

take initiative to resolve the deadlock so that routine business may be transacted in the House.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are two aspects which can never be denied. I am sure that I speak on behalf of all. We have the fullest respect and the highest respect for you and we do not want that in any way we should create a situation where the Chair cannot function properly and adequately. At the same time, I must acknowledge that you have, to the best of your ability, given us time and we have had opportunities in spite of so many difficulties and constraint of time. So many issues we are all trying to raise and it is very difficult to regulate in a manner that will satisfy everybody. We have to appreciate that but sometimes in the nick of the moments, something may be happening, or is being said which need not necessarily be done deliberately or anything like that. Therefore, we want that the House should continue in a cordial manner. There are so many national and important issues to be discussed, and today, particularly, we have a very important issue in the order paper for discussion. I am sure that you have occupied this Chair with great ability and I am sure that we have no doubt that this would be maintained. And on our side also, I believe, I also speak on behalf of my friends in the Janata Dal that if there is any misunderstanding, it appears to be a misunderstanding more than anything else. There is no deliberateness in it. Therefore, this is really a misunderstanding created at the spur of the moment. Therefore, it can be easily resolved. I am sure you can kindly express whatever you think, Sir. But let the House continue in a proper atmosphere and with all the attendant problems that are there. Everyday we are facing this problem. But nobody can say deliberately anything is done by either side. I have no such belief, complaint and no such feeling at all. Therefore, I wish to avoid that. We need not pass any judgment over anybody's action. It is not proper. It is not necessary. What we want is the resumption of that cordial attitude. Our respect for you, nobody can question. Regarding your own consideration for us, we have also a witness in the past. Therefore, I am sure that we will be able to carry on and you will be kind enough to decide as to what you think best.

MR. SPEAKER : Well, I know and you know that we have cooperated with each other in an excellent manner. In a House of 545 Members, it is sometimes possible for some Members to get the time and some Members do not get the time. And if the Members are unhappy that they did not get the time because they did not get the time, they are justified in thinking that they could not get the time. As the Presiding Officer of this House, I will be the first servant of this House. It is my duty to find solutions to the problems

that arise and sometimes I do raise my voice and I must confess as I did in the Chamber that sometimes I find it very difficult to control myself in Zero Hour because it is without any rules without any procedures and all those things. But never I have meant any disrespect to any Member.

If because of some misunderstanding somebody has felt that way, certainly we can assuage the feelings and if my friend Shri Sharad Yadav has felt that way, I will talk to him and if he thinks that some sort of expression of regrets or sorrow is necessary, it can certainly be done. There is no difficulty in doing that. But, at the same time, I would like to say and I would like to say in the words of a Hindi poet :

*"Ham Rahen na rahen, Aap rahen, Aapki shan rahe"*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me assure you from my party's side that we have the fullest respect and regard for the Chair and for you also. All along we have been cooperating and helping in the smooth functioning of the House.

As you know, our leader Shri Sharad Yadav is naturally sore and you have already told this House that you would talk to him and you would sort it out. I do not want to make any comment on that. I can only assure you again that our party has been cooperating in the smooth functioning of the House and we have the fullest regard and respect for the Chair. We are also very keen to see that important discussions are taken up immediately and I hope that whatever misunderstanding is there, that will be over after you talk to Shri Sharad Yadav. Thank you very much.

14.42 hrs.

#### ACTION TO BE TAKEN ON THE VOHRA COMMITTEE REPORT REGARDING CRIMINALISATION OF POLITICS

MR. SPEAKER : We have a Motion to be moved by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan. Let us go ahead.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : What about Papers to be laid, Sir?

MR. SPEAKER : The time for this Motion is fixed. We will allow the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to lay the papers at the end, on behalf of all the Ministers.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera) : I beg to move:

"That this House urges upon the Government to take action on the Vohra Committee Report regarding criminalisation of politics without any delay."

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Sir, I am on a point of order. Hon. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, my leader and my other senior colleague Shri Lal K. Advani and I, had

moved a motion under Rule 184 which had a different phraseology to the Motion that is now being taken up. I will be grateful if you let us know what the fate of that motion is.

MR. SPEAKER : I will let you know. We have received many motions and it is not possible to fix all the motions at one and the same time. The motion which is first in time is admitted and we have admitted that motion. Anything you want to express in line with your motion you can certainly say that it is in line with your motion.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are sitting to discuss an important subject. It appears to me as if the entire country is wailing. This resolution has been moved in the name of Vohra Committee, but the important objective behind this is that criminalization has crept into every walk of life.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I think we have to conclude this debate today because there are many other things to do. If it is necessary, we can sit late; but we shall have to conclude this debate. I have a long list of names.

So, please bear in mind that each Member who speaks has to be a little brief.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : First of all, I will like to read out the motion that is its report. This House urges upon the Government to positively take appropriate action on Vohra Committee report without any delay. Mr. Chairman, Sir, the entire House knows that an attitude of criminalization has crept into every walk of life and this is like a cancer. If immediate solution to this phenomenon is not evolved then I understand that our democracy which is the biggest democracy and on which we pride ourselves, will never last long. At times the nation is independent but people become slave. Therefore, our nation will remain democratic indeed but if the solution to this cancer is not found out then we will be left with only the skeleton of democracy. Only a signboard will be left but democracy would be no more there. We are now ready to discuss the Vohra Committee report long after the Vohra Committee was constituted in the exigency of circumstances, therefore, I understand that there are so many things outside Vohra Committee as well, which may be brought under discussion.

I have read out Vohra Committee report time by time and it is a matter of pleasure that the Vohra Committee has covered entire aspects and especially Maharashtra where there was a talk of nexus between politicians and mafia dons. This Committee has focussed more on the

nexus in Maharashtra. It has also given a general view and it also refers to other States. But first of all, I will like to say that the attitude to do anything is really most important thing and the Vohra Committee too has said in its report that it does not know how much the Government is sincere towards this report and thus it has said on the Page No. 22.

[English]

"....also seemed unconvinced that Government actually intended to pursue such matters. Accordingly, I addressed separate personal letters to each of the Members of the Committee seeking their well considered suggestions and recommendations. Their responses are briefly brought out below."

[Translation]

He has himself said that when our Members were talking, he had said that he would give his suggestions and he could give but there was no guarantee that the Government would be serious with this report. Therefore, I am helpless yet, even afterwards I said that I would give you assurance that you give me in writing and then the Vohra Committee wrote in reply to the letter, which is here only. He is objecting time and again from the very beginning. There is no annexure to the report that has been published. You have written letters to members and that letter is not so much confidential that its revelation might endanger the unity and integrity of our nation and you may give your reply to the letter in brief as to what RAW has done. You may give your reply in brief. So I do not understand as to what difficulty the Government faced in giving the letter in the full form of annexure.

So the most important objection that we had to face was that the report was made in a half-hearted manner. So my charge is that the points left out are really very significant. I understand that it is very important from the point of view of this discussion also.

My next charge is that you had constituted a Committee on 9 July, 1993 and you had given three months time to this Committee. We want to thank this Committee for having submitted its report within its term on 5.10.1993. Now two years have elapsed since the report has been submitted. Had the Government been serious with this report, then what has happened on the floor of this House, would not have happened at all. Some incidents have occurred outside this House also. I think that the Vohra Committee Report would have been thrown into dustbin if members had not got agitated and expressed their anguish in the House. You and this House realised that the issue needed discussion and the Government also presented the report on the floor of the House.



We want to know, as to why action was not taken on this report within these two years, though two years have elapsed since presentation of the report in 1993? If you go through the report, then you will see that a nodal agency has been referred to in this report. I was myself confused as to what suggestions I should give I am not ready to accept the matter concerning nodal agency because there is nothing in this nodal agency. I may suppose that you will set it up and whom you have appointed in the nodal agency, you have included Home Secretary, Secretary (R), DIB, Director (CBI), JS (MHA). If you go through this report, then you will notice that so many things have been referred to in this report and there is a need of it. Directors of CBI has pounced upon money power. He has said that money power buys muscle power. He has levelled these charges not in one area only. He has levelled this allegations against politicians, this bureaucracy, judiciary and media as well. Not a single sphere of life is left against which this Committee has not levelled allegations. And it has said finally that the entire criminalisation is largely because of this nexus. He has launched scathing attack on money power and black marketers.

[English]

The Director, C.B.I. says in 3.1 and I quote :

"The money power, thus acquired, is used for building up contacts with the bureaucrats and politicians and for extension of activities with impunity".

He further says and I quote :

"The money power is used to develop a network of the muscle power which is also used by the politicians during elections."

The C.B.I. says and I quote :

"The nexus between the criminal gangs, police, bureaucracy and politicians has come out clearly in various parts of the country."

[Translation]

I want to say through you that it is a big network going on, such a nexus is going on and nodal agency is big talked about. Whether it is capable of doing this? Whether this nodal agency will prove instrumental in taking on any politician, Minister or Prime Minister on the ground of their nexus with criminals. I have said this because it was recommended that a Commission be set up with a sitting judge as its head and a letter be sent to him. I have said so because our mind is not clear on this issue. This nexus is spread over the country like a wide net. What should be the way out to fight out the threats which are being faced by our democracy. Therefore, when it would be debated in the House, our enlightened colleagues would make such

suggestions as would help this house in reaching a consensus. It is a well known fact that a vast net of blackmoney has enmeshed our country. Sir, the report which has been presented contains the example of the Bombay case of Daud Abraham but it is a dangerous tendency to make observation of general nature. I think the Government should take it seriously. It is a well known fact that today here we are 542 MPs in the House. Today horse trading is resorted to in case of MPs and MLAs. At this juncture we have lost the very sense of morality.

If the price of a Member of parliament is fixed, the multi-nationals entering the country can purchase all of them because a sum of thousand or ten thousands crores rupees is nothing for them. I am afraid that the outcome of the tendency of horse-trading will be very distressing. An M.L.A. or an M.P. could be purchased for Rs. 500 crore. The Mutilations could spend Rs. 5000 crore and buy the entire government. It hardly matters whether it is the Congress, the BJP or Janta Dal Government. It would become a puppet in the hands of multi-nationals. The Governments would not be free to take any decision. The person who sings their notes will become the Prime Minister and sign only. Therefore, I would like to say that today democracy in our country is passing through a critical phase. It will be really bad if generation of blackmoney is not stopped and election purity is not maintained. The water of Ganges can not be purified if Gangotri itself is polluted. At the place of origin of the Ganges, there were some herbs to clean the water but with the vanishing of those herbs, Gangotri has become polluted. So the Ganges will not remain clean.

Sir, when we talk of Parliamentary Democracy, it means that either the people vote a political party to power or some political parties form majority and come to power. The political party which wins majority elects its leader as the Chief Minister or Prime Minister. Thus the whole power goes to the hands of the Prime Minister and Chief Minister. The Prime Minister or the Chief Minister form the Cabinet according to his own choice and none can have any say in it. The appointment of Minister, and his tenure depends on the pleasure of the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister. The Cabinet will become honest if the Prime Minister is honest and if Prime Minister is dishonest, his cabinet and the Government will also be dishonest and this will ruin the bureaucracy. In this way the destiny of a country is controlled by one person only.

15.00 hrs.

Therefore, I say that the Ganges cannot remain pure with Gangotri being polluted. How can we arrest a guilty officer or employee when honesty of the Prime Minister of the country is doubtful and he is alleged to have secret links with Harhsad Mehta or some Swami and he is found

involved in some Bank scam, Security scam or accepting bribe.

Today the country is facing a crisis of belief. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are three kind of people in politics. First the persons who believe in principles, Second, the persons who get into politics just for sake of fashion and take it easy, third, the persons who are professionals and consider politics as a business, join politics. Today, the number of politicians who believe in principles, is declining. Today politicians take support of criminals because they lack faith in themselves and feel that they would not be able to win elections from their constituency. They spend a huge sum of money. Thus today value based politics is disappearing.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we the 545 Members of Parliament are representing a populace of 92 crore in India. We have to think over seriously about this problem to find out a solution to this problem.

Today, we talk of criminals. I would like to say that all the political parties should take a consensus decision that persons of criminal background should not be given tickets. Why this decision is not taken even after confronting the malady. Persons with criminal tendency should not be given ticket whether it is a Panchayat election, a Legislative Assembly or Lok Sabha election or a case of nomination. In this way criminalisation of politics could be stopped. We need electoral reforms for it. How corruption could be stopped when we take money from business-men at the time of election. We should find out the source of blackmoney. In their report the secretary to Department of Revenue and Central Economic Bureau have said that the source of black money should be found out and tapped. The main problem today is that inclination of M.L. As, M.Ps and other public figures has changed.

Today honest persons are considered fools and corrupt persons are called intelligent and efficient, because the work of a rich person does not stop and work of a poor person cannot be done even after several recommendations from a Secretary or a Minister. Work of a rich persons is done with one recommendation itself. We have to stop this money power and check the people with criminal tendencies. We politicians are also accountable for doing any work which is against the spirit of the constitution of India or which encourages criminal tendencies. Therefore, I would like to say that criminalisation is being encouraged in this country for the last 3 or 4 years. Today one political party is openly working against the constitution and the rule of law of the country. Recently a law was enacted in the Parliament that the pre-independence status of all the religious places would remain unchanged. But in respect of Babri Masjid it was said that it was a sub-judice matter and the decision of court would be accepted in this regard. All the religious places whether it is a temple, a gurdwara,

a church or a mosques would remain as it is. Now people are being provoked. Is it not an instance of encouraging criminal tendency when a political party poses a challenge to our ethos, Parliament, Red Fort, Taj Mahal and religious places. In the same way, what is happening in Bombay can also be put in the same category.

As regards the criminalisation of individual, I would like to say that laws are there. One can be given stringent punishment when one's crime is proved. On behalf of the Janta Dal, I would like to say that we are with the Govt. If it wants to enact any stringent law for it. But in this regard I blame the Government for encouraging crime. After independence since 1947 to 1979 all these things were under control and after 1979 these things have crossed their limits. Politicians have been trying to come to power by hook and by crook. It is also evident in the Parliament that majority is won through corrupt means and wicked deeds. Every political party wants to win the elections. There is a proper way to come to power and it is no undignified.

A reference is always made to Mahatma Gandhi, who had said that both objectives and means should be fair. People want to achieve their targets by unfair means. They are trying to come to power by hook or by crook with the help of money and muscle power.

I feel that this culture has developed in the ruling party after 1979 and this tendency should be checked especially in the Congress Party. The things which are taking place in Delhi had earlier taken place in Bihar. I do not want to say anything personal on these incidents. Hon. Speaker says that this House is not a Court for blaming each other. No judgement can be arrived at through it. It is a signal and nothing could be more serious than it, that we are discussing criminalisation in this House. No other charge could be more serious for politicians. People of our party are honest, we say clearly and directly. If we want to say anything against the Congress Party or the B.J.P. Members of one political party point out the shortcomings of other political party. Bureaucracy has not developed this tendency so far and they work unitedly to avoid it. Whenever there is a case against the economic offenders they get united. The nodal agency about which the Government is talking is incompetent. First, it will be discussed in this House. The Home Secretary acts upon the directives of the Home Minister. Ultimately, the nodal agency will come under the Home Secretary. The Home Ministers go on charging. The parties also swap positions. Chavan Sahab, please do not appoint the nodal agency keeping the interests of your Party's in view. You should reconsider this issue.

15.10 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair]

This is a very serious issue. Therefore, it should be taken seriously. There are 3-4 feeders in bureaucracy. There are people of all classes in the Legislature. There are a number of laws made by the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies. There are scores of laws in India to check corruption. The Executive, should be strong enough. If Executive, itself is not strong, it cannot control the country. It needs all round improvement, be it bureaucracy or Legislature. I do not want to blame the judiciary but black sheep are found everywhere. There are some persons seen everywhere who spoil the image of the entire Department. The Government should take steps to check black money. The Government should name the 'swamis' who are acting like super Prime Minister. Today, a work which cannot be done by the Prime Minister, is done only with the arrival of Chandraswamy. Such persons have become super Powers today. They can be seen everywhere. They always appear in the society. They are 90 percent frauds who operate at the international level. They act as mediators. There is a nexus between the political leaders, bureaucrats and economic offenders who sit together. The Home Secretary cannot dare to charge such swamis. If he comes finds Chavan Sahab in somebody's company, he will also seek his company. Swami's place is number one and Chavan Sahab's place is number two. Swamiji will sit in the chair but the Home Minister will sit on the ground. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to confine religion to his residence only. Religion is a light which should be used to light the house and not to burn it. In a Parliamentary democracy, people of the country are supreme. There is no higher authority than that of the Parliament. When the hon. Prime Minister comes to the House, he comes with the status of the leader of the House. A Prime Minister is the Prime Minister of a country. But when we find that the Prime Minister and President who are Constitutional heads are paying obeisance to a Saint and the latter is blessing them, it is a very dangerous thing. If they have to go to Tirupathi or somewhere else they should not utilise public funds for this purpose. Public funds should not be utilised to go to any temple, mosque or Gurudwara. At the same time, they should also not encourage any Swami so as to make him a superman. I do not believe in God or in any Swami. These Swamis have ruined the country. We all should remember that Sita was also kidnapped by Ravana who had disguised himself as a Sadhu. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to get this country free from the clutches of these Sadhus. I am surprised...(Interruptions)

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow) :** Ram Vilas Paswanji who has beared also looks like a Sadhu...(Interruptions)

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN :** Infact, the beared of Sadhus is different. Today's Sadhus do not look like me.

Therefore, the Government should try to break the nexus. We should keep in mind that Constitution is supreme. Everybody, how big he may be, must have respect of the Constitution. Nobody should be allowed to spoil the sanctity of the Constitution. Nobody should be allowed to become a superman. Enough is enough.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to submit that there are two-three things for which some politician is blamed but all the politicians fall victim to it. People consider all the politicians as corrupt. Though, Everybody irrespective of the profession he belongs to whether he is an artist, a cinema actor or a scientist, wants to become a politician. But today, for some persons all the politicians are being blamed. Rajesh Khannaji is looking at me and supporting my view point. I think that politics is not a bad thing. Today also, there are some politicians who have direct contacts with the people and people reach them direct. But today, if a person becomes a bureaucrat, he does not care for the people. He only cares for his time.

Therefore, the Government should check criminalisation of politics. A dirty fish pollutes the whole water. Therefore, until that fish is removed from the water we cannot make progress. Today, when discussion is going on this issue, I think the hon. Home Minister will agree with me that no party can escape from the charge of criminalisation of politics which has been increasing in politics for the last five years. The Government should try to check it. Today, they are in power. It is not important that how long a person remains in power but important thing is what did he do during that period. History has been written earlier and will be written in future also—

*Smaaj ki shila par Madhur Chitra Kitne*

*Kisi ne banaye, kisi ne mitaye.*

Nobody is immortal. We all have come here to play our roles. This is a stage. The Government has a very big responsibility. Therefore, it should complete it. As we have said on behalf of Janta Dal, Left Front and National Front, we assure the Government that we will co-operate with the Government actively in its efforts to check corruption, criminalisation in politics and to control black money. It is the only motive behind the Motion which has been put forward in the House under Rule 184. It should be considered seriously as long time has already elapsed. Will the Government prevent the incident which is about to happen. Is it competent or not? Will necessary action be taken against the Party or person who is responsible for corruption that is increasing rapidly. The Government should make self-introspection and repent for the misdeeds it has committed during the last five years. At the same time it should take into consideration the short period of remaining two-three months. I think, all are aware of the

situation that is likely to come after this period, yet, it will be a big step in this direction if it takes a concrete decision in this matter.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me time to speak and opportunity to move this Motion. With these words I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That this House urges upon the Government to take action on the Vohra Committee Report regarding criminalisation of politics without any delay."

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SALMAN KHURSHED) : Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate.

The very eloquent rendition at the end of his speech by Paswanji calls for an appropriate response and I will go back to a language that we both understand better and say,

[Translation]

*To Idhar udhar ki bat na kar, yeh bata ki kafila kyon lute Mujhe rahjanon se garaz nahin, teri rahbari ka sawal hai*

This is the voice of the people of India, not just this Government, but of every single person in this Chamber today. This is not an opportunity to raise fingers at who is responsible for something that has happened. Today we have an opportunity to look into our own hearts, into the depths of our hearts and ask ourselves this question: 'Have I ever stood up against criminalisation of politics? Have I ever stood up and registered my protest against what has now become - and described by Paswanji as - a canker and cancer in our society.

Sir, today we have an opportunity and I welcome the initiative that has been taken by Paswanji to bring this to the notice of the Government and, I believe, through this august House, to the notice of the entire people of this country, all of whom are very much concerned about what is happening to the nature of our society and to the nature of our politics. Seldom have we seen them stand up to say that they will fight, protest against what is happening. I stand here in the knowledge that not one voice, not one voice will say, 'I have committed a criminal act'. Should I take that to be an indication that this august House is full of saints? Not one of us will be able to stand up and say, 'I have committed a corrupt act'. Should I take it that we are an august Assembly of flawless Representatives? Not one of us will be able to stand up and say, 'I have been unjust in my life towards somebody else'. It is not because we do not have a conscience; it is not because we do not have the courage, it is not because we will stand punished

and condemned if we were to stand up and raise a finger - not against the Government or Opposition or any political party, but - against ourselves. We will not do it because it is not the done thing in this country to say, 'I have wronged', to say, 'I have erred', to say, 'I have made a mistake and I stand before my compatriots, I stand before my peers in judgement'.

Sir, Paswanji has spoken of five years. I am sure, he means four years. We have been in power for four years during this particular term of Government. Before that, there have been other Governments, there have been Governments in this country that have had the participation of Paswanji's party and of other political parties, who today, I am sure, will make a substantial contribution to this debate.

I ask myself : Did we, when we had an opportunity, do something to remove the canker of corruption and the canker of criminalisation of politics? Every time, we had an opportunity. Take for example, the opportunity that some political parties had by displacing the Congress from power and taking upon themselves the mantle of scourging and cleansing politics in this country, of removing any source, any inspirations for corruption. Our greatest leaders; sutured allegations and trauma of the worst kind. Allegations were made and statements were made that within days of coming to power they would be able to prove to you where and how the money was taken. But once they were in power, no attempt was made to establish where and how the money was taken.

The issue now is not whether you can establish against a given individual that he has taken money or that he has participated in a criminal act. The issue is, 'what is the structure by which we will be able to remove this element from our politics'.

15.25 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE in the Chair]

I will not go by a thousand days of debate in this house; it will not go by the highest exaltations made by the highest in the land; it will not go by all of us coming together and saying that we want to remove criminal elements from politics. If we are honest to ourselves, if we are honest to our society, we all know that the most successful contenders in elections these days are people who have criminal muscle at their command much more than the people who have money. Moneyed people cannot get into Parliament; but criminals can get into Parliament; criminals can get into Assemblies; and they get into Assemblies and Parliament and Governments in order to make money. For them, politics is a source of money. There is no profession; for them, no vision; is no dream. There are many people here who have spent years of service to this country, years of

dreaming about the land which we want to live in. I hope today that this debate will take place at the initiative and through the eyes of people who have contributed to the building of this nation on both sides of this House. This nation could not have withstood adversity if it had been built only by one side of the House. It would not have been a nation only with two pillars rocking and moving and threatening to fall. But this nation has been built on steady four pillars. It is as steady can be because everybody has made a contribution. Today as we search our souls for what is ailing our society and our system of governance, let us please ask ourselves what is crime. There are Members in this House who do not think that it is a crime to demolish a place of worship; there are Members in this House who do not believe that it is a crime to lead a violent campaign against another caste, a caste to which they do not belong; there are Members in this House who believe that it is permissible lead a violent campaign against industry or against establishment, representing the capital; there are Members in this House who believe that it is not illegitimate to express, through violence the resentment or the revulsion against another religion. Let us ask ourselves this question and the very important question that Paswanji has posed — why do we all not simply agree that we will not give tickets to people who have criminal records. How will you define a man with a criminal record? Will you define a man with a criminal record as one who has been charged by the Government of the day? I will say that it is against our own interest. If we charge all of you with criminal offences, does it mean that you should not fight elections and if you charge us with criminal offences, should it mean that we should not fight elections? How many cases this country are actually convicted? Do we not know that less than one per cent of criminal cases in this country actually go to the stage where a person stands convicted by a trial court? In how many cases under TADA did we successfully convict people? In how many cases are people convicted within a reasonable period? I have practised in the Supreme Court, as have some very eminent Members from across the floor. 15 years, 20 years, 30 years, and 40 years after a crime is committed, we actually get a case in the highest court; and the Judge looks up in dismay.

The lawyer looks in dismay Neither the client who is convicted, feels a sense of justice, nor does society have a sense that we have accomplished anything either by way of deterrence or by way of punishment. Then, what are we talking about? Let us first agree on what is crime. Let us first agree on how crime can be eliminated. Let us look at every stage at which criminals are helped by the system that refuses to respond to the basic requirements of a civilised society. Do courts respond to basic requirement of a civilised society? There are new institutions that we have evolved. But do Lok Pals meet the demands of a

democratic society? Do the Vigilance Commissions respond to the demands of a civilised society? Do all the Commissions of Inquiries that sit to decide what wrong has been done ever decide and ever ensure punish meant to anybody? Please look across the globe. Look at what the Italians have done with the great strength of the mafia that nobody could even dream of challenging. It is today succumbing to the worst kind of retribution that a Government in civilised form can inflict open crime.

Lok at what has happened in the United States of America. They accused the President and proved that the President was guilty and you have forced the President to resign. Here please not simply stand up and accuse the Prime Minister or a President and not care to justify and prove the allegation. We have had joint Parliamentary Committees. We have read the reports of Joint Parliamentary Committees. Can any conscientious people here say that they have been able to establish beyond reasonable doubt that a particular person is guilty of an offence, is guilty misdemeanor or corruption and should therefore leave. We had Ministers in this Council of Ministers made to leave simply because they had been accused of not letting a file of information move from their desk for 20 days. We have found technicalities against Ministers. You have forced those Ministers out of the Council simply because it satisfied your feeling that we were at a bullfight where we finally had the bull succumb to our machinations. But have we found any structure, anything that has been suggested to this Government that will provide us with a structure by which we can weed out corruption and criminalisation of politics in this country?

What kind of crime do we have in this country? We have the crime of terrorism. We have the crime of caste violence. We have the crime of violence against women. We have the crime of money laundering. We have economic crimes. We have crimes of oppression against minorities. We have crimes of oppression against people who are not able to defend themselves. Which of these crimes are taking place because the Government wants these crimes to take place and which of these crimes are taking place because collectively in this House we do not have the courage to say: "I may not want to come back to this House, but I will make sure that at least that one little part of India, one little square mile of India, is completely free of the kind of mentality that has subverted governance of this country".

It is not enough to say that this trend began in 1969. We could say this trend began in 1977. You could say that this trend began in 1991. Any amount of pleading any allegations or accusations across the floor will not rid this country of the basic problem that we are faced with today. And I should say this humbly to every singly Member of



Parliament when he stood and he took his oath or when he signed his papers, did he say, I have been elected, and fought my election within the expense that was permitted. There are distinguished lawyers here who could justify with all kinds of arguments to say that this money was not spent buy the member but by my supporters. It was spent by individuals who supported him.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : That is your law.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : No law is made by the Government. It is a law that is made by Parliament. If this basic principle is not understood, we will never be able to root out corruption and criminalisation in this country. Laws are made by Parliament. Government is of the people, not of a political party. But when we stay here and we speak of our honesty in attacking the Government for any wrong or any political party - why do not we go further and say as an honest party, an honest parliamentarian, an honest politician we will stand up and attack our own political party for the wrong done.

There are things wrong in the Congress Party. But there are things wrong in all other parties as well...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH : You can make a beginning.

SHRI RAM NAIK : You have just criticised the Government. Show some honesty now. Let us see how do you do.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : There are many more speeches to come. Do not worry, we will match every single act of honesty from your side by 10 acts of honesty from this side, I assure you. But please, before you throw a stone, make sure that you are not living in a glass house yourself.

I want to ask one more series of questions. What about the media in this country? What about the Police in this country? What about the process of administration in this country by which in one week - and we know which Government we are talking about - three District Magistrates are changed in one district, where three SSPs are changed in one district, where two days before a major threatened event in a major place of worship, a Chief of Police was changed? Does this send a message to the criminals or does this send a message to the honest man? Does it send a message to the honest man that 'you will be safe'?

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI : Send the message to those who are trying to plot, to overthrow the Government which is legally or democratically elected.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : Sir, I am glad to know that the strength of the Government which my learned friend speak of depends only on a DIG of Police rather than the people of Uttar Pradesh.

The basic question which we have to ask ourselves is 'how far are we prepared to compromise with the compulsion and reality of politics of the day'. We are not saints. Many of us have to compromise knowingly and many of us, unknowingly. We have photographs. I have been photographed with a person who is involved in a murder trial. I have no compulsion in saying that such a person not dear to me, is not a person whom I would for one moment support in any act. But how do I saw myself, and in which possible manner? Being a public representative, should I check on 'who is photographed with me and who is not? Shall I answer every photograph that is published with photographs that we have of opposition leaders with persons as masquerading as public representatives?

How are we going to be honest ourselves? Are we just going to stand up in Parliament and only accuse Ministers of associating with people who are undesirable or will we stand up any say, 'I myself have associated with this man who is undesirable'? I have discovered that, 'he was undesirable'. I now request the Minister also to open his eyes and say, 'this man is undesirable'. This is the basic truth by which we will tackle this issue. We must get away from collective hypocrisy in our nation. Collective hypocrisy begins when we continue to call ourselves servants of the people, and treat ourselves as servants. We can be servants of the people without treating ourselves as servants. Which honest Member here can, that on an honest Member's salary he can support the kind of infrastructure that a Member needs in order to represent one million voters? I can vouch for people in the communist movement. They can do so because they have a system and infrastructure which is supported by historical system of, that support individual Members of Parliament or leaders. I can congratulate individual Members of Parliament in the communist movement for giving away more than half of their salary to their party in order that their party is able to support other members of the party. They have researchers who come from the political parties. They have a support base in the political parties.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum) : May I just inform you, it is not just half of the salary. Out of Rs. 5500 we are donating Rs. 4750 to our party fund...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. CHARLES : I want to say that they are not. The salary is given under ordinary circumstances and in a humble manner. We have retained everything...*(Interruptions)* There are people on this side...*(Interruptions)*... Do not be misunderstood. They are

mentioning about it... *(Interruptions)* I chall-enge... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, side speeches please. Mr. Salman Khurshid, please continue.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHID : Sir, it is important. This gladdened my heart. On this challenge, Sir, I would have liked to see a majority of Members stand up and scream. All we have is a Professor who spent all his life teaching poor students stand up and scream that he has lived...*(Interruptions)*

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI: There are many people...*(Interruptions)*...He cannot generalise like this. There are many people who would stand up and say this...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the way to conduct the debate. No side speeches please. Mr. Salman Khurshid, please continue. Do not go on yielding all the time. If you do so everybody would get up. You are not bound to yield whenever anybody gets up.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHID : I understand that, Sir.

This is a matter which is very important. If any Member here who lives on a salary of Rs. 5000/-, I am prepared to make him my guru for the rest of my life so that he can teach me how to live on Rs. 5000/- in this country. .... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I bring to the notice of the whole House that we are discussing a motion of Vohra Committee Report. Do not go out of the subject and do not go on with challenges and counterchallenges. .... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Khurshid, please go on.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that...*(Interruptions)*\*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing goes on record. I have not allowed you, please sit down. Nothing goes on record which is spoken without my permission.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHID : Sir, I presume that I have achieved what I had aimed. I want to hear people

say that they live that kind of life...*(Interruptions)* I want to learn from them. I have experienced all that... *(Interruptions)*

Sir, they have no grudge against me but against the Communist Party. I was saying that we can take inspiration and learn something from them. That is possible because they have evolved a particular ideology. Similarly, we have developed an infrastructure. But, I request them that the success of this infrastructure does not depend on raising fingers at one another but on finding solutions to the problems by doing self-introspection. Our problems will not be resolved by merely delivering speeches here, and getting acclaim from print media. Before giving suggestions we should ask ourselves what we have achieved rather than criticising the Government. You may elaborate upon your ideology when you get an opportunity to speak.

You can tell us what policy we have adopted and in which direction we have taken the country.

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : Let there be a probe into the assets of individual Members during the last five years you would come to know everything...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHID : I will conclude by saying this...*(Interruptions)*

What is it that I have said that has put the cat amongst the pigeons that they are fluttering so much? Why cannot they just accept what I have said and give me an adequate reply when they have the chance to reply?

[Translation]

...*(Interruptions)* They have taught us how to live. On 6th of December, they have also taught us how to die.

[English]

I will conclude by saying that there are serious attempts all over the world, serious attempts in our own country to grapple with this problem. Let us look at the people who have sociologically, politically, philosophically and from other aspects examined the whole process of corruption and criminalisation. Corruption and criminalisation are two sides of the same coin. Corruption requires a criminal and a criminal requires the corrupt. The two together ensure their survival. If we can break the nexus between the corrupt and the criminal, we will be able to isolate and defeat both the forces. But we will have to look at possible substantive models by which this can be done.

Despite great unpopularity amongst politicians, President Kim has done it in South Korea. President Kim

\* Not recorded

has introduced the most stringent of legislations known to people in participatory democracy. He has been successful. His public popularity rate went up almost by 20 per cent to an all-time high simply by introducing such legislation. But we cannot, Sir, sit here and question somebody's propositions about what is possible, and factual and refuse to admit what we ourselves have done. Which Party has Ministers - even in the Ministry of Home, who themselves have been charged with heinous offences? How many MLAs of that Party have been charged with not one but hundreds of cases? Which Party has actually embraced every single person who is thrown out of any other Party on grounds of questionable character or questionable conduct? How quickly do they embrace a person simply because he is leaving the running establishment? These are questions that we have to answer for ourselves.

As far as Shri Paswan's Motion is concerned I would like to say that the Minister of Home will make a substantive reply. Sir, decency demands letting people say something on such an important occasion. But it could not be important to the opposition if, even an attempts are made from that side of the House to vilify, to destroy the sanctity of this concern. I may not be completely right and you may not be completely right but, we are, at least today, agreed with Shri Paswan on one particular objective which is that we have to, in our life time, in our term in Parliament, try to do something, no matter how modest, to remove this cancer from our society. I believe that our Party will stand high in the esteem of the people by supporting today the proposition that Shri Paswan has made. I support that proposition but with a caveat, I will add that this is a proposition we accept about the governance of this country. This is not the proposition we accept as being the conduct of the ruling political Party which has had led not one but many successful working Governments in this country and which I hope for years and years to come will continue to lead this country to greater and higher achievements.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir. I must admit to a sense of bewilderment because I have just been witness to an intervention of unmatched irrelevance.

Sir, We have a Motion before this House. We had some difficulties with the phraseology of that Motion. I would refer to that in a moment.

But I am struck by the fact, that though the Motion is centered around a report, not once did the hon. Minister, the opening batsman as it were of the ruling party, refer to that report. We were asked our views on definitions of crime, criminals, styles of living, simplicity and such other homilies. I have not heard a louder but an emptier vacuity and that too for almost half an hour.

We had some difficulties with this Motion because there is no executive part of the Motion—with due respect to Shri Paswanji—it lacks teeth, the Government will take action. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Because of that, they are able to support the Motion. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : That is precisely the point.

Sir, the whole Motion is robbed of this strength and is rendered in wholly innocuous terms, the Government will take action on Vohra Committee Report. There is nothing after that. I have some difficulty because I have a difficulty with the phraseology of the Motion. Therefore, I am left completely unimpressed by the ruling party now saying that they support Shri Ram Vilas Paswanji's Motion. It is such an empty gesture...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Any Member can move an amendment to the Motion and on that voting will take place...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Let me however attempt, in my limited fashion. Sir, whatever be our difficulties with the Motion, we are now engaged with considering essentially the Vohra Committee Report. There are some aspects of this Vohra Committee Report, which I must very briefly cover. Firstly, what is this Vohra Committee Report? What were its origin? What was its scope? What were its terms of reference? Shri Ram Vilas Paswan has very kindly referred to them. I think, it is necessary for me to specify that the Vohra Committee Report, Sir, is a report of the Government itself. It is a report that is offered by the Head of the Home Ministry's Civil Service. It is a report that was commissioned by this Government. It is headed by a civil servant that this Government inhabits, an executive appointed by this government. It is a report of the executive on the functioning of this Government. It is no good talking in generalities about the principle of simple living and high thinking or low thinking and rich living. We are not impressed by any of that. We are simply engaged with the exercise...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : or no thinking at all. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : That is why I spoke about vacuity.

Sir, what were the terms of reference of the Vohra Committee Report? It was given simply in three lines and I quote :

"...to take stock of all available information about the activities of crime Syndicates/Mafia organisations which had developed links with and were being

protected by Government functionaries and political personalities.

We are not Government functionaries, but we are political personalities.

The Vohra Committee can certainly indict us if it has indicted others.

At the beginning when I refer to Mr. Vohra who is no more in Service now, it was only because this is his authorship. When, and this is a very telling thing which I shall have to repeat this time and again. He says, "I perceived that some of the Members..." and here the Members referred to are eminent civil servants, very senior servants. I do not want to list those Members in the House, but this is what is remarks.

"In the course of the discussions, I perceived that some of the Members appeared to have some hesitation in openly expressing their views and also seemed unconvinced that Government actually intended to pursue such matters..."

It is there on the very first page which the Home Secretary of India has reported.

It is very important that he placed the whole thing there. And let it also be said that this Report is not the Report of a Commission of Enquiry, it is not a Report of any Committee of the Parliament. It is the Report of a Civil Service reporting to its Government.

What is the origin of this Report? The Government said that we seemed to have a lot of criminal activities, Mafia activities in the Government. Lot of reports have come in. Will you, Mr. Home Secretary come and report to us what you find out? It is the Government asking as in-house enquiry about what is happening within them...(Interruptions)

That is precisely what it is. I will briefly analyze this Report itself because to my mind there are seven broad aspects of this Report which I think cover the scope of what they have said. They have said, 'It is an excellent and really a unique Report'. This report is not an exercise in sensationalism. It is a restraint, even a bland bureaucratic example of under-statement.

Secondly despite that its contents are deeply disturbing. They are not so because I say so but because of what the Report says. And I will quote and prove that they are condemnatory, in the extreme, of this very Government which asked for this Report, and commissioned that the findings of this Report to be submitted to them. This Report is not confined to crime in politics alone. It is a much wider Report. This Report has covered a much wider field. It has identified, to my mind, a much deeper

ailment. Once you go through the Report, you find that the problem and indeed the issues are much wider. It covers in its ambit even though in restrained language : the Government functionaries, politicians, business, media, judiciary and the legal system. If after that, the Ruling Party can do no better that to come forward and not to refer to this Report even once. Anyway enough of that.

Now what is the other overriding aspect of this Report? This Report which is a Report of officials, confirms officially that which we have, every Opposition Party, long been charging this Government's with about crime in politics, about the state of the judiciary and about the state of the executive. And every time we pointed it out in this House that there was a growing, spreading malignancy like on this particular occasion, the issue was either evaded or the issue was completely avoided.

This Report urged action from its presentation which is my next observation, which was in 1993. From 1993 up till the end of August 1995, the Government has not acted. That is my next point. Sir, without naming names, this Report is as specific, as wholesale a condemnation of this Government as you can possibly find. It has, despite not naming any names, identified some elements or some particular forms of crimes and I would like to specify them or refer to them before coming to the larger issues involved.

16.00 hrs.

This Report has named just two individuals. It has broadly highlighted two particular types of crimes, of crime nexus. It has identified two groups of States. Additionally, it has commented on the judiciary and highlighted the international ramifications of crime that is spreading in the country. The first individual that is named by this Report is one Iqbal Mirchi.

I draw your attention to paragraph 3.4 on page 2 :

"To elucidate this point, the Director CBI has given the example of Iqbal Mirchi of Bombay who, till the late 80's, was merely a visitor to passenger and carrier ships to obtain liquor and cigarettes for selling the same at a profit."

I would not read the rest. But the conclusion is what I would like to draw the attention of the House to :

"The growth of Mirchi is due to the fact that the concerned Enforcement agencies did not timely take action against him and, later, this perhaps became difficult on account of the enormous patronage that he had developed. If Mirchi is investigated, the entire patronage enjoyed by him and his linkage will come to light. Director CBI has observed that there are many such cases, as that of MIRCHI where the initial

failure has led to the emergence of Mafia giants who have become too big to be tackled."

This raises far too many questions : The late 'eighties, patronage, profiting with protection, now being so big as to be beyond approach and then there are many such cases. Of course, the other person that he names is Dawood Ibrahim about whom enough is known.

Thereafter, he mentioned here criminal gangs. I refer to paragraph 6.2 on page 4 :

"Like the Director CBI, the DIB has also stated that there has been a rapid spread and growth of criminal gangs, armed senas, drug Mafias, smuggling gangs, drug peddlers and economic lobbies in the country which have, over the years, developed an extensive network of contacts with the bureaucrats/Government functionaries at the local levels, politicians, media persons and strategically located individuals in the non-State sector. Some of these Syndicates also have international linkages, including the foreign intelligence agencies."

I do not know how much more specific you can ask a civil servant to be and even despite this if the Government or the spokesmen or the intervenors on behalf of the Government were to say that nothing is wrong, we can all very well say, "Let us all stand up and indulge in 'Mea-culpas'. I am really amazed at the irrelevance of it. The Report itself, under this category, identifies three States. It had identified Bihar, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. It would do well to see that the Report has, in fact, said that this is the total ailment of the problem.

The next point is about smuggling. That is the second aspect covering big smuggling syndicated, smuggling gangs, Mafia and narco-terrorism.

It says that certain elements of mafia have shifted to narcotics and narco-terrorism network and the States identified there, Sir, are the States of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Why am I pointing this out? That it is already existing with the Government here. It has been existing with them for the past two years. It is a report of the Government itself which has identified broad categories of crime and has identified broad categories of personnel and has gone to the extent of identifying the States where this is taking place.

Sir, I must read out one particular sentence because I find it very disturbing. It is para 6.2.2, on page 4 and I quote :

"Even the members of the judicial system have not escaped the embrace of the mafia".

I do not know it, after this, we continue to talk about

what is left uncovered and the generalities of what we are seized with - it refers, Sir, also to the international aspect. The really most condemnatory part it is what the Director of Intelligence Bureau has stated and I quote :

"That the network of mafia is virtually running a parallel Government pushing the State apparatus into irrelevance".

It is not my sentence. It is the sentence of the official report itself. I found it necessary to point out some of the striking aspects of what the Committee official had already observed two years back to this Government.

To my mind, therefore, the following are the major issues that we are faced with. We are faced with criminalisation of politics and politicisation of crime. This is not a debate only on that; time does not permit me to elaborate it. It is very easy to descend into mutual allegations about what is crime, what is criminalisation and the nature of crime etc. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ABDUL GHAFOOR (Gopalganj) : Who is free?  
...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

One minute, Jaswantji, I would like to cite an instance. Once, some people dragged a woman to the abode of Jesus Christ and said that she was a debauch lady and should therefore be stoned to death. When Shri Salman Khursheed was delivering his speech, I was thinking how he deviated from his subject. Jesus Christ did not ask any questions from that lady but asked the people who brought her there that one who has committed no sin in life may come forward to stone her to death.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : You can act as a judge between us.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Sir, my first point was about criminalisation of politics. This is the first big issue and the next is politicisation of crime. I think we ought to reflect on it. But there is no time really for me to elaborate the point. Perhaps, it is also not necessary.

My second point, as an issue of overriding importance which emerges from this report, is really the stage of the State of India. On the question of the state of the state of India one particular quotation I have given. But I think it is necessary to bring this out to illustrate the aspect of the international ramifications of what we are facing with today; not simply what Dawood Ibrahim or Iqbal Mirchi did. The Bombay blast case and the communal riots in Surat and Ahmedabad have demonstrated how the Indian underworld has been exploited by the Pak-I.S.I. and the latter's network in the United Arab Emirates to cause sabotage,



subversion and communal tension in various parts of the country.

This, Sir, is the report which the Union Home Secretary had prepared in consultation and in cooperation with R&AW, the Director of Intelligence Bureau and the Central Bureau of Investigation. This is not his own imagining and if he has categorically, in print, spoken about the involvement of the ISI and the ISI network in UAE and the consequences of that to India from Bombay to Surat to Ahmedabad, we cannot take it lightly. It is on account of that the Director of Intelligence Bureau had stated and I repeat :

"that the network of mafia is virtually running a parallel Government".

Sir, the next point is a matter of serious concern when it is a question about the State of India. When our State is enfeebled, then it does not command any authority, and that is when the judicial and legal system really collapse. Then, there are consequences to the citizens, because of these things. Then, the State ceases to be the protector of the citizen. The State no longer stands between crime and the citizen as a barrier or as a buffer so that the citizen does not meet with the assaults of crime. The State itself, as this report has proven or shown, has become an extension of that crime. This is not a simple matter that this report has pointed out. On this, if this Government is to simply say : "Yes, we will act" and if we were to merely pass a Resolution in this House or fail to pass a Resolution under one rule or another of the Parliament, I do not think that that would answer our point.

Sir, there is then the aspect of crime and its nature. I have covered that already. Then, there is the aspect of crime of the Government functionaries, political and civil. There is also the aspect of the judiciary. Though I have covered that, there is one more reference to it which merits reiteration. If you refer to page no. 8, para 7.5 (i), it says:

"The utter inadequacy of the criminal justice system; cases are not heard timely; the functioning of the Government lawyers is grossly inadequate; all this results in a low percentage of convictions and mild punishments...."

It is a very serious charge. The Committee had made this charge on the Judiciary as also on the entire judicial system.

Sir, I will now briefly refer to the question which has been addressed to by this report also, about crime and the media. It is unfortunate that what has been revealed by recent developments in Uttar Pradesh clearly point out the extension or the extent of the rot that has set in. Crime is not inhabiting the realm of the politician alone now. The

acceptance of gratuitous awards and money by the media and the compromising of the media has never been witnessed by me earlier in this country. I have a real apprehension that the kind of compromising of the media that took place in Uttar Pradesh has also been attempted by this Government in the past three or four years. You can sit silent over it. You can try and avoid all the evidences in that regard now. I am clear in my mind that one day that evidence shall see the light of the day. Therefore, it is necessary that we recognise the extent of the damage that has already been done to the various organs of the Republic which are constitutionally ordained as the pillars of this country. The fact that the media has, today, compromised or stand compromised in the State of Uttar Pradesh is a matter of concern to all of us.

This report brings out clearly that there is no concern for either probity or accountability. I do not want to take the time of the House by reading out the relevant passages. But some coy and vague references were made to Bofors without taking the name of Bofors, as if Bofors is a dirty word. Bofors is not a dirty word. Bofors exemplifies a search and a yearning for accountability and probity in public life. That is what Bofors is all about. The Janta Dal Government failed to elicit information from wherever it has to be elicited, Switzerland or elsewhere. But the broad outlines of the charge are currently very well-known. It is this Government now which has prevaricated and is not pursuing the cases in Switzerland with sufficient vigour. The Prime Minister of this Government stood up in this House and said "I will pursue the Bofors case on a day to day basis." Need I remind you about the infamous Solanki episode which took place? Need I remind you of what is taking place in respect of sugar? Need I remind you of the report of the 18 months of the Joint Parliamentary Committee? Need I remind you of what is taking place in the other House today in regard to free grant of petrol pump to domestic servants, maid servants and drivers? Is there any need of reminding you about all these things, my dear friend? There is really no need. You can brush all these under the carpet. You can say that 'none of these things is happening. We are also distributing petrol pumps'. I am amazed at the sheer irrelevancy with which the whole matter has been dealt with casually.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV) : The hon. Minister has said that there are even recommendations of the BJP MPs.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am sure there are recommendations. People will come and say 'we have come to learn that petrol pumps and gas agencies have been freely granted. If you write to the hon. Minister, perhaps we, too will get one.' I said it because you said

it. Otherwise, I would not have referred to this. I am told that the going rate for gas agencies is Rs. 10 lakhs. You give Rs. 10 lakhs and you will get a gas agency. *(Interruptions)*. But for this intervention, I would not have referred to it...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please come to the point.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : The point is this. The hon. Finance Minister is here. I have repeatedly for the past four years on every occasion whenever I have had to speak about the Budget said that the hon. Finance Minister has brought in the discharge of his responsibilities, an impeccable integrity. I hold him in high personal regard and because I hold him in high personal regard, I much earlier warned him that he is likely to become a victim of the political mendacity of his own political party. *(Interruptions)*. Let me say what the matter of serious concern is. *(Interruptions)*. No. That would be a different debate. I do say this with all sincerity, with the greatest regard and fraternal feeling that I have for hon. Dr. Manmohan Singh. I tell you with humility, Dr. Manmohan Singh, that with all your brave endeavour and that of the hon. Minister who is sitting behind, hon. Shri P. Chidambaram, you will not succeed if you are trying to ride in tandem with corruption. You cannot succeed. It is as self-evident as day is separable from night. It is not a personal observation that I make against any one. How can you have an economic reforms programme which completely overlooks the aspect of elimination of corruption from public life? I do not need to labour this point. The second point is the Vohra Committee point that it repeatedly made. But what does it in addition make? It makes a point which I think is of over-riding importance to me and that is a point about national security.

The Director, Intelligence Bureau says on page 10 :

'The DBI has stated that while considering the establishment of any nodal mechanism, "it must be appreciated that the problems has enormous impact on national security and is indeed highly political in nature."

The problem has a direct impact on national security because if you corrode the spirit of the nation through all pervasive corruption, if you corrode the moral fibre of the nation, you cannot ensure national security. There is an essence that every nation has, to have its foundations of the moral, and you cannot have the moral and the corrupt moving side by side. You cannot have it. I say this with utmost seriousness and gravity that if you permit this cancer of corruption to continue like this, you cannot guarantee the security of the nation.

I will conclude by leaving some recommendations which I have made in private to the hon. Speaker. I will not talk about generalities, accountability, Legislature,

Governments and reform of political parties. I subscribe to the fact that all political parties must have open audited accounts. Those accounts must be published annually. I had made that request to my own political party. I have no difficulty in saying that as a political party, we, the National Executive, receive the audited accounts of our party every year, annually once. I do not point this out as something that is to be done by other.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj) : Can you say it is a comprehensive account?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Well, the accounts that are given to us are comprehensive.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN : Can you say the accounts are perfect?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Possibly. I am not saying it is perfect...*(Interruptions)*. I believe it is a step in the right direction. I do not even suggest what is to be done by the others.

Secondly, I am not talking of the reform of the Executive or the reform of the Judiciary. Let us talk about reform internally of ourselves. I think we need to reflect deeply on our reform of political parties themselves and their functioning and in the reform of political parties, annual audit of political parties is one thing that I want to really commend to this House. I think we need to introduce in Parliament, if not codify, certainly a convention about conflict of interest. Earlier, we did have it that if a Member of Parliament had conflict of interest of any issue that has engaged the attention of the House, then that Member of Parliament must not have anything to do with that particular issue. Somewhere, I think, this has got lost. I think we need to revive the concept of conflict of interest, perhaps to improve upon what others in the world do, perhaps to improve upon the register of conflict of interest which is a permanent register which anybody in the country can refer to and say : "No, there is a conflict of interest here. You are in violation." I have made two suggestions. I think it is time that the Parliament considered the establishment of a Committee on Ethics, a Parliamentary Committee on Ethics separate to the Committee of Privileges. The Committee of Privileges is a very different matter. If the Parliament took this initiative, this debate resulted in just two or three things. If we took this step to establish the Parliamentary Committee on Ethics, let us all sit together and decide what that Parliamentary Committee on Ethics ought to be all about. Even if we took this small step, perhaps, it would be a step in the right direction.

I will conclude now. I speak of openness. There is no alternative to openness and transparency. I think it is sickening that we are in this situation of incidents like tandoor or feeding of women to crocodiles. It is sickening

beyond words. But I am also given to understand that reports relating to these crimes lying with the Government are not made public.

It is simply because the net has been spread wider. When you perpetuate the wrong, you spread the malignancy. It is already late. Our ailment is fast spreading. We, in fact, have no time. We cannot afford to wait. We had all better act. Otherwise I have no doubt in my mind that the coming generation will not forgive us, that is this or subsequent Lok Sabha.

**SHRI ARJUN SINGH (Satna) :** Hon. Chairman, Sir, the House is seized today of the matter which I along with other Members of this House perceive to be of crucial importance not only to individuals but, if I may be permitted to say, to the Indian polity, the contours of our democratic institutions and above everything else to the continued viability of India as a Republic wedded to democratic, secular and socialist ideals.

I will not repeat what esteemed friends have already said on my right and on my left. As a backdrop to this discussion today, I would seek your permission to quote from the Address given by the hon. President on the 14th of August this year on the eve of our Independence Day. The President said and I quote :

"Let us appreciate that Citizenship itself is an office. Citizenship confers specific rights and safeguards as well as duties and responsibilities - under our Constitution. The power of the people, the ultimate and the greatest power, is with us as citizens. That power has to be exercised. Vigilance, moderation and propriety must condition the use of the people's power. But it must be exercised in an appropriate way and on every necessary occasion."

In the same Address, at another stage the President says and I quote :

"Friends, accountability to the people is a cardinal principle of our polity. It is our own awareness and initiatives that can make public administration, and its functionaries more intensively responsive and accountable. We have to organise ourselves to ensure that the mechanisms and instruments of governance do not swerve from the straight path of rectitude. Work must be done with a spirit of selfless service, a sense of propriety and professional efficiency. We have to compel such performance of designated duties in service of the people."

Further on the President says :

"Reform and restructuring acquire meaning only when the common man is benefited - when his quality of life improves and his burdens and worries diminish.

We must aim at reducing economic and social disparities as a central objective in our endeavours for development. The inner strength of the people has to be summoned for this purpose and a constant vigil exercised. That is of the essence in our Democracy."

Sir, I was reflecting on this most eloquent, impassioned and perceptive speech that our Head of the State gave on the eve of Independence Day. In that background of this speech, today we have for discussion in this House a Report which I do not believe any Parliament - certainly not in this country - any Parliament in any country, got such a kind of Report to discuss, which was prepared by the Government itself. One sentence is enough which has already been quoted, but I want to quote again to emphasise the dimension of the problem.

"The DIB has stated that the network of the Mafia is virtually running a parallel Government, pushing the State apparatus into irrelevance."

I say with all humility and anguish that this Parliament has also been reduced to irrelevance because we are part of it. This Parliament is not something apart, which has nothing to do with the governance of this country. The Parliament, the Executive, the judiciary and the Head of the State - they together constitute the Republic and if this is what is the state of affairs which has been brought out then shall we have a discussion which perhaps satisfy us in our own conscience, as my hon. friend has said or not that it does not dissatisfy ourselves, I think, is also irrelevant.

Let us come to the brass tacks. Let us see what answers are called for. Are we, sitting as the Members of this sovereign body of this country, competent to provide those answers? If we are competent, we will join in history as providing the turning point to save the country from the ills and the dangers to which the President referred to in his Address. If we are not capable of doing that, then, we shall be consigned to history. As a Parliament, we did not rise to the occasion, we did not acquit itself in the manner in which the people of this country expected it to. What is in danger is the prestige. As the President has pointed out, Sir, it is the citizens of this country who is under seize. Are we capable of lifting that seize? Do we consider the citizen as the crucial element of our society in this Republic or is it the pomp of power which we have all exercised time and again? What is more relevant today is that the citizen is oppressed. In every way, he is affected - whether it is the laws of the country or whether it is the criminals or whether it is the security forces, he finds himself defensive. It is a very precise anatomy of that nexus which has been exposed in this Report. It is these questions that have to be answered.

I do not want to point a finger at any one. I do not

want to take any name. But, we cannot but reflect on what has happened in this past. We, this Parliament, constituted a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) with a terms of reference and agreed to unanimously by the Parliament - that JPC produced a unanimous Report. Where is that Report? What has happened to it? Is Parliament satisfied with what has happened to that Report? Up to this date, it is not. Parliament was hamstrung. The will of the Parliament was thwarted and we get away with the smile, 'yes' we have manipulated things in such a manner that we have not to pay for what we did. I am not taking into account the other issue - whether it is disinvestment of the PSUs or whether it is sugar scandal because they still remain in limbo.

Though a request was made that someone should go into it, a judicial enquiry should be held, that request was not acceded to. Then, what is the impression created? Does that satisfy the standards which the President has so eloquently mentioned in his address? Is that the intensive response or the path of rectitude, which those in authority have to pursue to retain and further deepen the faith of the people? I, with all humility, would say that that is not so.

We had so many other occasions where the will of Parliament could have been stamped on the history of this country. We missed those opportunities. This Report itself is an eloquent testimony. It is sheer accident that this House is discussing this Report today. And I must - though he is not present in the House at this moment - give credit to Shri Rajesh Pilot for piloting this accident. But for his reference in reply to a question that he will place this on the Table of the House, this Report which was submitted to; the Government on the 5th October, 1993 would have lain there, added to the weight of the archives and, perhaps, twenty years later been released to the Press, released for publicity and we would have all wondered what we were doing, this Parliament was doing, this Government was doing. An accident brought this Report to the House and we are now discussing it.

The last two paragraphs of this Report call for some answers. I was hoping that I would get something in the reply of Shri Salman Kursheed. But I still hope I will get something in reply from the hon. Home Minister when he stands up to speak. These two paragraphs are :

"I have prepared only three copies of this report. One copy each is being submitted to MOS (IS) and HM, the third copy being retained by me. After HM has perused this report, I request him to consider discussing further action with Finance Minister, MOS (IS) and myself. The emerging approach could thereafter be got approved from Prime Minister before being implemented. At that stage, other concerned senior officers would be taken into

confidence.

After an initial discussion at the level of MOS (IS) and HM, I could send a copy of this report to the Finance Minister before the issues are discussed with him."

The hon. Finance Minister is sitting here. If he will forgive my request, the House would like to know whether this Report ever reached the hands of the hon. Finance Minister. I would like to know whether this preliminary discussion, which is referred to in these paragraphs ever took place. And if that did, what was the conclusion arrived at and action that was taken? If nothing was done, that clearly symbolises the actual attitude, the actual approach of those who had the responsibility to discharge and which they failed to discharge to the satisfaction of this Parliament and the people of this country.

Sir, this Report has been quoted very intensively by hon. Members, Shri Jaswant Singh and Paswanji. I do not want to go into those quotations and take the time of the House.

There are one or two aspects which I think, deserves specific attention. Mr. Vohra says at page 9, on the top :

"At my request Secretary (Revenue) gave me a personal note indicating his views which briefly as below :"

I am sure while communicating his views, he may not have taken the prior permission of the hon. Finance Minister, but knowing the Finance Minister and the Secretary of Revenue both fairly well, I am sure the Finance Minister will endorse the views of his Secretary which he communicated to Mr. Vohra. It is in four paragraphs; I will not read them because it will take some time. But it pinpoints the difficulties of all the agencies under the charge of the Finance Ministry. How they are stained, how they are stopped, how they are misled, when they take up investigation of cases which deal with economic offenders, which deal with people who have violated FERA against whom notices are issued and just when action is to be taken, somebody stops that. All these are listed here.

Then, what is to be done? Should we just shrug our shoulders and go home this evening and say that we have gone through the ritual of a discussion and let the history describe it as the biggest, the most noblest and the most highest debating society of this country. This Parliament must speak out, this Parliament must clearly say that it wants to get done. We have thought it too long and I think, the time has come when clear cut directions from Parliament must go and the Government which is responsible to this Parliament is under an obligation to carry out those directions. If it is not done, then, I think that the death knell of democracy shall be sounded.

I would like to say that individuals do have an important role to play. But in a democratic system, it is the institutionalised concepts and bodies which are to discharge certain responsibilities. An individual may stray and an individual may err deliberately, by design or by accident or as they say, 'to err is human', that is also possible. But if there is an institution, then who is to blame? I think, at the end of the discussion on this Report, certain conclusions must be arrived at.

I commend the suggestion made by my esteemed friend, Shri Jaswant Singh. I have also in the privacy of his chamber; and made some recommendations to the hon. President that this Parliament should set up an Ethics Committee, not only because it is necessary, but also because it is very very essential that we, sitting here in this Parliament, after all, are the children of Parliament, who have come to this House through the political route, elected by the people of this country. We must insulate this House from this general charge of misdemeanor, of corruption, of crime; and this House has the responsibility both to itself and the people of India to devise ways and means to see that any one of the Members of this House who stray is taken care of by us ourselves and no one else need get into this whole thing. This has to be done only by a Committee of the House, appointed by the Speaker of this House.

Clear-cut guidelines for that should be laid down by discussion amongst all the parties through a consensus and that an Ethics Committee should be the guardian of the Members of this House, the watching mechanism, which can hold any citizen of this country if he is in any way being oppressed, harmed or victimised by any Member of this House. And the decision of that Committee should be of a very deterrent nature so that no other Member of this House should again venture or dare to do the same kind of thing. This is the one suggestion which, I think, should come out of this.

The second question is about the nodal agency. Mr. Vohra, I think, deserves commendation from this House for bringing out such a Report. I know we have all worked in and out of Government as to what is the calibre of our civil service. Very good people are there. But the inhibition to which attention has been drawn in this Report - this has already been read out - is also very rare because in the process of governance, we have evolved certain, I would say, fallacious principles. It is no longer true that the civil servant has the unfettered right to record on file what he feels about a certain matter. If he does so, he faces an uncertain future. I must say that the award is also taking place. Many of us have held office. I think, all the parties represented here at some point of time, either in Centre or the States, have held office. Why should Ministers advise the civil servant to write on a particular note-sheet

in a particular way? Let him write what he wants to write. If he has the guts and the character and the capacity, overrule him because that is your right. A civil servant is not entitled to complain after that. But when you go behind his back and quietly whisper in his ears that look, I want this note-sheet to be written like this, then he sees in that opportunity something for himself in the future which, I would call, in a way is an unpardonable act. It is trying to play a game at the cost of the people and the rule of law. Why should agencies or mechanisms be tailor-made to certain jobs?

The hon. Industry Minister is not here. I would have asked his own opinion. The liberalisation regime, which all of us have agreed to, needs to be introduced in this country. We are all a party to it. The hon. Finance minister is the main architect of the same. At no point of time has the Finance Minister either in private discussion or in public debate or discussion in any official place even remotely suggested that we should give a go-bye to transparency, to competitive bidding. The role of multinationals is not objectionable *per se*. It is that effort to bring in a certain multinational or bring in a certain company with which a prior arrangement has been made and then try to see if that some concessions are given. I could not have described it better than what the Finance Minister himself has described it. I could see the language in the speech which he delivered in the centenary celebration of the Punjab National Bank in Punjab that you have danger of crony capitalism entering into the country. We are not afraid of foreign investment. But we are certainly not approving of crony investment which has links totally unrelated to the public interest of this country.

And yet, we have a foreign investment board which is represented by a civil servant who combines in himself so many offices. He has also the right to advise the Prime Minister and has also the authority and the right to preside, to clear the foreign investments. Now, these are the things which lend to an apprehension that we are not straight, clear, open and transparent in our efforts to introduce economic liberalisation.

I would like to say, Sir, in conclusion that this Report in a way has placed the mirror before us. Each one of us can see our faces as Mr. Salman Khursheed has said, with moles, spots and everything. But I would like to say that this mirror is the mirror of time, it is the mirror of reality. It is not in what form we see our faces but in what way we react to what we see.

Therefore, Sir, I have given notice of an Amendment to the Motion tabled by Shri Paswanji to ensure two things. Number one, the supremacy of Parliament and number two, to ensure that whatever needs to be done, as a consequence of this Report and this discussion, is actually



done and it is not left to the sweet memory of some people who have, from experience, shown that they are incapable of rising above themselves, doing something for the welfare of the country, for the welfare of the nation and for the welfare of policy in this country. That Amendment, I commend to this House and with this I express my deep thanks to you for giving me this opportunity.

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL :** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join Shri Ram Vilas Paswanji to urge that the Government take appropriate action on the Vohra Committee Report regarding criminalisation of politics.

For once we have a Motion before us about which there is no real difference of opinion between different sections of this House. With a matter like this before us, we all do generally expect that given the colossal credibility loss of the politician, we would all rise to the occasion, cut across party lines, give suggestions which would ultimately enthuse peoples' confidence in our democracy.

Sir, during the Freedom struggle days, politics in this country was more like an extension of the very important Freedom movement itself. Bright young men and women jumped into the Freedom struggle, forsaking all the comforts of life and all that they could otherwise achieve in life.

There has been a mention of the deterioration and slide that followed thereafter. I would not like to go into all that, but would agree with various observations made by different members of the Vohra Committee which have been enumerated in their words by the Chairman of the Committee in his report.

Sir, I think that Mr. Salman Khurshid was emotive about the issue. But at the same time what he said was introspective in nature. No malice was meant to anybody and it was a free and frank expression of opinion on certain vital issues concerning probity in public life. Shri Jaswant Singhji, I always admire his impeccable style, found vacuity in what Mr. Salman Khurshid said. He termed the Report bland but at the same time found its contents disturbing. Sir, I think, that was an exercise in verbosity.

At the same time, Sir, there were suggestions which I would very outrightly agree with and those relate to the setting up of an Ethics Committee of this House. Sir, if we really mean business today, we have to give up that propensity of trying to blame others, of trying to raise an accusing finger at each other. We have to go in for some sort of honest introspection, and then agree, leave it to the Speaker to set up the Ethics Committee.

Sir, in England, such a Committee has been set up recently. The polity there was threatened by the deleterious impact which lobbying sometimes resorted to by various commercial interests, could have on the working of the

Parliament. A Committee like this has been set up there. If we mean business here, Sir, we have to begin with that Committee. I think, if at all an amendment has to be moved to the Resolution, it could only be in terms of asking for an Ethics Committee and we are all agreeable to that. That has not been done. But, I do hope initiative would be taken by the leaders of various political Parties and leave it to the hon. Speaker to take action in that direction.

Sir, when I was hearing Shri Jaswant Singhji speak, as usual I found him assuming the charge of a Prosecutor. He was charging the Government and by 'the Government', reading out from the Report, he meant the Government at the Centre that is Government of the Congress. He was entirely mistaken, with utmost respect I would like to say, Sir. I would not like to go into great details about all that has been reported by the Vohra Committee, but I would, with your permission, Sir, refer to page 4, para 6.2 where it quotes, the Director, Intelligence Bureau, saying that :

"There has been a rapid spread and growth of criminal gangs, armed *senas*, drug mafias, smuggling gangs, drug peddlers and economic lobbies in the country which have over the years developed an extensive network of contacts with bureaucrats and Government functionaries at the local levels, politicians, media persons and strategically located individuals in the non-State sector".

17.00 hrs.

These are important words. Who are the strategically located individuals in non-State sector? Who are the individuals who may be repudiating their conduct with a political party as such to have Members of the same *Parivar* and who are always finding scouting opportunities to let loose the reign of terror in the country?

**DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI (Kodarma) :** Sangh Parivar.

**SHRI PAWNA KUMAR BANSAL :** You are right.

Sir, further, Shri Vohra goes on to say this.

"That in certain States like Bihar, Haryana and U.P., these gangs enjoy patronage of local level politicians cutting across Party-lines and the protection of Government functionaries. Some political leaders become the leaders of the gangs or armed *senas*".

Certainly, he did not point an accusing finger at the Government at the Centre.

Sir, we are beset with a problem which has completely overtaken our polity. If we were to be really honest - that is where I admire the frankness of Shri Salman Khurshid - and if we were to really mean business, we have to rise to the occasion to find as to where is some mole in our Party and in each Party. I would not like to cite examples.

An effort was made in that direction by some senior Members. The newspapers are replete with instances which could put anyone of us in shame.

Sir, further - Shri Jaswant Singh referred to that - the Report goes on to say this.

"Certain elements of the Mafia have shifted to narcotics, drugs and weapon smuggling and established narco-terrorism network, especially, in the esteem of J&K, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra."

Sir, certainly Punjab and Gujarat did not always have the Congress Governments. We are not really trying to be honest to ourselves if we are trying to pass on the buck here. Given the situation that prevails in the country and given the fall in the esteem that once the leadership, the political leaders in the country used to enjoy, there is a challenge before each one of us today as to what has really got to be done.

Sir, the Vohra Committee Report goes on to say

"That in view of the fact that when different agencies like the Intelligence Bureau, CBI, RAW and the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence work in their independent spheres, there is a handicap faced by each one of them. Some vital information may come their way but they do not know what they really do with it. Maybe, when they are investigating the case relating to a murder, some evidence is thrown up which suggests a link between a top politician and the perpetrators of that crime. What do those people dealing with those cases do? Maybe, similarly, when the people from the Directorate of Revenue Enforcement deal with a case of smuggling or narcotics, they come across some suggestions about linkages between some politicians, some bureaucrats and the persons really committing the crime. What do they do with that, except prosecuting the person in that individual case. Therefore, the Vohra Committee goes on to report and suggest that a nodal agency should be set up which could collate all the information available from different streams, available from different sources and then try to go further into the matter, investigate deeply into that matter and see what can be done. I am happy that before we could take up this matter here in this House, the Government has already acted on that matter and a nodal agency has been set up.

I, with all respect, Sir, cannot subscribe to the view of Shri Paswan that this is a still born Committee. You have got to place confidence in high functionaries. And it is in this Report itself that Shri Vohra has suggested that such a Committee would be able to function without any risk of leakage of information. The Government has been honest in this case. It has been said repeatedly that this is a report of the Government. The Government has come to this House with this Report and the Government has come to

this House with the action already taken in the matter. The Government is open to suggestions. But I am definitely of the opinion that such a Committee cannot be headed by a judicial officer. The function of a Judge of the High Court or the Supreme Court is not investigative in nature. That is where the matters would finally go. Sir, to suspect the Government functioning, saying that the nodal agency would be subservient to the Government of the day and, therefore, will not serve the purpose, which it is intended to serve, is, in my humble submission, incorrect. If a functionary of the Government could come out with a Report as this, on which the hon. Members have laid emphasis on, then where is the doubt about the proper functioning of a nodal agency suggested therein?

Sir, today, unfortunately oblique references have been made about certain matters which cropped up in country in the past. I, with utmost respect to the hon. Members making those allegations, would like to say that the Government has not shielded any corrupt person whatever. Sir, you have got to be alive to the difficulties that you face when you go into a particular matter before making any allegation, for instance, the Prime Minister not being able to pursue the Bofors matters from day to day. What is there to pursue every day? You cannot be pedantic about a particular word. You have got to see what is really being done. This matter has been taken up in this House a number of times. I need not go into it. With all the emphasis at my command, I would only like to say that the Government has not spared any effort to reach the truth and that has been the case about various other matters referred to here.

Sir, a suggestion or an amendment to say that the highest functionary would not act on the matter is completely hypothetical in character. Sir, the Congress Government and the Congress party has a tradition...(Interruptions)

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : Mr. Chairman, has my amendment been circulated to all the Members, on which he is quoting now? ...(Interruptions)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : I am not going beyond what he had said. Kindly look into what I have said. I have not gone beyond that at all.

Sir, the Congress Party has the tradition of upholding probity in public life. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Joke of this century!

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : It was, years back, Pandit Nehru took action against the Members of his own party and Shri Salman Khurshid cited the latest example, where without anything being proved against the Ministers, the Ministers walked out of office perhaps because that served the inflated ego of some of the hon. Members on the other side. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : What is the definition of the words 'proof' and 'caught red-handed'?  
...(Interruptions)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : The definition of 'proof' varies from person to person depending upon the perception of that person.

When we discuss the possible follow up action on a Report like this, I have a humble submission to make to all the hon. Members which has to be somehow carried out in different States. I mean no malice to anybody. I think the States in our country, in a federal structure, as ours are reluctant to shed powers. This could be understandable in certain cases but when it comes to issues like the one before us today, I think, we have to decide today that the CBI has to be given more powers. As we all know, law and order is a State subject. No State Government would like to pass on the powers to the Centre. When the CBI gets into action, it has to seek the permission of the State Government. Would the hon. leaders of various political parties who run Governments in States be prepared to stand up here and say that they are prepared for a comprehensive law that given certain situations, given certain circumstances, the power would rest with the CBI and the State would not really clamour for more powers to them or object to their powers being impinged upon? We find there was an instance yesterday when Vajpayeeji was making a grouch about what happened or what he perceived to have happened in UP. And that was an example where by implication, he wanted more powers for the State of U.P., though the State Government of UP retained to itself the right to call for the Central forces. We cannot live on a situation like that. We have to be clear about our objective, about the issues before us and it is not really a question of any sort of dispute between the Centre and the States. We today believe that there is a malignancy persisting in our system which has brought bad name to each one of us. How do we give our consent to fight that? That obviously cannot be done by pointing an accusing finger at each other which we tend to do in a debate like this. But as I began with by saying, let us leave the matters to the wisdom of the hon. Speaker who in consultation with all the leaders of political parties, should set up, to begin with, an Ethics Committee. That would be the right beginning. With these words, I support this Motion.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, obviously the discussion is on this Vohra Committee's Report which is a Government document. Therefore, we need not try to show that this is correct and this the Government's case. The contents of the Report are accepted by the Government. There is no reason to say that this Government is not accepting them. Therefore, to me, it is a clear case of Government accepting certain situations

that are prevailing in this country and I find it to be the biggest self-indictment that can happen anywhere.

17.14 hrs.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

This is the monument contribution of the Congress Government at the Centre that today we find, on the basis of this Report, that the Mafia is virtually running a parallel Government forcing the State apparatus into irrelevance. So this is the position which has been found by a Committee which was set up by the Government of India on 9th July, 1993 to take stock of all available information about the activities of the crime syndicates, Mafia organization which had developed links with and were being protected by the Government functionaries and political personalities.

Therefore, the purpose of this Committee was to take stock of available information. Of course, the details of the information have not been given. Obviously those have not found their place in the final report. Obviously, it was edited before it was finalised and submitted to the Government. The numbering of the Report shows that.

But the point is that these are the conclusions which have been arrived at. It needs repetition that from the 5th October 1993 until that unfortunate tragic event occurred in that restaurant in Delhi, the Capital of India, I do not know whether the Government of India had even looked into it and if they looked into it, I take it that it was their bounden duty to look into it. I would consider the hon. Minister of Home Affairs was so negligent that he would not look into it. If he looked into it in October 1993 what did he do until this tragedy occurred in Delhi? There was naturally a hue and cry-naturally hue and cry was there everywhere — as it was within a stone's throw from the headquarters of the Government of India. Such a ghastly crime had taken place and that too admittedly by one of the functionaries of the ruling party. Therefore, this is the accepted position.

So much time has been allowed to pass particularly in view of the important recommendation which Shri Vohra gave. I understand that it has been placed on the Table but with your permission I want to read paragraph 15.2 on page 6 :

"I have prepared only three copies of this Report, one of copy each is being submitted to MOSIS and the hon. Minister; the third copy is being retained by me. After the hon. Minister has perused this Report I request him to consider discussing further action with the Finance Minister — because economic offences are at the forefront of these findings — MOSIS and myself. The emerging approach could thereafter be got approved from the Prime Minister being implemented. At that stage other concerned senior officers could be taken into confidence."

Has any action been taken? Was the matter discussed with the Finance Minister, with the MOSIS, Shri Vohra and if so, when? Was any plan of action drawn up? Did the hon. Home Minister thereafter approach the Prime Minister before implementing this Report and if so, when? And, what direction did the Prime Minister give? Did he give any direction? Ten at what stage, if at all, the other concerned senior officers would be taken into confidence?

Sir, this has to be replied in specific details. Now, if it has not been done, if the hon. Minister of Home Affairs has not found time for it, then if he could not read up paragraph No. 15.2 and find out what was requested by the highest official in the Home Ministry to do. Then there has been an abysmal failure if not a deliberate failure. Deliberately, it has been ignored.

Now, what was the reason that prompted the Government of India to appoint this Committee? Was there any sincerity behind it? Was there any seriousness behind this? Or was it just a formality for the sake of their own consumption? Now if there was any sincerity of purpose of any objective, then, from October 1993 this has been completely kept under the carpet. They obviously worked hard in that sense because from July, August, September, October, for two-and-a-half months or three months, they gave this Report.

You have waited and waited and waited until a girl or woman lost her life to find it out and now, reluctantly placed it before the House. Sir, I am obliged to you. The entire House and the country is obliged to you for your directions. Now, even when it came out, which the hon. Home Minister submitted most reluctantly, what happened? A serious contribution has been made by the Government of India by appointing a nodal agency now consisting of certain Government officials. The matter was to be discussed before Parliament. But, even without waiting for the Parliament's views on this, you just appointed it. What these officers can do? If the Home Minister is sleeping and the Prime Minister is *Budham* or *Mouni Baba*, then what will happen to this? They know that nothing has to be done.

Therefore, I am charging this Government with total absence of political will in dealing with this question. And, Sir, I consider it a tragedy when, after so many years, nearly half-a-century of independence which the people had heralded with so much of dreams, urges, aspirations and hopes, today, after nearly fifty years what are we discussing? It is not how to eradicate poverty, how to remove illiteracy, how to provide decent standard of living to the people or provide healthy life. We are today discussing how people are making money; how politicians and others etc. are making money, indulging in criminal activities to remain in power. Because remaining in power has become a very profitable purpose. Therefore, remain

in power by hook or crook; and more by crooks by hooks. ...*(Interruptions)* Sir, this has today become the fate of this country. ...*(Interruptions)*

What will they achieve by talking about West Bengal? West Bengal is not there at your sweet will. If the Government there is not liked by the people, the people will give their verdict. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai) : Our Government is liked by the people and that is why we are here. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, it is very good that he has mentioned it. How this minority Government became a majority Government? You tell us. ...*(Interruptions)* This Government did not have the mandate of the people. ...*(Interruptions)* We know all this. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum) : You are saying about this Government. What is happening in U.P.? How that Government has got the majority? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Somnathji knows more about criminality in politics better than Mr. Vohra. ...*(Interruptions)* You are the advocate of criminality in politics. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, I concede to his knowledge in every matter under the sun. He is so busy even renaming areas, streets and squares, I concede. I never cross swords with him because people will judge everybody by their own standards. And certainly I will not try to emulate him. I have got certain other standards to follow. ...*(Interruptions)* The point, Sir, is that this is the situation in this country and we have been in; power with the people's support. ...*(Interruptions)* I have not done it.

Now I would like to know how the Government of India tried to find out the methods to control this parallel since October, 1993. I have not manner of doubt. I challenge this Government that if they have any honesty and sincerity and if there is any credibility of this Government, they will publish what was the information that was made available to Mr. Vohra.

And, Sir, the numbering of this report is very clear. He is not a 'chicken'. Nobody will make '3.7' '6.1'. I agree. Mr. Home Minister was very kind to show us the original report. Yes, the pagination was there. I agree. When the final report was there, the pagination was one after the other and no page-sheet was taken out.

But obviously when the first report came or the draft report was there, after para no. 3.7 the next one cannot be 6.1. Those missing ones are the paragraphs where those facts are there. I am sure about it. I challenge. Let

them produce it. The information should be available to them.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN) : I have produced the report. There is no point in shouting. When you raised this point about the numbering, I have shown the original report. To make this kind of an insinuation that some paragraphs have been deleted or edited by the Government is not correct.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I did not charge that the hon. Home Minister has removed some paragraphs from the final report. I did not charge that. Please listen to me. I said that you have been kind enough to produce the original report and I have seen it myself. It contained continuous pagination. Therefore, the final report that was actually given to you has been as was produced by you. I have admitted that. Why are you putting something else?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Was the report produced by the Government or by Mr. Vohra? What are you trying to say?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It was produced by the Government to us.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : It was produced by Mr. Vohra under his signature. The report was submitted by him.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have admitted that. You showed the original report with Mr. Vohra's signature to us. But I say that there must have been and obviously there are materials which are not contained in the final report and those materials are available with the Government of India. They are bound to be there. (Interruptions) He can look after himself; he does not require your inadequate help.

Therefore, Sir, it requires a complete explanation as to the reason for not producing it earlier. Secondly, even if they did not wish to produce it earlier, unless compelled to, we would like to know what action was taken. The hon. Home Minister will kindly enlighten the House and this country as to why such an important document was kept in total hibernation and why no action was taken.

Sir, I do not wish to repeat all of them, but every citizen in this country is feeling extremely worried; whichever party he may belong to, he is upset with this report. When a solemn report is being given that activities of certain people - the names are here, I need not name them - led to the establishment of a powerful network and that these elements are protected by the functioning of the concerned Government Departments, has any attempt been made to curb those activities? How do we solve it by a mere discussion on the floor of the House? Is it not the responsibility of the Executive? Can they say that they had no time to consider this report? Sir, not a single Government

Department is supposed to have woken up or have been asked to take action. The report says :

"It was, therefore, necessary to identify the linkages".

That is what he thought to be his duty and that is what he had identified. It also shows how even the senior bureaucrats who were asked to be the members of this Committee were not having their faith in this Government. The report says that the members seemed unconvinced that Government actually intended to pursue such matters. I cannot blame them. They are right. It is proved by the fact of total inaction and calculation inaction. Therefore, they thought as to why should they unnecessarily incur the wrath of persons in power.

Why should he unnecessarily get into trouble? That the Government is not at all alert is precisely their view and they seem to be correct and it is proved by facts. We cannot blame them. How do you think that the sincere bureaucrats, honest officers will act if they find that political masters have not the least concern? This is precisely what has happened.

This is the CBI directive. Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal was talking about CBI as a *Mantra*.

"Over time, the money power thus acquired is used for building up contacts with bureaucrats and politicians and expansion of activities with impunity. The money power is used to develop a network of muscle-power which is also used by the politicians during elections."

What have you done, Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal? You know so many things about the Government which others, humble mortals like us, do not know. This is your CBI's view. What has happened? This is the CBI's capacity to perform. They say :-

"All over India, crime Syndicates have become a law unto themselves."

We have become a country where hired assassins have become a part of these organisations.

"The nexus between the criminal gangs, police, bureaucracy and politicians has come out clearly in various parts of the country."

Have you tried to identify, Mr. Home Minister? Has any one been found till today? Has any action been taken on the basis of the Vohra Committee report? Tell us whether one single action has been taken.

MIRCHI etc., have been referred to. I need not go into this. Suggestions have been made.

"Like the Director CBI, the DIB has also stated that there has been a rapid spread and growth of criminal gangs, armed senas, drug Mafias, smuggling gangs,



drug peddlers and economic lobbies in the country which they have over the years..."

Who has ben in power over the years unfortunately? *(Interruptions)* That is your bug-bear. *(Interruptions)* Let us for the sake of argument at least keep him quiet there. This is nuisance which is going on. I assume for the sake of his temporary satisfaction that this applies also to West Bengal Government.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : A Daniel has come to judgment.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Please explain the other States which you are unfortunately still controlling. Of course, they are getting reduced. Are they really in power even? What have you done? Except for these 11 months, who has been in power? Therefore, this is your signal contribution, Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar. I think you would have been better where you were, Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar. At least, you would have the satisfaction that your efforts are not being frustrated by the political masters. Now you have become a political master with access to corridors of power. You can get names changed and so on and so forth. What not? Therefore, this nexus has been established over the years. You are not concerned at all. That is what we are saying. Are we indulging in exercise of futility? Can we expect anything from this Government of India headed by Shri P.V. Narasimha Raoji under the benign guidance of Shri Chandraswamiji? These are some of the names mentioned. Other Jis are here. I do not know. Therefore, under their control and guidance, we are asked to believe that this Government of India will take serious action.

So far as the Government is concerned, it has become synonymous with everything that is contained here.

Therefore, that is the difficulty. You are in power today by misuse of power. That is why democracy is under challenge, under threat. That is why we are to tik of the electoral reforms which is scrupulously avoided by this Government. So many reports, unanimous reports, have been given for electoral reforms from 1971 onwards. Earlier also, they were there. But that has never been implemented. As has been said, as you know, we believe that democracy and this muscle power, mafia power are antithetical to each other. When mafia power and muscle power enter, the people's power goes.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatnam) : Muscle power, mafia power - which party do they belong to? They belong to your Party also. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : This is a bug-bear. Today, which Party do you belong to? Which Party will you

belong to tomorrow? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : I will take just one minute. Sir, I was an active Congress Member from 1962. I was a Congress MLA in 1983 and 1985. Due to certain things, I had been elected from Telugu Desam Party.

*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : What are those things?

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : All right. When a national crisis has arisen, we have supported the Congress and joined the Congress Party. At this moment, I ask the BJP AND CPM Parties this question. Why these ...\* parties have given a compromising report on the JPC, on the bank scandal? You have joined hands with the ruling Party. You have been enjoying for the last 47 years undermining the rights of the backward classes and minorities of this country and you are giving lectures. Come on. Open your dictum. We will give our accounts before the Parliament. If the hon. Speaker appoints any Committee, all the Congress Members who have been there will give our accounts. Let your accounts also be presented to the House.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, I hope you have heard one word which he used, which should be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER : I will look into it.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : In Vijayawada, the CPM and CPI leaders have amassed the entire wealth of the city running into crores of rupees. They are teaching lessons to me, especially the CPM and their collaborators and their families! You are running the Parties on caste lines. The top-brass of this country have looted the nation and you are giving lectures.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : How much have you got for having defected?

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : From 1971 onwards, I will put my accounts before the House. Let these people also put their accounts before the House.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : How much have you got from Shri Shukla?

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatnam) : For the last three or four years, I will submit my accounts to the hon. Speaker. I am a Congressman. Giving lectures will

\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

not solve the problems. Come correctly. Why did you give a compromising report on JPC? Unless you have got an interest, why did you give a compromising report?  
...(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : What is the compromising report?

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : In a democracy you call a spade a spade. Why did you join hands with the ruling Party? At that time, you had got an interests. (Interruptions) ...\* What for you had given a compromising report?

MR. SPEAKER : This is not going on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Let it be recorded as the biggest joke of the decade!

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, let the CPM chief go to my constituency. The Telugu Desam and CPM people are harassing the masses who will tell that they are swindling crores of rupees...(Interruptions) Shamelessly you are supporting the vast feudal people.  
...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Up to this time, the efforts were made by the hon. Members to keep the debate on the right track. Let us not pleased derail the debate and let us stick to the points which are really important and let us have suggestions which can help us to tackle this malady.

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : My submission is that permit us to enjoy the interludes also. That should be permitted. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : ...\* Be careful.  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : We will look into the record - that which cannot go on record will not go on record.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I should have thought that intellectual 'something' was better than this economic goondaism.

MR. SPEAKER : You enrich the English dictionary now.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What else can I do but to address? I cannot change address. I cannot change sides like him. Sir, I think he has found a right place. He has gone to the Congress. Now, we know why he has gone to the Congress. ...(Interruptions)

I thought everybody would treat this Report very seriously. I am not saying that the Congress Members are

not considering it seriously including Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar. But the question is : What is your response to this? What is the Government's action on this and who will take action on the economic offences which are not within the domain of any State Government strictly. You have to take action and that has been specifically mentioned here. It is stated :

"It is evident that the music power of the crime Syndicates is sustained by their economic enormous financial power which, in turn, is secured by the Mafia elements by committing economic offences with impunity."

Now, who will do this, I would like to know with all sincerity and if you have any belief in your sincerity, then tell us how have you acted on paragraph 7.1 which has been there in this Report.

Then, Sir, we knew that this is a country unfortunately where the black money economy is more important and more powerful than the regular economy. Then, how is this money being generated and what is happening with this money? See here in every matter if you try to decide a matter on the basis of your political advantage or partisan consideration or to remain in power in any way you like, then you will have many many Vohra Committee Reports and the Reports will be there and no action will be there. Therefore, who will answer and how can I answer this question? You may have allergy against a particular individual or A or B or C, and you can go on repeating in a parrot-like manner. Therefore, Sir, you do not get rid of this charge of inaction, if not the charge of connivance. If you do not take any action knowing that these serious heinous offences are taking place, the whole country and the whole economy is overtaken by black money and all these things. Who does not know what is taking part in land deals; how this is taking place without this black money. And, sometimes, Sir, we also say, 'Well, money is used in elections.' What is this money? What is the source of this money and who is trying to fool whom? Is the country becoming stronger? Is our society becoming stronger? Is our democracy becoming safer? Now, I take it that something was there in the mind of the Government that, 'yes', let us find out the position about the extent of the control of these agencies or these powerful elements. Let us find out by appointing the topmost people in the bureaucratic hierarchy for this work.

Well, I quite admire the appointment of this Committee. But if it was a sincere and serious effort, then, one would have expected that things would have been done immediately at the Prime Minister's level. Even if you do not look after Bofors day-to-day, you should have done it here day-to-day. Nearly two years have elapsed and the only contribution is another Committee which would only be

\* Expunged as ordered by the chair

collecting information.

As cancer, it has reached into our body politic. As has been pointed out, kindly see how he correctly describes,

"Even the members of the judicial system have not escaped the embrace of the mafia".

Are we not concerned? Do we want a judiciary which will be tainted? This, unfortunately, is the finding. Can we just ignore it because a particular political party is in power here, or because a particular political party is in power there? Are we not concerned? What remains of a democracy if there are allegations about the composition of the legislative bodies? ...*(Interruptions)* There are charges. Some say that there are about 140 Members. I do not want to name any particular Assembly. There are reports saying that so many history-sheets are Members of Legislative Assemblies or Parliament.

Now, today, it has become a prestigious thing. As I say, politics has been criminalised and crime has been politicised. This has become the position now. One is dependent on the other and unfortunately every politician is suspected in this country. You are making money and we are being suspected. This is unfortunately happening. You may go on abusing, ...\* Does that whitewash your sins? ...*(Interruptions)* Of course, it is not correct. ...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, can you make money illegally? What are you talking about? ...*(Interruptions)* ...\*

MR. SPEAKER : Even this will not go on record.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should have thought that this was the issue which should be discussed with the greatest seriousness, utmost seriousness. For days, we have been looking forward to this debate. You have also said that this is an important debate...*(Interruptions)* Naturally, you will have full opportunity. You have got a very able Home Minister and the lieutenants are also there. There are people who know more about the Ministry's activities and probably the Ministers' themselves. Unfortunately, this ghastly crime, what is known as 'tandoor' has occurred. My only protection against such a crime is that I will not fit in there, as Mr. Indrajit Gupta rightly pointed out... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Any tandoor... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : My size is my only protection. But I can be cut into pieces as was done to this girl. Is this the way in this country? Your only protection is your weight. Otherwise, you are gone.

Sir, these are things which are coming out openly. There has been no denial, nothing. What has happened? This strange tale of so and so, terror and politics are

coming out in the front line openly. There is not a single denial. We have seen that names are mentioned of persons, who are Ministers, their links with the underworld. There are charges against them. They are being made Ministers and they are not denying them. They are being openly told to be active office-bearers of, well, this Congress, massive Congress, Youth Congress. Then, Sir, one is alleged to be a historical chargesheetee. They have criminal charges. One has kidnapped a girl because she was obstructing him. One has been picked up by the Narcotics Control Bureau. They are all made office-bearers for possessing heroin worth Rs. 6.5 crore.

In another case, a 41 year old Youth Congress has been accused of kidnapping. Then, a General Secretary of some organisation has been involved in abducting a girl in Boat Club, etc., etc.,

Nowadays, another new expression has come into our English language, that is called 'patronage raj'. This is the contribution towards the development of the language! These people are in positions of power and that is why, it has assumed so much importance. The accused is there, I do not know whether he is actually guilty or not, but the most suspected accused is there. Why are the people so much concerned? So many murders are taking place in Delhi everyday. It is wonderful! Everyday when we open the papers, we see news items which say that old lady is killed, strangled, brutally murdered. Everyday it is coming out. They have not assumed so much importance, although every other unnatural death is a matter of great concern for all of us. It is because of the connection here, of the functionaries; the protection that is given and so, they can do anything.

Even the Minister for Tourism was compelled to institute an inquiry as to how this restaurant was given to him. There was a shocking revelation. He was kind enough to take us into confidence; he called a Leaders' meeting; he told us whatever was on the file. A grave irregularity had been committed. Now an inquiry is going on; they will give a finding; and *prima facie*, the Minister was satisfied, but we were shocked. Such an irregularity had been committed because one happened to be near to 'so and so' or associated with this organisation or a political party. Therefore, people say that if you want to have any benefit, if you want to make money, then you have to be associated with this party or that party. They will be associated with which party? Naturally, it is the ruling party. Unfortunately, this has happened now with the economic offenders being allowed to go scot-free and this how money is made. And therefore, the economic offences are today totally ignored.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to go on reminding our friends that how would you think that the people will have faith in this? Shri Bansal said that 'daily' does not

\* Not recorded.

mean 'everyday'. In Shri Bansal's English 'daily' means 'yearly'; and even on yearly basis you give a report to Parliament! Then, what about the 'security scam'? ...*(Interruptions)* This is your great contribution to the Indian polity and economy.

In the world, the largest security scam took place in our country; and then even three heads rolled which should have rolled earlier. Well, still we are waiting to see what actual implementation is there. The JPC Report is treated more with disdain than with respect.

I will not be making a very long speech. If I say, all this has been due to the encouragement of unfortunately the ruling party here because they are the beneficiaries. You get Members of Parliament also since it is an addition to your strength. Unfortunately today the politicians are under cloud. It is very easy to say that out of change of heart, change of principle and change of political conviction, today I have joined the other party. Nobody is believing what my friend says here. Sir, therefore, these are matters on which a reply has to be given. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Sir, is it appropriate on his part to say what he has said? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, if you find it inappropriate, you can delete it; I do not question that. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : What he has said, is a grave matter. He said insinuating. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I said that unfortunately the politicians are under cloud. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : You can say that. But he also asked for what consideration the Members changed side. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : That is too much of a hackneyed English. The message has gone. ...*(Interruptions)* I leave it to you.

Now there is a wonderful situation in this country. Politicians, bureaucrats, industrialists, even Judges, media, everyone is under a cloud because of proliferation of sources of money available by unaccounted funds. They can only be utilised to purchase 'A' or 'B' or 'C' or 'D'. Now who can be 'A' or 'B' or 'C' or 'D', I need not specify because it may disturb some friends here.

The other great danger to our country is the question of rise of fundamentalism. That is also, according to me, a crime. Unfortunately, this has taken place in this country. The destruction of Babri Masjid is a national scandal and nothing but a crime. ...*(Interruptions)* There is no doubt about it. Therefore, mixing politics with religion is another attempt to criminalise politics.

SHRI MANI SHANKER AIYAR : Criminal charges are pending against Members of Parliament involved in the Ayodhya incident. Therefore, we must never forget that there is a link there. You are quite right, Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Thank you very much. Now I find conviction in you because you stood up. Earlier, you were interrupting me sitting. You wanted to cover yourself.

After the Babri Masjid, there was almost a great danger to Mathura structure. The Parliament was alert. The people were alert and the Government this time had to be alert also. Therefore, it has been saved. But the danger remains. Today, the country is sought to be divided on the basis of religion. You are deciding people on the basis of what God you worship. And those who do not worship any God, how would you think, I do not know. We find today the people - whether they will be in the mainstream or not - who depend on religion.

My friends here on the right are dreaming of coming to power on the bandwagon of this fanaticism. Therefore, I call upon this Government that if you are sincere - bit 'if' and very small 's' - you will have to tackle the menace which has been mentioned in the Vohra Committee Report. You are also to fight sincerely those fundamentalist forces. Otherwise, this country cannot have a pure administration. The politics will become the game of economic offenders, mafias, *tandooriwallas* and then *mandirwallas* which we do not want. It will be a very very sad day if the democracy is decided by these divisive considerations or divisive trends.

We have got many many important problems to solve in this country. Everybody knows that when you go to the rural areas, there are humble people with humble demands. They want little food and little water. Nowadays naturally they are hungry for education also. They want some facilities for agricultural activities. They do not want to enjoy your latest facilities. But are we able to provide them with that?

18.00 hrs.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support this Motion although it is a very innocuous Motion. Even the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs is very happy. He need not gather his Members here because he is going to support this Motion, because he knows, there is no accountability of this Government. He says, this Motion is an early implementation without any delay. But we will question this, if one day is equal to one year - according to Mr. Paswan Kumar Bansal's theory - which is the Government's theory, it seems. It urges upon the Government to take action on the Vohra Committee Report regarding criminalisation, without any delay. Nothing can be more delightfully big. Therefore,

a time limit should be provided and a parliamentary body should be set up to monitor its functioning. This Government will never wake up. You are trying to take this country for a ride. This is an old well House. What more serious is, just I can show. From October 1993 to August 1995, means three months short of two years. 'I have done nothing' he will admit, 'there was delay'. The Home Minister will say 'what are the delays, we have to consider, we have to study sub-Committee, this Committee, that Committee' and therefore he could not do it earlier. Then after this Resolution is passed, Mr. Chavan will not be there to implement it, Sir, I am sorry.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE : The Government has already implemented.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You have implemented it by having it nicely printed with at least presentable cover.

Therefore, Sir, I support this Resolution. But I submit that this country demands action. The country is entitled to action.

SHRI ABDUL GHAFOOR : You are speaking in such a mood as if you are going to implement it.

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Translations) : May your words come true!

[English]

Sir, enough time has elapsed.

You have had enough opportunity. You will not get any further opportunity. Therefore, you have the remnant of the days. You are unfortunately here. At least, you show that you mean business and that these defection have taken place on the basis of principles and not on the basis of anything else.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, it is 6 O'clock in the evening. I think there are many other items and if we do not complete it today, it will be very difficult. But I really do not understand, how do we accommodate 37 Members. And, the Congress Party itself has given 16 names of the speakers.

Now, please let us know whom do you really want to speak. Then, the BJP also has given 9 Members' names, and there are some others also. If these are the big lists, it is very difficult to accommodate all. If we can continue, we can continue late in the night also. I think, we should complete it and also the Members wanted that this discussion should be concluded today. Tomorrow, we have the Budget, we have the ordinances to be passed and we have many other important laws to be passed and the time at our disposal is very short.

I am making two or three requests to you.

One, the Whip should take back the list and let us know, how many of their Members want to speak.

Two, the Members who are speaking, please do not repeat the points. If you repeat the points, you can just hint at it and make new points.

Three, the Report says that the criminal situation, political economic, social, cultural and all this is very bad. It would be very useful to have this suggestion as to how this can be controlled because the Report itself says, what is the situation. We need not discuss it.

So, please let us know what is to be done.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Sir, as we are sitting late, Shri Mukul Wasnik should be requested to arrange dinner and snacks for us.

MR. SPEAKER : That is correct. Mr. Wasnik will arrange dinner as well as the snacks for the Members, staff and the Press people also.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : Sir, I would like to draw your attention to a point. I have submitted an amendment to this Resolution and I think it would be fair if the hon. Members are made aware of that, so that they could also express their views on it.

MR. SPEAKER : I was not able to see it. I was told that 'an amendment is given from your side'.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : The hon. Chairman was in the Chair at that time. It could be circulated to the hon. Members. Shri Somnathji has made a reference to it, but other Members are not aware of it.

MR. SPEAKER : I will just see what kind of amendment is that and all those things.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : You may read it aloud...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No, no, I will have to allow it to be moved.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : I am not moving it but I am informing. This is the amendment which I have suggested, subject to your approval.

that after the words 'without any delay', the last three words of Paswanji's Resolution, this may be added.-

"and request the hon. Speaker to appoint a eleven-member committee from amongst the Members of



this House to draw up the guidelines for the action to be taken by the Government and monitoring actions taken".

MR. SPEAKER : Well, I will just apply my mind to it.

I think the standard of the debate so far has been quite good without mentioning names and all those things and trying to suggest where we have to take steps to rectify the mistakes that might have occurred. Please do stick to this standard and do not allow it to come down.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The House is extended until this discussion is completed.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Tomorrow, after the Zero Hour and prior to Lunch...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : It is not possible. We had discussion on the rail accident on one day and that day is gone. We are now sitting late.

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT (Rajapur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Resolution, Sir, I consider it an important event in the history of independent India that this issue is being discussed at all and also compliment the Government for tabling the Vohra Committee Report which has made far-reaching recommendations as also indicated the prevailing situation. My aim here is not to deliberate on the situation that is prevailing. But basically we must find out as to what we should do apart from what is said. I expected that to be the result of the Report and the deliberations here. Unfortunately, I found that we have again gone to scoring points which are primarily politically motivated.

Sir, criminalisation and the threat from organised crime is a matter afflicting the body politic not only of the countries belonging to the developing world, but also to the developed nations. In fact, this is a threat to humanity. Sir, I would like to quote here what Melville Levitsky of the United States State Committee said. I am emphasising this point because this threat is affecting not only this country but all countries in this world. In fact, the international community must take stock of the situation and act accordingly.

This is what Mr. Melvin Levitsky says :

The United States faced a number of threats to its security and well-being in the post-cold war era. Among the most insidious of these threats is the

international narcotics trade perhaps more so than any other post-cold war issues. The narcotics trade has the potential to inflict staggering economic and social cost on the United States while simultaneously undermining the political and economic stability of many foreign countries. In this regard, drug poses a great risk to our national security as terrorism, environmental degradation on nuclear proliferation."

I basically quoted this fact of Mr. Levitsky to draw the attention of this House - if the Members cared to listen from the other side - narcotics has become the single most threat which is challenging the might of all countries and the international community. It is precisely for this reason, Sir, as soon as I came to this House, I had taken up this subject as of primary interest and importance on a matter affecting national security. In my first speech on the Defence Budget in August, 1991, I had drawn the attention of this House to this problem. Later on, in April, 1992, I had requested the Government to form a high-powered Committee to go into the problem of narco-terrorism and accordingly a Committee has been constituted of which I am also a Member and the Report would be submitted shortly. After the Bombay blast, again in May, 1993, I along with 19 other Members of Parliament, requested the Government to form a Committee to go into the nexus between criminals, politicians, bureaucrats and industrialists. The industrialists-part is missing from the Vohra Committee Report. It is in response to this demand by the Members of Parliament that the Vohra Committee was constituted and the Report given. So, if somebody is trying to claim that it is this Party or that Party which is responsible, it is here that the Congress Members of Parliament have demanded the Vohra Committee in the first place. It is because, we recognised that this is criminal threat which has to be faced squarely. We cannot gloss over this threat and that is what precisely has been happening. It would do us a great credit if we go on to analyse the root of the problem and take remedial measures.

Sir, what is organised crime? What is the situation today? My premise on which I pose my hypothesis is that narcotics is borne out of foundation of organised crime today. All criminal activities - maybe from pick-pocketing to prostitution - are controlled by drug money. This gave rise to the emergence of powerful mafia controlled by a few individuals. If you go on to seek an example of Colombia as a State, it is in that direction that we are heading. You know in Colombia, the Ministers have been killed, Supreme Court judges have been killed. In fact, the entire State machinery is held to ransom by the drug lords. That is where we have to focus our attention, Sir, today. Sir even in my speech on the Defence Budget also, I had identified three threat preceptions. First is of external aggression. Second is of external motivated internal destabilisation

which we saw in the Babri Masjid case. And the third is the threat from crime and criminal activities viz., irresponsible elements.

Sir, bomb blast is a case where the foreign intelligence agency, with the help of organised crime, tried to destabilise the financial capital of this country.

Sir, if the same device, if it was a nuclear device instead of a bomb what would have been result, we can imagine that. The cases have come to light where nuclear materials have been smuggled from Russia to Germany; 247 such cases have come to light. That is why, Sir, the future threat from terrorism may not be limited purely to conventional weaponry but also would involve weapons of mass destruction and that threat must be kept in mind when we take future action.

Now, we have to decide on the priorities and whether we are going to just identify and concentrate on a common crime or look into the real aspects of the problem. As I have brought out, Sir, the entire State apparatus today is at the mercy of some people. In fact, the Vohra Committee itself had identified and mentioned in paragraph 6.4 of its Report, which has already been ready out, that a parallel Government is running some portion of this country. We all know how this has happened. This has happened due to the tremendous potential of the drug money. The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cullar, in 1990, identified the drug trade to be of 500 billion dollars, second only to arms trade in the matter of world trade. If this quantum of money is going into the hands of the criminal elements, in organised crimes, then its natural fall-out would be that there would be a concentration of power in the hands of those who wield financial power and that is precisely what has happened. Over a period of time, there has been infiltration in all organs of State; be it politicians, be it judiciary, be it bureaucracy, the infiltration is everywhere and will stay unless we take some remedial action immediately.

As I said, the basic foundation of organised crime is narcotics and the primary concern of everyone here and of the Government should be to combat smuggling of narcotics and terrorism. Unfortunately, today we see that narcotics is dealt by the Finance Ministry and terrorism is dealt by the Home Ministry. It has come out in this Report that there is no interaction or whatsoever in the effort. In fact, the Revenue Secretary had gone on record and said that there is hardly any interaction. If the information comes to him or to the Revenue Department, if they fell, sometimes, they share it; otherwise they do not. This is the basic problem that we are confronted with. Naturally money goes into the hands of drug smugglers. If you go to Rajasthan in places like Barmer, big mansions are coming up. I do not know how. If you go to the coastal areas of this

country—My constituency falls in that line—you will find sudden emergence of powerful financial people. I do not know where from the money comes and what is happening as far as enforcement machinery at that level is concerned.

Sir, I am sorry to point out that in my investigation, I have come to a firm conclusion that the landing agents for smugglers are no one else other than the customs officers themselves. When you see the activities of the crimes there, the police and the customs officials never act together, in unison. You go to the grassroots at the level of the police station. The customs officer is not allowed to enter the police station. This is the situation prevailing in many parts of the country. So, the fact remains that two arms of the Government do not play as one.

And that is the basic problem as far as the enforcement mechanism is concerned. As far as political parties are concerned, there has been an infiltration in all political parties. If they are pointing an accusing finger at the Congress Party, I would like to ask the same leaders, how is it in the tenure of the BJP in Madhya Pradesh, the powerful Mafia lords and drug barons have come into being? How is it in Rajasthan the drug Mafia has controlled the entire criminal network? The BJP has been ruling there for many years. Law and order is the State subject. So instead of pointing accusing fingers at each other, time now is to address the problem and tackle it effectively.

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : That is not true of Rajasthan.

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT : I have visited the state myself and I have seen it. You can accompany me there and see things for yourself.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT : We have been repeatedly demanding that the Central Government should erect a barbed wire fencing along the border so as to check infiltration of smugglers from across the border, but the Central Government is not co-operating with the Government of Rajasthan in this regard.

[English]

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT : Apart from the intervention, I have personally visited Rajasthan with my Committee and Jaswant Singhji was there. There, the local people have clearly come out that everyone, including all members of political parties is trying to encourage cultivation of poppy. Nobody is there to come forward to take any step or take a stand that poppy cultivation should be stopped. Let us not go into the details. If you want specifically, I can quote. I do not want to quote names here. But the fact remains that in all the States, whichever Government is there, they have all singularly failed to control the emergence of the

powerful nexus. All political parties have failed to control the emergence of this nexus. There is a reason to it. I will come to that. But the fact remains that we cannot wash our responsibility or abdicate our responsibility because primarily the emergence of the situation what it is today, is because of abdication of the responsibility by the political parties to identify the people who are coming to them and take action. There is also the question of knowledge because political parties do not know who are coming into their parties and what is their linkages. So there should be some mechanism to inform the political parties about it. That is one part of the remedy which we must take.

My second point is regarding the international interest specially of Pakistan. I have brought it out a number of times. India is at the confluence of the golden triangle and golden crescent and this has made India as a primary target country for destabilization with the help of narcotics money, as also use India as a transit country. Pakistan has consciously promoted drug trade since 1986 and this is a matter of record.

Nearly 700 tonnes of opium goes through the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan; may be through Karachi to India or anywhere. There are a number of processing laboratories in that area. The United States Narcotics Control Bureau has indentified that in North West Frontier Province, there is no control of Pakistan Government and the majority of the narcotics reaching the Western powers are either from Pakistan or from Myanmar. And India happens to be at the confluence of it. That is why, there is a tremendous influx of drugs in this country and terrorists are employed to traffic drugs.

In Punjab itself, most of the gangs of terrorists have been carriers of drugs and Bombay must be the financial capital.

The Vohra Committee has identified in paragraph 2.1 that :

"...the Dawood Ibrahim gang, consequent to the bomb blasts in Bombay in March 1993. From these various reports, it was apparent that the activities of Memon Brothers and Dawood Ibrahim had progressed over the years leading to the establishment of powerful network. This could not have happened without these elements having been protected by the functionaries of the concerned Government Departments, specially Customs, Income Tax, Police and others".

Here is a strange paradox. If we go into the matter, it will be seen that Dawood Ibrahim, Iqbal Mirchi and Memon have received crores of rupees as rewards from Government Departments and with the help of those rewards they have built properties which nobody can touch. This is a matter of record. I have just mentioned it. This

would come out in my Committee report. I am not going into the details of these things. But the fact remains that Bombay has become the financial capital to fund terrorism throughout the country. That is precisely the reason why the importance of Bombay in the scheme of things as far as crime is concerned comes. Our attention has to be drawn there because when I come to remedial measures, when we talk of a programme, we will have to have programme which can be implemented as far as control of this menace is concerned.

There are many other points which I wanted to bring out but due to lack of time I would just come to what are the recommendations that can be made. The recommendation of this Committee report that there should be a nodal agency to be set up in the Home Ministry is totally unacceptable. Because, there are many more things that we have to address to. The question of money laundering is there. The Vohra Committee has not spoken of money laundering. The primary responsibility of this House today is to take a decision that there has to be a money laundering Act in this country. Because, as I said, unless we control the financial channels of the crime, we cannot control these criminals. They will infiltrate further and further and for that purpose even into imports and exports. There is a case which has come to light where pens worth Rs. 2/- were priced at Rs. 40/-. Those pens were worth throwing into the sea. Crores of rupees were transferred from Dubai to India. This was having a drug connection.

I do not want to go into the case of Shri Harshad Mehta where Shri Niranjan Shah was a *hawala* operator who was used to launder drug money. The relationship between Shri Harshad Mehta, Shri Niranjan Shah and the drug industry is coming up and it has not been investigated. So, my grievance is that today we have to not only have a free market economy but a crime-free economy. For that purpose there are a number of Acts like those of the Customs, Income-tax and various NDPS Acts. Today there is a requirement for having a consolidated Act called Money Laundering Act. Even in the United States there was a great resistance for banks to disclosed deposits. In this country there is no such system to regulate financial transaction or financial incitations. Today lot of foreign money is coming in. The NRIs are investing. Who are these NRIs ? What is their background? Wherefrom is that money coming? Nobody is investigating it. So, I have demanded that when this foreign money investment comes to India the background on the basis of which this investment is coming should also be examined because most of the money is drug money.

Let us take real estate. In Bombay most of the real estate business is controlled by the drug money. The cine

industry is controlled by drug money. The income-tax people are helpless because they have no records of land available. The Municipal Corporation is not making available the records of transactions. So, there is a great need today. I come to gold now.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Now five kilogrammes of gold can be brought.

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT : Yes; after the import of gold has been liberalised there has been a tremendous fall in smuggling. That reality should also be examined. So, today a Money Laundering Act is a primary requirement. Then what about the structure?

Now, another problem which we came across is that the subject of law and order is a State subject and in what context can we expect the Central Government agencies to go into those cases and launch investigation or prosecution? I am not saying that you move on the subject of law and order under the Concurrent List. But there are certain crimes which must be identified which are of federal nature. This is there in every country in this world. For example, in the Bombay blast case the C.B.I. refused to go in and investigate in that till a proper request was made by the State Government. So, it took seven months. Only in October, after a passage of seven months, was C.B.I. inducted into the investigation. Sir, we know that narco-terrorism is not of local manifestation but is of national and international manifestation. As I said, there is a total networking of mafia all over the world - the Italian, the Columbian, the U.S., the Russian and the Pakistani and the Indian mafia is not of relevance in the international mafia community as compared to Pakistan. All the operators are operating under Pakistani direction, ostensibly under the I.S.I. and that is one of the principal tools used to destabilise this country and that is why at the ground level when a police officer makes the arrest the powerful man is out on bail in the evening. When I talk about TADA, I want to say that there must be some Acts which cater for preventive detention which are required. The Vohra Committee also reported it. It is because we cannot leave those common citizens at the mercy of crime. And that is why preventive detention is a must under a democratic set up all over the world.

We have got an independent Judiciary, a Legislature and an Executive. The Constitution has catered to the normal functioning of the Government. But when abnormal situation arises, abnormal laws are required and that is why a preventive detention law is a must today. In fact the Revenue Secretary himself has stated that when they arrest nothing happens and a number of cases are there like this. So, we must go into having a preventive detention law which would be effective and a criminal justice system should be there. The Criminal Procedure Code and the

I.P.C. must be amended accordingly whereby no criminal can take advantage of the loopholes in the law and escape. This is happening today. That is what the Vohra Committee states.

The last aspect I want to highlight is : What kind of structure do we want? As regards nodal agency, there are a number of agencies. Unfortunately this Vohra Committee has not invited Military Intelligence or B.S.F. to come and give their comments, because their findings may have been slightly different. When we are dealing with the North-East, when we are dealing with J&K, when we are dealing with the Western borders, the Army is operating there. We have not given any recognition to their role in this Vohra Committee's report.

So, what kind of structure do we want? Here, it has been clearly identified that there is no coordination. My suggestion is that this House must be taken into confidence in whatever has been done and as in the United States or the United Kingdom, which are established democracies, where there are Senate Intelligence Committees' we can also have some such thing. Why cannot this House have it? This has been my demand for the last four years. As a Parliamentary Standing Committee we can look into it.

The second aspect is : What kind of structure we have to make? Let us study the system adopted all over the world. People have gone through this experience of combating narcotics. Why are we not doing it? Well, in my investigation I found that there is absolute lack of information. It is displayed at many places in the Vohra Committee report also. We cannot just form a new organisation. There are many organisations. It is a question of integration of intelligence agencies and enforcement agencies. How are we going to achieve it? The only mechanism with which we can achieve it is that under the hon. Prime Minister, in the Cabinet Secretariat, there must be a Committee-like thing till the establishment of the National Security Council because this demand has been there for a long time and the Prime Minister has agreed to that. The National Security Council will have to take stock of the situation and under that they would be required to be an agency, not a separate agency, but a Committee which can comprise all senior officers.

MR. SPEAKER : How much time do you need?

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT : I require five minutes.

All the organisations would have to be represented in this kind of a Committee which would function directly under the Prime Minister, because there is a role to various Ministers. The Finance Ministry is involved as far as the revenue aspect is concerned, the Home Ministry is involved, the Commerce Ministry is involved and even the Reserve Bank of India is involved as far as banking regulations go.

So, such a Committee would be required to go into all these aspects and the Parliamentary Committee should have access to this Committee.

My next point is that there should be an organisation which is purely of intelligence, in nature. For example, the Narcotics Control Bureau was formed with that intention, but now it is playing the role of enforcement also which involves investigation into crimes and prosecution. The Narcotics Control Bureau is totally inadequate to go into all the aspects. So, there should be one agency where all the agencies should report about their activities. Now, the Home Ministry has taken up a good operation to computerise the functioning of the National Crime Records Bureau. A lot of activity has taken place in this regard, but a lot more has to be done. Unfortunately, many agencies like the Narcotics Control Bureau, the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence and the military agencies have no access to the National Crime Records Bureau. Even the Central Bureau of Investigation does not have that information. So, there should be a computer terminal at every agency so that it can have access to the records.

The next aspect comes down to the State level. As a Nodal Agency has been suggested, what is more important is, at the State level we will require have to have an organisation which will coordinate the activities of the State police and the Central forces. There are no meetings held ever between them except at some places where certain measures have been taken after the Bombay bomb blasts. Then, we have to come further down to the District level. At the District level also, under the Superintendent of Police, all the Central forces should at least meet once in a month to coordinate their activities. So, we should have a three tier system, at the District level, at the State level and at the Central level where the State and the Central agencies can cooperate and coordinate their activities. This should be the first step in evolving a mechanism to fight against crime, as such.

The last aspect which I want to point out is about the coastal region. The coastal region is totally vulnerable to the influx of smuggled goods, arms and also to the export of drugs. There is no proper mechanism to control it. The Customs have totally neglected the coastal areas. In many coastal districts, I have found to my horror that not even Customs Patrol Guards are available. Some ad-hoc arrangements of Customs patrolling involving the Police and Customs have been taken up, after the Bombay bomb blasts. But the trawlers which were taken up for this activity have got no speed and those trawlers have also been taken, in some instances, from those people who have been involved in trafficking of drugs.

Sir, I do not want to go into specific instances. But permanent arrangement for coastal patrolling must be

made. The Coast Guard must be given due responsibility and it should be integrated with the Customs for the protection of the coast and to prevent criminal activities along the coastal line.

Sir, I have suggested some measures, as far as my understanding goes as to the need to develop an organisation, but nothing short of an integration of all the available resources at the control of the Central and the State Governments can help us to combat this particular phenomenon of the nexus among the politicians, bureaucrats, criminals, judiciary and industrialists which is afflicting every country in the world.

The only way we can combat this menace is by a single-minded resolve on the part of all political parties. After all, we are the ones who have to decide on what is to be done. The political parties must make available the information about the people in their organisation who are affected by this phenomenon. Unfortunately, I have seen that many politicians, unknowingly yield to certain overtures by the criminals. Many criminals have infiltrated into the political parties as Members of legislative assemblies and of Parliament by default. I do not say that political parties are doing it. But the most important thing is we are always pointing a finger at politicians. Let us look at the other side also, at the bureaucracy which is beyond all this. We are successfully trying to control the power of politicians and of the executive. After all, we are a representative body. We are not permanent. We can be changed. But the permanent organs here are the ones who have got vested interest, who developed vested interest over or years and if politicians do not come together on this point, let us treat this as a matter of national consensus. Let us resolve unitedly to fight this menace because if India is not to become Columbia, then immediate action has to be taken because the time has not yet run out on us. But it is running out. But for the sake of future generations, let all of us unitedly resolve to combat crime and criminality and corruption in all its manifestations and, for that matter, be prepared to sacrifice anywhere, any time and anything that is at our disposal.

MR. SPEAKER : I have still with me about 11 Members to speak.

[Translation]

I have still with me a list of 11 Members. Five or six Members are from that side, three from your side and rest from other parties. It will take lot of time if all of them speak for 30-35 minutes on an average.

[English]

Please bear with me. It is not necessary to say what is really happening because the report says that. We can



go beyond that and we can make all points. Otherwise, you shall have to sit very late into the night.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, kindly allow the hon. Minister to give his reply.

[English]

SHRI RAM KAPSE (Thane) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, I have gone through the report and the feeling which was generated when I read the report of the security scam, the same feeling was there. But this report makes a difference in some parts. The Committee was appointed with the specific purpose. I need not read out all the purposes, but I should read two lines:-

"The Committee had to take stock of all available information about the activities of crime Syndicates/ Mafia organisations which had developed links with and were protected by Government functionaries and political personalities. Based on the recommendations of the Committee, Government shall determine the need, if any to establish a special organisation agency to regularly collect information."

18.44 hrs

(Shri P.C. Chacko in the Chair)

At the end there is a specific recommendation for a nodal agency. I would reply, whether the nodal Committee has been appointed and, when it was appointed, and submission of the report and the date on which the nodal machinery was formed is definitely important.

Then, it was expected to regularly collect information and pursue cases against such elements. I would again request the Minister to tell us, in detail, how many cases have been pursued against such elements. That will be beneficial to the House.

As I read the report, the feeling is that very few meetings must have taken place. There is a reference to the first meeting of 15th July 1993. Then, in the course of discussions, the Home Secretary perceived that some of the members appeared to have some hesitation in openly expressing their views and also seemed unconvinced that Government actually intended to pursue such matters. Then, there was a request by Shri Vohra to give written submissions. Whatever written submissions were given, they were given in detail. So, this is not a normal report. But really speaking different agencies were giving their own information to the Home Secretary. So, there were less meetings. The report has also been drafted by one single person based on the information which was collected by him. They pursue the cases only which are assigned to them. As far as possible, they do not pass on the

information to other agencies, to the other Departments. Every Department is afraid that if at all it passes on this information, the information may be leaked. That is, in short, the crux of the whole report. After the tabling of the Report, all of us feel that all the Departments should work together and still the information which is very secret in nature should not be leaked. What have you done so far to achieve that objective? That is my second query.

As far as the political relations are concerned, this should not be used by the Government in power. Whatever information is passed on should not be misused. That is another aspect of the report. So, care has been taken as far as this part is concerned. I think the queries are pertinent to the report because this is, in substance, the report. When we go through the report, first, we should be very serious about the report. There are some reasons which we should take into account. We, as a society, have become poor. Individual-wise or family-wise some people might have been rich. We have a feeling that there are persons who can go scot-free even after committing any type of crime. The money power, the muscle power, the media owned by some such persons and the Government machinery, these four M's have created or are creating a very big problem and therefore we are a poor society. The individual liberty is in danger. We are not safe. Our personal security and our national security is at stake. So, the problem itself is not about one politician or the other having some relations, some nexus with the criminals. That is not the real problem. We, as a society, have gone down.

There are very few politicians about whom we can say that even after retirement even though they are poor are respected. If at all there is some respect, it is only to their power and sometimes power with muscle power and sometimes with money power. So, the real danger is from ISI. But, at the same time, the persons who act in India at the behest of ISI are the narcotics, black money, illegal constructions. So many illegal things are going on. Here, there is a reference that it all starts with illegal construction which is brought out with illegal money. We have experiences in our metropolitan cities and now even at tehsil places which are going on.

When I raised this point in Maharashtra Assembly when you were the Chief Minister, even one of your Minister never tried to reply me. Then I enquired with every police officer whom I met whether there was any arrangement as far as this menace was concerned about the illegal construction, illicit liquor - he told that 'we have not taken any cognizance'. But within ten or fifteen years the menace has shown which we can just experience now. So, it all started at a local level and now the gangs have grown up like anything and there are at least two MLAs in Maharashtra Assembly whom you never wanted to show them as Congress candidates, were selected as Congress

candidates in 1990 and then again they got elected. But the same political powers are working with you and you are trying to come together, to come closer. Who selected them and who brought them in the Maharashtra Assembly? Now again, that is the menace, So, whatever started as a small illegal construction problem has taken this shape.

Now, there is a mention about the CBI Report of 1986. I would like to enquire what happened to that Report because there is again a mention that it should be rewritten in the light of happenings afterwards. So, 1986 Report has become old and now there is a need again to pursue that matter. So, there was one Report. I would remind you of one more Report which was very important as far as this topic is concerned and it was Lentin Report. Lentin was a Justice and he prepared a Report after the deaths occurred in JJ Hospital. He had mentioned at length how the politicians, Ministers, bureaucrats worked together and ultimately the deaths took place in JJ Hospital because everybody did not accept his responsibility in time. So, that Report also could have been of use. This is the third Report again. Only Reports will not help; only nodal agency will not help us unless it is pursued properly. The real problem is bureaucracy and politicians at some places have become agents of each other. Whether bureaucracy takes the help of politicians or politicians take the help of bureaucracy that is to be seen.

Really speaking, the main dealers are the executive power, the real bureaucracy and at the same time, politicians - all are working together - and that is creating the problem. This belief was at the root when we started our life in politics: I will succeed in my life only because I am good." Is that belief really true today? That is the real problem.

Therefore, I would suggest some way out as to how to come out of all these things. I would make some suggestions now.

The first one is declaration of property. At the time of election, whenever an election is held, every politician should declare his assets and at the time of retirement from that place, he should declare his property.

The second is, 'no suspicion'. 'No candidature to suspicious characters' should be the second rule as far as the political parties are concerned. About the election reforms, there is a discussion off and on, but election reforms are not taking place. So, for fair elections, let us try it again.

There should be less discriminatory powers with the Government functionaries, whether they are Ministers or bureaucrats. There should be less discriminatory powers. There is corruption at all levels and nexus with the criminals at some places, as far as bureaucracy is concerned. So, that should be revamped.

The real problem is that action was not taken quickly by the Government. The report about some criminals is that action was not taken at the appropriate time and that created the whole problem. So, action should be taken quickly by the Government. In any case, no contacts with the criminals should be a must for the politicians. If we work that way, we may have a better India. Let us try for that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Mr. Chairman, Sir the hon. Speaker has advised Members to be as brief as possible. This debate, I am afraid, is already fizzling out both on the floor of the House and upstairs, in the Press Gallery. So, I think, there is no point in going in for lengthy quotations, for example for the Vohra Committee's Report, which is one way to avoid being brief. We assume that Members of this House would have read this Report. It is not such a lengthy document, after all. And if they have not read it, I do not think that there is need for anybody to educate them by reading our passage by passage from this Report. They can very well read for themselves.

I just want to remind the House that this Report would never have come to light but for the initiative and courage shown by that constable, Mohammed Ansari Kunju, to whom we should pay some tribute. He was the man who managed to detect in the middle of the night the fire which was lit there in the 'tandoor' of the Bagia Restaurant in order to get the body of the unfortunate Naina Sahnii. But for the affair, we would never have been any wiser about this Vohra Committee's Report. Therefore, now, when the Government asks us or Mr. Chavan probably would ask us to have confidence in the Government, that they are going to take action, very effective action and so on, we cannot possibly have any confidence in a Government which suppressed this Report for two years, slept over it, did absolutely nothing. This is a Report which had made only one recommendation: to set up a nodal agency consisting of some civil servants. Even that, they never did and only when there was the pressure of public opinion and the pressure in this House, they came out with this Report. So, I am not terribly optimistic or enthusiastic about what is going to be the fate of these things.

Mr. Sudhir Sawant has made some valuable observations and suggestions regarding different aspects of this problem. He has dealt mainly with the question of crime as crime but we were asked here to debate on this Report, which deals with a specific aspect of crime, that is the linkages, the nexus with politicians, bureaucrats and so on.

19.00 hrs.

They are not dealt with other aspects of crime *per se*. Many Members have spoken already; and I must congratulate Mr. Vohra, in spite of being a top class

bureaucrat and I must say that he has brought out some very useful, important and significant things in this Report although they relate only to the symptoms of the disease. They do not deal with the disease itself. The symptoms are quite horrifying as they are written by him in this Report. He has made it clear and the Government has made it clear that they are not going to reveal the data or the information or the reports on the basis of which Mr. Vohra must have reached these conclusions. He could not have reached these conclusions in the abstract or in the air. He did it and he admitted here, on the basis of the data supplied to him by the different agencies—by RAW, by CBI, by the Intelligence Branch, by the Revenue Intelligence, all of which, unfortunately according to Mr. Vohra, are acting in watertight compartments. They are under different agencies, they do not interact with each other; there is no coordination between them; and they do not pool their information.

Shri Sawant has already mentioned about that. I support his suggestion that there should be one centralised coordinated agency. Otherwise, we will never be able to do anything. Of course, there are some facts which are available, not in Mr. Vohra's report, but from other sources, about the degree or the extent to which these criminal elements have got into active politics. But it is known to everybody — how many MLAs, how many MPs or how many legislators at different levels are functioning in different State; or at least the people who are supposed to have criminal backgrounds.

I would like to say that there are parties who do not really depend very much on what we call cadres, party cadres, cadres who have been trained in some particular ideology or some politics. There are many parties which do not operate through such cadres. They have started depending more and more on higher lumpen elements who are paid from the money which comes, as he says, from smuggling, from narcotics trade, from hawala transactions, from foreign sources and so on and these lumpen elements are being hired more and more to do rigging and booth capturing and all that at the time of elections. The people who depend on them for these purposes, naturally, once they are elected, they are in the grip of these people. They can be easy victims of blackmail, it is inevitable. Once a goonda has helped you to get elected, then you have to be, for all time to come, in debt to that goonda and give favours to him also. It is a vicious circle.

I do not talk about our media like films, not all films, but in many films, the law breaker is glorified as the hero. I don't know what impact it will leave on the minds of younger people in our country. Bombay city, people have mentioned it, is more and more becoming like Chicago was, in the United States, in 1930s. This becomes a centre of it. Even gang warfare is taking place more and more in

Bombay and many people have fallen victims to it. I am told that there are 17 Corporators in Bombay who are figuring as accused in criminal cases for murder, extortion, kidnapping, etc., This is the kind of the thing that is going on.

So, I want to say that a nodal agency which is headed or operated by a civilian officer, by a bureaucrat can never enjoy people's confidence, who may be a very good officer. Therefore I am supporting the amendment moved by Shri Arjun Singh for setting up of a Committee of the House. This is done in all the countries. Congressional Committees are there in the USA; House of Commons Parliamentary Committees are there in UK. It is nothing new.

Thanks to the Speaker of this House, we have a whole chain of Standing Committees now. Then, why not one more? Why not a Standing Committee of the House to go into this particular question of how a nexus is operating between the criminal underworld and the political forces which are operating outside.

I agree that it is not only politics which has been infected; others should not escape the net. Bureaucrats are there. Judiciary is there. Some people in the media are there. Businessmen are there. Industrialists are there. Nobody can say that they have not been corrupted or succumbed to the pressures of these criminals. But let there be a Committee. I support this because otherwise my friend, Mr. Paswan's Resolution, I am afraid, does not lead us anywhere. It has no teeth in it. It leaves it to the Government to take some measures. But I do not believe this Government will take any measure. This Government will not take any measures.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I take total objection on this point...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

We have moved the resolution and I say that we are ready to accept any resolution or amendment they intend to move...(Interruptions) The Government has made up its mind to move a resolution on Vohra Committee report. We had earlier moved a resolution censuring this Government for being unable to check criminalisation. The Government should take steps in this direction. It has been decided in the Business Advisory Committee that there will be a discussion on Vohra Committee report, then what more can be done than this? Whosoever wants to move the amendments can do so...(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I never said so...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Ram Vilasji, please take your seat...

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is this?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I do not understand it. People are talking here. Side-talks are going on. It is not something on the record.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, yes. It will not form part of the record, please.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. CHAIRMAN : When a senior Member is speaking, please do not interrupt like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I thought that probably Mr. Indrajit Gupta has agreed.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I have not said anything to you, Mr. Paswan. I only said that the Resolution or Motion which you proposed here, which you moved here has got no teeth in it because in the end it says that it leaves it to the Government to take measures which are necessary. Then, if somebody comments on that and makes some other interpretation, you have every right to object.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Indrajit Gupta, please understand that we are discussing the Resolution moved by Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Yes, I know.

MR. CHAIRMAN : And not the amendment moved by Mr. Arjun Singh. The Hon. speaker has to take a decision on the amendment made by Shri Arjun Singh. So the subject matter before us for discussion is the Resolution moved by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : So, I have said that I consider his Resolution to be lacking in teeth.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, that is right.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : But it does not prevent me from expressing my opinion that I had agreed with the idea in Mr. Arjun Singh's amendment whether it is permitted or not. That will be decided later by the Speaker. So, what I am saying is that we have no confidence in this Government being able to do anything because they have no will to do it. It is not a question of having the power to do something.; They have not got the will. That is proved by these two months sleep which they were indulging in, not wanting to even tell the people that there is such a thing as the Vohra Committee Report until it was forced on them.

Then this JPC Report on the Banking Scam, in my opinion, is a monumental example. That Report itself is a monumental example of nexus between criminals and politicians and people in high places. Page after page, para after para that deals directly or indirectly with the way that certain people racketeers, who were functioning in the share-market, have been using their ill-gotten gains to influence and to corrupt politicians at different levels.

I do not mention all that talk about the suit-case and all that. Suit-case was a big factor in that—Harshad Mehta claiming that he had sent a suit case. But where, you know. Whether it is true or false, I do not know, because up to now nothing has been proved. - neither that he sent the suit-case nor that he did not send the suit-case...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What was the attitude of the Central Government?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Please. I did not disturb you. Let me finish, I am in a hurry, I have to go somewhere.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : We are seeking clarification from a senior Member.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : But senior Member should not stand up all the time only quoting from this Report. Anybody can read this Report.

Then, Sir, there is some sort of underlying idea which many Members have advanced here and which leads me to ask the question. Is it a global phenomenon and therefore, we should not be so much worried about it? It is in Italy, it is in Columbia - of course I do not deny it - it is in U.S.A., it is in developed countries also. So, what is that - it is bound to come here? There was a time when we used to be told that poverty, 'garibi' is also a global phenomenon, unemployment is a global phenomenon, price rise is a global phenomenon. Then what! You see, what is happening now in our country. It is a fact that some years ago we were not faced with this particular type of problem of this dimension. It has grown over the years and it has now become like a monster, the hydra-headed monster now infesting, corrupting and behaving like a cancerous pest. So, we have to take it seriously.

Sir, instead of taking more time, I will just make four or five suggestions. They are not very revolutionary or radical suggestions. But I do believe that if you are going to depend only on the Government machinery, administrative machinery or even only the law, to tackle this problem - we have to do that also. But we will not get very fast. Ultimately, the people have to be mobilised. The people have to be mobilised for a campaign. The people know nowadays, everywhere, that who are the mafias in their respective localities, who is the man who control money,

\* Not recorded.

gun power as well as mafia gangs. They know it. But they are afraid to speak out. Things have come to the sorry pass. The people are afraid to speak out the things - they know who these mafias are - because mafias have the power to terrorise the people, to buy them up and get them killed. This is going on and on. All the political parties - I do not exclude my party - should be in a position seriously to mobilise the people at various local levels through some sort of citizens' committee or whatever you like to call it, who may include voluntary, non-voluntary, governmental and non-governmental agencies in a joining campaign against these mafia people.

Now-a-days, Sir, if a singly man starts speaking out openly against corruption taking some risks, he becomes so popular. It is because people feel that this man is saying something which they would also like to say but they are afraid to say it. You know when happened in Bombay to Mr. Khairnar. He was not a very big personality or a very powerful man. But whether at a certain stage rightly or wrongly he had any real evidence or not, I do not know. But publicly, he started speaking against corruption in high places mentioning certain persons by name and so on, and the people were flocking around him like anything. He was given a big reception, he was holding meetings and all that. I do not know what has happened to him, now, a poor chap!

My point, Sir, is that the citizens have to rouse. If the people have the courage to give leadership to the people and assure that the political parties will stand with them, then it is possible to do so. But if you do not consider this to be a serious problem then, of course, nothing will be done. We will go on depending on the Government or on laws. We have no lack of laws though I agree that the laws should be tightened up. The existing laws are full of all kinds of loopholes which require to be plugged, which require to be tightened up and that is an exercise which the Government should get the Law Department to do.

But I would say, firstly, all assets and all conspicuous expenditure of political parties and leaders should be made public. I say, of all political parties without exception. All assets and all conspicuous expenditure by political parties or political leaders should be made public. How it is to be done, what should be the modality, could be worked out. But the principle should be agreed to.

Secondly, one big trouble is, in most parties - excuse my saying so - there is not much of inner party democracy. That means, the lower levels of the party, the lower ranks, the cadres and all those people - at the district level, at the *taluka* level and at the State level also, do not have much of a voice or say in the choice of their leaders. It is all done at the higher level by manoeuvrings nor do they have any voice in the choice of the candidates. I do not

want to go into what the internal functioning of the Congress Party at the moment is; it is causing enough treble in their own family. Even the meeting of the AICC has not been called, I do not know for how long. There is no Central Election Board. You know what is going on. But in many Parties this kind of a thing is there.

Thirdly, as I said, the people should be helped by the Parties to organise a joint campaign against corruption and against this domination by the *mafias*. For this, all legal bodies and voluntary, non-voluntary organisations should be mobilised.

Fourthly, Sir, everybody has said that criminals or people with criminal records should be banned from contesting elections. At the moment the definition in the law prevents it, because it says that a criminal must be a person who has been actually convicted for a criminal offence, which is not always easy, as somebody has stated it here. What a long process it is! But there are many people with criminal reputation, criminal records and all that. Therefore, it is upto the Parties, first and foremost, to see that such people are not encouraged by them to be put up as candidates. If they are put up as candidates, you cannot stop this process from going on.

Firstly, I have already mentioned, this nodal agency recommendation contained in the report, which is supported perhaps by the Government, is quite useless. Many Members of the Ruling Party have also said that it will serve no purpose at all. So, it has to be either a Committee of Parliament or some sort of a Commission. We had also been thinking of a Commission headed by some Judge, some judicial person or something like that. But this nodal agency operated by a bureaucrat can never enjoy any kind of popular confidence.

Sir, these are some of my suggestions. I do not wish to take up more time but we would like to know from the Government, what they propose to do? Personally I do not think they are going to do anything because they do not have any will to do anything which has been exposed both by the way they have treated this report so far and by the way they have treated the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which was a unanimous report, in the contents of which so many criminal elements have been mentioned and exposed; their method of operating has been clearly defined there; and their links with people who are in high places. This is all I have to say.

I hope very much that the same pressure - public pressure and parliamentary pressure - which finally brought this Vohra Committee Report out, will ultimately force the Government to take certain steps without which of course we will remain where we are. Even after some time we will find that no progress has been made.



19.19 hrs.

**SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA (Guwahati) :** Mr. Chairman, Sir, there were times when I used to get over-awed by the extraordinary eloquence of some of our Opposition leaders. But time and experience has made me brave enough to treat many of these sound and fury as exercises in futility.

Today, as a very young Member, I have the full conviction to say that I am one such person who has been fighting *mafia* and terrorism in my own way. I am not frightened in any manner in fighting terrorism, in fighting *mafias*, in fighting personally the criminal-politician nexus.

I have a right to say certain things, firstly, for knowledge and, secondly, as opinions. I know that it is criminalisation and the Vohra Committee Report which is of extreme importance to us today. But I also know that this is just a natural reflection of the gradual and very serious social deterioration that has taken place in the very system of our democracy over the years that today we have reached a stage when there is despair in the minds of many of the senior leaders. I have even seen cynicism in the minds of senior leaders on a matter of such vital and extreme importance, criminalisation.

The Vohra Committee Report gives enough hint and our normal intelligence gives us enough hint to come to the conclusion that criminalisation and politics, corruption in high and low places is eating into the very system, eating into the very edifice of our Parliamentary democracy. It is polluting Parliament, if I may say so, Sir; it is polluting the Judiciary as per this Report; it is polluting the political authorities, the Civil servants and what not!

As Ram Vilasji has said, like cancer, criminalisation has eaten us out. We are still - I am sorry to say, Sir, and I am disillusioned attempting at pain-killers and that too with great amount of cynicism, if not despair. I was also shocked that Somnathji, whose judgement on this issue I was so impatiently waiting to hear, made so many humorous points at various *tandoors* and all that. I expected something deeper than this. Was it because of one corrupt corporator who ensured their existence in Calcutta municipality? I do not want to go to that level. I think, Sir, what we are discussing today might decide the future of the political system because the challenge is coming over to us. We have seen how criminals devour politicians; we have seen how corruption kills ideology; we have seen how criminalisation and corruption creates danger for national security.

When I talk about national security, Sir, I talk about my own experience. I see many instances in front of me. Because of Parliamentary etiquette, rules and conventions, I cannot utter so many things but it is a fact that terrorism, drug mafia, national security and politics have all become

an integral part and we have become helpless spectators seeing our country being about to be destroyed and finished. On such an important issue, Sir, just see the presence of Members. What a sense of complacency! ...*(Interruptions)*...I am not talking in terms of Treasury Benches and Opposition. My dear sirs, please, on an issue like this, rise about party politics. Search your hearts. That is what Mr. Salman was talking, search your hearts. It is not a question of justifying yourselves when the whole country is in danger, when our polity is in danger, when we have failed to evolve systems to deal with the people like criminals and traitors like Memon. And all that we give in official writing.

It is not a question of Mr. Chavan's or mine, or Mr. Salman Khurshid's inability to do it. Search your hearts. All of us at various points of time...*(Interruptions)*...I am asking all of us to see the deterioration taking place in the system...*(Interruptions)*...CPI(M) are the first people who started criminalisation through systematic rigging of polls. They started the systematic rigging of polls...*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** You were talking sense but now you are talking something without sense.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Order, please!

**SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA :** Sir, I do not want to get excited. I am being provoked.

Sir, I am extremely sorry to say that the Vohra Committee Report makes only one reference, only one reference to the border States, not even to the North-Eastern States.

I have personally met Shri Vohra a number of times with a number of very serious allegations. There were allegations of nexus between the terrorists and the politicians for procuring arms for smuggling. There were nexus between terrorists and drug mafia in the North East. Because of this, as my hon. friend, Sir Sudhir Sawant has just pointed out, we had to talk to the concerned people. I have been giving informations after informations to each one under the sky about the nexus between the terrorists and the politicians, the drug money, smuggling of arms and of course against all kinds of political bosses. I am not saying this Party or that Party. Is it proper when our security is in danger to throw mud at one another? It is more important for us to search our hearts and find solutions. It is not important, Shri Safiddin Choudhary, to talk about *tandoors* as if this single *tandoor* incident had made all the Congressmen criminals and bride-burners. It is a kind of silly politicisation and that too at this level. We never treated anybody like that. We never treated them like that when the person who was arrested in the Calcutta bomb blast case belonged to CPI (M). We have never said that all CPI(M) people are criminals. I have the highest

respect for the Members of the CPI(M) for their commitment to the nation. But it is a fact that even amidst whiteness of your men, there are some such people whom you yourselves know. So, it is there in every political party.

I bet go point out an incident without going into specifics. I want to point out this incident just to give vent to my feelings that the North-East people do not get time to raise their matters even in this forum. It is because, we are new Members, young Members, junior Members and so on. It is very relevant to what is being spoken here. One lady and her nine-year-old daughter were murdered in the heart of Guwahati. They were murdered in the presence of the four-year-old child who was fired upon but the bullets missed him. There were open allegations in the newspapers and open allegations by politicians that those murders were committed by one such person who had links with the terrorists and who was the God father of the terrorists at one point of time. That God father had turned out to be the absconder and against whom there is a rape case pending for the last ten years and the court had given directions that his property should be attached. How shocking it was when it was found that that man lives in the first floor of his personal apartment where the DIG and ex-DGP also live! The DIG lives in the Second floor which was his office and in the top floor, the retired DGP was staying. So, there were open allegations in all the newspapers that those police officials had blatantly prevented the murderers arrest in spite of the fact that such heinous crime was committed with the Sub-Machine Gun of a security officer in a sensitive place like Assam.

I would like to cite one more small incident. There was an LoC scam in Assam which did not get focus in the newspapers of New Delhi. We call this so-called media as a national media is it or Delhi media? I call this national mainstream as polluted mainstream. It is because, we are more Indians. We are fighting, in this country in such conditions only for the protection of our country. We know what the condition is. That is why I called it as a polluted mainstream. They hardly publish such news. The criminals also know how to get the news printed in the media. They do so through money and through bottles of scotch. This media had published to tandoor case. Here only one individual was involved. Only one aberration gives them pleasure in hitting us. The fact is that everywhere there is deterioration. Everywhere there is corruption.

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barrackpore) : Crocodile case is there.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA : Yes, crocodile case is also there.

In the Hindi heartland, if I am permitted to say, bride burning has become a fashion. We do not know about this

in the North East. We do not know anything about dowry deaths and other silly things in the North East. Do not blame us. Unfortunately, you Party does not exist anywhere else except in Calcutta and in Kerala. But the Congress Party is such a vast stream of river, which has its existence everywhere. Unfortunately you look at the Congress Party only from the point of view of *tandoor* and you do not look at these people who have shed blood holding the flag high. You will be shocked to know—we were working together—that one of my own General-Secretaries died holding the Congress Party flag. Have you heard of him? ...*(Interruptions)* In this LOC scam, false bills worth of Rs. 200 crore of Government money were taken and it was found that this money was given to the terrorist outfit. Now, the CBI has gone into it. There is an allegation that the CBI is protecting the political people and the Ministers who have been given flats in Bombay. What do you do? It is not that facts are not known. At least I have the highest regard for the Home Minister's personal integrity. In know how closely he monitors things in the North East. Unfortunately, I do not know what actions are taken. I had mentioned earlier—Jaswant Singhji was present on that day—that facts are known but actions are not taken not because of personal inefficiency—and that is the point I am trying to repeatedly assert—but because of some kind of deterioration in the entire political system of our country...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : It is because of nexus...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA : Not only nexus but it is because of criminals, it is because of corrupt elements, who have found out the ways of exploiting the weakness of our system. They have learnt to exploit the legal system. It is a fact that our legal system does not punish the real criminals. Shri Salmanji has mentioned about it. It is a fact that our economic offenders know how to take advantage of the existing economic loopholes. Similarly, the *Mafias* also know how to take advantage of the political weaknesses of people. When these laws were made, when this Constitution was made, when the edifice of Parliamentary democracy was made by our forefathers, they thought that these people, who would be manning this free India, which had been freed from hundreds and hundreds of years of bondage, would become men and not mannequins. Unfortunately, after Independence, all of us have somehow become from men to mannequins. Smaller people were unable to hold the high principle on which the system can flourish.

My suggestion is little ahead of what has been mentioned my many of you. It is because I do not consider that the officials of the nodal agency will break the nexus between the criminals and the politicians. Big politicians like Somnathji protecting the politicians, can an official do anything?...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Leaving all others why do you mention us? Mention others.

[English]

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA : We have been fighting corruption and terrorism to the extent possible...  
(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please address the Chair. Kindly do not answer to the comments.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA : My suggestion is little different. Is it possible, perhaps at this point of time or perhaps five years from hence because I do not believe that even the formation of a Committee, as has been very nicely suggested by various Members or even a Judicial Inquiry Commission or something like that can permanently solve the problem? Is it possible—Somnathji, I seek your guidance because you are a senior Member—to change the system of governance to such a pattern so that many things become minimised? An idea has struck me.

An idea has struck me. Suppose you have proportional representation, instead of direct elections, then, is it possible that the parties who select the people in that case, anybody who is elected is thoroughly dependent on the parties and parties are accountable? This is number one. Is it possible that such a system checks the corruption and the money power that takes place while elections? Is it not possible when you have proportional representation that the Parties elect the Council of Ministers, they are not dependent on anybody but they are people of high integrity. They are answerable. Is it possible that they will not succumb to the pressures of bureaucracy and bureaucracy will have to listen to those people because they are the best of the lot? Is it possible that the days of professional politicians and normal power brokers will be over? I think it is high time we have to think of perfecting the system as such. We have to think of perfecting the judiciary. We have to think of perfecting the Civil Service because I do not believe only the politicians are corrupt. I know how corrupt the Civil Service is. I know how corrupt the police officers are. I know how corrupt the businessmen are? These officers who were sent as CBI officers - I have spoken at the Home Ministry's Standing Committee - I know how many of these CBI officers take money to push up cases. We all know. Some how or the other the human element has been failing us. Let us have the courage to recognize it. As Salmanji has said, let us search our hearts. Let us search our hearts. Let us try to transform ourselves but you know, simple homilies, even though Somnathji speaks with the greatest amount of conviction, Jaswant Singhji will say people will call them homilies unless we implement them. Is it possible that not depending upon that

great transformation that has suddenly taken place among us, among the Congressmen, who will all become Gandhis the Somnathjis will become all Karl Marx and Angels? Is it possible that, perhaps, instead of we are trying to change the human beings, we change the system. These are the small, small relevant ideas to be given deeper thought by all of us.

With all these, let me tell you one last sentence. I believe that Congress is the only Party which can respond properly to the changing times and Congress will itself again respond positively to the crisis. My Prime Minister, my Party President has given me the direction that 'on criminalisation, do not compromise, go ahead and fight'. That is his instruction. I will fight till my last flood. Whether I become an M.P. or not, does not matter.

[Translation]

SHRI CHHEEDI PASWAN : (Sasram) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am on a point of order. The important subject like criminalisation of politics is being discussed on the floor of the House right now. The report of Vohra Committee, defection phenomenon and black-money are the other subjects being discussed here but the Parliamentary Affairs Minister Shri Shuklajee is not present in the House. This discussion has got no meaning in his absence. Shuklaji should be present in the House during such an important discussion.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please took you seat. Do not raise such silly issues please.

[Translation]

DR. S.P. YADAV (Sambhal) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I rise to speak in favour of the motion that Shri Ram Vilas Paswan jee has moved with regard to the criminalisation of politics and to take action on the report of Vohra Committee without any delay. Though supported by leaders of all political parties and whatsoever has expressed his concern here has indeed supported it but they all have indulged in accusations and counter-accusations only. I want to urge upon you and this House that it is indeed an important subject and since all members agree with this motion so accusations and counter-accusations will not help us out rather well will have to look for an effective solution so that this problem could be solved.

The Vohra Committee was constituted on 9 July, 1993. This Committee was constituted comprising of Union Home Secretary and four other persons of the Government of India but this Committee could present only twelve page report within two years. I do not understand that the Vohra Committee has given such a solution by presenting its twelve page report, which brings, forth an important

information with regard to the criminalization in politics.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I want to say that only three States have been mentioned in the sub-clause of the para Number 6.0 on the page No. 8 - they are Bihar, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. It has been said about these States that Mafia-dons have got political patronage of politicians and Government officials or they are in league with each other. It has been said about three States only, whereas this Committee has referred to three mafia-dons only they are Memon brothers, Iqbal Mirchi and Dawood Ibrahim who are related to Maharashtra only but it did not say a word about criminalisation of Politics in Maharashtra. It has mentioned other three names of other three States.

We want to say to the Government through you that Criminalisation is spreading fast and in a very horrible manner in politics and no political party could deny this fact. Now the situation is such that every political party in power has tried to encourage criminalisation. The political party, which has been in power for a long time, has given more protection to criminals and encouraged crime.

I come from Uttar Pradesh where Legislative Assembly elections were held in 1993. According to a survey conducted by the Chief Election Commissioner Shri T.N. Sheshan, out of total 425 legislators, 180 were criminals. It was discussed elaborately. Later the police department made a computer analysis of it and came the conclusion that out of total 425 legislators, 143 legislators had a criminal record. It was also revealed that they were not involved in petty crimes but in serious crimes. Serious cases of robbery, murder, looting and theft were reported against them and they have been prosecuted for serious cases against them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it would not be correct if any political party says that it had no political criminal in its organisation. Members of Bhartiya Janata Party are in less number in this House but in Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly elections 177 legislators of this party won the elections and out of them 45 are criminals. I would not name the person, but 17 cases have been registered against a single legislator. In the same way the Samajwadi Party, which was in power at the time also had 44 criminals out of its total strength of 107 legislators and 36 cases were registered against a single legislator. Apart from it criminal cases were registered against 18 Legislators, out of the total 69 legislators of BSP which was its ally and 44 cases were registered against one legislator. I belong to the Janta Dal and out of total 27 legislators of my party 11 have a criminal tendency. Out of total 28 Legislators of the Congress party 8 are criminals and 41 cases have been registered against a single legislator. Out of three legislators of the Communist Party of India criminal cases have been registered against one legislator. We have to make analysis of it if any political party or person says that there is no

person with criminal background in their organisation I would like to recite a couplet in this regard-

'Dosh Paraye Dekhkar Chala hansat hansat,  
Apne Chitt na avahi Jinka aadi na ant.'

we should see how criminalisation is entering politics.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to relate the grave situation which was prevailing at the time of general elections in 1988-89. This issue was not raised by anyone here. Sir, through you, I would like to tell all the Members that during 1988-89 Rs. 65 crores were distributed among politicians and bureaucrats through an International Hwala Agency. I would not like to name them because their names have already been published. These persons were sued by the Supreme Court when the Congress Party was in power. The CBI has also given its report after inquiring into the matter and some persons were arrested for it. I have written several letters to the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. President. What will be the future of this country when conscience of political leaders, MPs, Members the ruling party and bureaucrats is sold for the sake of money. This House should be concerned over it. A person named Surendra Jain was arrested recently on the charge of distributing Rs. 65 crore to big leaders including the leaders of political parties in this regard. I would like to say that this issue and a demand for inquiry into it has never been raised in this House I have given several notices in this regard and we were not permitted to raise it even in Zero Hour. Now this issue is being debated and I would also like to say that one Surendra Jain was arrested and sent to jail and later he was granted bail at the instance of the Ministry. Charges were levelled against a minister. I would not like to name anybody but I would like to say about the people who intend to buy the political leaders of this country in exchange of money. The fact is that this country is not ruled by any Government but by the mafias. My colleagues from the Congress Party and others know about the mafias. I have written letters to all the MPs in this regard. Mafias give money at the time of elections and later one gets the policies evolved in their own interest.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the horrible and condemnable incident of 16th December, 1993 that took place in Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly M.L.As from the ruling party and opposition parties exchanged blows. It would have not happened if such people with criminal backgrounds had not been elected no tickets of various political parties. These incidents lower the dignity of our parliamentary system and democracy to a great extent.

Shri Kesari Nath Tripathi, former speaker of the Legislative Assmebly, also sustained serious injuries. No doubt, every political party of the country expresses concern over criminalisation of politics but no one makes

any effort on its part to check it. Every political party spots criminals in other parties but does not see that there are also criminals with it. This should not be allowed to happen. I would like to cite an example. Recently, by-election was held in Sahaswan constituency in Uttar Pradesh where booth capturing was openly done by the people of ruling party with the help of police and the SDM who was the Returning Officer of the elections. The Chief Minister's brother was also involved in booth-capturing. A wireless set was installed in his jeep. Police reached the place only after the Chief Minister's brother and left the site. Today, administrative authorities are also fully responsible, besides political leaders, for criminalisation of politics.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are a large number of criminals in Uttar Pradesh who are being shadowed by the Government. These people are of criminal nature and scores of court cases are pending against them. They are not in politics. Even then they are being shadowed. How deplorable act is this. Through you, I would like to say that if we indulge in charges and counter charges against each other we will not be able to resolve the issue. The Government should take concrete steps. We will have to enact some rules. The Mulayam Singh Yadav Government of Uttar Pradesh had scrapped Section 317. It had also abrogated the Criminal Act. We are sitting here to enact laws and rules and not to scrap the rules made earlier.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to conclude after making one-two suggestions to eliminate the main causes of criminalisation in politics. In this regard, I would like to say that we have an experience in this regard. Recently, funds were collected from candidates for giving tickets during the Assembly elections in several states. If funds are accepted from candidates, criminals and rich people will be able to get tickets. I request the leaders of all political parties not to give tickets by taking money. We have such examples in which money has been accepted for allotting tickets and if anyone wants to know, I can name those persons. I can also say the amount involved.

The second important aspect is that each candidate wants to win the elections at any cost. He wants to take recourse to even booth capturing for that. Only a person of criminal nature can commit the act of booth capturing. If any party is able to win the elections by taking help of such persons, then they will have their full hold over leaders, candidates who have won the elections and Members of Parliament. And they will increase their activities. If Government wants to check booth capturing, and if this entire House and Central Government have the will power, nomination of the candidate should be cancelled. If it is proved by the Election Commission that booth capturing was done in support of a particular candidate in the elections, and if the nomination of even a single candidate

is cancelled, no other candidate will try to get booth captured in his constituency. He will ask his agents not to capture booths, otherwise his candidature will be cancelled.

I do not give weightage of the comments about nodal committee, a mention of which has been made in the Vohra Committee report because Vohra Committee itself has said nothing in this regard. If a research is done in this matter, it will become a big thesis. There is nothing special in it. But I agree to the comments made by Shri Arjun Singhji about this Committee. I would like to suggest that a Committee comprising 1-2 judges of the Supreme Court or 1-2 Election Commissioners and some ex-MPs, should be constituted. That Committee can make some suggestions which can be considered by the House and passed thereafter. In this way the increasing criminalisation of politics can be checked.

With these words, I conclude.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Before I call upon Shri Rabi Ray, may I remind the hon. Members what the hon. Speaker has said ; "We have enough information and details with us. So, kindly come to suggestins, briefly". I hope I have the permission of the House to restrict the Members because ten more Members have to participate in the discussion.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, there are some more Members.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What to do? The names are being sent individually.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV : Names are sent duly signed by the leaders.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, that is true. Some important Members, who are Party leaders are also sending the names.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, please tell at what time the Home Minister is expected to reply to the debate?

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV : Can we have it tomorrow?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : You allow all the Members to speak now and the reply can be tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, please understand. We have decided on it. Let me remind you that the consensus in the House was, and on the basis of that we are proceeding, that we will sit till late and discuss and finish this and the Minister will reply and we will finish it off today itself.

*(Interruptions)*



MR. CHAIRMAN : No, please take your seat. The only thing is that by adjusting the time and by cooperating with the Chair, we can finish it and I hope we can do so in one hour's time. There is a lot of other business listed for tomorrow.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.M. SAYEED) : Sir, the same matter has not concluded in the other House and so, the reply has to be given by the Home Minister there also tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have to adjust. The Home Minister will have to reply in the other House tomorrow. So, we will finish it today.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RABI RAY (Kendrapada) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the views expressed by learned friend Ram Vilas Paswanji.

I think that all the hon. Members agree that the issue which is being discussed today in the House, is linked with the future of this country. I had written a letter six months back, to the hon. Home Minister, Chavanji that Members of Parliament should be provided the Vohra Committee report. I received only the acknowledgement of that letter but no reply has been received till now. I think that the hon. Members sitting that side will agree to the fact that had the Tandoor incident not taken place the Vohra Committee report would not have been presented in the Parliament. There can be no two opinions about it. I was just observing. Now, perhaps the hon. Home Minister has gone out, but he will return soon. On 24 May, a question was asked in the Rajya Sabha.

[*English*]

"Whether the Government have taken note of increasing criminalisation of politics; and if so, the action proposed to be taken in the matter."

[*Translation*]

Syed Sahab had replied this question, who is present in the House. We should know that the Vohra Committee report was available with the Government two years ago and Syed Saheb says that :

[*English*]

"The subject of criminalisation of politics has, indeed, attracted media attention and caused debate in various fora in the recent past. In a limited way, various statutes do attempt, for example, to deal with convicted persons being disqualified from contesting elections. However, it is felt that criminalisation of politics, in a broad sense, can only be checked by political parties themselves and through public opinion."

[*Translation*]

Can anyone imagine that this report was available with the Government.

[*English*]

You can see the cavalier and indifferent manner with which this report has been brushed aside.

[*Translation*]

As if an outsider is replying in the Parliament House. I do not hold Sayeed Sahib personally responsible for this. I want to say that today I am speaking from a very aggrieved heart, we are Parliamentarians and this is the Lok Sabha. It appears to me as if ours is the biggest democratic country in the world. On the basis of my little knowledge of history I can say that we have got a nation after 1500 years and on 15 August, 1947, we have got statehood in the modern and political and scientific language and today I am saying...(*Interruptions*) Hon. Chauhanji has come here, I hold Chauhanji in high esteem because he is also a freedom fighter. He has come, so I was saying that we have got nationhood after 1500 years. We got what we call statehood in the modern language. I know Mr. Vohrajee. He has worked with us. He has been a very honest officer. He has completed his entire work by seeing the documents. Two sentences are very important in this report. It is for the first time that such a high level officer who has held the post of a home secretary has conceded that a parallel government is running in the country. We people from opposition benches always used to emphasise this point but it is now that a senior most person at the helm of government affair has conceded to this fact. You might have been noticing that the experts of Print media and non-political persons have been emphasising for the last two months that the report is prosaic, who has been held responsible in the report? There are some reputed columnists of certain newspapers whom I do not want to name here. They have said that the Home Minister is the best Minister, and home secretary Shri Vohra Sahib has named three central Ministers and some Chief Ministers as well; I do not want to name them. But this debate is futile without pointing out the names. We talk of corruption. I want to speak about nexus. There is a report of UNI in the research department of Parliament House. He has talked about nexus. I want to speak one thing. I am giving the examples of Maharashtra only because this has started from there only. I want to point out by reading it out as to how they have discovered the 'nexus' dealt with in the Vohra Committee report. I would not read out the names : They say :-

[*English*]

"With prices in south-central Bombay varying between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 3500 a sq. ft. land often figures in the chain that links politicians and criminals.

[Translation]

Bombay is the biggest industrial city of India, after it the names of racketeers have been given. I would not take the name, people will object to it.

[English]

"Racketeers from Thane were nominated Congress (I) candidates for the February '90 elections and though under arrest and expelled by the party, both have been re-elected. Not to be outdone, the Shiv Sena gave corporation tickets to the wives of gangsters. The killing of industrialist Sunil Khatau confirmed that the Bombay mafia had muscled its way into the textile sector.

[Translation]

Two persons have been killed, so I am taking his name.

[English]

"An ensuing rash of killings - including that of BJP Bombay unit president Ramdas Nayak last August and notorious Shiv Sena corporator Khim Bahadur Thapa in April 1992 — is believed to have been over political spoils.

[Translation]

They are not talking of Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. I have read out just a sentence. Forty eight years have elapsed since we got independence. The Central Government has got all the informations, because it has got intelligence department, CBI and revenue department. The State Government has not got this power. I want to say something with regard to which nobody deny that the Congress ruled the country for 45 years atleast.

The Congress ruled for 45 years whereas the opposition parties ruled for three and a half year only. I want to say with all emphasis that you may take out the percentage of sharing of blame. The Congress ruled the nation for 48 years and opposition parties have ruled for 3 years only. We opposition parties might agree that are too owe responsibility only then our debate will go ahead. Mr. Chairman, Sir, only politicians are not mafias rather traders too have become mafia with Swash buks mafia raj is going on and I do not know whether Mr. Chairman has gone to Bogota, the Capital of Columbia or not. When I was speaker, I had been there. Hon. Samant jee of Congress has mentioned about this as to how a parallel Government is going on there. He has accepted it and Mr. Cabinet Minister and State Ministers are sitting here. They all must be thinking as to whether any prood is requested to testify what has been rendered by the Vohra Committee report of Mr. Chairman Sir, we are following the path of Columbia and Bogota which got statehood one and a half thousand years ago and who might loose it again.

I want to ask because the entire machinery of our nation is rotting. You know History. I too was a student of History and you too might have been a student of History. When inner rot sets in India, then we become vulnerable or fall prey to foreign invaders. We have already witnessed etc. Mr. Chairman Sir, I was thinking today. We still see two reports as a Parliamentarian. A Committee was set up under Mr. Satnam during the time of Lal Bahadur Shastriji for carrying out reforms. When we give report alongwith 10 legislator's evidence that a particular person has indulged in corruption, then this is envised into Enquiry should go on. Whether anybody conducts any enquiry into it, Hon. Morarji Bhai was the Chairman of the Committee and he was succeeded by Mr. Hanumantappa. Both of them were noted administrators. Mr. Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentarians are sitting here. We do know that all the recommendations were in the interest of our nation and intended to strengthen the administration. Today, forty years have elapsed. We introspect in our national interest and for the future of our country?

20.09 hrs.

(Shri Tara Singh in the Chair)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am not a pessimist. I am staunchly against cynicism. But this matter is rankling in my mind like two stars twinkling in the dead of night. Whether you know that people do not eat tandoor cooked bread following tandoor incident. The number of tandoor eating people has fallen short by 70 per cent. I salute crores of people outside this House, who are really our masters. They are enraged. They have differences. When hotel people ask them why do not you eat tandoor cooked bread, they reply that they are not eating because they get reminded of the particular lady in tandoor and they will not commit sin. So this is the reason that people like those of us sitting here hope.

We are nourishing hope that common people might rise against it. Those who are symbol of people's power will rise one day and set the things right.

Sir, I do not think that any of us will support dictatorship. Nobody here supports monopoly.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : It is Congress indeed.

SHRI RABI RAY : The Congress people may be the supporter of emergency. I do hold it. Here Mr. Minister Santosh Mohan jee is sitting here. I want to point out that we had given a document in the Narora camp, in which we believe that it was an abhorration. I thank for this Mr. Chairman Sir, I request to raise this debate above party level. Today, I spoke about the Government of Western Bengal. I have got my personal convictions. I do know Cabinet ranking Ministers belonging to Jyoti Babu's Government. I have reached this conclusion after roaming

in the entire country that if at all there is any cabinet which preaches and practise ansterity, then it is Mr. Jyoti Babu's Government only. We may become Minister but we must keep our private life clear. We should not allow any rot to set in it. It appears to me that the concept of 'plain and simple living high thinking' influences the life of most of his ministers. They might be in the Government for the past 18 years. Similarly, I may speak about Madhya Pradesh. Shri Digvijay jee was a member of this House and now he is Chief Minister there. But I am not supporting his misdeeds and he has made a judicial enquiry only after 15 days. He has ordered judicial enquiry into transporting RDX by politicians and Mafia from Madhya Pradesh into Gujarat. So he gave an order for an immediate probe into it. Now I am coming to the point. Coalition Government of BJP is running there in Bombay. This is the Party of Shri Jaswant jee. Here Malini jee and I too had supported the Government. Euron is defaming India through out the world. It propagates that it has spent 60 crore rupees on educating middle class people in India.

You know what education connotes. Such type of education means total corruption. The way that Government has taken action for scrapping the ENRON agreement in view of our national interest is a commendable step. I urge upon all these three State Governments to do one good deed each so that we could rise above party politics in conducting this debate. We shall have to keep up the status of our nation, we acquired 1500 years ago. We shall not forget the contents of the preamble of our Constitution. On becoming a Member of this House we take an oath of upholding and safeguarding the Sovereign, Republican, Secular and Socialistic character of this legislature in our system. Dighe ji is a socialist.

**SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) :** He was once.

**SHRI RABI RAY :** He still is, he says. I am saying that he is. Here, we all take an oath before the hon. Speaker of upholding the preamble. The Government admits and confirms Vohra Committee Report. So, where shall it lead us to? Hence, there are pulls and pressures, some people commend it and some curse it and the country seems to be in the doldrums.

What wranglings are we bogged down in here? The people are watching us. I reiterate that many people were not present here at that time. Let me take you back to 1956. In 1956, only 144 people had died in a train disaster in Tootikorien. It was preceded by the Mehbubnagar disaster. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was the then Minister of Railways. Shastri ji sought the permission of Jawaharlal ji to tender his resignation from his Cabinet. At that time, Jawaharlal ji said an averred 'no'. When there was another Tootikorien disaster, Lal Bahadur Shastri wrote a letter to Jawaharlal ji asking him not to refuse his tendering

resignation at that time. Jawaharlal ji said in Lok Sabha at that time that he (Shastriji) was my "Comrade-in-arms" and he was thankful to him for observing "Constitutional propriety". He further stated that he was accepting the resignation of his able friend and Cabinet Minister in keeping with this Constitutional propriety.

Sir, the Government confessed the day before yesterday that about 300 people had died in Firozabad train accident. The first Prime Minister of the country had accepted the resignation of his Minister of Railways in view of Constitutional Propriety in order to establish accountability in the House and before the country when only 144 people had died. Where has the Constitutional propriety gone today? The Executive is responsible to the House where there is no accountability. Accountability is the soul of democracy. There is nothing if there is no accountability. In this regard, the State Governments follow the Centre, the Members of District Councils follow the State Governments and Panchayats follow the District Councils.

**"Mahajano yeen gatah sah pantha"**

We, the leaders of the country are here to uphold democracy in India. We ignore 'Mahajano yeen gatah sah pantha'. We prove it to be a myth and send wrong signals to the people.

Sir, the country is moving ahead on the path of destruction. I may tell you that so far as accountability is concerned, England is a model country. No matter they ruled us but they lived a simple life. Who is not aware of Prophimo scandal. He was the Defence Minister. The only mistake he had committed was that he had made a wrong and misleading statement in the House of Commons with regard to his relations with the Christian Killer. Telling a lie is still considered a sin in the Parliament of India as well as in the House of Commons. As you know that he was a Conservative Party leader. The Conservative Party moved a resolution asking him to resign from the Cabinet but he resigned even from the Membership of the House.

Sir, I would like to remind my able friend, Chavan ji that the nation was not satisfied merely with his resignation. Subsequently, a judicial inquiry was ordered under the chairmanship of the world renowned judge of England, Lord Danning. What was the security angle involved in it? The finance of the Christian Killer Prophimo had some relations with the Russian diplomat also. Everybody here might have glanced through the Lord Danning report. Lord Danning submitted a report reflecting the doctrine of clean public life while enumerating the probable security intrigues.

Sir, now I submit that was recently got a report on "Standards in Public Life". During the last one year, 4-5 Ministers of the Cabinet rank have tendered their resignations in England. Somebody resigned as a fallout of sex scandal,

somebody for being corrupt. This necessitated a debate in the House of Commons as to what effect would such demeanour of the Members of the House leave on the common man? Then, a Committee was constituted under the chairmanship of a judge, Mr. Justice Nolen whose report is before us.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa) : Which report?

SHRI RABI RAY : It is the report of the Nolen Committee constituted in England. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was saying-

[English]

That nation can rise to the occasion and we have completely failed as a nation to rise to the occasion.

[Translation]

Government is a part of the nation.

[English]

We, as a nation, have completely failed to come to grips with the situation.

[Translation]

The Vohra Committee report presents a very grim situation and with regard to the Government's response to it, I can only say that we condemn it. We get no pleasure in condemning it because it does not solve the problem. This problem can not be solved unless we inculcate the necessary will-power, unless the Parliament, i.e. both Houses of the Parliament develop a political will-power which alone can save this country. The whole country is looking towards Parliament today. The Rome is burning and shall we become a Nero. The Government is playing the role of Nero but we will not co-operate with the Government in it. This is a question of the nation's future. The whole system is stinking and the question is how to check this stink? I would like to elaborate on how was this Committee constituted to weed out corruption from the public life of England. This report is entitled as "Standard of Public Life".

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please keep track of time.

SHRI RABI RAY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will not take much time. Many hon. Members have taken much of time by repeating their submissions. I am not resorting to repetition. With what aim was this Committee constituted? I would like to read out only one sentence from the report of Mr. Nolan in order to dispel the misunderstanding that this Committee was constituted only for the Members of Parliament rather than to study the whole public life.

[English]

"When you set up this Committee, you asked us to produce the report within six months. We could not cover the whole field of public life in this time, and so we decided to concentrate on three of the subjects which appeared to give rise to the greatest public concern, namely issues relating to Members of Parliament, Ministers and Civil Servants and Executive Quangos and NHS bodies."

[Translation]

Where is my friend, Arjun Singh ji who has suggested the formation of a Committee. Chavan Sahib also might agree with me that the Nodal Committee of bureaucrats cannot fight corruption, misdemeanour and mafiaism in a comprehensive manner. That can, at the most, submit its academic report. Hence, I say that a Committee should be constituted here as well on the pattern of England.

[English]

"The House should appoint a Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, a person of independent standing, who will take over the responsibility of maintaining the register of Member's Interests; for advice and guidance of MPs on matters of conduct; for advising on the code of conduct; and for investigating allegations of misconduct."

[Translation]

To my mind, while drafting his resolution, the resolution we support, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan might be having in mind that the Committee referred to here should not be without teeth. It will have teeth only if a Committee is either constituted under the Chairmanship of a Supreme Court judge or a Standing Committee of the House is constituted. Our benign suggestion is that it is in the interest of our country to constitute the Standing Committees. Thus, cannot a Committee of the House be constituted for the purpose involving the Members of Parliament. A Committee can be constituted here also on the pattern of England which can, with the permission of the hon. Speaker, investigate into the cases of nexus in order to do away with this practice.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to constitute a Parliamentary Committee instead of judicial inquiry in order to get a concrete conclusion. The whole debate in this matter and Resolution moved by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan should be accepted. Only then I can hope that it would be done. I am concluding within five minutes. I would like to say something to Shri Chavan because he is a freedom fighter, senior most Member as well as Home Minister. I would like to know as to what are the problems in implementing the unanimously accepted report of Dinesh Goswami Committee on clean and fair elections. This House is unanimous on this issue. It is also in the interest

of clean public life and it should be implemented. I do not know as to whether all the MPs would agree with it or not? During the last 20-30 years the functioning of political parties has changed and at present the position is this that becoming a political leader is considered a big business. A politician of ruling party becomes a millionaire and VIP. I feel disgusted when someone calls me VIP. Then he becomes VVIP. It is a proof of encouraging mafiaism and abolishing the ideology of equality which is the basic and Constitutional characteristic of this country. I would like to say that an authority should be constituted to inquire into the financial resources of all the political parties on the same lines as the controller Auditor General is appointed to look into the financial matters of the country. It could be done, Shri Chavan, Shri Shukla and other Cabinet Ministers and Members from ruling party are sitting here and the Parliament is unanimous over it, thus these structural changes could be made. We should be determined to end this mafiaism. Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I have said earlier also that it is a ray of hope that 70 per cent people have stopped eating 'tandoori roti'. People would like our programme and measures proposed to be taken for cleaning the public life. With this, I conclude and thank the hon. Chairman for allowing me to speak.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to give an information through notice. All the Members are sitting here and a serious matter is being discussed but nothing has been said about it in the national programme telecast on Doordarshan at 7.30. Only this has been said that discussion on Vohra Committee report is going on. Unimportant issues raised by Members during Zero Hour are given more coverage and publicity. The important issues debated here are not given coverage. Doordarshan is a Governmental media and this has not happened for the first time. Earlier also, population policy debated here was totally blacked out on Doordarshan. I condemn tendency of blacking out...*(Interruptions)* the serious issues debated here. This is a six hour long debate and going on since 2.30 p.m. National bulletin is telecast at 7.30 p.m. and decision of not including this issue in it is really condemnable. I, therefore, demand that serious action should be taken up against the Doordarshan.

*[English]*

THE MINISTER OF WATER RESOURCES AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA) : This is actually a wrong thing. When a discussion is going on, how could it be reported?...*(Interruptions)* After the conclusion of the discussion, it will be done...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Parliamentary debate

does not mean only that Minister would reply to it.

*[English]*

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It cannot be reported like this...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Parliamentary debate means that the views of Members would be given due importance. You cannot curtail the views of Members and put the views of Government instead. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Shri K.P. Reddaiah Yadav.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatnam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, many hon. leaders from the Treasury Benches and hon. Opposition leaders have spoken on the Report of the Vohra Committee.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Members should know that at what time the Minister would reply to it.

*[English]*

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : I have to reply in the Rajya Sabha on the debate which took place there. And there are two Motions to which I have to reply there. I will reply. ...*(Interruptions)*

*(Translations)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : How this could be decided if you would speak for an unlimited time.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not disturb the House now. Now Mr. Reddaiah Yadav.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : I am not going to repeat what the hon. leaders have spoken on the subject. I am just giving some information on the subject of Vohra Committee Report. There is no use accusing one another on such an important matter. With the opposition accusing the ruling party and the ruling party accusing the opposition, we are not going to get any result which is useful for the nation. This has been the practice of this House accusing each other for getting the necessary result that is useful to the nation.

In this connection, I want to bring it to your kind notice that I have got a strong belief that without the cooperation and help of the opposition, no ruling party can achieve such a massive development in this country. In a democracy, both the ruling party and the opposition are the main



contributors for doing better developmental works or for ruining the country. Therefore, whatever has been achieved up to the time of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shrimati Indira Gandhi, it is with the cooperation and active participation of the opposition. There is criminalisation of politics and laundering of money and creation of black money. It is with the same cooperation of the opposition parties that these things have happened. ... (Interruptions) The opposition parties are forgetting it. Therefore, during the last ten years, due to the negligence of the opposition parties or the tacit approval or the hand-in-glove policy of the opposition parties and the ruling party, this criminalisation and massive creation of black money has taken place. There is no doubt about it.

Therefore, we are all responsible for this state of affairs which we are witnessing today. The hon. Members have mentioned that there is a nexus between the criminals who are involved in the smuggling of narcotics with the customs officers, police, bureaucrats and others. There are many such things. In 1978 or so, top intellectuals of this country who have got independent character and integrity have called upon the Parliament that the main source of creation of black money is through the consumption of bridges heavy projects and industries. Therefore, they had suggested to appoint a high level body with four or five members to monitor it, to monitor the finalisation of the tender systems in projects and industries, etc. It is main root for creating the black money in this country which has flown into the hands of the politicians and bureaucrats and other anti-social elements. During Shri Rajiv Gandhi's time, all the parties including the opposition should take interest in forming this type of body. The Rajiv Government took a great interest to give a clean administration to this country.

Now, the black money is flowing into the hands of the bureaucrats and politicians. The main source of the black money is from the smuggling of narcotics and from the refineries, projects etc. The major expenditure of the Government goes into the construction activities and from this the creation of black money get started.

During Indiraji's time every political party used to collect the funds for their parties' sake. After Indiraji's time, during Rajiv's time the leaders started collecting funds for their parties as well as for themselves. So, the leaders and bureaucrats started collecting assets. From that time onwards this unlimited collection of donations and all that has started.

Thus we have to accept that all the political parties are collecting money for their political activities. Upto 1978-79 it was all right. But afterwards, the political persons started collecting money for the creation of their own assets. Every party is doing that and we need not blame

each other. Now, a leader from any party amasses a big wealth, unlimited wealth. He needs a person or an organisation or a corporation to hide, to protect his money. For this purpose, he chooses one antisocial element to safeguard his money. Even with that he is not satisfied and the same anti-social person who is safeguarding his money as custodian, is given a ticket to enter into the Assembly or Parliament. So these anti social elements with huge money enter the Parliament and Assemblies and control the entire bureaucratic system.

Sir, from then on, the fall has started. That was the time since when the State Assemblies and the Parliament were flooded with anti-social elements. It was since that time that the standards have fallen; and the erosion of the control of the Legislature over the bureaucracy has set in. Then afterwards, what has happened? They were not satisfied with this much.

Sir, when I was a student, I used to listen to the speeches delivered by *Swatantra* Party leader, Acharya Ranga, Communist Party leader, Com. C. Rajeswar Rao garu and all those persons. When I heard them, I got the impression that everybody was right. So many leaders have said that with sincerity and a sense of patriotism. If one goes into the records, one would know what they were. That is why the Indian people are misled. Everybody preaches; everybody talks of patriotism, of Gandhian principles and all those things. I know what type of preachings are all these. I do not want to go into the details of it.

Sir, very recently, an incident was discussed in both the Houses of Parliament which involved a person being burnt alive in his car by dousing the car with a drum of petrol in front of the House of the Chief Minister at six o'clock. What are all these? The matter was hushed up. The incident which was talked about for the last four or five years, in that incident, no case has been registered against anybody.

Sir, I have contested four general elections. So far, not even a single incident of rigging and all those electoral malpractices have occurred in my constituency. Meeting of two hands only give the sound of a clap. Therefore, do not blame the Congress Party, or the Communist Party or the Bhartiya Janata Party - we are one and the same. I would like to comment on how the Congress Party is being blamed for corruption.

Sir, it is true that a Congress worker - I was also a Congress worker, till I became a Member of Parliament a few years ago - takes, maybe, rupees ten thousand for arranging a public meeting which would include purchasing of flags, giving some refreshments to the leaders etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You need not give all these details.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : Sir, just a minute. They are accusing us of corruption. It is a fact that our Congress *karyakarta* would take Rs. 10,000 for arranging that meeting, but the person who had given that money would come and sit here on our heads. Then the *karyakarta* would have to go to a Minister, plead with him/her saying that this man had helped me and you please help him. The Minister then would call up an officer and that man would earn an amount not less than Rs. 1 crore! Who is earning this money? He is the man from the Opposition. I challenge that.

In the recently concluded elections - even in the elections to the Panchayats and Cooperatives - the Telugu Desam Party and the CPI (M) Party have purchased votes for Rs. 500/-. On the other hand, we did not have petrol in our cars.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijayawada) : Sir, some persons who suffer from jaundice, the other part of the world would also look yellow to them.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : You do not have the money. They have given you. The CPI (M) did not have the money, TDP purchased votes for them. This is the situation.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : Sir, I am not convent-educated or Oxford-educated like Shri Chidambaram and others. Please allow me to express my opinions.

These are really the things which are useful for the country in analysing how money is amassed. We the Congress people never said that we do not take money. We take money for purchasing flags, for conducting meetings and for things like that. In Andhra Pradesh the TDP for their *morchas* yesterday, in my District ... (Interruptions)\*...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not take names please.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : They have come there with 5000 vehicles. Where is the money coming from? I am an MP of the Ruling Party and I do not get petrol or diesel for my car.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : Sir, I pose a question to the Member.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, please.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : They have been saying that Congress is the only culprit of amassing wealth. I am not saying that Congress party is not ... (Interruptions)\*... Sir, I am talking about exploitation. There is no bar of

religion, caste, creed or party in this country when it comes to exploitation. I am stating an established fact. If a chance is given to a *harijan* brother, to a communist brother, to a BJP brother, to a Muslim brother, each one of them would exploit to the extent he can. There is no bar for exploitation. That is what is established after 47 years of Independence, Sir. These are facts. ... (Interruptions)\*...

Sir, that is why my request to all the party heads is, I am now coming to a serious point, let all Parties put their heads together as was done by Russia and America in the post-cold war era. They sat together, negotiated and tried to see how to withdraw highly dangerous weapons including hydrogen bombs etc. In a similar way the heads of the BJP, the CPI(M), the Congress and other parties should sit together and decide as to how many antisocial elements they would be withdrawing from contests before the coming elections. You should sit, discuss and come to a conclusion. Every Party has got this nuisance. We should say, at least in this election, say, the Congress party will withdraw 50 per cent, the BJP would withdraw 60 per cent from their party, and the CPI(M) would withdraw 70 per cent like that. ... (Interruptions)\*...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Yadav, you please remain within the scope of this Report. You have no right to speak about anything else.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : How to eliminate this menace? Unless we purify the Parliament and the Assemblies, we cannot solve this problem. Therefore, all Parties should unanimously resolve that they will field in the next election only persons with character and integrity and only those persons without any record of antisocial activity. Then only we can dump these Assemblies and Parliament with people having character. Do not believe whatever the Opposition says. They are saying that for propaganda purposes. They are having the worst criminals that what the Congress Party is having.

So, Sir, the other thing which is hurting me is this. I have got the highest respect for Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Somnath Chatterjee in this House. But, unfortunately, every time, they say that defection has taken place and so on. It is they who are doing it and us. Sir, is it not a defection that a Party, with Leftist ideology, supporting the horrible feudals not once but many times in this country? We came to this side during national crisis. Years together they were supporting feudals. I do not know what this communism is. It is not a defection? Do you know at what cost such defections are taking place? (Interruptions)\*...

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : These are baseless allegations and they should not go on record.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This will not go on record.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : Therefore, they are saying that he is a Gandhian and a simple person who is serving the people of their district State.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : You talk on criminalisation of politics.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV : This is criminalisation. Joining hands with the feudals is criminalisation of politics.

With these few words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI A. ASOKARAJ (Perambalur) : Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak.

On behalf of my Party, AIADMK, I rise to say a few words. At the outset, I support the Motion moved by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan. It is not only this Parliament which is discussing this subject but even the whole nation is discussing this issue of criminalisation of politics.

I would like to say that, daily, in the newspapers, there are reports about the politicians who have directly participated in crimes or have perhaps been guilty of abetting in such activities through gangsters, musclemen and underworld dons. Hence, it would not tantamount to saying that crime has now become synonymous with our country's politics.

Now, crime-Syndicates have become a law unto themselves. The nexus between the criminal gangs, police, bureaucracy and politicians has come out openly in various parts of the country. It is to be noted that the existing criminal justice system, which was essentially designed to deal with the individual offences or crimes, is unable to deal with the activities of the Mafia. The provisions of law in regard to economic offences are weak. There are insurmountable legal difficulties in attaching or confiscating properties acquired through Mafia activities. Hence, I would request the hon. Home Minister to look into this and proper remedial measures should be taken in this regard.

Sir, the big smuggling Syndicates, having international linkages, have spread into and infected the various economic and financial activities, including, circulation of black money and operation of a vicious parallel economy which is causing serious damage to the economic fibre of the country. These Syndicates have acquired substantial financial and muscle power and social respectability and have successfully corrupted the Government machinery at all levels and yielded enough influence to make the task of Investigating and Prosecuting agencies extremely difficult.

Certain elements of the mafia have shifted to narcotics, drugs and weapons smuggling and established narco-terrorism networks, specially in the States of Jammu and

Kashmir, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The virus has spread to almost all the centres in the country; the coastal and the border States have been particularly affected.

The Bombay bomb blast case and the communal riots in Surat and Ahmedabad have demonstrated how the Indian underworld has been exploited by the Pakistan ISI and the latter's network in UAE to cause sabotage, subversion and communal tension in various parts of the country. The investigations into the Bombay bomb blast cases have revealed extensive linkages of the underworld in the various governmental agencies, political circles, business sector and the film world also.

The electoral malpractices have also to be taken into consideration. The subversion of electoral process began as early as 1962. The situation has come to such a pass today that intimidation, violence, rigging, booth-capturing, murderous assaults and other malpractices are allegedly being used on an extensive scale. These things are happening particularly in the North India. The figure rose from 200 in 1952 to 1670 in 1989. I would also like to point out that it is not good for democracy to have political parties infested with people who are more skilled in flexing their muscles and in developing the right connections than in learning the art of civilised disagreement at constitutionally provided fora such as courts of law, State Assemblies and Houses of Parliament. Also it is generally of the opinion that a politician takes politics as a career that gives him money and status.

The progressive decline in the values of public life in the country, demands immediate attention to :

(1) Identification of the nexus between the criminals/Mafias and anti-national elements on the one hand and bureaucrats, politicians and other sensitively located individuals on the other.

(2) Identification of the nature and dimensions of these linkages and the *modus operandi* of their operations.

(3) Assessment of the impact of these linkages on the various institutions viz., the electoral, political, economic, law and order and the administrative apparatus.

(4) Nexus, if any, between the domestic linkages with foreign intelligence.

(5) Necessary action to show effective action to counteract/neutralise the Mafia activities.

(6) Political and legal constraints in dealing with the covert/illegal functioning of the linkages.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to point out that there is no system/mechanism which is specifically designed to collect and collate intelligence pertaining to the linkages developed by crime Syndicates/Mafias with the governmental

set up. These intelligence, investigative and enforcement agencies use such available inputs only within the narrow confines of their work charter and choose not to take undue cognizance and follow-up action.

It is alarming to note that the network of the Mafia is virtually running a parallel Government, pushing the State apparatus into irrelevance.

In an emerging economy and a pluralistic society like ours, there are any number of religious, territorial ethnic caste and language based conflicts.

Sir, one of the Professors from Oxford University said:

"In India, the crime politics nexus goes beyond politics. It is not a scramble for power but it is for what power can do."

The Vohra Committee felt that a possible approach to effectively liquidate the linkages developed by the crime Syndicates would be to mercilessly prosecute the offenders without succumbing to any pressure whatsoever. The Committee is of the view that once the offenders are deterrently punished under the law, their influence and strength will start declining, as also of all those who support them, wherever located.

The findings of the Committee need not be mentioned now because of the time constraints. But at the same time I hope that all will agree that all these three pillars of democracy—the executive, the legislative and the judiciary—have been affected by the tentacles of organised crime. These tentacles penetrated deep into the democracy.

21.00 hrs.

Also, Sir, the establishment of a nodal agency headed by the Home Secretary should operate in complete secrecy. The other Members were asking for a Parliamentary Committee. That is why, one Member has said that an 11 Member Committee should be formed. But what I would like to say is we should not leave any political party, even if it is small party. So representatives from all political parties should be included in the Parliamentary Committee so that it can deal in a proper manner.

Also the other approach recommended is to set up a system under which the heads of various intelligence and revenue agencies shall meet on a regular basis and exchange vital information, without there being any leakage. I do not know how it will serve. I feel that the much talked about Vohra Committee Report is nothing but a red-herring. I am concluding.

A liberal democracy is dependent for its survival on its capacity to ensure probity in public life and to deal with the errant without fear or favour. Corruption is a natural by-

product of an environment where political power is derived from numerical support. Political corruption destroys the very foundations of democracy by taking away the faith and confidence of people in the basic tenets of democracy. Where money power rules, people's power disappears. That we must remember.

Also I would like to say that a three-pronged attack is needed for mobilizing the public against political corruption, creating constitutional and legal safeguards to protect against political corruption and setting up an effective detective and investigative machinery to bring the errant to book.

The media has to be impartial and professional, and should enlighten people about the main issues involved and not the personalities.

The subject of criminalisation of politics has caused debate in various fora in the recent past. In a limited way, Statutes do attempt, for example, to deal with convicted persons being disqualified from contesting elections.

In the present scenario, what we need is an indepth and a specific enquiry into the politicians criminal nexus to nail the guilty and break their links.

Legal experts feel that the criminal justice system should be more responsive. According to Section 8(1) of the Representation of the People Act, only those candidates can be debarred from contesting elections who have been convicted. Finally, a Parliament Committee should be appointed, as I already said, consisting of all political parties.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rao, please take 10 minutes.

21.03 hours

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. Sir, the hon. Member who preceded me had made very valid points. I do not wish to repeat all such points.

First of all, I would like to say that unfortunately, the criminalisation of politics or the politicization of crime is there since a long time. Unfortunately it has reached a stage where people also have come to feel that it is harm. It cannot be anything. Almost all political parties or the important individuals are patronizing this ugly phenomenon. But it is because a ghastly incident has taken place in this very capital city, this has come up for discussion. But what I am amazed is that the Government did not think it fit to take any action over this Vohra Committee Report which was submitted nearly 22 months back.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rao, you know many Members have spoken like this. Please give new points.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : Please hear me. What I want to say is that it is only after that, the discussion has been allowed. Then the Government has taken steps to prepare more copies of the Report. Otherwise, I think, only three copies which were prepared by the Secretary were there.

That is what I want to point out. That is the attention which the Government had paid to a very important document. That is what I want to say. At least a good number of copies could have been prepared and circulated to different departments. Even that was not done. That is my point.

Of course it is not new for the ruling party, particularly the present party in power because we are aware that the electoral reforms that were mentioned in the Goswami Report have not been brought forward. All the while they have been saying that it is a very good report, that they also agree with the suggestions; but nothing concrete has materialised.

Similarly, the Sarkaria Commission Report was submitted long back. But many a time the Government does not follow the recommendations of the Sarkaria commission in respect of Centre-State relations. That is what I want to highlight.

Unfortunately, the incidence of crime has increased by 27 per cent when compared to 1983. Some of the States where the crime is very alarming are Uttar Pradesh in respect of murder or attempt to murder etc., Madhya Pradesh in regard to rape, burglary, dacoity, gang war and all those things and Maharashtra for smuggling\* and counterfeit activities.

Unfortunately, we are made to understand that more crimes against Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe people are taking place; of course nation-wise the concentration or more number of cases against the weaker sections of people is nearly in 20 districts of Uttar Pradesh, 10 districts of Madhya Pradesh and a few districts of Rajasthan. I really wonder why the Government is not able to control the crimes against the weaker sections of people.

Criminalisation is mainly due to the patronage of different political parties. I am very sorry to say that. Almost all parties are allowing this thing to happen. The degree of difference may be there. That is there and unfortunately earlier they were primarily utilised to intimidate the voters, to prevent them from going to the polling booths or capturing booths and later some of these people are given money by political parties. Finally, a stage has reached today in several States when people with criminal records have become MLAs, MPs and some of them Ministers also. This is a very very alarming situation because when such people with criminal characters are there in the legislative

bodies, where legislations have to be made, to protect the interests of the people, particularly the common people of this country to spend monies in the best possible manner, definitely that particular task cannot be achieved perfectly and more so when such people with criminal characters become Ministers it is unimaginable. Today, it is really disgusting.

Earlier, some time people used to commit murder during the night or at a place where nobody was seeing. But today on the main road while hundreds and thousands of people are watching people are brutally killed. That is because nobody is daring to give evidence against that criminal and in public a woman's honour is being robbed away. Just because of this particular weakness, nobody comes forward because he feels that if he gives evidence before the police or in the court he may be killed. That is the most unfortunate situation to which the present state has led to. This is the most alarming situation and I also feel that unfortunately religion is also being misused for political ends. This is most unfortunate which has resulted in a lot of communal violence and most unfortunate incidents have taken place in this country.

I support the suggestion of my hon. friend, Shri Sudhir Sawant, who has suggested that in the present electoral process some changes may be made because at present the electoral system is such that whoever crosses the post first gets elected.

As far as the constituency to a Legislative Assembly or Parliament or other local bodies is concerned, the candidate who contests will be very keen to get elected by hook or crook, by adopting any means, and may wish to become a Minister later. But in the proportional representation system a political party submits a list and out of that list some persons will get elected. This will reduce the tendency to adopt foul means or resort to violence. Though all these evils may not be completely eliminated, yet they will be reduced to a larger extent.

So, the Government should think on these lines and bring forward such a reform as a part of the proposed electoral reforms if it is keen to bring forward in the coming few months.

As far as the audit of the funds of political parties is concerned, the Vohra Committee has already mentioned and the Supreme Court also gave a judgement. I would support and plead for an appointment of a Committee of Members of Parliament to see that the Vohra Committee recommendations are implemented properly.

I only appeal to the Government and to all the parties to create a situation in this country where this type of utter criminal characters can be taken to task.



I really wonder how in a country like United States of America where a lot of crime is there, obscenity is there, nudity is there and so many ills which we feel as bad are there, in that country a great boxer Mike Tyson who was said to have misbehaved with a woman was dragged to the court and evidence was given before the court and he was imprisoned. He had to undergo literally imprisonment in jail. Can we imagine that situation in this country?

I only appeal to the Government to create such an atmosphere and take conducive steps so that whenever such ugly things happen, the people who have perpetrated that crime should be taken to task. Then only we can expect that this criminalisation of politics will come to an end.

I am not blaming the Congress Party or any other political party. Let us not encourage such elements who are criminals, who many a time, are also taking up anti-national activities particularly in our border States where such extremist organisations are being indirectly allowed or pampered to collect huge amounts of money, which is being utilised to perpetrate violence and crimes against the people of this country.

Lastly, before I conclude, let the hon. Home Minister appoint a Committee consisting of Members of Parliament to effectively implement the recommendations of the Vohra Committee.

With these few words I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Dattatraya Bandaru.

Please cooperate with the Chair. You may conclude within five minutes. I am getting instructions from the hon. Speaker.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU (Secunderabad) : Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the time to speak.

It is well said that : 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. As has been rightly pointed out by some of the senior Members, perhaps the Vohra Committee Report would not have been tabled in the Houses of Parliament but for it being precipitated by the infamous Naina Sahni murder case. Perhaps, it can be said a little too soon. The Vohra Committee Report has been kept in cold storage. I do not want to repeat all those things. In this context I want to submit that the Vohra Committee Report has thrown its preponderances on the said mafia and crime syndicates influencing and pressurising the Government functionaries and politicians and as its basis has relied on what is obtained and prevailing in the States of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the latter two returning the largest number of elected representatives.

However, the Vohra Committee Report has failed to expose the nefarious activities taking place in the State of Andhra Pradesh which I want to particularly mention here.

On the subject of criminalisation of politics, my friend Shri K.P. Reddaiah Yadav has spoken. But he could not properly mention though he has agreed that corruption and criminalisation are the priorities of the Congress Party and proportionately more. He has also accused the Opposition Parties. I agree that with the criminalisation of politics in Andhra Pradesh crime has also increased. At least for the past one decade or more Andhra Pradesh has been under the sway of muscle power. This muscle power is having a direct influence upon the running of the Government administration and its machinery. The grotesque murders of political leaders and M.L.As like\*.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No names please.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, they were all M.L.As. who were murdered. They belong to either Parties.

MR. CHAIRMAN : They are not present in the House.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : They are not present here. They are all murdered.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH (Sheohar) : Sir, he says they are murdered M.L.As.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, they belonged to either Telugu Desam or the Congress Party. I have not mentioned any party.

MR. CHAIRMAN : They cannot defend here.

No names will go in the record.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : How can you say so Sir? When Shri Rabi Ray mentioned two names and when Shri Ram Naik mentioned two names of those who have died, it was allowed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Sir, he is illustrating his case about criminalisation of politics.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, the question is not of any motive behind. I am not mentioning the Parties. These are the names of M.L.As. and prominent leaders and Ministers who were murdered. Some people were in Telugu Desam and some people were in the Congress. I am not mentioning anything else. I am telling about the ruling party whichever it is...*(Interruptions)*. All these culminated in the very recent murder of Erra Sathyam which is a

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\*Not recorded

revelation that these leaders were assassinated during their political tenure which leaves little for speculation that the motive for such murders lies in their political activities. This is what I wanted to mention.

Another important thing is in the past two decades two major Parties were in power in the State—one is the Telugu Desam and the other is the Congress which have come to contend for power in the State. The crime syndicate in Andhra Pradesh, which includes a despicable plethora of anti-social and amoral groups such as bootleggers, narcotic dealers, land-grabbers and even just cold-blooded mercenaries have wooed one Party or the other and the said Parties have overtly indulged in patronizing these groups. However, when the power-poles became stronger in the recent years the stronger of the contending political Party has cultivated the patronage of the criminals and mafia syndicate which were hitherto allies of the other contending political Party. Therefore, it is seen that there is no honour among thieves, the fate being that the muscle power and other crime syndicates easily shift their allegiance to that political Party which is ruling in the State.

Another important thing I want to mention is that the Rayalaseema area, some of the Telengana areas and Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh have become the breeding ground for the hard-core politics. Politicians did have a nexus in handling the contracts, tenders, arrack business, land disputes etc. The men who controlled these crime syndicates were themselves glorified by the Government giving them official protection and gunmen. A greater evil cannot be conceived. In the aftermath of the infamous 'Ranga murder case' several cases were booked against various accused. But the Congress Government in Andhra Pradesh withdrew all these cases.

Another important thing is that in the aftermath of the assassination of late Rajiv Gandhi, violence erupted in various parts of the State. There was arson, looting, killing and destruction of major industrial units and commercial establishments. No doubt, Sir, cases were booked against several accused, but once again the then ruling Congress Government withdrew all the cases.

Sir, once cannot but feel shocked by the double standards of one M.L.A. whose name I do not want to mention, as you have said, who happens to be an ex-M.L.A.'s son belonging to Kurnool district. He openly supported the Nandyal Lok Sabha election in favour of the Prime Minister and resorted to covert activities and subterfuge. At that time, the Telugu Desam Party was not in power. Now, it is indeed shocking that the same person who has been a marked criminal is an M.L.A. from the Telugu Desam Party. This is the irony of politics which I wanted to tell very clearly in the House.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, my friend is mentioning about Andhra Pradesh. But he is conveniently ignoring about the State of Uttar Pradesh. According to a news report in *THE HINDUSTAN TIMES*, out of 106 known criminals, 44 are from the BJP, 33 are from the SP, 15 are from the BSP, eight are from the Congress, five are from the JD and one is from the CPI. This is the news report of *THE HINDUSTAN TIMES*, subject to correction.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, I am not telling about any particular party...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : This is the Parliament of India, not the Andhra Pradesh Assembly. Why are you raising it here?

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, first of all I appeal to the hon. Minister Shri V.S. Rao to check up whether I am telling the facts or I am telling untruths. If there are any untruths in what I am saying, I will resign from my membership in the Parliament...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, the hon. Member will agree that the situation in Andhra Pradesh has degenerated to such depths that history-sheeters and marked criminals who are on the police rolls are saluted by the so-called veneered police. Therefore, we should find as to who is policing the police. Even in the prisons notorious criminals and preventive detainees are greeted with favour by the prison authorities.

Sir, my hon. friend Shri V.S. Rao was telling about criminals in the State of Uttar Pradesh. I want to tell him once again that as on today, there are three Ministers in the present TDP Government against whom there are criminal records. If it is not true, definitely I am prepared to resign from the membership of the Parliament.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : You please tell about Uttar Pradesh also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There should be no cross talking in the House.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, another glaring example of stifling information is the sacking of the Editor of 'Udayam' Daily by an M.P. from our State. The matter relates to the smuggling and confiscation of explosives.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It has come out already.

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU : Sir, dynamites and explosive which are used for detonation of quarries and also grenades were confiscated from a truck in Rajasthan. The makings in the said ammunition traced their origins to Karimnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. When the said

'Udayam' Editor tried to expose this nefarious racket, he was asked to stop the publication of his third part of the series by a well-known Member of Parliament. When the Editor refused to comply, he was sacked forthwith. So, the Press was not allowed to function independently. As has been stated in the Vohra Committee Report, land grabbings, drug dealings and underworld activities have become the source of huge revenues in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Sir, the last point which I want to make is about the elections. Some of the friends have given a suggestion that electoral reforms should be brought. Unless and until electoral reforms are there, all the musclemen would try to acquire powers. They want to enter the annals of the State Legislatures and the Parliament. Earlier, all the criminal elements were acting behind the shade of the politicians. Now they have tasted the power and they think that they themselves can become politicians and rule the State. This is the state of affairs. That is why, I say that all the political parties, irrespective of any single party, must have a code of conduct. No political party should give ticket to any person having criminal record either in the Council Election or the Assembly Election or the Parliamentary Election.

This must be the strict criterion among the political parties. Let us go to the Constitution.

Secondly, many of the friends have said regarding the reforms of elections.

Lastly, the Election Commission also have some amendments. They should have also a power. Parliament should also amend such a legislation. The Election Commission should also scrutinise the nominations and see whether there is any criminal record or not in their records and in their past history. Such powers should be vested in the Election Commission and the Election Commission can take stringent measures. I humbly plead with you because this very important issue is discussed in this Parliament. As our hon. Minister said, search of heart, should necessarily be there. The parties themselves are always giving protection to such people. Unless the parties come forward with true colours, the issue cannot be settled.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central) : Mr. Chairman, we are at the tag and of this discussion and, as directed by you, I would not try further patience of this House by taking more time.

Criminalisation of politics was talked over for a number of years. But we must give credit to this Government that they took a bold step in appointing a Committee to go into the whole question and to have recommendations as far as that problem was concerned. Then again, I may further say that really speaking this was not the usual Committee, as we understand it. It was an internal Committee

and if we read the report also, I do not think there were traditional procedures followed namely, meetings and discussions were held. The report itself says that the Members were hesitant to discuss the whole thing and, therefore, they give written letters and from those responses, the final recommendations have been made. Really speaking, this was an internal report of the Home Ministry and it was not incumbent on the Home Ministry to make it available to everybody. All the observations and the findings which were made, were meant for the internal working of the Government. But I must give credit to the Home Ministry also that ultimately this report was placed before the House. They were not bound to do so. It was not the report of any usual Committee. It was an internal report of the Home Ministry and ordinarily such a report is never made available to outsiders, outside the Government. So, from that point of view, I not only give credit for these two things, but further on, I must say that the recommendations which were made have been promptly accepted by the Government, as I read from the newspapers on 2nd August itself. Government accepted the final recommendation of the Committee and constituted a nodal agency for that task of five members headed by the Union Home Secretary, consisting of Revenue Secretary, Director of RAW, Director of IB and Director of CBI, as suggested in the Committee itself. The Committee made several responses and put on record the real situation, no doubt, and many of the facts are shocking and startling also for further consideration of the Government namely that parallel Government is being run by these agencies.

This is a very startling proposition which conclusion has been arrived at by this. But the lowest common denominator of all the responses was that a nodal agency should be established because they said that the information which every agency gets, like the CBI, IB and all these agencies, is not passed on to any central body and therefore no action is being taken properly. Therefore, the main suggestion of all these agencies was that a nodal agency should be established under the Home Secretary; everything should be collected and monitored and the Government should act upon that information so that successfully this problem can be tackled. I must say that Government accepted that suggestion and ultimately that agency has been established. So, in a way, according to me, with great respect to Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, his Motion is redundant. What does he say?

"That this House urges upon the Government to take action of the Vohra Committee Report regarding criminalisation of politics without any delay."

What was the action? The Vohra Committee Report recommended establishment of a nodal agency and that has been already accepted and acted upon by the

Government. Nothing further, really speaking, needs to be done as far as the Vohra Committee Report is concerned. The whole Motion is redundant. But, in any way, several serious things have been mentioned and it is necessary for all political parties also to consider and make their responses. Now, I will, therefore, appeal to all the Parties that it is no use merely pointing out a needle of suspicion to the Congress Party on this point. The facts have been stated by many of the Members from the Opposition also that in many State Assemblies, in many cases where the Opposition is also in power, many of the people are found to be connected with the criminals. Therefore, it is a national issue. You do not deceive yourself by merely saying that Sushil Kumar Sharma is only identified with the Congress Party. What is the Congress Party? You say it is only Shri Sushil Kumar Sharma. That will be deceiving. You may try to deceive the public. But by that you are deceiving yourself and you are not serving the real cause as far as criminalisation is concerned. Therefore, my appeal to all the Parties is: treat this as a national issue. Let us tackle this problem together. Unless we do that, we cannot succeed in doing so.

My suggestions are that firstly electoral reforms must be done in such a manner that election funding should be made to the candidate so that they need not rely upon money power of the goondas and criminals for the purpose of fighting out the elections. Secondly the House of People's Representative Act should be so amended that persons with criminal records should not be allowed to fight elections. How can that be done? It is very difficult question. It is not a simple issue because who is the person who has criminal record is also difficult to define. Perhaps, the party in power may be able to debar many people if they have got had intentions therefore, it is a very delicate issue. We must frame the law in such a manner that really these people are debarred. But, as I said, mere legislation is not sufficient at all. Ultimately, political parties must determine to solve this problem. They should not give tickets to people who are having criminal records. They should see unanimously that people with criminal records are not brought in at all however better the chances may be for them to be elected. But do not woo them for the purpose of getting more seats either in Parliament or in Assembly and put them for the interest of the party. That way, you are not serving the real cause of the country in that fashion.

Then further I would say that ultimately the real public sanction will have to be created, awareness among the public has to be created. It is because I find and you must also be aware that many criminals who were not given tickets by political parties, fought elections independently and got elected. How did they get elected? The people are not still aware. They still support them. I know at least two

cases in Maharashtra where tickets were not given to them because they had criminal records and they were in jail. But they were elected. And they are still Members of the Assembly. What are you going to do? Therefore, the public sanction is necessary, public awareness is necessary. So, along with the legislation, along with the will of the political party, the sanction of the public will have also to be taken and awareness will have to be created.

Finally, I will only caution that we the political parties should not also draw this subject to such an extent that we destroy ourselves. In the whole world, this, the political party, is the only one which destroys itself. We fight among ourselves and destroy our good institutions also. So do not create an atmosphere to show that all politicians have got criminal nexus. If that goes in the minds of the public, we destroy ourselves, we destroy our democratic institutions. And then everybody will try to show a finger at anybody because we are vulnerable. As elected representatives, you give so many recommendations to so many people. You have photographs with so many people. You cannot avoid that. And if that photograph is ultimately produced to say that so and so is a criminal, then people will point out an accusing finger at you. Therefore, from this point of view also, we must not create such an atmosphere to say that everybody has got a criminal nexus. We must also see that only particular people are identified, the real people who have got nexus with criminals are identified. And we together will see that this is eradicated ultimately in order to serve the national cause.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN (Chirayinkil) : Chairman, Sir, as already commended here this Report would not have come here for discussion had the Naina Sahni incident not been there. When I heard the respected Sharad Dighji, I felt that the seriousness of the problem actually had not been felt by him. What he has said is, what is the necessity to bring it to the Parliament now when actions are already taken on this Report? Now you thought to meet the other political parties.

I read a speech of the Prime Minister where he was saying, 'this Sushil Sharma's incident was not an isolated case. It is in every party.' Is it the way to react for a leader of his stature? How would he meet the situation? If such a situation exists in your party, you cannot brush it aside by react saying that it is in other parties also. Is it the way to say? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VILAS MUTTEMWAR (Chimur) : He has condemned it. No, it is wrong to say this...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : He wanted to show that all parties were doing it. He said this somewhere...*(Interruptions)*

If he has said that, it is a very wrong thing.. that I

can say, because he is the person to control all these things. Even if these things were there in other parties also, the way to react is a different. If it is not there, I am sorry but I saw no contradictions in the newspapers. Anyway, there was a newspaper report.

You want to say that in over parties also it is there. That is why this report is brought at present. Otherwise, it would not have been brought here. The seriousness is not felt because after reading such a Report, it is clear that this cancer is spreading everywhere. That is said in the Report. So, in such a situation this should have been discussed in Parliament long before. This Report was submitted two years ago, in 1993. It should have been discussed then because this criminalisation is increasing in our country. This should have been shared with other parties and discussed and found out ways to control it. But only when a necessity arose, you brought it out.

21.42 hrs.

(SHRI PETER G. MARBANIANG in the Chair)

In developing this, what role has the Congress party played? I have some unpalatable things to say. In order to retain power, you wanted to use goondaism and criminalisation in politics developed.

I remember, it started in 1957, when the Communist Party and CPI came to power in Kerala. My friend, Mr. Chacko and his friend Antony unleashed a liberation movement. The only crime we committed was we stopped eviction. He entered the political arena together with Mr. Antony in the liberation movement. The crime we committed was we stopped eviction and then brought the Education Bill and Legislation Bill...(Interruptions)

SHRI P.C. CHACKO (TRICHUR): It was not liberation movement, it was a people's movement ... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : What happened when one of our lady Ministers went to the high ranges in Kerala? Naked men paraded before her car and that such kind of hooliganisms are followed everywhere and duly elected Government dismissed. What happened in the 70s in West Bengal? Hundreds of women came here, who were actually raped and attacked and so many people were killed. They came here to demonstrate before the Parliament House. I was there. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu was also there...(Interruptions) I will come to that. How many people died during that semi-fascist terror in West Bengal? Can you tell us? It will not be possible to give the number. Thousands of people had to leave their houses because congress party wanted to retain power. But finally congress is thrown out and even after seventeen years were not able to come back. There is restlessness in the Congress party in West Bengal. What are Madam Mamta Banerjee and others doing? If anybody does...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Address the Chair please, Madam.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : These municipalities and corporations at no time were story...(Interruptions) because your mafia gang and other vested interests are there. I am asking you, can Madam Mamta Banerjee's people and Somen Mitra's people sit together and work together? There will be beatings between them. So, criminals are there in your party...(Interruptions). Somen Mitra's followers and Mamta Banerjee's followers cannot sit meet together. No chair will be left there. All will be broken.

This is the state of affairs.

Coming to Tripura, what happened there? I myself have witnessed that several hundreds of women were raped and killed in front of their children. Even now you are pursuing the same path. Who is your ally there? TNV, isn't it? You are not reluctant to have alliance with such terrorist parties. Who are the terrorists? Who is perpetuating the crimes in our country? The main culprit is the Congress party. You are the major party and you claim that you have fought for the Independence of the country. You take pride in it and act against its spirit fought. We also do take and please do not think that you alone have fought for independence. What have you done all these years? That is what I am asking you. Even now, what are you doing in Tripura?... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Madam, please speak on the Vohra Committee Report. Please do not go on roaming around. It is too late now...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: Criminalisation of politics is the major subject here. That is perpetuated by congress in our country. What happened in 1984 here? I have witnessed it. Before my house, one car came with a man from Punjab; and the Seva Dal volunteers came and poured petrol over the car and burnt it. I saw it myself. For 1 1/2 days, what happened in Delhi? Out Prime Minister was the Home Minister at that time. Mrs. Promila Dandvati and I met him several time. We went to the camps. What happened then? Next day, I was searching for the Ministers because the reports about the killings were coming. At last I could get Shri Pranab Mukherjee and I asked him as to what was happening and how many thousands had died. I told him that the police was inactive and why could you not call the Army. Then he said, we are still seriously thinking about it. Thousands were being killed and what was being done? I say that you wanted it to continue for some time otherwise, it would not have happened like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: Even now, even after 11 years, is any man punished for that? I am asking



you, 'Is there any single person punished?' What is the feeling of the families? Who suffered? What will be their feelings? What is happening in our country? Who is responsible for that? Can you say? What about Bombay blasts? Is anybody charge-sheeted? There were blasts at 13 places and how many people have died? Two hundred and seventy people died and so many other, 750 or so, had been injured and you are moving slowly in that case where 20 crores worth of property destroyed. What is your responsibility? How can you take actions? You are reluctant to take actions, when some of your people are involved.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE : Cases in TADA courts are going on for the Bombay blasts.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: Even now, what I am saying is that criminalisation in politics is perpetuated by the Congress party in our society. Please do a heart-searching. Actually it is required. In Srivastava's case who is involved in espionage case, how was he reinstated? Which Tribunal has said so? Our Prime Minister or the Home Minister, mislead Rajya Sabha; but there is no directive, I challenge, there is no directive by the Tribunal. A man who is involved in the espionage case - even when the case is continuing - why should he be taken back in a crucial area? He is an IG of Police.

Two years back, I wrote to the Prime Minister. He about ISRO wrote to me to that he was looking into the matter. Afterwards, no reply came from him. I wrote that because rocked launching in crucial areas, the contract is given to the private people. There is a chance of leaking the secrets because we were facing a challenge in the rocket launching...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : I am concluding...(Interruptions) Even then, was it seriously taken? I did not get another reply from the Prime Minister that there is no leakage or I am wrong because he could not say anything. I know why and who are these contractors. So many people are connected with the Congress Party. So many small companies have cropped, up in Hyderabad. They are hawking many contracts. I am not going into all these details. So, this man connected with espionage has been taken back in a crucial position. Then, what is use of continuing that case?

SHRI P.C. CHACKO (Trichur) : Give full details.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: The details. They know it.

SHRI P.C. CHACKO : There is no case against anybody...(Interruptions) Furnish some details. It is very unfair.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : It was said in the Rajya Sabha. He was reinstated because of the directive from the Tribunal. It is not correct...(Interruptions) So, how was he reinstated? That is what I am asking.

SHRI P.C. CHACKO : There is no case against the officer. Why do you mention it?

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : Why was this reply given? He could have said. "Who said, there is no case. What is that High Court remark. Only the Tribunal commended, the High Court Judge should not have said like that at that stage. The case is being pursued. He was one of the man accused to be reinstated. We know about all these things.

What about "...who tried to kill..." What has happened to that? Even the Congress Party is trying to protect Police wanted to arrest him at that time.

SHRI P.C. CHACKO : These people cannot come here and defend themselves. This should not go on record...(Interruptions) There is not even an iota of evidence. She is going on repeating that. This is very unfair...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No name will go on record.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will check it up.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mrs. Gopalan, please conclude.

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : Who is this\*...

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : \*...(Interruptions)

AN-HON. MEMBER : CPM workers tried to kill him so many times...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Madam, please conclude. There are ten Members.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : I have been given a little time...(Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Mr. Chairman, you do not do that. We have had some unpleasant experience yesterday. Kindly refrain yourself. I entreat upon you...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Madam, you speak to me and conclude.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : He was charged for an attempt to kill that man. When he was released for

a short time, the Congress Party gave him a reception. I do not know when some of your people are going to give reception to Mr. Sushil Sharma. That also can happen. Like this, there are many criminals. Are you prepared to examine the background of these people?

Now in China, how they are controlling corruption. Because of the socialist market economy, corruption is creeping in. They are taking strong action against even the high ups. Are you prepared to do it? Criminals are protected. Why should you defend them?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN : What I want to say is that criminalisation in politics stopped only if the Congress Party is prepared to think about it. Take action against them and then talk about parties. If there are criminals in our party we will take action against them.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir. At this tail end I shall try my best not to repeat and talk only those points which might have been taken up by other hon. Members but deal with those points with some further suggestions. Now the fact remains that the nexus among politicians, criminals, bureaucrats, businessmen, industrialists and corruption hits women the hardest. Of course, it does hit others also, but woman the hardest. This is one point that I want to emphasise.

Many good suggestions have been made, as I said, I am not going to repeat them. About the Vohra Committee Report, many colleagues have said that this is not enough. I also consider it to be not enough. The question of Code of ethics of politicians which has been raised by Shri Arjun Singhji, in my opinion is absolutely essential and this should cover the economic, political, social offences and all kinds of offences. In relation to that, this Code of ethics has to be prepared.

As far as monitoring of adhering to code of ethics is concerned, I do not think, it should be left to the politicians only. It should include other peoples also with integrity. This is very essential.

Now, Sir, the Code of governance is very important. For example, whether the bureaucracy including Police will be allowed to function according to the laws and without fear and favour? I am sorry to say, the Government at the Centre or the Governments in the States do not do that. This is my sad experience. Without fear and favour will you allow them to function or shall we allow them to function? This is one moot question.

Secondly, Sir, while fixing up the Code of Conduct for ourselves which has been talked about and I am not going to repeat all the things spoken earlier - very essential things have been raised. But here, in this governance, are we going to honour the honest officers and workers with

some special incentive? This is very essential. This has to be included here.

About the black money I would like to say that as yet we are failing badly in eradicating black money for the health of the nation as well as for the health of the nation as well as for the health of the political parties. It is absolutely essential.

Regarding women, I want to appeal to all the political parties here to kindly change their attitude towards women radically. It is a fact that the women are not treated on par in any political party including my own. I want to make it very clear. Naturally, bigger the party more the injustice. Those who are in the governance they are more unjust to women. You are at the Centre, you are more unjust to women in your party. This is my direct feeling.

Therefore, Sir, I think that the women have to be treated with equal respect, which is very essential.

Also about the atrocities on women, unless the political parties rise above all petty considerations, it is not possible to fight this phenomenon.

22.00 hrs.

The political parties must decide that they would rise above petty political considerations insofar as acting in matters concerning atrocities on women are concerned. Many laws would also have to be changed; electoral reforms would also have to be brought in. All these things have already been said but the final word would be said by the people at large.

Therefore, after heart-searching, an awareness and a combined campaign has to be launched. I can tell you that you are the culprit, you can tell me that I am the culprit, but you and I both know in our hearts that whether we are culprits or not. Therefore, let all the politicians search their own hearts and find out what is to be done. If we do so, I am sure, we can inspire the people to have confidence in us and we can carry them with us.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Sir, I shall be very brief.

Sir, I do not know what has been the reaction of the Ruling Party to the remarks that have been made by the Vohra Committee. I think, the Ruling Party should take it as the greatest indictment. You are accustomed to it; we, as an Opposition Party, are also accustomed to make certain charges against the Government, the Ruling Party. That is the game of the democracy. But when highly placed officials of your own Government condemn you, indict you with well documented facts, I think, the democratic character of the country could be preserved, strengthened and abridged if the Ruling takes a proper lesson out of this Vohra Committee Report.

We have been elected to Parliament to criticize the Government on the basis of the electoral promises and the election manifesto. All criticisms certainly are not destructive criticisms. You must have the mind to accept it in that way. Criticism is also meant for constructive advice. At this stage, I would not like to enter into any kind of a debate on it.

Sir, what I want to say is, this report is an eye-opener. It really is an indictment of the Government regarding their malfunctioning and non-functioning. You do not pay any heed to the criticism from our side. Now, would you kindly take into account the criticisms which have been made by your own bureaucracy, by your own men? I hope, you will take that lesson after studying the Report.

Sir, the nexus among the mafia gang, the Government, the Government functionaries and the politicians pose a very grave threat to democracy. If democracy does not survive, I think, our civilization in general or India in particular with such a vast area and varied culture cannot survive. Therefore, do not treat these recommendations lightly.

I have listened to the arguments put forward by Shri Sharad Dighe. He is technically right. This Committee makes only one recommendation. That recommendation is - to have a nodal agency among the bureaucrats to pass on information. You have been kind enough to accept that 'only one' recommendation and you have set up a Committee of five-six persons headed by the Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Sir, if that is the interpretation of this Report, God save this country! Sir, this is not the only aspect; Mr. Home Minister, these are just not the aspects of exchange of information among certain Departments, certain interactions among the bureaucracy, but it speaks of something more than that.

Sir, you have rung the bell and, therefore, I cannot discuss it in detail. Simply I feel it my responsibility to make certain suggestions to come out of this grave crisis for the democracy, not for this Party or that Party. Sir, some suggestions have already been made and I simply add mine to them. One is, this Parliament should have an Ethics Standing Committee regarding the behavior of Members belonging to this side as well as that side. In many Parliaments outside this country, they have got that kind of a Committee or a Commission. It is not the Privileges Committee only. Here we always look up to it. If some injustice is done to me the only way for redressal I have is to approach the Privileges Committee, and everything cannot come to the Privileges Committee. My conduct, my rights, and my behavior in the House should also be a matter of scrutiny for the House itself. Therefore,

there should be a Commission or a Standing Committee of that nature.

Sir, there should be Constitutional machineries and legal safeguards to fight against this kind of malpractices or ideas which have been published in this Report. The Parties have got their own responsibility. I do not absolve myself, as a spokesman of a party and as a person elected on behalf of the party, of my responsibility as a political activist. Therefore, Sir, political campaign against corruption, political campaign against this kind of nexus and their muscle power and the money power must be carried even at the streets level. We shall fight here and we shall also fight on the streets against those mafia gangs, political corrupts and other evil forces which destroy the democracy. Sir, accounts of the political parties should be subjected to audit.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Because the source of money is the fountain of political corruption...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not stop, just ignore the side remarks.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : There should be an elaborate arrangement for audit of the accounts of all political parties. Sir, many Members have mentioned about the comprehensive electoral reforms and I would also like to emphasise upon it. Sir, unless you end the operation of black money, I think, black money practices will be in vogue. Therefore, ending of the operation of parallel black money is to be emphasised upon and has to be taken seriously.

Sir, my last allegation against the Government is, they are lighthearted. They have not taken a proper lesson from this Report. They have not understood the meaning hidden in this Report. If they still do not wake up, they are digging their own graves.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Sir, the intervention of the hon. Minister and the reply of Shri Ram Vilas Paswan may be kept as the first item in the Agenda for tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No.

[Translation]

SHRI AMAR PAL SINGH (Meerut) : Mr. Chairman Sir, it is a day of acid test for the House to bring the corruption and criminalisation in the country to an end. I would like to give only two suggestions in this regard.

Under the present set up in the country, the people do not get justice due to protection given to the criminals and the prevailing corruptions in police and district level

judiciary. The guilty persons are not punished and sometimes the innocent people are tortured for no reason at all. It leads to the increase in the crimes. To change this set up, I would like to suggest the Government that private detective system should be implemented in our country in tune with the system prevailing in Scotland. There should be an arrangement to listen to the arguments of the private detective and its lawyer as the courts listen to the arguments of the public prosecutor, the lawyer of the defending party and the police charge sheet also. Anyone from the either sides should be free to have the services of the private detective. Before registration there should be a high level secret enquiry about the private detectives. I take it for granted that only 10 percent people of the country who are economically sound will be able to have the service of this system. After the implementation of this system, the guilty would be punished and torturing of innocent people would be stopped, the law and order situation will improve; the administrative people, who give protection to the criminals will get exposed and the corruption in police and judiciary would be checked. 10 percent people will be benefitted by it directly and the remaining 20 percent will get justice indirectly.

Secondly, I would like to suggest that the way the politicians and the big officers are involved in giving protection to the criminals and the way the Chief Ministers, the Ministers and big officers of States and Centre are indulging in taking bribe in transfer cases, a powerful standing Committee should be constituted in the Parliament, which can take decision regarding bringing the corruption and criminalisation prevalent among the politicians and the officers of the country to an end. Under this standing Committee, a team of I.B. officers should be inducted at the direction of the committee and the I.B. team should have a wide net work, so that it can monitor the entire country. The promotion of the officers of this team should be governed by the Parliamentary Committee. The status of this I.B. team should be that of an autonomous body and the Central Government should be bound to bear all the expenses of this team. If the Standing Committee receives a report against anyone from the I.B. team, then the Standing Committee should also give its decision after listening to the concerned person and the officers in the witness box. If this Committee unanimously finds the concerned person guilty, then it should have only three rights. First of all if the erring person is an officer then he should be terminated. Secondly, if he is a Minister, Chief Minister or the Prime Minister then he should be sacked and there should be provision for cancellation of his membership. Thirdly, if he is an hon. Member of Parliament or the Member of Legislative Assembly then there should be the provision for cancellation of his Membership.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH (Sheohar) : Mr.

Chairman Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. We have been keeping ourselves in an illusion, corruption, politics of black money and the hawala rackets are prevailing in the country.

22.15 hrs.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

For all this, there was no need at all of the report of the Vohra Committee, the bomb blast and the action taken in regard to the murder case of a woman in Delhi. Therefore, I feel that we have been keeping ourselves in the dark. Black money has entered into the politics of this country and we are the sufferers. Congress which is the ruling party has more responsibilities but none of the political workers is left unaffected by the effect of the black money. It is very unfortunate for the country and our set up. It should be taken seriously.

This issue is being discussed in the country today and it is good that we have been discussing it honestly, for introspection. As far as the question of the action expected on the part of the Government is concerned, the Vohra Committee in its report at page 9, paragraph 2 has made it clear as to how much inefficient this Government is to do any work. The Vohra Committee in paragraph 2 has stated :

[English]

"The linkages developed by crime Syndicates get generally confirmed when pressure is mounted on the concerned agencies not to take action against the offenders or to go slow in the cases against them. Such pressures are mounted either immediately after a raid is conducted or at the time when prosecution is about to be initiated. Pressures are also exerted whenever corrupt and undesirable officers are shifted from sensitive assignments (Preventive Customs Divisions at the Airports, sensitive Collectorates in the Central Excise, etc.)"

[Translation]

Now what is left it. Is the hon. Home Minister, who has been the Chief Minister of Maharashtra unaware of the nexus of the political leaders in Maharashtra with the criminal gangs, mafia and the underworld people? I do not think that a capable person and the political leader like him, who had been a freedom fighter is also unaware of it. Therefore, the question today is what the Government wants to do and to what extent this House can provide efficient leadership in this regard. With regard to it I would like to urge upon the Government that the proposal of Shri Arjun Singh ji should be accepted since in case it is not done, then the message will go to the country that in the last phase of the tenth Lok Sabha we are unable to do anything on the Prime issue, concerning the freedom,

security, dignity, unity and Parliamentary traditions of the country. Therefore, my submission is that the Government has not been able to do anything as yet. The Government kept on the report of the Vohra Committee for two years. The House would like to know from the hon. Minister the reasons as to why the Government kept mum on it for two years. Black magic, black politics and black saints are very much in vogue in the country. I would like to know, if the news item published in 'The Tribune' is a fact or otherwise. It has been mentioned therein that 'a Government', I would say, a saint in its place - 'that a saint, who is a power broker and who is called Chandraswami, a Government agency has been conducting an enquiring against him'. This news item has appeared in connection with the crores of rupees belonging to an NRI. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether it is a fact or not? ...*(Interruptions)* A number of Ministers go to meet him and he thinks himself close to the hon. Prime Minister. His car is allowed to enter the residence of the hon. Prime Minister. This news went on appearing but I do not know if it is a fact or not. Today it is the headline of the Tribune. I would like to know if it is authentic or not.

I am surprised that the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, the internal security Minister is not present in the House at the time of discussion and what is the mystery behind it.

AN HON. MEMBER : He is coming.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH : The discussion has been going on since 2.30 and he is absent. We would like to know, why he is absent? Is it proper for him...*(Interruptions)*. Therefore, today this country is looking towards this House, and you, Mr. Speaker Sir, since you are the custodian and patron of the dignity and values of this House. What message is going to the country through this House? Whether or not we are going to set up the ethics committee. It is there in the other countries and we very often discuss here about the other countries.

The security agency has prepared it on the basis of all the available intelligence report. This facility is available in America also, and there is a Senate's Intelligence Committee. When all the things can be produced before that committee then what is the problem in doing so in our country? Why the Committee of this House cannot question the security agencies and their people. As the House got no right to know about the report of I.B. and revenue intelligence and the basis on which they have been prepared? This House has got that right. When this is our right then why this is being concealed from us? Every thing must be made transparent so that people of this country may also know as to how a solution would be found to the problem which have over shadowed our social and political life. They have every right to know about it. This is the

message that should go to the nation from this House.

Sir, I will urge upon this House while welcoming the motion moved by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan that the House should accept the amendment moved by Shri Arjun Singh.

[English]

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was expecting much more acrimonious debates on this issue specially in the context in which we are discussing the Report. I was rather hesitant whether this is the proper time for having this kind of a Report discussed when the elections are going to be held very shortly and I am sure most of the hon. Members will try to rise above the party lines. This is not just for winning the elections, this way or that way. But this is a kind of element which in fact has gone deep into the system. How we are going to eradicate the same is the main point about which I was very keen. That is why right from two o'clock, I have been sitting here. But I saw the whole thing is being politicized. Everybody was trying to point out the fingers either towards me, towards the Congress Party or towards the Opposition. In fact that is not the purpose for which the Report has been placed before all of us.

In fact, I was very keenly waiting specially from the senior Members. Unfortunately, they have not responded positively. They have also been victims of the same kind of attitude of which all other Members are. We are expecting hereafter also that we should be able to sit together, think about the whole thing and see how best we can save the situation and bring about the qualitative change in the entire country's polity. That is the basic thing about which we have to think. The very survival of democracy depends upon the kind of attitude that we are going to adopt towards this, whether one party is there or the other party is there. It is immaterial so far as this aspect is concerned. In fact, it is going to destroy the entire system. This is what the Vohra Committee has said.

About that Vohra Committee also, I must again point out; what is the officer going to do when Shri Chavan is there and when the Home Minister is directing, what can this report or what can the officers' committee to? That was the point which was raised.

In fact, I had expected of my esteemed friend from Shri Chatterjee for whom I have great respect, in spite of the fact that he had seen the Report, and if I had heard him correctly, he said that something was with the Government, some paragraphs, in fact, have not found a place in the Report, some apprehension, some kind of a suspicion or a doubt was expressed on the floor of the House and that is why in the Chamber of the Hon. Speaker with some of the leaders of the Opposition I had shown them the original.



SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have admitted it.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : I have shown the original. I have also shown a copy of the same and still if he feels that there is something which the Government is hiding,...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have not said it...(*Interruptions*)

S.B. CHAVAN : If you have not said it, I withdraw my remarks.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What I said was that the original Report that the hon. Home Minister produced before us in that room — I have no doubt about that — was what was presented by Shri Vohra to the Minister. I said that. I am again repeating probably fourth time.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Subsequently...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I did not say subsequently. I said prior to that. Obviously, the first draft of the Report must have contained something else because from the numbering it appeared so. I have not said that the hon. Minister mutilated it after it was submitted. Please, Mr. Minister, do not bring words into my mouth. I have never said that. My suspicion is that the first draft that was prepared contained something else. Ultimately, the final report which was submitted did not contain that. That is why a senior bureaucrat like him could not commit such a mistake. After paragraph 3.7 paragraph 6.1 came. I am glad when there is inherent and intrinsic evidence he knows what is meant by intrinsic evidence — there were other materials before Shri Vohra on the basis of which he had dictated the Report.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hold this Parliament in great esteem, I have the greatest respect for this Parliament and I can do anything but I will never tell a lie.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I never said it.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Please listen to what I have to say. You feel that the first Report which I had submitted was edited. If you take out the record, because I hold myself responsible, this is not hearsay; the kind of Report before it was submitted to me...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : That is what I have said.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : That is exactly what I say; you were attributing motives to me that I had asked him to correct the same...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have said it.

MR. SPEAKER : I was hearing the debate very carefully and I do not know what can be the interpretation which would be put on his statement, but my impression was that he was not imputing any motives.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : If he did not impute that motive, I have nothing to say about it. I can assure with a full sense of responsibility that actually I have been the Report after it was submitted to me. I had not seen it before Shri Vohra...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have never said that Shri Chavan has changed it or torn it away. I have never said it. Why is the hon. Home Minister taking it upon himself?...(*Interruptions*) This is the fifth time I am telling. I do not know Marathi, otherwise I call tell him in Marathi also.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : I am not so well-versed in English as you.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Perhaps my English is not good that is why I cannot make you understand. How many times should I repeat the same thing.

[*English*]

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : You speak such an English that I have not been able to understand you. Since you are denying.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : If I want to make an imputation, I would make it directly. I have been repeatedly saying that what the original report was shown to us seemed to be a correct document. There was a clear and continuous pagination. I have never said that you have changed it. It appears to me that before that report was submitted to you, there was another draft. That is what I have said. Then, what is your role? Mr. Vohra did not give it to you. Then, what is the role of your Ministry? Mr. Chavan, why are you taking it upon yourself?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : I have asked Mr. Vohra to come to me in order to find out as to whether there has been a mistake or if he had any original draft which, in fact, has been corrected. Mr. Vohra said, 'I am an officer who has said so many things against the Government.' I can tell you that this is the original draft. In fact, as it has been given to you, there has been no change in that.

So, that make the matter clear...(*Interruptions*). I was merely worried that no impression should go round as if something has been done by the Government and that is why I was just getting the information...(*Interruptions*). There is no doubt in my mind that the Vohra Committee referred to a number of things. Of course, my esteemed friend, Shri Sharad Dighe, who was the Speaker in

Maharashtra spoke on that. He said that was the only recommendation and if it is implemented then the resolution becomes totally redundant. I do not think that the resolution becomes redundant. Technically, what he was said is correct. But we cannot go on the technicalities. These are matters which, in fact, are very serious. Irrespective of the party - whether it is the Congress Party or Opposition Party, - I can give instance after instance where even the local politics are discussed here. I will appeal to Shrimati Suseela Gopalan that she may be having references so far as the Congress Party and Communist Party are concerned but I am not been able to understand, 'first do this and then we will do this'. I do not think that there is any nexus between these two. We are using the word 'nexus' in the context of nexus between politicians and underworld. So, I have no doubt in my mind that at least in this we have to create public opinion. That is the only solution. Laws are there and I can say with authority that all the cases that we have with the C.B.I, they constitute only one per cent of the total cases. Ninety-nine per cent of the cases are with the State Governments. But we have to change the system. When we ask for the consent of the State Governments knowing full well that this matter is serious, we just do not get their consent. We will have to think seriously about this issue.

I will request all the hon. Members that instead of treating this as a kind of political issue and party issue, they should try to persuade especially in the context of serious cases, heinous crimes which have been committed against the society at large. They should try to persuade the State Governments to give their consent, otherwise we will have to think in terms of having a legislation which makes it compulsory that in all such cases, we will not ask for the consent of the State Government. But that would be too drastic a step. In a Federal Polity, in fact, we would like to have the consent of the State Government before we think of taking any other action.

But my request to the hon. Members will be to try and persuade their State Governments, specially where many serious cases are involved.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Do you know what Shri Krip Chalia has said? Where is he now? Mr. Home Minister, what is his grievance against the C.B.I.? Have you heard your own Party Member? What is happening in Guwahati, Assam? Shri Chalia is your own Party's Member. Where is he now? You tell him.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Mr. Minister, in the report of the J.P.C. there is a chapter on C.B.I. There is a comment on the C.B.I. by the J.P.C. investigating

Harshad Mehta case. Have you read that chapter? There is an accusation that they are not doing this, for reasons which I need not state. It is part of a unanimous report...*(Interruptions)* I emphasise on it. It is part of a unanimous report...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : But this clearly shows that you are not in favour of asking your State Government...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE : Sir, who has prevented you in taking action against the cu. its in the Delhi riots? So many years have passed by after the incident...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Is it the reply to my question?...*(Interruptions)* My question to the Andhra Pradesh Government will be : 'If there is a very heinous crime which some people have committed, in that case, when we ask you to give your consent, still you feel that you will investigate the matter and the Central Government cannot do this.' Can anyone say that similar kind of situation of what you are alleging against the C.B.I. does not obtain in any of the States? There are good officers. There are bad officers. You certainly employ good officers. I have no objection. But, at the same time, when you engulf the entire country and when the security of the country is, in fact, in jeopardy, it is the State Governments, who would still like to exercise their powers and say that : 'No, no it is only our prerogative, we will do it and we will not allow the Central Government to look into the matter', then we will have to consider it.

The second thing which we will have to consider is what the Vohra Committee has said is that the legal system that we have will have to be changed. A number of courts will have to be appointed. A number of courts will have to be constituted and the entire procedure will have to be simplified in such a manner that quick punishment in these matters, which is the essence of the entire thing, is awarded. If it is going to take ten years, of course they know how to prolong the case. They employ the best of advocates available and they are prepared to pay any amount of fees that they want and somehow they should succeed in their effort. Fortunately or unfortunately they have succeeded in a number of cases. I am aware of a number of cases. But this is not the time to unnecessarily to go into all those aspects of the question.

So, that is one thing which, in fact, will have to be undertaken with a view to see that all those who commit this kind of crime, which in fact have ramifications for the whole of the country are punished. We should be able to constitute courts and take very quick action so that others should also think beforehand that if they are to do the same thing, the same thing is going to be meted out to them.

This is the kind of feeling which should be there in the minds of the people.

The third thing which, in fact, was asked about the time taken or the long time that was taken and that was the Government doing about it. Actually, as our friend has said, in fact, this is a department report which, in fact, we were not interested in placing on the Table of the House. But things which were stated in the report clearly indicated that certain things have happened and that too in different directions. I would like place one thing before this hon. House and that is about that paragraph in which mention has been made by Shri Vohra about coordination of different intelligence agencies. It is true. There has to be coordination among these intelligence agencies.

But at the same time, they have to consider as to why is it that there was some kind of a reservation in their mind. They know the reason, which I also know. And that is, everybody is very particular with the kind of information that he has. He should be able to work out and see as to the persons against whom a case can be instituted. The credit should go to him rather than to anyone else and the possibility of the information leaking out when such a coordination committee is being constituted is also one of the reasons for it. I have seen some of the Members brandishing on the floor of the House some report saying that this thing has happened and that thing has happened. I said: "Please for God's sake do not do this". He said that he was prepared to authenticate the report. I said: "Very fine, you are free to say whatever you like; you have that freedom". But that is another factor which, in fact, definitely weighs with all these people who are in charge of intelligence collection.

Sir, I must also say that when it is a question of revenue intelligence they will merely look at it from the revenue point of view; they will not look at it from other point of view which, in fact, is totally irrelevant and it is not necessary for them. But it is very important for the country, as a whole. That information has to be passed on to this Nodal Agency and if this kind of a report is being formulated and proper collection of information has been made, then we can think in terms of taking action in the matter. It is the responsibility of the Nodal Agency to go ahead and then evolve some kind of a mechanism by which they should be able to investigate.

Firstly, there should be collection of intelligence report, secondly there should be investigation and the third part is the prosecution thereafter. These are the three different stages through which the whole thing has to go and I am sure the hon. Members will appreciate that after collection of this kind of a material, I do not think that we can ever think of sharing this information with anybody else, rather than the Nodal Agency which, in fact, has been

created by the Government. If any other agency is proposed to be created, I am afraid the very purpose will be defeated and we will not succeed in the kind of action that we would like to take against all those people who, in fact, are mainly responsible for these things.

Sir, there is one more point and I have done. That point is that some people may take Oath of allegiance to the Constitution and after taking that Oath, they totally try to violate the same. What do you do with those people is one of the issues that we will have to consider and consider very seriously. If it is merely a small thing I would not have bothered about it. But if religious, casteist or any other feelings are brought about, thereby trying to violate the solemn oath that you have taken, then this is also going to create a major problem for this country. We will have to consider very seriously as to what needs to be done in order to curb this kind of a tendency. This is also one of the issues that we will have to keep in mind. This was the only aspect that I thought on which I should take the House into confidence.

Sir, a large number of things were suggested by the hon. Members for which I am really thankful to them. But the pith and substance of the whole thing was that we should be able to adopt some kind of a code of conduct, by having all the parties together. It is at the level of the political parties. At the Government level, I do not think that any exercise that we do is going to succeed.

If we are really sincere about it, let all the political parties come together and, in that meeting, take a decision that for anyone who has got a criminal record, we take responsibility of not giving any ticket to him and not to help him directly or indirectly also because I am aware of the people about whom I was very particular that they should not be given a Congress ticket. In the first election, they were given the Congress ticket. In the second elections, they were not given Congress tickets, but they fought the elections and I know who are the people who have directly or indirectly helped them to get elected. My appeal to all the political parties will be to create an atmosphere in which our sincerity is to be proved to the people. People at large should be convinced that we are sincere when we say no one who has a criminal record is going to be supported by the political party. It is a thing which has to be done genuinely. Otherwise, the next step should be what our esteemed Shri Indrajit Gupta has said that in every area there are some honest people. I have no doubt about it. You can find four or five very honest people. Irrespective of the party they belong, they should go to the people and say that to whichever party he might belong to, if he is a corrupt man, do not vote for him. That is the last step in involvement of the people in creating the necessary atmosphere who would like to support only honest people.

You must adhere to the ceiling which has been prescribed by the Election Commission. Otherwise, money and muscle power is a deciding factor in all our elections and if we are really sincere about eliminating these factors, then this is the only solution. Otherwise, making accusations against each other is not going to solve this problem.

Beside that, I do not have anything to add. There are certain issues about which I would like to discuss with the Hon. Speaker and thereafter whatever be his advice will be binding on me and on the Government. So, I will discuss with him those issues and thereafter, necessary steps which ought to be taken would be taken. But let me make it absolutely clear that sharing of intelligence is not going to be possible at all. This will be only in the context of suggestions which some hon. Members want to give. If they are interested in giving some suggestions, certainly they are most welcome. They can give the suggestions. But I will be able to discuss the mechanism with the Hon. Speaker and thereafter we will be able to take whatever steps are necessary.

SHRIMATI GEETA KUKHERJEE : I have raised the point about Code of Governance. What is your reaction?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : As I have said, if the Code of Conduct of all the political parties is strictly adhered to, then the Code of Governance also automatically follows. After all, some party or the other is going to rule. So, having taken back the place, the logical conclusion will be that you will have to follow the same even in the Government also. You cannot escape.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : I had made a very pointed query to the hon. Home Minister and perhaps he was dealing with so many matters and it escaped his notice. I had quoted two paragraphs 15 (2) and 15 (3) that this report was submitted on 5-10-1993. We wanted to know when action on this report was initiated, more so in the light of a specific suggestion made by Vohra. I have it on the authority of Mr. Vohra that he retired on 30-5-1994. The report was submitted on 5-10-1993. He was the Home Secretary for eight months. But his suggestion that he be called for a preliminary discussion and some action on it be taken, was not implemented.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, I also requested the hon. Home Minister to tell us whether there was any discussion with the Finance Minister or MOS (IS) and the Home Minister as suggested in para 15.2. I would like to know whether the whole thing was placed before the Prime Minister for implementation as indicated. I would also like to know whether that was done and when.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : Both the things, I could not do and therefore the question of discussing the matter with the Prime Minister did not arise.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Roser) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have tried not to lower the standard of this debate. I have tried from the very beginning that the standard of the debate should be maintained and we should concentrate on the increasing criminalization which has affected not only our political life but all other spheres of our life too. Politics is like Gangotri and if Gangotri is polluted, then the water of Ganga cannot remain clean. Therefore, we owe great responsibility to the nation. We people and even our Congress colleagues have given suggestions by rising about party lines. But the reply of Hon'ble Home Minister has disappointed us. Through we expected this much reply from him. Now it is 11.00 P.M. and this discussion was started at 2.30 P.M., but what is the outcome of this 8.30 hours debate? If someone would have spoken this much during zero hour, even then you would have given this much reply. Earlier, allegations were levelled against us also. We had moved the resolution and said that the resolution was very good. The Government has been entrusted with the responsibility to take appropriate steps keeping in view the increasing criminalization. What steps were taken by the Government? Many of our colleagues said that it was loathless, but we said that it would get its teeth when the Hon'ble Members should demand so. We are happy, though it has not been given full power as yet.

Even the amendment moved by Shri Arjun Singh is not that he has given it some name or anything else. He has left it to the Hon'ble Speaker to constitute a committee comprising of 10 or 11 members and it should monitor the nodal agency that you have set up. I do not want to go into the details whether it should be called a standing committee or something else because you have set up this committee under the Chairmanship of the Home Secretary and Home Secretary has got his propriety and he cannot over step the limits of his propriety. Therefore there is a good suggestion that a big size committee consisting of members from judiciary, political parties and eminent personalities should be there which may supervise its functioning. I think that the suggestion was very good and impartial. I think that all political party including congress party would not have any objection in accepting such a motion or amendment. As a mover of this resolution I have no objection to it, rather I welcome it. This may be the issue of legality for Hon'ble Chair, but we feel that when it came to the notice of Hon'ble Home Minister and when such a good suggestion has been made the Hon'ble Home Minister will definitely accept it and welcome it. If we accept it just now, then we may add word 'Committee' in resolution. You can do it because it is within your jurisdiction. However, legally, we cannot add it but we will take action in this direction. I understand that you should have no objection to it. I will urge upon you once again that if you want some

outcome of this discussion, then you must concede to this suggestion.

The Hon'ble Home Minister should see as to what can be done in this regard. When Rajeev Gandhi was the Prime Minister he moved a Lokpal bill in this House in 1985. Since he was a new person in the politics so he believed that some reforms should be brought about in the system. That is why he introduced Lokpal Bill in his House. But the bill was withdrawn after three years. Mr. Chidambaram is not here.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and one of our party colleague, Mr. Reddy were its Members. Now, it is being said that there is no need of it.

MR. SPEAKER : Paswan ji, leave it to them to move this amendment.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : All right, I have no objection if they speak on it.

I am glad that Shri Rajesh Pilot has come in the House. We had levelled the charge that there were many people, many Swamijis Maharaj, roaming about here, who are more powerful than the Prime Minister or the President. A newsitem has appeared in this regard in the Tribune captioned "Godman" faces probe. His name is also there. He has ordered an inquiry into it...*(Interruptions)* We are not denying that.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH : Has he ordered an inquiry into it or not?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I would like to know whether he has ordered an inquiry into it or not? If so, it is a very commendable step that he has taken and I appreciate it. The hon. Minister wants to say something and hence, we shall take our seats.

*[English]*

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT) : The same question was raised in the other House and I clarified that.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : How can we know what he has clarified in the other House? Let us know that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question was put by Shri Jagmohan asking whether the Government have received such complaints. I said, 'yes, the Government has received a complaint about the activities of Shri Chandraswamy. We have ordered the inquiry to get the facts. Nobody is above the law whether he is Chandraswamy or anybody. Everybody is dealt with the law and the law will take its own course when he is found guilty.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : He has done a commendable work because this is not a matter concerning the Ministry of Home Affairs but the Government of India. He should not be afraid of anyone. He should take a stern action. He should not meekly utter-

*[English]*

'Law to take its own course'

*[Translation]*

I demand that the Government should make its intention clear with regard to the Lok Pal Bill as to whether it intends to bring forward the Lok Pal Bill or not? The water of the Ganges cannot be pure if Gangotri is polluted. Their party constitutes the Government at the Centre but the Lok Pal Bill should be presented before the House no matter whosoever forms the Government. Just now, one of our friends was speaking on TADA. I would like to know whether there is a single person convicted for an economic offence amongst a mass of 77,000 people arrested under TADA? The Government has used TADA against the poor, the minorities and the farmers but those who are really guilty, who should have been put behind the bars...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : The three accounts of Harshad Mehta got cleared off the special Court two days ago...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Therefore, I would like to say that the matter of our concern is not related to any party but the whole country. He has taken a very good step for strengthening the country, the system and democracy and in order to enable honesty permeate into every aspect of life. What is the fun of running the Government if all the political parties and every person is made accountable. Leaving it to individual person, everybody will work in his own style. But, when there is a Government...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : You have found a very good way out.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Was not the involvement of people in 1984 riots a criminal act in which 5000 people were killed and about which a pointed finger was raised on the hon. Prime Minister in his capacity as the then Home Minister? The then Prime Minister had been assassinated at that time and the whole responsibility was of the then Home Minister. 5000 people were killed in Delhi alone.

23.00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, people have been occupying high offices and 11 years have passed but not a single person has been awarded punishment since. What signals are



being conveyed by this? Therefore, I said at the outset that one criminal may be left scot free if any party; be it the B.J.P., the Congress, C.P.I., C.P.I.(M), Janta Dal or any party; is involved in a criminal activity as a whole and no action is taken against it, then who is going to check that? Therefore, the onus of accountability rests on him. Throughout his reply, he did not refer to an economic offender. He said that he has not talked to the Minister of Finance.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Why didn't he do so?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Why didn't he talk to him? He just said that he didn't do so. That is why we are levelling on him the charge of being insincere. We do not believe in this Government. We have not brought forward these issues here to bring them to the notice of this deaf and dumb Government but to make this House, and through the House, the whole country aware of these issues. *(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House is supreme. With regard to economic offences, I would like to say, while Antulay ji is present here, that Haji Mastan had once said that Bombay has 75 percent black money and warned that nobody should dare to touch him because all are the birds of same feather. Had he said so or not? What action was taken so far? He made this statement 20 years ago. What action was taken during these 20 years? If this is not checked, then, as I said at the outset that democracy will wither away in this country notwithstanding the fact that it might have a democratic structure, a democratic set up but the heart, the soul of democracy will perish away.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to give his opinion and express his reaction on the suggestions that have been given regarding the 1984 riots, culprits, economic offenders. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Wouldn't you make any mention of Harshad Mehta?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Harshad Mehta has turned out to be a hero. Why are you taking his name repeatedly? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA : What are you saying? Are you at liberty to speak whatever you like? Are you conscious of what you are saying?...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

Sir, it is a wild allegation. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It will not go on record. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : *(Interruptions)\**

SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA : It is totally untrue. You are not free to make unbridled speeches.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : You may get it expunged from the record. Wasn't there a bank scam and a sugar scam?

SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA : I am saying that  
*(Interruptions)\**

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : You many get me imprisoned.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA : I level a charge that you

*(Interruptions)\**

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR : Taken together, they will constitute such a bulk. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, he has made a charge. *(Interruptions)\**

Either he should prove it or you send it to the Privileges Committee. *(Interruptions)* Will it go on record?

MR. SPEAKER : I will look into it.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : He has made a charge that

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. SPEAKER : That is also going out of the record.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : You are a Minister, please listen.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He is a Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Paswan, most of the Members and probably you also bring it down?

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, I have repudiated

the sack issue. Lastly, I would only like to say that the Government of India and I have a great faith in Chavan ji, Pilot ji and Sayeed ji and I said it at the outset that it is not a party issue. It is related to a Government. It is a matter involving the system and in order to plug the loopholes of this system; because we are the Members of Parliament and will go through a session of the 10th Lok Sabha or may be another session held but we should reform the system so as to clear the path and project a clean image for future. With these words, I formally move my Resolution.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH (Satna) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had earlier said that it depends on your discretion as to how and in which manner should the motion that I have given in writing come up. The aim behind moving it was only that it is given in Para 2 of this report that :

[English]

"In the course of the discussion, I perceived that some of the members appeared to have some hesitation in openly expressing their views and also seemed unconvinced that Government actually intended to pursue such matters."

[Translation]

This report indicates that the administrative officials were hesitant about it. That hesitation was removed by Mr. Vohra by personally interacting with those people. There is some doubt that the same officials will work with an open mind and heart if they are entrusted with a responsibility in the shape of a Nodal Committee. I will not like to dwell upon the measures the administration might take on their suggestions or their action. The hon. Home Minister has himself said in his reply that no step will be taken after 5.10.95. Therefore, I leave it to you that the Parliament should exercise its influence and control that in some degree. I leave it to your discretion to exercise it in which manner you like.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Well, this is what I would like to say on this point. I have jotted it down. I would like to read it out.

We had organised this debate to get the suggestions from Members to tackle, mitigate and solve, if possible, the problem of criminalisation in the country. Hon. Members given some very good suggestions. As to how they should be implemented can be looked into in greater detail by some of us. Suggestions about creating the Ethics Committee are also made and can be looked into in detail by the Leaders of different parties. The Amendment given by Shri Arjun Singh has two parts. One part relates to the suggestions that can be given by a Committee of Members

to the Government. The second part relates to the monitoring of the action so taken. The first part is acceptable because this debate itself was organised for receiving the suggestions as to what can be done. The second part is not acceptable because if you give the authority to Members for monitoring the actions... (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Authority for monitoring the actions after they are taken... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Then, it would be necessary to divulge intelligence and all those things. It would involve disclosing the intelligence available with the Government, which can create new problems. The first part, in substance, appears to be acceptable. The second part is not acceptable. The Amendment may or may not be technically acceptable but we are not deciding this issue on technical grounds. On technical grounds, I could have said that it could not be accepted and also somebody could have argued that it should be acceptable on technical grounds. I would like to discuss this matter with the Leaders, with the Government and would like to see what can be done in this matter, maybe, positively with respect to only the first part of it. If some Members want to join hands, they can draw up some suggestions and give them to the Government in the light of what has come up now. There will not be any objection to this kind of suggestions.

Even then, I would not like to say that I would do this thing or do that thing immediately because responding on an important issue like this would not be proper. I would certainly discuss this matter with the Government and with the leaders; and we will see what can be done. I would also like to discuss the idea of Ethics Committee with the Government and with the leaders because it also involves so many things. Only after developing the concept correctly, we should take a decision in this matter.

In view of this, I would request Shri Arjun Singhji, not to press for the admission of his notice and acceptance of the amendment because in substance what you are suggesting, we shall have to evolve; and responding at such a spur of the moment may not be proper, but the spirit can be understood.

SHRI ARJUN CHARAN SETHI (Bhadrak) : At the very beginning, I had said that I left it to your discretion. So, the question of my pressing for it does not arise.

MR. SPEAKER : Okay, thank you.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : I am grateful to you that you have taken the essence of my request and I am also sure that it will be given the substance and it will be given the implementation as soon as you can make it.

MR. SPEAKER : I think, from both the sides, the suggestions were made with a view to see that if this is

a problem, we should see as to how it can be evolved; and nobody has I think, spared himself or his party or attacked any other party unnecessarily. I think, the spirit was quite good and we should conclude this debate in that spirit only.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I will put that to the vote of the House because I do not think there is any objection. Is there any objection to this kind of a resolution?

*(Interruptions)*

VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA : There is no objection at all. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I would have a difficulty. ...*(Interruptions)* I had said that at the very beginning. I do not think, this was an exercise in mutual backbiting. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : No, it is not.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : It was not; and this was not an exercise in mutual backbiting and at the end of this whole discussion, I am afraid, I am left with a very empty feeling. I had, at the very beginning, said that I have some difficulty with the resolution. But I went along in the hope that the response from the Government is going to be much more positive.

The most positive thing at the end of the evening has been your observation and I am left completely aghast. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : May I just say something, if you do not mind please?

In all fairness to the Home Minister and to the Government, I must say that I had discussed this matter with them and they have to discuss this matter in the Cabinet also and all these things. But, I have found that in substance, there was no divergence of opinion. In all fairness, everything could not have been discussed. I had a discussion with other Members also. Suppose we are not attacking the problem and if we are attacking only the machinery, then also the results are deflecting the attention from the real problem to something else. That should also not happen.

In all sincerity, you and other hon. Members spoke about it; and my impression is that it is a difficult, complicated and intricate issue and a problem which is faced by us and by others also; and they are trying their best. So, let us please not deflect from the main problem, the issue and the malady to something else so that the target is not affected. I hope, Shri Jaswant Singh, ...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : After that, I have nothing to say because even if I have differences, it is not possible for me...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Now, I will put Shri Paswanji's ...

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : We are all disarmed before your candour, Mr. Speaker, Sir and not before the determination of the Government.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Yes. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : We are all disarmed before the hon. Speaker's candour. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : May I put the Motion to the vote now just as a formality?

The question is :

"That this House urges upon the Government to take action on the Vohra Committee Report regarding criminalisation of politics without any delay."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER : There is one more thing. I must say that the discussion was kept at a substantially high level. All the Members should be congratulated for the responsibility exhibited by them. Let us hope that something can be done with respect to the acceptable suggestions given on the floor of the House.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

**Memorandum of understanding between the Computer Maintenance Corporation Limited and Department of Electronics for 1995-96 etc.**

23.16 hrs.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS) AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI MUKUL WASNIK) : Sir, on behalf of Shri Eduardo Faleiro, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) :-

- (1) Memorandum of Understanding between the Computer Maintenance Corporation Limited and the Department of Electronics for the year 1995-96.

*[Placed in Library. See No. L.T. 8029/95]*

- (2) Memorandum of Understanding between ET and T Corporation Limited and the Department of