

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** I have given notice

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** No please You have made a mention and because I don't want to suppress Members I allowed you and it has gone on record Let us not develop it into a discussion

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA** (Begusarai) It is the property of the House It does not prevent us from taking up that subject

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** Order please We have got barely seven or eight minutes to go and today is Private Members' Business We are to begin that at three PM according to the Order Paper, but Calling Attention has to be disposed of and then the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has got to make a statement about the business for the next week I see a formidable array of names of members who would like to make submissions on the proposals of the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs Before we proceed in the matter I would like to know as to what the pleasure of the House is These two items have got to be disposed of and after that we can take up Private Members Business

**SOME HON MEMBERS** Yes

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** Item No 9 can be taken up on Monday

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** That can be taken up on Monday **Shri Indrajit Gupta** Calling Attention

**CALLING ATTENTION TO THE MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE**

**ACUTE SHORTAGE OF PAPER AND NON-AVAILABILITY OF TEXT BOOKS AND EXERCISE BOOKS IN THE COUNTRY**

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** (Alipore) Sir, I call the attention of the Minister of Industrial Development to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon —

"The acute shortage of paper its soaring prices and consequent non-availability of text-books and exercise books to the students of schools and colleges in the country"

**THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM)** Mr Deputy-Speaker Sir The production of white printing paper which is used for the manufacture of exercise books and for the publication of text books declined from 122036 tonnes in 1972 to 97501 tonnes in 1973 While this was partly due to under utilisation of the installed capacity on account of a number of factors such as power cut and transport bottlenecks there was also a shift in production from white printing paper to other more expensive (and profitable) varieties of paper Although the demand for white printing paper has been increasing at a steady rate the production over the last five years has not correspondingly increased On the contrary, it has shown a downward trend The resulting shortage of white printing paper got further aggravated on account of sizeable purchases of this paper by the news papers whose quota of newsprint was reduced following the imposition of a 30 per cent cut in newsprint allocation owing to non-availability of adequate quantities of newsprint in international markets

Apart from the steps taken to increase the capacity in paper industry, both in the public and the private sectors, Government have also taken a number of steps to augment the production of white printing paper within the existing capacity. On Government's intervention, the industry has agreed to manufacture 2 lakh tonnes of white printing paper for distribution to the educational sector and the Government. For the distribution of this paper, a National Co-ordination Committee at the Centre consisting of the representatives of the Ministries of Industrial Development and Education and of the various associations of exercise book manufacturers, book publishers and the industry was constituted. This Committee decides the State-wise allocations of paper for the educational sector. In the States, State Level Committees have been constituted. These Committees consist of the representatives of the State Government and the consumers. Allocations of paper are being made to the State Level Committees, which in their turn distribute it to the various consumers within the State. This scheme has now been in operation for about 2 months and about 30,000 tonnes of paper have already been allotted to the various States.

In order to ensure achievement of the desired pattern of production, Government have recently issued the Paper (Control of Production) Order 1974 under the Essential Commodities Act, laying down the minimum percentages of the different varieties of cultural paper required to be produced by the mills. This Order is aimed at ensuring the availability of adequate white printing paper for the student community, as also other critical varieties of paper required for essential purposes.

With a view to curbing non essential uses of paper, Government have issued the Paper (Conservation and Regulation of Use) Order 1974, under the Essential Commodities Act. This

Order places certain restrictions on the use of paper for the manufacture of calendars, diaries, posters and greeting/invitation cards.

In regard to paper required for educational purposes and for Government use, industry has agreed to charge a price of Rs. 2750/- per tonne. As for other varieties of paper, prices are not regulated. A study of the cost of production in the paper industry is currently being made.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Sir, I think it can be claimed that after food and clothing, paper is next only in importance as an essential commodity and the shortages and high prices of text books and exercise books are adding fuel to the fires of students' unrest in this country.

The hon. Minister, I am sure, knows that the impact of these high prices and shortages has already affected education in this country to a disastrous extent. I can only mention briefly a few examples which are known—how in U.P., the reopening of schools had to be delayed for two months because there was no supply of text books and exercise books. In Andhra Pradesh, the price of exercise books has gone up by one hundred per cent. That is what the State Government says. In Kerala, schools had to be kept closed for a week for the same reason. There also the prices have gone up by three hundred per cent. In Tamil Nadu, again, the prices have gone up by three hundred per cent. In my State of West Bengal, university, college and school authorities and students' organisations have all complained repeatedly that a disastrous situation is being created because of this famine of exercise books, text books and black-market prices which are ruling.

So, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether Government is so impotent in the matter of planning and in the matter of price control

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that to-day the people who dominate this paper industry—the big business houses—the Birlas, Thapars, Bangoors, Somainis, Bird and Company etc. are going to be allowed to hold even our school-going children to ransom? This is what the state of affairs has come to.

In his statement he has said that there was a drastic decline in production of white printing paper beginning from 1972. He told us that there was a shift in production, partly, due to the fact that other varieties of paper were much more expensive and profitable for the manufacturers. So, I want to know what is our Ministry of Planning and the Planning Commission doing? Were they not be able to detect it? Do they not keep watch on the changes in production pattern? What is the meaning of planning? Warning was being given repeatedly by people connected with the text book business from the printers to publishers that this kind of crisis was going to develop but it seems nothing was done in time.

15 hrs.

The Minister tells us the industry has agreed to manufacture 2 lakh tons of white printing paper for educational purposes and for the Government. I think out of this 2 lakh tonnes Government will take about 80,000 tonnes which leaves only 1.2 lakh tonnes for the educational sector. Apart from that I would like to know how is he going to ensure that these producers comply with this promise which they have made? Is there any machinery for ensuring that they comply with it? Perhaps, this will meet the same fate as standard cloth met at the hands of the magnates there. There the Government had gone to the extent of laying down minimum quantity which they must produce on the pain of penalty and it was found those textile mill owners preferred to pay the penalty rather

than manufacture the standard cloth which was not profitable to them. Likewise these paper producers will prefer to produce art paper and other kinds of paper which are used for commercial purpose and get higher profit rather than manufacture white printing paper. I should like to know, what is the value of this agreement?

About the productive capacity of the industry he has not said anything here whether the Government has in hand any new projects which are likely to fructify in the near future. I read somewhere they have some project for setting up new mills for production of white printing paper but the same will not yield results before two to three years. What happens in the meantime? I would like to know the position regarding this. Are those projects to be in the public or private sector or—as I read somewhere—it is proposed to have these mills in the joint sector. Joint sector in this case will mean that Government will provide the finance but the actual effective day-to-day management will remain in the hands of Birlas and Bangoors. I am told they have said they are prepared to set up paper mills in the joint sector provided Government's role is limited to supply of finance and the management is left in their hands so that they can continue to do what they are doing at present.

I would like to know is it Government's contention not only in the case of paper but also so many other things like Vanaspati that whenever demand exceeds supply prices are bound to rise and a flourishing black-market is bound to come in operation? That is what the Ministers tell us. Then are these statements not a direct incentive for people to artificially restrict production? Thereby they create a scarcity in the market and push up the prices and perpetuate the black-market. What is the meaning of price control except in conditions when demand exceeds

supply? It is only then that price controls are necessary. If there is plenty of supply there is no need of price control. The whole mechanism of price control is required precisely because the supply is less than the demand, therefore there is a tendency for prices to go up and for black-marketing.

I read that at present only 35 per cent or so of the present capacity of the industry is being utilised. They explain a way part of that by saying that there is power shortage, there are transport bottlenecks and so on. But even then, by any standard, 35 per cent utilisation of installed capacity, I think, is a scandalous state of affairs. At least part of it is due to the fact that these producers do not want to increase production. It is paying them much more to have these high black-market prices at an artificially restricted level of production.

Kindly see what has happened in regard to the prices. Three years ago, the price of white printing paper was Rs. 1600 per tonne. About a year and a half ago, it came to Rs. 2500 per tonne. Now, it is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 5850 per tonne. But this is not available at this price in the market. In the market it is available only at Rs. 7000 per tonne. Of course, the hon. Minister has said that they have made some agreement that the paper which will be supplied now for the educational sector would be at a figure of Rs. 2750 per tonne. To this extent they are trying to bring in some price control. I do not know how it will be actually enforced. The hon. Minister may tell us that, because price fixation is the all-important question. Either the Government come in and handle it and enforce it or I am afraid the whole educational system at least in the schools is on the verge of facing collapse.

Besides that, I am afraid that about one thousand Indian publishers of

text books including college books, children's books, paperback books and so on, both big and small, have slowly gone out of business, leading to unemployment also of a large number of people. This is an extraordinary state of affairs. On the one hand, Government have practically banned the imports of foreign books because of our difficulties of foreign exchange. At the same time, the domestic publishers of cheap books, paper backs and so on are prevented from doing their work because of this paper crisis.

Then, Government have brought forward an ordinance impounding a part of the dearness allowance and freezing the wages of so many wage-earners, salary-earners, and so on in this country. But what about their children? Take the case of the Government employees whose children are going to school. Those parents will have to go on paying higher and higher prices on exercise books and textbooks while their incomes have been frozen. What kind of affair is this? Strangely of all things, which he has admitted here, there is no control even to say how much of this white printing paper is diverted to the newspapers. Actually, from the tone of his statement we find a kind of apology for them that because these poor people cannot get newsprint, therefore they have been and are using white printing paper. Somewhere I read that Mr. Gujral at some meeting of newspaper editors or something like that had assured them that he would try to see that they got some white printing paper over and above their newsprint so that they could carry on; and on this side, our educational sector is being absolutely driven to the wall. What is the policy of Government? I would like to know this. I see this white printing paper being used by many newspapers in this country for printing only their supplements which carry classified advertisements. Three or

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four pages of classified advertisement<sub>s</sub> are being printed on white printing paper.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): For instance, the *Statesman*.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But here our children cannot get their exercise books and text books

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): He says 'our children'. Where are his children?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If anybody does not have a child of his own, all the children of India are his own children.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I would like to know firstly how they wish to enforce this price control, and secondly how they propose to enforce the production pattern to which the producers have agreed. Is it true or not that at present out of the total production of paper only about 8 per cent is that of white printing paper? I should like to know what are the actual figures.

Lastly, what about this wasteful use of paper by Government and Government agencies? I know some general hope has been expressed that they will economise and so on. But there is criminal extravagance going on. You must have seen these annual reports of so many big public sector undertakings which are sent to all Members printed on beautiful, glossy art paper with colour printing and all that.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Only copies to members are printed like that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We did not ask for them. We will be quite satisfied with reports printed in a utility way on ordinary paper. Do

you say that the shareholders do not get those copies and other people do not get it? I do not understand.

I conclude by saying that here is a clear confrontation between the interests of the community at large where children are involved and these handful of big business houses which are controlling the entire paper industry. Government should tell us clearly on which side they want to stand and whether they are prepared to take firm steps or not at this moment.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Very many points have been made particularly with regard to the use of paper which is an essential commodity in the educational sector. Government realise this and that is why various steps have been taken for the purpose of seeing not only that it is available for the educational sector but is also available at reasonable prices.

We are also very much concerned at the increase in the price of text books and other books also which are being used in the educational sector. But I am sure the hon member is aware that the cost of paper as such in any text book publication is only 30-35 per cent, if I remember aright.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: What about exercise books?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I am talking of text books. Of course, as far as exercise books are concerned, perhaps 90 per cent would be the cost of paper. That was why we were very much concerned in the beginning of this year. We found not only that the production of white paper had gone down but newspapers had started raiding the white paper for their own purposes. That was why we reviewed the situation early this year and on the basis of that, came

to an agreement with the paper manufacturers in the Development Council that they would go back to the pattern of production in 1968-69 when they were producing at the capacity available at the level of 1,66,000 tonnes. From that it had gone down to less than 1,00,000 tonnes, sometimes it was even at 70,000 tonnes. So the first step we took was to see that during this year at least 2,00,000 tonnes of white paper were manufactured in the various factories.

We are also concerned about the price. That was why the price was agreed to be only Rs. 2,750 per tonne whereas, as the hon. member himself mentioned, it was ruling at a very very high level. These are the two steps taken.

Then we also wanted to ensure that this would reach the educational sector properly. That is why a national level committee and State level committees were formed for the purpose of allocating this paper to the various State Governments first and from the State level for the purpose of being distributed to the various procedures. As I have already stated in the main statement, for June and July, 30,000 tonnes of white printing paper have already been allotted to the various States. As a matter of fact that saved the situation to a certain extent. Further allotments will be made every month for the purpose of meeting the situation.

In this, we gave preference first of all to the nationalised textbook publications. That second priority was for the publication of textbooks; the third priority was for the purpose of exercise books. Then we were considering other publishers. Today we are trying to take care of the educational sector, namely the colleges and the schools. On that basis allotments are being made. The pertinent

question how are you going to enforce this agreement, I do not know how the hon. Member slipped that. In the statement we have mentioned that we have already issued an order under the Essential Commodities Act to regulate the pattern of production and that will be the statutory backing for this pattern of production. Even though there is an agreement on a price of Rs. 2750/- the question is whether it would reach the consumers at that price. That is the real problem. Whenever we control the price of something, on-money or black money is there for the purpose of taking it behind the back. That will have to be looked into. That is how allotments are being made by the committee directly to the publishers and they are entitled to get it. If there is any complaint the committee will look into it and the industry will be called upon to answer those points. I do agree that the production pattern cannot indefinitely depend upon mere agreements. There should be a more rational distribution system for this purpose to serve the educational sector. I want to assure the hon. Member that we are working on that and as soon as the scheme is ready, I shall certainly take the House into confidence.

The hon. Member mentioned about capacity utilisation. The installed capacity is 9,60,000 tonnes. Production in 1969 was 7,60,000 tonnes; in 1970 it was 7,58,000 tonnes and in 1971 it was 7,80,000 tonnes.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Are you sure that the figures are all right?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: They have paid excise on this and if anything one may tend to under-state production for avoiding excise duty. In 1972, it was 8,03,000 tonnes and in 1973, it was 7,96,000 tonnes. It is not the total production which led to this distortion but diversion of production in favour of more expensive and

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more profitable varieties. This was the real difficulty... (*Interruptions*) It is not for charity that they produce; when they diverted it for more profitable varieties naturally they seem to have kept it at a fairly high level of utilisation and capacity in spite of various constraints.

He asked: are there any new capacities in future? If this is going to be frozen at this level we will get into further difficulties when there would be more demand. During 1973-74 we expect another lakh of tonnes, a little more than that in fact. This is all in the private sector. In 1975-76 there will be one public sector, Nagaland Project, coming into production at the rate of 30,000 tonnes. There are others also which will come into production making a total of 1,12,000 tonnes. During this and the next year, there will be an addition of 2,15,000 tonnes. We have taken up a few projects in the public sector, particularly in the Assam region that would be going into production by 1977-78 and some other projects by 1978-79. In the private sector also we have licensed to the extent of another 20 lakh tonnes, if I remember aright. Therefore, future capacity to a certain extent has been taken care of. We are now producing paper machinery within the country. We have banned the import of that machinery from outside so that the manufacturing capacity in the country could be fully utilised. The hon. member mentioned about the large number of publishers who have gone out of business for lack of paper. I have also received a good deal of representations with regard to that. I want to assure the House that after looking into the immediate requirements of the educational institutions, particularly during the opening of various schools and colleges, we shall allocate the paper available to the various publishers so that

sufficient paper may be available to them. We have stopped the export of printing paper, which was being done to a certain extent.

Regarding the curtailment of use of white paper by the newspapers, it is a matter which is under consideration. But once the rational distribution comes into operation, which I hope I will put into operation quickly, then without permission newspapers will not be able to get at this because the entire white printing paper will be distributed through this distribution system. This is how I look at the problem I do agree it has led to a good deal of difficulties, particularly for the student community. But I think we have taken all the possible measures in order to mitigate the suffering, if not completely remove it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Sir, it is quite clear that this situation has been created by a Government which has no perspective or plan in this matter, and by the producers who have no conscience or scruples. It is the result of this combination.

I have no manner of doubt that a bookless community exists only in name. This morning we witnessed a spectacle in which the House was treated to a kind of sermon from the Minister of Information and Broadcasting that the youth of the country had to be educated about how to fight inflation, hoarding and so on and therefore, he had undertaken to publish about 200,000 pamphlets to educate the youth of the country. While such pamphlets are being produced in such large numbers, our children are going without text books, exercise books etc. Mr. Rene Dumont has said in one of his articles;

"The space reserved for advertising in a single issue of the *Sunday New York Times*—90 per cent of the whole newspaper—uses up as

much paper as all the textbooks, notebooks, and manuals on all levels of education in Cameroon require in a whole year. And the school children are left to do without."

One issue of the Sunday New York Times uses so much paper for advertising as the children in a particular country, Cameroon, cannot have for their textbooks and notebooks because of lack of paper to that extent. That is what is happening in this country also because of the non-essential use of papers, a matter in which the Government itself seems to be one of the worst offenders. If the Government agreed that this is a problem which affects about 100 million of more students now on rolls, what exactly has the Government done to treat it as a matter of highest national priority? The Government has indeed given some indication of what it is doing and the hon. Minister has also claimed that he can expect to mitigate the problem to some extent, but about that no evidence seems to be in sight so far. So, we would like to know specifically whether this problem is going to be treated at the highest level and as highest national priority.

Secondly, have Government conducted any survey of the percentage of children going without books? May I know whether their percentage is increasing day by day or not? Here the Minister of Industrial Development is answering this question, and not the Minister of Education. Since our Calling Attention related to all these Ministries, we expect him to be properly equipped on this subject.

Thirdly, broadly speaking if the Government agrees that although there is shortage, it is not because of the shortage entirely that the prices are rising, then, what is the agency which the Government is setting up to regulate the prices in this particular

field? The Government seems to have no agency at the moment. The Government says that it has come to some kind of an agreement with the producers, some kind of a compact, some kind of a gentleman's agreement. This kind of reply cannot be expected to satisfy the country and the vast number of children. The country would like to know whether you have in mind any particular agency, which will seriously go about this matter, and take steps to see that the prices fixed are in fact implemented or enforced.

What has the Government done, so far as the non-essential use of the paper is concerned in the Government departments themselves? We would like to know whether the Government has imposed any cut in the stationery. If the Government has not done this, then a clear impression that is created in our minds that it is a callous Government which does not have the needs of the children in its mind, as one of highest importance. We would like to know about stationery because we know about the prodigal consumption of stationery by the government departments

Then, we would like to know whether any legal steps have been taken to see that there is no shift in production. The Government says that it has issued a norder. Now, what is the machinery to enforce that order? In fact, frankly speaking, I have not seen that order myself. Is that an adequate order?

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM: It has been placed on the Table of the House.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Then, I have been lax. Is it adequate for the purpose? We would like to know whether the Ministry of Industrial Development has got any agency to ensure that there is no shift in production. Why in the past was



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such a shift in production taking place all the time? When the Government knew that it was going to adversely affect the interests of the boys, why did it not prevent the shift in production? I know that the hon. Minister is going to slur over this question and that he will never squarely face it.

Then, what are the legal difficulties in preventing the newspapers from using white paper? If there are any legal difficulties could, they not be overcome? The newspapers seem to be appropriating to themselves a large proportion of the white paper. If they have any legal difficulties, how are they going to overcome them?

How many times have they permitted a rise in prices of the various kinds of papers? Are the producers at liberty to raise the prices as many times as they like?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** The value of free enterprise.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** But you think that the Government is committed to socialism. Now you have changed your mind.

Then, I want to know whether any inquiry has been instituted by the Monopolies Commission in this matter, as to how the producers have been exploiting the shortage and so on, and, if so, whether the Government can tell us about the findings of the Monopolies Commission in this matter.

Finally, we would like to know what is the Statewise distribution of 30 000 tonnes: whether the hon. Minister can give us an idea about the Statewise distribution and whether it is strictly on the basis of the needs of the students in particular.

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** I do not think either you, Sir, or the House

expects me to answer the general charge....

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Which general charge? Lack of planning is obvious.

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** ... made by the hon. Member who has chronically got accustomed to doing it. Therefore, I do not propose to answer it.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** You have no answer. (Interruptions)

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** Why should the hon. Member go on fumbling all along? Let him listen. After that, if he has anything to say, he can say. (Interruptions) I sympathise with the hon. Member, the state in which he has got into, frustration, frustration, nothing else but frustration.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** You have no answer.

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** This is the answer. It is your frustration that makes you see all these things like this.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** You are the servant of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, not a Minister. I never considered you a Minister. You have mortgaged your conscience. You are a bond slave of Mrs. Gandhi. You will be a slave of any person. You can't collect even 20 persons in Tamil Nadu (Interruptions) Have you got any status?

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** Much better than yours. (Interruptions) Sir, the hon. Member wanted to know how we are going to monitor this pattern of production. Each mill has got to report to the D.G.T.D. with regard to the production and it is checked. Not only that. As I have already said, this white printing paper has got to be produced according to the order already issued under the Essential Commodities Act. The white printing

paper will have to be at the disposal of the National Committee and the State Committees. Therefore, to the extent the white printing paper is available, it is being allotted to various States. The Government also is a user. They have also got to purchase it. To that extent, it is possible to monitor it I do not think they can escape from it. Apart from that, there are State agencies also. For that purpose also, they will have to give their reports. Therefore, I think it would be possible to monitor and ensure that this pattern of production is maintained.

The hon. Member naturally raised the question whether we have placed on ourselves any restrictions with regard to the use of paper or overuse of paper. Certainly we have taken various measures, and every Ministry has been called upon to see that wastage of paper is avoided. The money allotted for the purpose of stationery has been frozen....

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** What is the target.

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** There are targets. I cannot give them offhand.

Therefore, they cannot go on using the paper as they used to do before. Government is quite conscious of it and we have taken various steps for this purpose.

With regard to legal difficulties, when I said legal difficulties, it does not mean that they are insurmountable. There are legal difficulties, but certainly we would take steps to see that we got over them. Once the distribution system comes into existence, I assure the House that it should be possible to see that this is not diverted. It is not a dog-in-the-manger's policy that we want to adopt. If the production is over and above the requirement in the essential sector, certainly it could be diverted for other

uses. Therefore, it is a question of priority. The first priority will be given for the use of paper in the educational sector.

Then the hon. Member wanted to know who allowed this increase in prices. Unfortunately there is no control on the prices of paper. It was removed in 1968 or 1969 and then it has been going on in this way. This situation arose particularly because, after the shortage in newsprint, newspapers came into the field for mopping away large quantities of white paper. That is why the situation became a little more difficult. But immediately we stepped in and we have taken various steps which I have already mentioned.

Another question was whether this has been referred to the Monopolies Commission. No. This has not been referred to the Monopolies Commission.

Then the hon. Member wanted to know the allocations Statewise . . .

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** What are the legal difficulties in preventing the newspapers from encroaching upon white paper?

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** The only way is prohibition of use of white paper by the newspapers. That was what we considered but we were advised by the legal department that we could not pass such an order.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Are you trying to overcome them?

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** Yes.

The hon. Member wanted to know the allocation Statewise. I have got the figures. I do not think I should read them out. I can pass this on to the hon. Member. He can have a look at them. On the whole, 30,629 tonnes have been distributed in June and July. For August further allocations will be made.

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह** (चतरा) :  
उपाध्यक्ष जी, श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त जी ने  
भाषण शुरू करते हुए कहा कि खाद्य और  
कपड़े के बाद विद्या या कागज का बहुत  
बड़ा महत्व है। मैं तो इस बात को मानता  
हूँ कि सबसे पहले बौद्धिक विकास की आवश्यकता  
है उसके बाद हमारी खाद्य या कपड़े  
की समस्या आती है। यह सही है कि  
हम अभावों के बीच जी रहे हैं, वृद्धि और  
मिलावट के बीच जी रहे हैं। अभाव आवश्यक  
वस्तुओं का है, मिश्रावट मानव मूल्यों और  
नैतिकता में है और वृद्धि हो रही है आवश्यक  
वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में। कागज भी इसमें  
अछूता नहीं रहा है। जिस समस्या पर  
हम विचार कर रहे हैं उस समस्या का  
प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध उन गरीब छात्रों में भी है  
जो हर जगह स्कूलों में पढ़ते हैं, विद्यालयों  
में पढ़ते हैं और जिनकी जिन्दगी इस आशा  
पर खड़ी रहती है, जिनके परिवार के लोग  
बराबर यह सोचते रहते हैं कि हमारा  
लड़का पढ़-लिख कर बड़ा होगा तो देश में  
कुछ नाम करेगा। (व्यवधान)

हमारे कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि  
कागज की बड़ी बर्बादी होती है। हमारे  
श्याम बाबू, जो सवेरे से ही कुछ नाराज हैं  
उन्होंने भी इस ओर ध्यान दिलाया है और  
कहा कि कागज की बर्बादी बचाई जाये।  
मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि लोक सभा या संसद  
से ही इसकी शुरुआत होनी चाहिए। सवेरे  
जो हमको डाक मिलती है उसमें आधे  
कागज एंटी जर्जर आता है जिनकी  
बहुत आवश्यकता नहीं होती। शुद्धि पत्र,  
अशुद्धि पत्र, यह पत्र, वह पत्र, मैं नहीं समझता  
उनमें से एक भी कोई पड़ता होगा। इसलिये  
शबसे पहले कागज की बचत की शुरुआत  
संसद और लोक सभा से होनी चाहिए।  
आधा कागज बचाकर यहाँ से हमें एक  
उदाहरण पेश कर सकते हैं।

यह सही है कि कागज की कमी से  
कठिनाई शुरू हो गई है। इस सम्बन्ध में  
पहले दो वक्ताओं ने ध्यान दिलाया, मैं  
अधिक समय न लेकर चन्द शब्दों में औद्योगिक  
विकास मंत्री का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूँगा।  
उन्होंने स्वयं स्टेटमेंट में स्वीकार किया है कि  
कागज के उत्पादन में गिरावट हो रही है।  
1972 में जहाँ 122,036 टन कागज का  
उत्पादन हुआ था, 1973 में 97,501 टन  
ही रह गया। यह गिरावट क्यों हो रही है,  
इस ओर सरकार ने जोयद ध्यान नहीं दिया।  
सरकार ने तब ध्यान दिया जब गिरावट  
हो गई। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कागज के  
काई मिल जैसे हमारे प्रान्त बिहार में अशोक  
पेपर मिल और समस्तीपुर पेपर मिल बन्द  
पड़े हैं, वहाँ पर सब कुछ है मशीन है, और  
चीजें हैं उन मिक मिल्स को सरकार ले ले जैसे  
कपड़े की कमी देश में नहीं है लेकिन कपड़े  
की मिक मिल्स को सरकार ने लिया है।  
उसी प्रकार जो कागज की मिक मिल्स हैं  
उनको लेकर सरकार चालू करे। जो कागज  
के मिल वाले हैं, जैसे कि कामरेड इन्द्रजीत  
गुप्त जी ने ध्यान दिलाया कि बिड़ला,  
सोमानी या साहूजैन—कोई भी हो वे जितनी  
बड़ी धांधली कागज के मामले में करते हैं  
और किसी चीज में नहीं कर रहे हैं। मैं जिस  
क्षेत्र से आता हूँ, छपरा मेरा क्षेत्र है, वहाँ का  
सारा बांस साहूजैन के डालमिया नगर  
कारखाने में चला जाता है। उन्होंने कागज के  
दाम तो 4-6 गुने बढ़ा दिए हैं लेकिन जो  
लोग बांस काटते हैं उनको 5 पैसे रोज भी  
वृद्धि करने में उनको दिक्कत होती है।  
एक ओर तो वे कितना शोषण करते हैं  
और दूसरी ओर कितना लाभ कमाते हैं,  
यह बात हमारे सामने आती है। इसलिए  
मैं अनुरोध करूँगा कि कागज के लिए जहाँ पर  
मैटीरियल है, जहाँ पर बांस है वहाँ पर  
उसके उत्पादन का प्रबन्ध किया जाये ताकि  
उसका अधिक उत्पादन हो सके।

घ्रापके स्टेटमेन्ट के अनुसार एक राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध समिति बनाई गई है, मैं जानना चाहूंगा केन्द्र ने जो सम्बन्ध समिति बनाई है उसके कौन कौन सदस्य हैं। घ्रापने राज्यवार आर्बंटन की बात कही है, मैं जानना चाहूंगा वो तीन महीने पहले सबसे यह समिति बनी है, सबसे अब तक हर प्रान्त को घ्रापने कितना कितना कागज आवंटित किया है। साथ ही मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगा इन समय देश में कितने प्रकार के कागजों का निर्माण हो रहा है। जैसे कपड़े के सम्बन्ध में कहा जाता है कि हजारों तरह के कपड़े बन रहे हैं वैसे ही कितनी तरह के कागज यहां बन रहे हैं? इस के साथ ही किस पेपर मिल की कितनी क्षमता है। इसके साथ ही मैं अनुरोध करूंगा क्या सरकार छात्रों के लिए तथा विद्यालयों के लिए कागज का कोटा फिक्स करेगी कि उनको इतना कागज दिया जाये ?

इसके साथ ही बाईट पेपर न बनाकर जो मिलें कांड बोर्ड या हांड बोर्ड बनाती हैं जिसकी उतनी आवश्यकता नहीं होती परन्तु उनको लाभ बहुत होता है, क्या उन मिलों को सख्ती से निर्देश दिया जायेगा कि जहां स्कूलों में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थियों को अभ्यास पुस्तिकायें नहीं मिल रही हैं वहां मिटाई या जूते के डिब्बे बनाने की क्या जरूरत है। इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगा कि पिछले 6 महीने के अन्दर दिल्ली में कागज की ब्लैंक मार्केटिंग के सिलसिले में कितने छापे पड़े और कितने लोगों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की गई।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि घ्राप इस समस्या को बड़ी गम्भीरता से लें और जहां प्रकाशनों का काम बन्द है उसको चालू करायें। हमारे प्रान्त में तो जय प्रकाश नारायण जी के कारण इस समय स्कूल कालेज ऐसी अवस्था में हैं। और पुस्तकों के लिये

जयप्रकाश जी ने कुछ रिलीफ दे दी है उन लोगों को। और अगर इन्हीं लोगों की कृपा रही तो बिहार में कोई नहीं खिन्न सकेगा। लेकिन मैंने घ्राप के सामने केवल बिहार का नहीं, बल्कि समूचे देश का खाल रखा है, अतः सर्वो जी उस का उत्तर दें।

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I am glad the hon Member has made the last point that Bihar perhaps this year may not require any paper at all if people follow the request or the appeal made by Jayaprakash ji which is also backed by the party to which my hon friend Mishra ji belongs. So far as students are concerned perhaps he is quite unconcerned with it because they might not require any books or note-books. With regard to the matter which he mentioned about sick paper mills, these are small mills, junks, and instead of using our resources in that direction, I think it would be better to utilise for expediting and implementing various projects which are taken up in public sector. And we are expecting them. He asked: what is the quantity allotted by this committee at national/State levels? Well, already this figure is of the order of 30,000 tonnes for the last two months and we are going to make allocation for August also. Then he wanted to know the capacity for each mill; I am sorry I do not have it at the moment because this is not relevant in the context of the subject we are discussing. About the various varieties of paper there are duplicating papers, litho and offset papers, machine-glazed posters white printing paper etc. We have large number of packaging varieties from cardboard onwards and various other: lace papers and they manufacture these also. But from the printing point of view these are the main varieties.

He asked whether any raids were conducted. I am sorry, if the Member is interested he should put the question to a completely different Ministry. Altogether these are the main points

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

which he raised to which I have replied.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):**  
Sir, the question which is puzzling so many persons in the country including the student population is not a result of overnight shortage. As he said, the decline in the white paper production as a ratio of total paper production has started over a period of about five year past. If some steps or measures were taken in right time we would not have been required to face this situation today. Nevertheless I congratulate the Government and the Ministry for the steps taken although a little late. It is better late than never!

I do hope that these measures will be implemented in the spirit in which those measures have been introduced that is to say, such as bringing them under the Essential Commodities Act and also issuing further orders under the Essential Commodities Act. I request the Government to consider fixing prices all along the line under Essential Commodities Act itself, ex-factory prices, prices of wholesale traders and prices also at the retail end.

Then only there will be some realistic price structure and control, particularly, of the exercise books. Sir, you know fully well that even to-day that is the experience of every hon. Member here too-if we see the children, the primary-school going children you will find that they require more than a dozen exercise books.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kampur):**  
The weight of the books is more than the child!

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Now, it is becoming a fashion. You may consider that in the context of our educational system. You have the coordination committee which should consider

this sheer waste, and the teachers of schools—I do not know whether they are hand in glove with some exercise books dealers. They require the primary school boys and girls to have a bound book of hundred pages for a small subject. There may be one exercise book for a subject. I have seen a book with four lines. That is the reason why the exercise books are in great demand in educational institutions.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** That is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and not that of the Industrial Development.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** I have referred to this because he has referred to that coordination committee. That was why I thought that I should also make a mention to it. The facts are facts. So, let us take things as they are. I would like to submit one thing for your consideration. What is troubling to-day is not only shortage of books but there is an artificial shortage of the books also. As he said, because of the diversion and because of the price rise, there may be a shortage. Apart from ex-factory cost, there is price rise on the exercise book. If, for example, it is Rs. 25 per ream of a certain variety—seven gramme variety etc.—then there is an increase in the cost of the exercise books. That is due to the middleman charging a higher rate, that is, by 100 per cent more. It becomes Rs. 50/- a ream. That is why I say that we can arrange to have some other system that will be better. You have now got this Committee. But, do not leave this to the committee. One of the pitfalls in administration is that once we form a committee they think that their job is over. There are State Committees, Central Committees etc. You will have to lay down certain guideline for them. So, I suggest for taking immediate action. You can feel the impact at least on the exercise books immediately. You ask the manufacturers to....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Are you lecturing to the Minister or asking a question?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am asking him a question. I do not know whether he will accept my suggestion. But, that will solve the problem.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Then you ask a question.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: If I do not explain how will you know whether he will accept it or not. Three crores worth of exercise books are in stock with this particular manufacturer—one of the sixteen big manufacturers—Thapar of Ballarpur Paper Mills in our region—Chanda. You know that they can get an indent from the universities and from schools. You have now got the Directors of Public Instruction or whatever be their names in various States. You get the indents from them directly and supply these exercise books to them without having to go through these State Committees etc. They are likely to misuse their quotas. They go to the black market. You know that it is through these very traders that quota is being given ultimately. So, for heaven's sake do not do that. You will please consider my suggestion of asking the Paper Mills which produce 80 per cent of white paper in the country to supply directly to the student community. Why don't you ask these sixteen big concerns to supply whatever white paper for exercise books they are producing direct to the Universities. If

this is done, then the cost of exercise books will go down by fifty per cent.

My second question is you had a crash programme introduced in 1971. What has happened to that? The programme was that there will be a ratio of production to be maintained and also price structure. That programme could not come through right till now. Will you still have that crash programme and see that it is implemented or is it to be given up?

My third question is will you bring about certain restriction at least on public sector undertakings that they should not give whole-page advertisements. The same material could be put in smaller space. Will you consider this? After all the idea is to bring about saving in the use of white-paper even by the newspaper industry.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: With regards to the fixing up the prices all through, as I have already stated, we have fixed the price for the printing paper at Rs. 2750/-. With regard to the cost of various other commodities I have already said it is under investigation by the Bureau of Industrial Costing and Prices. After that we shall consider whether we should have control throughout. But the only difficulty is it is easy to have paper control but once you have this control and there is demand more than supply on-money business comes in. How to avoid is the main difficulty.

As per as this is concerned, this has been controlled at Rs. 2750 per tonne. As far as that is concerned, there is

no argument about it; it will be administered also.

16 hrs.

Then, the hon. Member naturally was concerned about the exercise-books which children are asked to purchase. It is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. As a matter of fact, I am told, and as a matter of fact, I learnt that way, till the fourth of fifth class, we had only slates to write upon, and that also improves the handwriting if you use slates in the early stages, but that is a matter which will have to be considered at a different level altogether.

Then, the hon. Member mentioned about the price rise and the role of the middlemen. That is why whenever we find that the dealer is not behaving properly, we are entitled to allot the paper directly to the consumer with the middleman and without the dealer etc. So that is being taken care of.

Then, the hon. Member mentioned about the crash programme. The crash programme as far the purpose of . . .

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I had made a specific suggestion about supplying it to the universities and to the Director of Public Instruction for the schools. Would he kindly say whether that will be accepted?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: The university should have an organisation to receive it and distribute it. certainly, if there are co-operative institutions or any other institution there for the purpose of - receiving and distributing this supply, we shall be only too glad to do it. But I do not think every institution has this facility. This is the real difficulty.

As far as the crash programme is concerned, this is for the purpose of increasing the capacity by marginal addition of machinery. This was taken up in 1971 and on that basis we had an additional capacity of 50,000 tonnes installed in the various plants, and that has contributed to the increase in production.

Regarding advertisements, as far as the public sector projects are concerned, we are issuing directives that they should not go in for the whole-page advertisements. You, Sir, were pleased to mention about the photographs etc. As a matter of fact, the annual statement made by the chairman or the managing director at the shareholders' meeting used to be published, and when I made enquiries about it, I was told that they had to pay a higher rate for this when they published it; not only did they occupy space but they had to pay a higher rate for it.

Now, in regard to all the public sector projects we have stopped the publication of these statements. We shall also try to find out whether any other publications also could be stopped, and if it is possible, certainly we shall take steps for this purpose.

Therefore, along with production and greater production, I think we should observe economies in the use of paper and also avoid wastage as much as possible. They should become a part of the movement in the community as a whole in which I am sure hon. Members can contribute a great deal.