

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER COMPANIES  
ACT, 1956

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notification (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (3) of section 642 of the Companies Act, 1956 :

- (i) The Cost Audit (Qualifications) Amendment Rules, 1972, published in Notification No. G. S. R. 257 in Gazette of India dated the 22nd April, 1972.
- (ii) G. S. R. 258 published in Gazette of India dated the 22nd April, 1972. [Placed in Library. See No. LT—1943/72]

ANNUAL REPORT OF INDIAN OIL CORPORATION LTD., BOMBAY AND REVIEW AND ANNUAL REPORT COCHIN REFINERIES LTD.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI DALBIR SINGH) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956 :

- (1) Annual Report (Hindi version) of the Indian Oil Corporation Limited, Bombay, for the year 1970-71 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT—1944/72]
- (2) (i) Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government on the working of the Cochin Refineries Limited, for the year ended the 31st August, 1970.
- (ii) Annual Report of the Cochin Refineries Limited for the year ended the 31st August 1970 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT—1945/72]

ASSENT TO BILLS

SECRETARY : Sir, I lay on the Table copies, duly authenticated by the Secretary of Rajya Sabha, of the following four Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament and assented to since a report was last made to the House on the 14th April, 1972 :

- (1) The Aircraft (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
- (2) The Indian Copper Corporation (Taking Over of Management) Bill, 1972.
- (3) The Marine Products Export Development Authority Bill, 1972.
- (4) The Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971.

13 16 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS  
1972-73—Contd.

MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND  
CHEMICALS—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER : Now we resume the discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN (Badagara) : I want to make a submission, Sir. Yesterday, there were a number of members who wanted that the time for this vital economic Ministry be extended by one hour. There was a unanimous consensus...

MR. SPEAKER : You ask for extension of time. Then it comes to taking away the lunch hour.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : Let us take away the lunch hour. We won't mind.

MR. SPEAKER : This was all settled in the Business Advisory Committee.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN** : This is absolutely a vital Ministry. There was a unanimous consensus in the House which was conveyed to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs as also and there was an agreement.

**MR. SPEAKER** : we will now adjourn and meet at 2. That will mean half an hour more.

**THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR)** : The Speaker has been generous enough to give you half an hour more. Sir, if the House is agreeable, let us sit through the lunch hour.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore)** : The request can be met if we continue to sit through the lunch. What is the difficulty ?

**MR. SPEAKER** : Even now ?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** : Yes, what is the difficulty ? I have not objection.

**SHRI RAJ BAHADUR** : I think we may sit through the lunch and it will be a good compromise between one hour and half an hour.

**MR. SPEAKER** : I tell you the position. We have 1½ hours already available. Unlike other Friday, we shall take up the Private Members' Business at 4 p. m. instead of at 3:30 p. m. Then we will have enough time even if we adjourn for lunch. We will have 40-50 minutes.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur)** : It is very hot outside. Let us sit here.

**MR. SPEAKER** : The hon. Members know that there is going to be lunch hour. They may not be available here.

So, we adjourn for lunch and re-assemble at 2 p. m. instead of at 2:15.

13:17 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at six minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

## DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—Contd.

### MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS—contd.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER** : We shall take up further consideration of the Demands for grants under the control of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals. We shall dispose of these Demands at 4 p. m. The hon. Minister has intimated that he would require 40 minutes for his reply I shall call him at about 3:20 p. m. The rest of the time is available to Members.

Shri Dhamankar may now continue his speech.

**SHRI DHAMANKAR (Bhiwandi)** : Yesterday, while speaking on the Demands of the petroleum and chemicals Ministry, I was commending the good work done by Lubrizol Ltd, a public sector undertaking in Ihana district of Maharashtra. They have stepped up the production from 5,500 metric tonnes in 1970 to nearly 9000 metric tonnes this year. They have also catered to the increased needs of the consumers during the war period. The labour relations are smooth and cordial. Particular care is taken to recruit 75 per cent of the unskilled and semi-skilled labour from the local population. This gives employment to villagers round about and develops a helpful and co-operative atmosphere there. They have also made a profit of Rs. 32 lakhs by the end of March, 1971.

Engineers India Ltd., designers and consultants in various projects are doing very useful work. In the international field also, they have prepared designs for the Shiraz refinery in Iran.

Our public undertakings like the fertilisers and chemicals plants are developing and helping the country to become self-sufficient. But in the case of fertilisers we are not still self-sufficient. New fertiliser

[Shri Dhamankar]

factories are coming up in the Public, private and co-operative sectors. One thing has to be very carefully looked to. The Planning and Development Division of the Fertiliser Corporation has done original work to make India self-reliant in the sphere of fertilisers. Like oil, vested interests both in India and abroad are constantly trying to damage and obstruct the excellent work the Fertiliser Corporation of India are doing in their P & D Division. The coal-based fertiliser plants are being set up for the first time in India entirely as a result of the P & D Division's dedicated work and just when the fruits of years of hard labour are bearing fruit, disruptive tendencies are taking shape there and causing damage. The disturbed conditions at Sindri where the Planning Division is located have to be watched because they may pose a threat to our national security and national integration. Therefore, we have to be careful and I would request Government to keep a close watch on such activities.

Hindustan Antibiotics are doing very well. They are catering for the needs of not only this country but have started exporting their products to other countries. This public sector undertaking has made sales of nearly Rs. 6 crores and profit of Rs. 44 lakhs and has given employment to about 2,000 workers in Maharashtra. Hindustan Organic Chemicals are also doing well

Now I come to the dark side of the picture, IOC. During the debate on the Demands for Grants last year, areas which needed particular attention were highlighted. Similarly the Minister concerned was pointedly cautioned about the loopholes through which self-centred bureaucrats, a new class, belonging to the tribe of 'capitalists without investments' were allowing legitimate profits which should have accrued to the IOC and the public exchequer to pass to the hands of private vested interests including monopoly business interests like the Goenkas who continue to enjoy the fruits of public sector ventures through their operations in manufacture and sale of barrels, purchase of Iomex, shareholdings in Indo-Burma Petroleum, a subsidiary of IOC, and the fantastic favour done to them many years ago by allowing them equity participation in Cochin

Refineries Ltd. The top management of the IOC, fully backed and protected by the Petroleum Ministry have allowed these parasites to fatten at the cost of the IOC for years.

Now I come to the balance sheet of the IOC. On p. 44 of the balance sheet, under schedule R, details of contingent liabilities not provided for have been given. It is a heighteningly heavy sum, over Rs. 22 crores and then a dividend of 7 per cent had been declared. Inventory accounts for nearly Rs. 55 crores, book debts amount to nearly Rs. 33 crores. A provision of nearly Rs. 1 crores has been made for doubtful debts.

I say in all solemnity that these published accounts duly audited, do not reflect the actual state of affairs. For all practical purposes, meaningful internal audit has never existed in IOC and a few men of courage, of dedication, who attempted some reform in this vital sphere have been ruthlessly dealt with. I would particularly like to draw the attention of Government to the selection of Messers. Lovelock and Lewis, a firm of chartered accountants, year after year as statutory auditors for the Refinery and Pipelines Division of the IOC despite a clear directive by the PAC to frequently change statutory auditors in public undertakings.

I can give here and now at least a dozen instances of how the internal audit set up in IOC has been deliberately suppressed. Take, for instance, the internal audit reports presented to the IOC Board by the Finance Director in the summer of 1971 involving extremely important matters—how for instance, senior officers in the eastern branch of the IOC, Marketing Division, had defrauded the IOC and the public exchequer by manipulating disposal of fast-selling lubricants as slow-moving items, how a Calcutta woman, a rich landlady, had been favoured in renting out her premises for a retail petrol pump site at Calcutta's fashionable Belvedere Road at a fabulous price, uneconomic and against the interest of the IOC. Internal audit reports also pinpointed, how contrary to existing agreements between IOC and Oil India Limited for the so-called maintenance of the Gauhati-Siliguri Pipeline

by Oil India, exorbitantly high expenses are being paid to Oil India. Lastly, I would request the Minister to find out whether there foreign concerns can be nationalised, if that is not possible, there should be a joint venture whereby effective administrative control can be exercised by Government over it

### श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पेंय्लो (टिहरी गढ़वाल)

उपाध्यक्ष महादय, मैं इम मन्त्रालय की मागो का समर्थन करता हूँ और इम सदस्य में मुझे यह दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि पेट्रोल का हमारे देश की आर्थिक उन्नति में और सुरक्षा में कितना भारी योगदान है। मैं यहाँ पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि केन्द्र से पेट्रोलियम और कैमिकल्स की सप्लाय मिनिस्ट्री है। यह संयोग की बात है कि पिछले एक साल में तीन मंत्री इम मन्त्रालय के हुए और वर्तमान मंत्री, श्री गोखले के पास पहले से ही एक मन्त्रालय न्याय का है, किन्तु फिर भी उन को इम मन्त्रालय का ऐडीशनल चाज दे दिया गया है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि पेट्रोलियम और कैमिकल्स मन्त्रालय के लिये अलग से कोई विनिट स्तर का मंत्री हो जाँ इसके काम का देखे।

महोदय, पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री का एक काम है देश को तेल के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर बनाना और इसलिए कच्चे तेल और पेट्रोलियम से उत्पन्न पदार्थों का वितरण करना है और उमका मूल्य निर्धारित करता है। नेद का विषय है कि जो पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्स इम मन्त्रालय के अधीन है उनमें से एक आयल और नैचुरल गैस कमीशन का प्रोजेक्ट पब्लिक सेक्टर में है जो कि भारत के सबसे बड़े पब्लिक सेक्टर अन्डरटेकिंग में से एक है। किन्तु पिछले दो साल से इस अन्डरटेकिंग में कोई स्थाई चैयरमैन नहीं है। जैसे मिनिस्टर अस्थायी है ऐसे ही ओ० एन० जी० सी० के चैयरमैन भी अस्थायी है। केवल एक पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री के सैक्रेटरी स्थायी हैं, उन्ही की आकांक्षाओं और इच्छाओं के अनुसार इम मन्त्रालय का कार्य-संचालन होता है। इस पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री को शायद

हमारे इतने बड़े देश में कोई भी योग्य व्यक्ति नहीं मिल पाया है जिसको स्थायी रूप से इसका चैयरमैन बनाया जाय। सुनते हैं कि पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री के सैक्रेटरी का कार्य-काल समाप्त होने पर है, शायद इसकी तैयारी कर रहे हो कि वहाँ से सेवा निवृत्त होने के बाद स्वयं ओ० एन० जी० सी० के चैयरमैन बने।

एक श्रमजीवी पत्रकार के नाते मेरा ओ० एन० जी० सी० के साथ निकट का संबंध तब से है जबसे इसकी स्थापना हुई थी। उस समय यह एक डायरेक्टोरेट का शकल में था। आज उमके बाद ओ० एन० जी० सी० एक स्टेड्यूटरी बोर्ड के रूप में, कौन्सिल की शकल में सामने आया। तब से मैंने इसको फलने-फूलने देखा है। केवल यह कहा जा सकता है कि दो अवधियाँ उमकी ऐसी रही जिनमें ओ० एन० जी० सी० न चमत्कारपूर्ण कार्य किये हैं। एक अवधि थी जब श्री के० डी० मालविया मिनिस्टर होने के साथ साथ इमके चैयरमैन भी रहे, उन्होने इसको ऐसी स्थिति में रखा, यह साबित कर दिया कि देश का तेल के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर बनाने के लिए आवश्यक है कि इम तरह के प्रोजेक्ट्स को पब्लिक सेक्टर में लाया जाय। और इस में उन्हे सफलता मिली। दूसरा कार्यकाल श्री जोन्सन का था जिन्होंने न केवल इस सस्था का लाभकारी बनाया और बहुत कुछ प्रोफिट्स हासिल किये, बल्कि उन्होने आयल टेक्नीशियन्स का एक इना बड़ा कांडर स्थापित किया कि जिनकी तुलना संसार के दूसरे देशों के साथ आसानी से कर सकते हैं। 1968-69 का ही वर्ष है जिसमें कि ओ० एन० जी० सी० ने बहुत बड़े चैलेंजेज स्वीकार किये, और उनमें से गल्फ आफ कंबे का ऐक्सप्लोरेशन का काम था जिसमें हमारे तरुण वैज्ञानिकों ने निर्धारित समय के अन्दर प्लेटफार्म तैयार किया और वहाँ ऐक्सप्लोरेशन का काम किया जो कि हमारे तरुण टेक्नीशियन्स की उपलब्धि का एक जीता-जागता उदाहरण है, जिसकी सब जगह तारीफ की गयी। और उसी समय में इस सस्था में सबसे अधिक ड्रिलिंग का काम किया, सबसे अधिक

## [श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पैन्युली]

तेल उत्पादन का काम किया और सबसे अधिक मुनाफा कमाया। किन्तु मालूम नहीं क्यों उसके बाद ही पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री के ब्यूरोक्रेट्स ने ऐसे हथकण्डे अपनाये कि उन्नति की चरम सीमा पर पहुँचने के बाद भी ओ० एन० जी० सी० धीरे धीरे अवनति की ओर जाने लगा।

पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री का सबसे पहला काम एक टेम्पोरेरी चैयरमैन कायम करना था जिसने इस स्टेट्यूटनी बोर्ड की ओटोनामी को समाप्त कर दिया, और आज वह पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री के एक सैकवान आफिसर के इशारे पर काम करता है। महोदय पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग कमेटी को जो हाल का रिपोर्ट है वह उमका एक बहुत बड़ा प्रमाण है जिस में उन्होंने कहा है कि चैयरमैन की जिम्मेदारियाँ बहुत हैं किन्तु उसे अधिकार बहुत कम प्राप्त हैं। उसके साथ ही सी० बी० आई० इंकवायरी हुई, में उम्मीद करता हूँ कि उसकी रिपोर्ट अब तक सबमिट हो गयी होगी और उसके अनुसार कार्य किया जायगा। मैं आशा करना हूँ कि यदि श्री जोन्सन के खिलाफ सी० बी० आई० की रिपोर्ट है तो उनके खिलाफ कड़ा कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए। और यदि नहीं है तो जिन अधिकारियों ने इस तरह फंक्शन करके श्री जोन्सन के खिलाफ चार्जज लगाये हैं उनके खिलाफ और भी कड़ा कार्यवाही की जाय।

पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग कमेटी की 16 वी रिपोर्ट के अनुसार ओ० एन० जी० सी० का 1968-69 में ड्रिलिंग टार्गेट 2,76,500 मीटर था, जिसके विपरीत उसने 2,87,876 मीटर ड्रिलिंग की जो उसके टार्गेट का 104 प्रतिशत था। किन्तु ड्रिलिंग की यह उपलब्धि घटते-घटते 1971-72 में केवल 74.4 प्रतिशत रह गयी जबकि टार्गेट भी काफ़ा कम कर दिया गया था। इससे पता चलता है कि 1968-69 में जहाँ प्रतिमास ड्रिलिंग 24,000 मीटर थी वह घट कर 1971-72 के अन्त में केवल 8,000 मीटर प्रतिमास रह गया। सोवियत रशिया की

टेकनो-एकानमिक टीम ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में सुझाव दिया है कि ओ० एन० जी० सी० को पाँच वर्ष में 13,10,000 मीटर ड्रिलिंग करनी चाहिए, जो प्रति वर्ष 2,60,000 मीटर बैठती है। पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री के सचिव ने आज जिस स्थिति में ओ० एन० जी० सी० को खड़ा किया है उसके अनुसार इन लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सकता।

पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग कमेटी ने कहा है कि 1968-69 में तेल का पूरा दाम न मिलने और गैस को कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन से कम मूल्य पर बेचने के वावजूद ओ० एन० जी० सी० ने 20 लाख का पेट्रोलियम पदार्थ बेच कर 12 करोड़, 93 लाख रुपए का मुनाफा कमाया, जबकि 1969-70 में यह मुनाफा घट कर 10 करोड़ 70 लाख रुपये रह गया। इस तरह पिछले दो वर्षों में पेट्रोलियम पदार्थों के दाम तीन बार बढ़े, फिर भी 1970-71 में मुनाफा केवल 9 करोड़ 20 लाख रुपया रहा।

पिछले दो वर्षों से तेल के उत्पादन में कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई जिसके लिए पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग कमेटी ने पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री की दोषपूर्ण नीतियों को जिम्मेदार ठहराया है। अमम में उचित समय पर कामगार प्रोडक्शन नहीं किया गया क्योंकि आयल इंडिया लकवा और रुद्र सागर के तेल को गोहाटी और बरोनी की रिफाइनरीज तक ले जाने में असमर्थ रहा। आयल इंडिया 1970-71 में ओ० एन० जी० सी० का 25,000 टन तेल गोहाटी ले जाना स्वीकार कर चुका था, किन्तु वह केवल 18,000 टन ले गया।

आयल इंडिया एक विदेशी कम्पनी है और ओ० एन० जी० सी० पूर्णतः स्वदेशी। आयल इंडिया में भारत सरकार के 50 प्रतिशत हिस्से हैं। ओ० एन० जी० सी० हमारी पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग है, लेकिन भारत सरकार की नीति ऐसी है कि पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री के ब्यूरोक्रेट्स

के लिए आयल इंडिया लाइला बच्चा है और ओ० एन० जी० सी० के साथ वह सौतेले बच्चे जैसा व्यवहार करते हैं। यह तो उसी तरह से है जैसे कोई आदमी एक विदेशी महिला से शादी करके उसके बच्चे को प्यार करे और अपने बच्चे को उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखे।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : There is no quorum in the House

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The bell is being rung

Now there is the quorum. The Hon'ble Member may proceed

श्री परियुगानन्द पेंग्लूनी उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पब्लिक अन्डरटैकिंग्स कमेटी ने पर्शियन गल्फ आपरेशन में 15 करोड़ 60 लाख रुपये का पाटा उठाने के लिए पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री को जिम्मेदार ठहराया है।

मैं पब्लिक अन्डरटैकिंग्स कमेटी की इस सिफारिश का समर्थन करता हूँ कि ओ० एन० जी० सी० और इंडियन आयल कारपोरेशन दोनों का एक होल्डिंग कम्पनी के अन्तर्गत किया जाये। उनके साझे मुनाफे से ओ० एन० जी० सी० के 22,000 निष्ठावान कर्मचारियों को उनके कठोर परिश्रम का उचित लाभ मिल सकेगा। आज ओ० एन० जी० सी० के कर्मचारियों का उतना लाभ नहीं हो पाता जितना इंडियन आयल कारपोरेशन के कर्मचारियों को। इस लिए अगर दोनों को मिला दिया जाये तो जो ओ० एन० जी० सी० के डेडिकेटेड कर्मचारी हैं उनको फायदा हो सकेगा।

मैं पब्लिक अन्डरटैकिंग्स कमेटी की इस सिफारिश से सहमत नहीं कि ओ० एन० जी० सी० आफ शोर ड्रिलिंग न करे। पब्लिक अन्डरटैकिंग्स कमेटी ने ओ० एन० जी० सी० की आफ शोर उपलब्धियों की प्रशंसा की है। उसके पास आयल टेकनीशियन्स का बेस्ट केडर है तथा अन्य सभी साधन उपलब्ध है। जिम किसी अन्डरटैकिंग से यह काम सौपा जायेगा

उसको ओ० एन० जी० सी० का सहयोग लेना पड़ेगा और जितने उसके साधन हैं उसके अतिरिक्त खर्च करना पड़ेगा।

अन्त में मैं पुनः आपका ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ, जैसा मैंने शुरू में निवेदन किया था, कि तेल के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर रहने की गम्भीर समस्या है। 1974 में हमें 2 करोड़ 60 लाख 50 हजार टन कच्चे तेल की आवश्यकता होगी, जब कि उस समय हमारा उत्पादन केवल 60 लाख 80 हजार टन होगा जो कि 33 परसेंट होता है। 1974 में लगभग 187 करोड़ रुपये मूल्य की विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करके हमें तेल का आयात करना होगा। इस समय तीन विदेशी कम्पनियाँ हमारे देश में 5 लाख, 62 हजार डालर मूल्य का तेल आयात कर रही हैं। इस सबको देखते हुए आज सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री को स्ट्रीमलाइन किया जाये जिसमें इस तरह के आठमी रखे जाये जो डाइनेमिक परमन्स हो और दूरदर्शिता से काम करे।

मैं एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में कुछ इलाके ऐसे हैं जहाँ निजली नहीं पहुँच पाई है। वहाँ पर बच्चों को खासतौर से पढाई के दिनों में केरोसिन आयल पर डिपेंड करना पड़ता है। केरोसिन आयल ब्लैक मार्केट में बिकता है। पिछले कई वर्षों में इसकी चर्चा होनी रही है। अपने पहाड़ी इलाकों के बारे में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब ब्लैक मार्केट के दामों पर भी तेल बच्चों को पहाड़ों में नहीं मिलता तब उनको ईंधन जला कर पड़ना पड़ता है। जब हम यह देखते हैं कि बच्चों की पढाई के लिए भी तेल नहीं मिलता तो बड़ा दुःख होता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे पेट्रोलियम मिनिस्टर इस ओर ध्यान देंगे और इसकी व्यवस्था करेंगे कि कम से कम मिट्टी का तेल उन स्थानों में बच्चों की पढाई की दृष्टि में मिल जाये जहाँ उसके अभाव और कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है।

[श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पैन्यूली]

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस मंत्रालय की माँगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहाँ तक इस मिनिस्ट्री का ताल्लुक है, इसका काम बहुत बड़ा है और हम बात को मान कर यह पूरी तरह से एक सेल्फ ग्लायेंट मिनिस्ट्री होनी चाहिये। हम पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और श्री केशवदेव मालवीय की रहनुमाई में भी इस तरफ चले। लेकिन पिछले छ. सात सालों से जिस थीसिस या पालिसी को लेकर हम चले और जिस तरह से हम ओ० एन० जी० सी० और आयल इंडिया की फील्ड में एंटर हुए उससे तो ऐसा नजर आता है कि सारी कोशिश यह हो रही है कि जां कदम हमारा बढ चुका है उसको वापस किया जाये।

कई क्रिम की एन्क्वायरी हुई। टकरू कमिशन बँठा, सी० बी० आई० की एन्क्वायरी हुई। इसके लिये पब्लिक अड्जस्टेकिंग्स की 66 वी रिपोर्ट में कहा गया। लेकिन सेरी ममझ में यह नहीं आता कि आखिर जो आज की व्यूरोक्रेमी इससे डील कर रही है वह हमको लेकर जाना क्रिम तरफ चाहती है। मुझे मि० गोखले पर कोई ऐतराज नहीं है, उनका कपेसिटी पर, उनके काम करने के ढंग पर हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है क्योंकि वह नवे आये हैं इस महकमे में। पिछले छः सात सालों से जो हो रहा है उसकी रिस्पामिबिलिटी हम श्री गोखले पर नहीं डाल सकते। लेकिन जिस तरह में आज एक आर्गनाइज्ड वे में हमारी व्यूरोक्रेमी इस डिपार्टमेंट में काम कर रही है, वह एक चिन्ता पैदा करने वाली बात है और इसको चैक करके की जरूरत है। पी० आर० नायक को आपने सस्पेंड किया, जिस आई० सी० एम० आर्फीसर ने सस्पेंशन आर्डर ड्राफ्ट किया उसकी सविस साल दो साल की नहीं, पिछले पच्चीस वर्षों से वह आई० सी० एम० में काम कर रहा है। मि० लाल ने जान बूझकर डिफेक्टिव आर्डर-ड्राफ्ट किया। पी० आर० नायक इमलिये सुप्रीम कोर्ट से बरी नहीं हुए कि उन पर लगाये गये

इल्जामात गलत थे, बल्कि पी० आर० नायक इस-लिये बरी हुए कि जो आर्डर दिया गया था उससे गलत प्रोसीजर ऐडाप्ट किया गया था। टेकिनकल बेमिस पर वह वहाँ से जाकर बरी हुए। जिन मि० लाल और मि० मंगत राय ने टकरू कमिशन को गुमराह किया, जो गड़बड़ी हुई उसको प्रोटेक्ट किया, गड़बड़ी पर पर्दा डालने की कोशिश की, डबल फाइल मिस्टम इंट्रोड्यूम किया, वह आई० सी० एम० से रिजाइन करते हैं और आप उनका रेजिनेशन मान लेते हैं? रेजिनेशन देकर वह जिम्मेदारी से छूट नहीं सकते, उससे बच नहीं सकते। कौन लोग है वह जो हिन्दुस्तान की इस बड़ी पब्लिक अडरटेकिंग को तबाह करने की तरफ जा रहे हैं? श्री गोखले को उन लोगो की तरफ निगाह रखनी चाहिये। पालियामेंट की पब्लिक अडरटेकिंग कमेटी आप से कहती है कि आप इस पर इन्क्वायरी करो। लेकिन इसके टर्मज आफ रेफ्रेम जो आप बनाते हैं वे इतने डिफेक्टिव बनाते हैं कि अंदाजा ही नहीं। कौन टर्मज आफ रेफ्रेस बनाना है? जिन के खिलाफ इनक्वायरी हो, जो मुल्जिम है, उसको कहा जाना है कि इस कंस से आप डील करो। इतने गलत ढंग से, इतने बेहूदा और गन्दे ढंग से इस महकमे के साथ आप डील करें और फिर आप यह कहे कि आपके क्रिटिसिज्म से डिमारेला-इजेशन होता है, तो यह कहाँ तक उचित है।

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अगर आज फीला हुआ है तो इसको शेक अप करने की जरूरत है। मैं गोखले जी से आशा करता हूँ कि इस पर वह अपना पूरा ध्यान देगे। उन में कपेसिटी है, अंडरस्टैंडिंग है और वह इस तरह की चीज का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। इसका एक अनफारचुबेट फीचर रहा है कि इस मिनिस्ट्री में कोई बहुत टिक कर नहीं रह सका है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** अगर ये बदल नए तो ?

श्री सतपाल कपूर जो आया उससे बात करने।

एक तरफ नायक साहब के वकील है, एक तरफ जिन के खिलाफ इनकवायरी है, उनके वकील है, एक तरफ ओ० एन० जी० सी० के वकील हैं लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने जब यह इनकवायरी कमीशन बनाया, सरकार ने पब्लिक अडरटेकिंग कमेटी की सिफारिश पर इसके टर्मज आफ रेफरेंस बनाए, तो सरकार को डिफेंड करने वाला और केस को डिफेंड करने वाला कौन वकील है उस कमीशन में ? कुछ मॅम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट या एक दो प्राइवेट कॅपेसेटी में लोग जा कर वहाँ पर अपना एबीडेम दें, अपना सबूत दें, जो कुछ फाइलो में गडबड घोटाला हुआ है उसके बारे में सबूत दें, क्या यह ठीक है ? सरकार की क्या ड्यूटी नहीं है जिसने यह कमीशन बनाया है कि वहाँ पर उसका भी वकील हो और जिन लोगों के खिलाफ इल्जामान है, जिनके खिलाफ इनकवायरी हो रही है, उस में सरकार अपना भी कोई वकील पेश करे ?

पिछले चार आई० सी० एम० अफसरों का हमें तजुर्बा है। श्री खंडा से लेकर उनके बाद के इन अफसरों का हमें तजुर्बा है। हमें यह कहा जाता है कि फाइलो की रेटें करने के लिए, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का क्लीन करने के लिए उसको एफिशेंट बनाने के लिए हमारे पास आज कोई प्रागेनाइज्ड केडर है तो यह आई० ए० एस० और आई० सी० एस० अफसरों का है। श्री खंडा के बाद के अब तक जितने सेक्रेटरी आपके इस डिपार्टमेंट में रहे हैं उन सबके होते हुए ही यह तमाम गडबड हुई है और इसमें तमाम की रिसपासिबिलिटी है और तमाम को यहाँ बुलाया जाये, तमाम की इकवायरी हो। क्या गवर्नमेंट इसको करने के लिए तैयार है ? क्या गवर्नमेंट इस बात का तजुर्बा करने के लिए तैयार है कि इस डिपार्टमेंट को एक बार इस आई० सी० एस० और आई० ए० एस० केडर से छुटकारा हासिल हो ? पिछले साल यहाँ पर कर्बा खली थी। इस मिनिस्ट्री में

श्री बी० मुखर्जी और दूसरे लोग थे। ई० एन० मगत राय तो रिजाइन कर गए। बाकी लोगो को शट आउट किया जाए। पिछले एक साल में श्री एम० सी० रजवाडे और दूमगो के नाम आए हैं। उस तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। उधर भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

एक और बात भी है। 1962 के बाद तेल निकालने का टैम्पो क्यों कम हुआ ? क्या उसके अन्दर कोई कारिपरेमी थी ? आपने यह काम अपने हाथ में लिया। 1962 में जो आपका प्रोडक्शन था उससे आप अब तक इन दस सालों में दस परसेंट भी प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ा सके। 1962 में आपका टारगेट था उसके पिछले दस साल में आप दस परसेंट प्रोडक्शन भी नहीं बढ़ा सके हैं। यह तब है जबकि तमाम सरकार का कांवाप्रेशन इसका प्राप्त रहा है, फारेन एक्सचेंज जितना चाहिए, इमको मिलता रहा है तमाम सहूलियतें उस मिनिस्ट्री को प्राप्त थी। यह टैम्पो कम क्यों हुआ ? इसमें कौन-कौन सी फारेन कम्पनीज इंटरेरिटेड हैं कि देश में तेल न बने। हमने वह वक्त देखा है जब पड़ित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की गहुमाई में श्री के० डी० मालबाय ने यह कम्पनी बनाई। इसको तब बनाया जबकि अमरीकी प्रेशर और वर्ल्ड के जो कॅपिटलिस्ट थे, उनका प्रेशर भी हमारी सरकार पर था और हमारी पार्टी पर भी था। लेकिन अब किसका प्रेशर है कि हम आगे नहीं बढ़ें, आज किरा का प्रेशर हमारे ऊपर है

श्री पीलू मोदी : माधियत यूनियन का।

श्री सतपाल कपूर अगर आपकी इस बात को मान लिया जाए तो ये तमाम लोग जिनसे आपको हमदर्दी है, इनको अन्दर होना चाहिये।

मैं यह भी कहता हूँ कि सरकार को फौरन जिन लोगो पर इल्जामान लगे हैं टकरू कमीशन में, उनको इस मिनिस्ट्री से अलग कर देना चाहिये। पचास मॅम्बरज आफ पार्लियामेंट ने एक मेमोरेण्डम दिया था जिसमें टकरू कमीशन की टर्मज आफ रेफरेंस की बढाने की, उनको एक्सटेंड



[श्री सतपाल करूर]

करने की डिमांड की गई थी। उस तरफ भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

एक बात बिस्कुल माफ और सीधी है जब तक आप इस सैंकटर में कम्प्यूटीशन रखेंगे कि फारेन कम्पनीज भी रहें और हमारी कम्पनी भी चले और फारेन कम्पनियाँ हमारे आई० ए० एस० और आई० सी० एस० अफसरों के साथ मिल कर संबोटेज करें, उम वक्त तक यह काम आपका पूरी तरह नहीं चल पाएगा। इस वास्ते फौरी तौर पर जितनी फारेन कम्पनीज हैं उनको आप टेक ओवर करें, उनको आप नेशनलाइज करें। अगर आप इसमें डिले करें तो आपका काम तेजी से नहीं चल पाएगा।

पिछले साल हुई बहस का जवाब देने हुए इस महकमे के वजीर श्री पी० सी० सेठी० ने कहा था कि इस काम को इम्पूव करने के लिए, ओ० एन० जी० सी० के काम को इम्पूव करने के लिए हमने एक कमेटी बनाने का फैसला किया है श्री के० डी० मालवीय की चेयरमैनशिप में और उस कमेटी को तीन महीने के अन्दर अन्दर अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश करनी थी। एक माल होने को आया है, वह रिपोर्टें अभी तक हमारे सामने नहीं आई है। ओ० एन० जी० सी० के काम को कैसे इम्पूव किया जाए, इसके बारे में जो रिपोर्टें है, वह हमारे सामने जल्दी आनी चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब वह जवाब दें तो इन नुक्तों पर जरूर रोशनी डालें।

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN** (Badagara) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, for quite sometime now I have had a feeling that the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals has not been getting the attention it deserves in the press and the Parliament. This Ministry, to my mind, should be the nucleus of our industrial take-off and it should provide the sinews and muscles for our industrial future along with that of steel. But, unfortunately, this has not been the case. This Ministry, thanks to the set of officers who are at the helm of affairs, has earned enough notoriety,

as this House knows, and as the debate has shown.

With the sole exception or a few exceptions like that of Engineers India under Mr. Pathak, the Public sector undertakings under the Ministry has been a miserable series of failures. I would invite the attention of the House to a book called "The Political Economy of International Oil and the Under-developed Countries" by Michael Tanzer, where he pays considerable attention to our own development of oil resources. And he also says how we enunciated our oil policy in early sixties under the Oil Sub-Committee of the Cabinet formed by late Jawaharlal Nehru and the Ministry under stewardship of Shri K. D. Malaviya. Oil means energy and without the energy fuels, modern industry and agriculture cannot be organized. That is the basis for our attention that we paid to oil in early sixties. But, unfortunately, that is a story of the past; and today I say this more in sorrow than in anger but with certain responsibility that this perspective has been allowed to be sabotaged by what I had called last year 'a self-perpetuating clique' and what I shall unhesitatingly call today a 'kitchen of thieves'.

As the time at my disposal is short, I shall confine my remarks only to some undertakings. I shall take first the Indian Oil Corporation (Marketing Division). A number of questions I had raised last year during the debate and subsequently in several letters to the then Minister, my friend, Shri P. C. Sethi, who has now gone over to Madhya Pradesh, and every time he had told me individually and collectively to several members that he was going to take action. But, so far, nothing has been done. I shall not deal today with the recruitment policy or the appointment of sales officers or management reporting in this Corporation, but I shall take some other questions because I know nothing has been done about these things.

Due to insistent pressure of this House, the then Chairman, Mr. Kashyap, was removed, but the Managing Director remains. The Managing Director of the Indian Oil

Corporation (Marketing) has been one of the mysteries. Here is a pensioner of Burmah-Shell, an international oil cartel, who campaigned against the oil policy of Government of India in early sixties but who has been brought in as the Managing Director of IOC by Shri P. R. Naik and others who are now under scrutiny of a Commission. Surprisingly, his letter of appointment dated the 10th June 1966 makes a very strange reading. There is no reference to tenure, probation or medical facilities in the appointment letter of this pensioner—but a lacunae, as I shall prove later, he has fully exploited to his maximum advantage and benefit. In answer to my Unstarred Question No. 1226 during this session on the 24th March, 1972, the hon Minister had stated that his term has not expired. How can it expire when by conscious and deliberate design or oversight his tenure and probation has not been mentioned, have been exclusively excluded for the benefit of this pensioner? Last year I had also brought to the notice of this House the question of his fantastic, fabulous medical bills. I am sorry to say that I was given an incomplete answer in the same question by the hon. Minister. This is one of the strangest stories I have ever heard.

Last year, in April 1971, after drawing \$5,000 for treatment of an ailment in New York, this gentleman returned to India to submit a bill for Rs. 1,15,000! The Board refused. Then he along with some officers of the Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry mounted pressure on a man of integrity who was then the Finance Director of the Indian Oil Corporation, to sanction the bill. On 9-6-1971 the Managing Director—I am ashamed to say—this but it is a fact and I would challenge the Minister if he can disprove it—threatened to manhandle the Finance Director. The Ministry, the next day, sent a Joint Secretary to patch it up. I shall not go into the sordid details, but I would like to read out a letter dated 11-6-1971 which the Finance Director wrote to the Secretary of the Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry. The letter reads :

“I must make two things quite clear :

(a) The immediately exciting cause of this attack on me by the Managing Director is the fact that I have

stood in the way of his getting in full a sum of Rs. 1,15,000 approximately as reimbursement of medical expenses in the USA spent by him in connection with his case of rectal cancer. My stand has been simple the first, though by no means the only consideration for reimbursement of such expenditure should be that the condition is not curable by operation in India.

“..If we did not insist on this pre-condition, any officer whose wife had, say, breast cancer, could take her abroad for treatment at the cost of the IOC.”

What about the poor IOC employees? Would you give him even Rs. 500? The letter goes on. I do not want to go into it any more. Why have the top officers in the IOC Marketing Division been allowed to maintain IOC cars at the payment of Rs. 75 per month against the specific decision of the Board and against all the guidelines laid down by the Bureau of Public Enterprises? So, naturally, being a man of integrity, he refused. There was an attempt of man-handling the Finance Director. Subsequently, he was unceremoniously thrown out. This is the story. He said no self-respecting person can continue under these circumstances. He has been known to many Members of this House as well as to the Cabinet Ministers. They all know about his record including some in the Prime Minister's Secretariat. But they in the Ministry, don't bother about integrity...

SHRI PILOO MODY : What is his name ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : ... because whenever there is a question referred to by the Prime Minister Secretariate, I am sorry to say, the Prime Minister proposes but the Secretaries and the special Secretaries dispose off. I shall give you an example.

SHRI PILOO MODY : What is the Finance Director's name ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : Mr. P. K. Rao. In an office note on a reference from the Prime Minister's Secre-

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan]

tariat of 4-11-1970, the Secretary and the Special Secretary—I do not want to mention the names—write :

“With reference to the DO letter from the PM’s Secretariat placed below, I don’t think it is necessary to take any particular action.”

This is why my friend, Shri Satpal Kapoor and every one in the House said, that this Ministry has been taken over by a clique. The earlier this clique is thrown out, the better it will be for the Ministry, the better will it be for this House and for the country. Otherwise, you cannot have any development of petroleum or chemicals or anything else vitally concerned with the future of our economy.

This is not the end of the story. After having misled the Minister for whom I have the greatest affection and regard in preparing his answer I referred to above to unstarred question 1226, the same gentleman again goes to the Board in April 1972, that is, last month, for payment of the same fabulous amount ! Here, I quote from the records of the IOC Board (now of three members) : Minutes :

“Shri Kamaljit Singh, Managing Director (Marketing Division) pointed out that his claim for reimbursement of medical expenditure incurred by him abroad last year has been pending for quite some time and that he was under financial strains and requested the Board to take up the matter on an urgent basis. Finance Director brought to the notice of the Board, the contents of a letter received by him from Shri A. P. Verma. After discussing the matter at some length, the Board felt that as the matter was already referred to the Government, the Chairman may request the Government for a decision at an early date.”

Now, they were silent. Obviously; Because I have constructed the question that way. Because I had asked, “the amount drawn”, and they can argue, this is not the amount drawn. So, they could conceal from the House that this is not “the amount drawn.”

But the spirit of the question has been properly covered up.

Here is a basic question which arises. Shall we allow such loot and plunder to go on in our public sector undertakings, in our pivotal undertakings ? Yesterday, Rana Saheb for whom I have great regard said that there is an attack going on on the public sector by the private sector. I wish to tell him, we will never allow it and we will defend the public sector. We have defended it in the past and the world knows it is for that there has been a split in my Party and it is for these principles we stand. But, that does not mean that we should allow such a thing as has happened in Italy; where after the death of Signor Mattei, their oil public undertaking ENI has been taken over by bureaucrats. But that is not our concept of nationalisation. That is not our concept of public sector. We have definitely different ideas about these things.

The same people and same set of attitudes are continuing. In this IOC Marketing Division now a new Chairman has taken over and from all the reports that I get, he is getting the same treatment from the Ministry and from the Managing Director. There is a rift now. Why, Sir ? Because a relative of the Managing Director had to be pushed in as the new General Manager. Even the marketing policy of the Indian Oil Corporation—I charge here, with all sense of responsibility—has been made a tool for their designs. I would give one example, how the marketing policy was tailored to the career requirements of certain individuals.

The furnace oil is in great demand and it is in short supply. The I. O. C. itself is unable to meet the demand, unable to meet the requirements of their own customers. But now the I. O. C. is selling the furnace oil to its own subsidiary,—I. B. P. Why, Sir ? It has never handled this furnace oil in the past. The I. O. C. had been handling it all along. The I. O. C.’s sales suffer to that extent by diverting a very scarce item. They did it so that the I. B. P.’s Managing Director’s career and his record can be improved, so that he can be made a General Manager of I. O. C. later on.

So, this is the basic question. What kind of a public sector do we want in this country? I do not yield to any one in my devotion for the cause of public sector. That is why I am forced to take up this subject again and again. History, I dare say, will not absolve the Prime Minister or the Cabinet or my party, if we fail in our duty after this massive mandate. The Prime Minister, I am sure, will not allow it. That duty includes cleaning up the public sector. That duty includes making it pay and also re-orienting the entire Public sector to the needs of the national economy, not the needs of only half a dozen bureaucrats!

There are so many other points which I wanted to deal with, but there is no time. But only one thing I would like to know. I want to know about the level of self-reliance in the tools range of the Petroleum industry. What is the import content? What is the import requirement of the tools that are required in our country, like for example, drilling rigs or precision instruments for exploration like Gravity Meters and so on. When we talk about achieving self-reliance in this vital field, which we have to do in the present conditions and in the context of international politics, I would like to know as to how far have we achieved self-reliance in respect of all these things.

I shall end up by saying that the social content and purpose of public sector must be kept in view and such officers will have to be mercilessly dealt with if we want to improve the major public sector undertakings in the country.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in respect of whatever I am going to say today in supporting the Demands of this Ministry and the criticism that I may level, I want to submit at the very outset, it should not be misunderstood as being directed against the present incumbent of the Ministry—hon'ble Shri Gokhale,—because, I know, he has taken over charge recently of the Ministry and I also know that, apart from being a very eminent lawyer, I personally know that he had been a very fair and popular judge...

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Fair and underpaid popular judge...

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Therefore, I know, his conscience would definitely rebel against the manner in which certain things have been happening in this Ministry.

In the few minutes at my disposal I would devote myself only to one aspect and that is the infamous pipeline inquiry. I really feel pained when I read this report at page 15. It says that the one-man Commission of Inquiry headed J. N. Takru a retired judge of Allahabad High Court was set up in August, 1970, to inquire into certain matters connected with the laying of pipelines by I. O. C. Limited.

"The Commission was required to submit a report within a period of six months. As the work could not be completed, the term of the commission was further extended up to August, 1971 and then up to the end of February, 1972. The commission has not been able to complete the inquiry yet and has requested for extension of its term till 31st August, 1972 which has been agreed to."

—Most graciously, of course How does this read? Any layman who does not know the background will say that here is a fellow who has been appointed as an one-man commission and he cannot do his job even within two years. He was given six months' time to finish his job, but even though 20 months have passed, he has not been able to complete the inquiry. The way it has been worded here, the blame will be on the judge. But is that the fact? What are the realities?

The reality is that for twenty months, the Ministry and particularly the IOC refused to give any co-operation whatsoever to this commission, apart from the fact that this commission was housed in a room ten miles away from the city, even though it is a public inquiry and an inquiry being held on the basis of the report of the Committee on Public Undertakings of this Parliament which has same sanctity behind it. This commission is housed in a room where even 20 persons cannot sit, and yet it is called a public inquiry. They want that people who know something about this whole affair should participate in that inquiry and assist the commission so that justice could be done. But can that be done now? The commission is

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

housed in a tiny room which cannot accommodate even 20 persons and is located ten miles away from the city. No assistance is given to the commission. No stenographer is given, and no record is maintained by the commission. Are we making a joke or a farce of this commission? A retired High Court judge has been appointed, but kindly see the manner in which he is being treated.

Sir, you know the well-known dictum of law that justice delayed is justice denied. If ever it is true anywhere, it has been true in this case. Even after the lapse of 20 months, they have not yet come to the stage of proper evidence, because the documents that are in the Ministry have not been fully supplied and furnished to the commission.

Another well-known principle of law is that the accused must not be his own prosecutor. You must not sit in judgment over a matter in which you yourself are involved. Here, it is the top officials of the Petroleum Ministry who have been charged. Yesterday, someone said that they were not accused. But what else are they? A man is accused till he remains accused of something; if he is found guilty, he will no longer be an accused, but he will become a criminal. Here are people who are accused of grave and serious charges. And what do we do? They still occupy high offices in the Ministry. Therefore, the commission has not been able to function. It is a case of the right hand trying the left hand. I am really surprised about this whole matter. Being a lawyer myself, I know that this really does not stand to sense or justice at all.

15 hrs.

Here is a commission before whom the Ministry is supposed to be the prosecutor. The same officers in the Ministry against whom the Committee on Public Undertakings has passed strictures about slurring over and other things are guiding the prosecution. The hon. Minister at that time, Dr. Triguna Sen said on the floor of the House that all matters in the report of the Committee on Public Undertakings were before the commission. But actually when the commission sits, it finds only limited matters before it,

and it finds its inquiry limited and does not know whether it can cover a larger field or not. That order is yet to be passed. The officers and the lawyers who are appointed by the Ministry to prosecute are there as if they are defending the accused at the cost of the Ministry and at our cost. There is nobody in fact to take the side of the PUC, a committee of this Parliament at all. The idea of the Ministry is to prove that the report of the PUC is false and, therefore, a statement is given by no less a person than the Chief Executive and also the man-in-charge of the IOC. They go—I don't want to name the people—they go there and make a statement trying to say that there was nothing serious at all, and nothing wrong took place. Some people were not involved at all. Crores and crores of rupees have gone down the drain in this pipeline scandal and yet we are not willing to bring some culprits to book. Therefore, a national committee was formed with one of the Members of the Parliament here as its Chairman. Now, this national committee as responsible citizens of this country is trying to collect evidence with the help of those who know something about it. Investigators were permitted to be appointed at the request of the Commission. But they were not appointed. How do you then expect the Commission to carry on its work? Then, you will say 20 months have passed. August will go, nothing will be the outcome. Here is a Commission but no report can be given. Who are to blame? Therefore, I am surprised and I feel that there is something very seriously wrong. It is like the Augean stable. Are we capable of cleaning it.

I am not one who likes to condemn the ICS officers merely because they are ICS officers. There are certainly some good ICS officers. I know. But, after all, there must be a sense of proportion in putting a premium on some service even after retirement as if they are omniscient. When are we going to get rid of this obsession? Even after retirement, he must become a Governor. Even after retirement, he must become some head of a private sector company. Even after retirement, he must head some public sector enterprise. What is it that is so sacrosanct about these ICS Officers?

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA**  
(Serampore) Sometimes Ministers also

**SHRI VASANT SATHE** What I am submitting is that if a man is capable by all means yes. But here was a person I was really surprised. He was some private sector man which exploited this country foreign vested interests, imperialist powers squeezed our blood for so many years. Now a man who was defending them here becomes the head and claims this one lakh of rupees is medical bill. I am simply amazed how all this can pass off. Particularly I am surprised the officers here seem to have a coterie of their relations everywhere at important posts all over. I do not understand how this has happened. It is too much of a coincidence for me. Now this coterie rules the oil of the country. Therefore they will frustrate even our objectives of nationalisation of oil. It is high time we nationalise this important sector because it is no good to say that you have made so much profits here and there. On such a huge investment a little profit is no profit at all. That does not satisfy anybody and the progress that has been made is no progress and it is practically a standstill this whole Ministry's progress.

Therefore, I think a time has come. I am willing to have all praise for the good work that any particular Branch might have done as has been given in the report. But the fact remains that there is something wrong and seriously wrong, particularly a group of persons ruling the entire roost as it were. Not only ruling, even disregarding the Prime Minister's note—if you so desire I can read it out to you—when the Prime Minister said "Please find out whether there is any truth in this as important matters are involved" and ultimately it was found that the Commission has framed charges on this very document, what does the Secretary write?

"We have received the DO from the Prime Minister's Secretariat which is placed below. I don't think it is necessary to take any particular action."

My goodness! I am surprised. Here is a Secretary who rules out the Prime Minister and says that the Prime Minister does not know—I don't think that there is any

necessity for taking any note of that. This in the type of people we have. Do you think our whole plan of socialism and progressive steps can ever be implemented by officials and machinery like this? I think it is high time strong action was taken. Knowing Shri Gokhale fully well I am sure, given a free hand he will be able to take firm action against these erring officials.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN** (Wandiwash) I really sympathise with the hon. Minister, Shri Gokhale who has been asked to hold this troublesome baby left behind by Shri P. C. Sethi. Yesterday Shri Sivasamy of my party dealt with all the points. I want only to concentrate on the pipelines scandal.

In Feb. 1972 Justice Takru, Chairman of this Commission of Inquiry, passed severe strictures on IOC that it was obstructing the inquiry by not submitting relevant records and files even a year after the inquiry commenced. He specifically mentioned that the managing director of the Refineries and Pipelines Division had failed to honour the assurance given to the Commission earlier that all relevant records would be sent to the Commission. In the same order Justice Takru observed:

Patience was now exhausted—referring to himself—and he was going to take some drastic action. Really he did take that action. Now that strictures have been passed against the IOC and particularly against the Managing Director—Pipelines I would like to know what action the Minister is going to take against the particular officials. I understand that the Co-ordination Manager of the IOC in Delhi whose conduct is also being inquired into by the Commission, continues to occupy a very important post in the same Ministry. Again the Assistant Financial Controller of the Pipelines in Delhi, who also acts as co-ordinator between IOC and the Commission, is equally responsible for obstructing the inquiry because he was working as the project officer with the famous contractors Bechtel with whom the Haldia Barauni contract was concluded. The Minister must take immediate steps to shift these officers.

Again while the Commission is inquiring into the conduct of the whole Ministry of Petroleum, it is very strange, as has been

[Shri G. Vishwanathan]

pointed out by Shri Sathe, that the entire administrative control of the Commission is in the hands of the Petroleum Ministry. Again it is quite obvious that the senior officials of the Ministry who have been condemned two years ago by the Committee on Public Undertakings for 'slurring over the great dereliction of duty of the guilty officials' are obstructing the inquiry in various ways. I want to mention how they are obstructing: delay in the appointment of investigators, non submission of files summoned by the Commission from the Ministry, delay in the appointment of a new Secretary to the Commission selected by the Commission, not giving accommodation to the Commission approved by the Accommodation sub-committee of the Cabinet.

The Pipelines Inquiry has now assumed very gigantic dimension. It is inquiring into the conduct of two Governors, a Central Minister, 6 ICS officers, 8 IAS officers and several other top officials apart from two international contractors who built these pipelines. The present Minister, Shri Gokhale, is holding only temporary charge of this Ministry, I request him to show some temporary courage and take immediate action against all these officials.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** At least temporary action.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN:** It is plain that quite a few top officials in the Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry and the Indian Oil Corporation, whose conduct is under enquiry, continue to occupy key positions. They must be sent out at once. Otherwise, the enquiry will be a farce and the Commission cannot submit the report in time.

Finally, yesterday, while participating in the debate, the C P I leader, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, demanded that the report of the Tandon Committee which was submitted about six months back should be laid on the Table of the House. This document is very, very important from the point of view of this enquiry, and it must be immediately placed on the Table of the House, and action must be taken, because not only is the Minis-

ter in charge of Petroleum and Chemicals but he is also in charge of law and justice. So, I expect that the law will be allowed to take its own course and justice will be done to the public of this country.

**THE MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE, AND PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI H. R. GOKHALE):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members of the House for having participated extensively in this debate. There were remarks which were complimentary, but more critical than complimentary, and topics which covered a very wide compass have been referred to in the course of this four-hour debate.

Perhaps it is not possible in the time which has been allotted to me to deal with each and every point which has been raised here, but in view of the the importance of the wide range of activities in the Ministry. I should deal broadly with the main aspects of the functioning of the Ministry. At the same time, I would like to make it very clear that I do not wish to defend everything. At the same time, I do feel that in a matter like this, we should not be prone to forget that there are some good aspects of the work done in this Ministry also, and the picture is perhaps not as dismal as might appear if we take into account only the critical part of the debate.

As you know, the ramifications of the Ministry are so wide. We have the fertiliser aspect of it; we have the oil exploration aspect of it; we have the question of procurement of crude oil and the money which we pay for the import of this crude oil. We have the aspect which many Members have raised in the course of the debate almost unanimously,—the aspect as to what we should do with the foreign-owned oil companies. We have the aspect of the chemicals and drugs and pharmaceuticals wing of this Ministry, and also offshoots like the Takru Commission which has become the subject of hot debate in the the course of the last few hours. If I were to attempt to deal with every point, perhaps it is not possible, but I would give this assurance that I have heard this debate with very great care and attention, and if for paucity of time, I am

not able to deal with any of the particular aspects, it does not mean that they are going to escape my attention.

Let me take the wider aspects of the various questions which have been raised. Perhaps it might be appropriate to refer to the fertiliser industry first. I have heard it said and to a certain extent rightly said, that in spite of the fact that we have been making attempts to produce fertilisers in this country, we are yet far from self-sufficiency. It has been said that the price which we pay for the fertilisers produced here is much more than what it should be otherwise. Therefore, it is necessary in my view to make a broad survey of what we have done in the fertiliser industry which is now under the administrative control of the Ministry of petroleum and Chemicals. I fully share the anxiety repeatedly expressed in the House that we are still far away from reaching self-sufficiency. In the last three years, as many as 13 fertiliser projects have been sanctioned. These are expected to be commissioned during the next three or four years. A few projects which have already been under implementation will also go into production in the next one year. A few more projects are likely to be firmed up shortly. A few others are in the planning stage. As I said, I do not want to say that everything is right and nothing is wrong. It has to be admitted that for the next four years, there will be a sizeable gap between production and consumption. In 1976-77, we expected to reach near self-sufficiency both in nitrogen and phosphatic fertilisers. But unless we can add some more projects, to our list very soon, we will again be in deficit marginally in 1977-78 but substantially in 1978-79. This is the reality. Unless we face the reality we cannot find a solution.

**SHRI R. V. BADE** (Khargone); Projects based on what? Coal-based or naphtha-based?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE**: Coal-based projects have not been attempted so far, but there are projects based on coal whose feasibility is under examination. That is a different topic into which I will not digress now.

Various reasons have been operating to shift heavily burden of the growth of this

industry to the public sector. While we know that the Private sector is also in the field, we cannot escape the conclusion that the primary and main responsibility for fertiliser production will have to be taken by the public sector. That is a responsibility which we must own.

In the current year, the production from the operating fertiliser plants has increased by 15 per cent of nitrogenous and 25 per cent of phosphatic fertilisers. The bulk of this increase has been on account of improvements in the performance of the operating plants. One year's intensive work has enabled us to diagnose the frequent causes for short-falls in utilisation of capacity. I have heard this criticism here and also in the other House while dealing with questions that most of the fertiliser units are not only not running to full capacity but the capacity reached is not satisfactory. Let us take into account various factors operational or otherwise, all of which are not necessarily under the control of either the Fertiliser Corporation of India or the Ministry, which are responsible for the shortfalls in the ideal of reaching full or a good degree of capacity in the near future. While every effort would be made to add to the installed capacity by quick completion of the sanctioned projects and the quick clearance of other projects at present under consideration or in the planning stage, when we say that in all the operating plants, maximum production should be achieved, there are a few special factors. Now, what are those few special factors which have led to the situation where we are not able to reach a reasonable degree of capacity? In a realistic and pragmatic way, all these should be taken into account. A modern fertiliser plant, as members are aware, of an optimum size requires a very large investment, around Rs. 60 to 70 crores, 30 to 40 per cent of which has still to be in foreign exchange. The gestation period also is fairly long. In the national interest, we have followed the policy of promoting self-reliance. This has involved developing designs of our own and engineering capacities within the country and also developing indigenous capacity for manufacture of equipment, which the fertiliser industry needs, many of which like heavy duty compressors, pumps, etc., are highly sophisticated items. Therefore, development and production of these items is difficult and time-consuming. We have also been relying



[Shri H. R. Gokhale]

as much as possible on feedstock available within the country, even though this may require more investment in the plant and somewhat higher operating costs. Thus, the decision that the FCI should take up three coal-based and one fuel oil-based plants is in the offing. The preference of the private sector is for naphtha. While we want to have a feedstock which is indigenous, we are trying to find other methods so that we have indigenous feedstock and do not rely only on naphtha which is not available, other measures for the expansion of the capacity or building new capacity for the purpose of producing fertilizers.

Both public sector undertakings, the Fertilizer Corporation of India and FACT have become increasingly self-reliant in designs and engineering of plant in erection and commissioning, but to implement these projects necessarily takes more time than if the work were given to a foreign contractor on a turnkey basis, as has been done in the case of some private sector plants. The very fact that we are bent on self-reliance, the very fact that we build up our public sector projects not in the traditional or usual way in which the profit-monger private sector might like to do it, carries with it also certain limitations, some of which I have just now mentioned, which I would most respectfully submit to the House, the hon. Members should take into consideration while being critical, legitimately critical, of the fact that we have not so far reached the capacity which we should have reached.

I mentioned some of the pragmatic aspects for the capacity not being reached. The two objectives of our being self-reliant are firstly, having our own fabrication, having our own feedstock, having everything indigenously and, secondly, reaching higher and higher capacity as early as possible so as to take us to the optimum capacity in all the plants. I am examining how the two objectives can be reconciled in the short run so that at least a few projects can be found in which quicker progress in the next few years can be made.

There is another aspect of this matter to which some members referred, and that was

the high cost of fertilizers in India. Therefore, it is necessary to point out again some of the factors which we have to take into account realistically to determine whether the high cost is really attributable only to inefficiency. I am not one who is saying that we are hundred per cent efficient and there is no defect in us; we may have shortcomings. But I would like to emphasize that while I know most of the criticism has come with the intense desire that we should progress—I have looked at the criticism only from that point of view—at the same time, I would also desire that let us not, while making that criticism, forget that we have certain road blocks, certain impediments, which are not easy of quick solution, which we are trying to solve, sort out and streamline as early as possible. These are factors which I would very respectfully submit to the hon. Members for their consideration.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : We are critical of only man-made impediments; natural impediments we are willing to condone.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : Man-made impediment is only one aspect of the matter. Shri Sathe is probably referring to his own speech. But for the last four hours I have heard speeches which generally dealt with restricted complaints about individuals. I will come to that question later on. I am not here either to defend anybody, if he does not deserve to be defended; nor am I here to support an attitude where any criticism should lead to persecution also. I will come to the Takru Commission a little later. Therefore, I made it clear that I took this criticism in the right spirit, whether it is from this side or from that side. The ultimate desire was to see that we make progress in these public sector undertakings and to make ourselves self-reliant. The idea was not so much only to criticise but to find out how as a result of this criticism we can find out a better way of doing things. But at the same time, would it not be appropriate if I say, let us not close our eyes to realities? Because these are the facts which substantially contribute to the shortfalls which we are facing today not only in

fertilisers but in other fields also to which I will come presently.

It has been said that our fertiliser costs are high as compared to imported fertiliser. Let us examine it. Our costs are certainly high as compared to the prices of imported fertilisers. The reasons for these are—(a) higher capital investment due to addition of ocean freight, wharfage, etc. and custom duty on imported equipment and (b) high cost of indigenous equipment as compared to the imported equipment. But still we go ahead. While we see we have indigenous equipment which may be fabricated here, not only we avoid imports but we also see that in the other branches of the fabrication of the equipment, our other sister units also get going really towards making our country self-reliant. That is the double objective. In spite of the fact that it costs us more, we prefer higher cost to the undesirable method of going and looking forward to help from somewhere else outside. How long are you going to do it merely because, for the time being, we are not able to overcome these pitfalls?

Then, there is the long time taken in finalising and executing projects. All expenditure during this period is capitalised adding further to the burden of capital. The older units have a high maintenance cost and their processes are not the most economical. Further, for historical reasons, there is over-staffing.

When I heard my colleague yesterday while dealing with the Steel Ministry, I think I should use the same arguments legitimately when he said, for historical reasons, we have over-staffing. We know we do not want so many people. If you want to make it an economic proposition, we do not want so many people. They are surplus in the real sense. But at the same time, we do not want to throw out people on the streets. This is the dilemma with which we are faced. The result is that we have got a historical fact that we have over-staffed units.

Lastly, taxes add further to the cost of fertilisers. I have mentioned only a few reasons because I thought an exhaustive list perhaps was not possible to give in the short time at my disposal today.

I am trying to emphasize only this. I do not want to minimise the importance of seeing that the maximum efficiency is achieved. If it is jeopardised because of individuals, that impediment or obstacle should be removed. I do not want to underestimate that importance of that criticism.

I would still suggest that hon. Members should also take into account the pragmatic, the practical, aspect of our production in a field in which we have entered in the last few years and we have, in spite of all these difficulties, to put a brighter side to the House, made considerable progress, of course, not entirely to our satisfaction.

Today, we are in a position to say that we are doing our best to become self-reliant in major things, like, fertilisers on which really our agricultural economy particularly rests.....

**SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah) :** May I put one question to the hon. Minister? How is it in five or six years the price of fertiliser has gone up? What has been its effect on the production of foodgrains? Is it not one of the causes that the foodgrains are being sold in the market at a high price?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** Since fertiliser is important for the production of foodgrains, that is something which cannot be disputed to the extent the price of fertiliser goes up, I have no reason to think that it is not reflected at all in the increased price of foodgrains. But the question is this. Are we dealing with a situation which is avoidable altogether, all of a sudden, overnight the difficulty can be got over? We cannot say that because the foodgrain price goes up, we will have to cut down our programme of fertiliser production; we cannot say that.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Cut down the duty.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** Duty, as my hon. friend mentions, is one of the many factors which I have mentioned just now. I was only requesting that these factors be kept in mind to show the somewhat better side of the whole picture relating to fertiliser industry in this country.

[Shri H. R. Gokhale]

I want to end this short discussion on the fertiliser aspect with this. Now that I am dealing with fertilisers, I will mention this. Memoranda have been given by a good number of MPs complaining against various matters—I cannot enumerate them; it is a very long list which I have received—about the functioning of the Fertiliser Corporation of India. Demands have been made that we must have some kind of an inquiry. But I am sure that hon. Members will agree that, before a public sector undertaking is put to an inquiry, certainly the Ministry—and I should say even the Minister—should first accept the responsibility of *prima facie* satisfying himself that some, if not all, matters which are referred to in the Memoranda are *prima facie* such that an inquiry is called for. I want to make it clear before the House that I am paying my own attention to these various matters which have been brought to the notice of the Ministry. We have called for answers from the Fertiliser Corporation of India. Every one will agree that I should not make an *ex-parte* inquiry—any one should not make an *ex-parte* inquiry. The material is being collected. The volume of criticisms levelled is so large. It is not a case where one instance is pointed out and I make an inquiry into it: it is a long list dealing with individuals, some matters dealing with things which happened during the time of my predecessor beginning with my hon. friend, Shri K. D. Malaviya, Dr. Triguna Sen Shri Asoka Mehta and everybody. There is no desire to run away from anything, from an inquiry, if an inquiry is justified *prima facie* in respect of some matters at least.

That would take me to the question of oil exploration and production. I entirely agree with the sentiments expressed by the hon. Members that it is by far the most vital of the activities in which we are engaged in this country today. I said in the morning in another context while answering one of the questions that I shared the anxiety of the hon. Members that we had to pay large sums of money—the outgo of foreign exchange running into crores of rupees every year—for the purpose of import of crude oil. I am not yet on the question as to whether the companies are behaving properly or improperly. I shall deal with it independently. Therefore, this is a matter of utmost

priority and importance so far as our economy is concerned. There is no question of disagreeing with a proposition like this. I fully appreciate the sentiments expressed by the hon. Members in this House. Therefore, in the last 2½ years increasing attention has been paid in the Ministry to the task of adding to the crude oil reserves and stepping up of crude oil production as rapidly as possible.

Some time during the course of the debate today it was said—I am sorry I do not remember the name of the hon. Member who mentioned it, but it was mentioned in this House today—that for the last six or seven years the ONGC has been functioning in the field of exploration and the hon. Member asked what progress had been made in the field of exploration. I do not want to be complacent and say that this is enough. What I am saying is that it is not as if we have not made any progress; in fact, we have made a substantial progress in the last six or seven years in the matter of exploration also. Let us not lose sight of this fact. (*Interruption*) The reference made by the hon. Member was about the last five or six years. Therefore, I have been able to collect, in this short time, the figures for the last five or six years...

**SHRI PARIPOORNANAND PAINULI:**  
It has deteriorated during the last two years.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** To say that it has deteriorated is not the same thing as to say that we have not progressed at all. To say that we have deteriorated means that we have gone down, if I understand it correctly. To say that we have not deteriorated means that we have made some progress. Maybe it is not as much as we should have. You know the whole functioning of the ONGC, as some Members mentioned, is under review by a committee appointed and headed by the hon. Member, Mr. K. D. Malaviya. The Public Undertakings Committee has also only recently, late April, given its report. They have gone exhaustively into these matters. I am sure we will try to plug the deficiencies and see that the progress is much better.

What I may point out at present is that we have not deteriorated even in the last two years. I have the figures here. From a production of 0.4 million tonnes in 1961-62 it has gone upto 1.43 million tonnes in 1965-66, 2.54 million tonnes in 1966-67, 3.06 million tonnes in 1968-69 and in 1969-70 we have gone to 3.64 million tonnes. That is why I joined issues in a very limited way. I said, 'Don't say we have gone down' I can understand your saying that we have not gone enough.

There is something which I want to mention. Probably, I am mentioning this for the first time in the House and it may, therefore, be of interest to the hon. Members on this vital question. It is not as if we have not been ourselves worried about the necessity of making strides in the matter of exploration so that we reach a stage at the earliest possible moment when we say that we do not have to depend on imported crude and to work out a long-range plan of exploration. I have got the figures of 1971-72 also just now. It is 4.02 million tonnes, just one step ahead of the previous year.

That apart, what I was saying is this that we have gone into this question to explore the possibility of exploration and production on a long-term basis and with proper priorities assigned for work in the various promising regions of the country. As a first step in that direction a detailed economic study has been made jointly by experts from the USSR and the ONGC. On the basis of this study by the expert team, a programme for the first five year period beginning from 1973 has been tentatively approved. Now, this programme is important to know, as the joint expert committee has recommended, and on which we have reached a conclusion and which we shall embark upon, that by the end of the first Five Year Plan period we should be able to reach a drilling target of 13 lakhs metres. It is expected to establish new recoverable reserves of 64 million tonnes of crude, these are recoverable reserves. I am not talking about getting production of 64 million tonnes by the end of the Five Year plan period. I will mention the amount of crude oil which is expected at the end of the five year period. That is eight million tonnes. The programme also takes into account a subsequent five year period and according to the joint survey made by the USSR and

ONGC experts, it should reach a target of production of 30 million tonnes by the end of the second Five Year period. We had recently taken a decision on the basis of the study team's findings to work out the various variants, and after examination of the various alternatives, the variants which was considered to be the best and the quickest was accepted. We are working on it. We should have been able to start it in 1972. But, to be realistic, we expect that the first five year period should begin early in 1972.

**SHRI RAJA KULKARNI (Bombay-North-East):** The performance of 1971 has been criticised by the Members. There has been no reply.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE:** I gave it. I have given all the figures.

**SHRI RAJA KULKARNI:** In 1970-71 there was a shortfall.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE:** I have given the figures; I have dealt with this point as best as I could. The point that I was trying to make was this, that, let us not take a very dismal view of the whole thing. Let us be critical by all means so that that is a way we can make progress. But let us not be pessimistic. Let us not be dismal. Let us not say that everything that we do is bad and we are not able to do anything. That is the only thing that I wanted to repudiate.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** This is all philosophy, but what about oil?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE:** That is why I have pointed out the figures...

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** Are your figures for the whole year?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE:** Yes, for the whole year. These are the figures I could readily collect; may be there could be scope for correction marginally, but I may say, the figures are not basically incorrect. They are substantially correct.

**SHRI RAJA KULKARNI:** They appear to be contradictory...

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** Let me now turn to other aspect of the matter.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamand Harbour) :** We are eminently mindful of the fact that we are hearing a very good lawyer.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** I am a layman in this field as much probably as you are or perhaps a little more than you.

As I was telling, we have got to be more particular now on our offshore drilling programme. In addition to the programme mentioned which will be preponderatingly on land, Government intend to make every effort to develop and implement a sizeable programme of offshore exploration. It is being demonstrated on an international scale that the future for most countries for finding big reserves of oil lies more in offshore areas than on land. Despite the high initial cost of offshore exploration and the greater risks involved, the success rate over a period of time is high, and since the prospects are that big reserves will be established and in offshore areas it takes less time to develop production, due to these reasons, the economics of offshore oil is generally quite favourable. The House is no doubt aware of the decision taken by Government to explore the Bombay High in offshore structure on an associated-owner basis. In pursuance of this decision, a jack-up platform is being purchased by Government. It is being built in Japan and the cost is being met from Japanese credit. It is expected that the jack-up platform will commence its drilling operations towards the end of this year. All the preparatory operations are well in hand. The detailed seismic survey for fixing the drilling locations has been completed...

**SHRI VASANT SATHE :** We learn that our engineers are doing this job...

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** Yes, I am glad you remind me about this. Some other hon. Members also referred to it. I am entirely in agreement with what had been said on the floor of the House. We have an excellent and first-class lot of young geologists and geo-physicists about which we are certainly proud, and we do intend to make the maximum use of their talent, their enthusiasm and desire to serve our country in this vital field of our economic sector.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** May I know whether drilling will be resumed in the Bodra area? In Bodra area drilling was discontinued because a rig got stuck up. Dr. Triguna Sen gave an assurance that drilling will be resumed. If you don't know you can say, I don't know.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** You referred to it yesterday, I do remember. Perhaps if I get time I will refer to it. I want to say a few other things in the short time at my disposal. Otherwise, I will satisfy you.

Some hon. Members were referring to the Takru Commission.

I do not want to finish my speech without referring to it.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Nobody would be satisfied without a reference to that.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** You too have joined Government, Sir?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE :** As the House is aware, the Takru Commission was constituted to inquire into some definite matters of public importance, which as all lawyer members would know, is indeed the requirement for the construction of a commission. It was felt at some time that the terms of reference were not wide enough to cover a full and appropriate inquiry into the matters which were really intended to be inquired into by that commission. On an earlier occasion, this was argued before the commission. The commission also made certain observations, and when it was felt that the commission itself was feeling some difficulty in investigating into certain matters, because they were not expressly in the terms of reference, hon. Members are aware, Government took a decision to expand the scope of the terms of reference and added a few items more. Even now, I am happy to say that we are not taking up the position that the Sixty-Sixth Report as a result of which this commission really arose is something to be brushed aside. On the contrary, we are not opposing inquiry into matters on a technical ground, but what we have been saying is that here are terms of reference which are wide enough to take in all matters

which are intended to be inquired into as a result of the Sixty-Sixth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings...

SHRI VASANT SAIHE : Including slurring over

SHRI H R GOKHALE If I went into the details of the various aspects of the inquiry, perhaps, I would take a few hours. But—what I want to say today is that the attitude of the Ministry is not this that the commission should not be enabled to go into matters which are relevant in the background of the Sixty-Sixth report of the Committee on Public Undertakings. The Ministry does feel that the terms of reference are wide enough to take in all that. That is another matter...

SHRI K P UNNIKRISHNAN The commission feels otherwise

SHRI H R GOKHALE In fact, the commission has not felt otherwise, I would very much like to point out that just as we did on the previous occasion when the commission pointed out that they were feeling handicapped ..

SHRI K P UNNIKRISHNAN Mr Justice Takru's observations on 21st April, 1972 specifically mention this fact

SHRI H R GOKHALE I do not know the date-wise *roznauma* before the Takru Commission. But I can assure the House of this that so far as my recollection goes, Mr Justice Takru has not held that he is handicapped in his inquiry because a particular thing is not in the terms of reference. I stand to correction, particularly as my hon friend who is a responsible Member of this House has pointed this out to me, I shall promise to look into it, but I can assure him of this that even now the position before the Takru Commission is that there is the Sixty-Sixth Report as a result of which this commission has come up, we have got the terms of reference which according to us are wide enough to cover all matters which are covered by the Sixty-Sixth report; that being so, it is for the commission to say, no, we still feel handicapped. The commission has not said so now. If the commission says so, then I can

only assure the House that as we did last time, we shall surely consider the commission's recommendations with the utmost respect. But surely, because some people say so, while we feel that, and it is a point of view which we are taking, it is broad enough, it is a point of view that the Sixty-sixth report is there, and we do not want to hamper the inquiry, and certainly if it falls from the commission, Government will treat their recommendations with the utmost respect, and as we did on the previous occasion expand the terms of reference. But today it is too early to say that the terms of reference are inappropriate when the Takru Commission has not said so. Certainly if that be so and the commission says so, we shall look into the matter. All that I can assure the House of is that if observations are made by the learned judge in this regard, they will receive the most careful consideration and we will look into it.

Another aspect of the matter is that it has been said that files have not been produced and so on and so forth. It has been said that the IOC is coming in the way of production of files.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU And duplicate files are manufactured

SHRI H R GOKHALE Not one instance of manufacture of a duplicate file has been pointed out

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Oh, my goodness

SHRI H R GOKHALE I had myself looked into some files when I was not dealing with this Ministry on an earlier occasion, and I can assure hon Members that in the event of a positive fact or material being brought before me now, now that I attend to this Ministry at least for the time being, of any such thing I shall certainly look into it. But that has not happened. Things have been said like that, but if the commission says so, it will be considered with the utmost respect. Let it be pointed out to us very specifically and I can assure hon Members that it will be looked into. But from what I have seen, that is not the position today. I was referring to the production of files.

[Shri H. R. Gokhale]

Some 4000 files had been produced or submitted before the commission by the IOC and 300 files by the Ministry.

**SHRI M. RAMGOPAL REDDY** (Nizamabad) : Is there space to house all the files ?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : We have provided enough accommodation; that problem will not come in their way. This is a transaction ranging over a course of years not over a few years, where matters have been dealt with on different occasions. I do not want to defend this officer or that officer, or this Ministry or that. I am only pointing out the practical and pragmatic aspects of an inquiry like this. When you have to go into files ranging over 12-14 years and when the Commission says, 'Produce the relevant files', it is not unreasonable to say that there can be a difference of opinion on relevance; there can be a difference of opinion between judges also on relevance, much more so in the case of ordinary mortals. 4,000 files are produced. If the Commission says that there is one file which has been brought to our notice which is relevant for the inquiry, the Ministry has not said and will not say 'We will not produce it.'

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** : They never say 'no'; they do not produce it or they delay it.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : The very fact that 4000 files have been produced by the IOC and 300 by the Ministry disproves that.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE** : Over a period of 20 months they have been produced.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : No.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE** : Every time they have to ask for it and then it is produced.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** . I hope 4,000 files were asked for.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : When they say such and such file is relevant, we have

produced it. We will certainly treat the observations of the Judge with the greatest respect. If they say it is not this file, but two more relevant files, it is left to our judgment. After all, we have produced 4,000 files.

**SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI** (Bhubaneswar) : How many still left ? Another 4,000 ?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : This is a transaction ranging over years together.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE** : They only want those files from which the charges can be proved. What is the use of saying 'we have sent over 4,000 files ?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : This is a matter of judgment.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE** : Will his department succeed in proving the charges with these 4,000 files ?

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : My hon. friend is an experienced and distinguished lawyer. He will appreciate what I am saying. This is not a commission of a nature where you can say it is accusatory.

**SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI** (Gauhati) : The judgment was exercised by the officers against whom the charges are made.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** : It is a daylight robbery that was conducted by people in power in this country siphoning the country's money to the foreigners.

**SHRI H. R. GOKHALE** : Let us not get excited but consider it more objectively. There can be difference of opinion between individual and individual and, as lawyers know, between judge and judge also sometimes as to what is relevant and what is not.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** : Between Minister and Minister also.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : The poor Minister is a very unfortunate person in these matters. He does not take any decision. It has been left to the judge. He does not want to interfere in this. The judge can certainly come to a conclusion that certain files are relevant, and not these 4,000 ranging over a long period extending over a decade.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Nationalise the files.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : What do we do with that ? What I want to say is this.

It is obvious that this Commission is an investigatory Commission, as all lawyers know.

AN HON. MEMBER : A fact-finding Commission.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : Yes; a fact-finding Commission. This is not a case where 'A' is the accused and 'B' is the prosecutor. So, as a Government Department, it is undoubtedly the responsibility of the Department to see that all materials for the proper dispensation of justice are given.

AN HON. MEMBER : Should it not find out the truth ?

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : Certainly it has to find out the truth, that is what I am pointing out.

AN HON. MEMBER : Should not the Ministry help the Commission ?

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : Who has disputed that it is the duty of the Ministry to help the Commission ? (Interruption)

SHRI VASANT SATHE : The report appears to blame the Commission for delay. I hope you are not holding the Commission responsible for that.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : I have not said a word about the Commission.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : The report appears to say that.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : Which report ? (Interruption) I am sorry my friend has misunderstood it. It is not an accusation against the Commission. What the report says is, it is only to bring to the notice of House as to how long the Commission has gone on. After all, the Government has never come in the way of extension to the Commission. As you know, the last period of its extension is probably not covered by the report; extension was granted (Interruption)

SHRI PILOO MODY : He says Government would not come in the way if the Commission wants to take another 10 years. This is what you are saying. We would be happy if the Commission takes another 10 years.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : But what is to be done ? If the Commission wants certain files, should we not produce them ? If the Commission wants us to produce this or produce that, should we say that you must finish before a time and we will not produce this ? If the Commission in its judicial wisdom says that certain files are necessary for inspection and for the proper conduct of this enquiry, am I to tell the Commission that "you will not look into them because otherwise you will not finish your enquiry before such and such a period ?"

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Then appoint another high-powered Commission.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : If that is your suggestion, I am willing to consider it. (Interruption)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You have just one minute more.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Let him continue on Monday. (Interruption)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order please. You do not listen to the Chair. Everybody wants to speak and the Chair must listen ! I was trying to say that if the Minister wants to continue on Monday, because there are many questions which remain unanswered, I do not want to stand between him and the Members. (Interruption)



[Mr. Deputy Speaker]

Order, please. If the Members have a little patience to listen to the Chair, one sentence would solve the problem.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : The topics which have been raised in the debate are large, and I do not want to give the impression that I want to take advantage of the limited time and escape from answering the other points. Therefore, I am entirely in your hands, and I am willing to deal with all the other topics if I get more time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Then you can continue on Monday.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE : Because I do not want to escape from any point.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, just one submission. If the Minister replies on Monday, I will not get a chance to speak. I only want to send this telegram to him, which I have received.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order, please. We take up private Members' business.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, I want to lay it on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order, order. Mr. Parashar.

15'30 hrs.

### COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

#### THIRTEENTH REPORT

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR  
(Hamirpur) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Thirteenth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on this 3rd May, 1972."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Thirteenth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 3rd May, 1972".

*The motion was adopted*

16'00 hrs.

### RESOLUTION RE : ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO MORE STEEL PLANTS DURING THE FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We now take up further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri Banamali Patnaik on the 21st April, 1972 :

"This House recommends that the Government of India should take immediate and effective steps to establish two more steel plants during the Fifth Five Year Plan to create increased potentialities in the production of steel and development of iron ore and that the first plant be established in Orissa and the second in Madhya Pradesh for reasons of techno-economic feasibility and comparative backwardness of these areas."

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi was on his legs. He can continue his speech.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar) : After we have discussed one of the most important sectors of our economy, namely, petroleum and chemicals, it is good we are taking up the question of having new steel plants in Orissa and M. P. in the coming years. The battle that we are fighting today in our country is the battle to wipe out poverty and unemployment in this country and our struggle for self-reliance is part of the bigger struggle that we have launched. In this struggle to achieve self-reliance, it is steel which plays the most