

Kamble, Shri	Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal	Sanji Rupji, Shri
Kanungo, Shri	Nesamony, Shri	Saraf, Shri Sham Lal
Kedaria, Shri C.M	Niranjan Lal, Shri	Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati
Khan, Shri Shahnawaz	Paliwal, Shri	Shakuntala Devi, Shrimati
Kishan Veer, Shri	Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath	Shastri Lal Bahadur
Lonikar, Shri	Patel, Shri Chhotubhai	Sheo Narain, Shri
Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.	Patil, Shri M.B.	Shree Narayan Das, Shri
Mahishi Shrimati Sarojini	Patil, Shri Vasantao	Siddananappa, Shri
Malaichami, Shri	Prabhakar, Shri Naval	Singh, Shri K.K.
Mallik, Shri	Puri, Shri D.D.	Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan
Mandal, Shri J.	Raju, Shri D.B.	Sinhasan Singh, Shri
Mantri, Shri	Ram Sewak, Shri	Sonavane, Shri
Maruthiah, Shri	Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.	Subaramanyam, Shri T.
Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari	Ramakrishnan, Shri P.R.	Swamy, Shri M.P.
Melkote, Dr.	Ramaswamy, Shri V.K.	Thimmaiah, Shri
Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali	Rane, Shri	Tiwary, Shri K.N.
More, Shri K.L.	Rao, Shri E. Madhusudan	Tula Ram, Shri
Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda	Rao Shri Ramapathi	Ulaka, Shri
Muthia, Shri	Roy, Shri Bishwanath	Vaishya, Shri M. B.
Naidu, Shri V.G.	Sahu, Shri Rameshwar	Verma, Shri K.K.
Naskar, Shri P.S.	Samanta, Shri S.C.	Wasnik, Shri Balkrishna
		Yadava, Shri B.P.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The result of the Division is:

Ayes: 25; Noes: 103.

The Resolution was negatived.

16.38 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. PUBLIC SECTOR ENTERPRISES

Shri Balkrishna Wasnik (Gonda):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to move that—

“This House recommends to the Government to set up a Commission to look into the reasons for lesser efficiency and more cost in some of the public sector enterprises than those in the private sector”.

Sir, in recent years, the public sector enterprises have grown not only in number but also in magnitude. I am not here to condemn the public sector enterprises. They have come to stay. They have a special place in the conception of the new socialistic pattern of society. They are in the news every day; and people are becoming aware of their working. These enterprises are of the people and they are with the people's money. It is for us now to see how this money of the people is being spent

and what is the return for this money.

A number of debates have taken place in the Lok Sabha; and a number of Members of Parliament have participated in these debates; and you know that a number of things about these public sector enterprises have come to the limelight during these debates. Everyday, in newspapers, we read something or other about the cost of working and efficiency of these enterprises. We had a debate here on the Air Corporation (Amendment) Bill, on March 29, 1962. In that debate we found that the private operators of Assam were able to operate their services at something about Rs. 530 per hour of flight whereas for the IAC the cost was about Rs. 820. When the private operators could operate like that, why is it necessary for the IAC to spend Rs. 820 per hour? Some hon. Members raised also the question that day that whether the private operators who are operating there were employing sub-standard methods? But the hon. Minister said that he could not say whether they were doing so. It is clear that they could not adopt sub-standard methods because if they do so it means that they are playing with the lives of the people. The Government also, under the present law, cannot allow the private operators

to employ sub-standard methods but still we see that there is a difference of about Rs. 300 per hour of flight. So, this should be looked into as to why this is happening. I should say that there is no control of any sort. Why should the cost be double or more than reasonable? I am told that in the USSR there are what are called economic crimes. The heads of enterprises could be prosecuted before appropriate courts if it could be proved that there had been lack of economic organisation owing to carelessness or insufficient attention being paid to assigned tasks. This kind of thing is not in existence in India. Even if there is insufficient attention or carelessness on the part of the executive or on the part of the head of the enterprise and because of that efficiency comes down or the cost becomes more, nobody can say anything to those heads of the enterprises. So, it is necessary to check these things. It is a necessity of the day that there should be something which will check this kind of carelessness or insufficient attention on the part of the heads of these public sector enterprises. An eminent author named Paramanand Parsad says:

"The standard of performance both in quantity and quality should occupy a place of pride..."

He was referring to the BBC.

"The burden of our argument, it may be noted, is not on financial results but on keeping the cost of producing and supplying the service at technically and economically unavoidable minimum."

He was talking about the quality and quantity of the programme of the BBC. We cannot in the same way speak of the All India Radio. We cannot say that the quality of the programme or the quantity of the programme that is being presented by the AIR is the same as

BBC's. So, these things should be looked into. Sometimes it so happens that the efficiency is less. I may suggest that if there is some sort of efficiency audit by competent auditors to go into all these things of the public sector enterprises, one would be able to know as to why those things are happening and why there is so much cost and less efficiency. We read many things about these enterprises every day in the papers. The other day there was the news of a fly being found in the penicillin tube which was manufactured at the penicillin factory at Pimpri. This is the efficiency of our enterprises. You know very well about the railway accidents. Just now we finished the debate on the Railway Budget. The Minister replied. The number of accidents due to human failure were more than anything else. In the report of the Chief Government Inspector of Railways for the year 1960-61, the total number of accidents is given as 2629 of which 1096 were due to the human element. They have improved upon the phraseology this time; last time they said 'human failure'; now they say 'human element'. I find that about 15 accidents were enquired into by the Government Inspector out of which nine were because of negligence on the part of the railway staff. Can this be said to be the 'efficiency' of the railways? Sometime back I also read about the telephones. They were previously privately managed. About the Madras telephones, I read that they were much better and efficient when they were privately managed. I am not here to condemn the public sector outright. We cannot also compare the costs. The Government patronage and monopoly should place the public sector in better position. An eminent author had written in pamphlet No. 32 of the Eastern Economist about the real dangers of the public sector. He says:

"The real danger lies in the manner in which Governments operate the public sector... The 'little bureaucrats' (he was referring to the heads of the public

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sector enterprises) who are invested with large powers are not always guided by the lofty motives of social purpose which animate those who confer these powers on them. As a result, they often cause innumerable difficulties and hardships to the general public...not necessarily from selfish or personal motives, but because power always corrupts and makes one act and behave in a loftier and more grandiose manner than one should.

The second danger lies in the likelihood of the public sector functioning inefficiently, because there is no healthy force of competition to curb laziness or incompetence. This also results from the fact that, notwithstanding the many statutory checks and balances, the public sector is, in practice, not answerable to anyone but itself. The recent debates in Parliament and the State legislatures over the performances of a number of undertakings in the public sector show that this danger is not imaginary, but real. It is true that the price policy of an undertaking in the public sector need not be guided by the same motives and objectives as in the private sector, but that does not mean that it should operate inefficiently. Even in the USSR, the outlook of the public sector has undergone a profound change since 1919; today the emphasis is on 'efficiency', and not on 'need'. It would be desirable, therefore, to keep the target of efficiency always in the forefront in all enterprises functioning within the public sector."

I would, therefore, suggest that there should be a Commission to look into the public sector enterprises as to how efficiently they are working and whether their cost of production is all right or not. If there is anything

wrong, the cat will come out of the bag, and if there is nothing wrong, let us prove that Caesar's wife is above suspicion.

So, I commend this resolution to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"This House recommends to the Government to set up a Commission to look into the reasons for lesser efficiency and more cost in some of the public sector enterprises than those in the private sector."

There are some amendments.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I beg to move:

(i) "That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House recommends to the Government to set up a Commission consisting of three members of Lok Sabha to investigate into the working of the public sector enterprises." (1).

(ii) "That in the resolution,— after "Commission" insert.

"consisting of three members of Lok Sabha." (2).

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): I beg to move:

"That in the Resolution—*for*.

"to look into the reasons for lesser efficiency and more cost in some of the public sector enterprises than those in the private sector" *substitute*—

"to examine the working of public sector enterprises vis-a-vis private sector enterprises from the point of efficiency and economy that has been attained." (3).

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga): I beg to move:

"That for the original resolution, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House calls upon the Government to constitute a Committee consisting of Members of Parliament and experts to review the working of such of the public sector enterprises as have completed five years and have not yielded satisfactory results, with a view to suggest ways and means of making them work on sound economic lines". (4).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Kumaran—not here; Shri Rananjai Singh—not here. The Resolution and the amendments are before the House of discussion.

Shri P. K. Ghosh (Ranchi East): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the role of the State is primarily to act as an umpire, to hold the ring, to blow the whistle when foul is committed, to stop the anti-social practices, namely, profiteering, black-marketing, exploitation of labour, etc. Secondly, it has to provide the infra-structure or foundation consisting of transport, communications, power, fuel, water, technical and other education. But unfortunately, these are being neglected.

Only after making adequate arrangements for the aforesaid needs the Governments can enter into production and that also in exceptional circumstances, namely, where private enterprises is not available and industry is essential. But, at the same time, the Government should not try to monopolise any particular industry. It should also ensure that a reasonable return should come on the public funds invested in such undertakings.

But, unfortunately, this is not the case. The poor return of 0.3 per cent on the State undertakings should be an eye-opener. More than Rs. 700

crores of precious public funds which would otherwise have been fruitfully invested by private people to produce goods and services desired by the public, incidentally increasing employment opportunities, are being wasted in many instances on the creation of a white elephant with the brown bureaucracy as the mahout. This is a clear instance of power without accountability; whereas in private enterprise the penalty for such careless running of enterprises would have been bankruptcy, in State enterprises the public is bled to pay for the inefficiency of the irresponsible bureaucracy and the maintenance of an ideological white elephant.

16.54 hrs.

[SHRI MULCHAND DUBE *in the Chair*].

श्री राम रेवक पादव : सभापति महोदय, मैं एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि प्रस्ताव तो यह है कि निजी और सरकारी उद्योगों के मकाबले में सरकारी उद्योगों में एफिशिएंसी नहीं है तो उसके कारणों को खोजें और दूर करें और इसलिये कमीशन नियुक्त किया जाय लेकिन माननीय सदस्य जो बोल रहे हैं वह तो पबलिक सेक्टर का विरोध कर रहे हैं पूरे तौर पर कि पबलिक सेक्टर होना ही नहीं चाहिए जो कि मैं नहीं समझता कि रिलेवेंट है ।

सभापति महोदय : इसमें कोई प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर नहीं मालूम होता है । माननीय सदस्य अपनी स्पीच जारी रखें ।

Shri P. K. Ghosh: If half the resources spent on these state enterprises had been utilised for building up the nucleus of the infra-structure of the economy like good roads and also the provision of essential facilities like clean drinking water to villagers, that would have given a boost to the economy and carried planning nearer to the lives of the people. A concrete example will suffice. Good roads stimulate the economy and mean more to the vil-

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lagers than half a dozen State mills or an Ashoka Hotel. But our road development programme is still lagging way behind the schedule.

In India, in 1956-57, road mileage for every hundred square miles was only 26 as against 215 in the U.K., 338 in France and 169 in Germany. By the end of the second plan, highways and aerial ways as laid down in Nagpur plan were behind schedule. There were 80 bridges yet to be constructed on national highways. Dogmatic assertions that State enterprises are superior to private enterprises or that they are efficient will not convince the public that its money is being spent wisely and profitably.

If a comparison is made with the similar private sector undertakings, it will be found that their percentage of return on the capital outlay is much higher than those of public sector. As a matter of fact, the percentage of return in the public enterprises should have been more than that of the private ones, since the former are in many ways in an advantageous position to the latter. As for example, the public enterprises have to pay a much lower percentage of interest on the borrowings, which are from the Central Government, whereas the private enterprises have to pay about double the percentage to the banks. If interest were to be paid by the former at rates which banks charge, the interest charges would have wiped out a substantial portion of the profits. Secondly, most of these undertakings being younger are entitled to larger tax concessions. If out of total profits made by Government companies tax provision was made in the same proportion as the private ones, a large proportion of the profit shown would have been wiped out. Thirdly, the public enterprises get priority over the private ones in a number of cases like allotment of railway wagons, foreign exchange sanctions, issue of import licences, etc.

It may be argued that the low return is due to the pricing policy adopt-

ed in respect of products of the Government sector units. The problem arises whether these units have adopted a policy to benefit the consumers even at the stake of reducing the return on the money employed in business. But the ratio of gross profits to sales proves that this is not true—it is much higher than that of private sector enterprises. Further, the accounts of the public sector enterprises clearly show that neither the tax-payer nor the labourer in the public sector has had a better deal than his relative counterpart in the private sector.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member seems to be reading his speech.

Shri Narasimha Reddy (Rajampet): The mover of the resolution himself read his speech. Moreover, he is making his maiden speech.

Mr. Chairman: That is not the justification.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: When the mover was reading his speech, he was not interrupted. When a person is making his maiden speech, he should not be interrupted.

Mr. Chairman: Let him lift his head and look at the Chair now and then. He should not be looking at his paper only.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The speech which he is making is actually beyond the scope of the resolution. He is making a policy statement of the Swatantra Party, denouncing the public sector.

17 hrs.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: It is not a question of supporting the Swatantra Party. He is speaking on the subject and it is quite relevant.

When Shri Annadaurai, the D.M.K. Leader, was speaking in the Rajya Sabha and there were interruptions,

Shri Bhupesh Gupta, the Leader of Communist Group, got up and said that a healthy convention should be established and when a Member is making his maiden speech he should not be subject to any interruptions. I commend that suggestions to this House for approval.

Mr. Chairman: I thank you for the suggestion. But that does not justify or give absolute permission to read speeches.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: I hope that would be observed here in future.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may go on.

Shri P. K. Ghosh: The possible or apparent reasons for the low return are like these. The senior managerial staff employed are either inefficient or dishonest or both. The policy of the Government is to appoint retired government officers or civil servants on deputation in the senior managerial posts. Business management is absolutely different from government. In Government departments the officers have not to bother about the economic side of running the administration. When these officers take up business administration they pay little attention to running the administration or the production economically which is of primary importance in a business concern. As an example I may mention that at a time when production of ammonium sulphate fell from 3,32,000 tons to 2,85,000 tons during 1957-58 and 1959-60 in the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the staff was increased by 13 per cent and non-technical supervisory staff was increased by 100 per cent. One fails to understand the logic behind increasing the staff in the face of falling production. Not only that, but when the book debts of the company stood at Rs. 358 lakhs in 1958-59 the company had the wisdom of distributing Rs. 16 lakhs as *ex-gratia* payment to its staff.

I may cite another case of Hindustan Aircraft. Although the production increased by 34 per cent. over

the period 1955-56 to 1958-59, expenditure on salaries, wages and bonus payments increased by 51 per cent, on welfare schemes by 79 per cent, on travelling by 176 per cent and operational expenses by 55 per cent. This inflated expenditure was incurred at a time when the company's reserves were abnormally low and the rate of profit was just 3.3 per cent in 1958-59.

Such examples are innumerable which go to prove that the task of running an enterprises is the task of a specialist, that so far the public sector projects have failed to show a business-like attitude and it is the tax-payer who has been penalised for the extravagance of these enterprises.

Another reason for the low return is that most of the old government officers who were appointed by the British rulers lack considerably in the spirit of service to the nation. They still give themselves the airs of the ruling class. They do not bother if the precious national wealth is wasted.

Shri Ansar Harvani (Bisauli): Is the hon. Member quoting something or making a speech?

Mr. Chairman: He is doing both.

Shri P. K. Ghosh: Such people, however efficient they may be, are unfit for holding posts of responsibility under our national government. The low return can be accounted for due to the wastage of raw materials, wastage of labour, misuse of vehicles and the like, which can be avoided if the senior managerial staff are more strict.

Mr. Chairman: He should conclude now.

Shri P. K. Ghosh: I will conclude just now. But they do not bother for the national progress. They only care to please their present masters. who also interfere too much in the management matters.

Mr. Michel, the ILO expert, says that minimum return on State enter-

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prises should be 10 per cent and maximum 20 per cent, but the present figures show that we are more than thirty times below the minimum level. In the budget speech of 23rd April, the hon. Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, also called on public sector undertakings to step up their earnings to finance their own expansion programmes, in the same way as private sector companies do.

It is, therefore, high time to investigate into the reasons for such a low return and to remove such irregularities as may be detected as a result of such investigation to save the public from being taxed more and more for the expansion of the existing public enterprises. It is also desirable that such investigation should be carried out by non-official public representatives and experts who should be directed to submit their report as early as possible.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: When I read the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shri Wasnik, I knew very well that the supporters of the private sector, or those who would like to sabotage the public sector, will take the cue from this Resolution and will surely make their own submission on the policies of their party and other people. I found that my fear was not unfounded when I heard with rapt attention to the very well-written speech of my hon. friend, Shri Ghosh, for as a spokesman of the Swatantra Party, he was trying to make their own submission in this House, and they are naturally against the growth of the public sector. But the public sector has come to stay in this country; whether it is liked by some parties or vested interests is another matter, but it stands. The private sector and the public sector should grow in this country in the larger interests of our country and both of them are necessary to make our country move towards the goal of socialism.

The question naturally arises about the more efficient functioning of the public sector projects. I know that some hon. Members, especially those who are supporters of the private sector, are very apprehensive about the growth and success of the public sector. Some years back, in this very House, a discussion was raised by my hon. friend, the late lamented Feroze Gandhi about the production of locomotives by TELCO, and it was clearly proved that TELCO, that is, Tatas, who took money from this Government, were actually wasting money, swindling our Government, and they were about to say *ta ta* when the cat was out of the bag. This matter was properly discussed in this House and ultimately it was proved that the prices of locomotives manufactured by TELCO were far more than the prices of Chittaranjan locomotives. When Chittaranjan took up the manufacture of locomotives, it was stated both inside and outside the House by interested parties that Chittaranjan will not be able to make locomotives and the prices will be much more. But we have found that with the increase in production the prices came down and today, I am sure, if a commission is appointed to go into the prices, it will be proved that the price of the Chittaranjan locomotives is less than that of TELCO locomotives. I am of the view that TELCO should have been nationalised by this time.

According to our hon. Prime Minister, and also according to me, the public sector projects are places of pilgrimage. But the whole difficulty is that some of those people who are running these public sector projects should have been nationalised before giving them the charge of the nationalised projects. Some non-nationalised people unfortunately are running the nationalised concerns of our country. A group of pensioners are at the head of these public sector projects after retirement. That is the main reason why this sort of an attack is heard against the growth of the public sector from the agents of the private

sector. So, my amendment clearly suggests that a commission should be appointed. I feel that that is necessary also.

My hon. friend, Shri Wasnik, mentioned about the working of the IAC. He said that it is was sustaining a loss. That is true, but because the Government of India did not adhere to the Industrial Policy Resolution—it was rather a subversion of the Industrial Policy Resolution—people in this country have started saying about the working of the IAC. In this very House you remember, Sir, a discussion took place as to why a particular route has been given to the private sector, to certain airlines or non-scheduled operators like Kalinga. They want to set up a Kalinga Empire in this country. But still Government do not consider these to be rather undesirable and stop or nationalise these private routes. The purpose or the very spirit of the Industrial Policy Resolution was defeated when the IAC changed the Industrial Policy Resolution, or rather subverted it.

Then I should mention something about our steel plants. I am very happy that we are having three steel plants and a day will come when the other two steel plants in this country, the TISCO and the IISCO, will be nationalised despite all opposition from other leaders. But the whole difficulty is that there is constant trouble in Rourkela and defects in Durgapur. These are the two places where we sometimes feel whether we are running the public sector efficiently. The whole difficulty is because of those who are running these public sector projects. I have a feeling that more efficient people should have been given the charge of these public sector projects and overhead charges, audit and all other accounting procedures should have been changed.

In 1953 the All-India Defence Employees' Federation submitted a big memorandum saying that the ordnance factories should undertake the manufacture of many civilian goods. Strong exception was taken by men like, Shri

Shri Ram and others, who said, "Nothing doing". They advanced the argument that the price of any article which was likely to be manufactured in the ordnance factories will be much more. The ratio between direct and indirect labour was large. The gap was too much. But after changing the accounting procedure and after bringing the disproportionate ratio between direct and indirect labour to a proportionate ratio, today the ordnance factories are capable of producing anything. The binoculars, microscopes and rifles produced by the ordnance factories, I am sure, will match these articles produced not only in this country but in any country of the world.

I have a feeling that there is favouritism in appointments and promotions in these public sector projects. When I visited Bhilai, I met the General Manager there. I was surprised to see that he was feeling very shy in talking to me. When I asked him why it was so, he said, "Members of Parliament come to us and ask for certain favours in the matter of appointments etc." I told him very frankly that my son was only 13 years of age and that I would not ask for a job unless he is 18 years of age. He heaved a sigh of relief and had a good talk with me. Therefore I submit that there should be a thorough enquiry into the promotions, the various appointments that are made and into the working of these establishments. I can quote several instances. I would have welcomed if the Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries had been here. Because, my hon. friend Shri Kanungo is responsible only for those public sector industrial units which are under the Commerce and Industry Ministry. The main projects like the Heavy Electricals at Bhopal and the three Steel plants are all under a different Ministry, that is the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries. There should be a thorough probe into the working of these establishments.

I may cite one particular point about the Heavy Electricals. A lot of

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questions have been raised in this House. All those who are working that particular project are retired Railway officers. I have nothing to say against retired personnel. They are very capable. They are efficient. If a group of pensioners go on with such a big project, what is going to be the fate of this project could be seen after watching with care all these strikes which took place. Even today, I have received a big telegram that 31 young artisans have been dismissed or are likely to be dismissed from service. A strike took place some time back in the month of February. What was the cause of the strike? The cause of the strike was some demands which could have been met otherwise. All those who are on the top of these projects did not care to talk to the representatives of the people. They struck work. After they struck, negotiations started. I am very happy that just after the strike, these young boys observed a Production fortnight and compensated, if not in full, at least 75 per cent of the loss sustained during the strike. All these four young boys came to Delhi and saw the Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries, my hon. friend Shri C. Subramaniam and the Minister of State for Labour and Employment. They went back with a feeling of happiness that something will be done and they assured the hon. Minister that they will step up production. The Chairman of this particular Corporation or the Resident Director of the Corporation did not like those boys meeting the Minister and assuring of their support. Immediately when they went back to Bhopal, three or four days back, they got a sack. They got notices of dismissal from service. I want that there should be a thorough probe into the working of this particular project where the industrial relations are going from bad to worse. I feel that such an enquiry is necessary.

About the prices, prices are bound to come down. There should be proper adjustment of overhead charges.

There should be proper adjustment of relations between direct and indirect labour. The accounting procedure must change and red-tapism must come to an end in the public sector.

I have a feeling that in this country, more and more industries are likely to be nationalised. What happened? When Insurance was nationalised, the person who wrote articles after articles in the *Statesman* and other papers against nationalisation—I have no hesitation in mentioning his name; Mr. Vaidyanathan; he wrote these articles against nationalisation—was put at the head of the nationalised Life Insurance Corporation, just after nationalisation. I submit that before selecting these persons who are to run these establishments, the Government must make it absolutely clear to them that they have to work in a national spirit.

My hon. friend Shri Balkrishna Wasnik, in spite of all that has happened in this House, again mentioned about the Penicillin factory in Pimpri and about the dead fly which was found in streptomycin or penicillin. I visited this factory personally. I do not support everything of what they do. But, I have seen pamphlets after pamphlets taken out by the private sector people, including certain foreign firms. They do not want this particular factory to come up. That is why they say all these things. Attack is going on against the functioning of this particular factory in Pimpri. So, I would submit that there should be a thorough probe. I have suggested a committee consisting of Members of Parliament only because I feel that they are responsible to the people and they can suggest economies and improvements from this point of view. Of course, technicians, chemists or engineers etc. may be able to have a better probe, but I suggest that some three or four Members of Parliament must visit all these units and see the functioning of all these public sector projects.

In conclusion, I fully support the growth of the public sector. I totally oppose the viewpoint placed before the House by my hon. friend from the Swatantra Party. Even when Shri M. R. Masani was here, I used to tell him quite frankly that a day would come when not only all these heavy industries run by Tatas and Birlas would have to be nationalised, but even those members of the Swatantra Party including its leaders would very likely be nationalised, so that the nation may get the benefit.

Shri Narasimha Reddy (Rajampet):
Nationalise yourselves first!

श्री प्रिय गुप्त (कटिहार) : सभापति महोदय, मैं तो सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी का विश्वासी हूँ और इसीलिये चाहता हूँ कि प्राइवेट एन्टरप्राइज खत्म हो जाय और पब्लिक एन्टरप्राइज चले। कोशिश भी सरकार की तरफ से की गई, मगर देखा जाता है कि "खोदा पहाड़ निकला चूहा।" क्यों? अनालिमिस की जरूरत है। मैं मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ। किसी कारपोरेशन ने वाटर सप्लाई प्लांट बनाया। सोई से पानी उठाया पम्प कर के। अच्छी तरह filter भी किया गया। उसकी सफाई भी की गई, पीने के लायक हुआ। लेकिन सप्लाई जिस पाइप के जरिये करना है, उसके अपोजिट एन्ड से जो पानी निकल रहा है, उस में दो चीजें आ रही हैं। एक मैलापन और दूसरा contamination। इंजीनियर लोग सोचते हैं कि क्या बात है। पानी अच्छा निकला, हमने उसको अच्छी तरह से स्टोरेलाइज भी कर लिया है, तब आखिर डिलीवरी में क्यों खराबी आ ही है? यानी जितनी गड़बड़ी है वह ट्यूब के अन्दर है। नेशनलाइजेशन आफ दि प्लैन्ट्स बहुत अच्छी चीज थी, मगर नेशनलाइजेशन करने के जरिये में, उसका प्रासेस जो है, उसमें दिक्कत है। तो जब इंजीनियर लोग by process of elimination experiment करने लगे तो जाते जाते देखते हैं कि पानी जिस

ट्यूब के जरिये आ रहा है, उस कंट्रो करने वाले ट्यूब के अन्दर ऊँज करके मैला पानी घुस गया है। उसी तरह से हमारी जो मेशीनरी सेट अप की गई है नेशनलाइज्ड इन्डस्ट्री को चलाने के लिये, उसमें दो किस्म के दोष घुस गये हैं। एक inefficient handling of the working machinery and bad attitude towards labour, और दूसरा bad economy।

कैसे? प्लैनिंग में गलती है। एक छोटी मिसाल देखिये। असम में नूनमाटी आइल रिफाइनरी है। काम चालू हो गया। बीच में चालीस दिन काम ठप हो गया, ऊपर से नहरकटिया से तेल वक्त पर नहीं आया। प्लैनिंग की गड़बड़ी की वजह से चालीस दिन बँटना पड़ा और मैन अवर्स का लॉस हुआ, क्षति हुई। इसी तरह से हर प्लैन्ट में, क्या रेलवे प्रशासन, क्या स्टील प्लैन्ट में, क्या कैमिकल इन्डस्ट्रीज में, क्या आई० ए० सी० में या दूसरे दूसरे कारपोरेशन्स में, क्या हैवी एलेक्ट्रिकल्स में, सब जगह दो चीजों की गलती नजर आती है। एक bad planning of the work, bad running of the work, and No. 2

क्या? लेबर लोगों को सही तौर से टैकल नहीं किया जाता। आप देखिये कि कम्पनी के टाइम में, चाहे Ex. B. A. Railway में या दूसरी जगह पर, ज्यादा नफा होता था। वही सब प्लैन्ट्स नेशनलाइज हो जाते हैं तो घाट में चलते हैं। क्यों? वही चीज है, सभी कुछ वही है, लेकिन क्यों इस तरह से चल रहे हैं? इस का कारण यह है कि उन अधिकारियों को किसी तरह का तजुर्बा नहीं है कि किस किस्म से उसे चलाना चाहिये। मेरा यह कहना है कि जब भी कोई घाटा होता है तो एक ही स्लोगन उठाया जाता है, चीप स्लोगन, कि "workers do not do the work, 'वर्कर्स काम नहीं करते हैं और इस लिये एफिशिएन्सी गिर गई है यही चीप स्लोगन है

[श्री प्रिय गुप्त]

They are camouflaging their lapses and inefficiency in management—their attitude towards labour, their unseasoned knowledge, यह सारी चीजें

एक ही आवरण से बन्द कर देते हैं कि वर्कर्स काम नहीं करते। कौन वर्कर्स लोग? नीचे के तबके के, ३०, ३५ रु० वाले, ४० रु० वाले, ५०, ६० रु० वाले, १००, १५० रु० वाले, वर्कर्स काम नहीं करते हैं। और नये नये कानूनों से डिसिप्लिन को काबू में करना चाहते हैं। नेशनलाइज्ड प्रोजेक्ट्स में किस किस की डिसिप्लिन होनी चाहिए इस के लिये मैं तो कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन जो रेलवे प्रशासन के चीफ कमिश्नर मि० बक्ले हैं, उन की जो एक्टिज्ज हैं बिफोर दि एस्टिब्लिशमेंट की उस की तरफ आप का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने डिसिप्लिन के बारे में क्या बतलाया है। हमारी जो मशीनरीज है, हेबी एलैक्ट्रिकल्स के बारे में मि० बनर्जी ने बतलाया attitude towards the labourers स्टील प्लांट्स में, रेलवेज में और दूसरी दूसरी संस्थाओं में लाइफ इन्वयोरेंस कारपोरेशन में, सब जगहों पर जो attitude of officers towards the labourers है, उस से देश बनने वाला नहीं है। इस लिये जैसे वाटर सप्लाई इंजिनियर ने अपने दोष, अपनी शिकायतों को महसूस करते हुए by process of elimination उसको रेस्ट्रिक्ट किया और अच्छा पानी पाइप से डिस्ट्रिब्यूट किया और अच्छा पानी पाइप से डिस्ट्रिब्यूट कर दिया, उसी तरह से जो हमारी नेशनलाइज्ड प्लान्ट्स हैं या दूसरे काम हैं उन को सही तौर से सफल बनाने के लिये इन चीजों को अख्यार में लेना होगा। Otherwise जो nationalisation programmes हैं वह बेकार हो जायेंगे। Groups of capitalists

तो चाहते हैं कि वह बकार हो जायें। अपनी तरफ से सहूलियत दे कर के, directly or indirectly connivance का attitude ले कर के वे लोग इस का संशोधन नहीं करना चाहते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि as an employer, Government is the ideal employer, मगर टाटा कम्पनी ने उन्हें चैलेंज किया है कि वो लोग जो चीज मजदूरों को देते हैं सरकार की जो सब से बड़ी संस्था रेलवे है या और जो भी बड़ी संस्था हो, वह उस का आधा भी अपने मजदूरों को नहीं देती है। कम से कम इस को मद्देनजर रखते हुए कि लेबरर्स को किस तरह से ठिकाने से टैकल करना चाहिये, अगर एफिशिएन्टली अपने आर्गनाइजेशन को सरकार चलाय तो बहुत अच्छी तरह से चल सकता है और उस से फायदा होगा। साथ ही इस से मोरारजी भाई देसाई का डाइरेक्ट और इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज का बोझा भी कम हो जायगा। अगर नेशनलाइज्ड प्रोजेक्ट्स में १ परसेन्ट आर्निंग नहीं होती और इनकम घटती ही जाती है तो जो तमाम रुपये तिजोरी में से खर्च होंगे उसको पूरा करेगी हमारी गरीब जनता। इस लिये डाइरेक्ट और इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज का असर मजदूरों, किसानों और जनता के दूसरे भागों पर पड़ेगा। इस लिये उस से उन लोगों को बचाने के लिये और हिन्दुस्तान को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये नेशनलाइजेशन तो जरूर होना चाहिये। मगर यह भी मद्देनजर रखा जाना चाहिये कि नेशनलाइजेशन की पालिसी को अख्यार करते वक्त दो चीजों का ध्यान रखना चाहिये अर्थात् संस्था को एफिशिएन्टली रन करने के लिये काबिल आफिसर हों और उन का unbiased attitude towards the labour हो, economic planning हो, और properly चले। नेशनलाइजेशन बहुत

अच्छी चीज है, फायदेमन्द चीज है और कैपिटलिज्म की पालिसी जो खाली ब्लाकिंग है एक जगह में, उस ब्लाकेड को हटाने के लिये यही एक नकशा है। मगर मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कंसन्ड' मिनिस्ट्री का इस चीज की तरफ ध्यान खींचा जाना चाहिये जो कि मिसाल मैंने पानी की दी है। पानी तो जरूर अच्छा पैदा हुआ, लेकिन लेते वक्त ट्यूब में दो मैलेपनों ने घुसकर उसे खराब कर दिया। उन दोनों चीजों को एलिमिनेट कर देना चाहिये by process of elimination—by experiment. हमारी आजादी को १५ साल हो चुके हैं। हमारी पालिसी १५ साल पहले भी कुछ थी। १५ साल में काफी रिसर्च हुई है, और political parties who are in power— they are the best experimentalists on this research! मैं समझता हूँ कि उन की रिसर्च इस प्वाइंट पर पहुँच गई होगी कि वे दोनों चीजों को दूर करने की आन्तरिक कोशिश करें, और तभी जा कर नैशनलाइजेशन कायम हो सकता है।

Shri Daji (Indore) rose—

Mr. Chairman: Only one minute more.

Shri Nambiar: Let him start.

Mr. Chairman: Yes, he may speak.

Shri Daji: The points raised in the resolution, normally speaking, are very important, but an attempt is being made to throw out the baby with the wash water. We may not

agree with some aspects of the working of the public sector, and we would like to improve them. That may be one attitude, and a fair attitude. You may like to change the water, the dirty water, and bring fresh water, but if an attempt is made to throw away the baby itself in trying to throw away the wash water, I think it is not a correct approach and attitude to the problem posed in the resolution.

The question of the public sector versus the private sector has been very ingeniously posed before the House, and a comparison has been sought to be drawn, a comparison which insidiously suggests that the private sector works better. I vehemently deny the suggestion and with all the emphasis at my command, I say, let us examine the record of the working of the private sector over a period of 150 years. It is a record of defaults, fraudulent transactions and gross loot, of exploitation, of every sort of failure and illegal activity.

Mr. Chairman: How long would the hon. Member like to take.

Shri Daji: Ten minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Then he may continue the next day.

17.32 hr

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, May 7, 1962/Vaisakha 17, 1884 (Saka).