

itations* were sent either by hand delivery or by the usual postal delivery. Only 33 of them were left undelivered and I asked the persons concerned to put these 33 invitations in the box of Parliament Members at the Parliament House so that they could pick them up.

Unfortunately through mistake only those 33 cards were actually delivered at the Rail Bhavan and by mistake these 33 cards were sent by the usual process of stamping by the franking machine. Sir, the stationery used was not the railway stationery. Even yourself, the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and Members on both sides of the House must have received this invitation....

AN HON. MEMBER: Yes.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE:
The stationery used was not the railway stationery. Only 33 cards through mistake were sent through post using railway postage. Even there when it was detected and also raised here, I made inquiries and I had that amount of postage also deposited and the receipt is here....

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE:
Sir, this is the card, this is the envelope. These are not the stationery of the Railways.

Hon. Members should rest assured that so long as I continue to be Minister, I shall not misuse my authority as a Railway Minister.

Only one more point. When it was found out that through mistake 33 cards were delivered through Rail Bhavan and then the amount of postage was deposited, to that extent, I

must also own responsibility. If my personal secretary deposited 33 undelivered cards in the Rail Bhavan which sent them through post, even for that I must own responsibility and for that I express my regret to the House with the full assurance that as a Minister I will never utilise the official machinery for personal things.

Sir, I am glad that members from both sides of the House have pointed out that they had received these invitations and that the stationery used was not railway stationery.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Very good.

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA: (Mandsaur): rose.

MR. SPEAKER: Will you kindly sit down?

12.48 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1977-78—
Contd.

MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY

MR. SPEAKER: Now, we take up the discussion on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Industry.

Motion moved:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1978, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 62 to 64 relating to the Ministry of Industry."

Demands for Grants, 1977-78 in respect of Ministry of Industry submitted to the vote of Lok Sabha.

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on account voted by the House on 30-3-1977		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the vote of the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY					
62.	Ministry of Industry . . .	1,05,87,000	..	2,11,74,000	..
63.	Industries . . .	7,98,69,000	80,04,89,000	15,87,37,000	1,47,74,79,000
64.	Village and Small Industries . . .	12,81,28,000	10,82,78,000	26,42,56,000	25,85,55,000

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members who have given notice of cut motions may kindly send slips to the Table indicating the cut motions they want to move.

The time allotted for this Ministry is 7 hours. Now, I call Mr. Unnikrishnan to speak.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Under Rule 377 I have given a notice...

MR. SPEAKER: I have not allowed anything. That has not been permitted by me.

डा० लक्ष्मी नारायण पांडेय (मंदसौर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने 377 के अधीन एक मामला दिया है.....

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot shout like this. It is not proper.

12.49 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

डा० लक्ष्मी नारायण पांडेय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister of Industry wants to speak. Please have your seat.

डा० लक्ष्मी नारायण पांडेय :*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, on a point of order.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): The Speaker has already called me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: But the Minister would like to make some observations.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I have a point of order. Actually, for the last two days I have been trying to locate the Industries Minister. This is an important matter, Sir. In Kerala there is a strike going on in the HMT factory....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not a point of order. I am sorry. Please resume your seat. You cannot raise matters under the garb of points of order. Please have your seat.

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES): I

propose to make a few introductory observations.....

AN HON MEMBER: You have only just taken over charge.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I took charge a little over three months ago.....

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): His knowledge is 20 years' old. Please don't worry.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Sir, I am on my legs because there has been a certain amount of debate going on in the country in which some Members of the House have participated generally about the industrial policy of the Government and about what is feared as a shift in the industrial policy.

I would like to start by outlining the immediate objective of our industrial policy—

1. Maximising production of consumer goods.
2. Optimum utilisation of human and material resources.
3. Prevention of monopoly concentration of economic power.
4. Speedy development of employment oriented industry.
5. To make industry responsive to social needs.

In the decade 1965 to 1975 industrial growth in the country has been about 4 per cent which is almost half the target set by the predecessor Government itself. It is lower than the plan target and it is lower than the growth rate in almost all the developing countries whose resources both human and material are not as good as ours. One may sum up that it was a decade of stagnation, though when values get perverted, one could call it a dynamic

decade as it came to be called. It resulted in a lot of expenditure to the exchequer only a year ago.

There are certain constraints which we have inherited and which one may call as bottlenecks, but which need to be tackled if the kind of thrust which we need to give and which we intend to give to the industrial policy is to be effected.

There are financial constraints. The rate of domestic savings has been far from adequate. The planning has been haphazard. I could cite one instance. Take the cement industry over which so much is being discussed these days. It was made out as though Janata Party coming to power was the kind of signal for cement to go underground. It is true that a part of cement has gone underground. It will have to be unearthed. But primarily there is shortage of cement in the country both in terms of capacity and production. The gap is 2 million tonnes. Production last year was 18.8 million tonnes against the capacity of 21 million tonnes. You cannot achieve 100 per cent production in this industry especially with the power cuts, etc. which go with it.

Third is the problem of power. Again there has been haphazard planning, but nevertheless power is a category by itself. There are power-cuts this year in almost half a dozen States ranging upto fifty per cent. Cement industry is one of those industries where lot of power is consumed and we are having this problem. I believe we need to tackle these three problems and we shall do that.

The debate that I referred to has been primarily concerned with what are the sectors which should receive priority. During last month, June, nearly 2.5 million of our young people have come out of their schools, colleges and universities of this country. They need jobs from this month. There are no jobs. In so far as the

[Shri George Fernandes]

backlog of unemployment is concerned it is estimated anywhere between 20 million and 40 million; personally I believe that it is 40 million. That does not include large number of people in the rural areas who have only part-time employment. So, the industrial policy must concern itself with tackling this problem. It has to be so oriented therefore to creating the maximum number of jobs in the shortest possible time. There are three sectors which are generally accepted. There is an attempt or there is a suggestion that there is conflict of interest between those three sectors, rural and village industries and small-scale sector and large-scale sector. I believe that there is no reason for any clash of interest between these three sectors. I am talking of clash of interest' but fixing of roles is very important and this we propose to do.

I believe therefore that priority in our industrial planning will have to go to those industries where the maximum job potential can be generated and therefore I would start with Khadi, Village and Cottage Industries. Lot of lip-service has been paid for the last 30 years to this sector of our economy and to this sector of our industry. I will not go into the details at this moment.

But, I have discovered that there are number of problems which this sector is facing, particularly, problems of organisation, problems of marketing, and so on and we would like to sort out these problems in this sector even while we put in lot of investment, even while we fix our priorities.

We would like to so organise this sector that local resources are utilised to the maximum possible extent, and those products and those resources are able to respond to local demands.

I have asked the Ministry to make an in-depth study immediately on this question and in consultation with the Planning Commission we would like to identify certain products which we

would like to reserve for this particular sector so that we do not confine ourselves only to lip-service to the rural, cottage, village and khadi industries, but that we specify the products, and we see that action is taken at the lowest unit level.

By and large small-scale industry is taken as an industry where there is an investment of Rs. 10 lakhs and if it is ancillary industry, Rs. 15 lakhs. But I have just now discovered that 97 per cent of this small-scale sector is really a very tiny sector, smaller than the small-scale sector. It is tiny because the investment is less than Rs. 2 lakhs in 97 per cent of the small-scale sectors. I have also discovered that those who are in 10 lakhs range are tiny and small whose investment, as I said—97 per cent of them—is less than Rs. 2 lakhs and 66 per cent of them have an investment less than Rs. 1 lakh. This is a small sector.

13.0 hrs.

We would like to see that this sector expands and expands rapidly. This sector faces a number of problems the most important of which is the competition which it faces from the larger organised sectors and where it seldom is able to survive. They also have marketing problems, especially, the tiny sector. They still really have headed out and they also have problems of finance. Even the nationalised banks, as we have just now witnessed, are able to pour Rs. 25 crores into big business but they seldom find Rs. 25,000 for these small-scale sectors. So, the problem of finance is there.

We would like to tackle them and we shall see that high priority is given to this sector also.

Then, I come to the large houses, large sectors. There have been suggestions in the recent past, particularly, from the industries that the definition of the large houses should be diluted, that from Rs. 20 crores, it should not be raised to Rs. 75 crores.

I am sorry that it is not possible. We do not favour this proposal. There is a lot of pleading on the part of the large sectors that they are the ones who have the expertise; they are the ones who have the resources and they are the ones who have all that is required, all the ability that is required to expand and to really go all-out in developing our industry.

So, frankly speaking, I do not share this view. In so far as money is concerned and in so far as resources are concerned, the resources of the big houses come from the public financial institutions like the Life Insurance Corporation, Unit Trust of India, the nationalised Banks, the I.C.I.C.I. to name them who are the ones who sustain this sector. Another large part of the money comes from the shareholders whatever be the size of the equity. Hardly 15 per cent of the equity is held by the directors and their brothers and sisters and other relations a general and very vague term—and the rest of the money comes from the ordinary people, through savings and a bulk of the money, as I said, 75 to 80 per cent of the money, is from the public financial institutions of this country. So, one need not talk about having resources. They do not have them. In so far as expertise and abilities are concerned, I say that the expertise is not something that is inherited. There are people who believed that these were matters of inheritance a few days ago and who still believe that the expertise in other sectors is inherited from the administration to the political and to the industrial levels.

So, we do not subscribe to this view. There are professional managers in this country—engineers and others—who are very able people and they are the ones who are really manning the industry whatever the size of the house. They are the ones who are manning the industry—the professional managers—and, therefore this idea that big houses are the ones who alone can deliver the goods is a proposition which is not acceptable to

me. And, therefore, there is going to be no dilution. On the contrary, steps will be taken to see that concentration of economic power in monopoly houses is curbed. If they have all the expertise, I would like them to put back the expertise and, if they have all the resources, I would like them to put their resources into research and development sections of their own industries. I do not wish to dwell much on this point. But, nevertheless, I would like to mention the fact that in research and development section, big houses have done pretty little in the last thirty years. Indeed the industries still run after the multi-national collaboration and take the expertise. Take any industry from automobiles down to what you have. They are still unable to have some of the most important and basic and minor parts that go into the industry or even the ingredients that go into the industry. There is hardly any break-through in technology which is the responsibility of these big houses. I would like to be enlightened on what are the areas where they have made a break-through in the technology. We keep shouting about our scientists going away, namely, brain drain. Sir, it is primarily because the big sector in this country has failed in its responsibility to provide avenues for our scientists and engineers to go along and show their own talent particularly in the sphere of research and development. Therefore, I would like this sector while curbing its urge to expand further and swallow whatever comes in its way to concentrate little more on research and development so that expertise and technical know-how about which a lot is spoken is made available to the entire country and, particularly, to those sectors of the country where we need to put in much greater effort.

Then I come to the public sector. There have been suggestions here and there. In fact, during the last three months a number of Members on the other side of the House have been

[Shri George Fernandes] speaking about the public sector getting neglected and no mention having been made of the public sector in the Budget speech of the Finance Minister. So far as my own Ministry is concerned there are 32 undertakings under the Industries Ministry and my Ministry is also concerned with the public sector generally since it is part of the industry. There were people in this country who wanted to put an end to the public sector. I do not dispute that. If hon'ble Members have forgotten I would like to read one paragraph of a very interesting interview that appeared in the newspapers dated 28th August, 1975. I quote:

"Q: Basically, it means you are against the public sector or its functioning.

A: I think the public sector should function only in competition with the private sector and where it cannot function in competition with the private sector it should be allowed to die a natural death.

Q: The government could run certain sections.

A: Why should the government run them. Why should not let the private sector run them and government have control over them. I mean they can say you can function under these guidelines, put all the controls you like but use their expertise."

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Who is this great authority who gave the interview?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: This great authority was the rising sun of this country. This great authority was the only one who was deemed fit to run this country in the next generation. It is to the good fortune of this country that the people who held this view that the public sector should be allowed to die a natural death them-

selves died a natural death in so far as the public life of this country is concerned.

Sir, the Janata Government will develop the public sector. We will make it more efficient. We will see that whatever impediments are there in its proper functioning will be removed. The public sector has its faults. It is not efficient: at least not to the degree that we would like it to be. It has not been able to divorce lot of bureaucratic hangovers. Lot of people think that they are not responsible. We would like to correct whatever shortcomings there are in this sector. The shortcomings are many—some of which we have inherited. We would like to identify the same and correct them.

Sir, we would like to expand the public sector in the sphere of ancillary industry and last but not the least we would like to formulate a policy where workers association with the running of the public sector does not remain a slogan but it is translated into reality.

Then there are sick units in this country about which we generally have a weekly debate in this House. Many of the critics of the public sector forget that most sick units belong to the private sector. The main reason why these units are sick is that they are mismanaged.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Corruption also.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Yes, also corruption. But that is a part of mismanagement. I would like to have an effective monitoring and corrective action on the part of our Government to see that there is no sickness, in other words to prevent an industry from going sick. We know how these industries fell sick.

We also know that most of the sickness is because of the patronage which these industrialists received from the Government. That patronage will not be available now. On the contrary I propose to set up a special cell in my Ministry, associating with it the Finance Ministry, Commerce Ministry and the Home Ministry. I repeat Home Ministry because it is important to see that those who misuse public money, misuse public trust are apprehended at the right time. If a worker goes late to the factory, he gets charge-sheeted. But if an industrialist goes with Rs. 25.0 crores down the drain, he goes scot-free. We shall not accept this proposition and the kind of culture that has been nurtured in this country for the last 30 years. There is one rule for 'haves' and there is another rule for 'have-nots'. This shall not be allowed to continue. We will put an end to it. Therefore, in so far as the sick units are concerned, we would like to see that there is no sickness in the first instance and we should do everything necessary at our level to see that if anyone tries to go sick, we put him on the right track before he really goes sick.

Then I come to the foreign collaboration and investment. There will be areas where some amount of foreign collaboration and investment may be necessary. But we shall be selective. There shall be no collaboration for brassiers and biscuits. But such areas where there is a high degree of technical sophistication, such areas where new and modern technology are essential in certain spheres, in those areas there could be and there may be collaboration and investment. After all we have to correct economy that has been devastated during the last 30 years. I therefore believe that if it is all right for Vietnam for instance, to take a certain amount of foreign collaboration and foreign assistance to set right their war devastated economy, a certain amount of collaboration and technical and financial assistance, and investment may be necessary to set right our economy

which has also been devastated if not through war, at least through political action.

Then I come to the question of licensing. In so far as the licensing is concerned, I find that there has been a certain amount of liberalisation, but that liberalisation was not intended to make things easy for everyone. I presume there were certain people who wanted things to be made easy for themselves. There are some few irritants and we shall see that those irritants are removed and license is issued to fulfil the social objectives also.

[Sir, there are certain backward areas in this country and we notice that industrial development is getting concentrated in the metropolitan areas. I have always wondered why this is so. I always think that night life in the big cities may be one of the factors which attracts the industries for concentrating in the big cities and refusing to go into the rural and backward areas. The trade union activity is there everywhere. I do not think that one can prevent it. We would like to have an integrated approach to industrial development in the country. I would like to take care particularly of those areas which have been treated as some kind of internal colonies by the previous Government I would like to name particularly three areas—Orissa, Assam and Bihar and also the north eastern region in its entirety. I have just now returned from my rather extensive visit, a six-day visit. The amount of backwardness that one sees in these areas is quite unbelievable. There are areas where people have to run for 12 days at the rate of 12 miles a day to deliver a mail. Thousand years ago there were mail runners and now even after 30 years of freedom, we still have mail runners. That is the extent of development. Bihar, for instance, is rich in coal, ore and mica. Name the natural resources they are

[Shri George Fernandes]
 there, name the minerals they are there. But there is no development. Take Orissa, you have all the coal, iron that you need, hardly any development is there. Take Assam, oil and natural resources and timber are abundant there but no development. And this holds good for the entire north eastern region. We have been using these natural resources of these areas and developing certain metropolitan centres in this country. We would now like the entire development, linked with industry, to be carried on in a much more integrated way and see that the backwardness of this areas is removed. We shall formulate our policies to fulfil this objective. As I said, I just wanted to make a brief remark. I wanted to set at rest the number of controversies that have been coming, the number of misgivings that are there. I will therefore now conclude with just one request. I would request the hon. Members from all sides of the House to come forward with very concrete suggestions so that when we go ahead with the details of the broad policy outline that we have made here, we have some very concrete suggestions to act upon, particularly those members who in the past could not do what perhaps they wanted to do so that we could implement them.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU
 (Chittoor): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to take over sick mills and industries(5).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure of Bharat Leather Corporation in starting leather units in some States(4).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to produce necessary cement required for the country (5).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to manufacture required artificial limbs(6).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to manufacture tractors required for the country(7).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to manufacture transformers and other electrical appliances required for the country (8).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for manufacturing required number of scooters (9).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to industrialise drought prone and backward areas (10).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to protect hand made match industry from machine made match industry(11).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to break monopolies in industries(12).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to get profits in many nationalised industrial projects (13).]

"That the demand under the head 'Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase subsidy to industries to be started in famine stricken areas(14).]

"That the demand under the head 'Village and Small Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for starting mini industrial estates in rural areas(19).]

"That the demand under the head 'Village and Small Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to develop rural industries(20).]

"That the demand under the head 'Village and Small Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for developing Khadi industry(21).]

"That the demand under the head 'Village and Small Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase financial assistance to rural industries(22).]

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR
(Trivandrum): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to take over closed engineering units in West Bengal, Bombay and Tamil Nadu(34).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Delay in setting up paper plants in Nowgong and Cachar (35).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Reported cancellation of orders pending with Larsen and Toubro and Jessops for paper machinery (36).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide better and adequate housing facilities to the industrial workers(37).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for setting up industries in backward areas in the country (38).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to extend assistance to Kerala Government to implement their policy of setting up mini industrial estates(39).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to evolve an integrated national policy on industrial estates to create further avenues of employment(40).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to set right affairs in HEC Ranchi resulting in heavy loss of production(41).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to speed up work on cement factory at Valayee(42).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase cement production in the country(43).]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to settle the demands of cement workers(44).]

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN Badagara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are very grateful to Mr. George Fernandes for making an outline, though a very sketchy and brief one, of what is supposed to be the Janata Thrust on industrial development. The former Minister had been replaced by a Houdini trick of the Prime Minister! He had been threatening to come forward with a white paper and he had been threatening to come before the House with details of his industrial policy! The Prime Minister, probably, for his own reasons, has decided to replace him with a man who by all accounts is more dynamic. Mr. George Fernandes has taken the first opportunity to give us an outline to suggest that the Janata Party is not full of false promises and false signals. I would now like to go into some of the brief remarks that he has made.

Not only that, because he has accepted the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, I would like to go into some of the remarks and speeches made by some of his colleagues, not excluding the Home Minister Mr. Charan Singh who has put forward his own theory of economic development.

What is the Janata frame work besides its emphasis on neo-Gandhism, besides its emphasis on various things like 'Welfare for all'

लोकः । समस्तः : सुखिनो भवन्तु ।

It is a very very, desirable concept. This is what you find in Janata Manifesto, besides of course a kind of vicarious asceticism! I am sure that Mr. George Fernandes at least remembers those phrases, of 'Widowed Gandhians and sterile marxists, who had done damage to this country to use a devastating phrase of late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia.

I find the same in the Janata Party manifesto as well as in various other pronouncements of their Spokesmen—of that of 'widowed Gandhians' Now let us go into some of these things because they are relevant to the consideration of the Industrial Policy of the Janata Government at this stage; because we do not know the operational guidelines, we do not know how they are going to function except for the brief remarks that have just been made on the floor of the House. Mr. Charan Singh in a recent speech said that he was against all controls and regulations, that he would prohibit big industry from entering into many areas and that he would want them to produce only for exports. But Mr. Mohan Dharia says that he is against export-led growth. When Mr. Charan Singh would want 50 per cent of the products of the large-scale industries to be reserved exclusively for exports, Mr. Mohan Dharia says, "We are against export-led growth; this export led growth is the policy of the Congress Government". I am happy Mr. George Fernandes said that he would not allow the public sector to die and he quoted Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, I presume. Dr. Subramaniam Swamy and other leading lights of the Janata Party have been going around at least in the South—in Cochin, Trivandrum and various other places—almost repeating the very same sentiments as those quoted by the Minister for Industries just now and repeating almost the very same words which he has just now quoted. If I knew that he would be quoting, I would have quoted back! I am happy he said there would be curb on monopolies, whereas Mr. Charan Singh said, "We are not for controls" and Dr. Subramaniam Swamy said, "The present regulatory framework has to be changed, not excluding curbs on monopolies." From all these utterances, I can only conclude that this is a mindless party and a mindless Government at least as far as industrial policy is concerned. It was all right to be so in February or March, but it is most unpardonable to

be so after staying in power for 100 days. Their inability to evolve a proper policy has been further confirmed by the replacement of the Minister of Industry, as I said, by a Houdini trick of the Prime Minister.

Let us look at the budget which has the imprimatur of the Cabinet. Mr. Fernandes talks about curbing monopolies, but this budget contains so many concessions to the monopoly houses in the private sector. Mr. Madhu Limaye had characterised the budget correctly and I agree with his assessment. What are the concessions he has given to closely-held companies and in regard to capital gains tax? How does he deal with the small scale industries, radio and tool manufacturers? This is the Janata projection! Mr. Fernandes talks of the magnetic attraction that the cities hold for large-scale industries. It is not only night life but there are various other considerations. I thought this remark should not have come from the Industries Minister. What else do we find in the budget? Denigration of the public sector. The Industries Minister tried to run away by quoting Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. He cannot run away from the budget speech of the Finance Minister, H. M. Patel where at page 5, it is said:

"Primacy of agriculture does not imply indifference towards or neglect of, modern industry. All that it implies is that in so far as a larger proportion of investible resources available to the public sector is diverted to agricultural development, resources for industrial growth will have to be found increasingly by enterprises themselves generating larger internal resources of their own through more efficient operation as well as more effective pricing policies."

There are many more to be quoted. Whatever else may be, you will have to do violence to facts to sug-

gest that the Congress Government in 30 years did not pay sufficient attention to agriculture and by reducing everything to the level of your manifesto, all the complex continental problems of a very complex, diverse economy to a single set of crucial issues, do you think you can run away from your responsibility? It is total misinterpretation of the history of Indian planning to suggest that agriculture has been neglected.

What has been going on during the last 100 days has been steady undermining of the public sector, whatever else the Minister for Industries may have said here. What was conceived by Jawaharlal Nehru as pace-setter, to quote Mr. Bahuguna's words yesterday, for the economy, what was sought to be in charge of commanding heights of economy is sought to be debilitated, whereas there has been, at least the Minister should know, an all round growth in turnover and profitability, investment, sales and capacity utilisation in the public sector. Its gross profit has gone up from Rs. 146 crores in 1970-71 to Rs. 668 crores in 1975-76, a rise of 290 per cent and a net profit of Rs. 306 crores, a rise of almost unbelievable 1400 per cent.

You say there is no systematic denigration. What happened in the Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi? I would like to find out what the Minister, who has just been replaced by you, did there. I would quote from 'The Times of India' dated June 23, 1977:

"One of the major reasons for the difference in the performance is that morale is high in steel, but sagging in heavy industry." Some prominent Janata leaders, particularly the Industries Minister, have persistently been running down heavy industry in public speeches as well as in all committee meetings."

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan]

Now, you have only to go through the production figures of the last 100 days which cannot be denied in the Heavy Engineering complex in Ranchi.

Now, I come to Bharat Heavy Electricals. Another corporate plant of that great organisation which is one of the greatest heavy electrical firms today in the world, about which every Indian should be proud of is in jeopardy, thanks to this Minister. And REMCO which is a subsidiary of BHEL, has been asked even to give up its programme, even after the tooling has been over on industrial electronic items and still the Minister maintains that he would still do everything at his command to protect the public sector. As I pointed out earlier, the contradictions in Janata Party and pulls and counter-pulls and the domination of a section of people who are basically against the idea of industry itself would compel the Minister not to come forward with clear-cut policy formulations.

What is the strategy of industrialisation? It is not only to raise the national output and to achieve self-sustained growth, but also to have more even income distribution and social equity to promote regional development; and above all to acquire confidence in the future and use of our highly developed manpower resources. Can this be achieved by the policy formulations of the Janata party?

I will come back to Mr. Charan Singh. He wants to reserve the large-scale sector to produce only for exports. I agree, that though the whole process of industrialization in the country has achieved many things for us, thanks to the far-reaching wisdom of Jawaharlal Nehru, several distortions have also appeared. That is why the noted economist Charles Bettelheim called in the path of 'pseudo-industrialization.' Firstly, it

is the high capital intensity of Indian industry. It costs Rs. 32,890/- for every job in projects financed by the ICICI. This was an earlier estimate. This was in 1968. Now it must have gone up.

More important is the demand pattern. Given the present level of incomes both in the rural and urban sectors, and considering the dimensions of our poverty, we cannot sell many industrial goods in the country. This was proved in a study undertaken which said this about our industrial sector:

"An important feature of the Indian economy is the very narrow and distorted nature of industrial structure in the country. Basically, all the industries in general, and consumer goods industries in particular, cater by and large to the demands of a very small section of the rural and urban elite."

In 1969, out of the total urban market of industrial goods—which was at Rs. 1600 crores—Rs. 568 crores worth or more than 35 per cent of it was consumed by the top 10 per cent urban rich; and again out of Rs. 4600 crores—worth of rural market—this is very crucial for the Janata party—the 10 per cent rural rich consumed goods worth Rs. 1724 crores—that is, 37.6 per cent. That is a basic constraint of Indian industry and it is this distortion in the demand structure. I would argue that the main constraint is not only capacity utilization. Under utilization of capacity also plays its role apart from power and other constraints mentioned by the Minister. The built in capacity cannot be utilized because they do not have the wherewithal to buy the goods turned out. That is the crucial problem.

That is why agriculture is important. Unless you have thorough-going land reforms in this country, unless you have a fundamental transforma-

tion of the agrarian scene, you cannot put money in the pockets of the people, particularly in the larger rural market. Mr. Charan Singh has already declared that there is going to be no further ceiling and no talk of land reforms! I will quote the new Finance Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Ashoke Mitra, who was also the Economic Adviser to the Government of India. He says:

"Unless the institutional issues afflicting the Indian agrarian scene are first resolved, it is fairly pointless to expatiate on the Arcadia that would be brought about through the development of agriculture, agro-industries, small and cottage industries."

These deformities will remain as long as these demand and product patterns continue. You cannot solve this problem unless you engineer a fundamental transformation of the agrarian scene, which the Janata Party is not committed to, and which it is going to sabotage.

Another crucial point is the question of regional imbalances. It is very vital. I have been shouting in this House hoarse about it, not with much result. I am sure that possibly the same things might continue. But I wish to warn the House that the entire future of our country is at stake, if you do not pay enough attention to this.

We had made two or three important contributions, particularly in the backward area development programme, on the basis of what is known as the Pande Committee Report, which is politically not a very feasible report for various reasons. Now the whole point is what happened to the subsidy of 15 per cent that went into the backward area development programme? It went into the monopoly houses; it went into the pockets of a few and it also went into the peripheral region. It went into the hands of the old entrepre-

neurs and to the same product pattern. This is such an issue which can have, regardless of our differences on parties, very serious consequences for the country. I do not want to say anything about one State or the other. That is not the point. You will see that much of the development has gone into the three highly industrialised States of Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu, where you also have three highly centralised industrial regions—Bombay-Poona, Calcutta-Asansol and Madras. This has been the nucleus of our industrial development. Unless you pay attention to this very serious problem by changing the criteria for investment, I am sure it will only be utilized again by the monopolists whom you want to curb.

There is a lot of talk of regulatory framework. Obviously, as the former Finance Minister, Shri Subramaniam, pointed out in his budget speech whatever Shri George Fernandes, Shri Chandrasekhar or Shri Madhu Limaye might say, there are a lot of people in the Janata Party who believe in the Swatantra ideology.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka):
It is a democratic party.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:
May be a democratic party, but it has a projection of certain Swatantra ideology. I am not saying that you are a Swatantrite! Undoubtedly, the fact remains that these projections are very visible in this budget and various other pronouncements of Shri Subramaniam Swamy and others. I am not for bureaucratic controls at all. There are many controls, like control on automobiles, which is meaningless. At the same time, it is very amusing to see that there is no price control on truck chasis, which is used for mass transport and transportation of goods. There is price control on automobiles and cement, 40 per cent of which is

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan]

consumed by the Government. One of the sources of black money generation in our economy has been this bureaucratic control. Instead of using this in key areas and pressing it hard and implementing it, it was given such an even spread that practically in every industrial commodity you were generating black money, whether it is cement, fertilizer or hundred other items, to the extent of nearly Rs. 1,500 crores a year, while at the same time compromising on the regulatory framework in its details in key areas of industrial production.

I am glad that something has come out by way of a pronouncement, official pronouncement, regarding the attitude towards monopolies. But I would point out that even if the Congress Government had not done it, there is no reason why you should not enforce the MRTP Act very effectively. I would also ask him to consider whether the definition of "dominant undertaking" in the MRTP Act should not undergo a change. I remember once Mr. Madhu Limaye had brought forward a Bill in this House. Now that they are demanding that they should be scaled up to Rs. 75 crores, the definition and various other loopholes in the MRTP are very crucial, but I know that, now that the Janata Party has become the sanctuary of vested interests, not only the native ones but of those who have shifted their loyalties from the Congress to the Janata Party, it would be very difficult for them to pursue this path.

An equally important point which has not been clarified by the Minister in his preliminary remarks is their attitude towards multi-nationals. It was fashionable earlier in this House—we had heard even the Congress Ministers, not to speak of Opposition Members—to say that if the Soviet Union could call Fiat or Monsanto Chemicals and various other multi-nationals why not we? But there is

a crucial difference. The Soviet Union, after 40 years of socialist development, with a rich capital base, with a powerful technological and material base can absorb foreign technology without damage to its independence and its sovereignty or the essential features of its economy, but not so India, though we are not as backward as was made out by the Minister, because he wanted to have a dig at the Congress Government and Congress policies. But some of its architects of our policy are sitting there, not excluding the Prime Minister. He cannot run away from the responsibility of Congress policies. He was in the Working Committee, he was a Minister for 15 or 20 years. Not only was he the Finance Minister, he was a very important man besides being the Finance Minister. Not all Finance Ministers are important that way!

So, it is very important to remember that we have a diversified economy and that though we have achievements, we have still not reached that point when we can have a large infusion of multi-national participation in key or sophisticated industries. It will also lead only to export-led growth. Shri Charan Singh wants fifty per cent of the production of large scale sector to be marked for export, as though we are not susceptible to the international market mechanism at all, as though whatever you produce in Meerut or Ghaziabad will be absorbed by the international market! It will only make you more susceptible to the influence of the multi-nationals.

Another important thing is the choice of technology. Multi-nationals, with their global operations, have a technology which is wholly irrelevant to our conditions except in terms of exports, and now that the Minister has said that we should go in for labour-intensive technology, for pro-

motion of rural and urban employment, there is no choice other than to close the door to them except in some areas where it might be necessary. So, I would like to get a clarification on this point.

About the role of small-scale and cottage industries, there has been a lot of talk about it. The Ford Foundation expert, Mr. Eugene Staley, was brought here, and for a long time this talk has been going on, but the most important question is whether we can turn to the historical experience of Japan or other countries to our advantage and whether they should have an autonomous or ancillary role.

He referred to the tiny sector. There are many genuine individuals in the tiny sector.

It is also this tiny sector which has been indulging in blackmarketing of scarce raw materials. I can give you a number of examples. So, it is not only the question of organisation but it is also a question whether you are going to put all kinds of raw materials, credit, etc. into the pocket of these people. It is only in areas of considerable agricultural growth as in Ludhiana where this technology as well as this pattern of industrial organisation can effectively function. But, ultimately, the choice of technology rests with those who own the means of production. It cannot be decided by anyone else.

Similarly, with regard to cottage industries, this strategy was tried earlier for solution of the rural unemployment. I do not know whether as a strategy it is preferable to rural works programme but it was also tried. Now the officials will undoubtedly, argue and say it is inflationary in impact because everybody is afraid of deficit financing. I am not afraid of deficit financing to that extent. You have just mentioned about rural unemployment and they will say ru-

ral works programme will have inflationary impact." Dr. Lohia used to talk about land army project which was dear to him and rural works programme. What is not possible through cottage industry may be possible in the alternate strategy of rural employment through rural works programme. The difficulty with our cottage industries is that its expansion is only possible at the expense of more efficient and lower unit cost competitors. Markets have no use for their products. Their full price cannot be realised in the market. So, it has to operate on subsidies. And it cannot operate on the basis of local demand. With the poor assets position of our artisans, they cannot stock raw materials etc. If you funnel credit into them, you will get into difficulty. So, this is an area of serious policy challenge. I with Mr. George Fernandes all success in this.

But, I will conclude by quoting from a study under taken by Hemalata Dandekar and Sulabha Brahame of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune:

"With the commercialisation of crops a villager both sells his product to the city and buys his inputs there. In the process he becomes more closely linked into the urban complex. Rural demand is thus being increasingly satisfied by products of the factory sector. With improved bus and truck service villagers have gained better access to the city and are now accustomed to getting more goods and services there. This applies to even the poorest in the village as is seen from the daily purchases of the Lapur (Maharashtra) agricultural workers." And again "Given the present trend of commercialisation of crops, distribution of land and other assets in the village and the present resource base, it is unrealistic to conceive of building up rural industries that utilise local products to meet local demand."

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan]

As I said, I am all for it. But I am not sure you will succeed because it depends on many other basic and fundamental questions. I would say, whatever has been emphasized in the remarks made earlier by the hon. Minister, whatever we can see through the thin or thick veil of the Janata Party's industrial policy, is an un concealed preference for private sector, denigration of public sector in the name of decentralisation, new capacity being created, for private sector, and talk of no nationalisation. These are some of the major things plus plenty of concessions in Mr. Patel's Budget.

Before I conclude, I refer to a very crucial point. There is a small unit in your Ministry called, a commission of inquiry into the Birla House. In the Report of the Ministry, on p. 56, in para 2. it is stated:

"The inquiry by the Commission is in various stages in respect of different matters. Two public hearings were held in respect of item (ii) above during the year under report."

I can say, this is what was done by the Government. This is going to be a touch stone not only for the Janata Party but also for my old comrade George Fernandes. While I wish him all luck, I have to say that you cannot repeat the path of Brazil or any other country as is sought to be developed by your friends of the Janata Party while there is no alternative to a vigorous programme of industrialisation to resolve the basic contradictions but also to create a strong self-reliant economy and the prosperous country.

श्री मधु लिमये (बांका) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आजकल मैं इस सभा की कार्य-बाही में ज्यादा हिस्सा नहीं लेता। लेकिन कल जब मैंने एकोनामिक टाइम्स देखा तो मुझे लगा कि आज के विवाद में मुझे भी भागीदारी करनी चाहिए। यह पहले पृष्ठ पर खबर छपी है बम्बई में :

"Shares react. Pivotal scrips suffered a set-back in unofficial deals late in the evening here today following the announcement of a minor reshuffle of portfolios in the Union Cabinet.

Century, for instance, which rose from the official closing of Rs. 485.50 to Rs. 487 declined to Rs. 480 in later deals. Gujarat State Fertiliser declined from Rs. 574 to Rs. 568 while there were sellers at Rs. 43.25 for Gwalior Rayon."

मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जैसे ही मेरे मित्र की नियुक्ति उद्योग मंत्री के नाते हुई वैसे ही सेन्चुरी वालों को और ग्वालियर ग्यान वालों को इतनी घबराहट क्यों हो गई? क्या वे सोचते थे कि नए उद्योग मंत्री नत्काल विरला कंसर्न का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर देंगे? मेरा जहां तक ब्याल है सरकार की नीति से न डीनैशनलाइजेशन के मामले में कोई परिवर्तन होने वाला है और न नैशनलाइजेशन के मामले में कोई परिवर्तन होने वाला है, तब फिर इस घबराहट का कारण क्या है? यदि वह यह समझते हैं कि नये मंत्री इनके द्वारा जो रिश्वतखोरी, करों की चोरी और इनके उद्योग के संचालन में जो बेईमानी चलती है, उस के ऊपर कठोर नियन्त्रण रखेंगे तो मैं समझता हूं कि इनका यह भय स्वाभाविक है, सभी उद्योगपतियों को ऐसा भय रखना चाहिए।

अभी हम ने अपने लायक दोस्त की तक्रारीर सुनी, वे भूल गए किन 11 वर्षों में हमारे देश में उन के नेता का अधिराज्य रहा, इस लिए इन 11 वर्षों में जो कुछ भी हुआ है उस की जिम्मेदारी जनता सरकार या जनता पार्टी पर नहीं है, बल्कि कांग्रेस पार्टी और भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी की है।

विगत 25-30 वर्षों में कुछ निरर्थक बहसे हमारे देश में चलीं, जैसे निजी क्षेत्र और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का विवाद । मैं उस को इस लिए निरर्थक कहता हूँ—ईमानदारी से सोचा जाय तो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के लिए भी विशाल कार्यक्षेत्र है और अगर निजी क्षेत्र भी ईमानदारी से काम करेगा तो उन के लिए भी कार्य क्षेत्र सीमित नहीं है बहुत बड़ा कार्य क्षेत्र है । इस लिए इस बहस में कुछ तथ्य हैं—ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता हूँ । अब एक नई बहस हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने छोड़ी है—बड़े उद्योग बनाम-छोटे उद्योग । अगर वे जनता पार्टी का घोषणा-पत्र जरा गौर से पढ़ेंगे तो उन को पता चलेगा कि जनता पार्टी ने कभी यह नहीं कहा है कि मुल्क में जितने बड़े उद्योग हैं, हैबी इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, उन को हम लोग समाप्त करने वाले हैं । जनता पार्टी ने यह कहा है कि जहाँ छोटे उद्योगों के जरिए लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति सम्भव है, वहाँ हम प्रयास करेंगे कि छोटे उद्योग हों, कुटीर-उद्योग हों । लेकिन राष्ट्र हित में जहाँ बड़े उद्योग लगाने की जरूरत है, वहाँ निश्चित रूप से बड़े उद्योगों का विकास किया जायगा । अब हम जानते हैं—इस्पात का कारखाना कुटीर उद्योग में नहीं लग सकता है, तो इतने हम लोग बेवकूफ नहीं है कि उस को कुटीर उद्योग में लगायें । इस लिए उन को समझ लेना चाहिए कि हमारी नीति क्या है ।

अभी माननीय मंत्री जी ने पूर्वोत्तर भारत का उल्लेख किया—वहाँ सड़कों की, संचार साधनों की जो स्थिति है, उस से आप अवगत हैं । क्या आप समझते हैं कि हैबी इण्डस्ट्रीज उस इलाके में लगाई जा सकती हैं? उन इलाकों में तो छोटे उद्योगों, कुटीर उद्योगों के जरिए ही बेरोजगारी के सवाल को हल

किया जा सकता है । इस तरह के अनाप-शनाप आरोप लगाने के बजाय जनता पार्टी की जो नीतियां हैं उन को समझने का प्रयास उन्नी कृष्णन जी करेंगे तो काफी रोशनी उन को मिलेगी ।

अब जहाँ तक सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र और निजी क्षेत्र का सवाल है—सच्चाई तो यह है कि दोनों क्षेत्रों में भयंकर खराबियां हैं । आप निजी क्षेत्र को देखिये—कुछ क्षेत्र जरूर ऐसे हैं जहाँ आप देखेंगे कि कार्यक्षमता अच्छी है, लेकिन उसमें बेइमानी है, मुनाफा-खोरी है, करों की चोरी है—ये सारे दोष हैं । इतना ही नहीं, हमारे देश में कभी-कभी लगता है—सही मानों में पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था अभी भी चल रही है । लेकिन इस के बारे में मुझे सन्देह है, तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह सामन्ती पूंजीवाद है, क्योंकि जो बड़े-बड़े घराने हैं उद्योगपतियों के, उन के जो बच्चे हैं, पोते हैं नाती हैं, चाहे योग्य हों या न हों, बड़े-बड़े कारखानों का व्यवस्थापक उन को बनाया जाता है और उन के हाथ में बड़े सौंप दिये जाते हैं । किसी भी आधुनिक पूंजीवादी देश में आप देखें, अमेरिका की फोर्ड कम्पनी को आप जानते हैं कि वह भी पब्लिक कम्पनी हो गई और उसकी व्यवस्था का जो काम है, मैनेजमेंट का काम है, जो कुशल मैनेजर हैं, उनके हाथ में है । लेकिन हमारे देश में यह स्थिति नहीं है । इसके बारे में मैं बाद में अर्ज करूंगा लेकिन इस समय तो मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि उद्योग के क्षेत्र में केवल सामन्तवाद और विशिष्ट परिवारों का असर है । यही हमारा दोष नहीं है । दूसरा हमारा दोष यह है कि हरेक उद्योगपति का परिवार कितने ही कारखाने और कम्पनियां चलाने का प्रयास करते हैं । बिरला जी कपड़ा और एल्युमिनियम से लेकर मटर के डिब्बे तैयार करने तक में अपना हस्तक्षेप करते हैं । टाटा इस्पात, बिजली से लेकर नेलसन रेडियो पैदा करने जैसे सभी क्षेत्रों में अपना

[श्री मधु लिमये]

दखल रखते हैं। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आर्थिक सत्ता का विकेंद्रीकरण हो तो इसके अलावा कोई अन्य चारा नहीं है कि नये कुशल एन्टरप्रिन्योर्स को प्रोत्साहन दें। ऐसे एन्टरप्रिन्योर्स को प्रोत्साहन देना होगा जो बिरला और टाटा के अधीन न रह कर स्वतंत्र रूप से अपने उद्योग चलाएँ। अगर यह नहीं होगा तो मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि आप लाख भाषण दीजिए, घोषणापत्र तैयार कीजिए, उद्योगों में जो आर्थिक केन्द्रीकरण है, वह खत्म होने वाला नहीं है। यह क्यों नहीं होने वाला है? इसलिए नहीं होने वाला है कि ये जो बड़े बड़े परिवार हैं, इनका नौकरशाही के ऊपर इतना असर रहता है जो कि आपसे या किसी से छिपा नहीं है। ये आई०सी०एस० और आई०ए०एस० अधिकारी जब सेवा निवृत्त हो जाते हैं तो इनको इन उद्योगों में महत्वपूर्ण जगहें मिलती हैं। अब उनके नीचे काम करने वाले जो अधिकारी हैं, चाहे वह एडीशनल सेक्रेटरी हों, चाहे ज्वाइंट सेक्रेटरी हों, क्या आप उनसे उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि वे अपने को अपने ऊपर वाले अधिकारी के प्रभाव से, दबाव से मुक्त रख सकेंगे? क्या उन पर उस सेवा निवृत्त अधिकारी का दबाव या प्रभाव नहीं होगा? घूसखोरी की बात आप छोड़ दीजिए। इस तरह आप देखेंगे कि अफसरशाही और निजी क्षेत्र का ऐसा गन्दा रिश्ता बन गया है जिसको खत्म नहीं किया जा सका है। इसमें राजनीतिज्ञों का भी हित बन गया है। कौन नहीं जानता कि राष्ट्रपति से लेकर मंत्रियों तक के लिए या उनके परिवारों के लिए बड़ी बड़ी विदेशी कम्पनियों, पूंजीवादी कम्पनियों, देशी पूंजीवादी कम्पनियों में स्थान पैदा किये जाते हैं। योग्यता हो न हो, उन्हें इन पदों पर आसीन किया जाता है। क्योंकि लायसेंस पाने समय, लॉस और कर्ज पाने समय ये लोग इन कम्पनियों की मदद करते हैं। यह इकोनॉमिक

टाइम कोई समाजवादी अड्डार नहीं है। मैं बताता हूँ इसने इसके बारे में क्या लिखा है--

"In the absence of a proper phasing of licences, there were certain pressures on the financial institutions for rupee funds and foreign exchange resources. The successful entrepreneurs in the process pre-empted industrial capacities and encouraged concentration of economic power."

जब तक अफसरशाही, राजनीति और बड़े बड़े उद्योगातियों के बीच जो रिश्ता है, गंदा रिश्ता है, इसको समाप्त नहीं किया जाता तब तक आर्थिक सत्ता के केन्द्रीकरण को प्रक्रिया रूक नहीं पायेगी।

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): Are you going to nationalise all Birla concerns? What is your policy?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Lakkappa. let the hon. Member have his say.

श्री मधु लिमये: औद्योगिक क्षेत्र की समस्याएँ बड़ी कठिन हैं। इन्हें कियो जादू को डग्डो से तो सुजझाया नहीं जा सकता। इसको जरा गहराई में जा कर सोचिए।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि विगत तीस साल में जो पूंजी लगाने का काम था और हमारी पंच वष्रीय योजनाओं में और औद्योगिक नीति में जो बड़े बड़े लक्ष्य घोषित किए गए थे दोनों में कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा है। कौन नहीं जानना कि देश में काले घन की अर्थ व्यवस्था जिस को समानान्तर अर्थ व्यवस्था भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री ने कहा था उसके चलने जो ऐयासी का सामान था, अमीरों को खपत का जितना सामान था उसको पैदावार बढ़ती चली गई है, इनवैस्टमेंट के बिना, पूंजीकरण के बिना यह पैदावार बढ़ती नहीं है। आप इसके जिम्मेदार थे। जिस पूंजी की आवश्यकता राष्ट्रीयजीवन के लिए, आवश्यक उद्योगों के निर्माण के लिए थी उस मोमित पूंजी

को टेलीविजन एयर कंडिशनर, रेफ्रिजरेटर, और मोटर गाड़ी आदि उद्योगों में लगाने दिया गया। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो थोड़ा बहुत काले पैसे के खिलाफ एकशन लिया गया था उसके बाद इन चीजों के लिए जो मांग थी वह कम हो गई। आपके भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री श्री मुकुंदराय साहब ने क्या किया? हम लोगों को जेल में आपने रखा और इधर जनता के हित के कौन से काम कर रहे थे? आप कसेशन दे रहे थे रेफ्रिजरेटरों के लिए, टेलीविजन के लिए और बड़े लोगों की खपत की जो चीजें हैं उन के लिए आप करों को कम करते जा रहे थे। अन्तर्मुखी बन कर आपको सोचना चाहिए। पिछले तीस साल में आपने क्या किया? जनता पार्टी में नुस्स निकालने का काम करें तो यह ठीक नहीं। मैं चाहता हूँ जरूर आप टोका करें क्योंकि तुका राम ने कहा है: निन्दक नियरे राखिये आंगन कुटी छवाय। जो निन्दा करने वाला है उसको घर के नजदीक रखना चाहिए। इसलिए मैं जरूर चाहता हूँ कि ये मेरी बगल में बैठें।

एक सवाल आया बीमार कारखानों और मिलों का। यह कहा गया कि इनका टेक आवर करो। आपके लिए तो और कोई रास्ता नहीं सिवाय टेक ओवर और नेशनलाइजेशन के। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ये मिलें और कारखाने बीमार क्यों पड़ते हैं? ये पूंजीवादी लोग इन में से मलाई निकालें, बेईमानी करें, करों की चोरी करें, कच्चे माल की खरीद में, दूसरी चीजों की खरीद में और पैसा निकालते जाएं और फिर सरकार का दायित्व ही जाए यह कैसी विडम्बना है। सब से बड़े पूंजीवादी के और उनकी बेईमानी के समर्थक आप लोग रहे हैं जिन्होंने

कारखानों और मिलों को बीमार होने दिया। एक एक करके मैं आपको इतिहास बताता हूँ। मैं प्रारम्भ करता हूँ जयपुर उद्योग से (व्यवधान) प्रधान मंत्री की सब से बड़ी जिम्मेदारी होती है। अब जो सरकार बनी हैं उस में कोई यह नहीं कह सकता है कि मंत्रियों में सबसे बड़ी जिम्मेदारी प्रधान मंत्री की रहेगी और उससे हम लोग भागेंगे नहीं और मेरा ब्याल है कि मोरारजी भाई भी नहीं भागेंगे।

आप जयपुर उद्योग की बात सुनें। शायद श्री उन्नीकृष्णन जयपुर उद्योग को नहीं जानते। यह भी एक बड़े उद्योगपतियों के परिवार के कब्जे में रहा है। सेंट्रल बैंक के बड़े अफसर ने यह रिपोर्ट तैयार की थी जो मेरे हाथ में आई है। उस में से कुछ हिस्सा मैं पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उनके शब्दों में ही यह चीजे सामने आएगी तो अच्छा रहेगा।

"Jaipur Udyog Ltd. which has been banking with us since inception, started showing signs of sickness from around 1968 onwards and incurred a loss of Rs. 79.33 lacs in 1971-72 which has continuously increased since then: the accumulated losses as on the 30th June, 1975 were of the order of Rs. 12.30 crores as against the capital and reserves aggregating Rs. 400.64 lacs.

The main causes of JUL's unsatisfactory working have been as under:—

(i) continued fall in production arising out of complete neglect of the plant;

(ii) paucity of funds due to large-scale diversion of funds through their sole-selling agents-BOPL.

यह जो सोल सैलिंग एंजेसी है यह भी एक तरीका है लूट मचाने का।

[श्री मधु लिमये]

(iii) managerial misdemeanours in the areas of sales, purchases and expenditure.

In September, 1975, a stage came, when because of paucity of funds arising out of mounting cash losses, the Company had to suspend their operations"

फिर क्या हुआ ? साढ़े तीन हजार मजदूर बेकार होने लगे तो ट्रेड यूनियन वाले सब दिल्ली दौड़े कि कुछ करो । और नतीजा क्या हुआ ? नतीजा यह हुआ :

"The nursing programme, *inter alia* contemplated that the Company would need a sum of Rs. 12 crores (revised estimates Rs. 14 crores) to be provided by the Bank, term lending institutions, deferment of excise duty by the Central Government and sales tax and royalty by the State Government of Rajasthan and also by sale of certain surplus properties".

इसके बाद भी प्रॉजेक्ट क्या हुआ, मालूम है ?

"Shri Alok P. Jain may remain as Chairman of the Company's Board of Directors and the Management."

बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा है इसलिये नहीं जाता हूँ मैं इसमें। तो यह आप करते रहे 1968 से। कौन प्रधान मन्त्री थे ? और अन्त में यह नरसिंह प्रोग्राम जब लिया गया और 14 करोड़ रुपया जब दिया गया उस समय भी प्रधान मन्त्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी थीं ।

अब दूसरे परिवार के बारे में देखिये । यह परिवार कैसे बना मुझे मालूम नहीं । इनमें अधिक बेईमान शायद ही आपको कोई मिलेगा । यह हैं कापड़िया । आप समय देंगे तो सारी तस्वीर पूरे इण्डस्ट्रियल सेक्टर की मैं रखूंगा । आप यह न समझें कि मैं इधर नहीं आता हूँ तो जानकारी नहीं रखता हूँ । यह 1968 में जब हमारे दिवंगत श्री फखरुद्दीन अली इल्हाद इण्डस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर थे उस समय

मैंने कापड़िया की बेईमानी के बारे में उनको एक मेमोरेण्डम दिया था । उसके बाद उसके ऊपर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई । एक कम्पनी के बाद एक कम्पनी वह छीनते गये और एक बड़ी इण्डस्ट्रियल एम्पायर हो गई और उसमें मुधिर कापड़िया थे जो आपके प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स के बड़े दोस्त थे—संजय गांधी के । माहति लिमिटेड के यह डायरेक्टर भी थे । इन्होंने कोहिनूर मिल्स नाम की एक बड़ी मिल ली, हालांकि यह आपके क्षेत्र में नहीं आता है, श्री मोहन धारिया को आप बता दीजिये, मैंने प्रधान मन्त्री को जो मेमोरेण्डम दिया है उसमें से एक हिस्सा पढ़ कर सुनाये देता हूँ :

"Kohinoor Mills was a sound concern only a few years back, but it has been completely ruined by the Kapadias during the last few years. Even before the promulgation of the Emergency, the Kohinoor Mills had begun to show losses. The loss for the year 1974 was over Rs. 38 lakhs. In the year 1975-76 the net loss carried down rose to Rs. 682 lakhs. The year 1976-77 was, if anything, worse than the previous years. The accumulated losses are now in the neighbourhood of Rs. 17 crores. It should be remembered that these losses are absolutely fictitious. The syphoning off of the funds of the Mills by the Kapadias is responsible for this state of affairs. In the matter of sale of cloth, evasion of excise, cotton purchase, purchase of dies and chemicals, purchase of machinery and spares, the documents showed either deflated or inflated values, and the margin was syphoned off. These enormous losses were a direct consequence of the fantastic advances made to the Kohinoor Mills by the Central Bank of India"

तो यह 1968 से या उसके पहले से मैं इस सदन में अरुण्य रोदन करता रहा a cry in the wilderness लेकिन कुछ असर नहीं हुआ ।

It is a cry in the wilderness never-theless.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: We have all supported you.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Now what do you propose to do. You do something.

श्री मधु लिमये : लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि इफेक्टिव एक्शन के लिये आपने मेरे साथ क्या सहयोग किया ? कोई सहयोग नहीं किया ।

इस कापड़िया का दूसरा कंसर्न ले लीजिये नेशनल रेयन कार्पोरेशन बहुत बड़ी कम्पनी है । यह आपके मन्त्रालय में आती है या नहीं, इसका मुझे पता नहीं ।

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: They are all your Finance Minister's friends. I know how you are going to take action.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: Don't worry.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: You take action. We are going to support you. There is no question of hiding anything.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: For God's sake, have some patience, Mr. Lakkappa.

इस नेशनल रेयन कम्पनी के बारे में यहाँ पर बड़ी चर्चा हुई है और हम लोगों के कहने पर और हाईकोर्ट के स्ट्रक्चर्स के आधार पर कापड़िया को इस कम्पनी का नियन्त्रण और संचालन नहीं दिया गया । दो दूसरे निदेशक, डायरेक्टर्स नियुक्त किये गये । लेकिन यह कुछ समय के लिये हुआ । उसके बाद क्या हुआ, यह भी मैं एक मैमोरेण्डम से पढ़ता हूँ, क्योंकि इससे समय बच जायेगा ।

"As soon as H. R. Gokhale took over the Department of Company Affairs. he started abusing his position for the benefit of his own person as well as his family. It soon became a must for Company Managements

to engage his daughters and sons-in-law as advocates, if they were to expect any special favour from the Company Law Department. The autonomy of the Company Law Board became a fiction, and members of the Company Law Board obeyed the oral commands of the Minister. The Control of National Rayon was deliberately handed over to Sudhii Kapadiya."

यह हुआ या नहीं ? कौनसा समर्थन किया आपने ?

अभी की स्थिति है, एक सनसनीखेज बान आपको और बताता हूँ । इसी नेशनल रेयन के श्री गूजर मल मोदी ने 1,000 शेयर खरीदे हैं । आपकी जानकारी के लिये बताता हूँ । कि एक शेयर का मूल्य 350 रुपये है । पेपर पर 100 रुपये लिया है । एक करोड़ कापड़िया ने मोदी से अन्डर टेबल लिया है । कहां से आया मोदी के पास यह पैसा ?

मैं आपकी जानकारी के लिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि, इस मदन में मैंने मोदी रबर का मामला उठाया था । आपकी फाइनेन्शियल कार्पोरेशन के जो प्रतिनिधि डायरेक्टर बनकर बैठे, उनको हमने ज्वायन्ट पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी के सामने सभन किया था । उस समय उनकी मदद कौन कर रहा था ? आपके यशपाल कपूर । (ध्वजघान)

SHRI S. R. DAMANI: (Sholapur) What is all this?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I know this. As far as the time is concerned, I know what I have to do. I need not be reminded about time.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: Three months have gone and you have not taken any action.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि यह मोदी का मामला उठाया था और मैंने सुब्रह्मण्यम साहब को डाकुमेंटरी एवीडेंस दिया

[गी मधु लिमय]

था। इन्होंने 50 लाख रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा की चोरी की थी, और वह डाकुमेंट्स शायद सदन के पटल पर भी रख गये हैं। जब एमजेंसो आई, तो हम लोग जेल में सड़ रहे थे और आप लोग मोदी रबर के खिलाफ एकशन लेने के बजाय, उनसे चुनाव का कोष इकट्ठा कर रहे थे।

अभी मुझे याद आया, एक नीति सरकार की रही है। मैं हमेशा इसके खिलाफ रहा, आप उस पर पुनर्विचार कोजिये।

the policy of converting loans into equity.

यह भी एक बुराई है बड़े उद्योगपतियों की। मोदी रबड़ को फाइनेन्शियल इंस्टीट्यूशन और बैंकों ने कैसे बहुत पैसा दिया है। अब मान लीजिये, इक्विटी में कन्वर्ट करते हैं तो भी चोरी तो बँस रहेगी। कम्पनी लासेज दिखाने लगे तो कोई डिविडेंड नहीं मिलेगा। कम-से-कम कर्ज पर इन्टरेस्ट तो मिलता था। सरकार जो भी तरकीब निकाले, हिन्दुस्तान के पूंजीपतियों में यह खूबी है कि वे उमर तरकीब का इस्तेमाल अपने स्वार्थ के लिए करेंगे।

जहां तक मल्टी-नेशनल्स का प्रश्न है, मैं इसके बारे में भी बोलता रहा हूँ। मैं पहले स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी नीति कोई विदेशियों के द्वेष से प्रेरित नहीं हुई है। जहां हम लोगों के पास टेकनालोजी नहीं है, जहां राष्ट्र-जीवन के लिए विदेशी सहायता की जरूरत है, वहां मैं विदेशी सहायता लेने के पक्ष में हूँ। मेरे लिए कोई वैचारिक एकावट, आइडियोलॉजिकल इन्हिबिशन, नहीं है। अगर पेट्रोलियम एक्सप्लोरेशन जैसे क्षेत्रों में विदेश सहायता से फायदा होता है, तो वह जरूर लेनी चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में कोई आइडियोलॉजिकल इन्हिबिशन, वैचारिक बाधा, उत्पन्न नहीं होनी चाहिए। देश हित के लिए जो जरूरी है, वह करना चाहिए। अगर हमारे कुछ प्रगतिशील लोगों की पितृभूमि,

सोवियत रूस, फ़ियट कम्पनी के साथ होल प्लांट के लिए टर्नकी प्राजेक्ट, के लिए समझौता कर सकता है, तो क्या भारत सरकार राष्ट्र-जीवन की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए विदेशियों के साथ समझौता न करे ?

लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी विदेशी कम्पनियाँ, या उनकी शाखायें हैं क्या वे सब राष्ट्र-जीवन के लिए आवश्यक हैं ? जैसे, टुथपेस्ट, टुथब्रश, साबुन, कासमेटिक्स, बिस्किट्स, सिग्रेट्स, आईमक्रीम, और विद ड्यु एपालोजी टु विमेन ट्रेसियजं... (ध्यान) हम तीस साल तक लड़ते रहे, लेकिन नतीजा क्या हुआ ? नतीजा क्या हुआ, यह मैं इकानॉमिक टाइम्स के शब्दों में बता देता हूँ :

"The operation of these companies have caused a drain on India's slender foreign exchange reserves. Col-laboration ventures accounting for over Rs. 2,000 crores worth of output result in an outflow of more than Rs. 90-100 crores from our payment for technical know-how, royalties, profits and dividends. Besides, wholly owned subsidiaries of foreign companies operating in India remitted Rs. 211.4 crores between 1968 and 1971 by way of profits, dividends and technical fees—Rs. 105.14 crores by way of dividends, Rs. 38.80 crores as profits, Rs. 51.61 crores as technical fees and Rs. 15.81 crores as royalties. The Finance Ministry recently informed the Lok Sabha that dividend remittances by these companies had increased since 1971 by nearly Rs. 12 crores per annum. There was also a rise in other remittances."

आजकल मैं कोई नोटिस नहीं देता हूँ, लेकिन कोका कोला के बारे में मैंने एक ध्यानाकर्षण प्रस्ताव जरूर दिया है। मन्त्री महोदय की जानकारी के लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि वह कल-परसों इस मन्त्रालय

में आये हैं, कि आठ लाख रुपये का ऐड हाक लाइसेंस कोका कोला को दिया गया है, और मेरी जानकारी—विश्वसनीय जानकारी है कि पांच लाख रुपये की रिश्वत ली गई है। मन्त्री महोदय अपनी अफसरशाही से, या गृह मन्त्रालय से, इस बारे में इनवेस्टीगेशन करायें। मैं पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ यह बात कहता हूँ। अगर जनता पार्टी की सरकार इसी तरह चलेगी, तो वह उसी रास्ते पर जायगी, जिस रास्ते पर कांग्रेस पार्टी गई है—उसका बड़ी अन्त होगा, जो कांग्रेस पार्टी का हुआ है। मैं यह पहला मामला सदन के मामलों रखने के लिए बाध्य हुआ हूँ। मैं मन्त्री महोदय से कहूँगा कि वह इसकी जांच करें। नेशनल रेयन कॉर्पोरेशन में जो घपला हुआ है, उसकी भी वह जांच करें।

मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि कई तरह की न गै-नयी नीतियां निकलीं जिनके नाम पर बड़े लोगों को और हाथ पैर फैलाने का मौका दिया गया। एक का नाम था डाइवर्सिफिकेशन, दूसरे का नाम था एक्सपोर्ट प्रमोशन। कोका कोला को इसीलिए लाइसेंस दिया जा रहा था कि बड़ा एक्सपोर्ट प्रमोशन कर रहे थे। क्या एक्सपोर्ट कर रहे थे—मछली और दूसरी इस तरह की चीजें बाहर भेज रहे थे जबकि यहां के लोगों को प्रोटीन नहीं मिलता। मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता है और मैं इसी लिए हाथ जोड़ कर कहता हूँ कि जब तक इस देश के लोग गरीब हैं, जब तक उनकी सेहत और स्वास्थ्य का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं उठता है तब तक कम से कम खाद्य का जो सामान है उसको बाहर मत भेजिए। मैं अपील करता हूँ। आज तक कांग्रेस पार्टी ने यह किया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप यह न करें। और दूसरी चीजों के आप उद्योग लगाइए, कारखाने खोलिए, उसमें पैदावार बढ़ाइए और वह आप निर्यात कीजिए लेकिन खाद्य का जो सामान है मेहरबानी करके उसका निर्यात मत कीजिए।

डाइवर्सिफिकेशन के बारे में मुझे तो तैयारी करने का मौका नहीं मिला। लेकिन मुझे

याद है चौथी लोकसभा में एशियन केबल्स का मामला मैंने उठाया था। उन्होंने बेईमानी से बहुत ज्यादा इम्पोर्ट किया था पोलीथिन या ऐसी ही किसी चीज का, और बाद में डाइवर्सिफिकेशन के नाम पर इस बेईमानी पर चांदर बिछायी गयी और वही गौयनका है जिन्होंने आपके लिए 8 लाख पोन्टर छापे बंगाल में।... (व्यवधान)...

मोदी रबर का जो मामला दबाया गया था उसको भी अब आप खोलिए, पूरा खोल दीजिए।... (व्यवधान)... ठीक है हर चीज की प्रारिटी होती है। बड़ी मछली को पहले पकड़ो।

अब माननीय सदस्य ने अपने भाषण में दो बातें कहीं—अनकॉमोल्ड प्रेफरेंस फार प्राइवट सैक्टर और डेनीग्रेशन आफ पब्लिक सेक्टर। तो यह तो जनता पार्टी की नीति नहीं है। कोई अगर यह उम्मीद कर रहा था कि ये डेनिशनलाइजेशन करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि मन्त्री महोदय के प्राथमिक भाषण से उसकी सफाई हो गई होगी नहीं तो जबाब में वह और सफाई करेंगे।

दूसरी बात यह है कि बिना राष्ट्रीयकरण किए पब्लिक सेक्टर में बहुत सा काम हो सकता है। इसके बारे में मेरी जो व्यक्तिगत राय है वह मैं रखता हूँ। मेरी समझ में कभी यह नहीं आया कि सरकारी क्षेत्र में जा बिजली की पैदावार होती है जैसे रिहन्द प्रोजेक्ट उत्तर प्रदेश में है, उस रिहन्द प्रोजेक्ट की बिजली क्या सरकार को सबसे पहले किसानों को नहीं देनी चाहिए? वह सस्ते में शायद घाटा सहन करके बिरला के एल्यूमिनियम के कारखाने को दी गई।

श्री क० पी० उन्नीकुण्डलण : किस ने दी ?

श्री मधु लिसये : आप की सरकार ने दी।

श्री क० पी० उन्नीकुण्डलण : आपके सी० बी० गुप्ता ने दी। पिलर आफ दि जनता पार्टी ने दी।

श्री मधु लिमये : देखिए, जनता पार्टी का अभी जन्म नहीं हुआ था ।

मैं यह कह रहा था, आप को यह अनभार्यो डाक्स व्यू शायद लगेगा, लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि जो बड़े-बड़े उद्योग हैं उनमें लिए बिजली देने की जिम्मेदारी लेने के पहले क्योंकि आपके पास रिसेसर्ज बहुत कम हैं, सीमित हैं, एन्टरप्रेन्योरियल टेलिस्ट्रम भी कम हैं सरकार के पास, इसलिए जो भी आप बिजली रूँदा करें, आप कहें इस बात को कि वह बिजली हम काश्तकारों को, छोटे उद्योगों को और कुटीर उद्योगों को देंगे और बड़े लोगों के लिए पावर शाटेंज हो रही है तो लेट देम हैव देयर कैप्टिव प्लान्ट्स । आप 15 मान की गारण्टी उनको दे दीजिए । यह मैं आपको साफ कह रहा हूँ । लोग इसे कहेंगे कि यह कैसे बोल रहे हैं ? समाजवादी सदस्य होते हुए भी मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि ऐट दिस स्टेज आफ अवर डेवलपमेंट, सरकार सब काम नहीं कर सकती है और जनता पार्टी की सरकार को यह बात समझ लेनी चाहिए । इस में समाजवाद—विरोधी कोई बात नहीं है । अपनी लिमिटेड शक्त को समझ लेना चाहिए, नहीं तो जो स्थिति कांग्रेस पार्टी की हुई वही आप की भी होगी । अगर आप काश्तकारों को, छोटे उद्योगों को और कुटीर उद्योगों को बिजली दे सकेंगे तो यह एक बड़ा अच्छी बात होगी ।

आज मुझे याद आया, मणिपुर में 1973 में पार्लियामेंटरी कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी की बैठक मेरे कहने पर हुई थी । पूरे नार्थ ईस्टर्न रीजन के लिए, नागालैण्ड के लिए, मणिपुर के लिए लोकटाक हाइड्रल प्रोजेक्ट का बड़ा महत्व है । उसमें कोई गैस मिली ? एकमप्लोजन हुआ । कोई कार्यवाही एमरजेंसी में नहीं हुई । अब एनर्जी मिनिस्टर नहीं है लेकिन मैं एनर्जी मिनिस्टर से रिक्वेस्ट करता हूँ टु शो सम मोर एनर्जी ।

I request the Energy Minister to show some more energy.

एनर्जी मिनिस्टर कुछ ज्यादा एनर्जी दिखाएँ। इण्डस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट मिनिस्टर अभी पूर्वोत्तर भारत के दौर में आये हैं, वे उन से पूछें कि लोटक प्राजेक्ट का क्या होगा ? पावर जनरेशन फूट-लाइजर, पेट्रोलियम एक्सप्लोरेशन—इन सबके बारे में सोचना होगा । कांग्रेस पार्टी और उन की सरकार ने कोई प्रास्पेक्टिव प्लानिंग इस देश का नहीं किया । इकानामिक सर्वे इसके लिये क्या बोलता है—क्राइसिस कैसे आया और कौन इसके लिये जिम्मेदार है—मैं इसके बारे में बतलाता हूँ। एमरजेंसी में इण्डस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन के गीत बहुत गये जाते थे—लेकिन इकानामिक सर्वे कहता है—

“The recovery in industrial production during 1975-76 tended to be mainly in the electricity and coal sector and the metallurgical and chemical and allied industries which are heavy consumers of power.”

अमन्तुलन पैदा हो गया—

Most consumer goods industries did not show any appreciable increase in production.

मेरा सुझाव है कि बरीयता के आधार पर लक्ष्य तैयार किया जाय । आप हैं, मोहन धारिया जी हैं और आप के खाद्य मंत्री हैं, इस लिये कि शुगर-वनस्पति उनके हाथ में है, कपड़ा वगैरह धारिया जी के हाथ में है, बाकी के उद्योग आप के हाथ में हैं,—आप-तीनों पूंजीपतियों को बुलायें । एक-एक इण्डस्ट्री-वाइज क्रान्फेस कीजिए—राष्ट्र जीवन के लिये पैदावार बढ़ाना जरूरी है, आप की आवश्यकताएँ

बतलाइये—कच्चा माल, कर्जा, बकिंग कैपिटल और जिन चीजों की आप को जरूरत है, जो भी जायज चीजें हैं, वे हम देंगे, लेकिन एक साल में अगर आप रिजल्ट प्रोड्यूस नहीं करेंगे तो आप के उद्योगों को हम छीन लेंगे और जो लायक एन्टरप्रेन्योज हैं उन के हवाले कर देंगे। जब तक आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे, इसके लिए कानून नहीं बनायेंगे—काम नहीं चलेगा। यदि जरूरत पड़े तो आप संविधान में परिवर्तन कीजिए।

आज मैं पूछता हूँ—शेअर मार्केट पर क्यों असर होने लगा? ये जो बड़े पूजीपति हैं, मैं इन से कहना चाहता हूँ—इस वक्त राष्ट्रीयकरण की कोई बात नहीं है, आप राजनीति में डेबल मत कीजिए। मैंने पूना में बिड़ला को कहा था—SIP का काम है पैदावार बढ़ाना, कास्ट कम करना, खर्चा घटाना, प्राइसेज घटाना, प्रोफिट सीमित रखना—आप इन कामों को कीजिए राजनीति में डेबल मत कीजिए, इन्दिरा गांधी के पब्लिक रिलेशन आफिसर बनकर अमरीका और इंग्लैंड की यात्रा मत कीजिए और जनता पार्टी के भी मत बनिये—यह भी मैं कहता हूँ। इण्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट लोगों का जो डेबलिंग चलता है—मैं उस के खिलाफ हूँ। लेकिन यदि अपने क्षेत्र में काम करेंगे तो आज जो डवलपमेंट का स्टेज है, उसमें मैं इन के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार उनके साथ सहयोग करे।

अन्त में एक बात मैं कृषि के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ—हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता का पौष्टिक अन्न का एक मात्र स्रोत है—दालें। इकानामिक सर्वे में इसके बारे में फिगर्स दी हुई हैं, लेकिन मैं हाउस का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता। दालों की प्रोडक्शन गिरती जा रही है। जब प्रोडक्शन गिरेगी तो केवल एडमिनि-

स्ट्रेटिव मेजज से या सिविल सप्लाइ मिनिस्ट्री से कुछ नहीं होगा। एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मेजज तो शार्ट-टर्म के लिये होते हैं। अगर इनकी पैदावार नहीं बढ़ेगी तो काला-बाजार, बढ़ेगा, नीकरशाही का साम्राज्य बढ़ेगा। पिछली सरकार ने इस की पैदावार बढ़ाने के प्रश्न को नेग्लेक्ट किया—यह मेरा आरोप है—इकनामिक सर्वे की फिगर्स इस बात को साबित करती हैं। गरीब लोगों के जो अनाज हैं—मक्का, ज्वार, बाजरा—इन की पैदावार में कोई ब्रेक-थ्रू नहीं हुआ, चावल में भी नहीं हुआ, हाँ, लॉग स्टेपल में ब्रेक-थ्रू जरूर हुआ है, हम 100 करोड़ का लॉग स्टेपल आयात करते थे, किन के लिये? अमीरों के लिये, उससे महीन कपड़ा बनता था, लेकिन मीडियम स्टेपल कोटन में कमी हुई। इसके बारे में आप को सोचना चाहिए। आप इन की हर पालिसी को देखिए—खेती से लेकर उद्योगों तक—जो मनीड क्लाम है उसकी तरफ अभिमुख है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने यह एक बिल पेश किया था कि कृपा करके धीरे धीरे इस वनस्पति धी के उद्योग को खत्म कीजिए। क्या जरूरत है इस वनस्पति आयल इंडस्ट्री की? सुशीला जी बैठी हैं, वे जानती हैं कि मैंने इस इंडस्ट्री को बंद करने का बिल रखा था, अगर इस देश की नारायण जनता को खिलाना है तो शुद्ध तेल खिलाइये, उसमें तल कर पूरियां खिलाइये। लेकिन इन एडीबल आयल की इंडस्ट्रीज को बन्द कीजिए। हमारे पड़ोस में मलेशिया है वह पांच वर्षों में पाम आयल के मामले में सेल्फ सफिशियेंट बन कर एक बड़ा एक्सपोर्टर बन गया। हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के किनारे पर भी बहुत से इलाके हैं जहां पाम की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है, सूरजमुखी, सनफलावर की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है। इसके लिए बहुत फर्टाइल

[श्री मधु लिमये]

जमीन की जरूरत नहीं है। भ्राज चूक खेती का विषय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं इस पर ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा, बस इतना कहूंगा कि भ्राप भ्रन्तर्मुखी बनिये। भ्राप भ्रन्तर्मुखी नहीं बनते हैं, इसलिये मुझे बोलना पड़ता है।

मध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने मित्र का अभिनन्दन करता हूँ कि उनके ऊपर जनता सरकार ने बड़ी जिम्मेदारी डाली है। वे अपनी गतिशीलता और कार्यक्षमता के लिए प्रसिद्ध हैं। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वे अपने इस काम को भी अच्छे ढंग से भ्रायोगनाईज करेंगे जिससे देश का कल्याण हो।

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN (Madras South): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I heard a very brilliant dissertation and I rise to make a few points which can be useful to the Ministry in framing their future policy. The Hon'ble Minister stated that we had inherited a devastated economy and my predecessor, Mr. Limaye, went on narrating instance after instance of mismanagement in private sector. In fact, I was reminded of an interesting story of another sparrow came and took away another grain. It is an old thing. We call our fathers fools because we grow wise and our wiser sons will call us fools. It will be so after this Ministry leaves. People will forget also the good things done by them.

Sir, I will give a few dashes of the brush to paint in relief what rich legacy the Minister has inherited. If you compare any country which has become independent after the second world war you will find no country in the world has achieved a rate of industrial progress and industrial development as India has done. No other country which became independent after the second world war has built such a large capacity in engineering, casting, steel production, forging, chemicals, etc. as we have done. People who

criticise always compare us to countries which are not comparable. They compare us with Japan and Germany which started their industrialisation along with the industrial revolution two centuries ago. Our industrial development started only after the second world war, particularly after Independence, whatever might have been the average during the past thirty years of the Congress rule, the year in which the Minister gets this Department will show that the industrial growth in this country has been of the order of ten per cent which is higher than that contemplated by the Planning Commission itself.

In fact, he gets a start from—not 4 per cent which is the average over the last twenty years—10 per cent development in industrial growth and he has not only to sustain it but also improve upon it.

The public sector which has been the sick child of our economy has grown healthy and has developed a measure of self reliance. In fact the rate of growth in the public sector has been 12 per cent and it has erased the ill repute that the public sector was always running at a loss.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East): It was, last year. See the Economic Survey.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Mr. Swamy will have his opportunity to speak after me.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: No, I will not.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: If you do not, then you may keep quiet. A measure of self reliance has been achieved because today we have the capacity to build our own industrial machines in several industries like tractors, agricultural equipment, sugar mill machinery, cement mill machinery, paper plants, commercial vehicles, electric locomotives and so on. In fact I was surprised at a newspaper

report, I hope it is wrong, that the present government intends to call for global tenders for paper machinery. There is absolutely no need for calling for global tenders or import paper machinery because today we have established in our country capacity for production of paper manufacturing machinery. It would be ridiculous to import that machinery now. There has been diversification of industries from the traditional ones like textiles and sugar into several fields like petro chemicals, engineering, consumer durables, etc. All this has been rendered possible by the application of the Industries Regulation and Development Act which saw to it that licences were granted only to those areas in which there was paucity and scarcity and scope for development. On this occasion I should mention a point for the consideration of the hon. Minister. The Industries Development and Regulation Act was enacted in 1951. Since then great changes have taken place in the country; development has taken place in several fields. It will be a good idea to have the Act reviewed and revised. The schedules were then prepared taking into consideration the rate of development and the nature of development then prevailing in the country. Things like ceramics are now included in the schedule. It is necessary that we should review the schedule as well as the Act so that we may bring it in tune with the current needs and also revise the schedule so that it is applied only to those fields where control and regulation are necessary.

It is also a good idea for the government to say that every Act enacted shall lapse automatically at the end of 25 years so that government may apply afresh their mind to that problem. Otherwise we continue to think in the same routine, notwithstanding the changes that have taken place in industrial development. The industrial climate is poised for a very good growth. The growth rate of 10 per cent which has been registered last year, I hope, would not only be maintained but also improved upon by the Janata Government.

Rapid economic growth depends upon industrialisation. It cannot be denied. The economic history of the world has proved very clearly that the rise in the standard of living of the people as well as rapid economic development has taken place only as a result of industrial revolution and rapid industrial development. Therefore, we should try to look at the problem in its true perspective. Without denigrating the importance of rural industry or rural employment, we should see what is the place of the rural industry in the scheme of national industrial development. According to ILO survey, out of the total population of India, economically active people is only 32.9 per cent. The other 67 per cent comprises of children, old men and unemployed. The corresponding figure for Japan is that 50.9 per cent are economically active. Now out of this 33 per cent economically active, 72 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture, 11.5 per cent in industry and 9 per cent in tertiary sector like banking, insurance and communications.

The poverty of India is mainly due to the pressure of population on land. If 72 per cent of the working population live on land and only 11 per cent are engaged in industry, land cannot sustain this large population whatever inputs you may put in agriculture. The economic history of other countries shows that a large percentage of these people have been taken out from agriculture and employed in other fields particularly industry and tertiary sector. Therefore, our idea should be not to find more resources for the purpose of keeping this 72 per cent of the people in agriculture, but to find resources for the purpose of taking out at least 22 per cent more to the industry and tertiary sector so that only 50 per cent of the economically active people live on land.

In this connection, the Finance Minister stated in his speech that in Japan four persons are dependent on

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one acre of land while in India it is not so. But the comparison is absolutely irrelevant, because in Japan out of the total economically active population of the country, only 19 per cent are in agriculture. 34 per cent are dependent on industry and 26 per cent on the tertiary sector. Therefore, what we have now to do is to frame an economic policy, an industrial policy in which we will be able to employ the surplus population of land in the industry. In this connection, we have heard several statements from several members. My friend Shri Unnikrishnan went on quoting them and pointing out the contradictions. My submission is that Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 is not the policy of a party. It was adopted by the Parliament and it is a Parliamentary resolution. If any Government wants to change that Industrial Policy Resolution, they should think about it, prepare their new policy resolution, have it fully debated in Parliament. Then only they should make the changes. Adhoc opinions expressed by men, however eminent they may be, cannot change the Industrial Policy Resolution. Therefore, my suggestion to the Government is that instead of making policy statements in and out of session they should frame an Industrial Policy Resolution, place it before the Parliament for discussion, as it has been done in 1956 and then have it debated and adopted. While it is true that further input in agriculture and rural sector will increase the employment opportunities in that sector, it will not solve unemployment. In agriculture people are employed only partially. There is a lot of under-employment in the country. In the single-crop area the labourers are employed for 4 months and in the double-crop area they are employed perhaps for 7 or 8 months. The cottage, village and other rural industries will only go to relieve the under-employment in the period during which they are unemployed or not employed in agriculture. It will not

add or give a fresh, new wholtime employment. Therefore, you will have to think of a proposition in which whole-time employment can be given to the people by diverting them into small-scale industries.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): In 1000 hectares in Japan they utilise 2,800 persons only for agricultural operations. In India for 1000 hectares of agricultural operations, we need only 800 people. So if the Government has made a policy that unemployment could be solved to a great extent by mere inputs in agriculture, I think they are justified.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Probably my friend was not here when I mentioned about it. In Japan, out of the total 50.9 per cent of the economically active people, 19 per cent are in agriculture, and 32 per cent are in industry, whereas in India 72 per cent are in agriculture and 11.5 per cent are in industry. There is already a great pressure of population on land and unless the pressure or the load is removed and shifted to industry, you will not be able to solve unemployment, you will not be able to solve poverty. This is the basic thing.

The point is this. The small-scale industry is not one which produces consumer goods. If it were so, the market will be saturated and very little expansion possibilities will exist. All over the world, small-scale mechanised industries are mainly producers of components, ancillaries and parts. If you take, for instance, the General Motors in America, there are 19000 contractors who supply various parts to the automobile and the General Motors in Detroit is only an assembling unit. These 19000 contractors employ in their turn a large number of people in the small-scale industries. Therefore, if you want to develop small-scale industry you must develop necessarily the area of the manufacture of ancillaries, components and parts. Now, you come to

the next stage. If you produce ancillaries, components and parts, for what industries would you produce? Therefore, it is necessary for you to have large and medium industries in order that the products of the small-scale industries may be absorbed. Therefore, there must be an integrated development of large-scale industries, there must be an integrated development of small-scale industries providing ancillaries and components, there must be the rural industries which will take care of the under-employment of the people. That is the way in which we should frame our industrial policy and I do not think that this has been lost sight of because though there has been a great deal of emphasis on what is called rural and agricultural sector, nothing has been said so far that the large-scale sector will be ignored or will in any way be restricted. Particularly I welcome Mr. Madhu Limaye's statement that they believe in the large-scale sector, that they will certainly not think of starting a steel mill in the small-scale or in the rural sector. Therefore, I do hope that this balance will be maintained.

I may share an experience which I have had in Tamil Nadu. We started an industrial estate in Ambattur where we provide the open developed plots for the large-scale industries, sheds and other facilities for the small-scale industries side by side, not independently. Most of the other industrial estates in India consist only of sheds which produce small parts. They are not dovetailed with the large and medium-scale industries. But we made an experiment of starting medium industries, giving facilities to them along with small industries. It proved very successful. I did it without the consent of the Centre at that time. I am sharing that experience only to show that that is the way in which development should take place.

A great deal has been said about monopolies. There is a simple way

of solving the wretched question of monopolies. If you had said that you would not give a second licence to a person unless he has implemented the first, and that you will not give a second loan to a person unless he has re-paid the first loan—not in full, but at least 50 per cent—there would have been no monopolies in this country. This was not my idea. My revered leader Kamaraj made this suggestion in his presidential address at Bhubaneswar in 1963. But we did not follow it. If we had done this, the cornering of the licences which had taken place, would not have taken place; and the cornering of the resources of the public financial institutions would not have taken place. Therefore, it is not very difficult to control monopolies, but we have a habit of creating organizations like the Company Law Board, MRTP Act, and posts of officers and of going through all the rigmaroles of legal procedures. My suggestion is that we should at least now say that in future we will not give a second licence to the same house until it has implemented the first.

Another point which I want to mention is about the import of technology. We should not have a rigid approach at all in regard to this. There is no use, nor is it wise, spending our time, energy and money in re-discovering known developments, i.e., developments known throughout the world. At a given point of time, we should be able to buy the technology which is most relevant to us. But having bought the technology, we should do innovative and adaptation work on that technology, so that we may improve upon it; and even sell it to other countries in the world. Japan has done it. Japan purchased the technology in respect of electronics, but it did innovative work itself and was able to sell it to other countries, on the basis of the work it had done. Therefore, the emphasis in our public sector should now be diverted towards adaptation of technology and doing innovative work on the techno-

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

logy which we purchase. If that is done, it will go a long way in helping industrial development.

There are two points which call for your urgent attention, because shortages are developing there. One is cement. In 1976, our production was 18.6 million tonnes. The power cut in Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu had reduced it; otherwise, it might have been a little more. The capacity utilisation has also increased from 77 to 88 per cent. But the target which the Planning Commission has fixed for 1978-79 is 23.5 million tonnes. I do not think we will be able to achieve the target in the present state of development. Out of the 53 units which are in existence today in the industry, 28 are more than 20 years' old, which need rehabilitation and modernisation. Without the rehabilitation and modernisation of those plants we will not be able to produce even what we are producing now.

Then, we will have to start new units in the cement industry if we want to face the demand that is growing. Recently, with the increase in building activity, the demand for cement has gone up. My friend, Shri Dharia, almost threatened people saying that if they do not behave, severe action would be taken. I want to advise the Government that threats, inducements, promises or importunities will never work where there are shortages. The answer to scarcity is more production. Threats will not work. It will be like Canute's command to the waves of the sea.

We must see why or how this shortage has occurred. In 1968 the capital cost of installed capacity per tonne was Rs. 250. In 1977 it has gone up to Rs. 600. Who will put up a cement plant under these circumstances? Government have to look into it. They can say, for instance that in the first five years there will be no excise duty on cement, or they will have to find subsidised finance for them. Unless this difference is got over, is bridged,

any amount of request by the Minister to the cement factories will not work.

There is also the possibility of establishing mini cement plants. We tried this experiment in Tamil Nadu, plants which can produce up to 60 tonnes. This will have vertical shaft and it has proved successful, particularly in areas where we have small deposits.

The other industry in which shortage is developing is paper. Unless we do something to increase the paper production, the nation will face a great shortage in this field.

While going through the budget I noticed something which is very serious and I want the Finance Minister to look into it. The Finance Bill of 1976 gave investment allowance to all small scale industries. The Finance Bill of 1977 has extended the investment allowance, but with a negative list of what is called luxuries. Many of the small scale industries which are now enjoying an investment allowance of 25 per cent concession will now come under the negative list, which has been put in the 11th Schedule, which means the concession which has been given to the small-scale industries has been taken away by the Finance Minister, who was talking so much about the development of small scale industries.

Secondly, you are asking for merger of sick units with better-managed units. The Act now provides that there shall be a certificate that efforts are being made to revive and rehabilitate the amalgamating unit. But there is no provision for the employment of labour in the amalgamated unit. The staff and labour in the amalgamating unit must be taken over by the amalgamated unit. Otherwise, the object of the Government in the take over of these industries, which is to protect the interests of labour, would be defeated. Instead of the Government taking over those units, if you allow amalgamation then the industrial labour must be protected.

It should be made a condition that before any amalgamation is permitted, the labour and the staff employed in the amalgamating companies should be taken over by the amalgamated company or employer.

SHRI GEORGE MATHEW (Muvat-tupuzha): A poor country like India, whose GNP is only 1.5 per cent of the total world GNP and whose population is about 15 per cent of the world population, to come to the average world *per capita* income will have to expand ten times. How can this task be achieved?

15.05 hrs.

[SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI *in the Chair*]

With a population growth of about 2.1 per cent, which is about 12 million and roughly equivalent to the population of Australia, to achieve the standard of the West European countries of the early seventies at least by 2001 A.D., I think there has to be at least a 15 per cent growth rate instead of the present average rate of 3.5 per cent. But we have got an advantage over the developed countries, because the developing nations can learn from the mistakes of the developed countries.

To achieve the 15 per cent growth rate, we have to increase our savings and investments from 6.5 per cent at present to 17 per cent, and also multiply our industrial output 50 times and then change the share of the industrial sector of the economy from 15 to 37 per cent and reduce the share of the agricultural sector from 48 to 10 per cent, and also reduce the share of the workers in the agricultural sector from 72 to 15 per cent. I do not understand how the present policy of the Government is going to achieve all this.

It is appreciated that about 30 per cent of the Budget has been kept aside for agriculture, but with more and more inputs in agriculture and

our country achieving the desired goal within a very short time, what will happen to the workers who are going to be displaced from agriculture, because, to improve our present lot, the present percentage of agricultural workers will have to be brought down from 72 to 15 per cent. That means that until and unless there is a corresponding increase in the industrial sector, that is absorption by industry of these displaced workers, we will not be able to solve the problem of unemployment. That is the main thing. So, the emphasis on agriculture is not really going to solve the problem of unemployment in India.

First of all, we have to curb the present population growth of 2.1 to about 1.4 or 1 by at least 1980.

In this year's Budget, provision for heavy industries is about Rs. 50 crores more than last year and for small-scale industries Rs. 12 crores more than last year, but on the whole, out of Rs. 15,568 crores of the total Budget, only a paltry sum of Rs. 337.5 crores is allotted for the Industries Ministry. This is very small.

The Finance Minister in his Budget speech has said that industries will have to find the resources for their development by themselves. It is really a pitiable thing. This kind of attitude will only make the rich richer and the poor poorer. It is really a disturbing factor when you look at the various growth rates of the States. The per capita income of Punjab and Haryana is about 900, while that of a poor State like Kerala is only 550. How can poor States with no resources, grow industrially without more help from the Centre? Surely at least 10 per cent of the total budget has to be allotted to promote industries in the poorer States.

Of course more emphasis has to be laid on employment oriented industries. 80 per cent of India's population is living in the rural areas and

[Shri George Mathew]

the number of people living below the poverty line is increasing day by day. It is said that for every lakh of rupees invested in small scale industry, on an average, 21 persons can be employed. That is double the number of persons that can be employed in the large scale industry. So, small scale industry will have to be encouraged to solve the problem of 22 million unemployed in this country.

To solve the problem of educated unemployed, the programme of 'seed' money is appreciable but the young men will have to be guided in such a way that they make their investments where there is a potential for growth in the economy. Out of a total work force in India of 180 million, public sector undertakings both Central and States, employ only 13 million and private sector 7 million. Of the total population of 650 million 33 per cent are workers. So, industrialisation will have to find the answer to India's problems, especially of the unemployed and those living below the poverty line. The present definition of large industrial houses has to be lowered from the present 20 crores to 10 crores. This is the only remedy to curb the monopolistic tendencies of large industrial houses: otherwise, the large industrial houses will naturally be gobbling up the small and medium scale industries.

Then I come to the energy sources of the industries. The sources that deplete fast like oil and which are very scarce in India, have to be avoided as far as possible. More emphasis should be laid on solar energy, sea tide and wave energy, power through hydro-electric projects and of course, atomic energy, if we can master the technique of breeder reactors and can find enough fuel for them in our country.

Industrial production has increased only by 6.1 per cent from 1950 to 1975. Due to the population increase of 71 per cent, our total growth in the

past 26 years has been only 33.5 per cent. If a speedy solution cannot be found to correct this state of affairs, our country will become a steaming cauldron of discontent.

Now I want to say a few things about my home State, Kerala. It has got 4 per cent of our total population and has got a literacy rate of more than 60 per cent. Its per capita income is only 525 (9th in India) and its state budget expenditure is only 149 per capita (12th in India). The unemployment rate has increased alarmingly, especially those of the educated unemployed. To help solve the problems of our State, the Central Government will have to absorb the educated unemployed registered in the employment exchanges of Kerala in its public sector undertakings all over India. A special employment exchange on an all India basis will have to be set up for the educated unemployed. These persons should be employed in the Central Government sponsored industries on a first come first serve basis.

At present there is only one project of the Hindustan Paper Corporation Ltd. under construction in Kerala with an employment potential of 1800 persons. The Industries Department will have to help the people of Kerala in a big way by starting a tyre manufacturing unit in the rubber belt with a capacity of at least 50,000 tonnes of natural rubber. At present, there are only 14 units manufacturing tyres and tubes in the country and out of this only 10 are manufacturing automobile tyres. With natural rubber readily available in Kerala and the demand of tyres to go up from the present industrial capacity of 71.29 lakh numbers per annum to 97.15 lakhs in 1980-81, there is nobody to fill up the gap. In the manufacture of tyres, the import component at present is very little. Exports of tyres have risen in 1974-75, from 9.28 crores to 17.39 crores in 1976. With a glut in natural rubber production, with prices ranging below the world market, the Industries Depart-

ment has to come out in a big way and start a tyre manufacturing unit with a view to export the surplus production.

Another industry which needs assistance in Kerala is the coir industry. It is essentially a cottage industry employing 5 lakhs of people. The allotment to the Coir Board this year of Rs. 64 lakhs is paltry. The volume of coir exported in 1975-76 has gone down from 41.83 lakh tonnes in 1974-75 to 37.28 lakh tonnes in 1975-76 but the price realised in 1975-76 is 19.35 crores, more than 17.54 crores realised with more volume of export. That is to say, although the quantity exported has gone down, the unit value has increased.

The State Government has submitted a re-phased programme for the development of coir industry in 1974. So far nothing has been done about it. The Government of India should approve the programme immediately and also give the necessary financial assistance.

The loan sanctioned from the Central Government for the coir cooperatives in the State was charged an interest of 2½ per cent as agreed to earlier by the Central Government. But, unfortunately, the Central Government unilaterally charged 5 per cent interest from 1973-74 and 5½ per cent interest from 1974-75. This has resulted in a loss to the State Government because the State Government upto 9-10-1976 was charging the coir cooperatives at the rate of only 2½ per cent. From then on, it was enhanced to 5 per cent. The Central Government should help this industry by reducing the interest rate to 2½ per cent.

There are at least 13 industrial licences of the State pending with the Central Government. Out of these, one licence is pending from 1975 onwards and two are pending from 1976 onwards. The remaining ten are in the current list. Steps should be taken to grant licences in all the pending cases.

Cashew processing industry is the most problem-prone industry in our State at present. It employs about

1,30,000 people. From a peak import of 1,98,000 tonnes of cashew in 1972-73, the import has declined to 68,000 tonnes at present. All the imported cashew is processed and re-exported earning a large amount of foreign exchange for the country. Large quantities of raw nuts are available in the East African countries, especially in Tanzania and Kenya.

The Cashew Corporation of India should honour the norms formulated in 1972 in consultation with the Governments of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The present import of raw nuts is barely enough to work for 60/70 days for the industry. In this context, all the new licences issued by the State Governments after 1970 for processing of raw cashew nuts should be cancelled.

Wage disparities in different States is also a problem in this industry. The production cost between Kerala/Karnataka and Kerala/Tamil Nadu varies from Rs. 850 to 1050 respectively for a tonne of processed nuts. The only way to tackle this problem is to have a national wage policy. If this is not done, it will be detrimental to the interests of workers as industries will migrate to where the labour is cheap. This will in turn ruin the hard earned working conditions of the workers in States where they are industrially more organised. The Government should not allow the owners of factories to exploit cheap unorganised labour by moving their units from one State to another.

Although I have many more things to say, the time does not permit me to do so. Unless a new rational industrial policy is thought out, learning from the experience of the developed countries, be they be Communist or Capitalist, and adopt the best from them, suitable to our conditions, our nation will not be saved. The Industries Minister should pave the path for this and not leave the people of India at the mercy of exploitation by internal and external agencies.

[Shri George Mathew]

With these words, I have done.

श्री सुशील कुमार धारा (तामलुक) :

अपने प्रारम्भिक भाषण में जनता सरकार की औद्योगिक नीति के बारे में मंत्री महोदय ने जो कुछ कहा है उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं दो चार बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। यह ठीक है कि स्वतन्त्रता के बाद के तीस सालों में हमारी पिछली सरकार ने जिन उद्योगों को बढ़ाया, नए उद्योग लगाए, वे शहरों और नगरों के आसपास ही लगाए। यह काम उसने उसी तरह से किया जिस तरह से अंग्रेज सरकार किया करती थी। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि गाँवों से शारी संख्या में लोग शहरों में आकर बस गए। और शहर का जीवन बहुत खराब कर दिया। रूरल इंडस्ट्री के बारे में जो रूप रेखा माननीय मंत्री जी ने बतायी है उसका हम समर्थन करते हैं और इसके साथ ही जो एमप्लायमेंट प्रारियेंटेंड उद्योग के बारे में बताया है उसका भी स्वागत करते हैं।

सबसिडी दे कर उद्योग कोई ज्यादा दिन नहीं चल सकता है। लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि जो इनफेंट इंडस्ट्री है उसको प्रोटेक्शन देना चाहिये। बहुत सारी इनफेंट इंडस्ट्री होनी चाहिये जिनको प्रोटेक्शन देने के लिये सबसिडी की जरूरत होगी। माननीय उन्नी कृष्णन जी ने 100 दिन की जनता सरकार के काम के बारे में कुछ बोला, लेकिन 4000 रोज की जो सरकार या 10,000 रोज की जो सरकार 30 साल या 11 साल चली उसने

उद्योग के बारे में क्या किया इसकी जानकारी भी क्या उनको है? माननीय उन्नी कृष्णन जी जानते हैं कि जस्टिस आर० के० सरकार की अध्यक्षता में जो इनक्वायरी कमिशन बना था और उसकी रिपोर्ट आयी थी उसके बारे में काम भी शुरू हुआ था। लेकिन कलकत्ता हाई कोर्ट में एक रिट पैटीशन की गई। जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि इंजक्शन हो गया और मामला खत्म हो गया। इतने ज्यादा पिछली सरकार ने लाइसेंस दिये बेनामी संस्थाओं को उसकी तरफ उन्होंने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। जिन उद्योगपतियों ने रिट पैटीशन की उन्होंने बेनामी उद्योग संस्थाएँ खोली और उनको लाइसेंस मिले। मेरा कहना है कि नये उद्योग मंत्री जी इस को देखें कि रिट पैटीशन के बाद कितने लाइसेंस जारी हुए बेनामी संस्थाओं को।

देश में करोड़ों लोग बेकार हैं। उद्योग के साथ बेकारी का बहुत संबंध है। जब नये नये उद्योगों के बारे में सोचते हैं तो पहले यह सोचना होगा कि बड़े उद्योगों की आइडिल कैपेसिटी क्या चल रही है। बड़े उद्योगों में 40 परसेंट आइडिल कैपेसिटी है, मीडियम, इंडस्ट्री में औसतन 47 परसेंट आइडिल कैपेसिटी है। क्यों हमारे बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपति उस कैपेसिटी का उपयोग नहीं करते हैं? अगर पूरी कैपेसिटी में उद्योग चलाये जायें तो बेकारी की समस्या का काफी समाधान हो सकता है। मैं उद्योग मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे उद्योग में काफी भ्रष्टाचार है। इस भ्रष्टाचार को अगर दूर नहीं कर सके तो उद्योग कभी आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा। मैं यहां भ्रष्टाचार की एक मिसाल देता हूँ। जो सान चल रहा है, जिमके बारे में हम चर्चा कर रहे हैं, इसमें जूट स्टॉक कितना है, इसके हिसाब में भी गलती है। हमारा करीबन

6 लाख बेल जूट है, लेकिन हिसाब आता है 3 लाख 72 हजार बेल का। इधर रा-मैटीरियल की कमी के कारण हमारे उद्योगपति जूट मिल बन्द कर देते हैं। इसके बारे में इन्वैस्टीगेशन होना चाहिये।

स्टाक की इन्वैटरी होनी चाहिये, नहीं तो उद्योगपति स्ट्राक को छिपाकर काम बन्द कर देते हैं, जिससे बेकारी बढ़ जाती है। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में जहाँ जहाँ जूट पैदा होता है, वहाँ एक मुश्किल यह है कि एक मीट्रिक टन जूट का 75 परसेंट हिस्सा जूट स्टिक होता है। लेकिन जूट स्टिक का कोई उपयोग नहीं होता। जो कुल उत्पादन होता है उसके 26 परसेंट पर ही दाम लगाया जाता है जिससे जूट के दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। अगर जूट स्टिक का उपयोग हो, तो उसके दाम कम हो सकते हैं; हमारे देश में हर साल करीबन 3 मिलियन टन जूट स्टिक बेकार जाती है।

अगर हम इसका उपयोग करें तो इससे पेपर पल्प, पल्प बोर्ड बना सकते हैं। इसके अलावा और कितनी ही चीजें बन सकती हैं, जिनको बनाना चाहिये।

जापान में वाटर बीडज के सहारे कितना सामान बनाते हैं। यह वेस्ट चीज है। हमारा जो जूट का वेस्ट है, इसमें से सामान बनाया जाना चाहिये। हमारे खादी प्रोमोद्योग की नीति में यह भी आता है—

टु क्रीएट वैल्व् आउट ऑफ वेस्ट' जो कुछ बेकार जाता है उसमें से ठाक बनाना। जूट स्टिक बहुत बड़ा वेस्ट है, इसको देखने के लिए एक समिति बनानी चाहिये।

हमारे यहाँ पर्चेजिंग फंडज की कैपे-सिटी बहुत कम है। इस कारण हमारे सिल्क उद्योग का जो सामान बनता है, उसको लेने वाले बहुत कम हैं। पर्चेजिंग कंपिसिटी बढ़ाने के लिये हमारा कहना यह है कि एग्रो-इंडस्ट्रीज को बढ़ाना चाहिए एग्रीकलचर बेस्ट अप्रौन इंडस्ट्री और इंडस्ट्रीज बेस्ट अप्रौन एग्रीकलचर होना चाहिये। हमारे देश की कृषि और उद्योग दोनों को मिलाजुला कर काम होना चाहिए ऐसा न होने से मुश्किल होती है।

जैसा मैंने कहा जूट स्टिक एग्रीकलचर का प्रोड्यूस है। इसका अगर उपयोग हो, तो उससे बहुत सारी चीजें बन सकती हैं, एग्रो इंडस्ट्रीज बना सकते हैं। मंत्री महो-दय ने ठीक ही कहा है कि इन्होंने हाफ-हाटेंड किया है। मेरा कहना यह है कि पूरा प्लानिंग भी नहीं था।

अभी तक हमारे खाने, पहनने, रहने और दवाओं आदि के बारे में कोई प्लानिंग नहीं था—किसी भी क्षेत्र में प्लानिंग नहीं था। इसका नतीजा यह है कि पूरा बोज जनता सरकार पर पड़ गया है।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अग्रना भाषण कल जारी रखें।

15.30 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEM-
BERS BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
First Report

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will now take up Private Members business.

Mr. K. C. Halder may move his motion.