

[श्री शीत भद्र याजी]

मैं आपको बहुत समझाऊंगा और इसी वजह से देशभक्ति का लोचन दे रहा हूँ। आज सबसे जरूरी बात यह है कि ऐसे ऐसे लोग, जो पढ़े-लिखे हैं और थोड़ा भ्रष्टाचार जो तो समझदार आदमी हैं और हम यह सोच रहे थे कि जब वे योरप से अभी ताजा होकर लौटे हैं तो अच्छी बात बोलेंगे, लेकिन उन्होंने इस विधेयक पर गाजी निकालना शुरू कर दिया और पार्लियामेंट में इस तरह के शब्द बोलें जो उन्हें नहीं बोलने चाहिये थे। तबिय यह जरूरी है कि उन्हें इस बात को समझाया जाय कि आज देश को क्या परिस्थिति है। सबसे पहले मैं उन्हें नागलैण्ड ले जाऊंगा।

SHRI M. N. KAUL: Madam, it is 5.00.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

AN HON. MEMBER: Let him continue the next day.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF ANSWER TO STARRED QUESTION NO. 261 RE MONEY COLLECTED BY THE CEMENT INDUSTRY

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Half-an-hour discussion. Mr. Mathur.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, the discussion which arises out of this question had a deep bearing on two major issues in public life with which we all feel deeply concerned.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Akbar Ali Khan) in the Chair]

Mr. Vice-Chairman, "it has to be viewed in a certain background and what we are considering today is how, firstly, political life at the top is to function, whether we can keep corruption away from those who are in political authority at the highest level,

and, secondly, the role which the private sector has to play, the corrupting influence which the Private sector has in the present circumstances and how it comes into play, what is the position, role and responsibilities which we are going to assign to the private sector.

We have accepted a mixed economy—and advisedly so—in the circumstances in which we live. And in this mixed economy if the private sector is to play a dignified role, is to occupy a place of honour, is to be respected and is to continue, then it will have to behave and it will have to give an account of itself. Let us examine this particular issue which throws a fund of light on our political life and on the functioning of the private sector.

j When cement decontrol was first ordered, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we raised serious objections in both the Houses because we visualised certain difficulties. My fundamental objection was that you are giving a rise of Rs. 13 per tonne to the cement manufacturer; of course, 50 per cent of which was to go to the public undertakings was to be at a particular concessional rate. But the poor man, the agriculturist and the citizen was to pay Rs. 13 per tonne more to the cement manufacturers. What for? So that the cement industry might have additional Rs. 25 crores amassed during the next Five Year Plan. And to this might be added another Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 80 crores to be advanced by some of our financing institutions—again, public money—so that the industry might expand. Now, if this is the nature of the socialistic pattern which we could put forward, I do not know how anybody sitting on this side will be able to defend it. You collect Rs. 25 crores from the poor consumer, put it into the pockets of those industrialists, you give them additionally Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 80 crores from your financing institution s; they enlarge it and it becomes their personal property. That is how we had visualised. But still we swallowed

this because we were given a definite understanding that cement would be easy to get, that it would become cheaper, that the public sector would enlarge itself and that, with that expansion of private sector as well, things would improve considerably. Well, this was the fundamental objection which we had; I wrote a very strong letter to the then Prime Minister, the late Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, saying, "This sort of arrangement is absolutely inconceivable for us—that you are fattening the private sector at the cost of the poor man and that you are taking positive, deliberate steps for the concentration of wealth into particular hands of those people who are already in the industry". The ACC will expand from five million tonnes to ten million tonnes. If this is not concentration and if this is not a monopolistic tendency, what else is it?

That apart, let us see how the cement industry had behaved. The reply which was given to us is there and I will give you certain facts which will disclose how dirty and stinking the deal that has been put through by the cement industry pooled together as a whole. The cement industry was allowed four annas per ton which came to about Rs. 25 lakhs for their expenditure. And every additional pie which they realised was to go for the expansion of the industry. But somehow—I do not know how—they manipulated this scandal. From the answer given by the hon. Minister it was clear that this CACO, the organisation of the cement industry, collected more than Rs. 31 crores and distributed it at the absolute discretion of the Chairman of CACO. For what purpose was this money meant? This was meant for distribution at his discretion, in the furtherance of the objectives of this company. For the furtherance of the objective this company, the money was placed at their disposal. The money belongs to the companies. The money placed there belongs to the shareholders. And this money has come out of the pockets of the poor citizens under a special

arrangement. And that special arrangement and undertaking—as moral undertaking binding and put on paper—was that every pie will go for the expansion of the industry. And see how this industry has spent this money. I have been able to collect some facts. That day I had asked whether the Chief Minister of Orissa had been given a cheque for one lakh of rupees, whether it had been sent to him. I do not know how the money was to be given to the Chief Minister of Orissa" for the furtherance of the objectives of this company. That is for him to explain.

My friend very relevantly raised an objection that it was not paid to the Chief Minister of Orissa. Well, I tried to verify facts because the first information was this. When I verified the facts, I found that it was really paid to individuals; this money has not been paid to any institution, not to any party; this money has been paid to individuals. And I find from the list that I have before me now that the money—paid to Mr. Deo who now happens to be the Chief Minister of Orissa was not Rs. 1 lakh, but Rs. 2 lakhs—another one lakh has been paid in the personal name of Mr. Deo. The total is Rs. 2 lakhs.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I quite agree that it was not paid to the Chief Minister. But this makes the position ten times worse. For what purpose was this money paid? This was paid because the cement industry was not interested in making cement, it was not interested in producing cement but it was interested in producing Chief Ministers. And therefore the money was paid to particular individuals so that they might become Chief Ministers by spending that money during the elections. That is somehow to be linked—I do not know how—the objectives of the company were fulfilled this way. How was the cause of that company furthered by paying Rs. 2 lakhs to a particular individual who has now become the Chief Minister of particular State. And as I examine the list, I will not hesitate to read out some of the details from this

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur.]

list. It is a long list. It clearly indicates that apart from certain names they wanted to camouflage it—it was some damned, dirty deal in which this company and the sponsor, the management, of this company were indulging, and they paid these amounts to corrupt those who are in political life. "They wanted to use this amount not for the furtherance of this objective of the company. This sacred money which was in their hands, this sacred money of the shareholders realised from the poor citizens for a particular purpose, with a definite understanding, this money was utilised for corrupting the political life of the country. It was paid to individuals and the individuals were corrupted. It is a long list before me. I will not be able to read it out

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Give some names at least.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Yes, some names I will read out, those which have been given more than a lakh of rupees. Shyam Investment Corporation has been given Rs. 4,44,000. B. Jaimal Singh & Sons have been given Rs. 3,48,000. Nana Deshmukh and Jagdish Prasad Mathur have been given Rs. 1,25,000 each. I do not know for what purpose it has been given. When the police investigate they will find that there are wheels within wheels. These names have been used as a cover. When the police investigations take place, they will find out how surreptitiously this money has been used, how for criminal purposes this money has been used how this money has been used to corrupt the political life. (*Interruption by Shri Lokanath Misra*). He is as much my brother as you are.

I might say, Sir, that I have contested three elections. I say it on the floor of the House that I have never accepted from any person a single penny, and I want that this tradition should be established that we should be able to contest. I am not a rich man. In my first election I spent

Rs. 6,000. In the second election I spent Rs. 10,000, and in the third election, because the election petition is going on, I do not like to make any detailed mention. I did not spend more than Rs. 14,000.

Therefore, Sir, it is this black money which is responsible for undermining the democracy and for polluting the public life. If such money could be controlled and put in its proper place, I am sure hon. Members will be able to contest election with a smaller amount and in a decent and a cleaner manner.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Member was referring to some Chief Minister. Who is that Chief Minister who was being made?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Chief Minister of Orissa. He was paid this much amount.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Would you kindly give the date?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: I am sorry, the date is not with me. I have collected whatever information I could. It was paid before he was the Chief Minister. As I said, it is paid to make a Chief Minister, not to a Chief Minister. He was not the Chief Minister then.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If anybody has been made Chief Minister through this kind of money it is your Chief Minister, Mr. Sukhadia, and not the Chief Minister of Orissa.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: My friend will bear with me a little bit and he will find that the total amount which has gone to Rajasthan in the unmentioned name is Rs. 50,000. (*Interruption*). I raised the question fully understanding that there will be certain people from the Congress Party. I am not interested either in the Congress Party or any other party. I am interested in a clear administration. The hon. Vice-Chairman will remember that it was in this House

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) :
Are these all *benami* companies of Mr. Somani?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: I might submit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will remember that some of us sitting both on this side as well as that side of the House, both in the Rajya Sabha as well as in the Lok Sabha, it has been our constant endeavour to bring about a cleaner administration in the country. I spoke first in this House in 1952, then in 1954, and after joining the Congress, I venture to submit that I have spoken more vigorously, more outspokenly, in a more forthright manner. I believe in 1963 I told the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that he could not have a clean administration if his Chief Ministers became partners in this black money. I am not raising this discussion simply because a particular incident happened. It is one in a chain, in a series, and it has been my endeavour all the time to suggest how to bring about a cleaner administration. It is why I submitted that we must have an institution like the Ombudsman, the first institution suggested in the Administrative Reforms Committee of Rajas- than, of which I happened to be the Chairman. (*Interruption by Shri Bhupesh Gupta*). It is unfortunate that your Government is resisting, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, this institution of "Lokpal. If you have any faith in a clean administration, and if you want the corrupt political people to be "brought to book, then you must agree 'to this institution. It has been our -effort all the time to point out this thing.

The list says a Lucknow Party paid Rs. 1,25,000 and another Lucknow Party paid another Rs. 1,25,000. This is what the cement industry, put together, handed over. The money was handed over by CACO.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: A benami company.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: It is a private company.

Its management is known. Everything is known. The hon. Minister knows that they have a regular directorate. I will now come to the next point.

Moolchand Deshlehra, Rs. 90,000 in Madhya Pradesh. There are various other people.

Now, the hon. Minister said that it was Rs. 31 lakhs. But I have a list which says it is Rs. 38 lakhs which have been distributed to corrupt the political life of this country, to take away the money for their personal aggrandisement, for their personal benefit. This is the grossest misuse of money, it is companies' money. It has to be accounted for. Therefore, I demand of the Minister that he should forthwith blacklist this C.A.C.O. He should immediately take steps to prosecute the management of C.A.C.O. This is what I demand of the Minister. I demand that the Minister should hand over this case to the Central Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of Home Affairs so that they can look into it and find out who are responsible. It is not the people so much who have received the money who are responsible. I say the people who have given the money are directly responsible. It was a sacred money in their hands with a certain purpose.

SHRI SYED AHMAD (Madhya Pradesh):
What is C.A.C.O.?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Cement Co-ordinating Agency formed by all the cement industry, a central agency looking after their affairs and furthering the cause of the cement industry, furthering the cause of the industry by paying bribes, by corrupting officers, by corrupting and creating a lobby in Parliament, by paying certain amounts to Members of Parliament so that they can go and create a lobby for them. This is the sort of corruption that we have had, Mr. Vice-Chairman. This was the unaccounted money playing havoc. It was a daylight daredevil dacoity, as I would call it. Everything is

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur].

known. It is on paper. It has got to be accounted for, and yet with impunity they can go ahead because they think they can corrupt certain people at the top, those in political life, and the matter will be hushed up. I do hope that the conscience of this House will revolt against such nefarious activity and will see to it that the people who have indulged in such a public scandal of the first order are brought to book, and that there is enquiry made directly into the whole affairs.

I would also request the hon. Minister to bring it to the notice of the income-tax authorities. Those people who have received the money in pri-vote capacity . . . ,

SHRI A. M. TARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir): Give them to C.B.I.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Of course, C.B.I. I definitely demand that the case must go to the C.B.I, and I urgently request the hon. Minister to take over the distribution of cement immediately from these people. They betrayed the Government. They have betrayed the people and they have betrayed Parliament. These gentlemen in the industry deserve to be treated with care. And if you do not do it, you will be accused of being partner in their crime. I do hope that the hon. Minister will take due note of it.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA (Rajasthan): Why do you speak today?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: I will conclude in a minute. We are speaking today . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Thank you.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Just one minute and I will conclude. It is not a party issue at all as was made clear. There may be many people on this side on whom

this amount may have been spent. We are speaking, Mr. Vice-Chairman, On the eve of the Independence Day today. Let us remind ourselves of our responsibilities to the people of India. We must ensure clean administration. Wherever the Opposition has come into power, the first thing they have said is "clean administration in the State". That is their slogan. How this clean administration can be brought about if such people are permitted with impunity under the very nose of the Government to indulge in such scandalous state of affairs? I hope the hon. Minister will treat this matter in a fitting manner, which will give the Congress Party its due prestige, in the manner in which the Congress Party has got to give an account of itself in the eyes of the people. It is not enough that the Home Minister and the Prime Minister are honest. They have got to satisfy the people that they will not tolerate any nonsense and particularly the nonsense and scandal which has been brought to their notice on the floor of this House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are nine persons who have given notice to me and so they will be called for putting questions. Would you like to answer them or would you like to . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The rule is very clear. We have to speak after the Minister speaks.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): All right. The Minister.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): May I point out that I had requested the Deputy Chairman that this half-an-hour discussion is not enough, that there are many people who want to have their say and that at least ten minutes' time should be allowed to each Member.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated): There can be another debate.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATML: When? Next year? We are adjourning.

SHRI M. N. KAUL: Next session.

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED): Sir, I would like, first of all, to refer to the facts of this case and then deal with the two important matters which have been raised by the hon. Member, Shri Mathur. Sir, as every one is aware, this cement distribution was decontrolled with effect from the 1st January, 1966. This was handled before by the State Trading Corporation during the period of control. To enable a smooth changeover from a long period of control and to ensure that the prices did not shoot up, the cement industry agreed to maintain the same pattern of distribution and price as were enforced before decontrol. For this purpose, the cement industry set up a central organisation, namely, Cement Allocation and Co-ordinating Organisation. This organisation was registered as a private limited company under the Indian Companies Act and it is not a public undertaking. Now the reason why this company was registered was to undertake the same activity which was done by the State Trading Corporation when cement was under control. And the House is aware that in order to undertake that activity, the State Trading Corporation used to charge 25 paise per tonne for operation expenses. Now the same amount of 25 paise per tonne was charged by this organisation and from the account of the CACO submitted for the year 1966, which I obtained from them only after this question was received from the hon. Member, it appears that they collected about Rs. 27,14,000 at the rate of 25 paise per tonne. And then, for the contingency expenses, salaries and so on, they have spent Rs. 27,05,262. So there was a surplus of only about Rs. 12,000 so far as this amount is concerned. But what the hon. Member is referring to is a really

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serious matter and relates to another aspect of the account. When cement was decontrolled, an undertaking was given by this organisation that 50 per cent of the production will be made available to Government and the supply to Government will be at Rs. 6 discount . . .

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: You mentioned an increase of Rs. 13.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: No, this will be done at a discount of six rupees to the Government. Now what actually happened was that during this year less cement was taken by the Government than they were required to give to the Government, with the result that on account of this saving of Rs. 6 rebate from their account, it appears that they got an amount of Rs. 49,48,702. Now this amount ought to have gone for the purpose of expansion and development programmes of the various units.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: If not to the Government.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: If not to the Government. But we found that out of this amount, various other expenditures have been shown. An amount of Rs. 31,16,288 has been shown as an amount placed with the President for discretionary expenditure on furtherance of the company's objectives . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Rs. 31 lakhs or Rs. 38 lakhs?

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: Rs. 31,16,288.72.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Mathur mentioned Rs. 38 lakhs.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: I am reading from the statement of account. This is from the report and accounts for the year 1966. I would like to inform the hon. Members that as soon as I got this, I wrote a letter to the CACO asking them to give me the list of the persons and to explain to me how this expenditure had been

[Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed], incurred. Till now I have no reply, except that the case of the Chief Minister of Orissa was referred to because a question was put about that particularly. I asked them whether it was a fact and they said "Yes, it was so". But before I gave a reply I thought that it would not be proper for me to give a reply to that question until and unless I had asked the Chief Minister of Orissa also. So I phoned him up and asked him whether it was a fact that this Rs. 1 lakh was given to him because that was the question put by Mr. Mathur. I do not know about the sum of Rs. 2 lakhs . . .

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA
MATHUR: I wrote a letter a month earlier.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: I asked him about it and he said he would give me his reply the next day. When I again phoned him up the next day, he said, yes, he had received it . . .

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): That is the Swatantra way of collecting.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The Congress way has been much worse.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: Sir, I am not such a fortunate person as to possess the names of the different persons who have been given this amount . . .

SHRI HKRISH CHANDRA
MATHUR: You will get it.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: I had again written a letter to them. The only thing that I heard from them was that half of this amount was spent by the President for hiring of jeeps and other expenses . . .

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA
MATHUR: Hiring of jeeps!

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: For what? For shikar or what?

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh): For Congress Party candidates.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: Now, I would asse the hors... Member not to pass any sertificate tsH lall the • facts are available and I isould not like to say whether it is. Congress, Party Candidates or other Party candidates unless and until the eatire picture is before us. Excepting the gene- • ral picture, I hav« not got tffio details.-

SHRI M. N. KAUL: Was there any - specific agreement' regariifcg this-expenditure?

SHRI HASHISH CHANDRA.
MATHUR: No.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: No.

SHRI M. N. SAUL: 0» it W^lefU to the compares discrete^n?

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: So far as this .expenditure-is concerns ed, whatever-is the pro&t, that has *P» be ploughed: back for the purpose at expansioi ave explained:earlier.

Now, I hav« been gvien,to understand that so favr as the unit, members of this assoqisiion are 'Wricemad, aoeu'd-ing to th;eix various units., they were entitled tw this Rs. <*9-;lakh%. Th^- said 'We do not want ijc, You pleas* keep this amount'. Oi,t. of tliis tl>®r- gave Rs. H lakhs to. the Preswtent for expenditure in words as have been explained heir; Now the question arises how thij); amoajat which ought to have been credited" to these units, h«s been accounted, far. As Members; are aware, we are.- entitled to receive their accounts only 42 days after their ; general routing and I think yet about ! a few days are left before which they can file these aeeounts. I had a copy sent i<n' rae and we have passed an. order in the Company Law Department—I happen to be the Minister of two Departments, and I am answering this as Minister in charge of the Industrial Development Department but as Minister in charge of the Company Law Department w© have already passed an order—that this matter should be thoroughly examined and whatever questions are called fop havg to be taken -#p b\\ they can <jnly- be

examined after these accounts are available.

As far as the other suggestions given by my friend are concerned, we shall certainly keep those observations in view and whatever actions are called for, the Government will take the necessary action.

شری اے - ایم - طارق - آپ نے
 پاس کچھ نام ہیں - ان میں سے چار
 پانچ نام کفہم کر دیجئے -

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक : आपके पास
 कुछ नाम हैं उनमें से यह चार पाँच नाम
 कन्फर्म कर दोजिये।]

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: I have no names. The only name I had was this because this question was forwarded, so I asked them whether it is a fact, because I have to give the reply 'yes' or 'no'. Then they said that this amount was given to the Chief Minister and I shall be grateful to the hon. Member if he will give that list also.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Very camouflaged list. I thought you will be able to do something.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: I will do.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: It is a matter for the police to investigate.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: We shall do that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): That will help him if you will pass it on to him.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: I request him to pass the list on to us.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: I will send two lists.

t.[] Hindi Transliteration.

श्री राजनारायण : जरा सुनिये । इसी सदन में श्री मिश्रा जी ने कुछ लोगों का नाम पढ़ा था, तो जब मंत्री जी ने इंकवायरी की दो मिश्रा जी ने जो नाम पढ़े थे उसके बारे में क्यों नहीं जवाब दिया ।

श्री हरीश चन्द्र माथुर : उनके पास तो है नहीं, वह हमारे नामों का ही जवाब नहीं दे रहे ।

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: Therefore I submit that so far as these facts are concerned, I have explained the position.

It is with regard to the discount amount on account of which this amount which was of the order of Rs. 49 lakhs was collected which ought to have gone for the purpose of development and instead of this amount being given to the various units, it has been shown as a receipt on one side and as expenditure of about Rs. 31 lakhs on the other side. My friend says it is Rs. 38 lakhs. We shall certainly make an enquiry and take whatever actions are called for and certainly these are the actions called for under the Company Law and other Acts.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: The Minister himself admits that this amount was meant only for expansion. They could not have spent the amount anywhere otherwise according to the agreement with the Government and the undertaking given to the Government. This money has clearly been spent otherwise. This is obvious even from their confession. Is it not a *prima facie* case to go against them? What is it that he is going to enquire into? It is accepted. It is a confession. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I think the seriousness of the situation has been realised by the Minister and after the definite understanding to spend this amount on development, it has not

[The Vice-Chairman] been used for that purpose but for other purposes, which was not right. So he has given an assurance that he will take all the necessary measures to see that those who have done this wrong are properly dealt with. Now my difficulty is that Rule 60 says:

"The member who has given notice may make a short statement and the Minister concerned shall reply shortly. Any member who has previously intimated to the Chairman may be permitted to put a question for the purpose of further elucidating any matter of fact."

I have got 9 names here. Let me exhaust these names. Then those who have not given the names are there and two persons have written to me and I will try to exercise my discretion but let me exhaust according to the Rules, the number of persons who have given their names.

श्री राजनारायण : प्रिवियसली के माने क्या हैं, क्या प्रिवियसली सीस—मिनिस्टर के खड़े होने के पहले ।

شہری، اے۔ ایم۔ طاہق - جو مذکورہ

جی نے کہا اس کے بارے میں میں
مذکورہ جی سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں
کہ صاحب آپ کے پاس جو فہرست
ہے کیا اس میں نانا بھائی دیس
مکھ کا نام ہے - کیا ان میں دیس
لہڑا کا نام ہے کیا اس میں ہڈے
کوشن مہتاب کا نام ہے - کیا اس
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ہے تو بتا دیجئے کہ کس نے کتنا

پیسہ لیا ہے - میں اور کچھ نہیں
پوچھتا -

[श्री ए० ए० तारिक : जो मंत्री जी ने कहा, उसके बारे में मैं मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि साहब आपके पास जो फेहरिस्त है उसमें नानाभाई देशमुख का नाम है, क्या उसमें देशलहरा का नाम है, क्या उसमें हरेकृष्ण महताब का नाम है, क्या उसमें श्री जैकब का नाम है, क्या उसमें श्री पसरीचा का नाम है, क्या उसमें बलराज मधोक का नाम है। अगर है तो बता दीजिये कि किसने कितना पैसा लिया है। मैं और कुछ नहीं पूछता।]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN). I will not ask the Minister to reply. Mr. Patel,

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I had requested the Deputy Chairman to allow us a few minutes' time to speak as this is an important matter. It raises the fundamental issue of making donations by companies. We heard a statement by an eminent Congressman processing so much honesty and what not while we know how the Congress has been running the elections all these years. Has not the Congress taken money from limited companies all this time? Have not the limited companies had to come to the Ministers for every little thing? Look at the debates.

AN HON. MEMBER; No.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL; You do not know anything—the man who said 'no'. Look at the discussions and the report of the Select Committee^ and the discussions in both the Houses on the Company Law (Amendment) Bill. It is very recent. All the Opposition parties asked for a ban on donations by the limited companies to political parties. It was only the Congress Party with its guilty conscience and its greed to collect more

[f] English transliteration.

money for the elections that opposed it. That exposes the myth of the Congress honesty. Now the defeat of the Congress has brought this virtue to the surface of the Congress. Just as, according to mythology, when there was Samudramanthanam so many things came out, so also the defeat of the Congress has brought out so many things. Is it legitimate for companies to give donations? My friend Mr. Mathur raised the point of taking money and he said that this money is given because of decontrol. The Congress and their friends had a very nice time and their heydays when cement was controlled and cement could only be obtained even by the agriculturists in the villages on the recommendation of the Congressmen of the place. Then it was not blackmarketing. It was not collecting money under unfair means. The whole question has been very wrongly put . . . (Interruptions). The issue is clearly whether the Government decontrolled cement on good advice or not. The Government has decontrolled cement. As the Minister has said, he is going to look into some of these matters. Well, we will have to wait for a report from the Minister as to what he has got to say but before we ask for a report, will the Congressmen sitting in this House and outside put their hands on their hearts and say that for 15 years they have not been taking money from the industries? Why say this as if the Congress has not taken any money from these industrialists, from the cement industry for the previous elections? I am sure and I know Mr. Mathur had been supported by the Congress Party. He might, have spent only Rs. 5 000 I am prepared to take him by his word. When there is a gentleman who says that I take that he is telling the truth and he has spent only Rs. 5,000. But how much did the Congress Party spend for his election? Where did all that money come from. Did they not come from these donations?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You have not understood Mr. Mathur.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I have understood him thoroughly. I understand every congressman sitting there. When it suits them they become honest straightway. Let him come forward and tell me; when the

Congress wanted money did not these business men give the party these donations? When I mentioned this matter in this House the Congress Government then had no reply. That is the trouble with them. It is the fundamental approach of the Congress Party to this question. The

Congress wants its rule to continue perpetually. It wants enormous donations for its elections. When I asked them to put a ban on it they did not accept it. I made it in my speech on the Company Law. Then I said, you put a ban on donations by companies to political parties. Lots of money have come to the Congress Party and if a proper investigation is made I am sure it will be found that the Congress has got a lion's share of all these donations. It is, only this time that in spite of this lion's share the Congress has been defeated particularly in Rajasthan and that is why they are worried about it. They are worried only because of what happened in the last elections there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Lokanath Misra, please put your question seeking clarification.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA. Yes, Sir. There has been an attempt to confuse the issue here and so I will put that right in one sentence and then I will put my question. The hon. Minister of Industrial Development and Company Affairs has been still insisting that it was the Chief Minister of Orissa who received money. I do not know whether he has already confirmed it from the Chief Minister or not. But I can say that it was not the Chief Minister who received it; it may be the President of the State Swamtra Party. He can decide it. It is a matter between him

[Shri Lokanath Misra].

and the Chief Minister—of Orissa to be decided. I do not want to enter into that matter now.

I have got a list here and I want to know from the hon. Minister whether Rs. 3 lakhs were given in the name of the Maharashtra Congress Party or not.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I don't know.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You must know because you are so very enthusiastic about the whole matter. And then I want a further clarification from the hon. Minister whether an amount of Rs. lakhs was shown in the name of the Kerala Congress Committee? Is it a fact or not? I would also like to know whether the U.P. Congress Committee, Lucknow, has received a sum of Rs. 50,000. Is it a fact that the Congress Committee, Utkal received a sum of Rs. 50,000? Is it also a fact that the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Madras received a sum of Rs. 75,000?

AN HON. MEMBER: Is that all?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: These are some of the items that I saw in a brief glance. There are many other details in this long list. They all come to Rs. 31 lakhs. This also includes some surreptitious payments like Messrs Beacons Pictorial who printed posters for the Congress Committee receiving Rs. 1,14,000

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Misra, you tend that list to the hon. Minister.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He should have his own list.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He says he has no list.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He can get it. I cannot supply him. It is his business.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): That will help him if you want justice to be done.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: It is publicity.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Publicity? We do not go in for publicity. The entire people of India constitute our publicity instrument. They do not want the publicity for us and their one slogan is "Push out the Congress". That is the slogan of the people of India. Now I do not want to waste time on such irrelevant matters. To come back to the points, the question is whether there have been these surreptitious payments or not, to the tune of Rs. 27 lakhs, given to the Congress out of the total amount placed at the disposal of the President of CACO. There are so many fictitious names shown here as having taken the payments. While they remain responsible for the payments, the real beneficiaries are the gentlemen with the Congress caps. Let them say if this is a fact or not.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, between the Swatantra friends and the Congress friends here we have got an idea of how money is passing. We all agree that the Congress is having the lion's share, of course. Out of a sum of a crore and odd lakhs of rupees, the Congress has received a crore and Rs. 15 lakhs have gone to the Swatantra Party. Whatever that be, I should like to have clarifications on the following points.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this House when the matter came up most of us objected to the decontrol of cement. But then we were told that it was necessary in order to make more funds available to the cement industry for investment. We were told that production would be considerably raised as a result of this decontrol. We were also told that after they had given a price increase the cement price would not be raised. We were told that on the whole the cement industry would fall in line with the policy of the Government for increased production and better distribution through the normal agencies. Now

the Government increased the price quite substantially before decontrol came. And you know that fifty per cent of the cement production is reserved for the Government and so it buys that cement and through the public exchequer it pays the additional price straightway. Mr. Vice-Chairman, how is it when we have in this country certain boards to look after these things, the cement industry has violated every single pledge that it gave to the Government and through the Government to Parliament? ~We would like to know whether we have any remedy with regard to such open breach of faith by the cement kings, the cement industrialists.

Secondly, I should like to know whether there has been a proper investigation into the manner in which the funds which accumulated in the industry had been handled by the Cement industrialists here.

Thirdly, I would like to know whether there has been a thorough investigation into the political donations that were made. It is not only speaking only of one Chief Minister. Everybody knows that the cement industrialists have been paying the Congress more than to anybody else in the country. The fact, the Congress bosses cannot be separated from the cement bosses. In Uttar Pradesh, for example, I want to know whether there has been a proper investigation into the collections made in order to present a purse of Rs. 65 lakhs or so to Mr. C. B. Gupta and how much of that money came from the cement industry. Mr. Vice-Chairman, these are important questions because cement is a major industry and initially it was thought that the future development of this industry would be in the public sector. Then suddenly you remember several years ago we got a list of a number of licences being issued to the Birlas or to Birla *benamis* and so on. In fact, this industry has really taken possession of this Ministry. The Ministry is deliberately helpless because of this. I

put it to the House and to the Minister through you, Sir, that some people, high-ups, are very closely linked up with the cement kings who make regular payments to them and it is with their help that they are making nonsense of all the regulations and restrictions that they have now or they had before. Therefore, I would like to know the real position. I want to know whether there has been a thorough enquiry.

Finally, Mr. Vice-Chairman, here is a case for a thorough probe by the Central Bureau of Investigation into the entire conduct of the cement industry after decontrol. The terms of reference should be very very wide and the whole thing should be gone into in all its aspects. I can tell you that in other countries this is done. But here it is not done at all. Why has not this industry been nationalised? Why has not the management been taken over under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act? That we would like to know. Is it because the Somanis and others who are in the cement industry are very pally with the Congress and pay them even now. This is the position, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It is a great scandal. You have been good and we are having this discussion and Mr. Mathur is a good man and he has given an example. But how did he miss Mr. Sukhadia?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA
MATHUR: No name was mentioned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is all right. But why this discrimination?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA
MATHUR: No discrimination.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mr. Sukhadia lives on black money all the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But Mr. Vice-Chairman, cement was decontrolled by the Congress Party and it is the Congress Government which

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

behind the stage had some kind of a deal and took certain assurances and then came and told Parliament that they had done that thing. And it was done in face of terrible opposition from our side. Now, after all that had been done by the cement thieves—cement thugs they should be called—why is not the Government holding a through probe under the proper law. Certainly, the Commission of Inquiries Act could be utilised in order to find out the facts and pending that some of the cement industry units should be certainly taken over by the Government; if not nationalised straightway, at least the management should be taken over by the Government. I would like to know whether the entire cement policy of the Government would be reconsidered again in the light of the very bitter and shocking experience at the hands of those cement thieves and cement thugs who are the patrons, above all, of the Congress Party.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA- (Uttar Pradesh): I would also like to request the hon. Minister to order a thorough probe into this whole affair and I would also like to know from him whether he is considering amending section 293 of the Companies Act regarding contributions to political parties.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chair -man, may I know from the hon. Minister what steps are being taken to seize the papers of CACO because unless and until all these papers are seized it is not possible to detect any-thing? What Mr. Mathur has said is a very serious matter. My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, just now said that he gave a party or a political slant. There was no political slant. Political slant is being given by certain hon. Members on the other side because the names here are of Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Mr. Balra.i Madhok and Mr. Na/11 IVshमुख of the Jana

Sangh and Swatantra Parties while no leader of the Congress Party is mentioned in the list.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: They take only back money?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I never interrupted the hon. Member and he should not also interrupt me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Yes, no interruptions please.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: But what difference does it make?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Whenever, the question comes up of curbing monopolies, whenever the question comes up of taking drastic action against these criminals of our social life, may I ask the hon. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel whether he has forgotten the day when I raised the question of the Hazari Report and it was he who said that it was not a matter of urgent public importance? I know there may be some Congressmen who are perhaps being fed by these tycoons of the economic life of our country but shamelessly the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh opposed the Resolution and sponsored their cause in the House. Birla, the greatest criminal among the monopolists, did not find any support but from Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and members of the Jana Sangh Party; These are the people who claim themselves to be champions of honesty integrity and everything else. I say these capitalist interests, these monopoly interests know very well whom to choose to sponsor their cause and that is why they have chosen these people. I agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that when the cement decontrol question came before this House we warned the Government again and again that they should not get entangled in these capitalists' hands but at that time they were taken in by these Somanis. Jains and Birlas and they thought that they would keep

their -word. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not important whether they gave a few lakhs to the Swatantra Party or the Jana Sangh or the Congress Party. The question is that certain people in the country—especially this CACO is headed by a Swatantra Party man if I know it correctly—want to manipulate the whole of our politics in a particular direction and a camp is being established by the feudal reactionary capitalists in order to subvert the whole country. What has happened in CACO? What happened at the time of the Haza'ri Report discussion? What happened at time when the question of Oberoi Intercontinental came up? These are all parts of the same thing. These reactionaries are out to see that the socialist advance of this country is retarded. I hope therefore that the hon. Minister for Industrial Development will take all measures under the Companies Act that these tycoons do not go on uninterrupted. I know the Ministers— and the hon. Minister particularly— very honestly feel that something should be done but what has been done in respect of Birlas in spite of my memorandum for the last three months? They are manipulating the papers. What can be done against this CACO if the Government takes two months to investigate and seize their papers?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: Not for investigation but for getting the list.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: So I would request the hon. Fakhruddin Sahib that if he wants to do something he should take immediate action. It is not only the intention, it is not only the direction but it is the speed which is required. If you are not going to take speedy measures nothing is going to happen. Therefore I would request the hon. Minister to take immediate action in order to see that all the papers are seized so that they are not allowed to manipulate the papers.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Just a question,

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You have allowed everybody ten minutes. Why do you say this to me alone? I am a poor man.

Firstly, I want to oppose the statement made by Mr. Lokanath Misra. Whether the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee's name is there or not, I do not know. Whatever it is, it must be enquired into. But leaving that aside, I fully support Mr. Mathur's contention that no political party should be supported by any capitalist organisation because that will be a mockery of democracy. I therefore support him that whether it is Congress or Swatantra or Jana Sangh or Communist, money should not be given. We know from Bank of China money has been received by them. So I oppose this kind of thing.

You know, Sir, I am a man who has always done some constructive thinking about the development of industry in the country. I know the difficulties of the cement industry. They wanted about Rs. 200 crores for development and one would have that the money given by the Government, that the concessions shown by the Government, would have been genuinely utilised for the difficulties of the cement industry. of applying it for politics. I therefore demand that the hon. Minister for Industrial Development should here and now instruct the C.B.I. to enquire into this; otherwise the books will go away and he will not find even a piece of paper from which he could get any evidence. So I request that the case of CACO should be immediately handed over to the C.B.I. for enquiry.

For the information of the hon. Minister I may say that in the villages and in the urban areas cement is sold between Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 by the hirelings of the CACO people. Their relatives, their *benami* agents are the people who are distributing cement. [would therefore say: leave aside

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni.] everything else but please take over the distribution of cement through the S.T.C.; otherwise you will not find any cement in the coming months. -So immediately a probe must be made into the affairs of CACO and the distribution of cement must be taken over from the CACO and entrusted to S.T.C. because the avowed aim of the country is to have social distribution.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The matter that has been brought before the House by the hon. Shri Mathur is of the highest importance and we are very grateful to him for unearthing, what can be called in an understatement, a scandal of the highest order. I would not repeat the arguments that have been advanced by our friends here but I would make Borne suggestions to start with.

Our experience with decontrol has been most disastrous and I would urge upon the Government to cancel it forthwith. The decontrol as it has been functioning up till now is not helping the economy and it has not brought about the results that were expected of it. Therefore it needs to be cancelled forthwith and the previous arrangements should be reverted to as early as possible. Otherwise after a year or so when we meet again here we would be in the same position and we will be repeating the same story of breach of faith on the part of the cement industry and the breach of the assurances that they gave at the time of decontrol.

6 P.M.

Then, another thing the Minister said was that work was formerly being done by STC and this organisation was formed merely for the purpose, of doing the work which STC was doing previously, which means illocation of cement to various areas of the country. Even STC were charging a certain sum of money per bag. Since they failed to impose de-control, other mischief has come out of this. If the reimposition of control is going to take some time, I would

urge upon the Minister to take over the work of co-ordination and distribution from this CACO and give it back to STC. That was the only purpose for which CACO was formed. We and the Industry Department were satisfied with the way in which STC was functioning. They had no dishonest accounts. There were representatives of Industry on that. Even in regard to iron and steel, the decontrol of iron and steel has not brought forth any harm like CACO. The Joint Plant Committee has got industry representatives. They sit together and see how distribution at the fixed price is being made. So, this is the thing which should forthwith be done. The STC should be given right away the power to distribute and co-ordinate the distribution of cement as heretofore. Till that time, our Minister really goes back on this policy of decontrol.

Then, Sir, many irregularities in respect of company law and income-tax have been brought before the House. I would suggest that enough evidence is there to immediately register a case under the company law and IPC. You should proceed with investigations forthwith and seize whatever documents exist. After that I would not rest content with merely a criminal investigation. I would suggest that a Committee of Members of Parliament should be appointed to go into it thoroughly and probe into the *modus operandi* in the private sector. When decontrol of such things is brought about, they have a subtle and most insidious way of working, which has to be brought out. The CIB would merely say that there are innumerable breaches of law. For example, it was mentioned by an hon. friend that giving...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Do not go into that.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: I would just point out a thing which was mentioned i.e. political Parties can be given money. Under the company law it could be done, but then

there are serious restrictions, There is a percentage which they can give as the maximum amount. All these things have to be probed: *no*. Here we have a list of completely bogus or *overt* names. If the money was paid by cheques in many cases the papers have to be seized and immediately a Committee of Members of Parliament should be appointed to go into this whole transaction and see what laws have been infringed and to what extent Income-tax authorities should also be informed as to where this money came from and whether it is liable to taxation or not. The whole transaction should be discussed. I would not go into the political aspects which are also very serious because it seems that there is an impression in the country that the private sector and the rich tycoons in our country can go and buy anyone in this country, they have approach to the highest places where the sources of political power reside. We must put some curbs on that. The whole thing should be taken most seriously. Also, the Minister should give an assurance right now that he will do all that is possible under the company law, under the income-tax law, etc. so that these things can be stopped and most serious action can be initiated.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not generally like that dirty linen should be washed in public like this, but I am happy that sometimes to improve the political atmosphere of the country such dirty linen has to be washed and it has been washed. I remember the day...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Put a question.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I remember the day when I was in the Visitors' Gallery in Lok Sabha when our late Commerce Minister, Mr. Lai Bahadur Shastri, was piloting the Companies (Amendment) Bill, to legalise the corrupt practice of contribution to political parties by companies. At that time, all the political

parties, those who were represented in Lok Sabha, including Mr. Masani of the Swatantra Party, stoutly resisted that amendment, but the entire, Congress Party gave full support to, Mr. Lai Bahadur Shastri to see that the amendment was incorporated in the Companies Act. As long as money was flowing to one quarter, not a single voice was raised against this practice. I am happy, but when it had started flowing into other directions, a discussion, with a certain amount of realism, has come about in this country. I want to tell the Minister that it is not enough to enquire into this shady deal here. Everybody knows this shady deal was continuing for the last so many years in this country and that great Report of the Monopolies Enquiry Commission has described all those shady deals in three or four pages. They have said that these big Indian capitalists now are not only corrupting the political life of this country, but they have corrupted the entire bureaucracy and that is one of the main reasons why these monopolies should go in this country. After that big Report which was submitted two years back, there is still no sense of realism in the Congress Party to bring forward an amendment to the company law. Even now they say that money has started flowing, that it is now creating Chief Ministers and Prime Ministers also. Mr. Mathur was not right when he said that this was creating Chief Ministers. It is not only creating Chief Ministers. It is creating Chief Ministers and Prime Ministers in this country. I know also instances—I do not want to give their name here—where there is a particular concern in which Government has invested 49 per cent of the share capital. The Government gave sufficient loans also. It was running at a loss and only this year it has gone into liquidation. It has also contributed one lakh of rupees, though there were two Directors from the official side, and that one lakh of rupees was given to the AICC President. For what purpose? Not for any political-purpose . . .

AH HON. MEMBER: Who was the President then ?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I will not say it, because I do not want to enter into that controversy. Those things are in the Government record itself. It is also there in the record of the Industry Department of the Government of Orissa. For what purpose? That money was given not in furtherance of any industry, not even for political purpose of the political party. It was given for research in small-scale industries in a cell of the AICC office. I do not know whether there is any cell in the AICC office to carry on research in small-scale industries.

Here I come to the main question. You know that this corrupt money that has been given is not the money of these people. It is the money of the real tax-payer. It is the money of the consumer who has paid a higher price for his cement. It has gone to corrupt sources, it may be political parties or individuals or whatever it is. A thorough probe only is not sufficient. The problem has been diagnosed in the Monopolies Enquiry Commission's Report. Only these people should have the courage to immediately amend the Companies Act, so that a single paisa cannot be contributed either to any political party or for a purpose which is not *bona fide*. I know sometimes in the name of miscellaneous expenditure, in the name of labour welfare also they have contributed to political parties. So, the only question now mooted is of having a thorough probe. I also want a thorough probe into all these shady deals. They should go into the companies' affairs and the main causes should be removed. The main causes can be removed only by amending the company law.

May I know from the Minister now, after this discussion, whether he is prepared to amend the company law during this Session, and if not, in the coming Session, so that any contribution to any political party will be completely banned? The provision

should be so comprehensive that any contribution to individuals or institutions, which is not of a *bona fide* nature should also be banned. Then only the problem can be solved. Only the Congress Party have the opportunity of bringing forward such a measure because they are in power at the Centre and being in charge of company law are they going to amend it? If they do not amend it and carry on this witch-hunting, whenever it suits them, they come out with an open statement whenever it does not suit them they keep quiet. By this the purpose will not be served. I hope the Minister of Industry will come forward with a statement that he is going to amend the company law to this effect forthwith.

MR. VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): According to the list I have called all the names. But I have got three more names. According to rule I can refuse them, but I will exercise my discretion provided they help me and just put questions. Two minutes each.

श्री राजनारायण : सरकार से बहुत ही सफाई के साथ मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ इतने दिनों से इसकी चर्चा इस सदन में है। मैं तो लोकनाथ मिश्र की इसके लिए मुबारकबाद जरूर दूंगा क्योंकि इन्होंने लिस्ट हमको एक हफ्ते पहले ही सब दिखा दी थी, बहुत ही सफाई से दिखा दी थी, उन्होंने यह नहीं छिपाया कि उनकी पार्टी का भी नाम है क्योंकि वे एक आनेस्ट आदमी हैं और वे चाहते हैं कि इस मामले में कोई न कोई ऐरावत निकास निकाला जाय, चाहे वह कोई भी पार्टी हो, उसका भ्रष्टाचार, गलत इस्तेमाल न कर पाए। अब तक सरकार ने इस सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ भी सोचा हो हम उसको जानना चाहते हैं और यह भी जानना चाहते हैं कि क्या यह सही है कि जो लिस्ट श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र जी के पास है, जो लिस्ट माननीय मिश्र चन्द्र शेखर के पास है और जिस लिस्ट के कुछ इधर-उधर नाम हमको याद हैं क्या वे सबकी के पास नहीं है ?

उत्सभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
आप सब दे दीजिए ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, जब आप यहाँ बैठते हैं तो हम को ऐसा लगता है कि इस खूनी के साथ सरकार बच जाती है कि मैं कह नहीं सकता । हमारा अधिकार है कि हम इस लिस्ट के पूरे नाम पढ़ दें, रिकार्ड में रहेगा, सरकार देखेगी—व्यक्तिगत नाम तो बहुत हैं—

	Rs.
Messrs. Beacon Pictorial .	1,14,875.00
Messrs. Gay Knight .	20,625.00
Messrs. Mass Communication and Marketing Private Ltd.	1,30,124.80
Messrs. Inter Publicity Pvt. Ltd.	1,25,000.00
Messrs. Kilburn & Company Ltd.	12,431.25
Messrs. Printart .	20,000.00
Messrs. Mass Communications and Marketing Pvt. Ltd.	39,875.20
Gay Knight .	12,500.00
Messrs. Inter Publicity Pvt. Ltd.	18,737.50

क्या यह सारा का सारा पैसा कांग्रेस को नहीं गया है ? गया है ।

Messrs. Electronics Pvt. Ltd. .	30,000.00
Messrs. B.J. Bhandari .	1,68,000.00
Messrs. Bharat Stores .	6,000.00
Messrs. Chamanlal Jain & Sons .	6,000.00
Messrs. Rarran Prakash Mittal .	6,000.00
Messrs. Brijesh Kumar Dhanendra Kumar Jain Co.	6,000.00
Messrs. Delhi Cement Trading Corporation .	7,000.00
Messrs. J. Gupta & Co. .	6,000.00
Messrs. Ramlal Grover & Sons .	6,000.00
South Delhi Building Material .	6,000.00
Messrs. Mohanlal and Co. .	6,000.00
Messrs. Oberoi and Co. .	6,000.00
Messrs. N. M. Ramesh and Co.	6,000.00
Messrs. Jai Narain Rass Behari & Co. .	6,000.00
Messrs. Paras Ram Vas Dev .	6,000.00
Pals Agencies .	6,000.00
Messrs. Gupta and Co. .	6,000.00

essrs. Kumar & Co. .	6,000.00
Messrs. Atma Ram Rattan Lal .	6,000.00
Messrs. Reshan Lal Gupta & Co. .	6,000.00

यह सब जोड़कर होता है 4,07,000 ।

Hazarilal Sharma .	5,000.00
K.D. Soti .	7,000.00
Col. H.R. Pasricha .	4,000.00

شری اے - ایم - طارق : یہ دلی سوئٹر پارٹی کے چیرمین ہیں -

†[श्री ए० ए० तः : यह दिल्ली स्वतंत्र पार्टी के चयरमैन हैं ।]

श्री राजनारायण : मैं सब पढ़े देता हूँ, वाइस चयरमैन साहब ने इजाजत दे दी है ।

	Rs.
The Advertising Associates .	25,000.00
The Navchetan Press Pvt. Ltd. .	5,000.00
The Radha Press .	2,200.00
The Rashtra Hit .	5,000.00
Mr. Balraj Madhok .	5,000.00
Mrs. Savitri Nigam .	3,000.00
The Advertising Associates of India .	8,000.00
Bhartiya Jan Sangh .	12,000.00
Jeeps .	12,000.00
S.G. Supply Agency .	10,000.00
Vegetarian India .	10,000.00
National Printcrafts .	25,000.00
Purshottm Agents .	10,000.00
Chiman Ram Sewbhagwan .	10,000.00
Deen Dayal Bhagwati Prasad .	15,000.00
A. L. Jindal .	5,000.00

شری اے - ایم - طارق : یہ کون ہیں ؟

†[श्री ए० ए० तः : यह कौन हैं ।]

श्री राजनारायण : तुम्हारा कोई दोस्त होगा ।

Messrs. Radha Press .	10,000.00
Satiya Narain Bajoria .	5,000.00

ये सब हुआ 2,93,200 ।

†[Hindi transliteration.]

उसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : राजनारायनजी, बेहतर होता आप ये लिस्ट मनिस्टर साहब को दे देते।

श्री राजनारायण :

Shri S.V. Hanumantha Rao	5,000.00
Shri H.K. Mahtab	10,000.00
Shri R. Krishnamoorthi	10,000.00
Dalmia Charitable Trust	2,500.00

क्या कांग्रेस को नहीं दिया गया है।

श्री श्रीराम कृष्ण नाथ : जी ।

श्री नाना देशमुख :

Earnest money for 99 jeeps	6,30,000.00
Nana Deshmukh	1,25,000.00

شہزی اے - ایم طارق : یہ کون ہیں ؟

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक : यह कौन है ?]

श्री राजनारायण : एक जन संघ में भी नाना देशमुख हैं ।

Jagdish Prasad Mattur	1,25,000.00
Congress Party in Maharashtra	2,00,000
	1,00,000
	3,00,000.00

Payment made through Mr. Supery	15,000.00
Electronics Pvt. Ltd.	25,000.00
Gestetner Duplicators Pvt. Ltd.	10,000.00
Shri Moolchand Deshlehra	65,000.00
A. Rajasthan Party	50,000.00
Shri M.K. Shastri	10,000.00
Kangra District Congress Committee	15,000.00
Satara District Congress Committee	10,000.00
Shri Deshlehra	90,000.00

इस सब का जोड़ हुआ 1,17,000 ।

ये डालमिया सीमेन्ट कम्पनी (भारत) लिमिटेड से है—

Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Madras	75,000.00
Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee	25,000.00
Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, Trivandrum	1,00,000.00

[] English transliteration.

Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee, Bangalore	25,000.00
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सब मिला कर हुआ 1,50,000 ।

Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee	1,000.00
Lucknow City Congress Election fund	10,000.00

ये डालमिया सीमेन्ट लिमिटेड की ओर से है—

Tiruchy Congress Committee, Tiruchy	10,000.00
Bhartiya Jan Sangh, Delhi	1,000.00

एक ही पार्टी आएगी जो संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है । इस बारे में आखिर मैं कहूंगा । अब ये उड़ीसा सीमेन्ट लिमिटेड का है—

Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee	25,000.00
Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, Trivandrum	1,00,000.00
Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, Lucknow	50,000.00
Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, Bhubaneswar	50,000.00
Swatantra Party, Orissa Unit, Bhubaneswar	10,000.00
Praja Tantra Prachar Samiti (for Jana Congress, Bhubaneswar)	10,000.00
Swatantra Party, Orissa Unit	25,000.00

कुल जोड़ हुआ 2,70,000 । इसके बाद आती है रक्षा बलन्द सुगर कम्पनी लिमिटेड :

U.P. Congress Elections Fund, Leader, Congress Legislature Party U.P.	8,500.00
	8,500.00

कुल पैसा दिया 17,000 । इसके बाद रामपुर डिस्टिलरी एन्ड केमिकल कम्पनी लिमिटेड—

City Congress Committee, Meerut	5,000.00
Distt. Congress Committee, Nainital	5,000.00
City Congress Committee, Mirzapur	5,000.00

कुल 15,000 ।

(Time bell rings)

अब मूल सवाल आता है । मैं एक निवेदन यह कर रहा हूँ कि सरकार और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य इस बात को खुद क्यों नहीं

महसूस करते कि एक गरीब पार्टी संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी भी है—अगर यह ज्यादा नहीं आई तो कुछ भी आई—हमारी पार्टी के पास कोई सेन्ट्रल फंड नहीं है, हम ने नियम बना रखे हैं कि हर कांस्टीटुएन्सी में तीन हजार रुपया टिकट बेच-बेच कर केन्डीडेट जूटाये, जो नहीं जूटायेगा उसको टिकट नहीं मिलेगा, डिसेन्ट्रलाइज कर दिया है। एक तरफ फंड सेन्ट्रलाइज करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ चाहते हैं कि डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट बने। यह नामुमकिन है। जब तक करोड़पतियों के पैसे से गरीबों का वोट खरीदा जायेगा और गरीबों का वोट खरीद कर, सरकार बना कर, उन्हीं करोड़पतियों के नोटों की हिजाजत की जायेगी तब तक क्या यह सरकार समझती है कि इस देश में सच्चा जनतंत्र आ पायेगा, हाँगिज नहीं।

इसलिये आज मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी नहीं है कि चुनाव के मौके पर सीमेंट के कारखानेदारों ने सरकार पर दबाव डाला कि सीमेंट का दाम बढ़ाया जाये। श्रीमन्, कपड़े का दाम बढ़ा दिया गया था, चीनी का दाम बढ़ा दिया गया था, चुनाव के मौके पर जब चीनी का दाम बढ़ चुका तब चीनी के मिल-मालिकों ने पैसा दिया। वह लिस्ट भी आ रही है कि किन-किन मालिकों ने कितन कितना पैसा दिया है, क्योंकि ये लो। इतना तो हम लोगों को बता ही देते हैं कि एक-एक मिल पर पचास हजार, दो लाख या तीन लाख २० लगाया है, इतनी जानकारी तो हमको हो गई। तो चीनी के तमाम एसोसियेशन वाले, सीमेंट के तमाम एसोसियेशन वाले देते हैं। क्या अब भी सरकार इस नतीजे पर नहीं आ रही है कि इसको डिसेन्ट्रलाइज किया जाये, डिसेन्ट्रलाइज का मतलब नेशनलाइज, नेशनलाइजेशन के रूप में मैं कह रहा हूँ, और पोलिटिकल पार्टी का इनका पैसा देना मना किया जाये। माननीय, उत्तर प्रदेश की एक सरकारी फ़ैक्ट्री है चूर्क में।

मैं भूपेश गुप्ता जी के लिये कह रहा हूँ, जरा भूपेश गुप्ता जी इस सज का इलाज ढूँँ। चूर्क की सीमेंट फ़ैक्ट्री है। जब तक मैं उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा में था बराबर मैंने सवाल उठाया कि इसकी बैलेंस शीट सरकार पेश करे, सरकार का उत्तर सदा यही रहता था, श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द जी मुख्य मंत्री थे, कि जो सरकारी कारखाना है उसके बैलेंस शीट के देने की क्या जरूरत है, वह तो सरकार सब जानती ही है। आज तक सरकार नहीं बता पाई कि कितनी सीमेंट पैदा हुई और कितनी सीमेंट बिकी और उसका टोटल हिसाब क्या है। जितनी बिकी, केवल उसका हिसाब है।

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक बड़ा भारी सवाल आ गया है आज हमारे देश के भाग्य में। देश का भाग्य बने या बिगड़े इस पर मुनहसिर कर रहा है। तो सरकार इसके बारे में सफ़ाई से देख-रेख करने की योजना बना रही है या नहीं। हमारा सुझाव है, क्या सरकार हमारे सुझाव पर गौर करेगी, एक सुझाव मिर्धा साहब ने दे दिया है, मैं उसमें अमेंडमेंट कर रहा हूँ और मैं अमेंडमेंट यह कर रहा हूँ कि आज मुझको इस सरकार के सचिवालय पर विश्वास नहीं रह गया है, मैं सफ़ाई के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि च। पाँच सचिव हैं, चाहे वह घर सचिव हों चाहे वह वित्त सचिव हों लेकिन यह सरकार एक कमेटी बनाये और जाँच कराये कि कितने सचिव हैं जिनके सोधे-सीधे छः, सात, आठ लाख के बँले इसी दिल्ली में हैं और जिसका चार हजार, पाँच हजार रुपया महोना किराया आता है, कहां से उनके पान इतना पैसा आ गया। तो आज जो सारी ब्यूरोक्रेसी है यह ब्यूरोक्रेसी आज इस अफ़्टरन को बढ़ाने में सहायक है और इस ब्यूरोक्रेसी के जरिये उस पार्टी के लोगों को ज्यादा पैसा दिलवाया जाता है फ़ैक्ट्रियों से, जो पार्टी कि इस ब्यूरोक्रेसी को सहारा दे रही है। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि एक कमेटी बने जिसमें यहाँ के

[श्री राजनारायण]

जितने सचिव हैं बड़े बड़े जिनके दिल्ली में मकान हैं उनके पूरे एकाउंट की जाँच हो और उसी के साथ साथ एम० पी० लोगों की, केवल सरकारी कर्मचारियों को ही नहीं। यह सरकार ने जो एक बनाया हुआ है . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब आप बैठ जाइये।

श्री राजनारायण : . . . वह क्या है, जो भारतीय जासूसी विभाग है, जो इस सरकार का भारतीय जासूसी विभाग है उस पर भी मुझे यकीन नहीं रह गया है क्योंकि उस जासूसी विभाग से जिस ढंग की रपट चाही जाती है उस ढंग की रपट लिखवा दी जाती है। यह भेद खुला न होता अगर बिड़ला और शान्तिप्रसाद जैन का संघर्ष न हुआ होता, बिड़ला का डिफेंड शान्ति प्रसाद जैन बता रहे हैं और शान्ति प्रसाद जैन का डिफेंड बिड़ला बता रहे हैं और वही कहीं चन्द्रशेखर को कुछ भिजवा देते हैं और कहीं इनको भिजवा देते हैं।

तो इन तमाम बातों पर इस संसद् के सदस्यों को, जानकार सदस्यों की एक कमेटी बैठानी चाहिए जो सचिवालय के सचिवों को निगरानी करे, मंत्रियों की निगरानी करे और नेताओं की निगरानी करे। बिड़ला, नेहरू और सचिव, ये तीनों सेठ मिल कर आज इस देश को खा रहे हैं, इसका उपाय सरकार क्या करेगी।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): May I know from the hon. Minister whether, while enquiring about what Mr. Mathur has said, he will also enquire whether the appointments of dealers and stockists for cement were also made on political preferences and most of them were given to those who are siding with the Swatantra Party?

Secondly, in the light of all this, will the Government think of changing the whole scheme of decontrol of

cement and also decontrol of other commodities which is coming up daily?

Thirdly, as "many Members have suggested, will they consider changing the Company Law that contribution to political parties shall not be made?"

In this connection, I would say that there seems to be a big conspiracy of the bureaucrats, the civil servants and the monopoly holders. And this is a very clear from the fact that the Ex-Auditor-General, Mr. A. K. Rey, who I had resigned from Messrs. Turner Morrison after agitation in both the Houses, still continue to represent as director on Messrs. Alcock Ashdown who are the producers of cement machinery, as a nominee of Messrs. Turner Morrison. If this is so, will Government take any action in this respect and see that the Ex-Auditor-General about whom so many things have been said is remove^ from that organisation?

شرعی اے - ایم - طارق : مستقر
وائس چیومین -

جب تک چوروں ۽ واہ زنون کا
دور دنیا پر غالب ہے
پہلے مجھ سے بات کرے
جہ آزادی کا طالب ہے

श्री राजनारायण : क्या कहा।

شرعی اے - ایم - طارق : میں نے
کہا کہ جب تک چوروں ۽ واہ زنون
کا دور دنیا پر غالب ہے - پہلے ہم سے
بات کرے جو آزادی کا طالب ہے -

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : यह तो आपने शेर फट, इवेंचन फरमादिये।

شرعی اے - ایم - طارق : بات یہ ہے
کہ پہلے انہی سالوں سے جب سے

ہمارے ملک کا وجود ہوا ہے - ہم سوال کرتے آئے ہیں وزیر جواب دیتے رہتے ہیں لیکن اصلی بیماری کا علاج اب تک نہیں ہوا ہے اور مجھے امید ہے کہ وقت آ گیا ہے کہ یہ فکٹر فکٹر الدین علی احمد صاحب ہی حاصل کریں اور اپنی ہمت و تدبیر سے اس کا علاج یہ نکالیں کہ بڑے بڑے دولت مند دولت کا استعمال جو اس ملک کے سماج کو اور سماج واد کو خراب کرنے کے لئے کرتے ہیں اس کو کیسے روکا جائے - روکنے کا وہی طریقہ ہے جو اکثر دوستوں نے کہا - راج نرائن صاحب نے مانہر صاحب نے اور مردھا صاحب نے رکھا ہے اور یہ پہلے بھی رکھا جا چکا ہے کہ کچھ سختیاں کی جائیں - ہم ان لوگوں کو بڑی قہر دیتے ہیں - اس میں آفیسر بھی آ جاتے ہیں، ان کے نام پر بھی ہتھ لگتا ہے - لے دے کے پچھلے دس پندرہ سال میں ہمارے ہاتھ میں ایک فریب مندرا آ گیا اس کی آپ نے کھال نوچ لی - ایک چمکدار کو ہم نے پکڑا لیکن بڑے بڑے شیر جو اس ملک میں تھے وہ بھی چاہے بولا ہوں، گونڈا ہوں، شانتی پرشاد جیوں یا سرمالی یا دامانی یا کمائی جو ہوں جنہوں نے ہمارا خون تک چوس لیا ہے جو کہ ہمارے کفن تک کے مالک ہو گئے ہیں، جو کہ ہمارے مستقبل کے مالک بنے ہیں اور جو کہ ہمارے حال کو بہرہاں کئے ہوئے

ہیں اور یہ ہماری سوسائٹی کے اصلی ترین آدمی ہیں - یہ وہ لوگ ہیں جن کی محفل میں جانے کے لئے ہمارے بڑے بڑے آفیسر بھرتاب رہتے ہیں کہ کب بڑا آ جائے گا کٹھیل پارٹی کا - پوچھتے پھرتے ہیں - ہماری خود گورنمنٹ ذمہ دار ہے تمام پالیٹیکل جماعتیں اس بات کی ذمہ دار ہیں -

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शकबर अली खान):

क्वेशन कीजिये, सवाल कीजिये।

شری اے - ایم - طارق : آپ نے راج نرائن جی کو اتنا وقت دیا تو کچھ ہم لوگوں کو بھی موقع دینا چاہئے۔ تو جناب اس ملک میں کورپشن کو ہم بھی زندہ رکھنا چاہتے ہیں لیکن جو واقعی دیانت دار ہیں جن میں ایمان اور خلوص ہے وہ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ہم اس ملک میں سوشلزم لانا چاہتے ہیں - ہم کو سوچنا ہے کہ اس ملک میں اس قسم کے لوگ بسیں گے جو ہمارا خون چوسنا چاہتے ہیں، جو اپنی دولت کو اس ملک کی تباہی کے لئے استعمال کرتے ہیں یا وہ زمین گے جو اس ملک کو آباد رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس میں کوئی شرم کی بات ہے - ایک طرف کانگریس آرگنائزیشن کو پیسہ ملتا ہے اور دوسری طرف انڈیویچولس کو - ہو سکتا ہے کہ اور بھی فرد ہوں اور ان

[شادی اے - ایم - طارق]

افراد کی وجہ سے یہ چھ جاتے ہیں۔ حکومت پر ان کا قبضہ ہے۔ سوسائٹی پر ان کا قبضہ ہے اور ان چند افراد کے مقابلے میں ہم غریب اختیار نويسوں کی مدد نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ ہم سوسائٹی کی مدد نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ اب رقت آیا ہے کہ سرکار یہ فیصلہ کرے کہ یہ چند سرکاریہ دار رہیں گے یا سوسائٹی رہیں گی۔

مجھے اس بات کا نہایت افسوس ہے۔ یوں میں اپنے قہقہا بھائی کا نہایت احترام کرتا ہوں وہ مرد مجاہد کے بیٹے ہیں۔ سردار پٹیل کا بہت بڑا حصہ اُس ملک کے بچانے میں ہے لیکن مجھے انتہائی افسوس ہے کہ سردار پٹیل کا بیٹا ان لوگوں کی حمایت کرے۔ اس سیکشن کی حمایت کرے جو اس ملک کو سماج واد کو تباہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ مجھے افسوس ہے کہ اگر آج سردار پٹیل ہوتے تو وہ قہقہا بھائی کو گھر سے نکال دیتے، گھر میں داخل نہیں ہونے دیتے۔ لیکن یہ میری بد قسمتی رہی یعنی نام وہ لوگ جنہوں نے اس ملک میں نعرہ دیا غریب دور کرنے کا، نعرہ دیا افلاس دور کرنے کا، نعرہ دیا چھالت دور کرنے کا۔ آج چند سرمایہ داروں کے تختہ مشق بنے ہوئے ہیں۔ تھوڑے سے سرمایہ داروں کا ایک

دوست اے - کے - اے کا نام لیا ہے۔ کئی کمپنیوں کے ڈائریکٹر ہیں، اس ہاؤس میں میں ایک ممبر ہوں، دے رہا ہوں۔ ایک معمولی انڈسٹری ہے ہوسٹل انڈسٹری۔ یہ بھی ایک ملوپیٹی ہلی ہے اور جس کے ہاتھ میں یہ ملوپیٹی ہے اس کے خاندان کا ہر ایک فرد آج پالیٹیکل لیڈر ہو رہا ہے۔ دلی کی سوشل پارٹی میں اس کے سن - ان - لا پریزیڈنٹ ہیں، کشمیر میں جنہاں ان کا کوئی تعلق نہیں ان کی ڈائری - ان - لا پریزیڈنٹ ہو گئی ہیں۔ کہنا یہ ہے کہ کیا اس ملک میں وہ لوگ طاقت میں رہیں گے جو اس ملک کی آزادی کے لئے جان پر کھیلے۔ جنہوں نے سر ہتھیلی پر رکھے تھے یا وہ چند سرمایہ دار جو دولت کے نشہ میں، دولت کے بل بوتے پر ہریش چندر مانہ کو ہراتے ہیں۔ جنہوں نے لوگوں کو صرف اس لئے ہرایا ہے کہ وہ لوگ ان کے ہاتھ میں نہیں کھیلے ہوں۔ جو اس سوسائٹی کو تبدیل کرنا چاہتے ہیں اپنے عیش و آرام کے لئے۔

میں آخری بار اپنے دوست لوگ ناتھ مشرا جی کو دعوت دوں گا کہ ان کی جگہ سوشل پارٹی نہیں ہے کانگریس ہے جتنی جلدی وہ یہاں آج نہیں ان کے لئے اچھا ہے۔ ان کی عاقبت بہتر ہو جائیگی۔

†[श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मिस्टर वाइस चैयरमैन, जब तक चोरों, राहजनों का डर दुनिया पे गालिब है, पहले मुझसे बात करें जो आजादी का तालिब है।

श्री राजनारायण : क्या कहा?

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मैंने कहा कि जब तक चोरों, राहजनों का डर दुनिया पे गालिब है, पहले मुझसे बात करें जो आजादी का तालिब है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : यह तो आपने गैर पढ़ा, क्वेश्चन फर्माइये।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : बात यह है कि पिछले ५६ सालों से जब से पार्लियामेंट का बज्रूद हुआ है, हम सवाल करते आए हैं बग़ौर जवाब देने रहते हैं लेकिन इसकी बीमारी का इलाज अब तक नहीं हुआ है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि वक्त आ गया है कि यह फखर फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद साहब ही हासिल करें और अपनी हिम्मत व तदब्वुर से इसका इलाज यह निकालें कि यह बड़े बड़े दौलतमंद दौलत का इस्तेमाल जो इस मुल्क के समाज को और समाजवाद को खराब करने के लिये करते हैं उसको कैसे रोका जाये। रोकने का वही तरीका है जो अक्सर दोस्तों ने कहा। राजनारायण साहब ने, माथुर साहब ने और मिर्घा साहब ने रखा है और यह पहले भी रखा जा चुका है कि कुछ सख्तियां की जाएं। हम उन लोगों को बड़ी ढील देते हैं। इसमें आफिसर भी आ जाते हैं उनके नाम पर भी बट्टा लगाता है। ले दे के पिछले दस पंद्रह साल में हमारे हाथ में एक गरीब मन्दरा आ गया उसकी आप ने खाल नाच लो एक चमगादड़ को हमने पकड़ा लेकिन बड़े बड़े शेर जो इस मुल्क में थे वह हैं, चाहे बिड़ला हो, गोंयका हों, शांति प्रसाद जैन

या सोमानी या दामानी या कमानी जो हों जिन्होंने हमारा खून तक चूस लिया है, जो कि हमारे कफन तक के मालिक हो गए हैं, जो कि हमारे मुस्तकबिल के मालिक बने हैं और जो कि हमारे हाल को बरबाद किये बैठे हैं और यह हमारी सोसायटी के आला तरीन आदमी हैं। यह वे लोग हैं जिन की महफिल में जाने के लिए हमारे बड़े बड़े आफिसर बेताब रहते हैं कि कब बुलावा आ जाए काकटेल पार्टी का। पूछते फिरते हैं। हमारी खुद गवर्नमेंट जिम्मेदार है, तमाम पालिटिकल जमायतें इस बात की जिम्मेदार हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : क्वेश्चन कीजिये, सवाल कीजिए।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : आप ने राजनारायण जी को इतना वक्त दिया तो कुछ हम लोगों को भी मौका दीजिये। तो जनाब, इस मुल्क में करप्शन को हम भी जिन्दा रखना चाहते हैं लेकिन जो वाकई दयानतदार हैं जिनमें ईमान और खलूस है वह यह कहते हैं कि हम इस मुल्क में सोशलिज्म लाना चाहते हैं हमको सोचना है कि इस मुल्क में इस किरम के लोग बसेंगे जो हमारा खून चूसना चाहते हैं, जो अपनी दौलत को इस मुल्क की तबाही के लिए इस्तेमाल करते हैं या वह रहेंगे जो इस मुल्क को आबाद रखना चाहते हैं। इसमें कोई शर्म की बात है। एक तरफ कांग्रेस आयेनाइजेशन को पैसा मिलता है और दूसरी तरफ इन्डीविजुअल्स को हो सकता है कि और भी फर्द हों और उन अफराद की बजह से यह छा जाते हैं। हकूमत पर इन का कब्जा है। सोसायटी पर उनका कब्जा है और इन चन्द अफराद के मुकादले में हम गरीब अखबारनविसों की मदद नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम सोसायटी की मदद नहीं कर सकते हैं। अब वक्त आया है कि

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

सरकार यह फैसला करे कि यह चन्द सरमायादार रहेंगे या सोसायटी रहेगी।

मुझे इस बात का निहायत अफसोस है। मैं अपने डाह्याभाई का निहायत एतराम करता हूं वह मदमुजाहिद के बेटे हैं। सरदार पटेल का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा इस मुल्क को बचाने में है लेकिन मुझे इन्तहाई अफसोस है कि सरदार पटेल का बेटा उन लोगों की हिमायत करे, उस सेक्शन की हिमायत करे जो इस मुल्क को, समाजवाद को तबाह करना चाहते हैं। मुझे उम्मीद है कि अगर आज सरदार पटेल होते तो वह डाह्याभाई को घर से निकाल देते, घर में दाखिल नहीं होने देते। लेकिन यह मेरी बदकिस्मती रही यानी हम लोग जिन्होंने इस मुल्क में नारा दिया गुरत दूर करने का, नारा दिया इफलास दूर करने का, नारा दिया जहालत दूर करने का। आज चन्द सरमायादारों के तक्ते मशक बने हुए हैं। ठीक है मेरे एक दोस्त ए० के० राय का नाम लिया है कई कंपनियों के डायरेक्टर हैं इस हाउस में मैं एक मेमोरेण्डम दे रहा हूं। एक मामूली इण्डस्ट्री है होस्टल इण्डस्ट्री। यह भी एक मोनोपली बनी है और जिसके हाथ में यह मोनोपली है, उसके खानदान का हर एक फर्द आज पालिटिकल लीडर हो रहा है। दिल्ली की स्वतन्त्र पार्टी में उसके सन-इन-ला प्रेसिडेंट हैं, काश्मीर में जहां उनका कोई ताल्लुक नहीं, उनकी डाटर-इन-ला प्रेसिडेंट हो गई हैं। कहना यह है कि क्या इस मुल्क में वह लोग ताकत में रहेंगे जो इस मुल्क की आजादी के लिए जान पर खेले, जिन्होंने सर हथेली पर रखे थे या वह चन्द सरमायादार जो दौलत के नशे में दौलत के बालूत पर हरीश चन्द्र माथुर को हराते हैं। जिन्होंने लोगों को सिर्फ इस लिए हराया है कि वह लोग उनके हाथ

में नहीं खेलते हैं जो इस सोसायटी को तबदील करना चाहते हैं अपने ऐश व आराम के लिए।

मैं आखिरी बार अपने दोस्त लोकनाथ मिश्र जी को दावत दूंगा कि उनकी जगह स्वतन्त्र पार्टी नहीं है कांग्रेस है। जितनी जल्दी वह यहां आ जाएं उनके लिए अच्छा है। उनकी आकबत बेहतर हो जायेगी।]

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: Sir, I have listened with rapt attention to the various observations which have been made during the discussion on this matter. As far as I could understand from Shri Mathur, when he brought forward this subject before this House, his sole purpose was that political life should not be allowed to be corrupted by private industrialists, and it is with that intention that such matters as were within his knowledge he wanted to place before this House and wanted to know how far these were facts.

He has not sought to shield one party or the other. He has made it very clear that whoever is to be blamed, that is not his concern. His main concern was with regard to two issues which he has raised in the course of these discussions.

I am indeed sorry that in the course of the debate various observations have been made. Reflections have been made which are not justified unless and until all the facts are before us. Therefore, I would like to request: the hon. Members that it is only meet and proper for us to reach a conclusion or to say about one person or about 'one organisation, only after the facts with regard to these matters are before us and then only can we reach a definite conclusion about these matters.

In the course of the discussion also questions regarding monopoly have been raised. I would like to inform the House that, if possible, I shall be

placing before this House a Monopoly Bill which goes far beyond what was recommended by the Monopoly Enquiry Committee. The Monopoly Enquiry Committee wanted to restrict such monopolistic or restrictive trade practices which have come into existence. It was a solution more or less of a curative nature. But, Sir, having regard to the various tendencies in our country, having regard to the facts and circumstances which are available to us, we have gone further and said that the measures should not only be curative but also preventive so that concentration of wealth to the detriment of the people of the country may be checked. So I would not like to take much time of the House so far as observations with regard to monopoly are concerned.

Then, Sir, some observations have also been made whether time has not come now when funds of various political parties should not be allowed under the provision of law. My submission is that this is a matter which cannot be disposed of in the course of a discussion of half an hour. I would like this matter to be discussed thoroughly so that this matter may be considered . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: When and where?

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: In this House, so that this question may be discussed from all aspects. It is not enough that only corporate companies should be prevented from doing this. There are various other bodies through which these funds are being utilised in order to corrupt the political life. It is, therefore, a matter which should be considered from all points of view.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Are you writing to State Governments?

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN AU AHMED: This is not the time when I should deal with these aspects of the matter. This is a matter which can be left for a thorough and further discussion, a matter in which I would like all political parties to take such a lead as will make our political life free from such corruptions.

Then, Sir, a large number of names have been given before this House. I confess that so far as I am concerned, I am not such a privileged person who has got a list of the persons or the bodies who have got these monies out of this Rs. 31 lakhs. The only reply I could get from these concerned persons was that about half the money has been spent in the purchase of jeeps. Now if these people can give that list to some of the Members, it would help. Why they have not given this list, I do not know.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I have read out the whole list.

SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED: If the list had been supplied to me, it would have been possible for me to analyse the whole thing and place a clear picture before the House to take one view or the other.

So far the various suggestions have been made, I would only like to say that whatever action is called for will be taken to see that these malpractices are not allowed to continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I am glad the Government will take a serious view of this thing and do the needful.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Wednesday

The House then adjourned at thirty-seven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 16th of August, 1967.