

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY :
I am only requesting you to be more generous about intrusions.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—*contd.*

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal): While thanking for the Presidential Address, I want to state that it contains many vital points both on the economic side and also on other spheres of activity, external and internal.

I would like to draw the attention of the House specifically to three or four aspects of the President's Address. On page 5 of the Address, in para 17, the President has said:

"I appeal to all sections of the people to ponder seriously over these fundamental issues, offer positive and constructive suggestions and criticisms and co-operate with the Government in working out national solutions".

On this issue, I would like to draw the attention of the House to para 12 on page 4 of the Address wherein the President has said:

"Government will continue to give a place of importance to science and technology as instruments of economic advancement".

As you know, Sir, we have discussed on the floor of this House about the role of science and technology and I have also many times told that it is no use simply praising the scientific and the technological people or the professional people. In my opinion, Sir, unless and until the scientists or the technologists or the professional people get their due share in the policy-making body or the decision-making body, I do not think any progress in this respect can take place. Last month, Sir, one of my students in Bhubaneswar said, on this question, in front of a large gathering of engineers: "When we talk

about the administrative responsibility of the professional people, we are always told that the professional people should not go into the administration and should not confine themselves to the desks alone, but they should work in the fields". He told nice story in this connection. There were some blind people at one time and they were asked to identify or describe an elephant. One blind man touched the trunk of the elephant and said that it was like the snake. Another blind man touched the leg of the elephant and said that it was a pillar and so on. My student also was similarly asked: "what is this administration?" My student also said that it is like the elephant which those blind men tried to describe. After all, what is this administration? Do you think that the Chief Engineer in any State Government in India is not doing any administrative work at all? Do you think that a Superintending Engineer in any State Government is not performing any administrative job at all? After all, what is this administrative duty? Sir, it is a pity that even the Chief Engineer in a State Government, when he has to come to these Bhavans, he has to take the permission of the Under Secretary in the PW Ministry. In this type of a humiliating atmosphere, it is very difficult for any dignified professional people to work. Sir, just now we had a lengthy discussion on the strike by the jute workers and on the strikes by the trade unions in general. We have talked about the formation of unions and we know how the trade unions work in our country. In my opinion, Sir, the greatest trade union in the world is our IAS trade union, the bureaucratic trade union. It is such a trade union that its members do not like their brother employees to enter or go up in their service properly. For example, there is the Central Secretariat Service known as the CSS. I know of many cases in which persons of the CSS have come up to the standard or to the level of Under Secretary or Deputy Secretary. But this IAS coterie tries to push these CSS men out of the Ministry and shove them off to some far off place under the pretext of sending them in depu-

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tation or under some other pretext. There may be many vacancies in the Ministry itself where these people are working as Under Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries. But these IAS people do not want to see the people of the CSS, which is a part of their service, come up to the level of Joint Secretary or Additional Secretary in any of the Ministries and this is how they are working.

Sir, you will also find another interesting thing. A story appeared in "The Hindustan Times" on 23-12-74 which was about the Bhilai Steel Plant. All of us know that the Bhilai steel plant was inaugurated in October 1958, about seventeen years ago. The caption in the paper is this: "where are those people today?". There was a photograph taken at the time of the opening ceremony of this steel plant.

In these photographs there were pictures of certain engineers both from our country and from the USSR. Sir, in that photograph there was one Mr. V. E. Dymshits, then Soviet Chief Engineer in Bhilai. Today he is the Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR. On the same platform, his counterpart, Mr. K. N. Subbaraman, is also in the picture. Mr. Subbaraman is today dealing in plastic bags for a living. There was only one Indian generalist in the picture. Mr. N. C. Srivastava, ICS. At the time of the picture, Mr. Srivastava was General Manager of Bhilai. He went on to become Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs and a Secretary to the Government. He is today a Director of the Asian Development Bank in Manila. But what happened to other engineers who were also in the picture? If you look into all these facts and figures, you will find that discontent in the professional cadre is growing at an alarming rate. Sir, I may tell you that in the near future, not far off, these professional people, all the engineers, whether they are in State Governments or in the public sector or in the private sector, doctors who are associated with the IMA, engineers who are members of

Institution of Engineers (India) are going to combine, and this combined strength is going to tackle this affair. They are not going to tolerate this situation for a long time to come. Sir, we will have to be cautious and there will have to be a change in the policy, the administrative policy, of the Government. They must look into it in proper perspective. It is no use making one or two engineers as Secretaries here and there. It is entirely a question of dealing with the problem, dealing with decision making and implementation. We have no grudge against those people so long as the generalists confine themselves to matters like land revenue, law and order problems and other related matters. But we demand that in professional fields, whether it is economic production or engineering or technology, all throughout, from top to bottom in the decision making process these people must be given their due places. It is not a question of asking for pay parity with the IAS people. The IAS people may draw a salary of Rs. 3000; we have no grudge. It is not the question whether the Chief Engineer is getting Rs. 2000. The basic problem is whether the professional people will be given their due status and position and respect in policy making and decision making process, or not.

Coming to the second point, this is also covered in the President's Address at page 5, para 16. It says:

"As regards education also, Government has worked out programmes for reform of the examination system, vocationalisation of secondary education,..."

We see that for the last 25 years, Education has got the lowest priority in this country. We have priority for irrigation. We have priority for power. We have priority for coal or energy. We have priority for road development, and so on. These are priorities, no doubt. But there is no priority for education in this country. As you know, just at the moment, the pay scales which have been announced only for the College and University teachers in

the other House by the Education Minister—these are not being implemented in any of the States so far. The whole teaching community is on war path today. You will probably be aware of the fact that they are going to stage a demonstration on the 24th of this month. If this is the way the teachers have to come down in streets, you may well imagine what will happen to the students and the student community and these students when they come to a position at a later stage and how they will act.

Sir, in this connection I would like to relate a sad story. Last month I met one of the top officers, who is an IAS, in the Finance Ministry. Casually we were discussing about the pay scales of teachers. And he passed a sarcastic remark. He said, "Do you think that a Lecturer in Sanskrit in a certain college in Calcutta should get Rs. 700 per month?". He made a sarcastic remark about them. I asked him, "Wherefrom did you get your education? You went through some primary school, secondary school and college and you were taught by those teachers who are not getting an amount which you are paying even to your Bank clerk today."

How can you pass such a sarcastic remark after drawing a salary of 3500 rupees? If this is the thinking of our bureaucrats, then how are we going to make any progress at all in the field of education in this country?

Regarding industrial development, I will just confine myself to the industrial development in my State. I will try to show how bureaucrats are functioning there. We have an organisation named Rehabilitation Industries Corporation (RIC) under the Rehabilitation Ministry, at Calcutta. It was not an industry at all. It started as a dole-giving thing. In 1954-55, suddenly an idea came to the Ministry that they should give some work to these people. They opened 36 centres all over the State. They were producing some cloth, some canned fruits and leather goods. In 1972,

the Ministry decided to wind it up. We protested and said that these 36 units scattered all over the State cannot be an industry. We suggested that they should concentrate on one or two industries. We gave concrete proposals. We calculated that the cost will be one crore in 1973, less than one crore in 1974 and it will become viable in 1975. We find that year after year, the R.I.C. is losing more than one crore of rupees and the Government is paying it. They are not considering our proposal. Already, they have had two commissions. They have appointed a third commission. It has not submitted its report as yet. In the meantime, the Government has lost 3 crores of rupees. This is the way in which our bureaucrats are working. I repeatedly asked the Minister, the Ministry and the Secretary concerned to show us the fault in our project or to give us alternative proposal which will make this concern viable. I am yet to get a reply from them.

There is another firm known as Britannia Engineering Company. This company has been closed for the last four years. During this period of four years, four people have committed suicide and about 15 to 20 people have died of hunger. 2000 people are working there. This company is one of the finest companies in the country. They have crores of rupees worth of machinery. They were preparing Tea machineries, textile machinery and road rollers at the time of closure. They had orders for 10 crores of rupees. The proprietor took a loan of 5 crores of rupees from the State Bank for modernisation of the plant in spite of this, he spent the money in trade and other consumer goods, etc. Then he closed it in 1970. We repeatedly requested the Ministry to make an assessment and to take over the management as we have done in the case of Burn, Jessop and others. They took over one small unit of this company in Mokameh in Bihar. The 2000 people of this company were out of employment. We are behaving like that with our existing industries and I do not know how we

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are going to open any big or small industry in the State of West Bengal.

Sir, one last point I want to mention. An alarming news came out in the newspaper that there is a thinking in some circles that we should open up our public sector business to the shareholders. That means, 51 per cent will be retained by the Government and 49 per cent will be sold to the public. But, Sir, who are this public? And how are they going to invest their money? You see, Sir, whatever the public saved, they have already saved in the nationalised banks, they have already saved in the LIC. With this money of the LIC and the nationalised banks, these public sector undertakings are being run. If we now open up the doors of 49 per cent to the public, then these monopolists, this big business or these blackmarketeers will invest their money in benami deals and try to control this public sector business in future. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the President's Address to the Joint Session. This is his first Address. I am very sorry to say that it is a very, very poorly written speech. It is like a weak soup without salt or pepper. We could not complete the reading of the pages because it has got nothing new. When the President comes to the Joint Session, he makes some new points whereas here what we find is the oft-repeated points that are mouthed by the ordinary Congress people, and the same thing is reflected in the President's Address. It is a very unfortunate thing, Sir.

I am very sorry that I miss my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta here. As a matter of fact, I wanted him to be here and I also indicated to him that I would speak on what he spoke yesterday. Sir, yesterday, he began his speech in a very slow manner. In three minutes' time, it developed into a crescendo and when he started attack in JP and other rightist reaction on this side, he was at his peak. I was really

sad when I found the gullible Congress Members on the other side started thumping the tables repeatedly to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. I wonder whether they were aware what they were doing. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta spoke very eloquently about fascism. And he said, and I quote:

"I read every book on fascism or connected with the rise of fascism available in the British Museum. I can tell you, whether in Germany or Spain, when fascism began to advance and engulfed those countries, always there was a cry of anti Communism, etc. etc."

An then, Sir, he started attacking Hitler. Then he compared some of the leaders of the opposite side that they are behaving like Hitler. Sir, when he had developed this hatred towards Hitler, is still a mystery to me. You might have read the Communist literature and also the Fascist literature—even though I had not gone as a student to England and had spent my time in the British Museum. I had gone there as an ordinary citizen and it does not require for me or anybody to go to London to study fascist literature which we can read in our own library or in any other library in a village or a hamlet. But he was speaking so high about his association with England and his reading habits in the British Museum. But, Sir, I have also read a little about Fascism and also the Soviet attitude towards Fascism. When Hitler emerged in Germany—and this fact was conveniently forgotten yesterday—the Russian Communists welcomed him. They applauded him. They wanted Hitler to become more powerful because it suited their convenience. Sir, I just read a portion:

"In the present stage of development of German Revolution, Hitler is indisputably our ally."

The Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1938 was hailed by the Communist world, including the Communist Party of India. The imperialist War began soon after the Pact was signed and I do not go into that Pact now. So, when Hitler emerged from a very humble

beginning and when he became the dictator, Soviet Russia welcomed his coming into power and extended full support and came to an understanding with them. And the Pact was signed in 1938. All the Communist world including the CPI has hailed that agreement.

Later on, the things took a different turn. I will come to that point a little later.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. RAJU) in the Chair.]

But, yesterday, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta spoke as if he was and as if the Communist Party was opposed to Hitler from the very beginning. It is a travesty of truth and it is a distortion of history. He had taken it for granted that everybody is blissfully ignorant as he finds a number of people on the other side. But, we also are equally informed, Sir.

Then, he started praising Panditji. I do not know what inspired him. He went to Himalayan heights when he started saying that he found fault with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, that all the time he was supporting Panditji and never liked Panditji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to be clubbed together, etc. etc. much to the amusement of all of us and much to the satisfaction and happiness of the other side. But, if we go through his own utterances, then we would know to what extent they were sincere in their praise of Nehru in those days as well as in these days.

Sir, I will read a quotation:

"The Congress is systematically trying to deceive the masses with its socialist demagogue led by no other than the most popular of their leaders, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru."

This is what was written by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta himself in 1958 in his paper "New Age", which was a monthly paper then. He has forgotten this. When Nehru was alive, they were attacking him. Not only that, Sir. In 1940, the great theoretician.

Dr. G. Adhikari called Gandhiji as an ally of British imperialism. In 1941, when Hitler attacked Soviet Russia—they were with the Congress forces and other nationalist forces and called it an imperialist war—since Russia was involved, they immediately said that it is a people's war and started betraying right and left nationalists all over the country. I know all these things very well, Sir. I was underground at that time. There was a colleague of mine who wanted to go out for a while to do an important job. He was betrayed by a Communist and for that, Sir, that colleague had to undergo a lot of difficulty. And, then in 1950, one Russian expert on Indian affairs, characterised Gandhiji as the principal traitor of the mass national movement. Again, Sir, in 1954, at the Palghat Conference, a resolution was adopted to inculcate among the students the scientific spirit and ideology of Marx and Lenin in order to enable them to fight Gandhian ideology and other decadent thoughts of Congress people. That is what they have said.

My other friend, Shri Sardesai is also not here. He said as early as 1956 that our appreciation and respect for the role of Gandhi and Nehru in the freedom movement should not hinder us from seeing through their designs, i.e., Gandhiji and Nehru do not or did not constitute people's leadership. According to him, they belonged to bourgeois leadership, they did not belong to social revolution and they were not for the poor masses and that they were for the rich class of people. These people now praise Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I do not know to what extent the Congress Party is gullible and accepts them.

And, then, Sir, what is the tactics? Why should they praise Nehruji? Why should they support Congress? When they were discussing Samastipur yesterday, he was very eloquent and he was saying that the vast forces on this side killed Lalit Narayan Mishra. I do not want to indulge very much in Samastipur affair now.

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I do not want to indulge very much in Samastipur affair. We are going to have a motion in a few days' time, and then I will deal with it in depth. But I would say the forces which killed L. N. Mishra are the forces led by Bhupesh Gupta—unfortunately, he is not here. No other people killed him. A day will come when the country would know who were the real murders. The murderers the people who are great admirers of the present Government. A day will come when all these people would be unmasked and people would know who are the real enemies and who are the real friends of the country. And then, Sir, what is their *modus operandi*? That is most important. Sir, we have read the history of Czechoslovakia. Of course, we have not read it in British museum, but in our country. Sir, Jan Kozak, a Communist M.P., gave a programme how to counteract revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia. He has said—he has written a thesis—that a minority in Parliament succeeded in subverting democracy. The technique is known as "pressure from the below and pressure from the above". This is the plan he gave to the people, and the people in Czechoslovakia, the Communist people started acting upon it. They were microscopic in number in those days like today the Communists are in small number, but they are able to control a good number. They have got a good audience on the other side. In the same manner, in the Czechoslovakian Parliament they were handful in number, 10 people, but they had a large following because they adopted a novel method. That novel method is: "Pressure from the below and pressure from the above". Mass agitations, rallies on every conceivable score, promotion of industrial discontent and social strife, and so on. These and a number of other devices were used as pressure from the below to soften the country and to weaken the will of democratic elements to defend the Constitution. You see what is happening in the country. If you want one lakh Communist workers to march to Parlia-

ment, my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would organise it with the Congress money. He did it in Bihar, he did it in Vijayawada, he did it in Cochin. They would organise mass rallies, processions and organise strikes etc. etc. to soften the country and weaken the will of democratic elements to defend the Constitution. These people are out to defend the Constitution.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : You said Congress money. Congress volunteers also?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: This is the pressure from the below. Now the most important point, the pressure from the above is coming. The Congressmen on the other side should be very wary, should be careful to bear in mind what tactics have been adopted. They are adopting the same tactics, there is not an iota of difference in what they did in Czechoslovakia, what they did in Hungary, what they did in Central European countries, and what they are doing here. But I wonder my friends Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Kulkarni are not aware of it.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: They are not politicians.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I do not know. This is the pressure from the above. Infiltration in the key Government posts, nationalisation of banks and other industries, destruction of autonomy of universities, courts of law, free press and other bulwarks of freedom—in all these they applied all kinds of pressure from the above. We have brought about reformers. We know the Supreme Court has been affected. We have done all the nationalisation, etc. etc. And also, to a large extent, they also infiltrated into the Congress organisation, and that is why we have these forums. They had done that.

These are their tactics. Congressmen should bear in mind and more so Mrs. Indira Gandhi should bear in mind because she is at the helm of affairs. The so-called support lent by them is not to help her. Really it is to dig the grave of her party and it is to dig the grave of the Government. They should be aware of it. They are scrupulously adopting their programme.

Now, Sir, take Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech of yesterday itself. He started by attacking Mr. Mohan Dharia on the one hand and Mr. T. A. Rai on the other hand. What sort of sin has Mr. Mohan Dharia committed? He said that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi should have a dialogue with JP. Is it such a sin that he should not say it? Our Madam Prime Minister can have parleys with Mr. Bhutto, Mr. Ayub Khan and various other people, but she should not talk to JP. Why? Is J.P. a despicable man? Is he a dangerous man? Has he not contributed to our country's freedom struggle? Is he after power? If he had attempted to come to power, he would have been not the President of India, but the Prime Minister of India. It was offered to him on a silver plate. He refused to touch it, not once but a number of times. Yet yesterday he attacked Mr. Mohan Dharia for having said that there should be a dialogue with JP. He started attacking Mr. T. A. Pai. Why? I am not an admirer of this Government, but when somebody does some good job it is our duty as responsible Members to appreciate it. Here even though I am a member of the opposition, in Madras I belong to the ruling party and with great responsibility I speak. I always speak with the feeling that if I point one finger at them, there will be four fingers pointing at me. So, I am careful and choosy in my words. Why should they attack Mr. T. A. Pai? If you look at the performance of his Ministry you will be simply surprised. As a matter of fact, I was a member of the Public Accounts Committee. I went round the country and I have seen a number of public undertakings. I am a member of the public undertakings committee. I see the deference. When Mr. Pai was not here, the public undertakings were in very poor show. They were doing a rotten job. With all the good equipment, capital and resources which the country gave them, they were mismanaging. Not even one industry was making profit. Every undertaking was making a huge loss and it appeared at one stage that we would have to give them up. Now, Sir, they have turned the

corner and some of them have made a profit. I believe, if I am correct, that some forty industries have made a real profit. Now, the most important thing is in Madras we had difficulty for our cement factories. We have to get coal from Bihar and other States. After nationalisation under Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, etc nothing happened and we were about to close down some factories. Then from Madras we approached Mr. T. A. Pai. He made some elaborate arrangements whereby a cell was created in the coal department. If anybody had a complaint, he could go and put in a complaint. It was immediately attended to. As a result now no cement factory all over India is suffering for want of coal. Cement is easily available. Secondly, you might have noticed that we used to go in a queue to the milk bar for Vanaspati for a two-kilo tin. Now, what has happened? As a result, it is available abundantly. Take engineering goods. There was a slump in the market. Today it has picked up. The engineering industry has picked up. He is doing a good job, which my hon. friend does not want. I remember very well when Mr. T. A. Pai came to this House in 1972. I believe while elections were going on in Bangalore—Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy might know it—Mr. Bhupesh Gupta made a speech here personally attacking him saying that in collusion with his brother he had done something very bad. Mr. Pai was not here.

I was here. I got up and said that it was not right on the part of the hon. Member to criticise somebody who was not present here, and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta brushed aside my objection and went away. Mr. Pai got elected. He came and made a statement to the effect that what all was said about him was wrong, that nothing had happened as was said. But Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had no courtesy to withdraw whatever he said. So, from the very beginning, he was aware that if people like Mr. Pai came here, they would do something that would give a good name to the Government, which he does not want. He wants delinquents, derelicts,

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dull-headed people in the Government so that they could create trouble in the country. Their object is to create trouble. Congress people have not understood it and they are falling a prey to them. What has happened? They were criticising Gandhi and Nehru at one time. But there is a shift in their policy. And it is also important that the Congress people should know that in 1964, the late Mr. Kumaramangalam brought out his theory to use the Congress to share its power and then oust it, and to have a united front but "in the last analysis, the decisive forces can only be the Communist Party." This is the crux of the 64-page thesis. This was what he wanted and the party had accepted it. And now they are doing it in one way. And Mr. Dange has already started speaking in terms of a coalition Government like Kerala all over India, including the Centre. And I do not know—if things go on at the present rate, the day is not far away when we will have Comrade Dange on the one side and Mr. Gokhale on the other side, and in between some other Minister like Mr. Jagjivan Ram or Mr. Chavan or anybody. And that day is not far off if things go on in this way. Now, they have started working on that plan. But this is the first time that they are admitting it. But they have been trying to do it for a long time. People like Panditji, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others were very careful and they kept them at a respectful distance. But I do not know what has happened now. Much more than its own followers, the Government wants their help. Yesterday, people would have noticed the amount of exuberance with which they reacted to the speech of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta; it was something astonishing. Even if their own members had spoken, they would not have applauded them and thumped the tables as they did yesterday. They wanted a champion like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to defend their cause.

So, Sir, their object is this. They want to take up the joint front slogan in order to put down the so-called rightist ele-

ments. But if they succeed in it and if the Congress people fall a prey to their machinations, I am cent per cent sure that our country's independence would be in jeopardy. We are already in the clutches of certain forces, which is going to sap our energy, and we are going to be left in a very pitiable condition.

Sir, there are a few other points which I want to make. I think, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's knowledge about Fascism, etc. and what he gave out yesterday to the House is not a correct picture. And I think the Congress people who have read about the Fascist movement would know that if at all there is any Fascist movement in the whole world, it is the Soviet Russia's Communist Party. There is no other Fascist movement until the time when Hitler attacked Soviet Russia, and you will be surprised to hear—I read out from a small cutting of news which appeared in the Times of India a couple of days before:—

"Had the Germans not been defeated in the battle of Caucasus in 1942, Hitler would have invaded India."

This is revealed in a book "Battle Of The Caucasus" written by the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Andrei Grechko, who took active part on the north-Caucasian front. Suppose Hitler had not attacked Soviet Russia and if Hitler had come through the Caucasus, since our Communist friends were friendly with Hitler, what would have happened? I am hundred per cent sure that our comrades, who are now talking about fascism and all that, would have gone there and would have garlanded Hitler with the choicest roses picked from the Moghul Gardens.

He was talking about Herr Von Ribbentrop. Actually they were the people who were praising Hitler all the time with slogans like "Hail Hitler" and "Thank God that Hitler is on our side". As a matter of fact, the Russian people wanted to have a dialogue with Franco of Spain, Mussolini of Italy and so on. In early 1930 Russia did not raise a little finger when

Mussolini attacked Abyssinia. Does he mean to say that we have forgotten history? And what did they say about Gandhiji? I will tell you. It is not a difficult thing. They called him another imperialist ally, stooge, etc.

About Cauvery waters there was some reference by my good friend, Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy, though he did not say much. He mentioned the agreement about the Cauvery Valley Corporation and left it at that. But I do not know how the Hindustan Times this morning came out with a fantastic story that it was the Madras Chief Minister who stood in the way of a settlement and scuttled the plan. I wonder why the Hindustan Times should give a misleading report. I would like to read out one or two sentences from the editorial of the Statesman today which would clearly show that Madras was not a party to scuttling the plan. It says:—

"By rejecting it Mr. Devaraj Urs has dealt the plan a decisive blow and thus ensured his political survival."

At another place it says :

"But postponing a final settlement will not help. A firm stand by Karnataka will make life impossible in Madras city besides turning Thanjavur into a dust bowl."

which is otherwise a rice bowl. It says at yet another place :

"Neither the Chief Minister nor the KPCC President has been able to undo what the Public Works Minister has done in rebuilding his rather battered political reputation."

Therefore why should the Hindustan Times give a wrong picture. I do not understand.

Sir, as you know, I come from Tamil Nadu. There we face acute drought. There is not even drinking water available in Madras city. The Corporation taps work on alternate days. One portion of Madras gets water on one day and the second

portion gets on another day. This is the peculiar condition. Very aged people say that they had never seen such a condition during the last one hundred years. I do not know how we are going to manage. I do not know whether the Centre is aware of the depth of our suffering. Even though the Finance Minister comes from Madras he wants to put up a facade that he is very impartial. Unless something is done the position of Madras would be very bad. For example, we are not able to get rice whereas only last year we were able to send rice to Kerala, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Bengal and even Gujarat. We supplied rice to seven States. Whenever the Food Ministry wanted a shipment or wagon load of rice to be sent anywhere we never grumbled; we gave unstinted support to the extent they wanted. Now I do not know what is happening. I am told there is plenty of rice available in Punjab.

Why should they not lift it to Madras? We have been generous. Generosity should not be one-way traffic. It is not that Madras should only give and others should only receive. It would reflect upon the attitude of the Central Government if they do not come to our rescue. On these two or three counts, they have to come to our rescue. First, they must sanction some crash programmes for the supply of power. Second they should supply rice. Third, some sort of help should be given to dig wells all over the State. (*Time-bell rings*) Sir, I have got time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Five minutes more.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : The President has spoken about the Lokpal and Lokayukthas Bill. It is very late in the day to talk about Lokpal and Lokayuktha. Since independence we have been talking about this Ombudsman in one form or the other. As a matter of fact, the Lokpal Bill was introduced here several years ago and nobody knows what happened to that. Sir, Tamil Nadu Government is the only State Government which has passed an

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Act called the Public Men (Criminal Conduct) Act. In other words, it is a Lokayuktha Bill. Like this, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Haryana, I believe, have passed an Act, but they had conveniently left out the Chief Minister from the purview of this Lokayuktha.

SHRI RABI RAY : Uttar Pradesh did not do that.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : But Madras is the only State which has included the Chief Minister also. This is an important thing which the Law Minister should bear in mind. When he brings the Lokpal Bill, he should make it as comprehensive as possible and try to follow what Madras has done. Another important thing is, we have made it a condition that every year, every Member of our Legislative Assembly and Council should submit a return of his assets and liabilities. Then it becomes public property and anybody can walk into the Secretary's room and demand to see the assets and liabilities of any particular MLA or MLC. The Secretary's job is to give it to him. Like that some sort of provision must be made here also and within its purview, all Ministers, including the Prime Minister, should be brought, irrespective of the status they hold. That is what we have done. If the Law Minister wants a copy of it, I am prepared to give it. It has been passed in Madras and the President has given his assent. I want the Centre to follow it.

Then I come to the emergency. We brought in the emergency in 1962 when the Chinese aggression took place. We nursed that emergency, misused it to a great extent and put our opponents in prison. And when a hue and cry was raised in the country, we lifted the emergency in 1967, after 4-1/2 years. But we have forgotten the fact that the Chinese had taken from us more than 18,000 sq. miles of our area. This fact even the Government has forgotten. The entire area of Kerala is 50,000 sq. miles and the Chinese have grabbed and annexed nearly

50 percent of Kerala. And we have not done anything. Our Ambassadors and our people in Peking are waiting to see a small smile on the faces of the inscrutable Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. If Mao's face twitches a little, pat comes a telegram to New Delhi saying that Mao had smiled at our Ambassador or at some other Indians. So this goes on. Then during the Bangladesh affair, we brought in the emergency again in 1971, and it is very much there now. It is 1975 now. I was told that one MP was arrested in Bihar for the simple reason that he criticised the India Government. He was booked under the MISA. MISA is the child of the emergency. So it must be removed. It is high time that the emergency was lifted. What for is the emergency? As a matter of fact, Mr. Kalyan Roy and others asked, why not use the MISA against some of those people who are indulging in anti-social activities in the jute industry? There is no reply. But when it comes to their opponents, the Opposition leaders, they freely use the MISA or the emergency. So, Sir, it must be lifted immediately. Otherwise, the country will face an agitation. There is going to be an agitation. It will be on a large scale and it will put the Government in the wrong.

Last of all, before I wind up, I want to bring to the notice of our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a quotation of what her father had said about Communists. On the 2nd February, 1949 in the Constituent Assembly, the late Panditji had said as follows :

"The House is well aware of the Communist revolts that are taking place in countries bordering on India. It was presumably in furtherance of the same policy that the attempts are made in India to incite the people to active revolt."

That was at a time when Communists were active in Telengana and other areas. That was at a time when Communists started troubles in Burma, Malaysia, Singapore and other places bordering on India. This madam should bear it in mind.

I want to remind her of what she had herself said. Mrs. Indira Gandhi had said in the year 1959 on the 10th September, at a place called Moga.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : She can say anything at any time.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I think Moga is in Punjab. I am quoting her :

"Congress was not afraid of China or Pakistan, but was very worried about the activities of the Indian Communists who have proved beyond doubt that they are fifth columnists. They believe in violence and have tried their best to create lawlessness and a sense of insecurity in India during the 12 years of Independence. Their extra-territorial allegiance and their creed of hatred against the Government of India and the Congress deserve to be condemned. They have betrayed India on all crucial occasions. They are foreign agents, Jai Chands, Mir Jafars and parrots whose masters lived in foreign countries."

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Now she has taken an assurance from Mr. Brezhnev.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I want these to be printed on post cards and sent to each and every member of the Congress Party including you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The Chair has no party.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : When you come down, you must get a copy.

SHRI RABI RAY : It will be sent to Shri V. B. Raju.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : This is the actual position. Now there are forces in the Congress Party who stand for the integrity of the country and who want the democratic set up of the country to continue. I want these friends to be very active and beware of their friends who are out to kill them.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जो अभिभाषण दिया उसको पढ़ने के बाद मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा हूँ कि वास्तव में यह राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण नहीं बल्कि कुरसी कांग्रेस का है, जो अपनी कुरसी छोड़ना नहीं चाहती और एक ऐसी फूटी ढेल है जिससे बराबर भड़भड़, भड़भड़ की आवाज निकलती है। पहले मैं उन बातों पर बोलूंगा जिनका मुझे विरोध करना है। इससे पहले, जो कुरसी कांग्रेस में कुछ समझदारी की बात करना चाहते हैं उनसे मैं अपील करूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति जनरल डगल्ल के विरुद्ध जब प्रॉस के विद्यार्थियों का विद्रोह हुआ तो विद्यार्थियों ने अपनी मांगों में एक मांग रखी थी कि रेडियो, टेलीविजन और मास कम्युनिकेशंस के जितने समाचारपत्र हैं उनमें विद्यार्थियों का प्रतिनिधित्व हो या उनके हाथ में हो। तो राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जिसमें आगे आने वाली दिशाओं का संकेत होता है, ऐसे अवसर पर मैं आज फिर कहना चाहता हूँ अपने देश के विद्यार्थियों से, विरोधी दल के लोगों से और जितनी संघर्ष समीतियाँ हैं उनसे भी कि अगर इस देश को सुधारना चाहते हैं तो पहले रेडियो, टेलीविजन और मास कम्युनिकेशन को अपने हाथ में लें और किसी प्रकार से सरकार के हाथ में उसको न रहने दें चाहे उसके लिए कुछ भी करना पड़े।

श्रीमन्, इंडियन इंस्टीट्यूट आफ मास कम्युनिकेशन्स ने पटना, गया, मुंगेर और मुजफ्फरपुर इन चार जिलों में सर्वे कराया था और उस सर्वे की रिपोर्ट के कुछ अंश मैं आपके सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। पहिला इस प्रकार से है :—

"Three-fourths of the respondents were favourably inclined towards the youth agitation and agreed with the methods used in the course of the agitation."

जिस ढंग से बिहार में आन्दोलन चल रहा है उसको 75 प्रतिशत लोग पसन्द करते हैं। इसके साथ मैं और चीजों को छोड़ देता हूँ और दूसरा अंश है उसको पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ :—

"An overwhelming majority of the respondents did not agree with the approach

[श्री राजनाथरायण]

and method being employed by the State Government to deal with the agitation in Bihar."

कांग्रेस सरकार और इंदिरा सरकार जिस ढंग से वहाँ के आन्दोलन को चला रही हैं और जिस तरह का तरीका उसने अखिलचर कर रखा है उसको बिहार की बहुमत जनता विरोध करती है और यह जो तरीका उसने अखिलचर कर रखा है वह जुल्म का तरीका है, फोर्सिस्ट तरीका है, तानाशाही तरीका है और इस तरीके से यह सरकार नहीं चल सकती है। मुझे अफसोस है कि यहाँ पर हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई नहीं हैं वरना उनको यह जानना चाहिए।

(Interruption)

जब मैं वहाँ पर भाषण कर रहा हूँ तो हम मिनिस्टर को सुनना चाहिए और उन्हें बोलना नहीं चाहिए। हम असम्बली और संसद की भर्खादा को जानते हैं और हम बीच में मिनिस्टर से बात नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम मिनिस्टर को यहाँ पर आकर गप्प नहीं लड़ना चाहिए। अब जो तीसरी बात मैं पढ़ना चाहता हूँ वह इस प्रकार है :—

"About 94 per cent of the respondents favoured recall of corrupt legislators".

बिहार की 94 प्रतिशत जनता यह चाहती है कि जो भ्रष्ट विधायक हैं उनको वापस बुला लिया जाए। इन चीजों को पढ़कर मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र और लोकशाही का क्या मतलब है और लोकतंत्र क्या है?

बिहार की जो 94 प्रतिशत जनता है वह जो करप्ट विधायक हैं जो वहाँ की विधानसभा को भंग करने की मांग कर रहे हैं, वे तानाशाह हैं? मैं यह बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र का क्या अर्थ है? क्या जनतंत्र का यह अर्थ है कि लोकतंत्र में तानाशाही चले? जो लोग अविलम्ब विधान सभा को भंग करने की मांग कर रहे हैं, गफ्फूर मौजिमंडल को हटाने की मांग कर रहे हैं और यह मांग कर रहे हैं कि वहाँ पर लोकतंत्र की व्यवस्था चले, क्या वे लोग तानाशाह हैं? जो लोग जनतंत्र की हत्या करना चाहते हैं और देश में तानाशाही राज्य कायम करना चाहते हैं, क्या वे तानाशाह नहीं

हैं? जो सरकारी पक्ष की रपट है उसको पढ़ा जाए। श्रीमन्, मैं एक बात को जल्दी से कह देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि घड़ी जल्दी भाग रही है।

श्रीमन्, हमने इस सदन में बारबार श्री लालबहादुर शास्त्री जी की मृत्यु के बारे में जांच करने के संबंध में मांग की थी। हमारे साथ ही श्री टी. एन. सिंह और श्री प्रकाशकीर शास्त्री जी ने भी तथा सब लोगों ने यह मांग की थी। मैं इस संबंध में एक घटना सुनना चाहता हूँ और अखबार हमारे पास है। यह अखबार हिन्दुस्तान है और हिन्दुस्तान के अखबार में श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी की आत्मा में वार्ता के संबंध में यह समाचार छपा है :—

धर्मनिष्ठ भारतीय प्राचीन काल से इसमें विश्वास करते रहे हैं कि आत्मा मरती नहीं है। इस विषय की खोज ने यह भी प्रतिपादित किया है कि मृत व्यक्तियों की आत्माओं से आज भी साक्षात्कार किया जा सकता है। पड़ोसी देश श्रीलंका में एक कन्या के शरीर में एक कृपि की आत्मा आया करता है जो गण्यमान्य व्यक्तियों की आत्माओं से साक्षात्कार करा देती है। मैंने गत सप्ताह कोलम्बो में स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की आत्मा से साक्षात्कार किया। शास्त्री जी उस समय एक साथ तीन व्यक्तियों के प्रश्नों के उत्तर दे रहे थे।

यह श्री गौरी शंकर सहाय हैं। यह इसके विशेष सम्पादक हैं। ये लंका गए, कम से कम इनका दस हजार रुपया खर्च हुआ, वहाँ जाकर इन्होंने बात की। यहाँ के एक है रतन लाल जोशी जिन्होंने इनको निटली लिखी— श्री गौरी शंकर जी आज 20-1-1975 के 'हिन्दुस्तान' में आपने लाल बहादुर शास्त्री से वार्ता संबंधी जो समाचार दिया है वह नितान्त गैरजिम्मेदारी एवं अन्ध-विश्वास-प्रसूत अविज्ञानिकता का परिचायक है। आज के युग में एवं वैज्ञानिक 'हिन्दुस्तान' जैसे समाचारपत्र में इस किस्म की दिकियानूसी अक्षम्य है। आज से आप कोई समाचार दें तो आप ब्यूरो-चीफ या समाचार-सम्पादकों अथवा चीफ-सब को दिया करें...

श्री कामेश्वर सिंह (बिहार) : ये कौन हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : ये गौरी शंकर सहाय लोक-सभा की कार्यवाही देखते थे, रेडियो में बोलते थे। यह जो चीफ एडिटर हैं यह गौरी शंकर सहाय को लोक सभा में नहीं जाने देता, कहता है कि आपका पास खतम, हमारे अखबार पर बड़ी आफत आ रही है। मैं 'हिन्दुस्तान' की पूरी कीटिंग्स लाया हूँ—प्रेत आत्माओं का शरीर कैसा हांता है—प्रेत आत्माओं से वार्तालाप संभव है—प्रेत आत्माओं का शरीर दर्शन संभव है—क्या मनुष्य भूत एवं भविष्य जान सकता है। ये तमाम हिन्दुस्तान की कीटिंग्स हैं। प्रेत आत्माओं से वार्ता की बातें एक बार नहीं अनक बार उसमें आई हैं, मगर जब गौरी शंकर ने इस बात को छपा तब उनके सम्पादक ने कहा कि तुम दूसरे लोगों की बात कर सकते थे मगर तुमने लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के बारे में बात क्यों की। अब इसका मूल विषय मैं बताता हूँ। श्रीमान्, यह व्यक्ति वहाँ गया, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की आत्मा से बात की, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की आत्मा से पूछा कि आप बताइए कि आप मरे कैसे। शास्त्री जी की आत्मा ने कहा—

"I was poisoned. Rather I might say that I was killed or murdered",
यह उनकी बात हुई।

श्री कामेश्वर सिंह : राजनारायण जी, वे अंग्रेजी में बोलें, यह उन्होंने सुना था ?

श्री राजनारायण : यह उनका नोट है। आप इनको रोकें। हम मरने के लिए तैयार हैं। जब हम जिन्दा रह कर इस पाजी सरकार को हटा नहीं सकते तो हम मरने के लिए तैयार हैं। उसने पूछा कि मैं कैसे जानूँ कि आप लाल बहादुर हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि तुम दिल्ली जाओगे, दिल्ली में हमारी फ़ैमिली के लोगों से मिलोगे, वहाँ ललिता शास्त्री मिलेंगी, यह बात केवल ललिता जानती हैं और मैं जानता हूँ, इस बात को तुम ललिता को बोलना, अगर ललिता इस बात को कन्फर्म कर दें तब तुम मानना कि हमारी बात सही है, मैं लाल-बहादुर हूँ। श्रीमान्, वह यहां आए उनके गुरु ने उनसे कहा था कि यह बात अभी आप किसी से कहना नहीं...

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH : Sir, on a point of order. Is the subject that we are discussing here ?.....(Interruptions).

श्री राजनारायण : इनसे कहिए कि ये हमारे एमेंडमेंट पढ़ें। मैंने उसमें कहा है कि लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की मृत्यु के कारणों की जांच प्रधान मंत्री ने नहीं कराई। 27 जनवरी की बात है, हमारे यहां गौरी शंकर सहाय आए। हमने ललिता शास्त्री को टेलीफोन किया। उन्होंने कहा जब आपको सूट करे आइए। मैं 12 बजे गया गौरी शंकर के साथ, करीब 40-45 मिनट तक हमने बात की। तब वे कुछ गमगीन हुई। हमने कहा कि आप बताइए कि जो बात लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने कही वह सही है या गलत। उन्होंने कहा कि यह सही है। जब लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ताशकन्द जा रहे थे तब यह घटना घटी। उसी दिन से हमने यह प्रतिज्ञा ले ली है। यह ललिता जी ने मुझे बताया। उसके बाद मैंने वह बात जयप्रकाश जी को बताई, चौधरी चरण सिंह को बताई। बात क्या है जिसको ललिता जी ने कहा था। वह ललिता जी और मैं जानता हूँ, दूसरा कंफर्मेशन जो लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी का होगा। वह बात मैं अभी खोल रहा हूँ क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस घटना को और ज्यादा प्रकाश में लाया जाए। आज मैं डेक की चोट पर कह सकता हूँ कि अगर विरोधी दल में दम है, और विरोधी दल है और अगर वह कहता है कि वह लोकवाणी को प्रमुख करने वाला है तो लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की हत्या के लिए जांच बिठाई जाए, रादन की एक कमिटी बनाई जाए। आज यह बात इतनी दूर से उठ रही है और मैं निश्चित मत का हूँ कि लाल बहादुर शास्त्री को जहर दिया गया और जब उन्होंने पूछा कि शास्त्री जी, आपने यह बात मृत्यु से पहले किसी को क्यों नहीं बताई, आप ने अपने लोगों को क्यों नहीं कहा तो उन्होंने कहा कि उस समय मेरे पास कोई नहीं था, मैं अकेला था।

(Interruption)

अब मैं दूसरे विषय पर आ रहा हूँ।
अबल से सुनोगे सब जानोगे और अबल को तक पर रख कर बैठोगे तो इस गुलामी और चापलूसी से देश नहीं बनेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी. बी. राजू) : आप चेंयर को खूँस कीजिए।

श्री कल्पनाथ : आप गतिबिधान में विश्वास रखते हैं ?

श्री आस मेहता : यह सब भूतों की बातें हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : भूत तो तरे सिर पर चढ़ कर बोलेगा। तो यह चिट्ठी है; मैं पढ़ रहा हूँ—

"Let me confirm the meeting between Mr. T. N. Kaul and me in London in early September, 1967 during which he advised us to stay out of India until after the elections. Triloki Kaul has been our acquaintance and friend since 1961/62. We will count him as one of our friends who certainly knows us and is fully acquainted with our aspirations in regard to India and some of our work. I do not see any earthly reason why he would deny seeing me since there was a witness to the meeting. Triloki knew that I and my family would be going to America to live there until we could return to India. I viewed his advice in the context of my husband's letter to Dr. Nagendra Singh of August 1966. Let me first tell you why we accepted this advice."

अब तो पढ़ रहा हूँ वह यह है कि डा. लोहिया ने उनको लिखा है कि एलेक्शन तक तुमको बाहर क्यों रखा जा रहा है। अब यह डा. लोहिया की चिट्ठी लीजिए। तीन साल तक हमारी यह फाइल मिली नहीं। आपको मालूम है कि मेरे कमरे में चोरी कराई गई ताना तोड़ कर और सारे कागजात चोरी करा लिए गए। यह फाइल हम को परसों मिली। अब यह डा. लोहिया को जवाब दे रहे हैं। (व्यवधान) और वह लैटर भी मिल जाएगा जो सी. बी. आई की रिपोर्ट है और जिसको प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बदलवाया है। वह भी नैपाल से आ जाएगा।

"You asked what relevance our stay in or out of India after June 9th 1966 would have had on the general elections. It is a question which has to be answered fairly elaborately. I will give a brief answer here. Triloki Kaul always spoke of Indira Gandhi's leadership potential and mass following with the assumption that she would be Prime Minister of

India soon after Mr. Nehru's death. My husband and he discussed this several times during 1962/63 and 1964. My husband could not see Mrs. Gandhi as the leader of India. Several attempts were made during 1963, 1964 and 1965 by K. K. Shas, Shri Dikshit of the National Herald and Manubhai Shah purportedly on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi to make my husband contribute upto ten lacs to the National Herald."

"That the Company's books would reveal transactions involving Indira Gandhi."

यह धर्मतेजा की बीबी की चिट्ठी है डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया के नाम। रंजीत तेजा कहती है कि दिल्ली की सरकार से खबर भेजी गई कि जां नंता का इंदिरा जी से ट्रंजक्शन हुआ है जिन जिन किताबों के अन्दर वह सारे का सारे काट दिए जाएं। वह सारे के सारे काटे गए। मुझे आज फख है कि हमारे रेवरेंड सेक्रेटरी जनरल बनजी यत्त मौजूद हैं। जब हमने उस समय यह सवाल उठाया तो कहा था कि कहां चिट्ठी है। उस समय यह चिट्ठी हमको नहीं मिली थी। मगर यह चिट्ठी आज हमको मिल गई। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो व्यक्ति पैसा दूसरे विरोधी दल को खरीदता है, विधायकों को तोड़ता है, उसके राजनीतिक चरित्र की हत्या करता है क्योंकि कूसी से चिपकने के लिए, क्या वही व्यक्ति कूसी की चिपक की अभिनाया के लिए किसी की हत्या नहीं कर सकता? यह सवाल है जिसको विरोधी दल सोचें। आज हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया श्रीमती इंदिरा नेहरू गान्धी इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानती हैं कि उन्हें कूसी से अच्छी तरह चिपका रहना चाहिए क्योंकि अगर वह कूसी से छुटीं तो इनके कुकर्मों, पापों का पर्दा पूरी तरह खुलेगा। इसीलिए वह इस बात पर बराबर लगी हुई है कि येन-केन प्रकारेण हम कूसी पर बने रहें। उसके लिए चाहे किसी की भी हत्या करानी हो।

श्रीमन्, सी. बी. आई. या केंद्र सरकार के खफिया विभाग का जो बड़ा अफसर है 12 बजे रात हमारे वंस्त के यह जाता है, कहता है कि

राजनारायण को बचाओ, बचाओ और कम से कम 17 फरवरी तक बचा लोंगे तो शायद आगे बच जाएगा। वह आदमी फिर हमको कहता है कि हम तुमको लखनऊ रात को नहीं जानें देंगे, सुबह प्लेन से जाओ। फिर हम 11 तारीख के प्लेन से गए हैं, 10 तारीख को नहीं गए हैं क्योंकि 11 तारीख से हमने भूख हड़ताल की घोषणा की थी, हमने वचन दिया था। इसलिए 11 तारीख को मैं फौजाबाद में अनशन पर बैठ गया। जेल के लोगों को भी यह खबर थी। चारों तरफ चर्चा थी कि इनकी हत्या करा दी जाए। यह मैं आपको जानकारी दे रहा हूँ।

मुझे अफसोस है, मैं चन्द्रजीत यादव के बारे में कुछ नहीं बोलना चाहता था। चन्द्रजीत यादव के बहुत से मित्रों ने मुझसे कहा था उसमें टी. एन. सिंह भी हैं। हमने उनसे कहा था कि सारी फाइल दे दें। चन्द्रजीत यादव ने जो गलत बयानी की, श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी जब इस जगत में नहीं रह गईं तो जिस गंदी, भद्दी और बुरी तरह से उनका नाम घसीटा, मैंने उसी समय तय कर लिया कि कल मैं इसकी धीज्जियां उड़ा दूंगा। श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी ने मुझसे कहा था कि तुमने गोरखपुर के पत्रकार सम्मेलन में इनके बारे में कुछ कहा है। हम कानपुर गए, हम लखनऊ गए जहां कारखाना है, वहां गए। आप उनको कहिए कि हमारी फाइल देख लें। हमको जवाब दे दें। मैं उसको पढ़े दे रहा हूँ।

देखिए यह चन्द्रजीत यादव के मकान का नक्शा है। ये चार भाई थे। एक भाई मर गया। 5-6 एकड़ जमीन के मालिक थे। आज इनका मकान 4-5 लाख का है। कल्पनाथ यहाँ पर बैठे हैं। इमानदारी से उनसे पूछा जाए कि चन्द्रजीत यादव की व्यक्तिगत हॉसियत कितनी थी। मैं 5-5 सौ एकड़ जमीन का मालिक रहा हूँ, हम इतना बड़ा मकान नहीं बना सके क्योंकि हमारे पास कुछ नहीं है।

हम खाना नहीं खा सकते क्योंकि हमारे पास कुछ है नहीं। पहले जमाने में गरीबों का हमारे बाप-दादों का शोषण किया गया है उसकी कमाई हमारे गेट और बदन में जा रही है। यह नक्शा है। इससे पता लगता है

कि पुलिस अधीक्षक के घर के सामने उनका बंगला है और दूसरा भी उनका मकान बन रहा है। जिसके पास 5, 6 एकड़ जमीन है जाए और 5 लाख की बिल्डिंग बनाए और 50 हजार, एक लाख का फर्नीचर रखे चन्दन की बनी हुई कुर्सियाँ हों तो मैं चाहता हूँ इसकी जांच होनी चाहिए। मैं उसी पोर्शन को पढ़ूंगा जो इससे संबंधित है :

"Please finalise immediately. Shri Chandrajit Yadav, M.P., has spoken to me particularly regarding 'X' above."

हमारे मित्र यहाँ से चले गए। इसमें भी चट्टोपाध्याय का नाम भी है। श्री चट्टोपाध्याय के सेक्रेटरी ने श्री ओ. एन. आनन्द को लिखा है कि चन्द्रजीत यादव स्वतः यहाँ आए थे उन्होंने कहा है कि मामला जल्दी से फाइनालाइज किया जायें। यह ऑफिस कापी के पृष्ठ 5 और 6 पर लिखा है।

In the last week of March 1971, Shri Chandrajit Yadav, M.P., phoned from Delhi to Shri O. N. Anand, Deputy Chief Controller, Exports and Imports, Kanpur and on pp. 5-6 of the office file of Paramount Engineering Works he recorded the following note on 1st April, 1971:

Shri Chandrajit Yadav, M.P., had spoken to me regarding this case a couple of days back. I had requested Shri Yadav to send the representative of this firm to discuss this case. Shri Shamshad Ali, partner of the firm was advised to send the revised C.A.C. (C.A.C.—Chartered Accountant's Certificate). On the very next day, the C.A.C. clearance certificate was sent.

अगर चन्द्रजीत यादव इसमें नहीं पड़े हैं तो एक दिन के अन्दर क्लियरन्स सर्टीफिकेट कैसे चला गया। दूसरी अजीबोगरीब बात यह है कि :

Shamshad Ali wrote a letter in his handwriting on the blue letter pad No. 2471 to Deputy Controller: Dear Sir, With reference to the talk of our representative with

you yesterday, we are enclosing the C.A.C. as per your request. Thanking you,

Yours faithfully

Shamshad Ali, Partner for

Paramount Engineering Works.

As an after thought or acting on the advice of the lower officialdom, Shamshad Ali inserted the following on this file. "We are urgently in need of raw material because our industry is suffering for raw material".

इसलिए इसका फ़िरसे क्लेरिफ़िकेशन के लिए न भेजा जाए।

Time bell rings

थोड़ा समय और दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी. बी. राजू) : आपके हक का जितना समय है उतना समय आप ले चुके हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : हम 4 बज कर 35 मिनट से बात रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी. बी. राजू) : आपका समय हो चुका है। दूसरों ने कम ही टाइम लिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : दूसरों से कम्योर मत करिए। थोड़ा सा टाइम और दे दीजिए।

मैं जो यह पढ़ रहा हूँ यह पूरा चिट्ठा है। 80 लाखका लाइसेंस है और चाँगुन पर बिका है। चन्द्रजीत यादव बड़े गर्व से कहते हैं कि हमने पब्लिक इयूटी की है। उसने रिक्वेस्ट की है। मंत्री कहना है क्या रिक्वेस्ट की है जब कि कोई फर्म ही नहीं है। दिस फर्म इज नाट इन एक्जिस्टेंस। मैं लखनऊ गया। मैंने वहाँ जाकर देखा कि वहाँ कोई कारखाना ही नहीं है। वहाँ कोई मशीन ही नहीं है। मंत्री समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि किस पीज के लिए रा-मैट्रियल लाया गया, इम्पोर्ट किया गया जबकि उसके बनाने को कोई साधन नहीं। 80 लाख का चाँगुना करिए तो तीन साढ़े तीन करोड़ रुपये के करीब जाकर बैठेगा। इस तरह से इन्होंने ब्लैक मार्केटिंग की है। मैं आपको पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ।

क्योंकि समय कम है मैं सों को छोड़ दूंगा और सिर्फ हजार को पढ़ूंगा। 29-8-69 को 36 हजार, 24-11-69 को 58 हजार, 72 हजार, 48 हजार और 31 हजार। 5-6-70 को 72 हजार, 31-7-70 को 16 हजार, 10-9-70 को 1 लाख 63 हजार, 1 लाख 64 हजार और 1 लाख 79 हजार। कुल सारे आंकड़े लाइसेंस के 80 लाख जाकर बैठते हैं। जब यह सारा मामला आया और जब 26,51,822 रु. की बात हुई, मिनिस्टर का दबाव पड़ा और बात हुई, मिनिस्टर का

5 P.M.

सेक्रेटरी का दबाव पड़ा तो ऐसा लगता है कि चेंबर मस्ट बी समथिंग रांग। जब उसने कहा कि इसका वीरिफिकेशन हो तो वीरिफिकेशन से सारा मामला खुला। इसीलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव जो यहाँ पर कल घमण्ड के साथ बोलें हैं, उनके मामले की एक इन्क्वायरी कमिटी द्वारा जांच हो और इसकी जांच करने के लिए एक पार्लियामेन्टरी कमिटी बैठाई जाय जो इस सारे मामले की जांच करे...

(Interruption)

श्रीमन्, मैं हाथ जोड़कर विरोधी पक्ष के सदस्यों से और सरकारी पक्ष के सदस्यों से यह विनती करना चाहता हूँ और चेंबर पर जो श्री राजू विराजमान हैं उनसे भी विनती करना चाहता हूँ कि Public conduct of the Prime Minister should be discussed in this House. How will she explain away these and other cases.

(1) Rs. 25,000 for the purchase of land in her name near Qutab Minar.

(2) Rs. 17,000 for the purchase of a Dodge Station Wagon.

(3) The entire expenses covering the trip of herself and her two children abroad (travelling by the Polish Luxury ship s.s. Batory to Europe in 1953 and return by air plus the substantial foreign exchange expenses involved.

These and similar items can be verified from her two Bank Accounts.

(4) Two Pearl Necklaces ear-lobes and ring studded with pearls. (Indira has not included these in the list of

jewelry in her Wealth Tax Returns).

(5) A Silver Cultery Set for Twelve.

(6) A German Cutlery Set for Twelve (modern design).

Indira cannot palm off any of these to her father and grandfather who died long years ago. Neither can she, for obvious reasons, put any of these on her late husband.

Now, I am reading from a letter written by Shri Mathai, Jawaharlal Nehru's Secretary.

मेरे पास एक लटर है जो श्री एस. ओ. मथाई ने लिखा है। श्री मथाई आप जानते हैं कि श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू के सेक्रेटरी थे। जब इस सदन में मैंने मिक कांट का मामला उठाया था तो श्री मथाई ने कुमारी पद्मजा नायडू जो प. बंगाल की राज्यपाल थी, को एक पत्र लिखा था और उसमें कहा कि इंदिरा के ऊपर विपत्ति आई हुई है, सदन में चारों तरफ से उस पर हमला हो रहा है, उसको बचाओ। उसने कहा कि मैं उसको नहीं बचा सकती क्योंकि

(Interruption)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी. बी. राजू) : आप अब समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : इस पत्र में लिखा है—

"Political sharks are after Indira. I know you have her interest at heart. That being so, I would suggest that you might have a frank talk with her about the question of her continuance in perilous active politics."

श्रीमन्, मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन बातों के साथ-साथ मारुति कैंस, नागरवाला का मामला और साऊदी अरब के बादशाह ने जो हीरे का हार दिया है और जिसके 10 हजार रुपये में बँच दिया गया है, इन सारी बातों का ध्यान में रखते हुए the public conduct of the Prime Minister must be discussed in the House. (The bell rings).

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जब ऐसा प्राइम मिनिस्टर हमारे देश में रहेगा तो इस देश में कर्प्शन कम नहीं हो सकता है, बल्कि कर्प्शन और बढ़ेगा, तीव्र गति से बढ़ेगा। इसलिए सबको पहले यह काम होना चाहिए कि the most corrupt person in the world, she should be removed from the Prime Ministership of the country.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, आपने हमको रेलवे बजट के लिए बँटाया था। एजेण्डा में है, 5 बजे रेलवे बजट रखा जाएगा।

श्री नत्थी सिंह (राजस्थान) : 5 बजे तो आपने निकाल दिए।

The Budget (Railways) 1975-76

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1975-76 in respect of Railways.

address—contd

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

श्री नत्थी सिंह (राजस्थान) : उपसभापति जी, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, पॉइन्ट आफ आर्डर। हमारी आवाज बहुत धीमी-धीमी निकलती है, आज भी धीमी है जब से हम जेल से छूट कर आए हैं। चेंबर में जब बात हो रही थी सेक्रेटरी जनरल भी वहाँ मौजूद थे, उस समय यह बात तय हुई थी कि इस हफ्ते तक 5 बजे तक सदन बँटेगा, दूसरे हफ्ते से 6 बजे तक चल सकता है। इसलिए इस बात को जब हमने मान लिया था तो फिर 5 बजे बादबोलने के लिए कैसे कह रहे हैं। सेक्रेटरी जनरल मौजूद हैं, इनसे पूछ लीजिए।