

THE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1965

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI RAMESHWAR SAHU.): Madam, I beg to move :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1964-65, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands of Rs. 165.49 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on March 2, 1965 and the expenditure of Rs. 309.52 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of India, as detailed in the Supplementary Demands presented to the House on February 23, 1965. Explanations in support of the Demands have, as usual, been given in the footnotes below the Supplementary Demand Statements. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a few introductory remarks.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRE M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

Of the additional provision of Rs. 475.01 crores asked for in the current batch of Supplementary Demands, Rs. 22.64 crores are on Revenue Account, Rs. 109.19 crores are for Capital Expenditure and the balance of Rs. 343.18 crores is for Loans and Advances and Repayment of Debt. The net outgo from the Consolidated Fund of India would, however, amount to Rs. 62.14 crores only as the balance will be covered by additional receipts, recoveries, adjustments and surrenders.

The major items of additional expenditure on Revenue Account comprise Rs. 6.48 crores for purchase of building materials for certain Defence Works entrusted to the Central Public Works Department, emergent minor works and repairs and Rs. 5.82 crores on account of enhancement in the rates of Dearness Allowance of Central Government employees first with effect from 1st July, 1963 and again with effect from 1st February, 1964 and 1st October, 1964. A sum of

Rs. 1.90 crores is required for the maintenance of National Highways and Border Roads, while a sum of Rs. 1.62 crores is sought for Stationery and Printing. An additional provision of Rs. 1.16 crores has been asked for meeting the expenditure on relief and rehabilitation of new migrants coming over to India from East Pakistan since January, 1964.

On the Capital side, the largest single item is the additional provision of Rs. 86.81 crores consequent on the stepping up of imports of food grains and also internal procurement. Of the other items, mention may be made of Rs. 6.67 crores for the Farakka Barrage Project, work on which has gathered considerable momentum and Rs. 5.10 crores for Capital Works of the Posts and Telegraphs Department including those relating to Telephone Development Fund. A sum of Rs. 4 crores is also required for investment in the equity capital of the Food Corporation of India, a wholly owned Government Corporation set up under the Food Corporation of India Act, 1964 as a long term measure to deal with the food situation in the country.

Under Loans and Advances, Rs. 85 crores are required for payment of loans to State Governments the bulk of which comprises Central assistance to speed up the pace of their Development Plans in certain sectors notably agriculture and power. In addition, a sum of Rs. 34 crores is required for renewal of the loans advanced to the Khadi and Village Industries Commission for a further period of five years as it was not in a position to repay the annual instalments of loans on due dates.

Finally, an additional provision of Rs. 224 crores has been included under "Repayment of Debt" mainly for the national discharge of Treasury Bills, which have a maturity of 91 days only.

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

Sir, I move.

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I begin with one rather interesting item called the Prime Minister's Secretariat. Money is sanctioned for the creation of a Prime Minister's Secretariat, and naturally we are interested to find out exactly how the particular Secretariat functions.

May I begin by inviting hon. Members' attention to what the 'London Times' wrote about the Secretariat in this aspect of the matter ? I am quoting from the 'London Times' of Wednesday, the 24th February, 1965. The article is entitled: "Mr. Shastri's failings as a leader—from our Delhi correspondent". I am not concerned with the whole article though I have got the full text with me. Here under a subheading called "New Secretariat" the 'London Times' correspondent writes from Delhi this and it was published in the London paper :

"There have been some changes. Mr. Shastri formed a new Prime Minister's Secretariat, for instance, which seemed to promise an executive better organised and with fuller resources than before.

But the new Secretariat has made no palpable difference to the style of Government and it even appears that Mr. Shastri is not working closely with it. In his first months Mr. Shastri often spoke of the need to reappraise the priorities of planning, to move emphasis from the very long term to the more immediate, to devote more energies if not more resources to agriculture. But his intentions have throughout been swathed in hints and qualifications."

Why I read it is because I want to point out to you that the new Secretariat has not created an impression even among the foreign observers who take a superficial view of this matter. As far as we are concerned, we have certain genuine apprehensions about the manner in which the Secretariat is functioning. What are they ? We think and we have reasons to believe also from our information that this Secretariat is assuming more and more power and almost laying down policies, and the

reference to the priorities in the Plan which the Prime Minister spoke about and to which reference has been made here— they were actually worked out by Mr. Jha who is supposed to be the Economic Adviser or something of the sort in the Prime Minister's Secretariat. Naturally when this policy or rather an outline of the policy was made known to the country, there was an uproar in the country. Personally I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister at once, and he replied to me by saying that there was no such basic change with regard to the priorities of the Plan. But what he actually meant at that time— at least that was the impression that was created—was that the big projects would be given up, new ones, and the old ones would be consolidated, and so on and so forth, which fell in line with the economic thoughts and ideas of the officials, especially of Mr. Jha. This is one aspect of the matter.

We understand that even in the matter of the recently held Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce where Indian interests were not looked after, where these gentlemen were allowed to make all kinds of statements, the monopolists from abroad, under the signboard of an international conference, the Secretariat was not correctly advising the Prime Minister in the matter, and in fact as far as we know the briefing which went in a regular way was very, very defective. In fact, somehow or other we find that the Prime Minister's Secretariat is absolutely biased in favour of the big business and the monopolists.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, on a point of order. Under a system of parliamentary government, the rule of anonymity is observed. So far as those persons are concerned, they are immune from criticism in the House. They have no opportunity to answer criticisms in the House. That is the rule, that is the convention well established in democratic countries. Is my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, right or in order in referring to the Prime Minister's Secretariat ?

For whatever the Prime Minister does, the Prime Minister is himself responsible.

not the Secretariat. You cannot pass on the responsibility on the Secretariat or on any other permanent official. That is the convention under a democratic system of government and I think we should follow That system.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is the point of order. I suppose. When we are discussing the Secretariat. . . , *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : I want your ruling. This is a very big issue

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SUNT B. R. BHAGAT) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, accept it.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : It is an issue of a fundamental character so far as the future of democracy in this country is concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Sapru can speak on it if he wants. Why say all these things ? I can criticise *(Interruptions)*

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Do you agree with him ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are not concerned with that. I very much respect him and I would very much like to listen to his speech. Therefore, the Prime Minister is undoubtedly responsible for the Secretariat, and he has asked us to give money. Naturally we are interested in looking at it. we can look at it. I think it is late in the day to raise such points o! order.

Therefore, the Secretariat, as I said, is i heavily biased in favour of big business and does not properly advise the Prime Minister. We have a feeling like that and we get an indication of it from the news- I papers. Therefore. I think the Prime Minister's Secretariat should be such as can be relied upon for correctly interpreting the policies, the progressive policies,

and carrying them forward and not for trying to work with a brake on whatever is good and giving the wrong type of advice so far as the Prime Minister is concerned. There interests are upheld. ' Therefore, this is one of the aspects of the matter.

So far as the other things are concerned, I have read out a long article. If you read it, you will be really shocked. **Now**, I do not like economic matters to be handled in this manner. Somehow or the other, I find that the Finance Ministry is now operating through this Secretariat. Three gentlemen—one is Mr. Iha another is Mr. Bhoothalingam and the third is one other gentleman—have become really now the rulers of the country behind the scene, behind the facade of what we call collective responsibility. It is they who decide the policy matters in a very big way. And today with the vacuum of leadership, they have assumed themselves—they have arrogated to themselves rather—too much power, and Mr. Krishnamachari, another Minister, is taking, very naturally, advantage through tire Prime Minister's Secretariat. It is for the Prime Minister to tell us. Now. I do not wish to say very much about the Prime Minister's Secretariat but since the thing is there, I have given my initial reactions to this, based on knowledge and information, and in future. I shall certainly be in a position to give more interesting facts about the manner in which the great Secretariat is functioning. I only wish that policy matters should be decided in the Government, in the Cabinet; policy decisions should be initiated in the Cabinet and in the Congress Party, if you like; if Parliament is not taken into account, the Congress Executive Committee. I would not like the Prime Minister's Secretariat to assume such a Dower.

In the old times, the late Prime Minister Nehru used to reply to letters immediately. Here sometimes we got the replies personally within 24 hours. There was hardly an occasion when it took two days for the Prime Minister to reply to the correspondence going from us; I believe from others also. The replies came within ten to twentyfour hours of our writing to the Prime Minister. Nowadays even an

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acknowledgment does not come. I am not speaking about my case because I hardly correspond. In the other House. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty and a good number of other MPs, well-known and leading Members of Parliament, wrote a letter with regard to certain matters—about the tea-ichers and so on, I believe—to the Prime Minister and up to now they have not received even an acknowledgment. And Shrimati Renu Chakravartty was telling me that she would now write a reminder to the Prime Minister asking him whether he at all received this letter. Such is the position. What is the Secretariat doing, I would like to know. Therefore, some improvements are necessary. I say this with a little sorrow because I would like the Prime Minister of the country to maintain certain standards which were set by his predecessor, at least in replying to the letters. The reply will not be very edifying, it is true. But we have a little satisfaction when the replies come in time. Very often. I received a reply from the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru immediately; sometimes I wrote a letter in Parliament and in the evening when I went there, I found the reply. Such promptness would make a good impact on us. Our Ministers, most of them, do not write in time but at least the Prime Minister should be particularly careful. I am pained to say that when Members of Parliament write letters, they do not get even an acknowledgment. What is happening to the other countrymen of ours, I do not know. Therefore, would like to know it.

Therefore, improve the Secretariat. Take away the policy part from it, make them work as secretariat and do not trust people in such high, key positions in the Government when you know that they have a definite bias for the big monopolists and] behave in a manner which is open to suspicion, at least suspicion among some Members of Parliament and among the public, and which is talked about in the Press. Now, we do not want M.O. Mathais any more, anywhere. Whether they are Special Assistants or Principal Private Secretaries, M.O. Mathais should not be there.

Now with regard to the Home Ministry. What shall I say about that Ministry?

Here is a worthless Ministry (*Interruptions*) utterly worthless, I tell you moneys are being spent there. Why should we sanction money for the Home Ministry? Even to consult and decide on the traffic rules in the country, it brings policemen from America, to decide how the traffic lights should be arranged and so on, and then it brings a member from the Attorney-General's Office from the United States of America in order to advise the Government in certain other matters. Our information is this that some of them, Americans, were consulted when they prepared the statement with regard to the so-called Left Communists. Our information is that. They will deny it, I know, but you cannot just get away by denial. What happened? Where is the security? Nothing, everything goes out. Now, the Home Minister is supposed to be a very brave man. What is he doing? Crimes take place in Delhi. Nothing is done. As you know, crimes take place in Punjab. Nothing is done. The culprits are not traced. And Delhi is one of the cities in India where more crimes take place than in any other place in the country today, and in urban areas. Such is the position. Yet, the Home Minister lives here.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : In Delhi area or in Punjab area?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, in Delhi area, and because Punjab is close to our Home Minister, the Punjab area. Now this is the position. Here is the Home Minister. He wasted public money.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I may tell you that the time allotted is one hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will finish. I am very grateful to you. The Home Minister wasted public money in making a fantastic statement with regard to the "Left Communists". Read that statement, and I am sure all papers have criticised his statement. But he is undaunted. This Home Minister made out his case on the basis of lies, distortions, falsehood, malice and political perversion and on the basis

of that, one fine morning, on the 30th December, he launched on all-out drive throughout the whole of India and arrested 900 people or so and put them in detention.

He does not even today release the 29 Communists who have been elected in Kerala. And Mr. Santhanam writes an article today in 'The Hindustan Times' that not only these Communists who have been elected should be released but all the other detenus in Kerala at least should be released and that is the right course. I am very glad that at least there is one Congress member who appreciates and understands this expression of reason. Those people were arrested and this Home Minister comes for money. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I tell you that the country's future is not safe in their hands. Why Mr. Nanda is doing that, I just tell you. He wants, by keeping them in jail, to create difficulty in the negotiations among the non-Congress parties who have been elected in Kerala. . . .

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No.

Sum BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, I tell you. He wants to create the impression that even if Mr. Namboodiripad and others came to an understanding for the formation of a non-Congress Ministry there, that Ministry would not have a working majority in the Assembly because 29 people would be in jail.

Once the other elements are told this thing they may hesitate to negotiate and they may feel no use of negotiating with Mr. Namboodiripad and others because even if you form the Ministry there, a working majority will not be available in the Assembly if 29 people remain in jail. Therefore, please understand it. It is not merely an ugly, anti-democratic measure in itself, there is political motivation behind it. Now, by keeping them in jail they are indirectly trying to pressurise the other Opposition groups—I am meaning it in the old sense—the other non-Congress groups minus the Kerala Congress so that they do not come to an understanding in the belief

that the great Nanda would not release them and then what is the use of coming to an understanding because in any case if these 29 are not released, then they would not have a working majority. That is one of the reasons.

Another reason is that they are telling the Kerala Congress and the Congress that they are keeping 29 people in jail, or propose to keep them in jail. They say, "Have discussion, come to an understanding and you can run the government with only 54 votes in the Kerala Assembly because 29 will not be there to vote on the no-confidence motion and turn you out". Therefore, this is a two-pronged attack. I charge the Home Minister with a narrow, partisan, political motivation in this matter, and I tell him quite clearly that he cannot be allowed to play ducks and drakes with the liberties of the people and with principles of democracy.

Sir, we had in these Benches, you will remember, the late Govind Ballabh Pant. Well, he was a very difficult person in some ways. I know the difficulty I had to face with him. But he knew how to measure his words, say things properly. But as far as our Home Minister is concerned—Mr. Vice-Chairman, with that note I will end—he does not measure his words even. As you know, before everything happened in the Kerala election, when he went to Kerala he had so many people arrested. And that is what he wanted to make out. He put election as the test of his policy. He said that 99 per cent, of the people were with him and all that kind of thing. After the elections one should have thought that he would bow to the will of the people now.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, you ask us to give money. See what he said :

"I am allowing them to stand so that the people of Kerala will have a chance to disown them."

That is what he told a crowded Press conference there, according to the local edition of the 'Kerala Indian Express', not the

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Trivandrum edition but the South edition. It was not an ordinary Press conference. It was a crowded Press conference. Well, who has disowned whom, may I know ? Will he come and apologise to the people of Kerala ? Not only that, he threatened the Muslim League. He threatened the Communists. He said that he would not allow even them to form a government. A suggestion was made that even if the Leftists and others were returned, the Communists and so on, he said that he would not allow them to form a government. Such a statement was made by him. Who was he to make such a statement ? Has he become the Constitution ? Has he become the only founding father of the Constitution who alone can interpret the Constitution ? The Constitution will take its course. What they are doing today falls in line with what he was preaching with the only difference that he expected that the Congress would win in Kerala. But it has lost.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, yesterday he gave the voting figures. It is no use giving such figures. Your seats have come down to 36 seats. You have got only one-third. Never in the Congress history recently the number of Congressmen in terms of seats has been so low as in Kerala. They should be ashamed. The Congress should have some self-interospection. Nothing of the kind. Only one-third of the seats. Twenty-nine people are held in detention by a party who has got 36 people after the election in Kerala. Imagine 36 people they could get elected all told in Kerala, under the banner of the Congress, on the basis of the Home Minister's policy, and that party, that Government had the temerity, the audacity, the impudence to put in detention even after election 29 M.L.As. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not the way of democracy. This is not the way of the rule of law. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not the way on which we can fashion our parliamentary institutions. This is the line of a political highwayman. This is what I would like to know. Mr. Nanda is becoming more and more aggressive and assuming the posture of a political highwayman. As you know, he thought that by arresting these Communists and putting them in jail he will please the rightist element, inside the Congress because some of

them think that Mr. Nanda is a very progressive man. But now even the rightists are accusing him of doing such things that they have lost the Kerala election.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Thank you very much. I know you are very kind to me. Therefore, I only say in the end that I speak with passion in this matter. I do not know how long I will be able to speak in this regime. I do not know if they are in the last days of democracy. I do not know if they are paving the way for subversion of the Constitution in the hands of the Government, the Parliamentary institutions which you and I, many of us, on both sides of the House have shaped all these thirteen years since the Constitution.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, you have been in this House. Did you see any Home Minister speaking in such arrogance, in such a defiant manner ? Even after this scandal of Orissa, they will not lay the C.B.I. report. He will not look at it. He says, "I will not look at it."

Stmt LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : That is a feminine attitude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not everywhere. Not in the South. It is only in Bengal that the brother's wife does not look at the elder brother of her husband. This is the situation. He would not look at it. Is it the elder brother of the husband ? Has he become the daughter-in-law of the Home ? And has the C.B.I. report become the elder brother of the husband ? But the same gentleman put that funny report, called the Statement about the Communists. That was not a secret of the State. Not only did he not call it secret, he laid it on the Table with a gusto. That is a good thing that he did because the Kerala people saw what lies were there. I agree that that service he did. Therefore, I maintain that his policy of detention of political opponents, so many of them, a thousand of them under the Defence of India Rules, has been rejected, repudiated

by the people in the first test that we had in the blow to democracy. Please do not try to Kerala general election. In England, if it had advance your own cause at the cost of other been done in a bye-election the Ministry would parties and of democracy. Therefore, I am have resigned or at least released the people held opposed to some of the grants wanted in this in detention. In England, such a thing would not Budget for the Home Ministry..

report, whether it is the language bungling, or 5 P.M.
whether it is detention of the Communists, the Government will not even admit its mistake even when it gets such a drubbing as its has got in the Kerala elections and so on. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I demand the Defence of India Rules be withdrawn. I demand that the detenus, the political opponents, irrespective of the parties, be released. Here in this country we do not want such a thing. It is a perversion to say that the people were preparing for violence in Kerala. They were preparing for election as everybody knows.

And that is why the Kerala people did j not believe Mr. Nanda's statement. That is why they voted for these Communists | whether you call them Right or Left. The people in the villages in Kerala knew it from their experience that the Home Minister from Delhi was telling an untruth and abusing his authority and power, hence they "rejected the Home Minister and his Government and the party to which he belongs".

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have finished. But I do say, do not spare money for this Home Ministry. Reorganise the Home Ministry. I do not say anything about j this ugly Government, because more things will be said when the No-Confidence Motion will be discussed in the other House. I wish we had also provision for a no-confidence motion, or at least for a motion of censorship against this Government. Let the Home Minister make that statement outside without taking the cover of Parlia- I ment; he will be sued for defamation. We have a Home Minister now who has risen to a high position but who does not have either the generosity of heart or the great qualities of a person who should be in such a high position, one who wants to maintain himself in this high position at the cost of other political parties. And the one section of Communists, of the Communist Party Marxists, came in handy. It is a

I again demand that if they have not become utterly shameless, dehumanised, anti-democratic, ugly and so on, they should immediately release the twenty-nine detenus. Let the Parliament and let the Constitution take its course, there in Kerala. This is all that I should say, apart from pressing again the general demand for the release of political detenus because we take it as an attack on the fabric of democracy. Bad omens are indicated by such action. Either we stay this ugly tyrannical hand now, or tomorrow we shall be overtaken by a fate which we should like to avoid, namely, the fate of unabashed, naked, authoritarian rule in which many of us will have to go down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : May I request the House to sit a little longer and finish this Bill ? Shri Sundar Mani Patel.

श्री सुन्दर मणि पटेल (उड़ीसा) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अभी हम जिस ऐप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पर विचार करने जा रहे हैं, इसको मंजूरी मिलेगी और फिर खर्चा होगा। इसका एक नाम और है, जिसको मैं कहता हूँ मिसऐप्रोप्रिएशन, तो जिस टाइम में हम ऐप्रोप्रिएशन बिल के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं, उस टाइम में यह भी चर्चा करने का मौका आया है कि हमारे देश में कितना मिसऐप्रोप्रिएशन होता है। इसके पहले जो इन्कम टैक्स अमेंडमेंट बिल पर चर्चा हुई, उसमें यह बताया गया कि आज किस तरह देश में दुर्नीति फैल रही है। मैं भी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो मिसऐप्रोप्रिएशन हो रहा है, दुर्नीति हो रही है और पब्लिक एक्सचेजर के ऊपर जो जुल्म हुआ है या हो रहा है, उसको अगर सरकार ने कड़ाई से बन्द नहीं किया, तो हम चाहे जितने ऐप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पास कर दें, उससे कुछ नहीं होगा और

[श्री सुन्दर मणि पटेल]

हमारा पैसा पानी में या नदी में बह जायगा जैसा कि आज बह रहा है।

आप जानते हैं कि आज उड़ीसा के मामले की कितनी चर्चा होती है। अगर कोई आदमी किसी की चोरी कर ले, तो हम उसका इतना बुरा नहीं समझते हैं, जितना बुरा हम उसको समझते हैं जो पब्लिक एसचेकर से चोरी करता है और जो मिसएप्रोप्रिएशन करके अपना भविष्य बनाता है। वह सबसे बड़ा दगाबाज है। आज क्या ऐसे आदमियों की इस देश में कमी है? ऐसे आदमियों की कमी नहीं है। सब से दुःख की बात यह है कि ऐसी चोरी और ऐसी दगाबाजी करने के बाद भी, इसको रेग्युलेराइज किया जा रहा है और यह देश के लिये ज्यादा खतरनाक है। यह जानते हुए कि यह देश के लिय सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक है, हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ऐसे लोगों को ढांकने की कोशिश करती है। यह सबसे बड़ा दोष है।

मैं एक बात की याद दिला रहा हूँ। हमारे नन्दाजी जब प्लानिंग कमीशन से आकर के होम मिनिस्टर बने, तो उन्होंने एक ऐलान किया था कि देश में दो साल के अन्दर में वे दुर्नीति दूर कर देंगे, रिश्वत दूर कर देंगे। उस वक़्त जो हमारे नन्दा जी ने कहा और आज जो वे कहते हैं, उसकी जब मैं तुलना करता हूँ तो मैं समझ नहीं पाता हूँ कि नन्दा जी वही हैं या बदल गए हैं। आज वे एक गलती के बाद दूसरी गलती करते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आप जानते हैं कि कोई भी आदमी एक गलती को छिपाने के लिये अगर कोशिश करे, तो उसको पचासों गलतियाँ करनी पड़ती हैं। आज हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार की हालत वही है। जैसा पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री के लिये कमीशन बिठलाया गया था, वैसा ही कमीशन उड़ीसा के मुख्य मंत्रियों के खिलाफ जो कम्प्लेन्ट्स थीं, उनके बारे में बिठवाया गया होता, तो आज इस हाउस में, उस हाउस में और सारे देश में इतनी चर्चा नहीं होती और सरकार को एक

गलती के बाद दूसरी गलती का रास्ता पकड़ने की जरूरत नहीं होती। अभी तक न जाने केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कितनी गलतियाँ की हैं और इसके बाद न जाने कितनी गलतियाँ करने जा रही है। पहले उड़ीसा असेम्बली में विरोधी दल के नेता और कई और आदमियों ने जो मेमोरियल राष्ट्रपति जी को दिया था अगस्त में, उसके बाद हमारे मंत्रियों ने इस सदन में हमें यह बताया कि सी० बी० आई० को हम भेजे हैं और उनकी रिपोर्ट देखने के बाद अगर प्राइमाफेसी कैसे हुआ, तो हम विचार करेंगे। इसलिये उन लोगों ने सी० बी० आई० को भेजा और वहाँ इन्क्वायरी हुई। उसके बाद एक सब कमेटी गवर्नमेंट ने बिठलाई और उस सब कमेटी ने भी अपना फ़ैसला किया। फिर भी यह ज़िम्मेदारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर के ऊपर आई कि वे कोई फ़ैसला देते कि ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव इम्प्रोवाइटी है। एक बात इसमें यह हुई कि जिन्होंने मेमोरियल दिया, वे एक चीज़ कहते हैं। सी० बी० आई० वाले कुछ बोलते हैं। सब कमेटी एक किस्म की बात बोलती है और प्राइम मिनिस्टर एक किस्म की बात बोलते हैं। यह सब इनकंसिस्टेंट है और किसी से मिलता नहीं। सबसे मज़े की बात यह है कि जो सब कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है, जो उनकी फ़ाईंडिंग्स हैं, उससे बीजू पटनायक नाराज़ हैं और उसको मानने के लिये वे तैयार नहीं हैं। दूसरे हमारे इस हाउस के एक मान्यवर सदस्य ने बीजू पटनायक को डिफेंड किया। वे तो कांग्रेस के आदमी हैं और मैं उनको यह उपदेश देना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ बोलने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। उड़ीसा असेम्बली में तीन कांग्रेस के एम० एल० एज० श्री पवित्र मोहन प्रधान, श्री मुर्लीधर जनक और श्री सुरेन्द्र पटनायक यह दावा कर चुके हैं कि यह कमीशन बनना चाहिये। तो वह जो हमारे प्रिय सदस्य हैं, उनको मैं यह उपदेश दे रहा हूँ कि वे उनसे पूछें कि कमीशन बनना चाहिये कि नहीं। यह खाली हम नहीं कहते हैं, जो कांग्रेस के एम० एल० ए० हैं वह लोग भी यह बात कहते हैं।

यह भी चर्चा हो रही है कि सी० बी० आई० को क्यों मंत्रियों के खिलाफ इनक्वायरी करने के लिये भेजा गया। यह प्रश्न जो देश में फैल रहे हैं, ये क्यों फैल रहे हैं? ये लोग अपने को बचाने के लिये, अपने दल को बचाने के लिये एक के बाद दूसरी गलती कर रहे हैं। इसलिये दूसरी-दूसरी समस्याएं भी देश में फैल रही हैं, लेकिन इसको यह लोग छिपा नहीं सकते हैं। पहले जिस टाइम में हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी थे, उस टाइम भी छः सात प्रांतों में जो मुख्य मंत्री थे, उनके खिलाफ उनकी जो कांग्रेस पार्टी है उसने और विरोधी दलों ने आवाज उठाई कि उनको मुख्य मंत्री के पद से निकाल दिया जाय। यह आवाज बिहार, उड़ीसा, मध्य प्रदेश, यू०पी०, जम्मू काश्मीर, केरल और पंजाब में उठी थी। इससे उस टाइम जनता के अन्दर इतनी भावना पैदा हो गई थी कि उसको शांत करने के लिये हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी ने कामराज प्लान शुरू किया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : सुन्दर मणि जी, यह सब ऐप्रोप्रिएशन बिल में आता नहीं।

श्री सुन्दर मणि पटेल : होम डिपार्टमेंट का है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : स्ट्रेच करके कुछ भी कह सकते हैं लेकिन डाइरेक्टली यह उसमें नहीं आता है।

श्री बी० आर० भगत : उसमें तो कैबिनेट भी है, कौंसिल भी है, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन आफ जस्टिस भी है, तो इस पर बोलिए।

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : This is administration of justice; this is Congress justice.

श्री सुन्दर मणि पटेल : तो मेरा कहना है कि इसको छिपाने के लिए एक के बाद

दूसरा और दूसरे के बाद तीसरा गलत काम कर रहे हैं। कोई न कोई बहाने से इसको ढांकने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। तो इससे देश में शान्ति नहीं होगी, दुर्नीति दूर नहीं होगी। इसको साफ करना है। अगर एक काम यह लोग कर देते तो सब मामले का फैसला हो जाता, कमीशन बैठा देते और कमीशन बैठा देने से जो राय कमीशन देगा उसको तो सब लोग मानने को तैयार हैं। जैसे कि पंजाब में कमीशन बैठा दिया और कमीशन बैठाने के बाद जो दावा सारे देश में पेश होता था वह बन्द हो गया, ऐसे ही उड़ीसा के लिए कमीशन बना देते तो जितना मामला है, जितना वाद विवाद चल रहा है वह सब बन्द हो जाता।

आज सरकार दुर्नीतियों को ढांकने के लिए और दबाने के लिए जितनी कोशिश कर रही है, जितना दिमाग खर्च कर रही है, उतनी अगर दुर्नीति को दूर करने के लिए कोशिश करती तो शायद आज इस देश से दुर्नीति दूर हो जाती लेकिन छिपाने की वजह से नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि दुर्नीति बढ़ रही है। यह कैसे बढ़ रही है, देखिए। उपसभापति जी, मैं आपके जरिए से जो कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य हैं उनसे अनुरोध कर रहा हूं कि मंत्रियों को, इन लोगों को, ठीक रखना चाहिए क्योंकि अगर किसी के शरीर के अन्दर एक रोग हो गया है तो उसे ढांकने से शरीर नष्ट हो जाता है इसलिए अगर दुर्नीति समाज में फैल गई है तो अगर उस दुर्नीति को ढांकने की कोशिश करेंगे तो यह समाज भी नष्ट हो जायगा, यह देश भी नष्ट हो जायगा, तो कम से कम कांग्रेस दल के सदस्यों को यह समझना चाहिए कि वह जो मंत्रियों को ढांकने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं उसके बजाय उनको सीधे रास्ते पर लाना चाहिए। यही मैं उनको चेतावनी दे रहा हूं। आज इससे देश में क्या फैलेगा? हम अफसरों की समालोचना करते हैं, उनको क्टिसाइज करते हैं मगर अफसरों के अन्दर भी बहुत अच्छे अफसर हैं, सज्जन हैं उनके मन में कोई पाप का स्पर्श नहीं

[श्री सुन्दर मणि पटेल]

है, तो उनको आज क्या प्रमाणित हो रहा है, जो सी० बी० आई० टीम उड़ीसा गई थी उन लोगों ने क्या परीक्षित किया है? क्या उनकी जान को खतरा नहीं था? जान का खतरा था। तब भी उन्होंने सच्ची बात निकाली है। मैं मंत्रियों से उनकी ज्यादा प्रशंसा करूंगा। तो जिन्होंने सी० बी० आई० रिपोर्ट को दिया है उनके दिल में क्या होगा कि कोई दूसरी रिपोर्ट दें और कोई दूसरा काम करें। उन अफसरों के दिल में क्या होगा? वह भविष्य में क्या इतनी सिसियोरिटी के साथ इन्वेस्टि-गेट करेंगे? नहीं करेंगे। तो इससे और ज्यादा दुर्नीति फैलेगी क्योंकि आज अफसरों का जो उत्साह है, उनकी जो कर्तव्य परायणता है, जो कर्तव्यानुभक्ति है, वह मंत्रियों के काम से नीचे गिर रही है। इस चीज को आज सरकार को सोचना चाहिए, कांग्रेस दल को सोचना चाहिए कि अगर हम अफसरों को डिमारेलाइज कर दें तब तो यह दुर्नीति हम कभी रोक नहीं सकते हैं क्योंकि जो कोई काम करना है वह अफसरों के जरिए से ही करना है। उनको हमें सच्चा रखना है, उनको बड़ी ताकत देनी है कि सच्ची रिपोर्ट पेश करें और अगर उसका दूसरा अर्थ करके जो कांग्रेस के मंत्री हैं उनको बचाने की कोशिश करें तो यह जो दुर्नीति है उससे तो हम देश में शान्ति नहीं रख सकते और हम यह हर वक्त देख रहे हैं

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसान भार्गव): सुन्दर मणि जी, 15 मिनट हो गए हैं।

श्री सुन्दर मणि पटेल : . . . कि हिन्दुस्तान में यह डिजीज बढ़ रही है कि कांग्रेस सरकार को चाहे जितनी युक्ति से बोलिए, चाहे जितना अच्छा बोलिए, वह कभीसु नने वाली नहीं है। प्रान्त को देखिए, सेंट्रल मिनिस्ट्री को देखिए, जब तक देश में कोई आन्दोलन न हो, कुछ रेल-लाइन न उखड़ें, कुछ सरकारी घर न जलें, कुछ आदमी मरें नहीं, कुछ फौजी

मरें नहीं, तब तक यह सरकार सुनने वाली नहीं है। हम आज तक यही देख रहे हैं। तब उड़ीसा में केन्द्रीय सरकार यह चीज देखने के लिए फिर चाहती है क्या? इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार एक कमिशन बैठाने के लिए जो दावा आ रहा है उसको मंजूर कर ले और जल्दी से जल्दी यह कमिशन बैठाए। तब उड़ीसा में भी शान्ति रहेगी और मंत्रियों ने दुर्नीति की है या नहीं की है उसका भी सारे आदमियों को पता मिल जायगा, क्योंकि एक मंत्री निर्मल हो, सच्चा हो यह जरूरी है लेकिन खाली उसके सच्चा होने और निर्मल होने से देश की प्रगति नहीं हो सकती है उसे आदमियों की नज़र में भी निर्मल और सच्चा होना चाहिए। यह चीज आज की गणतान्त्रिक पद्धति का एक बड़ा अंग है, जो हमारे कांग्रेस के भाई यहां हैं उनको यह सोचना चाहिए। मंत्री निर्मल हो, यह ठीक है लेकिन जनता की नज़र में भी उसका निर्मल होना चाहिए—यह गणतान्त्रिक पद्धति है और हम आशा करते हैं कि हमारे कांग्रेस भाई इस बात को सोच लेंगे। कम से कम यह सोच लें तो मंत्रियों का दिमाग ठीक हो जाय — ज्यादा नहीं रात में सोते वक्त कम से कम दो मिनट इसको सोचें कि यह क्या हो रहा है। अगर इतना करें तो ये मंत्री ठीक रास्ते पर आ जाएंगे।

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am not going to take much time of the House, but I want to point out one aspect of this Appropriation Bill. The lion. Minister said something about internal procurement of food-grains. Now, Sir, you know that my State of Madhya Pradesh is a surplus State; there is a lot of procurement going on in that State, and it is the responsibility of my State to supply the neighbouring deficit States of Maharashtra and Gujarat with foodgrains. Now I want to invite the attention of the Central Government to a lot of bungling that is going on there in the matter of internal procurement. A wrong impression has been created that there is going to be State-trading in foodgrains between State and

State. But that is not so; there is no trading in foodgrains at the State-to-State level. I have received a number of complaints and what I am given to understand is that this work of procurement is entrusted to certain marketing societies. Now, what do these marketing societies do ? They collect the foodgrains from private traders at a very high price. For example, I am told that these marketing societies procure the gram which is sold by the private traders—a gram which is moth-eaten and is in a very bad condition¹—at a price varying from Rs. 56 to Rs. 58 per quintal, whereas the new gram is available in the market at about Rs. 46 per quintal, and this profit of Rs. 10 odd goes directly into the pockets of the private traders. Yet the Government says that they are trading at the State-to-State level. Then this gram and other foodgrains which are procured at such a high price are exported by them through private trade channels to the neighbouring deficit States. Now it has two effects. Firstly, they have to pay more for the gram and, secondly, even paying more they get very inferior stuff, moth-eaten and almost useless to eat. Government should look into this matter since there is a lot of bungling and a lot of mismanagement going on in this internal procurement.

The next point I want to point out is that there is a lot of complaints against the 'food' officers. There are complaints against the collectors and the Deputy Collectors regarding the procurement of foodgrains in this manner. They have been entrusted with the work but, as I said, they are favouring the private traders, and procurement is done from them at a very high cost and the quality of the foodgrains is also not good. I do not understand why they are not procuring the new crop that has come into the market, and why they are collecting these foodgrains from the private traders. Though they are paid such an exorbitant price, they are not able to supply good stuff.

There are so many things about which I wanted to speak, but since the time is short I would only now impress upon the Government to look into the matter. I am not sure about these things, but I have been receiving complaints and therefore, I wanted to take this opportunity to invite the attention of the Central Government so that they

may look into the matter, about internal procurement of foodgrains in the State of Madhya Pradesh and also about the bungling made by the Collectors and Deputy Collectors. I hope the Government will take interest in this thing. In the neighbouring States of Maharashtra and Gujarat they may not have complaints about not getting good quality foodgrains and also of high prices.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौराड़िया:

(मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो अनुपूर्क अनुदान लिये विनियोग विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसके बारे में मैं कुछ चर्चा करूंगा। सबसे पहली बात तो यह है कि पहले कुछ और भी अनुपूर्क विनियोग विधेयक प्रस्तुत किये गये और उनमें भी कई करोड़ों की मांग पहले की जा चुकी है। अभी इसमें फिर 4 अरब 75 करोड़ की मांग की जा रही है। तो इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि हमारे शासन का बजट बनाने का तरीका कितना सही है और किस दिशा में कैसा है। हमारे मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि कुछ अनफोरसीन खर्च, जिनकी पहले से आशा नहीं की जा सकती थी वह खर्च आ गए। कुछ खर्च ऐसे जरूर हैं पर इसका दूसरा पक्ष भी यह है कि हमारे मंत्री जी बताते हैं 4 अरब 12 करोड़ रु० हमने बचत कर लिया, यानी जिस काम को करने के लिये खर्चा मंजूर किया गया था उस काम में खर्च किया नहीं गया। तो यह दोनों पक्ष इस बात को प्रमाणित करते हैं कि हमारे यहां पर बजट सही बनता नहीं है और इसलिये प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय इस बात का प्रयास करें कि हम जितना जितना ठीक और सही बन सके, उसको बनवाने का कष्ट करें।

दूसरी इसमें एक मांग की गई है अफीम के क्रय के बारे में। यह कहा गया कि अफीम आशा से अधिक उत्पादित हुआ और उसके परिणामस्वरूप हमको पैसा ज्यादा चाहिये। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह एक निर्विवाद सत्य है कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में मध्य प्रदेश ही

[श्री बिसलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

एक ऐसा प्रान्त है जहाँ पर तुलनात्मक रूप में अफीम का उत्पादन प्रति हेक्टर सबसे अधिक होता है। यह भी बात सही है कि गन्ने के लिये उत्तर प्रदेश या महाराष्ट्र ऐसे स्थान हैं जहाँ पर गन्ना अधिक उत्पादित होता है। ऐसी स्थिति में उस उपज को देशव्यापी बनाने की अपेक्षा, जहाँ पर जिस चीज का उत्पादन अधिक हो सकता है, वहीं पर इसको कामेन्ट करे, अन्यथा क्या कठिनाई हो सकती है इसको प्रतिपादित करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में और खासतौर पर मन्दसौर जिले में अफीम की पैदावार जब कि उत्तर प्रदेश में प्रति हेक्टर 25 किलोग्राम हुई तो मध्य प्रदेश में 32 किलोग्राम प्रति हेक्टर हुई। अगर हम जहाँ पर किसी चीज का उत्पादन अधिक से अधिक हो सकता है उसको उसी क्षेत्र के लिए छोड़ दें और इस दृष्टि से मध्य प्रदेश में दूसरी चीजों का उत्पादन छोड़ कर अफीम के उत्पादन को इनकरेज करें तो उसके कई लाभ हो सकते हैं। हमारे मंत्री जी जानते हैं वहाँ अगर एक ही क्षेत्र में अफीम का उत्पादन करें तो उसकी निगरानी की दृष्टि से, चोरी से रोकने की दृष्टि से लाभ अर्जित करने की दृष्टि से, पैसा बांटने की दृष्टि से, अनुज्ञा पत्र देने की दृष्टि से, और भी कई दृष्टियों से बहुत लाभदायक सिद्ध हो सकता है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि मंत्री महोदय इस बात पर विचार करें कि मध्य प्रदेश के जिस क्षेत्र में उत्पादन अधिक हो सकता है उसमें उत्पादन का रकबा बढ़ा कर दूसरी जगह कम करें। इस संबंध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि गत वर्ष हमारी सरकार ने अनुमान किया था कि अफीम का उत्पादन प्रति हेक्टर 28 किलोग्राम मध्य प्रदेश में होगा किन्तु उसकी जगह 32 किलोग्राम हुआ। यह ठीक है कि अगर काश्तकार की मेहनत भी हो और प्रकृति भी उसका साथ दे तो उपज अपने आप बढ़ जाती है मगर कहीं जैसाकि इस वर्ष दिखाई देता है अगर इस तरह से प्रकृति ने

साथ नहीं दिया तो हो सकता है कि जो शासन का अनुमान होता है उसके अनुसार उत्पादन करने में सफलता नहीं मिले। तो इसका दुष्परिणाम यह भी होने वाला है कि हमारी सरकार कहेगी कि तुमने हमारे निर्धारित अनुमान के अनुसार अधिक उत्पादन नहीं किया इसलिये तुमको अनुज्ञा पत्र नहीं दिया जाता था तुम्हारा अनुज्ञा पत्र रिन्यू नहीं किया जाता। इस दृष्टि से मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि यदि प्राकृतिक कारणों को मानवीय कारण समझकर उनको अनुज्ञा पत्र देने से इत्कार कर दिया जाय तो यह न्यायोचित नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि अब जो आपके लाइसेंस देने के नियम बनाए जाएं उनमें इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि उनके नियमों में इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था हो, इलास्टीसिटी रहे कि अगर प्राकृतिक प्रकोप के परिणामस्वरूप उत्पादन अनुमान से कम हो जाए तो अनुज्ञापत्र देने में कोई पाबन्दी न रहे। इसके बारे में व्यवस्था होना आवश्यक है।

इसमें अग्रिकलचरल प्राइस कमीशन की भी चर्चा की गई है। आज तक इस बात के निर्णय पर हम नहीं आ सके कि हमारे काश्तकार की गरीबी को मिटाने की दृष्टि से काश्तकार को अपनी फसल की क्या कीमतें मिलनी चाहिये। यह प्राइस कमीशन भी बैठा तो इसके पीछे एक बंधन यह लगा दिया गया है कि तुमको इस बात का ध्यान रखना है कि समाज में उसका कोई खराब प्रभाव नहीं पड़ेगा, चीजें महंगी नहीं हो जायेंगी, इत्यादि। मैं पूछना चाहूँगा कि क्या आप हमारे यहाँ के काश्तकारों को जिनकी ओर किसी ने ध्यान नहीं दिया, जो आज तक आरगेनाइज नहीं हो सके, और जिनके ऊपर कर्ज प्रति वर्ष बढ़ता जा रहा है, संतोष से रहने देना चाहते हैं या नहीं? उनको सुखी बनाना चाहते हैं या नहीं? हम नहीं चाहते उसको अधिक कीमत दीजिए, हमारा केवल यही निवेदन है कि प्राइस कमीशन जो आपका बैठा है, वह इस बात का निर्णय कर दे कि इस साल अच्छी फसल हुई, उस साल खराब फसल हुई

और उसका जो पाँच वर्षों का चक्कर है उसका औसत निकाल कर माजिनल लैन्ड पर जो उसका उत्पादन खर्च पड़ता है उसको देखते हुए जितना अपने कुटुम्ब का खर्चा चलाने के लिये उसको आवश्यक हो उस हिसाब से कीमत निश्चित करे। अगर हमारा यह जो अग्रिकलचर प्राइस कमीशन बनाया गया है उसको हम यह कहें कि तुमको यह भी ध्यान रखना होगा कि कीमतें इतनी न बढ़ जायें कि हमारे समाज में अव्यवस्था बढ़ जाय, आर्थिक स्थिति बिगड़ जाए तो यह केवल हमारे आंसू पोंछने के लिये, लीपापोती करने के लिये यह प्राइस कमीशन बनाया है—तो फिर हम कृषकों का हित करने वाले नहीं हैं। इससे उत्पादन बढ़ सकेगा, इसमें संदेह है। मैं एक काश्तकार की हँसियत से पसंद करता हूँ कि मेरे खेत में जो अनाज की पैदावार होती है वह मेरी गुजर के लिये पर्याप्त नहीं है और मैं अनाज की जगह अपने यहाँ संतरे का बगीचा लगाना पसंद करता हूँ—और अगर कोई केरल का काश्तकार है वह चाहेगा कैशूनट का, काली मिर्च का उत्पादन करे—और आजकल तो अंगूर बहुत प्रिय है और महंगा भी तो अगर मैं चाहूँ अपने यहाँ खेत में अपनी कोशिश से, मेहनत से उसका उत्पादन करने में सफल हो गया तो मैं लखपति बन सकता हूँ। लेकिन ऐसा करके हमारे लिये देश की आवश्यकता के अनुसार अनाज की पैदावार कर सकना संभव नहीं होगा। यह जो इस प्रकार का बंधन लगाया है—आर्थिक स्थिति बिगड़ न जाय, कन्ज्यूमर को उपभोक्ता को, महंगा न पड़ जाए—कई ऐसे बंधन, हैं अगर प्राइस कमीशन ठीक निर्णय पर नहीं आ सका, किसान को उचित मूल्य नहीं दिला सका तो एक तरह से आप लीपापोती करेंगे और इसलिये मैं एक ही प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि प्राइस कमीशन को दुनिया भर के काश्तकारों का सर्वे करने के लिये न भेजिए। आपका सूरतगढ़ का जो फार्म है, वहाँ पर सर्वे करने के लिये ही उसको भेज दीजिए कि कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन क्या पड़ता है, क्या कीमत पड़ती है, उसके

आधार पर आप कीमतें तय कीजिए। लेकिन आप मुझे माफ करेंगे, ऐसा आप नहीं करेंगे क्योंकि हमारी सरकार के जितने भी फार्म चल रहे हैं, उनमें घाटा है, कुछ में कई करोड़ों का घाटा हो रहा है—अपवादस्वरूप ही कोई फायदे में चल रहे होंगे ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ अन्यथा तो सभी अग्रिकलचरल फार्म आपके घाटे में चल रहे हैं।

प्रिवी पर्स के बारे में भी मांग की गई है, कि इसको “फोरसी” किया जा सकता था। प्रिवी पर्स नियमों के अन्तर्गत तय है। हमने घोषित कर रखा है कि प्रिवी पर्स हमने इतना-इतना देना है—उसमें भी घटने की संभावना दीखती है बढ़ने की संभावना नहीं दीखती है। मगर हमारे ये बजट बनाने वाले विशेषज्ञ उस समय यह नहीं देख सके कि कितना लगेगा। इसमें जो मांग की गई है प्रिवी पर्स के लिये तो कुछ समझ में नहीं आता...

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी) : प्रिवी पर्स की कोई रकम बढ़ी नहीं है—नो इन्क्रीज।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : पेज 93 पर आप देख लीजिए . . .

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI : That is because arrears were not paid last year.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : तो वह एरियर्स हो, कुछ भी हो, जो नियमों के अन्तर्गत बंधी हुई चीजें हैं उनका प्राविधान मूल बजट में करना चाहिये जो कि आप करा नहीं सके। उस मूल को स्वीकार करने का कष्ट करें, यही मैं चाहता हूँ।

दूसरे, होम मिनिस्ट्री में, गृह मंत्रालय में, अभी भी राजे महाराजाओं के कुछ केसेज पेन्डिंग हैं और उनमें खासतौर से इन्दौर का केस पेन्डिंग है। दोनों पक्ष अपने-अपने हित का समर्थन करने के लिये आते हैं। मैं प्रार्थना

[श्री बिमलकुमार मन्नासालर्जा चौरङ्गिया :]
 कहना कि उसको भी शीघ्र निर्णय कराने का कष्ट करें। जो आपने समय दिया उसके लिये धन्यवाद।

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I had no mind to take even a second of the time of the House but I am very much distressed by the speech of my dearly loved friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. He has every right to criticise the Ministries and we are not here to save our skins; that is part of the game and one should know also how to play it. The language that he has used is very hard and these days I do not know why he is using harder and harder words, every time he spoke about the Home Ministry. I read his speech on the President's Address carefully because I consider him to be a friend of mine. I even feel that this House will be poorer without him and because of my love for him, this speech of today has distressed me beyond measure. This reminds me of a Persian couplet—I am not going to quote it—which says, "What is worse ? Words or a sword ?" The great poet says that the words are worse because a sword kills you whereas the words strike at your heart and keep you bleeding all your life. In this Parliament, Sir, we are here to persuade each other and to win each other to our point of view, not to call each other names. Mr. Gupta should know that if I have love and admiration for him, I have much greater love and admiration for Mr. Nanda. I have known him ever since he was working in Ahmedabad under Mahatma Gandhi where he built up a unique type of labour movement which no Communist, no labour leader, has ever been able to build. He came to the Bombay Government as Minister of Labour and did a lot for labour there. After coming here, he has taken one portfolio after another and a humbler man I have seldom seen. He is always there with folded hands before everybody and I would like to tell my friend, Mr. Gupta, that had this man not been the Home Minister, the Communists would have been arrested earlier, months earlier.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is right; that is not harsh word. This is talking like a Fascist. Your Home Minister puts people in jail. Ask him to release them.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : In China, people would be liquidated, killed, but here we put a few of them in jail. Please listen to me. I have listened to you. Did I disturb you ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are very good to me.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Try to have democratic manners. I listened to you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Three people are in jail, They cannot listen to you, Mr. Ramamurti, Mr. Basavapunniah and Mr. Niren Ghosh. You have put them in jail; they cannot

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Can they say in China that India is right and China is wrong ? What would have happened then ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Nobody has said that.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Mao Tse-tung will pulverise them to pieces.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Nobody has said that.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : But here they have only been put in jail. These Left Communists deserve worse treatment than what we have given to them because we have Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru before us. They are traitors, they are enemies of the country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I protest against this thing, Mr. Vice-Chairman. He advises me as a friend and now he is using harsh words.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I am not giving in.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are using harsher words.

SHRI PRASAD SINHA : Take it from me, my friend.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Take it from me, my dear, also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Let us avoid unparliamentary words.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He said traitors.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Those who are pro-Chinese, who are friends of our enemies.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let Mr. Nanda say it. Why do you say that ?

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : If they are put in jail, what harm has been done ? They deserve to be hanged, I tell you, these people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Ask Mr. Nanda to carry this out.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I obey you, Sir. Control him.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I leave the matter there. Even if they have been elected by the people, it does not matter. If a dacoit or a thief is elected, will he not undergo any punishment ? They will have to remain in jail.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Try them if you have a charge against them. They are not to be judged by Mr. Nanda.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : No patriotic Indian

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Take them, if you can, to a court of law.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : There is the Lok Sabha; there is the Communist Party, the Right Communist Party. There is a great leader of the Communists, who is supposed to be a wonderful man, who has been my friend for several

years. He was with me in the Congress Socialist Party. There is another, the Deputy Leader, coming from a very high family, from the family of Dr. B. C. Roy. Their heart and soul, everything is in the Right Communist Party but here the difficulty is that the body is in the Right whereas the soul is with the Left. This is the difficulty and Mr. Nanda is being abused .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the personal question of Mr. Nanda did not arise. I questioned his policy, not abused Mr. Nanda. I only questioned his policy as Home Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You have had your say. He has had his say. Now, let Mr. Kumaran have his say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right, I obey you.

(Interruption)

Your heart is in America.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (Mysore) : Ours is in the House.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : My heart is with Mr. Khrushchev who has been deposed and Shri Nehru who is no more.

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : No cross-talk please. I have called Mr. Kumaran. Mr. Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha, please sit down. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please sit down.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh) : My friend, Mr. Sinha, is very much wounded by the language which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta used.

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Order please.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : He should not forget that Mr. Nanda, when he went to

[Shri P. K. Kumaran.] Kerala, used certain language which was really provocative, which really provoked the people. You can read it. He said, " I am permitting them by giving them an opportunity to prove their patriotism. I think there is a large volume of opinion, nearly ninety-nine per cent," he said "which endorses Government's action and even found fault with it for delaying action for so long". What have you found now ? The people have taken it very seriously. There were meetings which Mr. Kamaraj addressed which consisted of fifty people; our meetings were attended by two hundred people, and more people attended Left meetings. In no meeting, however, the number went beyond five hundred or a thousand but people were determined. Provocative words were used but they were determined. They did not want to listen to anybody's advice, to any platform. They came quietly and voted.

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Kumaran, I will request you to be brief because we have exceeded the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : With your blessings, we will sit late.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : What happened ? Mr. Nanda said that they were ,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : . . . traitors.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: . . . traitors and that he was going to publish a White Paper. Finally, he gave us a gray statement in which he could not prove what he had said. He quoted all the resolutions and books from our side, took them out of context. He himself could not produce any valid document. This did not convince the country nor even the bourgeois papers. He says that they are pro-Peking. We have got our differences; our Party had ideological differences and that is why we broke into two but to call them Chinese agents is something not correct. You should have fought them politically, on a political basis and not put them in jail. See what happened in the election. When small children were taken from house to house and made to ask, "Give us your vote. My father is in

jail and if you give the vote, he will come out". What could the people do? This should be understood. Those turned out to be senseless words and if anybody else were there in the Home Minister's position, he would have resigned the position. Anyway, I do not want to dilate on that, because my time is limited. I wanted to mention only one or two other things.

The Appropriation Bill is here because extra expenditure is incurred by the Government. And one of the items is dearness allowance paid to Central Government employees. Some time back when we assessed the real value of the Central Government employees' income we found it had gone down to 84 per cent. While the money wages had increased to 148 per cent the real value had decreased to 84 per cent. After that the prices have gone up. Then there was a hue and cry and a Commission was appointed. The Commission recommended that people drawing Rs. 70 to Rs. 1200 should be given certain scales. The other day when we asked the Finance Minister as to why he did not implement the recommendations in respect of people drawing from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,200, he said that he was not prepared to consider it, that he was not prepared to go into the merits of the case and that he did not agree with it. This is a wrong attitude. The recommendations made by a Commission which has gone into merits and demerits of the price situation in the country, should be implemented because even in the case of those people drawing up to Rs. 1,200 the real income has gone down.

Another item I found in this is housing. When the question of demand for housing came. I was reminded of a statement which I came across yesterday. This is a statement issued by Mr. Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Leader of the Communist Group in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council. In Andhra Pradesh, there is a Housing Board for the middle income group. This Housing Board is assisted by the Centre directly and also through diversion of L.I.C. funds.

Now, on 29th May 1964 they made some allotments of land to some persons. The middle income group people are considered to be those getting Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 15,000 per year and the area allotted to each is

600 yards and the cost of the house should not exceed Rs. 25,000 including the value of the land. Now, some people were allotted land and, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will read out the names of those people. I am sorry the names of some women are also here; perhaps they are innocent but anyway you can see who they are.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : These are (fee days of women.

SHRI P. K. KUMAR AN : They are Shrimati N. Nagaratnamma, wife of Union Steel Minister, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy. She received 1200 square yards of land. Then the next is Shrimati K. Raghavamma, wife of Chief Minister, Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy. She owns 100 acres of land with an income of about a lakh of rupees a year. She is the allottee in the middle income group. Then Dr. D. L. Prasad, son-in-law of the Housing Minister, Shri Alapati Venkatramaiah. He resides in Vishakhapatnam but is allotted a house in Hyderabad in the Sanjiva Reddy Nagar named after the Union Minister of Steel. The fourth is Shrimati K. Sandhyarani, daughter of a film star. A rich film star is also considered to be in the middle income group of people getting Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 15,000 a year.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : That must be because of proximity to certain people.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : The fifth is Shri Jalagam Vengala Rao, who is himself a Member of the Housing Board and also Chairman of the Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Parishad.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Did they pay for it or were they just allotted land ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : They paid at a concessional rate.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : The Minister should know better. The sixth allottee is Shri Seelam Sidda Reddy, Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. These are the gentlemen who are supposed to be people of the middle income group and who were allotted land for which the Government are giving a subsidy. Now, Mr.

Vice-Chairman, all these Congress Ministers and Congress leaders think that they are in a house which is burning and they are all anxious to save as much as possible before the house is burnt out completely. If the government of this country proceeds at this rate, then very shortly the whole Government is likely to end. Sir, I do not want to add anything more at this stage.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : There is no quorum in the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHAKGAVA) ! Let the Minister reply and then we shall see.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : The House has debated this, I think, quite adequately and even though hon. Members travelled far and wide. I think it was not without much interest. I would not like to dilate upon questions of either Kerala or the Left Communists or of the C.B.I. Report because the House, I am sure, will get many opportunities to discuss these questions which are uppermost in the minds of at least certain hon. Members. I think the hon. Member opposite would not like me to take the time of the House at this particular moment in respect of those matters. Therefore I would like to deal with some of the other issues that have been raised.

A point was made by Mr. Chordia. He said that it is faulty budgeting which provides for Rs. 400 and odd crores as Supplementary Grants. It is true by any stretch of imagination that Rs. 400 and odd crores is a big proportion of money and if his facts are true then it would mean faulty budgeting. But for his information I would say—he is a knowledgeable Member who tries to go deep into a matter—that in this matter of finance, particularly provisioning and appropriation, even some of us are likely to be nipped up. The biggest item in this is for Rs. 224 crores for repayment of debt the bulk of which is only national because we know that they are Treasury Bills which are discharged every 91 days. They mature every three months but in gross budgeting we have to provide for every discharge. So this is only notional.

Then there is another item, namely, purchase of foodgrains—Rs. 86.81 crores which

[Shri B. R. Bhagat] is more than covered by sale proceeds. This is also not strictly expenditure in that sense because it is covered,

The third item is for Rs. 85 crores for loans and advances to States out of which the ways and means advances are recovered during the year. So this is also a self-balancing item.

If you take into account all these things, the net amount comes to only Rs. 62.14 crores. So, in a Budget of Rs. 2,000 crores this is only a very small thing. There is no question of loose budgeting. Sometimes because of certain things beyond control, certain expenses have to be met. He referred to the Privy purses. This could not be anticipated except at the very last moment. For some such few thousands of rupees no great objection can be taken as to why it was not done at the beginning. There are certain items which cannot be anticipated by any human intelligence or by any mechanism of budgetary procedure. There are certain other items which have to be there because of gross budgeting. Now, the Treasury Bills mature every three months and we have to take into account all that. Advances to the States against recoveries because of the financial and budgetary rules have to be provided for. In view of all these things I think the hon. Members can digest this amount of supplementary grants.

Then he referred to opium. I think the State from which he comes is one of the States where conditions for opium cultivation are very good. I am glad to say that Madhya Pradesh is one of the States where the per hectare yield in terms of kilograms is high, that is, about 32 kilograms. Therefore, in any arrangement for giving incentives, I think this higher yield will always certainly go in favour of those areas. As the hon. Member knows and as the House is aware, the bulk of this opium is exported and it is a good foreign exchange earner. Recently the opium market in the world is falling and to that extent it is becoming more and more competitive. Therefore, we have to lay greater and greater stress on quality and greater and greater

stress on higher productivity per acre. So, in any scheme of licensing this matter has got to be borne in mind. The hon. Member appreciates it and I must say that the claims of all regions, subject to these conditions, will certainly be kept in mind while licensing.

Now, about foodgrains and the agricultural prices, the question was raised that because of the terms of reference the relative prices and other economic conditions should be borne in mind and this will create difficulties in the way of a proper fixation of prices. I think the hon. Member has taken it in a very misconceived manner. Price is a large question wherein other economic factors come into play. Certainly the cost of production and proper incentive to the farmer come up for consideration. But I can assure the hon. Member that so far as the present Government is concerned, the policy is to give an incentive price, not only an economic price but also an incentive price to the farmer, so that food production gets a fillip in this country. Whatever be the phraseology used in the terms of reference, I think these things cannot be belied, because the Government is determined to see that the farmers must produce more and if they are to produce more they must get the price which encourages them to produce more.

Sir, with these words, I move.

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

"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 1964-65, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion shall be put to vote tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty-three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 10th March, 1965.