

Whether it was Sant Fateh Singh or even the group of leaders in whose group Shri Jagat Narain was associated at the time when the unfortunate incidents in Punjab took place about which he made a reference, the Government of India talked to Shri Jagat Narain and his other colleagues who were at one time considered to be associated with the conditions which unfortunately took a bad turn in Punjab; similarly they talked to others, Sant Fateh Singh or his representatives. So, this is the general policy that we adopt, and you cannot say "We are opposed to Government, so you talk to us," if there is another person who is opposed to Government, "do not talk to him." This is not a very helpful way of looking at problems. We should always make a distinction between internal problems and problems where we are concerned with outside neighbours. A reference has been made about the situation in relation to China and Pakistan. This matter has been discussed so very often that I will not say anything on that score. We have been dealing with this problem also, I believe, in an effective manner always trying to adhere to the principle of resolving all the disputes even with neighbours by peaceful means but at the same time upholding our dignity, upholding our honour and the integrity of our country and I am sure that this policy will continue to be adhered to.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Sir, one clarification I wish from him. I have suggested that in the midst of conflict and negotiations we will continue to march ahead with our welfare programmes for the improvement of the conditions of the people of Nagaland in their interest as well as in the interest of the country as a whole. I think the Government is doing all that it can in this connection also.

SARDAR SW ARAN SINGH: I agree with this observation of the hon. Member, and we are doing our best to improve their Condition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri M. P. BHARGAVA): The question is :

"That the Bill further to amend the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 to A were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

### THE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1965-66, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands of Rs. 188-33 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on March 21, 1966 and the expenditure of Rs. 147-13 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of India, as detailed in the Supplementary Demands for Grants presented to the House on February 25, 1966. The total amount indicated in the printed booklet of Supplementary Demands for Grants was Rs. 335-66 crores as assessed up to the middle of January 1966. However, as a result of information that has since become available, the additional requirement under Demand No. '100-Atomic Energy Research' during the current year is now estimated at only Rs. 6 lakhs instead of Rs. 26 lakhs shown in the booklet. This is because the requirement of Rs. 20 lakhs for housing for the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research which was provided for under Demand No. '100—Atomic Energy Research' will now be met from another Grant in the Capital section. As savings are available under the Grant in the Capital section, no additional funds will be required on this account. The total amount

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.] now required is consequently Rs. 335-46 crores. The explanations in support of the Demands have, as usual, been given in the foot-notes below the Supplementary Demands and Statements. I shall therefore confine myself to a few introductory remarks.

Of the additional provision of Rs. 335-46 crores asked for in the current batch of the Supplementary Demands Rs. 94-98 crores are on Revenue Account, Rs. 45-48 crores are for Capital Expenditure and the balance of Rs. 195 crores is for Loans and Advances. The net outgo from the Consolidated Fund of India would, however, amount to Rs. 219-93 crores only as the balance will be covered by additional receipts, recoveries, adjustments and surrenders.

These major items of additional expenditure on Revenue Account are : Rs. 26-27 crores for Defence; Rs. 17-15 crores for transfer of Emergency Risks Insurance receipts to the respective Funds and other expenditure under the Emergency Risk Schemes; Rs. 16-50 crores on account of discount on Treasury Bills and interest on Post Office Savings Bank Deposits; Rs. 6 Crores for payment to States for border security; Rs. 5-5 crores for Dearness Allowance increases; Rs. 5 crores for payment of States' share of Union Excise Duties and Rs. 4 crores for payments against Tax Credit Certificates.

On the Capital side, provision has been made for additional expenditure for purchase of fertilisers—Rs. 13 crores for the Farakka Barrage Project—Rs. 6-61 crores and for the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and Indian Oil Corporation—Rs. 12-77 crores.

The total provision of Rs. 195 crores under the composite Demand for Loans and Advances comprises of Rs. 125 crores payable to the States for Plan and other purposes, of which Rs. 25 crores are recoverable during the year itself, Rs. 16-50 crores for additional credit facilities to certain East European countries and the United Arab Republic and Rs. 53-50 crores for various public sector undertakings.

The provision for loans to the public sector undertakings includes an item of Rs. 3-88 crores for payment of loans to Hindustan Zinc Ltd. In view of the recent Punjab High Court decision relating to the Metal Corporation of India Act, it has been decided not to advance the loan to the Hindustan Zinc Limited for the present. The amount already voted by the Lok Sabha on this account will, however, be utilised to meet the additional requirements of funds of other public sector concerns, particularly the Indian Oil Corporation.

I do not wish to take the time of the House in explaining these proposals further. I shall, however, try to meet the points that hon. Members may wish to raise during the debate.

With these words, I move this Bill for the consideration of the House.

*The question was proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I have a large list of Members wishing to take part in this debate. I would therefore appeal to them to confine their remarks to ten minutes.

Shri Jagat Narain.

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : वाइस-चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं दो बातों की तरफ वजीर साहब की तरफ ज़रूर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात यह है कि आप को यह मालूम ही है कि पिछली पाकिस्तान के साथ लड़ाई के बाद जिन इलाकाज़ात को पाकिस्तान खाली करके गया है या जिन इलाकाज़ात को हमने खाली किया है उनकी जो पोजीशन इन वक्त है वह यह है कि जैसे खेमकरन का इलाका है, खेमकरन के इलाके को पाकिस्तान बिल्कुल तबाह व बरबाद कर के गया है और वहाँ लोग बसना चाहते हैं, मगर हालत यह है कि वहाँ अभी तक उनके बसने का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं हो रहा है। ताशकन्द मुआहिदे के तहत यह खयाल था कि उनको बहुत जल्दी वहाँ पर बसाया जायेगा, लेकिन अब ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि ये जो नये डेवलपमेंट्स शुरू

हुए हैं उनको सामने रखते हुए वे लोग वहां पर अब नहीं बस सकेंगे। हालत ये है कि इस सिलसिले में जो अखबारों में छपा है उसकी तरदीद हमारी गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से नहीं हुई है। अखबारों में यह छपा है कि खेमकरन के इलाके की तरफ पाकिस्तान ने अपना पूरा फोर्स इकट्ठा कर दिया है। यही हालत फ़ारोजपुर सैक्टर में और छम्ब सैक्टर में है। अब सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि ये जो लोग बेघर हो गये हैं इनके मुताल्लिक गवर्नमेंट क्या प्रबन्ध कर रही है और उनको बसाने के लिए गवर्नमेंट का क्या इन्तजाम है जब कि हालत यह है कि ताशकन्द मुआहिदे की धज्जियां पाकिस्तान ने बिलकुल आसमान में उड़ा कर रख दीं। यह मैं नहीं कहता बल्कि आपके काश्मीर के एक वजीर साहब हैं, डोगरा साहब, जो कि शायद फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्टर हैं उन्होंने यह कहा है :

“Mr. G. L. Dogra, Finance Minister, today asked the Government not to think that after the Tashkent Declaration everything was all right.”

यह उन्होंने वहां जम्मू काश्मीर की विधान सभा में कहा है। तो जहां तक ताशकन्द का मुआहिदा है, वह तो खत्म हो चुका है। अब चीन के साथ पाकिस्तान ने मुआहिदा कर लिया है और चीन के लोग वहां आना जाना शुरू हो गये हैं और चीन के प्रेसीडेंट भी वहां आये। इसको मद्देनजर रखते हुए मैं आप की बसात से वजीर साहब से यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि ये जो लोग हैं खेमकरन के इलाके के, फ़ारोजपुर के इलाके के या दूसरे इलाकाज्वात के, उनके बसाने के लिये क्या प्रबन्ध किया जायेगा। मौजूदा हालात में जब कि पाकिस्तान ने ताशकन्द मुआहिदा बिलकुल खत्म कर के रख दिया है तो वे क्यों वहां जा कर के बसें। शायद आप सुनते हों पाकिस्तान रेडियो। रोज तो नहीं लेकिन कभी-कभी मुझे भी

उसको सुनने का मौका मिलता है। वैसे जो लोग रोज पाकिस्तान रेडियो सुनते हैं वे बतलाते हैं कि जो वहां से आजकल तकरीरें हो रही हैं, भाषण हो रहे हैं और जो वहां से खबरें ब्राडकास्ट हो रही हैं वे ऐसी-ऐसी होती हैं जैसे लड़ाई आज हुई या कल हुई। प्रेसीडेंट अबूब साहब कहते हैं कि जहां तक काश्मीर का ताल्लुक है, हम उसको ऐसे ही नहीं छोड़ देंगे। भुट्टो साहब को तो आप छोड़ दोजिये। उनकी बात और है। मगर प्रेसीडेंट अबूब भी साथ कहते हैं कि काश्मीर के मुताल्लिक लड़ाई फिर हो सकती है; आज भी हो सकती है और कल भी हो सकती है। इसलिये मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि ये लोग जो बेघर हो गए हैं, उनको बेघर हुए आज छः महीने से ज्यादा हो गये हैं, लेकिन उनके बसाने के लिये अभी तक कोई इन्तजाम नहीं हुआ है। वहां के लोगों को मेरे पास दो चिट्ठियां हैं, लेकिन उनके सुनाने के लिए मेरे पास वक्त नहीं है। वे यह लिखते हैं कि हमसे पहले वायदा किया गया था कि पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के वजीर डिल्लों साहब, हमें साथ ले जायेंगे और वहां ले जा कर के हम को बसायेंगे। वे वहां गये भी, और अखबारों के दो सौ आदमी साथ में ले गये, लेकिन वे सब के सब वापस आ गये। उन्होंने वहां पर जा कर के यह नक्शा देखा कि सारे का सारा खेमकरन और वहां के सारे गांव खंडहर बने हुए हैं। ये मेरे पास वहां की तस्वीर हैं। वहां पर ऐसी गंदी गंदी बातें लिखी हुई थीं जैसे ‘शास्त्री कुत्ता मुदाबाद’। ये लपट पड़ते हुए दुःख होता है। यह भी लिखा हुआ था कि ‘इंदिरा गांधी मुदाबाद’ ‘अबूब जिदाबाद’। और जो आगे लिखा हुआ है उसको मैं न पढ़ सकता हूं और न इस हाउस को सुना सकता हूं। लेकिन हमारी तरफ हालत यह है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने उनकी तमाम मस्जिदों की और मकानों की तफेदी करके उनको हवाले किया है। अब सवाल यह है कि हमारी तरफ जो लोग बेघर हो गये हैं, उनके लिये क्या इन्तजाम हो रहा है। यहां पर यह कहा

[श्री जगत नारायण]

जाता है कि हम ने पंजाब गवर्नमेंट को वहां के बेघर लोगों को बसाने के लिये इतना रुपया दिया है लेकिन अभी तक वहां किसी एक आदमी को नहीं बसाया गया है और न खेमकरण के मुताल्लिक सोचा गया है कि वहां किस तरह की शहर की कालोनी बनाना है, किस तरह से फॉर्सेज रखना है और किस तरह से सारी बातें करनी हैं। इन सब बातों का कोई अन्दाजा नहीं है। तो एक बात मैं आपके सामने यह कहना चाहता था इसके मुताल्लिक कि एक बाजह पालिसी केन्द्रीय सरकार की नष्ट होनी चाहिए, बतलाई जानी चाहिए उन लोगों को कि वहां उन लोगों को बसना है या नहीं। अगर वहां उनको नहीं बसाया जा सकता, मिलिटरी एरिया रहना है, लड़ाई का खतरा है तो उसके लिए कोई और रास्ता सोचिए, कहीं और बसाइए, जमीन दीजिए, रुपया दीजिए, मकान के लिए कर्जा दीजिए। उनके लिए कोई और बन्दोबस्त कीजिए, ट्रेड वालों को बसाने की कोशिश कीजिए। वे काफी लोग हैं। अगर उनको नहीं बसाया और खुदा न करे, परमात्मा न करे, लड़ाई शुरू हो जाय किसी वक्त दो-तीन महीने में तो मैं आपको यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस तपाक से, जिस मुहब्बत से, जिस प्यार से पंजाब के लोगों ने फौज का स्वागत किया था, कदम कदम पर, एक-एक फुट पर चाय पेश की थी, सब कुछ पेश किया था, औरतें रोटियां-चाय वगैरह लेकर वहां जाती रही हैं, खंदकों में जाती रही हैं जहां शैलिंग होती रही है, फिर ये बातें नहीं हो सकेंगी क्योंकि उनका उत्साह खत्म हो जायगा। वे सोचेंगे कि हमने इतना किया और आज हमारा हाल यह है कि हम बेघर हो गए हैं, कोई हमारा सामान नहीं है और हमें बसाने के लिए गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं करती। यह निहायत जरूरी है, इसकी तरफ मैं आपकी तवज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूं।

इसके अलावा मैं यह बात भी अर्ज करना

चाहता हूं। जहां तक फूड का ताल्लुक है, बहुत कुछ फूड के मुताल्लिक कहा गया, यहां बहस हुई, हर रोज सवाल होते हैं। आज यह भी एनाउन्स किया गया कि आस्ट्रेलिया से भी फूड आ गया है, मगर हालत यह है, वाइस-चैयरमैन महोदय, कि यह फूड का मसला हल होने को नहीं आता है। अब मैं क्या कहूं। जो अमेरिकन गन्दम फेयर प्राइस शाप्स पर मिलती है वह आदमी खा नहीं सकता है। मैं यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूं कि हम पंजाब के लोग इसके आदी नहीं हैं। इतनी बुरी है कि रोटी पकने पर काली हो जाती है, उसको आदमी खा नहीं सकता है। बाजार में जो रेट है—बावजूद इस बात के कि आज दिल्ली में राशनिंग है और उसकी बजह से आज पंजाब से दिल्ली में गन्दम नहीं आ सकती—पंजाब में वे नीचे आने को नहीं हो रहे हैं। इसकी क्या वजह है? इसकी वजह यह है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने एक प्राइस मुकर्रर नहीं की। अगर आज अनाज की प्राइसेज मुकर्रर हो जाएं और गवर्नमेंट सब्जी से प्राइस मुकर्रर कर दे सबसे बड़ी बायर तो गवर्नमेंट है—तो यकीनन कपड़े की कीमत भी कम हो जायगी और चीजों की कीमतें भी कम हो जायंगी। जब तक यह गवर्नमेंट अनाज की कीमत को एक लेवल पर नहीं लाएगी तब तक महंगाई दूर नहीं हो सकती है। जो हमारे बाबू मिलते हैं दफ्तरों में, वे कहते हैं कि बेशक आप हमारी तनख्वाह में इजाफा न कीजिए, मगर जो प्राइसेज हैं खुर्दनी अशया की उन्हें कम कर दीजिए। इससे और चीजों की कीमतें भी अपने आप कम हो जाएंगी। इस मामले में गवर्नमेंट को कुछ न कुछ जरूर करना चाहिए।

तीसरे वाइस-चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं बड़े अदब के साथ यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस स्थिति में से देश गुजर रहा है, उसको देखकर शंका होती है। जैसा मैंने पहले अर्ज किया, आज देश का विभाजन करके सारे हिन्दुस्तान

में एक हवा पैदा की जा रही है। पंजाब का विभाजन करके क्या हालत हो गई है? आपने पंजाब के तीन टुकड़े किए हैं, तीन टुकड़े करने का फैसला किया है। उसका असर क्या है? विदर्भ वाले कहते हैं उनको भी अलग मिलना चाहिए, सौराष्ट्र वाले भी अलग चाहते हैं, ब्रजभाषा वाले भी अलग होने की मांग कर रहे हैं। क्यों यह सारा कुछ हो रहा है? वह इसलिए हो रहा है क्योंकि हमारी सरकार की जो पालिसी है वह बड़ी संकुचित पालिसी है। उनको यह पता नहीं कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर किस तरह के बादल मंडरा रहे हैं, संकट के। उसको वे समझ नहीं रहे हैं। उसको मानते, समझते तो न यह पंजाब का विभाजन होता और न हिन्दुस्तान में यह सिलसिला शुरू होता। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जिस ढंग पर पंजाब का विभाजन किया गया है वह ऐसा गलत फैसला किया गया है जोकि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को इस शकल में भोगना पड़ेगा, जैसा मैंने पहले कहा, कि हिन्दुस्तान डिस्टेंटीप्रेट होगा, आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े बनेंगे और यह दिन-ब-दिन सेंटर कमजोर होगा। सेंटर कमजोर हुआ तो छोटी-छोटी प्रिंस-पेलिटीज बन जायेंगी और हिन्दुस्तान की एकता हमेशा के लिए खतरे में पड़ जायगी। मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि गवर्नमेंट को इसकी तरफ भी तबज्जह देनी चाहिए। गवर्नमेंट ने यह गलती की है। अब इस गलती को सुधारने की कोशिश करें, न कर सकें तो ऐसी गलती फिर न करें।

एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ टैक्सेशन के बारे में। अगर यह कहा जाय कि जितने टैक्सेशन हिन्दुस्तान के लोग देते हैं दुनिया में दूसरा कोई नहीं देता है तो गलत न होगा। यह कहा जाय कि हिन्दुस्तान हाईली टैक्सेड नेशन है तो वजीर साहब जब जवाब देते हैं तो और बातें पेश करते हैं, कहते हैं कि ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। इसकी तरफ भी गवर्नमेंट को पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिए। अब हालत क्या हो गई है? अब सिवाय

हवा के जो हम खा रहे हैं जिस पर टैक्स नहीं, बाकी हर चीज पर टैक्स है। हर आदमी को टैक्स देना पड़ता है। हालत यह है कि टैक्सेशन के बोझ से लोग इतने दब गए हैं कि वे अब वर्दाशत नहीं कर सकते हैं कि टैक्स दे सकें। इसलिए हमारी सरकार को इस तरफ तबज्जह देनी चाहिए जो तबज्जह तब दे सकती है जब वह अपना खर्चा घटाए। हालत यह है कि अंग्रेजों के वक्त से सूबाजात में अफसर ज्यादा हो गए हैं। वजीर ज्यादा हो गए हैं। अब पंजाब में तीन वजारतें बनेंगी, तीन गवर्नर होंगे, तीन केपिटलें बनेंगी, आगे चंडीगढ़ केपिटल थी। उसके ऊपर 80 करोड़ या एक अरब रुपया लगा था। नई केपिटल बनेगी, हिमाचल के लिए नई केपिटल बनेगी, उसके साथ गवर्नर बनेंगे। जरा सोचिए आप किस तरह से यह खर्चा बढ़ाया जा रहा है। आज हमारे पंजाब में इतने अफसर हो गए हैं। एक जिले में एक डिपुटी कमिशनर हुआ करता था, आज वहां एडीशनल डिपुटी कमिशनर भी लगे हुए हैं। उनके लिए वहां कोई काम नहीं। इसलिए लगे हुए हैं कि चलो लोगों को प्रोवाइड करना है। दिल्ली में इतनी बिल्डिंगें नहीं हुआ करती थीं। अंग्रेज दिल्ली से हिन्दुस्तान का राज करता था। उस वक्त इतने वजीर नहीं हुआ करते थे, आज उनकी एक बाढ़ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इतना टाप हैवी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है। हमारी सरकार को इसमें कमी करनी चाहिए। इसी तरह और चीजों में भी कमी करनी चाहिए। महात्मा गांधी के हम फालोअर हैं। हमारे गवर्नरों के खर्च कैसे चलते हैं, उनके बहुत बड़े-बड़े खर्च हैं। जो आपका टाप-हैवी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है इस सारे की तरफ आपको तबज्जह देनी चाहिए। लोगों से मुनासिब टैक्स लिए जाएं और जो फालतू टैक्स हम पर लगाए जाते हैं वे न लगाए जाएं।

मैं सिर्फ एक बात कह कर बैठ जाऊंगा। आप गरीब जनता को सामने रखें, बड़े एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट्स को न देखें। हिन्दुस्तान में 80 परसेंट गरीब जनता है जो बमुश्किल

## [श्री जगत नारायण]

एक वक्त अपना पेट भर सकती है मेहनत मजदूरी करके, उसकी तरफ ध्यान दें। जो बड़े-बड़े लैण्ड लार्ड्स हैं, एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट्स हैं—बेशक उनसे आपको वोट मिलते होंगे, इलेक्शन्स में कामयाब करते होंगे—उनकी तरफ ध्यान न दें। अगर इसमें कामयाबी हो जाय और खुर्दनी अश्या के दाम कम हो जाएं तो तमाम चीजों की प्राइसेज कम होंगी और इस तरह गरीब आदमी को रिलीफ मिलेगा और वह आपकी गवर्नमेंट के गुण गाएगा।

4 P. M.

श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, गृह मंत्रालय के अन्तर्गत डिमांड नं० 51 और 63 में एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्म्स कमीशन के सम्बन्ध में प्रावधान किया गया है। यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि देश के स्वतन्त्र होने के 19 वर्ष बाद गवर्नमेंट को यह अनुभव हुआ कि प्रशासन की कार्यकुशलता का जो स्तर है, सत्यनिष्ठा का जो स्तर है वह कम है और प्रशासन इस योग्य अभी नहीं है कि सरकार की जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक नीतियां हैं उनको कार्यान्वित ठीक तरह से कर सके और जो प्रस्ताव दिया गया है उसके शब्दों से यह भी स्पष्ट है कि गवर्नमेंट यह भी अनुभव करती है कि जनता के प्रति सरकार का जो उत्तरदायित्व है वह भी पूरा नहीं हो रहा है और इसी उद्देश्य से इस कमीशन की स्थापना की गई है। वास्तव में बात तो यह है कि जब ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट यहां समाप्त हुई तब हमको विरासत में जो मशीनरी मिली, वही मशीनरी ज्यों की त्यों आज भी काम कर रही है। उस मशीनरी के जो कल-पुर्जे हैं, जो उनका रंग-रंग है, जो पैटर्न है, वह सब जैसा का तैसा है। जिस लालफीताशाही और जिस भ्रष्टाचार के साथ में काम होता आ रहा था उसी प्रकार से हो रहा है। प्रजा-तांत्रिक स्वशासन में तो आवश्यकता इस बात की थी कि प्रशासन में मानवीय मूल्यों का समावेश होता, उनको नया दृष्टिकोण, नई

प्रेरणा, नई स्फूर्ति, नया मार्ग-दर्शन दिया जाना चाहिये था, प्रशासन में मानवता के दर्शन, राष्ट्रीय भावना, भारतीय संस्कृति और परम्पराओं का समादर मिलना चाहिये था। हमारा ध्येय समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना है परन्तु प्रशासन में हम यह नहीं देखते कि समाजवाद का कोई सम्पर्क आया है। यदि समाजवादी समाज के निर्माण की ओर हम अग्रसर होते तो आज यह बात न होती कि लोगों को भर पेट अन्न न मिलता, पहिने को कपड़े न मिलते, रहने को मकान न मिलता, शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में बड़े-बड़े धनी लोगों को ही सुविधायें मिलतीं गरीबों की कोई परवाह न होती। आज साक्षरता का यह हाल है कि प्रति 10 वर्ष में केवल 7 प्रतिशत साक्षरता बढ़ रही है। यदि यही हिसाब चला तो 110 वर्ष में भारत साक्षर हो सकेगा, शिक्षित होने की तो कोई बात भी नहीं। गरीब-अमीर के बीच की खाई गहरी होती जा रही है।

इस कमीशन की स्थापना का जो उद्देश्य है उसका मैंने अभी जिक्र किया था। मैं समझता हूं कि समाजवाद की ओर अगर जाना है तो गवर्नमेंट को अपनी नीतियों में भी परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। समाजवाद तो एक ओर रहा देश में आज आतंकवाद की छाया मंडरा रही है, आये दिन ध्वंसात्मक कार्यवाही, हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही हो रही है; आये दिन गोलीकांड हो रहा है; लूटमार हो रही है; सार्वजनिक सम्पत्ति जलाई जा रही है; निजी सम्पत्ति लूटी जा रही है; जिन्दा आदमी जलाये जा रहे हैं। ये लक्षण समाजवाद के नहीं हैं। हमको सावधान हो जाना चाहिये। इन लक्षणों को देखकर के यह जो हिसा का सूत्रपात देश में हो रहा है समय रहते इसको हमें नियंत्रण में लाना चाहिये, यदि हम ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो अवश्य ही वह दिन दूर नहीं है जब कि देश भर में आतंकवाद का साम्राज्य छा जायेगा।

अगर यह कहा जाय कि जो कर्मचारीगण हैं, विशिष्ट अधिकारी हैं वे ही इसके जिम्मेदार

हैं तो यह बात भी गलत होगी। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि जब जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व लिये हुए यह गवर्नमेंट है तो जो मंत्रीगण हैं—प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर के मुख्य मंत्री तक और सब मंत्री जो हैं—देश में प्रशासन में जो गड़बड़ी हो रही है उसके वे सब के सब जिम्मेदार हैं और मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि इस कमीशन को न केवल अधिकारियों की कार्यप्रणाली पर, अधिकारियों के कर्तव्यों पर ही विचार करना चाहिये बल्कि ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक जितने भी सरकारी सदस्य, चुने हुए सदस्य, मंत्रीगण हैं सब की कार्यप्रणाली पर आलोचना करनी चाहिये, उनके नीति अनुपालन के ऊपर आलोचना करनी चाहिये और उनको तरीका बताना चाहिये कि किस प्रकार से मंत्रीगण अपना कार्य संचालन करें, किस तरह से नीति का निर्धारण करें और किस तरह से नीति का अनुपालन करावें। यदि यह नहीं होता है, केवल अधिकारीगण के ऊपर थोड़ी सी टिप्पणी कर दी जाती है तो मैं कहूँगा कि इस कमीशन ने कुछ काम नहीं किया।

हमारे देश में जो अधिक गरीबी फैल रही है उसका कारण यह है कि प्रशासन का खर्चा अंधाधुंध बढ़ रहा है। जिस समय ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट थी उस समय हम लोग जो विरोधी दल में थे कहा करते थे कि टाप-हैवी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है, दुनिया में इतना भारी खर्च वाला प्रशासन कहीं नहीं है लेकिन आज उस खर्च से आठगुना दसगुना खर्चा बढ़ गया है। तो इस कमीशन को इस पर भी विचार करना चाहिये। जैसा कि इस प्रस्ताव के आरम्भ में ही कहा है, न्यूनतम खर्चा और अधिकतम दक्षता शासन में आनी चाहिये। खर्चों में कमी किस प्रकार की जाय? हमारे यहां हर मंत्रालय में एक सेल है इसके लिये कि कैसे खर्चों में कमी की जाय, मेथड एण्ड आर्गेनाइजेशन डिवाजन है उसकी रिपोर्ट को अगर देखें तो पता चलेगा कि चार जगहों आज कम की तो आठ जगहें बढ़ा दीं, खर्चा घट नहीं रहा, खर्चा दिनों-दिन बढ़ रहा है और इस खर्चों के कारण हमारे टैक्स भी दिन दूने रात चौगुने

बढ़ रहे हैं। तो जनता इस भार के नीचे कराह रही है, जो गरीब जनता है वह पिसी जा रही है, मरी जा रही है। हमको यह लग रहा है कि प्रशासन की दक्षता बढ़ानी है तो वह खर्चा बढ़ाने से नहीं बढ़ेगी, बड़ी भारी प्रशासकों की सेना से हमारे देश का उद्धार नहीं होगा, उद्धार होगा अपने देश की दशा को देख करके, देश की संस्कृति को देख करके, देश की परम्पराओं को देख करके, देश की आवश्यकताओं को देख करके अपनी नीति का निर्धारण करने से। मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ने यह बड़ा अच्छा किया कि इस कमीशन को बिठाया परन्तु मेरा जो पहले निवेदन था उसी को मैं फिर कहता हूँ, इस कमीशन का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाता हूँ कि केवल गवर्नमेंट आफिसर्स के ऊपर ही टिप्पणी न करें बल्कि ऐसे सुझाव मंत्रीगणों को, प्रधान मंत्री को, मुख्य मंत्री को, सब को दें जिससे वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझ सकें और उस जिम्मेदारी को निभा सकें।

देश में हम देखते हैं कि सार्वजनिक भ्रष्टाचार घटा नहीं है बल्कि वह बढ़ रहा है। कितने ही विभाग ऐसे हैं जिनमें आये दिन शिकायतें मिलती हैं; बहुत सी शिकायतें सरकार के पास पहुँच ही नहीं पातीं, बहुत से लोग जो शिकायत करते हैं वह शिकायत दाखिल दफ्तर कर दी जाती है। मैं स्वयं अपनी कहता हूँ भ्रष्टाचार की शिकायत मैंने मन्त्री को भेजी, वहाँ से यह उत्तर आया कि आपका पत्र मिल गया, धन्यवाद। उसके बाद फिर स्मरण पत्र भेजा लेकिन कुछ करिये, कोई सुनने वाला नहीं है। मालूम नहीं उन शिकायतों का अन्तर हुआ क्या। इस तरह से कैसे भ्रष्टाचार कम किया जा सकता है जबकि संसद् के सदस्यों की शिकायतों के ऊपर सरकार कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करती। अगर भ्रष्टाचार दूर करना है तो चाहे बड़े-बड़े क्षेत्र में हो, चाहे मंत्रियों के क्षेत्र में भी हो, कहीं से भी शिकायत आती है तो तुरंत उसके ऊपर कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये। अगर किसी मंत्री या उपमंत्री, किसी स्टेट के मंत्री या उपमंत्री के खिलाफ



## [ श्री जगत नारायण ]

शिकायत है तो उसके दबाने की कोशिश हरगिज नहीं होनी चाहिये बल्कि जनता में विश्वास पैदा करना चाहिये, बड़े से बड़े के ऊपर हमको अपना हाथ उठाना चाहिये, जो खराबियाँ हैं उनको रोकना चाहिये, उदाहरण स्वरूप हम सारी पब्लिक में यह रखें कि हमने एक मंत्री या उपमंत्री के खिलाफ इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही की, कोई गुप्त कार्य-वाही नहीं होनी चाहिये। अगर हमें अपने प्रशासन को पवित्र बनाना है, अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा प्रशासन जन-उत्तरदायी हो और जनता हमारे ऊपर विश्वास करे तो किसी पार्टी के हों, किसी दल के हों, हमको ऐसे साधन हाथ में लाने होंगे जिसमें भ्रष्टाचार समूल नष्ट हो।

एक बात मैं और उस कमीशन के ध्यान देने के लिये निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि राजनीतिक गुटबन्दियों का जो प्रभाव प्रशासन पर पड़ रहा है उसका भी अन्त होना चाहिये। यह कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर गुटबाजी है, ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक, शहर शहर में, कस्बे-कस्बे में गांव-गांव में फैली हुई है और उसका प्रभाव प्रशासन की कार्यकुशलता पर, प्रशासन की सत्यनिष्ठा पर बराबर पड़ रहा है। इस कमीशन को इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जांच करनी चाहिये कि किस प्रकार से इस दोष का जो कि एक कैंसर के रूप में देश में फल गया है अंत हो सके। मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना है।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in participating in this debate on the Appropriation Bill I would like to draw the attention of the House and of the Government to the serious situation existing on the entire economic front of the country. Eighteen years have elapsed, as the previous speaker had pointed out, since India had achieved independence and three Five Year Plans are over now. Within the next three days, the Third Plan is also going to be completely over. We do not yet know what the Fourth Plan is going to

I be like. At any rate, we know as far as the first year of the Fourth Plan is concerned, all the grandiose schemes that were projected in the Third Plan have gone completely awry and we are in doldrums. Is it not necessary, under these conditions, for the ruling party to have some sense of humility and to come before the House plainly telling the people that the basic assumptions under which they planned have been proved in practice to be totally false, unrelated to the realities of the situation outside in the country and therefore some serious rethinking is necessary on the first question of planning itself?

Sir, the other day the Finance Minister made his Budget speech. I was not present here at that time. But I would like to remind this House that at the end of the Second Plan period the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, quoting the encomiums and certificate of foreign economists like Collin Clark, had told the country and the House "We are now on the take-off stage, the country's economy at the end of the Second Plan is on the take-off stage." That is the wording that he used at that time. We know what that take-off stage is. The aeroplane no longer needs the support of the ground; it is able to rise from the ground and by means of its own volition it is able to fly in the air. Similarly, at the end of the Second Plan Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told the world and this country "Our economy no longer would need the support of foreign props, we have now reached the take-off stage and our economy will be able to move on its own." This was the solemn statement made by him. Five years after, here is our Finance Minister who makes the statement that with the best of will in the world and with the utmost effort we are capable of, we still cannot dispense with foreign aid in the near future. This is the state of our economy. After 18 years here is this open admission by the Finance Minister that this country cannot dispense with foreign aid in the foreseeable future. He says "I cannot foresee that day when this country will be able to dispense with foreign aid and will be able to stand on its own legs." This is the state of our economy; this is the state to which this country has been brought during all these 18 years of independence and the three Plan periods. We were the bitterest critics of the fundamental basis of those Plans and when



we advanced those criticisms, the Government brushed them aside and said that we are destructive critics, we are not constructive critics, we are not making constructive suggestions. This was the type of the argument that was used against us. Well, Sir, when the fundamental basis of your Planning itself is unsound and wrong and the foundation on which you want to raise this edifice of planning in our country is itself rotten, what are we to do? Are we not to point out the rottenness of that foundation and tell you that you have to build up the economy of this country and the edifice of this country on sound foundations and not on tottering foundations?

What is the position today? During the first year of the Fourth Plan, look at the amount of foreign aid, look at the extent of our dependence on foreign aid. This is what the Budget Speech says, it says that the total budgetary resources for capital outlay next year—both Plan and non-Plan would be of the order of Rs. 1,835 crores. Where are we going to get this Rs. 1,835 crores from? Out of this outlay actually over Rs. 314 crores would be debt payments. I am not taking into account the Debt Services. So the actual investment will be not Rs. 1,835 crores but Rs. 1,835 crores minus Rs. 314 crores which would come to about Rs. 1,521 crores. Out of this Rs. 1,521 crores what is the foreign aid, our dependence on foreign aid? The Finance Minister had himself stated in categorical terms "On capital account I have assumed external borrowings of the order of Rs. 460 crores." This is exclusive of the PL 480 funds of Rs. 230 crores. So it comes to Rs. 690 crores of foreign aid, Sir, and even more. You depend to the extent of about 45 per cent, on foreign aid. Sir, our Prime Minister has said very recently that China wants to destroy our democratic way. Is this the democratic way—depending upon foreign aid even for our sheer existence after 18 years and openly proclaiming before the whole world that we cannot foresee in the near future the day when we can stand on our own, when our economy can stand on our own? Is this something to be proud of? Is this something which the other nations of Asia and Africa would like to emulate and say "We will follow the image of India"? What is there to be proud of if this is the type of planning that is being conducted in this country?

Sir, as far as my Party is concerned, it has made its position absolutely and abundantly clear that in this period after the Second World War when world capitalism itself is in the throes of the deepest crisis, it will not be possible for an underdeveloped country to emulate the example of Britain, France and America and develop classical capitalism. That path is no longer open to an underdeveloped country like ours; that path is open to Britain, America and France. Fortunately for them and unfortunately for colonial countries like ours that path was open to them at that time because they could get the loot of the empire which formed what is called the primary capital accumulation. On the basis of the loot of the empire they were able to build up their capital resources and the markets necessary for them. They were able to continuously loot the empire and as a result of that their industries could go on flourishing. Unfortunately that path is not open to us. We have not got any empire to loot; we cannot get capital accumulation like that. Therefore under these conditions when resources have to be mobilised entirely from inside the country, that path, the path of capitalist development, that Britain, France and America undertook in the earlier period of their capitalist development, that path unfortunately is barred to us. This is the fundamental question of Indian planning. Unfortunately I have not got the time to develop my point, but that path of capitalist development no longer can inspire our people and imbibe in them the virtues which the British people or the French people could have in those days.

I remember there is a proverb in Britain, in the English language—honesty is the best policy. They never said that honesty is the best virtue. They only said honesty is the best policy. That is a proverb born out of the experience gained in capitalistic development. Honesty is the best policy in a period of competitive capitalism because honesty paid. The more honest you were the more custom came to you. So it was very profitable. But in our country we are trying to develop capitalism with the help of the State, with the help of the licences that are made available by the State, with the help of all the amounts of money that are made available. By all these means made available by the State, we are trying to develop capitalism, competitive capitalism. But

[ Shri Ramamurti ] that is not possible for us to develop it when the capital and everything is found by the Government. And therefore under these conditions dishonesty is the best policy and honesty does not pay. Dishonesty it is that pays. Therefore in this country we see dishonesty everywhere, right from the top, from the biggest millowners to the lowest one. This dishonesty corrodes our administration and this dishonesty corrodes the entire system of our society. The fabric of our society is falling to pieces and the great virtues that we imbibed during the period of our struggle against British imperialism in our country, those virtues are uprooted even from our country today. Congressmen who fought for independence and who made tremendous sacrifices—after all we know what they did—those Congressmen, many of those Congressmen you find are also being enmeshed today in this mire of corruption. Society is now being corroded like this. Therefore I would say this to the Government.

It is not possible for me to develop my theme within the short time at my disposal. So I am not doing it but only giving the basic facts. I say it is time they came out of this mire. Let them examine their ways. No amount of their thinking and acting in this way will enable them to solve the problems. On the other hand, the problems will go on accumulating. The problems will go on mounting and as a result the misery and sufferings of the people are going to increase more and more. And when the misery and sufferings of the people keep on increasing, the people are not going to keep quiet. They cannot tolerate it and inevitably you are going to get upsurges after upsurges. After all, in the ultimate analysis, the people count and not the Government. Therefore, I beseech you, see the writing on the wall. Bengal has shown you the writing on the wall. Kerala has shown the writing on the wall and other parts of the country are also doing the same. It is no use condemning violence and all that. After all, the State is the organised violence in this country. It suppresses the people and when the people find no other thing, something happens. They are bound to happen. Therefore, the Government should find out the root causes of this entire mess into which the country has been landed. There is crisis on the foreign exchange

front. There is crisis on the economic front, crisis on the food front. Factories are closing down and the entire country is a scene or picture of crises throughout. There is no hope. We used to hear words, that they hoped to do this and that. Even that word "hope" is not there in the Finance Minister's speech. We do not know when the country will be able to stand on its own legs. He does not tell us when we can at least hope for something better, when the country will be able to stand on its own legs and face the entire world as a big country, as a stout country as a country which is strong. He has no such hope to hold forth before the people. Therefore, I would beg of the Government to think very deeply about the very basis of the country's entire planning. Let us understand what is wrong with it and let us then recast the Plan not on the basis of what you have been doing, but you ought to understand that something is fundamentally wrong with it and on that basis let us discuss. We will point out what is wrong. Have at least some humility and do not try to brush away the Opposition as being that of people who want to somehow destroy you. They have got something positive. Experience must have taught you that there is something rotten with regard to much that you have done. Therefore, have some humility and let us sit together and find out what is wrong with it.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the various demands made in this Appropriation Bill. Sir, we have practically finished the Third Plan and now we are entering on the first year of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Our experience in the last three Plans should encourage us to focus our attention on what should be done and what should be given top priority for the welfare of our country in the Fourth Plan. Democratic planning is a new experiment that has been begun in our country and it was based on a long-range policy of 25 years, from 1951 to 1976. And certain guide-lines were also provided. The central aim or feature of our economic planning is to see that the country's wealth is increased and it is equitably distributed among the people. Economic planning should encourage the people to develop the productive forces in the interest of the whole nation. But after fifteen years of planning the country is unfortunately faced with an

acute food shortage increasing unemployment, increasing indebtedness and uncontrolled rise in prices of essential commodities. Sir, the entire machinery of Government, the Government at the Centre and the Governments in the States, are intended to serve the people who are our real masters. We had discussed the food situation a few days ago and I would remind the Government that even after 15 years of planning, there are various parts of our country which do not get even potable drinking water. For potable water the people in those parts have to go miles and miles. Women folk have to go all that distance for bringing drinking water. That is a situation which cannot be tolerated in a democracy. The engineers have estimated that to make drinking water available to all these parts of our country, a sum of about Rs. 1,600 crores would be required. I am not sure whether the plan provisions for the Fourth Five Year Plan have been finally fixed upon. But we are told that the total for the Fourth Plan will be to the tune of about Rs. 20,000 crores or Rs. 21,000 crores. I would appeal to the Government and ask them whether out of this huge sum of Rs. 20,000 crores it is not possible to allot about Rs. 1,600 crores for the purpose of providing drinking water for our people. After all, drinking water is the first necessity of life. If the Government is not in a mood to allocate this amount all at once, may I ask them after how many years they can promise that this drinking water to the various areas in our country would be available? Will they promise to have it in 5 years or 10 years? I would like them to give us a firm promise or resolve to the effect that in ten years\* time all parts of our country will be provided with drinking water.

To meet the needs of defence and development, keeping in view our monetary position, it is very necessary to axe unproductive expenditure, to eliminate waste and to economise on expenditure wherever it is possible. What we find today is that there is a race for spending the money allotted, neglecting the more enduring things. Efforts should be made to increase the yield from the existing taxes and to find out the tax evaders. There is a common belief or feeling that dishonest people are making merry while the honest people have to suffer. Taxation is increasing today and the people will not grudge it, but the tax dodgers, the

evaders of taxes, should be brought to book and strict action should be taken against them.

On our public sector undertakings we have invested crores and crores of rupees and we do not get the promised results from them. Some efforts should be made to put people of experience in business and management to see that these public sector undertakings give us better results. The entire resources of the Government should be so manned as to narrow down the gap that exists between the living conditions of the rich people and the poor people in the rural areas and in the urban areas. Our Congress President recently remarked that the Government's monetary policy has not succeeded in lessening—let alone removing—the disparity between the rich and the poor and yet we find in this Budget there is the removal of the Expenditure-tax. We see the rich people's vulgar display of pomp and wealth in our country on certain occasions like marriages and feasts, and yet it is said that the Expenditure-tax is to be removed. These people are spending huge amounts and if Government wants to get as much as it can, even if it gets only Rs. 60 lakhs, why should these people be free from the Expenditure-tax? This is beyond the comprehension of the common man. Since independence industrialisation has motivated our Government. All policies, monetary, credit and administrative, were directed towards having a rapid industrial break through but agriculture was neglected and it was treated as a hand-maid to support industrial development. The Government set up a number of financial institutions to help industry and besides the network of commercial banking is also at their disposal. But the agricultural sector has no such facilities and hence has no source of finance, except co-operatives and private money-lenders. This has resulted in a slow growth of economy and now the emphasis has been laid on the development of agriculture in the Fourth Plan. I would, however, like to know what was the actual expenditure made in the Third Plan under agriculture and what is proposed to be spent in the Fourth Plan on agriculture. We are talking of having more agricultural production but we see that electricity is not provided to the agriculturists in a subsidised way. I would appeal to the Government to impose

a surcharge on electricity used by the indus-

[Shri M. C. Shah]

try and with that, subsidise the electricity for agricultural purposes.

Now, we have land mortgage banks instituted in each State and with the permission of the Reserve Bank and the State guarantee these banks issue debentures which are subscribed in this way; 33 per cent by L.I.C, 10 per cent by the State Bank of India, up to 20 per cent, by the Reserve Bank and up to 40 per cent, from the banks own resources. However, from last year the L.I.C, the State Bank of India and the Reserve Bank have reduced their quota resulting in impeding the progress of the work of these banks. The Land Mortgage Bank in Gujarat has a programme of about Rs. 12 crores for 1966-67 but only Rs. 5 crores have been promised by the L.I.C, the State Bank of India and the Reserve Bank, and for the rest the Land Mortgage Bank has to secure the funds from whatever sources it can get. This Bank helps the farmers to purchase engine pumps, tractors, to construct wells and to undertake other land improvement measures. For higher production of wheat during this drought year great efforts were made in Gujarat by farmers and as a matter of fact they have succeeded but the experience of the farmers is that at the nick of time the crude was not supplied. This is a great harassment to the farmers and the expected crop could not be had because of this shortage of crude for their agricultural purposes. Fifteen thousand engine pumps were installed in 1965-66 but, as I said, at the nick of time this shortage of crude has made a great depression upon them. In 1966-67, they have a programme to instal about 18,000 engine pumps but the farmers are not sure that they will not be let down again by the Government machinery in the midst of their efforts. The farmers are now quite ready to effect a revolution in agricultural production but they have not got faith in the administrative machinery. So their requirements must be given due consideration before the commencement of the agricultural year.

There is considerable shortfall in irrigation and power projects even in the Third Plan. A review was made a year ago and it was found that the targets that had been fixed then were not fulfilled. Therefore in order to derive benefits from these, the Government should expedite completion of those projects which are in an advanced stage of construction. The States should be given

increased assistance for completing these projects as early as possible. The emphasis should be on fuller utilisation of the existing facilities.

Taxes are rising every year and people are bearing these taxes willingly or unwillingly but their great disappointment is with the working of the administrative machinery, especially at the lower level. Those who come from rural areas know what difficulties they have to undergo in their dealings with the administrative machinery. Recently an Administrative Reforms Commission has been set up under the able chairmanship of Shri Morarjibhai Desai but I wish that full co-operation is given to this Commission if we are to expect good results from the efforts of this Commission. We know the capacity and the intelligence of the Chairman of the Commission but there is a doubt whether full co-operation will be available to this Commission from all the quarters from which it is expected.

Lastly, I would just bring to the notice of the Government that the country is facing a great crisis. We are passing through a very critical period. We have seen acts of violence in Bengal, in Delhi, in Punjab and in other States. There is great disappointment in the country among the people at large. I would ask, which section of the community in the country is today satisfied with the Government machinery. Ask any section; ask the rich people, the capitalists, the poor people, the common man, the villagers, the people living in the cities, no section of the community is today satisfied with the working of our Governmental machinery. Therefore it is in the interests of the nation as a whole, it is in the interests of the Congress Party which governs the country today, that a powerful body—I do not say Committee—should be appointed to investigate and find out what action is necessary for satisfying the people who, we say, are our real masters.

Thank you.

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालाल जी चौरड़िया**  
(मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो पूरक अनुदानों के सम्बन्ध में विनियोग विधेयक सदन के सामने रखा गया है, उसके बारे में कुछ चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ। आज सबरे ही बस्तर के बारे में काफी यहाँ पर चर्चा हुई। मध्य प्रदेश के निवासों साधारणतया शांतिप्रिय हैं, किन्तु जब से हमारे नये मुख्यमंत्री

द्वारिका प्रसाद जी मिश्र आये हैं तब से उन्होंने उनकी शांति भंग कर दी है। मुख्य मंत्री का पद ग्रहण करते ही उन्होंने लगान बढ़ाया। फिर लोगों को लगान कम करने के लिए आंदोलन करना पड़ा और उनको उन्होंने जेल में ठूँसा। बाद में लगान कम हुआ। उसके बाद उन्होंने मोटर का किराया बढ़ा दिया। उसपर लोगों ने आंदोलन किया और उनको उन्होंने जेल में ठूँसा।

**श्री बी० आर० भगत :** यह इसमें कैसे आ गया ?

**श्री बिमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :** यह सब प्रीवी पर्सज आदि में आ जायेगा। बाद में पर्चें आउट हुए तो विद्यार्थियों पर गालियर में, इन्दौर में, उज्जैन में और भोपाल में लाठी चार्ज हुआ। जो प्रीवी पर्स की मांग हमारे भगत साहब बीच में कर रहे हैं उसमें यह हाल की घटना आ जाती है—वहाँ बस्तर के भूतपूर्व राजा का जा हत्याकांड हुआ। बड़ा अफसोस है कि हमारा सरकार की गलत न्यायों के परिणामस्वरूप वहाँ पर दिन-दहाड़े हत्याकांड हो रहे हैं।

बस्तर में अधिकतर आदिवासी रहते हैं। आदिवासियों के नाम पर हमारी सरकार ने एक आयोग भी कायम कर रखा है और काफी मदद देती है, मगर उन आदिवासियों का उद्धार होने की अपेक्षा जो आयोग के सदस्य हैं, आयोग में काम करने वाले हैं उनका उद्धार हो गया है मगर आदिवासियों का कोई उद्धार नहीं हो पाया।

जहाँ तक इस घटना का सवाल है, आज से चार पाँच साल पूर्व लाहौंडो गुड़ा में एक घटना हुई थी और उस समय आदिवासियों पर जो अत्याचार हुए थे, उससे अगर हमारी सरकार सबक लेती और आदिवासियों के साथ सांत्वना का व्यवहार कर के उनसे ठीक ढंग से व्यवहार करती तो आज हम को यह स्थिति देखने को नहीं मिलता। किन्तु उसकी कोई चिन्ता नहीं की गई और उसके बाद भी लोगों को तकलीफें बढ़ती गई। वहाँ के आदिवासी जो जंगल से लकड़ी काट कर

के लाते हैं उसके लिये जिस लकड़ी की कीमत सौ रुपये होती है उसके लिये केवल 15 रु० दिये जाते हैं। उसके लिये एक प्रतिवेदन जाँच आयोग बनाने के लिये दिया गया लेकिन वह दाखिल दफ्तर कर दिया गया। अब फिर जब अन्न संकट आया तो उनको खाने के लिये एक दाना नहीं मिलता था। अन्न संकट का मुकाबिला करने के लिये उन्होंने मांग की कि हमारे यहाँ दुकानें खोली जाएँ, मगर दुकानें खोलना दूर रहा, वहाँ की प्रांतीय सरकार ने कहा कि वहाँ के लोगों के घरों में जा करके जबरदस्ती अन्न खींच कर बाहर लाओ। जब वहाँ गांव के मुखियाओं ने अन्न नहीं दिया तो उनको गालियाँ दी गई और उसको जेल में ठूँसा गया। ऐसे दो तीन के नाम मुझ मालूम हैं। बंजुगाली ग्राम, तहसील गोंडागांव, के पटेल के पास धान वसूली के लिये तहसीलदार और रेवेन्यू इंस्पेक्टर बोरे ले कर वसूली करने आए। घर-घर घूमने पर जब अनाज नहीं मिला, तो फिर तहसीलदार आये और उन्होंने उनको गाली-गलज दिया, उसे गिरफ्तार कर लिया और कई दिनों तक जेल में रखा।

इसी तरह से तहसील गोंडागांव के बनिया गांव के मांझी-मल साये को भी गिरफ्तार किया। इसी तरह अन्य कई लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया। साहगा ग्राम तहसील गोंडागांव के पटवारी तथा मास्टर ने घटुल में—जहाँ पर जवान लड़के-लड़कियाँ मुखिया की निगरानी में मनोरंजन करते हैं—लड़कियों के साथ छेड़खानों को तो वहाँ के लोग ने उसकी पिटाई कर दी। तहसील वालों ने उन पर आरोप लगाया—यह तो अनाज इकट्ठा करने के लिए आया था और उन पर मुकर्रमे चलाए। तो इस तरह से उन लोगों पर लगातार अत्याचार होते जा रहे हैं। उनका अनाज लिया जा रहा है, लेकिन उनको अनाज देने की व्यवस्था नहीं की जाती। कन्द-मूल खाकर वे जीवन-यापन करते हैं। उनका एकमात्र सहारा था प्रबोधन चन्द्र भंजदेव जिसके पास जाकर वे रोते थे और वह उनकी शिकायत

[श्री विमल कुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया] के लिए उपवास भी करता था, क्लेक्टर से मिलता था और उच्चाधिकारियों से भी मिलता था। अभी-अभी 9 फरवरी को उपवास किया और उसका आशय यह था कि लेवी की वसूली में सख्ती न की जाय और पुलिस द्वारा आदिवासियों को आतंकित न किया जाय। क्लेक्टर ने उसकी बात सुनी, आश्वासन दिया लेकिन फिर सख्ती की जाने लगी। 14-3-66 को फिर उपवास किया, वहां दुष्काल हो रहा था उसका सामना करने के लिए। अभी-अभी जो ताजा घटना घटी चंद्र शुदी एकम के दिन, नवरात्रि मनाने के लिए वहां के आदिवासी बड़ा भारी डंडा लाकर महल में गाड़ते हैं, नौ दिन त्योहार चलता है, वे डंडा लेकर जा रहे थे महल के द्वार पर तो पुलिस के अधिकारियों ने उनको रोककर लाठी चार्ज किया। उनको मारा पीटा और कई लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। उन्होंने समझा कि यह सरकार के खिलाफ विद्रोह का सूत्रपात कर रहे हैं। कहीं भी इसका कोई कारण नहीं था। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पुलिस द्वारा 19 लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। उनके गिरफ्तार हो जाने की अवस्था में 25 तारीख को जब उन्हें अदालत में ले जाया जा रहा था तो उन लोगों के रिश्तेदार भी साथ जाने लगे। इसके परिणाम-स्वरूप पुलिस ने उन पर लाठी चार्ज किया और फिर पुलिस ने उन पर एकदम गोली दागनी शुरू कर दी और 25 तारीख से गोली चलाना शुरू किया तो 26 के सबेरे तक, रात भर, गोलीबार चलता रहा। पुलिस ने गोली चलाना प्रारम्भ किया उसमें सबसे पहली ही बार में, ऐसा बताया जाता है, 61 राउन्ड गोलियां चलाई गईं। गोली कितनी देर और कितनी चलाई गईं, कहा नहीं जा सकता। गोलियां चलाना तब तक चलता रहा जब तक राजा के साथ निरीह आदिवासियों की—पहले 7 की संख्या, फिर 10 और फिर 12 की संख्या बताई गई—हत्या नहीं कर दी गई और उस महल को शमशान में परिणत नहीं

कर दिया गया। तब तक बराबर गोलियां दागी गईं और फिर सरकारी अधिकारी और सब दाखिल हो गए। हमारी मिश्र सरकार ने वहां ऐसा अत्याचार कर रखा है। निरीह आदिवासी के प्रमुख जो लोगों के काम आते हैं उनको चेज करने के लिए पुलिस अफ़सर अभी भी पीछे-पीछे भागते जा रहे हैं। मध्य प्रदेश की विधान सभा सेशन में थी, लेकिन मुख्य मंत्री ने इस बात की सूचना तब तक नहीं दी जब तक कि पांच बजने में पांच मिनट ही रह गए थे और जब प्रवीण चन्द्र भंजदेव की केवल राख ही रह गई होगी, उसकी सूरत भी देखने को नहीं मिल सकती थी।

इस तरह से हमारी सरकार के द्वारा, मध्य प्रदेश सरकार द्वारा अत्याचार किया जा रहा है। विधान सभा में जूता चला, यह अच्छी बात नहीं हुई। पर, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जूता चलने के कारणों की अगर कोई जांच की जाय तो हमें लगेगा कि हमारे मुख्य मंत्री के द्वारा इतनी तानाशाही बरती जा रही है कि वहां की विधान सभा के जो अध्यक्ष, उपाध्यक्ष हैं वे भी ठीक तरह से नियमों के अनुकूल कार्य नहीं कर सकते हैं और उसके परिणामस्वरूप विरोधियों को नियमों द्वारा प्रदत्त अधिकारों का उपयोग न कर लेने दिए जाने के कारण प्रोवोकेशन हुआ और उसके परिणामस्वरूप यह गलती हुई। इन सारे कारनामों से ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में संविधान के अनुसार कानूनी शासन नहीं, केवल मिश्रजी की तानाशाही चल रही है। इसलिए वहां के विधायकों ने, कई लोगों ने हस्ताक्षर करके मांग की है कि हमारे यहां का प्रान्तीय शासन प्रजातान्त्रिक न होकर तानाशाही है, इसको समाप्त कर राष्ट्रपति का शासन कायम किया जाय। दूसरे बस्तर के हत्याकांड की जांच के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार के गुप्तचर विभाग के सहयोग से उच्चतम न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश को वहां पर नियुक्त कराकर उसकी जांच कराई जाय।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आदिवासी भोले हैं, वे अपना केस प्लीड नहीं कर सकते।

इसलिए हमारे शासन का जो आदिवासियों के लिए आयोग है, वह वास्तविकता की जांच करके उनको सांत्वना दे, तसल्ली दे और जो दंडनीय हैं, उनको दंडित कराने के लिए आगे आये। इसी के साथ जिन लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया है, उनको रिहा किया जाना चाहिए।

इसके अलावा मैं दो मिनट में पूरक अनुदानों के बारे में चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ। अफीम के बारे में इसमें चर्चा की गई। इसमें कहा गया है चूंकि अफीम की पैदावार जितनी तय की थी उससे अधिक हुई इसलिए उसका पैमेंट करने के लिए रुपया देना है। इसके लिए 'ना' नहीं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब सबसे ज्यादा अफीम की पैदावार का औसत मध्य प्रदेश में पड़ता है, तो क्या कारण है कि जिस तरह से इंडस्ट्रीज का कन्सेंट्रेशन हो रहा है और जिस तरह से उत्पादन का अलग-अलग जगह पर कन्सेंट्रेशन है, मध्य प्रदेश में उसका प्रमुखतया उत्पादन करवाए।

दूसरी बात यह है कि इस वर्ष वर्षाभाव के कारण मध्य प्रदेश में और सम्भवतः इन सारे प्रांतों में, उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान, जहां-जहां पर यह पैदा होती है, वहां पर वही काश्तकार जिनके पास पानी की फेसिलिटी है वे तो पूरा उत्पादन दे सकेंगे, लेकिन जो अधिकतर किसान हैं वे नियमों के अनुसार उत्पादन नहीं दे पायेंगे। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा माननीय मंत्री जी से कि वे अपने विभाग के अधिकारियों को मौके पर भेजकर जांच करा लें जिससे ऐसे लोगों के पट्टे भविष्य में न काट दिए जाएं और बाद में दौड़-धूप न करनी पड़े। पानी इस वर्ष कम पड़ा है, पानी की कमी की वजह से उनका उत्पादन ठीक नहीं हो पाएगा। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आपने जो नियम बनाए उनमें इस बात का कन्सीडरेशन रखा जाय कि पानी की कमी की वजह से उत्पादन में कमी होगी। इससे उन लोगों के पट्टे काटे न जाएं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा माननीय मंत्री महोदय से कि जो वस्तर का सवाल है, उसके बारे में मध्य प्रदेश में

जो अनाचार, अत्याचार हुआ है उसकी जांच करवाएं तथा वहां के शासन को समाप्त कर राष्ट्रपति का शासन करवाने का प्रयत्न करें।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me deal with, briefly, some of the salient points that need the attention of the country, both in respect of the international and national situation. Currently, in fact, today our Prime Minister will be engaged in discussions with the President of the United States of America and this discussion will again be continued day after tomorrow. Many are wondering in this country and abroad as to why of all times now the Prime Minister went to Washington, because Washington or the American rulers are thoroughly isolated on account of their Vietnam policy. The isolation is not only among the freedom and peace-loving nations and peoples. It is also amongst the allies of the American imperialists even in the NATO and other military alliances. For example, President De Gaulle illustrates the kind of confusion in which the imperialist camp has been placed today and also it illustrates how the American policy in Vietnam is disliked and disapproved even by those who are normally with the United States in many matters. Within the United States itself the American administration's or the Pentagon's Vietnam policy is facing a crisis, as popular opinion is gathering volume in expressing itself more and more in all walks of public life, not only those who are outside in the public life in the ruling circle, but also those who are in the Senate and the Congress. Many amongst them have begun to question the policy on Vietnam. Even outside, the American line is being assailed not by the Vietnamese alone, but also by others. Therefore, I say that at the time when the United States has been so isolated, on account of its war of aggression in Vietnam, it was not perhaps an opportune moment for a non-aligned country to send its Prime Minister abroad to the United States of America in order to give them some face-saving and prestige.

Well, that is one aspect of the matter which needs to be considered. What we are told in the speeches of the Prime Minister is that she would try to explain India's position to the American President. Do I understand that American intelligence or capacity to understand things is at such a



(Shri Bhupesh Gupta)

discount today that unless the Prime Minister goes from this country to Washington and has a chat with the American President, they would not understand them? No, this is not the position. Therefore, let us not say something which would seem patently unreal and somewhat ridiculous. I think, well, she has gone there because of the circumstances which are not very happy for us. Pressure has been built in this country for some months to send the Indian Prime Minister despite the insult that was hurled at the late Prime Minister when President Johnson unilaterally cancelled the invitation or virtually cancelled the invitation even though the date for the visit had been fixed.

Now I think the Americans want to exploit our economic difficulties, especially the food crisis, in order to bring pressure on the Government. You may ask as to why I say so. I would only request you, Sir, to consider what Vice-President Humphrey said in this country and the way he behaved during his visit to this capital. In fact, he came here in pursuance of the decisions of the Honolulu conference to which President Johnson summoned his puppet in South Vietnam for drawing up a plan for intensifying war and aggression in Vietnam, and indeed in that entire region, and yet to give it some kind of a cover of peace initiative. It is in pursuance of that foul design for extending war, for escalating war, that the Vice-President was sent to this country. Americans know very well that it is not possible to drag India directly on their side on Vietnam. Therefore, their line is to get India morally involved somehow or other and they ask that a medical mission be sent. If they do not succeed in getting such a token medical mission in order to morally disfigure our position and involve us in this adventure in war, they want as the minimum demand that India remains silent, which is true today. Indian Government is silent on what is happening in Vietnam. Previously they used to condemn the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the American bombers and Air Force. Today they remain silent. All that they do is to express concern. I want to know for whom they are expressing concern. That is all. Now I am sure that President Johnson will be aiming at paralysing India's initiative for mobilising world public opinion in

support of the fighting Vietnamese people against war and aggression and for respect to the Geneva Agreement of 1954.

The American line therefore is quite clear, firstly, to pressurise India for getting more economic concessions; many they have already got even without the Prime Minister going there—the fertilizer deal, for example, is one such instance; then, secondly, to try to utilise India's food situation and crisis in order to mount terrific pressure and make it known to India that unless India yields to American demand, the Indian situation might go out of control because American wheat supply will be stopped or may come up against difficulty. It is important to bear this point in mind that today we have reached a stage when our entire rationing scheme in many parts of the country is dependent on American wheat supply. You can imagine what an advantageous position the Americans have been placed in today when they know that they can dislocate the entire system of statutory or modified rationing in this country by withholding stocks on one pretext or another. Therefore, I say that this visit has been not only ill-timed, it is going not only to produce no good result, but it will be liable to be misunderstood by our friends, and also it may—well, I do not know, I do not anticipate it—result in something which we do not like, against our national interest. I wish to make it absolutely clear that unless India is prepared to sell her self-respect or surrender some of her cherished principles, we are not going to get any understanding or sympathy from the U.S.A. That is absolutely clear. What is common between us and the United States in this world, I should like to know, so long as they stick to this policy of war and aggression and neo-colonialism as is indeed the case with them?

Here again I would like only to touch on Tashkent. The Tashkent Declaration is facing some difficulty. It is most unfortunate that the leaders of Pakistan should have disregarded the Tashkent spirit and made certain statements and taken certain actions which are certainly not in conformity with that spirit. I do not wish to say very much on the subject, but all I would like to add is that the difficulties will be many. The Tashkent path is not all roses. There will be difficulties on the way and it will be for us to show how to face these

difficulties and overcome them again in the Tashkent spirit. I would like the Government not to play into the hands of any section of Indian public opinion, not to play into the hands of provocation that might come. The Tashkent spirit can come very readily to us, but not Pakistan having regard to the political system and conditions in which people live and work there. But all the same large numbers of people in Pakistan, specially in East Pakistan, are rallying to the cause of the Tashkent spirit and for honest implementation of the Tashkent Declaration.

As far as the political set-up in the country is concerned, what is worrying many of us is a kind of disintegration of the administration. For example, the Chief Ministers have now become tyrants in their own right. As far as the Centre is concerned, they ignore it when they like; they accept it when that is acceptable. If for the sake of democracy the Chief Ministers fight the authoritarian or highly unitary trends of the Central Government, I can understand it. But what they are doing is to ignore the Centre in order to strengthen their coterie rule in the various States, to build up their personal positions and the cliques in the various States, and that is certainly something which is not good for the future of our parliamentary system. The Chief Ministers are now warlords, a kind of warlords. They have begun to think that it is they who make the Prime Minister, that it is they who can unmake the Prime Minister. Having come to this conclusion they think that they can disregard the Government of India even when the Government of India gives some good advice. This is a serious situation. I tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that unless the situation is confronted in a democratic way by the ruling party and by us all in the country, we may have a facade of this Constitution but we will have within the framework of this constitutional set-up the deceptive tendency growing, striking at the very integrity of our country in a different way.

5 P.M.

Therefore, I think, the time has come for the Government of India and for others concerned, specially for the ruling party, to take note of the fact that the Chief Ministers are more and more moving in a direction which is unhealthy, unhelpful and anti-democratic, and this is something which

must be put a stop to. This point bears a little examination by people who wish well of our parliamentary system. As you know, it is all the more difficult now as it is the Congress Party which is now in power, and it has the Chief Ministers in all the States. Yet there is no harmony. There is discordant voice heard. There is conflict. There are clashes. There are open bickerings. There are open defiances. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda is not seen here fortunately or unfortunately. Here he made a statement that there is the ruling, the decision, of the Government that the Defence of India Rules shall not be used except for the purposes of the defence of the country, namely military operations, civil defence and the defence of India. And that too, he said, they should be used sparingly. After that, many Chief Ministers, one after another, got up in their States to say that they do not care about what he says. I am reproducing their words. They said, we shall continue to use the Defence of India Rules as we like. The Chief Minister of Bihar, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, the Chief Minister of Mysore, all of them said this thing. Even the Chief Minister of Madras said it. Now this is the position. Then you can understand what would happen to this country. Here is a law passed by the Central Government meant for the defence of the country and when the Government itself in the face of public opinion comes forward and tells both Houses of Parliament, not once or twice, but thrice, that these rules would be used only for those purposes and for no other, and that too, sparingly, not only do the Chief Ministers defy openly and publicly what the Home Minister has said, but in order to add insult to injury, apart from us, they put in jail five to seven thousand people under the DIR under charges which are not covered by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda's description.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, it is time to wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Similarly, this is going on in all the other States. In West Bengal it is happening now. Even today I got a trunk call that one of our members, Shri Sushil Chatterjee, was arrested this morning under the Defence of India

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] Rules. This is what is happening there. I say that if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been alive, the Chief Ministers would not have dared to do in this manner. One example I will give you and it will be interesting because even hon. Members need reminding. When we were elected in 1952 and when the first Parliament came into being, we went on a deputation to Prime Minister Nehru and asked him why he was keeping other people in jail. At that time there was the Preventive Detention Act. We had been released and some of us had been elected here and to the State Legislatures. We went to him because Dr. B. C. Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal, would not release them. There were other people also. Then do you know what he said? He said, "I can see the point. When you are here, many people, leading people, here and in the Legislature, why should they remain in jail?" And by evening, at about half past seven or half past eight through the Bengali broadcast the Dum Dum detenues heard over the radio that orders had been passed for their release. Dr. B. C. Roy could not stand in the way. They were all released, all of them came out.

Again, I give you another example. The Telengana struggle was there. Negotiations were going on. Shri Jyoti Basu, on behalf of our party—at that time the party was united—came to Delhi and met Jawaharlal Nehru and had a discussion with him. He said that he was then in a changed situation, after the Constitution had come into effect, he should take different steps. And the release started and the problem was solved. That was all. The Chief Ministers could not defy him and all the Chief Ministers had to fall in line. But now you find that our Chief Ministers are openly disobeying.

You will be surprised to hear, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that when the statement was made, some Chief Ministers called the Pressmen to their rooms to tell them that they would not listen to what Shri Gulzarilal Nanda had told them. I do not know what the astrologer had advised Shri Gulzarilal Nanda when he was treated in this manner. But I think this is a point which is worth being taken up—since we believe in Havel Ram also—how his stars are behaving.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, we have exceeded the time-limit on this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If we have exceeded, we can exceed a little more, but I do not wish to exceed.

But this is the position. I say this because it is very essential that the matter has to be attended to from the larger angle of the functioning of the parliamentary system in a quasi-federal system.

I should not like to add anything more. All that I can say before I finally sit down is, do not talk about violence only and point an accusing finger at the people. You know that all the political parties here are committed to fighting for the cause of the people, peacefully and through democratic means. There is not a single party which has not said it in its programme and otherwise also. If today violence is taking place, it is because the people have been driven into that position. Have not you seen people behaving violently at the AICC meetings or at the Congress meetings in West Bengal? Am I to understand that somebody is preaching violence there? No, no. Sometimes they are driven to violence through desperation. And as far as this Government is concerned, by its shooting, by its lathi-charges and by its emergency which causes frustration among the people, it creates an impression in the country that nothing is sacred to it. And people act in a particular manner because they feel that democracy has no value for this Government, that emergency is the rule of law for them and that the rule of law is secondary to them. Because of such an impression being created in the country, people are feeling helpless and get desperate and when they see shooting, firing, lathi-charges, arrests, attacks, rape, molestation of women, insult to our womenfolk, well, some people for the time being lose their bearing and take to certain actions which normally they would not have taken.

Therefore I say, go into this question. And, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I find that some Congressmen from other States visited my State. They are good. They went to West Bengal and they made a commendable performance. They went there to sign on the dotted line, what Shri Atulya Ghosh wanted to say. The statement was in identical words which were put in the

West Bengal papers coming from the Congress quarters. Well, was it necessary to spend Government money for taking these people for a visit there and get them such a statement, instead of understanding what is the ill, what is the malady, what is the sorrow and what is the agony from which my people are suffering? Therefore, I say that this is not the right way. All I say is, about the violence and other things, discuss them by all means. But for that the first and the foremost thing that the Government must do is that by lifting the emergency they must show that they have a semblance of respect for democracy at least. Well, so long as the emergency remains and they want to rule us under the emergency, under the threat of arrests and detention, we will come to only one conclusion that this Government is a hypocritical Government, a wretched Government, that its professions of democracy have no value whatsoever, that it says one thing but does another thing, that its words go in one direction but its deeds go in another direction.

Therefore, I say that these are matters of grave importance for the future. And I hope that we shall consider them in good spirit. Let us create a climate for democracy, let us create a climate for proper functioning under a system of rule of law and let us prepare in this manner unhindered and unfettered so that we can all fight in the Fourth General Elections, and certainly settle all accounts in a democratic manner. It shall be our endeavour to oust this Congress from as many States as possible, to reduce its position in the country, because that has become a national goal. Before I sit down, I say that the next Budget will perhaps come when the elections have taken place. But I wish to make it clear that unless the Congress Party in power and this monopoly of political power are given a very powerful blow in the coming elections and taught a lesson, there is no future for the country. Therefore, whatever you or I may say, nothing will be of any avail unless the people know how to deal a staggering blow to the system of misrule of the Congress in the coming Fourth General Elections. You will say that I should not make an election speech. Not at all. Elections are our political weapon enshrined in the Constitution and unless we do this thing, unless we bring about such a situation, we shall not be in a position to ensure a better life for the people, we shall not be able to defend democracy, we shall not be able to ensure conditions in which the parliamentary system can prosper and we can live as decent honourable men with honour and the rule of law.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I hope the House has no objection to sit a little longer to hear the Minister. The Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, fortunately for me, the course of the debate has run across very general lines beyond the scope of the Demands asked for. Issues like the division of the Punjab on linguistic lines, the spirit of Tashkent, the rule of law or the general question of democracy, have been raised, and also it has culminated in the threatening language that the hon'ble Member has used that he will use the weapon of election to oust this Government or to give a blow to this Government. Certainly, we are game to that. As long as the fight is democratic, as long as the fight is through the ballot, the challenge will be honoured, and if the people have no faith in this Government, certainly this Government will not be there. For this no threat of language or harsh words are needed. We are prepared to face the challenge of the hon'ble Member.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Take it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: We are prepared to take the challenge. This only shows that the hon'ble Member, who has not been here for several days, was in Bengal. There a very difficult situation faces the Government. Since he has visited West Bengal, he is full of steam and he is letting out that steam on this occasion but it is let out on a wrong day on wrong issues. He should have chosen a proper occasion, for these Supplementary Demands are not the forum on which he should have let loose his steam. SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is my mission in life that every time I get a chance to speak, I will attack this blasted Government.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Yes, only if he takes up the right chance; otherwise all his effort goes waste.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Every time one can attack it is a sacred job done.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: We are prepared for all that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: By the way, where is Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: He will meet the hon'ble Member in Bengal. He need not search him all over.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You get him here. Where is he?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Then, there was the only point about the rehabilitation of refugees in Khem Karan and all that. I am sorry the hon'ble Member is not there. I thought he was there. I think a subcommittee was appointed right at that time to look into this question, a committee of a high level with the Chief Minister along with high officials. They are looking into this question. We have already made ■ certain arrangements for looking after their economic, financial and other needs. So all that matter is being looked into. I am surprised to find from the hon'ble Member that they have not been attended to. If he has any specific things in mind, certainly we can look into them. But I can assure him that this has received a very high priority and we are at it. It is going on in full force.

Then a point was made about the Administrative Reforms Commission and the Department of Administrative Reforms. It is said that it must eradicate corruption and look into the complaints made by M.Ps. Certainly, whatever the M.Ps. write we look into it and we attend to it.

As for the appointment of this Commission, the terms of reference are there. It is a high-powered Commission. I hope it will attend to the basic problem of our administrative system, that is, how the system can be made more efficient, how things can be disposed of more quickly and that there is the element of fairplay along with efficiency. It is a very vital problem in a country like ours which has a federal Government, which has different political parties. We have to see how an under-developed country like ours can function more efficiently, free from all elements of temptations or corruption. This problem is a very vital and complicated problem. The country rightly expects of this Commission to give the right lead so that in coming years we are governed more efficiently, more cleanly, suited to the needs of a developing economy like ours.

Another point was made about opium. The hon'ble Member who comes from the area where opium is grown, said that a proper criterion is not applied in determining the allotment of areas for opium cultivation. I think we have explained in this House what is happening. It is no longer an expanding production because the bulk of it is exported and whatever remains is used for medicinal purpose. A little oral consumption is allowed only to addicts, and that also for a certain limited period. So the demand for this stuff is either in very large bulk for exports or for our medicinal requirements, alkaloids and others. Therefore, its cultivation has to be restricted to the total demand, domestic and for exports. In the past few years the demand has gone down. The prices have gone down and there is increasing competition from other countries. Therefore, we have to adopt a policy in which we have to give priority to land which yields the highest productivity; only such a land goes to its cultivation. From that point of view we have fixed that yardstick. For example, even though the total area has come down, the yield has gone up. In 1952-53 the area under cultivation was 12,500 hectares in U.P. In Madhya Pradesh it was 12,157 and in Rajasthan it was, 8426. I think the hon'ble Member was concerned with Madhya Pradesh. Now the corresponding position is: U.P. 2,859 hectares and 5,208 hectares in Madhya Pradesh. In Madhya Pradesh although the area has come down, it is still the highest, being 43 per cent, as against 37 per cent in 1952-53. So at least he should not have any cause for complaint. But, as I said, the overall position being what it is, we have to restrict the area of cultivation, and to the extent a farmer gives the largest yield, the better quality land gets preference in allotment.

I think these were some of the Demands. With these words, I move the Bill for the acceptance of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One question. Does he know that Mr. Atulya Ghosh is organising hooligan gangs in West Bengal to attack the Opposition?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Den so, I do not know but it is not K ed by any of the Supplementary Demands.

He can raise a private argument with Mr. Ghosh. It does not come here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1965-66, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will you allow me a few words ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): If the Members are agreeable, I have no objection.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is a custom. Let us keep it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very grateful to you because always we do not pass a Bill without having something in the Third Reading also. Now I would like only to say one or two words of advice, because in the Third Reading I will not come to the economic structure.

First of all, you make up your mind as to what kind of Fourth Plan you are going to have. The Planning Commission is in utter confusion and confusion is worse founded.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Why do you raise it on the Supplementary Demands?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The whole thing is for the Plan.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Not for the Fourth Plan. Raise it on some other occasion. Here not a pie goes for the Fourth Plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): He is suggesting that this is not the occasion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not saying that this is the Fourth Plan allocation. Monies will be spent under various heads, to which Fourth Plan allocation will also relate.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Not this. This is for the earlier year.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is Plan allocation. Anyhow I make a general suggestion. Your Planning Commission is in utter confusion. I always give you good information. Last year Shastriji asked them to prepare a brief outline of the Fourth Plan. Up till now we have not got anything, not even a note on it. As far as the Fourth Plan is concerned, we got something else and it was rejected by all. Therefore I say again, you make up your mind as to whether you want to make some orientation in planning. Do not leave it only to Mr. Asoka Mehta because he has made hardly any difference to the Planning Commission except that he has made some difference to himself. That is a different matter. Therefore you think about that also.

Thirdly, I would like to say that the expenditure you are making is in extremely difficult conditions. The economy is in a very serious situation and I understand that American pressure is there for devaluation of the rupee. Do not try to overlook it. You may not do it but the pressure is being built by the Western countries, especially the Americans for devaluation of the rupee. Such is the situation. Therefore I say that the Minister should, in his Ministry and also along with his other colleagues and also in the Planning Commission, consider whether the time has not come for certain basic orientation in our fiscal and economic policies and, of course, in our planning. That would be my suggestion because I do not want to discuss economic matters here.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] We are in the midst of a serious crisis and we should not try to avoid the problems facing us. We should look at the problems in the face and try to find the right type of solution and unless he makes some structural changes in our economy basically, in our budgetary and fiscal policies, he cannot meet the challenges of the situation.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: So far as the Fourth Plan is concerned, there has been some delay and we have explained why there has been some delay. Very soon we will come to this House with the outlines of the Plan that is under preparation. That will be the time to discuss it.

So far as devaluation is concerned, whatever may be the pressure, we have said, and

the Government have said firmly, that there is no question of devaluation so far as this Government is concerned.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 29th March, 1966.