadaswamy to say. And I have the names of every other person who wants to speak. Let Mr. Gurupadaswamy speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, I agree with the Prime Minister on one thing. He said that surveillance was unethical and undemocratic. Madam, this is not a small matter and a party matter. The question of surveillance has been exercising the Parliament for too long. In this particular case, the Prime Minister has said that the Government of India has no hand in it. I wish I could agree with him. I am not contradicting his statement. But I only say, I wish I could agree with him. He has said, two police officials of Haryana Government were involved in surveillance for two—three days in the vicinity of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's residence. And the particular police officer is not available now. Perhaps he is on leave. He said, he is not available anywhere at the present moment. This has got to be noted. I would like to ask him, whether small officials belonging to Haryana Intelligence would conduct surveillance for three, four days without specific instructions from above? I would like to ask him whether it has been done without instructions from any particular authority in Haryana. I would like to know: is this surveillance being conducted or was it conducted on instructions received from some extra-constitutional authority? This matter is far

too serious. The political leadership in this country should not be subjected to any kind of vigilance. There should not be any probe, any spying on political leadership. This has been going on for long. We are calling this country a democratic country and we have been permitting this kind of thing going on against the political leadership. It is not a question of political party but it involves the way we are functioning in this country, the way we are conducting our political affairs. The political leadership should be free from fear, from any kind of pressure to carry on their activities. Telephone tapping also comes into it. I am referring to all types of surveillance. I think it is not a limited matter. I would like this opportunity to be taken by the Government to see that such surveillance in future is stopped forthwith. Assurances have been extended to us in the past. But all these assurances have been belied and the Government had gone back on those assurances, those commitments. In this specific instance, Madam, I would only say that the conduct of these two officials—there may be more—is wicked, vicious and reprehensible. I suggest for immediate action and hope that these officials will be suspended. Any further probe should have been preceded by this. Why the Government has not asked the Haryana Government to suspend these officials? I want to know. Have they gone into the question of an extra-constitutional authority being involved? I suspect deeply that some extra-constitutional authority is operating.

Lastly I would say, even Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is not safe in their hands. But for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his not have survived politically as a party, Mr. Chandra Shekhar would Prime Minister

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Not 'politically'.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I said as Prime Minister I know Mr. Chandra Shekhar as a friend; I know him; he is a friend for a number of years, rather for decades; we worked

together. I pity him. This is very sad. He was a man with a sense of pride, in the past. Now he has lost that sense of pride and he is being humiliated by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his tormentors. And he is tolerating those humiliations! what for? Is it for the sake of office for a few days? How long will he survive as Prime Minister of this country?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If you dare say this, it is too much for me to hear it from you.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Obviously, you have to oversee how many of your party will go over to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: You are the Prime Minister and you are sitting opposite me; I am the opposition leader. But we worked as friends. It is very sad—I repeat—you have been subjected to this humiliation and you have been tolerating these humiliations also. I am saying this incidentally.

In the end, I would like the Government to take a decision that never again, in future, will there be any surveillance on the political leadership. Any kind of surveillance on political leadership is wrong, wicked, undemocratic and unethical—I use your words—and this should stop. I would like the Prime Minister to instruct Haryana Government to suspend those officials and hold an enquiry and come before Parliament with the full truth. I do not want him to cover up this matter. He has assured us. I know the Government of India is not involved because he has said it and I accept it and I agree with him. But still I would like him to come before Parliament and tell us, before we adjourn, who was behind this surveillance and what action he has taken.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sukomal Sen. I would suggest him to be brief. It is a very serious matter but I would request hon. Members to be brief and to the point.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): But it is going on in an orderly way.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, but let us hope it remains so after this is over and we don't know whether the order will remain or disorder will prevail.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: (West Bengal): It is a very serious matter that the former Prime Minister himself is under surveillance now.

The Prime Minister said that the Inspector involved is on leave who deputed two policemen to keep surveillance on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. This man is on leave and he could not be caught. Now, the Government at the Centre and the State Government of Haryana both are run by the same political party. How can this Government absolve itself from the political and moral responsibility of surveillance on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's house by two Haryana policemen who belong to the State Government of Haryana which is run by the same political party? It is a very crucial issue. Then, Madam, without political instructions, how is it possible for any petty officer or a policeman to keep surveillance on Shri Rajiv Gandhi's house? It is something strange. We—our party—very much condemn any type of surveillance, whether it is by telephone tapping or by police personnel. Why is this type of surveillance. Taking place in our country? Now in Shri Rajiv Gandhi's case, people have been caught. But, the same thing is happening in various other places as well. It is very serious that a State Government has sent their policemen to keep surveillance. I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether the Haryana Government maintains a police set-up in Delhi to keep surveillance on political leaders. What is the information with the Government? Have they permitted it or have they any jurisdiction to do like this in Delhi?

Madam, I would like to know whether the persons who have been arrested are still in police custody. The man, the police inspector, is on leave. I would like to know since when he is on leave or whether he is absconding. Has he gone somewhere for sight-seeing? If he is absconding, then it is a very serious matter.

I don't think the Prime Minister is listening to my speech. This Government has neither political responsibility nor moral responsibility.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One listens with his ears and speaks with his mouth. As long as his ears are open, we should be thankful that he is listening.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: This is not the only matter. If there are some important matters, should I not discuss them with my colleagues?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, let us not go into the details. You make your point, please.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Madam, I would like to conclude by saying that this suggestion for constituting a Joint Parliamentary Committee is welcome. But I would only say that the subject matter of this Committee should not only cover the specific issue of the surveillance of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's house, but also cover a wider issue of all sorts of surveillance including telephone tapping and deployment of police personnel to spy on political personalities. At the same time, while constituting this Joint Parliamentary Committee to go into this issue, it should also be seen that CBI's report on telephone tapping is also placed before the Parliament to know how this had taken place.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Madam, in a way the statement that was made by the Prime Minister, particularly because of his very individualistic manner of delivery, seems to be quite forthright. He himself has wide experience in the matter because, as we know, during the Emergency, in spite of being a member of the Congress Working Committee, that is, the so-called Congress High Command, he had to go behind bars. So, these things are not at all new to him; it is new to the Ex-Prime Minister, no doubt.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Thank you for remembering this, which Shri Gurupadasamy did not remember.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE: Madam, Deputy Chairman though the Prime Minister's experience in that role may not be very wide. I think, he could have reactions or the Haryana Government were obtained, without going to the Inspector or the sub-inspector? What is the reaction of the Haryana Government as such? A Government exists in that State and it belongs to the ruling party here. How was this done? Is such a posting in Delhi permissible without the knowledge of the Prime Minister, without the knowledge of the Government of India? These points could have been explained, for our enlightenment, by the Prime Minister. From the authoritarian party, as the Congress(1) is considered by us to be, we expect many things, apprehend many things, like surveillance, etc. Still, we are opposed to any surveillance on them. Not only on Rajiv Gandhi, but even on Mr. Ahluwalia and Dr. Ratnakar Pandey. They also should have the democratic right to snatch away papers from the Deputy Chairman, in the House.

The question is whether this particular aspect will be clarified by the Prime Minister today. If the answers are already there, well and good. If the answers are not there I would like to know whether they will be obtained, for the House.

I very much welcome his suggestion for a Joint House Committee. That shows, undoubtedly, his concern I concede that point to him. But while providing facts to the House, this question should be cleared. I agree with what my hon. friend, Mr Sukomal Sen, has said. This Joint House Committee should not only go into this particular incident, but it should also go into the question of surveillance on political persons anywhere in India; not only leaders, but their cadres as well. Thank you.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, it is an irony of fate that those who had legalised this illegal act of political surveillance have fallen victims to this very policy. The Frankenstein that was created and nurtured now sucks the blood of those who had created it. This is the tragedy of history and this is bound to be the tragedy.

I fully appreciate the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister. While welcoming the statement of the Prime Minister, I would ask him to give his comments on two suggestions. It is not a question whether political surveillance on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was wrong or unethical. But I would like the Prime Minister to tell the House whether he considers that this policy of political surveillance should be immediately ended. Secondly, I would like him to kindly comment on my suggestion that there should be a law made by Parliament. The Government should come forward with a Bill to prohibit surveillance on all political personalities, not on political leadership alone. I say this because, we, as Communists, have been the victims of political surveillance for decades. Our letters have been opened. Our telephones have been tapped. We have been shadowed when we had been attending our private programmes. This is the tradition which has been continued in this country for years. Therefore, we know where the shoe pinches. I also appreciate that the Congress now understands where the shoe pinches and how it pinches. This is tragedy. Therefore, the point is, it should be ended. It is no question whether you have arrested the two persons, the two petty officers, of the Haryana Police. That is not enough. It is essential to find the root-cause. For that, you have to take decisions, hard decisions, to weed out the source of this political surveillance. For that, a law is necessary. And I wish the Prime Minister, who has been complimented because he had been made a victim of emergency, that he comes forward to tell the House that his Government is ready to bring forward a

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

Bill to this end. I know his Government is a minority Government, but let the minority Government do a big thing. Let the minority Government do something big in the history, let the Prime Minister have the courage to say that he will bring forward a Bill in this direction.

Thirdly, Madam, I want political surveillance to end, but I want surveillance of criminal personalities to continue, that the Government is not doing. I wish sufficient police force is deployed for surveillance of the criminals, tax evaders, black marketeers, hoarders and those who seek to divide the country, that is against the Communalist.

That is not being done. That has to be done and the Government should see that it is being done properly.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA
(Bihar): And criminal politicians.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: My point is, time has come for the Prime Minister and this Government to understand that this Government is being humiliated deliberately, to create a situation where they resign themselves or a situation is created where the other party can pull strings. I wish the Prime Minister does not wait for that unfortunate moment. You should not wait for that unfortunate moment. You should create an example in the history by going out of office in a most honourable way. There is an honourable way. Even a person who is most decried can also find an honourable place in history. It is not for me to give a bit of lesson to the Prime Minister, but let all of us learn from our own mistakes. Let the Prime Minister learn from his own mistake and go out of office in a dignified way because it is not the Prime Minister or the Government who is being humiliated. The walk-out in the House has been deliberately done to demonstrate to the world how minority the Government is. It is deliberate. It is deliberately being done. Therefore, do not humiliate yourself because

your humiliation means humiliation to the system of parliamentary democracy of the country. The whole world understands how a great country like India is being ruled by a Government who has only 53 persons as its supporters in one House and only 13 persons as its supporters in another House. Therefore, it is not your humiliation, it is humiliation of the entire system. The country cannot afford to digest this humiliation. Even though you are dishonoured, let us hope that you will do something more honourable.

Lastly, I have a question. I would like to know whether the Haryana policemen did it themselves or somebody asked them to do it because there is a news today that one Mr. Bhajan Lal was instrumental in doing this. There is also a press report that somebody, very important in the Government, may not be Shri Chandra Shekhar, somebody else who is having his influence in the administration and politics in Haryana, has deliberately done it to malign Mr. Chandra Shekhar and his Government and to give a chance to Shri Rajiv Gandhi so that he is able to pull the strings and bring down the Government. I believe that Mr. Chandra Shekhar has no hand in it. I have to believe the Prime Minister, but investigations must be made to find out who is this somebody else in the Government who has a hand in it, whether he has a part in this sort of political conspiracy. This is all a part of life. Therefore, I wish the Prime Minister to tell us who are the persons at the root, who are the persons either in Haryana or outside, whether a member of Haryana Government or a member of the Central Government, who have been instrumental, because I believe that these two poor souls belonging to Haryana police will not have the courage to come before the house of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to do espionage on their own. It cannot be within the purview of their wisdom. It is an administrative decision and somebody important must be behind that. Who is he? Is he a friend of Mr. Chandra Shekhar or is he his enemy? Who is he? It must be found out. That is necessary because the incident itself has maligned the

country. Therefore, to find out the root-cause, I wish a committee is set up; I wish a Joint Committee of the two Houses is set up to find out who is behind the conspiracy. Is it exactly like the fire in Reichstag? A similar thing is happening in India. That must be found out.

Thank you, Madam.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : महोदया, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 10 नवम्बर जनपथ कांड पर जो वक्तव्य दिया है उससे उन लोगों को जो तथ्यों का पता लगाना चाहते थे संतोष हो जाना चाहिए था। लेकिन इस मामले में हमारा संतोष काफी नहीं है। जिनका संतोष प्रकट होना चाहिए था—के असंतोष को प्रकट करके सदन से चले गये हैं—वे किस तरह की जांच चाहते हैं, उन्हें इसका ठोस सुझा देना चाहिए था। लेकिन शायद वे तथ्यों की गहराई में नहीं जाना चाहते थे। प्रधान मंत्री जी के साथ कोई हिसाब चुकता करना चाहते हैं... (व्यवधान) उस बारे में सदन के इस ओर बैठे हुए हम लोग कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं।

जहां तक इस कांड का सवाल है महोदया कोई इस बात पर विश्वास नहीं करेगा कि यह एक इंस्पेक्टर के कहने से हुआ है। इंस्पेक्टर के कहने से पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री के घर पर जाकर कोई निगरानी करे ऐसा नहीं हो सकता। अगर पूछताछ में उन्होंने इंस्पेक्टर की बात कही है तो वे किसी को बचाना चाहते हैं। अब मुझे उस इंस्पेक्टर के बारे में चिंता हो रही है। कहा गया है कि वह छुट्टी पर गया है। कहीं वह बिल्कुल छुट्टी पर न चला जाए। हरियाणा में इस तरह की घटनाएं अप्रत्याशित नहीं हैं। उस इंस्पेक्टर की रक्षा करने की जरूरत है, क्योंकि इंस्पेक्टर बताएगा कि उससे किसने कहा। इसके बारे में केन्द्र सरकार, प्रधान मंत्री अपना बकाया देक जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकते। आखिर भारत की राजधानी में पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री के निवास के बाहर किसी राज्य के गुप्तचर विभाग के दो कर्मचारी क्यों नजर रखते रहे। यह केवल एक दिन की घटना नहीं है, वे कई दिन से आते थे। मेरी जानकारी यह है कि वे रिसेप्शन में गये, वे आने वाली कारों के नम्बर नोट कर रहे थे। यह ठीक है कि उन्हें दिल्ली पुलिस ने रोका,

दिल्ली पुलिस ने उनको टोका, दिल्ली पुलिस ने उनको पकड़ा, लेकिन वे कितने दिन से ये गतिविधियां कर रहे थे और ये गतिविधियां करने का उद्देश्य क्या है। क्या यह सच है कि हरियाणा के भवन में एक कमरा इस गुप्तचर कार्यवाही के लिये सुरक्षित है। क्या एक डी. आई. जी. इस बात के लिए तैनात किया गया है? क्या उसके पास वायरलेस सैट है? उस गुप्तचर विभाग में कितने कर्मचारी सक्रिय हैं और अगर वे पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री के घर पर जा रहे हों तो वे प्रधान मंत्री के घर पर भी कहीं न कहीं नजर रख रहे होंगे, .. (व्यवधान) इसके बारे में जवाब दें। कौन आ रहा है, कौन जा रहा है, इसका मतलब क्या है।

दूसरी बात, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर हरियाणा के पुलिस वाले दिल्ली में इतनी ज्यादाती कर सकते हैं तो हरियाणा में राजनैतिक विरोधियों के खिलाफ क्या कर रहे होंगे जरा इसका अनुमान लगाइये। मैं जानता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी उसदल से संबंधित हैं जो हरियाणा में सरकार चला रहा है, मगर उस दल की गतिविधियों पर प्रधान मंत्री का नियंत्रण है ऐसा मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं। लेकिन, कहीं न कहीं इस तरह के फैसले होते हैं। आखिर हमारा खुला समाज है, हम लोकतंत्र में रहते हैं और अगर पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री पर भी नजर रखी जा सकती है तो किसको छोड़ा जाएगा इस देश में। यह हरियाणा की सरकार के बारे में बड़ी कठोर टिप्पणी है। पता लगाइये कि क्या इसमें हरियाणा के मुख्य मंत्री का या गृह मंत्री का हाथ है या हरियाणा के किसी मंत्री, जो केन्द्र में मंत्री हैं, के इशारे पर यह हो रहा है, यदि ऐसा है तो यह मामला बहुत बिगड़ेगा।

1.00 P.M.

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह काम केवल हरियाणा की सरकार तक ही सीमित है?

क्या और राज्यों ने भी दिल्ली में अपने गुप्तचर विभागों को काम करने की छूट दे रखी है?

एक माननीय सदस्य : मध्य प्रदेश का है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मध्य प्रदेश का है, तो पता लगाइये। क्या राज्यों के इस

तरह के ढांचे यहां हैं ? उनकी गतिविधियां क्या हैं, फ्यां केंद्र के साथ उनका सम्पर्क है ? वह राजनीतिक विरोधियों के विरुद्ध भी काम में आते हैं या केवल अपराधियों की गतिविधियों पर नजर रखना, यहाँ तक सीमित हैं ?

आज देश में जो राजनीतिक अनिश्चितता है, उसमें इस तरह की एजेंसियां यदि अपने अधिकारों का अतिक्रमण करके, गलत काम करने लगे तो किसी को ताज्जुब नहीं होना चाहिए ।

थोड़ा सा पर्दा हटा है और हम रे लोकतंत्र का एक बड़ा वीभत्स चेहरा हमारे सामने आ गया है, । प्रधान मंत्री हर तरह की जांच के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन जांच सरकार की स्तर पर जो हो रही है, उसके परिणामों से हमें अवगत करवा जाए । आखिर पुलिस वाले पकड़े गये हैं, उनसे बातचीत में और क्या निकला, वह क्या कहते हैं कि वह वहां क्या कर रहे थे ?

मान लीजिए, इंस्पेक्टर ने उनको भेजा था—काहे के लिए भेजा 10 नम्बर जनपथ काण्ड तथ्य क्या है ? मेरे मित्र, श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर, ने पालियामेंट्री कमेटी का सुझाव दिया है । एक इस तरह का मोशन भी दिया है, लेकिन पालियामेंट्री कमेटी में अगर कांग्रेस वालों का सहयोग नहीं मिलेगा तो बात नहीं बनेगी । वह क्यों चले गये, मेरी समझ में नहीं आया । अगर कल इसी तरह से शांत तरीके से चले जाते, तो बहुत अच्छा होता । कल दिन भर हुल्लड़ मचाते रहे । आज अपनी बात कहने को भी गायब हैं । अगर मुझे लगता है कि प्रधान मंत्री को वह कुछ और इशारे देना चाहते हैं वे इशारे हम तो नहीं समझ सकते, प्रधान मंत्री बुद्धिमान हैं और वह समझ सकते हैं । लेकिन एक इशारा हमारी समझ में आ रहा है कि यह मामला अब इस तरह से चलेगा नहीं ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्री सीता राम केसरी जी, सर्विलेंस के लिए आ रहे हैं ।

श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार) : क्या हुआ है ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is a Member of this House. He has a right to come whenever he likes. No problem.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He has a right as an individual Member of this House. But has he come for surveillance over Rajya Sabha?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Kesri, please be seated.

श्री सीताराम केसरी : आप मेरी बात सुनिये । मैं अभी बाहर से आ रहा हूं । मझे खबर नहीं है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने क्या एक्शन लिया है । अगर उन्होंने वाक-आऊट किया है, तो हम भी उनके साथ वाक-आऊट करेंगे । . . (व्यवधान) . . अब उधर आने की बात नहीं है क्योंकि हम बाहर से सीधे यहां आ रहे हैं । अगर मेरी पार्टी ने वाक-आऊट किया है तो मैं भी वाक-आऊट करूंगा । वह लोग यहां नहीं है । पता चला कि शायद-उन्होंने वाक-आऊट किया है । . . (व्यवधान)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are a brave man, a gentleman.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot interrupt him. He wants to walk out. Let him walk out. He has a right. Please don't interrupt him.

Mr. Upendra.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, at the outset I would like to condemn the behaviour of the Congress Party in walking out and not listening to the views of the other party leaders.

It is very clear that the Congress Party is trying to build up a case and probably some tension with some ulterior motives which you can understand. I fully sympathise with the plight of this Government. We are in the position of a divorced husband. Even a divorced husband has some soft corner for his ex-wife, particularly when she has not remarried and is only having an affair.

I welcome the Prime Minister's categorical statement disowning responsibility for the surveillance and assuring that such things would not happen. I also welcome

his offer of an inquiry into the whole incident and into the system of surveillance on political personalities, I only suggest that this inquiry should cover the whole period starting from the Congress rule, because today they showed too much protest. We all know what atrocities were committed by the Congress Government, particularly after Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to power followed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi; how political opponents were tracked, telephones were tapped, correspondence was opened and false cases instituted. We are aware of all those things and many of us are victims of their atrocities. Therefore, if at all an inquiry has to be done, it should cover their period also.

I don't hold any brief for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi personally in this case, but we condemn this system, this very surveillance against the political personalities and the parties. When I first heard the news yesterday through the Congress sources, my first reaction was that probably the Prime Minister was not aware of this. Not only that I know him for a long time and his concern for civil liberties and individual freedoms, but even if you take a political view, a man with any common sense or with any political sense, particularly when he is depending on a party or a leader, would never venture to organise or order such a surveillance against the leader of the party which is supporting him. When I was told that it was done by the Haryana Government, then everything was clear and we could know who all were behind this. One of the Congress leaders commented yesterday that "they are fools. If they want to know who is coming to meet Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, do you mean to say we will organise the meeting at 10 Janpath? Therefore, those who organised this are fools. They could not get anything and they cannot get anything by these measures of surveillance."

From the Prime Minister's statement two or three questions arise. One is, if these two policemen are found loitering in the vicinity of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's residence with proper identity cards and fully authorised by a high-ranking officer, how could the question of their arrest come? Why were they apprehended and what for? What was their crime?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: After that they were released.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: My anxiety is, if somebody higher-up has authorised them to do the surveillance, please don't try to make them the scapegoat to please somebody. So, let us be fair to them. They have done with a proper authority, they were not doing it surreptitiously. They were doing it openly. They showed their identity cards. They said that they were on duty. Therefore, the question of arrest, how it came? It happened simply because Rajiv Gandhi complained. I want an answer from the Prime Minister: Why an arrest became necessary?

The second thing is the very question raised by Mr. Atalji, the other State Governments organising their intelligence networks in the capital. It has been going on for a long time. It is not today's affairs. The same Haryana police used to keep surveillance on Mr. Bahuguna when he was alive on the orders of Mr. Devi Lal. Everybody knows it when Mr. Devi Lal produced one complete report against Mr. Bahuguna in one of their party meetings. That is what he was doing. Therefore, this has been going on for a long time, the Haryana police being used here for surveillance and intelligence activities. So the broad question also should be answered. How many State Governments are having such intelligence networks here, whether they are authorised to do it here? What is their coordination with the Delhi police? This question also has to be settled once for all.

I request the Prime Minister to find out who really ordered this and also indicate to the House what action he has taken against them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call Mr. Murasoli Maran, I have the names of Mr. Dinesh Goswami, Mr. Swaminathan who is not here, Mr. Viren Shah, Mr. Shabbir Ahmad Salaria, Mr. Dipen Ghosh, Mr. Mohd, Afzal and Mr. J. P. Mathur's motion. We are just left with 20 minutes before lunch. So I would request every Member to be brief so that we can finish before lunch. We

should also give some time for the Prime Minister also to react; otherwise...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, will you allow me to move my motion before lunch?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When the time of the motion comes, we will discuss it. First let us start with this movement.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, the crocodile is shedding tears. That is how I will describe the reaction of the Congress Members today. It is not a question of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi alone, it is a question of every citizen. They think that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is the super citizen of this country and their party is the only party worth commanding respect. So if there is any surveillance on him, they create a rumpus. Probably they may have reasons for their anxiety, I do not know, because nowadays we find international smugglers and crooks moving about in VIP houses in Delhi. As Mr. Gurupadaswamy has pointed out, Congress Members may be thinking that this Government may not safeguard the life of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They may have their own reasons. But we want to know the authority of the law under which the two policemen acted. There is somebody who has issued the orders. Who is that authority who issued the orders for surveillance?

Madam, only last week we discussed about telephone tapping. This week we are discussing about surveillance. We know that the Prime Minister has not ordered for the surveillance. We believe him. Because he has got his own intelligence agency to do that. We should know why this is going on. Not only that even telephones of all political parties, all persons of political standing are being tapped, their activities are being watched. So the Joint Parliamentary Committee should inquire into all these aspects. We were told that it all started during Mr. Bhajan Lal's period. Not long ago, we have read a newspaper report when Mr. Rajiv

Gandhi was the Prime Minister, a car which was following Mrs. Rajiv Gandhi's car dashed against a car which was preceding that car having a registration number of Ambala area. But nobody was arrested. They away from the scene. But later we were told, and I believe that, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself, as the Prime Minister, ordered an inquiry and the Home Ministry was doing it. And the SPG, the Special Protection Group, was also involved in that inquiry. So we would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister what the outcome of that inquiry is. Did it take place or not? We have read it in newspapers. We should go into all aspects, not merely the surveillance of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, because in a democratic country, we are all equals. So I would like that the inquiry should cover all the periods, all the incidents, all political persons and all political parties.

Madam, what is perplexing in this. The Prime Minister may give any price to the Congress party. The Congress may demand, "Dismiss the Haryana Government. They have committed a great sin." Who knows? He may choose to dismiss the Haryana Government also. I am very sorry to say that. What do the common men in Delhi, in Madras, in Bombay, in Calcutta, everywhere talk? If Mr. Rajiv Gandhi demands that Mr. Chandra Shekhar should remove his beard, he will do it. I am very sorry. I had a lot of respect for him. Madam, he came into the political scene here with a great political future. Now, he is going to be removed with a notorious political past. Don't you have any sense of self-respect? What all you have stood for, all those principles, have been destroyed. (*Interruptions*). Now, we see a shadow. Look at this! The Congress party has walked out. It means they have thrown the fish of this Government out of water. Look at their faces! They are gasping for breath. They gasping for oxygen. The oxygen tube has been removed. Therefore, I would request Mr. Chandra Shekhar... (*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): You are remembering your own days when the BJP removed your.... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: We never depended on anybody. We never depended on undependable people. We stood on our own legs. We stood on our own strength, on the strength of the people's support. Now I would make a request to the hon. Mr. Chandra Shekhar. Now, Mr. Prime Minister, your ambition has been fulfilled. You have become Prime Minister. Yes, now you will go down in the history as a small foot-note. That is all. A small foot-note, not even a line, will be mentioned. It is not enough? Don't you have some self-respect? Therefore, I would request the Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Please,.....*. How long can you tolerate the humiliation? *(Interruptions)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Maran, even if you are very agitated and making a statement the words...* are not proper. *(Interruptions)*. They will not go on record.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I did not mean...* I only meant to ask him, "Why do you tolerate". *(Interruptions)*. In parliamentary language, the meaning is*(Interruptions)*. I am sorry for him. He is being tortured. He is doing things against his conscience. Therefore, it is better for him to resign and face the people...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Madam, as an old friend of Mr. Chandra Shekhar, may I suggest this?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. No suggestions. I am only concerned with the parliamentary language. That is all. I am not concerned how emotionally you are charged.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am emotional because I am so sorry for this gentleman.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may be.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I pity him. He lost everything. He lost all his senses. If there is some self-respect, he should resign. That is all.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is better put. Now, Mr. Dinesh Goswami.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Madam, I am happy..... *(Interruption)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Prime Minister, you may be having a larger heart. But I have to see the language of Parliament.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, by all those speeches I am reminded of an old proverb. It is a sin to be tall among pigmies. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: If a pigmy like you is perched on the Everest, still you will be a pigmy. You are a pigmy. If you are.....*(Interruptions)*... you will be a pigmy. We are tall...*(Interruptions)*. You have lost everything.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have identified Mr. Dinesh Goswami. We have to have the answer of the Prime Minister before lunch interval. So please be brief. I will have to ask the permission of the House. *(Interruptions)*. If you do not want to have lunch, I want to have lunch and in that event, somebody has to preside over.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Madam Deputy Chairman, once more, the question of political surveillance has come among the agenda of this House and the Prime Minister was for the right in his statement on two counts; number one, that his Government has not ordered this surveillance and two, that he is opposed to political surveillance. Every Government—and I will not exclude my own Government—always has spoken against political surveillance but has done nothing whatsoever to stop surveillance. Let us not forget that in America, an elected President, even before his tenure was over, had to go because he went for surveillance of opposition party headquarters. But unfortunately, the Prime Minister's statement has not revealed any facts and has left many questions unanswered. He has said that two Haryana policemen were doing the surveillance and if my information is correct when they were apprehended, they showed their

[Shri Dinesh Goswamy]

identity cards. Therefore, they were under the impression that they were not doing anything *mala fide*. They were only carrying out the orders given to them. And it has been said that an inspector gave the order and the inspector is on leave. 24 hours have passed. This is a matter on which the party which is giving life-sustaining device to the ruling party is agitated and we do not know the whereabouts of the inspector for 24 hours. What does this lead to? It leads to either a conclusion which I hope is not something which we will arrive at which Mr. Vajpayee has suggested or the other one that there are very powerful political authorities who do not want that this inspector should be found because if he is found and interrogated, things may come to light which may not be proper for some political bigwigs. I am not one who will believe that two police constables or an inspector will have any motive of surveillance in the house of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi either as Congress President or even as former Prime Minister and I am not in favour of making them scapegoats. Probably, they must have carried out the orders from some political bigwigs. Who can be that bigwig? That bigwig must have control over the Haryana administration. Otherwise, why an inspector will follow the order? Obviously, it is for the Government to find out who that bigwig is, who has control over Haryana administration, so much so that he could order its police machinery to provide of to have surveillance against the powerful Congress President, who is the *de facto* ruler of this country and also the Prime Minister of this country? I believe that Mr. Chandra Shekhar will be handicapped because his Government will not be in a position to go in for a proper enquiry if somebody of his Government is involved in this. I have no doubt that Mr. Chandra Shekhar is not guilty of this not because of his personal conviction but because he is too intelligent a man to do this thing. But can he assure this House or can he speak on behalf of his cabinet colleagues that he has full control over his cabinet colleagues? We, who are in politics, will not be prepared to accept it and therefore I would like to know, whatever the machinery that he contemplates to bring out the truth, that even though he may not be involved, some

important personality associated with his Government, is not involved because there are two possible reasons. One is that it may be a ploy to create tension between the ruling party and the supporting party. I do not know what is coming out. Now a suggestion for House Committee has come. I am opposed to a House Committee being constituted to enquire into this specific matter because if a House Committee is constituted for surveillance against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, every day we shall have to constitute House Committee because not only Rajiv Gandhi but many Members and more Members of the Opposition may be under surveillance. I am in favour of a House Committee which will go into the question of the entire gamut of surveillance including telephone tapping and will give suggestions as to how this political surveillance can be stopped and if necessary, give suggestions for a new law? And I hope that the Prime Minister who has a commitment for civil liberties will accept these suggestions.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairperson, I thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak. The statement of the hon. Minister is forthright and we hope that the assurance extended by him to the House that he will look into this matter impartially and fully, will be kept. The difficulty that has arisen is this. For the first time there has been exposed a network in Delhi under the very nose of the Government, the Central Government, which is not known to law. This network has been functioning here for long and its activities have been known to some, but they have not been known to all. Under the circumstances, it would be necessary to find out since how long such network has been functioning here at the behest of the Haryana Government; whether any inquiry has been held as mooted here; whether other State Governments are also having such network. Apart from this, it will also have to be found whether any Government from outside has also maintained such agencies here which are having surveillance on our political leaders political personalities, in the State.

Last year, the question of telephone tapping came up. Ultimately it has been found out and admitted that telephones have

been actually tapped, but the names of the political personalities whose telephones were tapped have not been divulged. That has also been exercising the mind of the general public and the mind of the politicians who can be at the receiving end. When under the very nose of the Government, from the very echelons of the Government, illegal things are done, then you yourself can imagine where the rule of law will end. This is an organisation which is functioning and similarly other organisations may also be functioning, but they are above law. This has for the first time happened that two persons belonging to that organisation were arrested and after some time they had been released. As has been rightly pointed out, the question arises: who gave them that authority to do it? Number one. And number two is this: If authority was given to them, who were the persons who had been giving such authority? Their names should be found out so that the very gamut, the very extent, of this system is found and is exposed and... (Interruption) The question that arises for consideration is if these two persons who were doing it were doing it beyond their jurisdiction, if not it was an act which is illegal in the eyes of law, then why not we try them in accordance with law? What I would like to say is this. If it was an offence and if a *prima facie* case does appear to be existing, then that should be tried so that the court of law has an opportunity to say as to how they were acting and whether their act was legal and at whose behest they were acting. There should be a judicial inquiry and that inquiry should be non-partisan. And, therefore, I would request that not only this enquiry should be held which is mooted in the House with regard to the surveillance but also a judicial enquiry be held against the persons who are doing it so that a court of law will be able to say what is the law or the enactment under which they were acting. Under Criminal Law we have known of register No. 10. Register No. 10 contains the names of persons who are called persons who deserve to be put under surveillance or in ordinary parlance they are called *badmash* No. 10. But that is not the case which can be imported with respect to others and with respect to... (Interruptions)... does

not mean by the modalities of legal or criminal...

उपसभापति : सलारिया जी, आपने अपनी बात कह दी। अब जो मॉडलिटीज हो, लीगल हो या क्रिमिनल हों, वह बाद में डिस्कस कर लीजिएगा, जो मसला इस वक्त हाउस के सामने है उस पर आपने अपने ख्यालात का इजहार कर दिया है, जो दूसरी बातें हैं वह हैं वह बाद में कहिए... (व्यवधान)

श्री सच्चिदर प्रहमद सलारिया : मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि जिन अफसरान को पकड़ा गया वह गैर-कानूनी हरकत कर रहे थे, उनके खिलाफ च लान हो और चालान की सूत में यह हकीकत मुंतसिफ हो कि यह किस एक्ट के तहत काम कर रहे थे और कोर्ट आफ लॉ को भी मौका मिले।

दूसरे मैं कह रहा हूँ कि अगर कोई इनक्वायरी करनी जरूरी है और की जानी चाहिए और ह उस कमेटी को अगर करनी है तो उसको वसीह अख्तियारात दिए जाएं ताकि वह इस वाहिद बाक्य के बारे में ही नहीं बल्कि और सभी बाक्यों के बारे में जो कि फोन टेपिंग के मुतल्लिक भी हैं इनक्वायरी करे।

तीसरे न सिर्फ वह इनक्वायरी हरियाणा तक महफूज रहे बल्कि सभी दीगर एजेंसियों के बारे में भी अपनी राय दे कि क्या वे भी ऐसा कर रही हैं और उनका क्या कुछ चलन रहा है।

इसके साथ ही यह जो ऐक्स्ट्रा टेरिटोरियल एंक्टिविटी है —

by the various agencies within the country, this is detrimental to democracy and should be ended as early as possible and the rights on the individuals to their privacy and also to exercise their political rights properly should not be stopped.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I have still 3 or 4 names. The second round of the parties has been gone through. I have Mr. Dipen Ghosh, Mr. Mohammed Afzal, of course, Mr. J. P. Mathur and Mr. Shah. I would like to request those Members for want of time

to withdraw their names... (Interruptions)... Just a second. Next, Mr. Mathur is to speak about his Motion. It cannot be moved, but he wants to mention why he has given it... (Interruptions)...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Why should not I move? Why should I forgo? ... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are certain procedures... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The Prime Minister himself has agreed.. (Interruptions)...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मोशन मैं मूव कर रहा हूँ आप उसे क्यों रोक रहे हो ? मैं क्यों न मूव करूँ ?

उपसभापति : रोक नहीं रही हूँ, माथुर साहब, आप गुस्सा मत करिए, आप बैठें तो ... (व्यवधान) ..

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : पहले मेरा मोशन आप तक पहुंचाया ही नहीं गया। उसके बाद कहा जाए कि आप मूव न करिए। मैं क्यों न मूव करूँगा ? मतलब क्या है ?

उपसभापति : माथुर साहब आ गया। यह रखा है मेरे पास गुस्सा तो मत करिए..

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : जब मंगाया गया, तब आपको दिया गया.. (व्यवधान) ..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, it is the Motion which has reached me. All right. Let it be carried first,

(व्यवधान)

कोई बात नहीं, कहीं-कहीं रुकावट कभी हो जाती है.. (व्यवधान) .. उस पर इतना एजिटेटड तो मत होइए। बैठिए तो आप, आप एक मिनट बैठिए।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : रुकावट क्यों आई ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : रुकावट हट गई हमको खेद है कि रुकावट आई. अब आप एक मिनट के लिए बैठ जाइए। दीपेन घोष जी के कुछ सजेशनस सुन लें .. (व्यवधान) ..

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The Prime Minister has agreed, he himself has proposed rather, that if the House agrees the Government will have no objection to setting up of a Joint Parliamentary Committee to make probe into the matter.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): Not this matter.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: But this question has also come up. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee also said that only two or three days before when we were discussing about the C.B.I. report and phone tapping, that is a kind of surveillance over the political adversaries. Today we are discussing the incident arising out of two spies making their presence near the vicinity of ex-Prime Minister's residence on a kind of surveillance. True, yesterday the Congress (I) members have raised the issue and the House had to be adjourned for misconduct, as has been said by the Deputy Chairman herself. Today that Congress (I) has walked out. What does it mean? There is a deep-rooted conspiracy behind it. When an inquiry is necessary, that inquiry has to be made in a thorough manner so that not only the specific instance but also other issues arising out of this particular matter are gone into. Let there be a Joint Parliamentary Committee to probe into this matter and other matters arising out of this matter, because nobody is going to believe that two constables could do this under orders from an inspector who has gone on leave. That inspector could be caught. Nobody is going to believe this story which has been given by the Government. Naturally we are entitled to raise a motion for setting up a Joint Parliamentary Committee ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Move a motion.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Or a resolution, whatever you call it, according to the procedure. A Joint Parliamentary Committee should probe this matter and other issues arising out of this matter.

उपसभापति : माथुर साहब आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं ?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मैं कहना नहीं चाहता, मैं बकायदा मोशन मूव कर रहा हूँ कि इस संदन की एक समिति बनाई जाए जो राजीव गांधी के कैपिटिव और इससे संबंधित विषयों पर जांच करे। यह मेरा मोशन है। यह मैं कह रहा हूँ। (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : ठीक है मूव कर दिया है। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने सजेशन दिया था। यह ऐसा मसला है जिस पर सभी की राय ली जानी चाहिए। सारी पार्टी के लीडर्स अगर मुनासिब समझे तो चैयरमैन साहब से इस मसले पर बात कर लीजिए और सब लोग बैठकर डिसकस कर लें। सरकार की तरफ से भी कुछ आये ... (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मुझे पूरी बात कह लेने दीजिए। जब वाजपेयी जी बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने एक इशारा किया था प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ। मुझे उस वक्त बैठें-बैठें एक शेर याद आ गया गालिब का। मैं अर्ज करता हूँ ... (व्यवधान) ...

क्या बकवास है, क्या बदजोख लोग सामने आ जाते हैं ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : सेक्रेटरिएट की जिम्मेदारी होती है कि वह जो टेक्नीकल मसले होते हैं, मुद्दे होते हैं वह बताये कि क्या और किस तरीके से कोई मोशन मूव किया जा सकता है या हाऊस के सामने लाया जा सकता है। इसी सिलसिले में सेक्रेटरी जनरल साहब बता रहे थे। (व्यवधान) लीडर आफ द हाऊस कुछ बोलना चाहते हैं।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : देखिय आप उसको मंजूर कर लें या न कर लें यह अलग बात है लेकिन मैंने आफिशियल रेजोलूशन मूव किया। वाजपेयी जी ने कहा, कुछ इशारे हो रहे हैं तो मुझे गालिब का एक शेर याद आ गया :

यारब वह न समझे हैं, न समझे हैं मेरी बात,
जो उनको न दिमाग तो दे मुझ को जबां और।

उपसभापति : दिमाग नहीं दिल है। (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मैं इसको इस तरह से प्रजें करता हूँ :

यारब न वह समझे हैं न समझे हैं उनकी बात,
न उनको दिमाग, दे उनको जबां और। (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : माथुर साहब दिल को दिमाग की जगह बैठा दिया और दिमाग को दिल की जगह।

As a zoologist I cannot permit it.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : कारण यह है यहां पर दिल से काम नहीं लिया जा रहा है। दिमाग का काम है। दिल की बात कुछ महीने पहले हुई थी। मिल कर बैठ गये थे और लड्डू भी खाये गये। अब पता नहीं लड्डू खिलाने वालों की तरफ से इशारा हो रहा है या दूसरी ओर से हो रहा है (व्यवधान)

श्री यशवंत सिन्हा : आपने भी लड्डू खिलाये (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मैं तो 10 जनपत की बात कर रहा हूँ वहां लड्डू पहुंचाये जा रहे थे। अब लड्डूओं में कहाँ से जहर घुल गया और कहाँ से नाराजगी पैदा हो गई, क्या हो गया ? मैंने अर्ज किया कि उनको दे दिमाग ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : लीडर आफ द हाऊस भी बोलना चाहते हैं। (व्यवधान) सुबह से इसी विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है, 12 बजे से। (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : क्या बात कर रहे हैं। मजे में दखल दे दिया। (व्यवधान)

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आपने सुना दिया , काफी हो गया ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : आप कहां समझेगे शुद्ध हिन्दी वाले हैं । खेर, मेरा कहना यह है कि यह कड़वाहट में क्यों बदल गया ? संदेह यह ही रहा है कि मीठा लड्डू कड़वा हो गया और इसकी वजह से ही सारी बातें हो रही हैं । हम लोगों ने और अन्य लोगों ने कहा है कि यहां पर हरियाणा का बकायदा अमला है । हरियाणा भवन के अन्दर यह बात पिछले 8—10 साल से चल रही है । मैं प्रधान मंत्री से यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब उनको मालूम हो गया कि यहां पर बकायदा हरियाणा सरकार का इस तरह का सिलसिला है तो क्या उन्होंने ऊपर जाकर हरियाणा सरकार से पूछा है कि यह सिलसिला क्यों है और इस पटिकुलर घटना के अन्दर हरियाणा सरकार का क्या कहना है, यह आपने पता लगाया या नहीं ? उसी के साथ जैसे अन्य लोगों ने इशारे से कहा, मैं भी इशारे में कहना चाहता हूं कि दूसरे जो आका हैं, जो यहां सारी बातों को कंट्रोल करते हैं, लड्डू खिलाते हैं, उनसे भी क्या दरयाफ्त किया गया है यह नहीं कि यह क्या हो रहा है और क्यों हो रहा है ? यह केवल पोलिटिकल मामला नहीं है कि कौन कहां जा रहा है, क्योंकि अदल-बदली हो रही है, आने-जाने का सिलसिला लगा हुआ है... (व्यवधान) ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do I have the permission of the House not to have the lunch hour?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, no lunch hour.

उपसभापति : अब आप लीडर आफ दी हाउस को बोलने दीजिये ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : महोदया, आप मञ्च पर जल्म क्यों कर रही हैं ?

जहां तक इसका सवाल है कि राजनैतिक दृष्टि से किसी जगसूरी की जाय, उसकी मैं और मेरी पार्टी और सारा देश मज्जमत करता है । इस सदन से मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि वह मेरे मोशन को स्वीकार कर, चैयरमैन साहब की स्वीकृति ले लें । आज नहीं हो तो कल करें । इसी सदन की एक कमेटी बननी चाहिये । प्रधान मंत्री ने स्वयं कहा है और सदन की भी इच्छा है, उसका आप स्कोप तय कर लें । मेरा मोशन स्टैण्ड करता है । मैंने मूव किया है, आज न हो तो कल कर लें, चैयरमैन साहब से स्वीकृति ले करके इसको स्वीकार कीजिये, मेरा इतना ही निवेदन है ।

श्री चन्द्रशेखर : उपसभापति जी, मैं आपसे निवेदन करूं कि पहला सवाल जो माथुर साहब ने उठाया, वह सही है कि मैंने मुझाव दिया था, मैंने प्रस्ताव नहीं रखा था, कि इस तरह की कमेटी बने ताकि किसी को संदेह न रहे कि हम लोग सरकार की ओर से किसी बात को छिपाना चाहते हैं । लेकिन माननीय वाजपेयी जी ने एक बात अपने भाषण में कही थी कि इसमें सब लोगों की सहमति होनी चाहिए, सब लोगों को संतोष होना चाहिए । हमारी परम्परा रही है कि इस तरह की कमेटी बनाने के पहले हम सब पार्टियों और अध्यक्ष की राय लेते हैं । दूसरे, अगर दोनों सदनों की समिति बनानी है तो दूसरे सदन में भी राय लेनी चाहिए । मैं ऐसा मानता हूं कि सदन जो चाहे सो कर सकता है, उसको पूरा अधिकार है । लेकिन अगर उस समिति को प्रभावकारी बनाना है तो उस समिति को सारे लोगों के सलाह-मशविरे से, सहमति से और अध्यक्ष से और दूसरे सदन से बात करके बनाना चाहिए । इतना ही इस बारे में मेरा कहना है ।

जहां तक और सवाल है, उन सवालों पर दो-तीन बातें मैं कहना चाहूंगा । मैंने जब एप्रिहेण्ड कहा, अंग्रेजी हमको

कम आती है, जब उनको रोका गया, एप्रिहेण्ड किया गया, पकड़ा गया कि यह आप क्या कर रहे हो तो ज्यों ही उन्होंने अपना आइडेंटिटी कार्ड दिखाया त्यों ही उनसे बयान ले करके उनको छोड़ दिया गया, उनको गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया, जैसे कि कुछ मेम्बरों ने कहा, क्योंकि रिकार्ड करेक्ट होना चाहिए।

जहां तक कानूनी व्यवस्था का सवाल है, हम ऐसा समझते हैं कि किसी भी राज्य की पुलिस को दिल्ली में इस तरह की कार्यविधि चलाने का अधिकार नहीं है। अगर किसी राज्य सरकार की पुलिस दिल्ली में आती है तो उसको दिल्ली प्रशासन से अनुमति लेनी होती है, उसकी सूचना दी जाती है। ऐसी कोई अनुमति हरियाणा सरकार ने नहीं ली थी। जितनी जानकारी मझ को अब तक मिली है वह मैंने बताई है। हमारे कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि हमने पूरी बात नहीं बताई। मैंने कहा है कि जांच जारी है, जितनी बातें मालूम हुई उतनी बताई। मैंने कभी यह नहीं कहा कि चूंकि किसी ने कह दिया कि इंस्पेक्टर छूट्टी पर है तो यह आखिरी बात है। हमने उसके बाद कहा कि इंस्पेक्टर जहां भी है, उसका बयान लिया जाय। मैं सामान्य रूप से यह मानता हूं कि कोई इंस्पेक्टर इस तरह का आदेश नहीं देगा। कुछ बड़े लोगों का इसमें हाथ हो, इस संभावना से मैं इंकार नहीं करता और इसलिए मैंने कहा कि जांच पूरे तौर पर होनी चाहिए।

मैं दूसरी बात यह बताऊं कि सरकार को किसी भी अवधि की जांच आप कराना चाहें तो उस अवधि की जांच पर कोई एतराज नहीं है। क्योंकि इस मामले में मैं बिल्कुल स्पष्ट हूं। जिस दिन यह सरकार बनी उसी दिन मैंने कहा कि किसी भी विरोधी पार्टी पर इस तरह का सविलेंस, कोई फोन टेपिंग नहीं होनी चाहिये। मेरा विश्वास है कि यह नहीं हो रहा होगा। अगर कोई अधिकारी इस तरह का काम कर रहा है तो यह उसकी जिम्मेदारी है।

मैं पोलिटिकल लोगों की बात कर रहा हूं। इसका कोई यह अर्थ न लग जाय कि किसी का फोन टेप नहीं होता होगा। इस मामले में मेरी राय बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है। उपसभापति जी, मैंने पहले भी कहा था कि कुरीति को रोकने के लिये कदम उठाने चाहिये। मैंने यह भी कहा था कि मैं स्वयं मुद्राव लाऊंगा और सारे विरोधी पक्ष के नेताओं से इस पर चर्चा करूंगा। हमारे मित्र श्री गुरुदास दास गुप्त जी ने सही मुद्राव दिया। मैंने पहले भी कहा है कि सरकार अल्पमत हो य बहुमत की ही सरकार सरकार है। सरकार जब तक रहेगी तब तक यह काम करेगी। अब कुछ लोगों को भूत दिखाई पड़ता है। उन लोगों के प्रति मुझे बड़ी सहानुभूति है। हमारे मित्र श्री मुरासोली मारन की नाराजगी में समझ सकता हूं। आप याद रखिये कि मैंने किसी के कहने पर आपकी सरकार को नहीं गिराया है। आपसे भी मैंने निवेदन किया था कि मेरी कठिनाइयां क्या हैं। उन कठिनाइयों के अंदर राष्ट्रीय गौरव के निर्वहन का सवाल हमारे सामने होता है और उस राष्ट्रीय गौरव के निर्वहन में अगर कोई भी सामने आया, इस पक्ष का हो या उस पक्ष का हो... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have obeyed the orders of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and it is a well-known fact... (Interruptions)... The whole world knows it ... (Interruptions)... Why are you referring to it now?

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Even without the Governor's Report you dismissed the Tamil Nadu Government ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Unnecessarily you are provoking a controversy. You dismissed our Government at the behest of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Ms. Jayalalitha ... (Interruptions)... It is known to the whole world. Why are you referring to it now?... (Interruptions)... What is the use? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKAT-RAMAN: Now, you people are reaping the consequences ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, what is the point in mentioning it now? The whole world knows that it is the Congress (I) which has done it... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please ... (Interruptions)... Mr. Gopalsamy, when you people were speaking, the Prime Minister did not interrupt... (Interruptions)... Please sit down. Let him speak.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Prime Minister, when you visited Poes Garden, you got the orders from Ms. Jayalalitha and this is a fact... (Interruptions)...

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ मीम अफजल (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह बहुत सीरियस मटर है इसको गलत रख न दें।

उपसभापति : उनको बोलने दीजिये ।

श्री चन्द्रशेखर: उपसभापति जी, मैं और कोई बात नहीं कहना चाहता । माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी यहां मौजूद हैं, हमारे गुरुपादस्वामी जी भी मौजूद हैं । सदन के पिछले सत्र में जब इन लोगों से मेरी बातें हुई थीं तो उस समय भी मैंने अपनी राय दी थी । मैं उस राय को यहां कहना नहीं चाहता । लेकिन यह बात सही है कि राजीव गांधी की पार्टी हमारी पार्टी की मदद कर रही है । अगर उनकी कोई राय हो और उस राय से मैं भी सहमत हूं तो क्या उसको इसलिये अस्वीकार कर दूं कि वह आपको बुरा लगता है, यह तो कोई बात नहीं हुई ।
... (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKAT-RAMAN: You have put your rubber-stamp... (Interruptions)... You have really become the rubber-stamp of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You obey what he tells you... (Interruptions)...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKAT-RAMAN: You are reaping the consequences now. They have let you down. ... (Interruptions)... All those people have let you down now... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please... (Interruptions)... Let the Prime Minister finish.

श्री चन्द्रशेखर : उपसभापति महोदया मैं इसमें नहीं पड़ता कि कौन सदन में मौजूद है और कौन नहीं है । मैं यहां मौजूद हूं और जब तक मैं मौजूद हूं मैं अपनी बात कहता रहूंगा । यह भी मैं इस सदन के जरिये इस देश और उपसभापति महोदया आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि आत्म-गौरव की बात मुझे व लोग याद न दिलग्यें जिन्होंने पग-पग पर आत्म-गौरव के साथ समझौता किया है । मैं आत्म-गौरव के बदले राष्ट्रीय गौरव को महत्व देता हूं ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But you have lost it.

श्री चन्द्रशेखर : और राष्ट्र के गौरव के प्रति हम ने कोई समझौता नहीं किया है । जो लोग समझते हैं कि इस तरह के भाषण कर के और इस तरह की आलोचना कर के मेरे गौरव को गिरा सकेंगे, काफी दिनों तक उन्होंने कोशिश की है और काफी दिनों तक करते रहेंगे लेकिन उसका मेरे ऊपर कोई असर नहीं होने वाला है । इसलिए इस चिन्ता को छोड़ मैं अपने मित्र गुरुपदस्वामी जी से जरूर कहना चाहता हूं, बहुत पुराना संबंध है, एक दूसरे को हमने नज़दीक से देखा है, अच्छा हो कि हम व्यक्तिगत बातों को न उठाएं तो ज्यादा अच्छा है । इतिहास बदला नहीं जा सकता । लोगों के चरित्र और लोगों के सत्ता के प्रति मोह के बारे में अगर गुरुपदस्वामी जी हमें उपदेश नहीं देते तो अपने हित में ज्यादा अच्छा वह करते नहीं तो मैं अगर जवाब दूंगा तो बड़ा

कड़ा लगेगा। इसलिए यह सब बातें न कही जाएं, मैं तो नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि उपसभापति महोदया, मैं समझता हूँ कि मामले ज्यादा गम्भीर हैं और वह मामले देश की एकता से संबंधित हैं, देश के जनतंत्र से और जम्हूरियत से संबंधित हैं। इस सवाल पर माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने जो सुझाव रखे हैं उन सुझावों का और हमारे गुप्ता जी के सुझावों का... (व्यवधान)

श्री मोहम्मद अफ़जल उर्फ़ भीम अफ़जल : मेडम... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you cannot intervene when he is not yielding.

श्री जगन्मोहन : मैं सरकार की ओर से यह आश्वासन देता हूँ अगर इस तरह की सविलेंस, इस तरह की टेलीफोन टेपिंग को रोकने के लिए कोई भी कदम यह सदन उठायेगा उस में सरकार पूरी तरह से सहयोग और समर्थन करेगी और मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जल्दी ही इस तरह का सुझाव लाएगी। हमारे कुछ मित्र कहते हैं कि यह सरकार नहीं रहेगी तो जो दूसरी सरकार आएगी वह सुझाव लाएगी, मैं अगर सदस्य रहूँगा इस सदन का नहीं तो दूसरे सदन का फिलहाल रहूँगा, मैं उसका समर्थन करूँगा। उसके बाद अगर चुनाव होंगे तो कौन आएगा, कौन नहीं आएगा, इस में मैं नहीं पड़ता। मैं भविष्य की चिन्ता में नहीं हूँ, मैं वर्तमान की चिन्ता में हूँ। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से कहूँगा कि उपदेश देने के पहले आप जरा सोच लें। हमारे मित्र माथर साहब ने एक शेर कहा, वह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि क्या शेर कहा लेकिन उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपसे एक बात कहूँगा याद रखें माननीय सदस्य अगर उनको उर्दू आती हो—

चाहे साख हो सन्जोबर्ग पे, चाहे गुलचियों
गुलखार पे,

मैं चमन में चाहे जहाँ रहूँ, मेरा हक है
फसलेबहार पे।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for lunch for one hour.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-three minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after launch at forty-nine minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. A. Baby) in the Chair.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (RAILWAYS) 1990-91.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI BHAKTA CHARAN DAS): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants (Railways) for the year 1990-91. [Placed in Library. See No. LT—2192/91]

The Delhi High Court (Amendment) Bill, 1991.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Delhi High Court Act, 1966.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

RE: LAYING OF INTERIM BUDGET ON THE TABLE

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now special mentions.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Sir, before you take up this special mention, I want to say that, I gave a notice today complaining about irregularities in the laying of the paper on the estimated