

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That in pursuance of clause (6—8) of paragraph 3 of the late Department of Education, Health and Lands Resolution No. F.40-26/44-A, dated the 10th April, 1945, the members of this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two members from amongst themselves to be members of the Indian Central Tobacco Committee."

The motion was adopted.

#### AIR CORPORATIONS BILL

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, we proceed to consider the Air Corporations Bill. In this connection I may remind the House that the Business Advisory Committee has recommended two days for this for general discussion. As the Bill is going to the Select Committee, I hope the work will be finished within that period.

**Shri Vittal Rao (Khammam):** May I say a word.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let the Minister proceed.

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of Air Corporations, to facilitate the acquisition by the Air Corporations of undertakings belonging to certain existing air companies and generally to make further and better provisions for the operation of air transport services, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, Shri N. Somana, Shri N. P. Nathwani, Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay, Shri Venkatesh Narayan Tivary, Shri C. D. Pande, Shri Mathura Prasad Mishra, Shri Banarsi Prasad Jhunjhunwala, Shri Satis Chandra Samanta, Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, Shri Ghamandi Lal Bansal, Sardar Amar Singh Saigal, Shri Yeshwantrao Martandrao Mukne, Shri M. Muthukrishnan, Shri T. N. Viswanatha Reddy, Shri C. P. Mathen, Shri H. Siddananajappa, Shri Pannalal R. Kaushik, Shri Nityanand Kanungo, Shri Vajjnath Mahodaya, Shri V. B. Gandhi, Shri Shivram Rango Rane, Shri Jaipal Singh, Shri K. Ananda Nambiar, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Shri Girraj Saran Singh, Shri Rayasam Seshagiri Rao, Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy, Shri K. A. Damodara Menon, Sardar Hukam Singh, Shri S. V. L. Narasimhan, Shri Radha Raman, Shri Raj Bahadur and the Mover, with instructions to report by the 30 April, 1953."

[**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair**]

I shall begin by giving a brief history of the development of commercial air transport in this country. The credit of taking the first really effective step to bring this youngest form of transport to India goes, as in the case of several other key enterprises, to the house of Tata. In 1932, Tata Sons organised the first Indian Air Service between Bombay and Madras. This was gradually extended to Karachi in the North and Colombo in the South. In 1933, Indian National Airways was established by another enterprising industrialist (of the time) to operate an air service between Karachi and Lahore. These services were operated with light single-engined aircraft and were almost exclusively engaged in the carriage of mail. They relied for their financial support on payments made by Government for the carriage of mail. The Government of India, through the Civil Aviation Department, provided the ground organisation, which, according to the present standards, was rudimentary.

The first significant spurt of development came when what was known as the Empire Air-Mail Scheme was introduced. Under this scheme, all first-class mail between the British Commonwealth countries were to be carried by air. This involved the strengthening of the two feeder services in India, viz., Colombo-Karachi and Lahore-Karachi. New contracts were entered into with Tata Sons and Indian National Airways for this purpose. These provided for payment of financial assistance on a larger scale which included a margin of subsidy to enable the companies to operate these services with bigger aircraft and to greater frequencies. This gave them the first opportunity to so organise their services as to attract passenger and freight traffic in some significant measure. Between 1937 and 1939, a third company, Air Services of India, came into the field and operated short-haul services in the Kathiawar area. There was a bold experiment to attract traffic by offering substantially low fares. They, however, could not keep it up and had to cease operations in the absence of direct Government assistance.

When the World War broke out in 1939, it could be said that the two pioneering companies had made slow but steady progress. The war drastically altered the situation. All civil air transport had to subserve the war effort. The two companies were required to operate services in support of the Air

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Force Transport Command. Their fleet of aircrafts was strengthened by the loan to them of lease-land aircraft. The payment for services rendered on a 'cost plus' basis helped the companies on the financial side. The result of this was that at the end of the war, there were air services in India operated with advanced types of aircraft on a daily frequency basis linking most of the important administrative centres. Above all, both Tata Airlines and Indian National Airways emerged with a strong financial position.

One important result of the war was that Aerodromes and air-fields had been constructed at a very large number of places, though not all of them served centres of traffic potential from the civil air transport point of view. Equally important result was that the advantages of air transport had been prominently brought to the attention of the public in India. Developments in the technique of flying and radio communications had made flying very much safer than was the case in the past. The Government had anticipated that after the end of the war there would be rapid expansion of commercial air transport. In order to regulate and control such development so as to ensure that it proceeded along healthy lines, legislation was enacted that no air transport service might be operated except under a licence. An Air Transport Licensing Board was set up with power to license scheduled air services. Government also drew up what were called "post-war plans" for the development of Civil Aviation. These provided for the strengthening of the Civil Aviation Department, provision of extensive ground organisation in the shape of well-equipped air-fields, communication services, etc. Particular attention was given to the lines on which development of scheduled air transport, both in the internal and the external fields, should take place.

Thus when the war ended, the position was that flying had been firmly established as a safe, efficient and comfortable means of transport. The trend of traffic, both passengers and freight, was steeply rising. In regard to equipment, the surplus stocks made available included a large number of twin-engined Dakota type aircraft which had proved their worth as most reliable machines. Coming from Disposals, they were available at astonishingly low prices. In this general optimistic atmosphere, a number of airline companies were formed which acquired these aircraft and applied to the Air Transport Licens-

ing Board for licences for operation of air services. The Board did considerable weeding out amongst the applicants and eventually gave licences to ten or eleven companies. Traffic continued to rise, but costs also rose. Petrol prices were going up progressively. Though operationally the airlines were doing a good job of work, the Government of India saw that all was not well from the financial point of view. One or two companies had been forced to go into liquidation. Air companies were requesting for governmental assistance and the Government also felt that some assistance from them was necessary. Accordingly Government adopted a scheme of financial aid in the shape of rebate of a portion of the duty on the petrol consumed by the airlines. At the same time, they set up a Committee under the Chairmanship of Justice Rajadhyaksha to investigate into the working of the airlines and make recommendations to Government as to the measures to be taken to put the air transport industry on a stable basis and to ensure that future development took place on healthy lines. As the House is aware, the Committee investigated the matter thoroughly. Their main conclusion was that the number of operating units in the country was much greater than that required to conduct the volume of air transport available on an economic basis. They also found the costs of most of the companies excessive. They worked out certain "standard costs" of operations to which, they suggested, the airlines should gradually bring down their costs. Subject to such reduction of costs and some reorganisation which they outlined, the Committee suggested that the system of operation of airlines by private enterprise should be allowed to continue. They also recommended that after the end of 1952 there should not be any need for Government continuing to give financial assistance to the air companies in any shape.

During the two years and more since the Air Transport Inquiry Committee reported, the financial position of the companies has not improved. On the other hand, I cannot help feeling that the position of the industry as a whole has worsened. One of the chief reasons is the rising cost of petrol. Over a large sector of the industry, costs still remain high. It is clear that if the companies are to continue to exist, financial assistance from Government will have not only to continue but to be increased. Otherwise, sooner or later, many of

the companies would be forced to wind up. Civil air transport, besides being an important means of communication, serves the very vital function of subserving the country's defence needs in emergencies. It is of great help for the maintenance of law and order and also for the supply of goods and services in case of natural calamities. Government, therefore, are very deeply interested in seeing that the air transport industry works on a stable and healthy basis. They cannot stand by without taking notice of a situation which, it is obvious, cannot continue for long. They had to consider how best to remedy or improve the situation.

There is then the question of future development also. The Air Transport Inquiry Committee had considered the question of the airlines re-equipping themselves with more modern aircraft. No suitable new aircraft had however come into the market at that time. The committee accordingly said that the companies and the Government should keep a watch on the development of new types of aircraft so that they might be in a position to take appropriate decision when the time was ripe. During the last year, more than one new type of aircraft suitable for the operation of internal services has come into the market. I know that there is a school of thought which says that we should continue with the Dakota type of aircraft as long as possible, till we produce in this country our own transport aircraft to replace it, say in the Hindustan Aircraft factory. There is, of course, no question that every effort should be made to develop a suitable design for a medium transport in India; but this is a long process and may take several years; it is not easy to say precisely how many. Meanwhile, it is not wise that our civil air transport operations should continue with types which are regarded as old. In any case, if the Indian airlines are to maintain their position on the semi-international routes such as Karachi-Bombay-Ceylon, Calcutta-Rangoon, etc., they should operate with types of aircraft which can compete on an equal footing with the aircraft of the other international lines. Otherwise, the Indian lines will rapidly lose their custom. Likewise, the more important internal routes such as Bombay-Calcutta, Bombay-Delhi, Delhi-Calcutta, Delhi-Madras etc., should be operated with more modern aircraft. Decision in this matter should be taken well in advance because it takes considerable time before the manufacturers

can supply aircraft even after orders have been placed with them.

It is also obvious that India should keep abreast of other advanced countries in this matter. In the rapidly developing field of air transport, if we do not keep in step, it will be very difficult to catch up later. It is thus necessary from this point of view that we should acquire more modern types of aircraft so that we could train our personnel to handle them both in the air and on the ground, and maintain their technical capacity at a reasonably good level.

These modern aircrafts will be bigger and faster, and will, therefore, inevitably be very much more expensive than the Disposals Dakotas. The operating companies, in their present financial position, are not in a position to raise the funds required for the purchase of these aircrafts. They made it clear that Government would have to help them in this matter by making available to them the major portion of the extra money required as a loan at a nominal rate of interest. Besides we will have to keep the future development of the air transport industry in view. If the present companies are not in a position to replace their aircraft without help from the Government, it will be hazardous to presume that in future they will be able to do so. Whenever capital expenditure of any appreciable magnitude will be required, they will approach the Government for further loans. It is doubtful whether with the existing economy of the Air companies, most of them will be able to repay the loans advanced to them.

As I said, the new aircraft would be much bigger and faster. Their operation on an economic basis would require that their utilisation is much more intensive than is the case with the Dakotas and Vikings now being operated by the companies. Such higher utilization would be possible only if the present large number of operating units were very substantially reduced, so that compact and unified route patterns could be developed. Such reduction in the number of operating units would also lead to significant savings in the shape of lower reserves. Substantial savings would also be possible by reorganization and rationalisation of the administrative set up, traffic arrangements, workshops facilities etc., and by cutting out duplicate establishments. The Air Transport Inquiry Committee estimated that if in the place of the 8 or 9 operating units, there were only a single unit operating all the service, the saving would be of the order of about 8 per cent. on the existing cost.

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All this lead to this conclusion—that the future development of civil air transport and its operation without a heavy burden on the national exchequer require that the air transport industry should be reorganised in such a way that the number of the operating units is reduced to the absolute minimum. We gave careful thought to how best to bring this about. Voluntary mergers were suggested to the airlines. There was little response. There were obvious difficulties which I fully appreciate. It was clear that active initiative in this should be taken by Government. It is clear that if some airlines are to disappear, it is going to be an extremely difficult matter to decide which should go and which should continue. There is also the over-riding national interest. Taking all this into account, Government came to the conclusion that the new units of operation should be owned by the State, more so when the State has to find the money required for replacement of aircrafts and also for future development of the industry. This will require that the undertakings of the existing air companies should be acquired by the Government and entrusted to the new units for operation.

I shall here briefly recount the advantages of operation by a unified organisation:

(a) The available resources in equipment, workshop capacity, technical personnel etc., could be used to the maximum advantage.

(b) From the point of view of Defence requirements, operation of all air services by a State organization would obviously be the most desirable arrangement as, in an emergency, it would be easier to make arrangements for meeting the requirements of the Defence Services than it would be if the operation of the services were in the hands of private air lines.

(c) There is the important factor that air transport is a public utility and ought to be developed in the national interest unhampered by the paramount necessity of making a profit, which would be the overriding consideration in private enterprise.

(d) A State organisation would also be able to plan the future of the industry in a more comprehensive way. Rapid developments are taking place in the technique of civil air transport and only a State organisation would be large

enough and have the resources to take full advantage of such technical developments.

We found that the acquisition of the undertakings of the existing air companies could be secured only by enacting legislation in Parliament. The Bill which is now before the House embodies Government's proposals on the matter. I had extensive discussions with the representatives of the companies on the method of taking over their undertakings and on the principles of the compensation to be paid to them. I think I can fairly claim that there is good measure of agreement over a very large area of the provisions included in the Bill.

You will observe that the Bill provides for the setting up of two Corporations, one for the operation of long distance international air services and the other for domestic air services and for services to neighbouring countries, such as Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma etc. It could be argued that there need be only one Corporation for operating all services, international as well as internal. We very carefully considered the pros and cons of this matter. It is universally admitted that Air-India International which is the company now operating our international services to the West, has established an enviable reputation. We felt that the good-will and traffic which had been built up by Air-India International were likely to be somewhat affected if there were a change in its name. A change in name would also necessitate immediate revision of the various contracts which had been entered into by Air-India International in foreign countries, in most cases with private parties. This might lead to complications of various kinds and prolonged negotiations. A separate Corporation bearing the same name, viz., Air-India International, would get over these difficulties.

There is another point. The proposed scheme envisages the unification of the different operating units in the internal field. This will involve large-scale reorganisation and readjustments. Many problems would arise in relation to standardisation of the terms and conditions of service of staff, etc. A separate Corporation for international services would have the very important advantage of ensuring that the international operations and arrangements are not dislocated by these problems of reorganisation in the internal field. Finally, the economy which is likely to be effected by having only one Corporation instead of two is not considered to be so high

as to out-weigh the possibility of the high reputation built up by Air-India International being affected.

In order to ensure a smooth change-over without dislocating the existing services, it is proposed that the two new Corporations should take over the undertakings of the existing companies as going concerns. The undertakings so transferred would comprise the properties of the air companies as well as their liabilities. All personnel of the air companies who were in service on the 30th June, 1952, would be transferred to the two Corporations on their existing terms of service. *Bona fide* employees after that date, may also be transferred to the service of the Corporations. The Corporations will afterwards frame rules for regulating the service conditions of their employees and will make such adjustment as may be necessary in view of integration and rationalisation.

The question of the compensation to be paid to the companies for their undertakings was the subject of the most careful consideration by Government. As I stated earlier, I had more than one discussion with the representatives of the air companies. There were two broad alternatives before us. One method was to acquire the undertakings of the companies and pay them compensation calculated on the average market value of the shares of the company concerned quoted in the open market during the past few years. The other was that compensation should be paid on the basis of the valuation of the assets of each company making allowance for their liabilities. After considering fully every aspect of each method, we decided in favour of the latter. The main arguments which weighed with us in not adopting the first method are these:

(1) The market value of the shares of the air companies had been unduly low during the last few years. This was, doubtless, due to the lean years through which they had been passing and the poor prospects of any dividend being declared in the near future. The market prices of shares, did not, therefore, correctly reflect the value of the assets held by the companies. Thus, compensation paid on this basis would not be fair to them.

(2) The shares of some of the companies have never been quoted in the share market. It would,

therefore, not be possible to decide what the average market price of the shares of such companies is.

(3) In some companies, there are preference shares, besides ordinary shares. Such preference shares have not been quoted in the market. It will be difficult to determine the price of these preference shares as they have the first claim on the assets of the company to the extent of their full face value.

The method of valuation on the basis of market prices of shares, therefore, involved complications and we did not consider it a good method to adopt in the case of Air Companies. We preferred the second method of paying compensation on the basis of valuation of assets, making allowances for liabilities.

In working out this method, a number of problems arose, in view of the special nature of some of the assets involved, *viz.*, aircraft engines. The general principles that has been proposed in the Bill for the valuation of assets is that it should be based on the cost which a company incurred when it acquired a particular asset and deducting therefrom depreciation, based mainly on the provisions contained in the Income-Tax Act. In the case of aircraft deduction for depreciation at the full rate, provided in the Income-Tax Act, was found to result in an exceedingly low figure of compensation. This is mainly because the rate of depreciation for aircraft prescribed in the Income-Tax Act is comparatively high. Aircraft, as I said, are a special category of property. This is because they are renewed practically completely, say, every year, under the system of Certificate of Airworthiness. They are thus different from other kinds of property, such as machinery, equipment, etc. The Bill, therefore, proposes that the rate of depreciation for aircraft should be, not the full Income-Tax rate, but a percentage of that rate. We have proposed that in the case of Dakotas and Vikings, it should be 60 per cent. of the Income-Tax rate. In the case of the four-engined Constellations and Skymasters, the element of obsolescence is much less. The rate of depreciation has, therefore, been put at 50 per cent. of the Income-Tax rate. In respect of all other properties, the rate of depreciation would be the same as allowable under the Income-Tax Act. There would however, be a few

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exceptions, such as cash and investments in other undertakings. The Schedule to the Bill details the principles of compensation to be paid to the companies.

The Bill provides that Government will negotiate with each operating company in order to arrive at an agreed figure of compensation on the basis of the principles embodied in the Schedule. In order to resolve differences between the Corporation and any Air Company regarding the amount of compensation, provision is made for the setting up of a Tribunal. The Tribunal will consist of three persons, one of whom will be a High Court Judge.

Of the compensation amount, a proportion is to be paid in cash. The remaining part of the compensation would be given in the form of bonds to be issued by the Corporation concerned. These bonds would bear interest at the rate of 3½ per annum, and the value of the bond and the payment of interest would be guaranteed by Government. The bonds would be negotiable in the market. Government would undertake to pay the value of the bonds to the holder in cash after five years from the date of taking over of the undertakings, provided such payment is demanded by him within six months of the expiry of this period of five years. If he makes no such demand, payment will be made only at such time as Government may decide.

Each of the two Corporations would consist of a Chairman and not less than four nor more than eight members. The Chairman and the members would be appointed by Government. Provision is made in the Bill permitting common Chairman and common members for both the Corporations. Provision has also been made giving power to Government to issue directions to the Corporations in the national interest. The Corporations would have to submit to Government in advance their annual programme of operations, with financial estimates. Their accounts would be subject to audit by arrangements made by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The accounts and the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon would be placed by Government before both Houses of Parliament.

The Bill includes provision for setting up an Air Transport Council in order to achieve co-ordination in common fields of activities between the

two Corporations and to resolve any differences between them. The Council will be an Advisory Body, and will also consider all matters referred to it by Government, such as fares and freight rates, charges for carriage of mail, adequacy and efficiency of the services, etc.

It also provides for the setting up of an Advisory Committee for each Corporation, on which the idea is to give representation to the users of the service with a view to suggest improvement and provide facilities for the passengers.

An important feature provided in the Bill is the establishment in each Corporation, of Labour Relations Committee, on which representatives of Corporation and its employees will be represented in equal number. The main functions of the Committee will be to maintain good relation and also give opportunity to the employees to tender advice not only in matters connected with labour relations but in other matters also such as efficiency, economy etc.

When the Corporations are formed and have taken over the undertakings of the existing air companies, the operation of scheduled air transport services will become their monopoly. In other words, it will not be lawful for any other body or person to engage in scheduled air transport. Our idea is that the two Corporations should function as public utilities and also essentially as business concerns. I see no inconsistency in this. As I stated on another occasion, in regard to a different field of activity, a public utility can be so worked as not to be a burden on the tax-payer. In other words, it should pay its own way.

I shall now sum up. I must acknowledge that the operating companies have done a good job of work. From the purely operational point of view, their record is good. Any country could be proud of the performance of some of our Air Companies. The Air Transport Inquiry Committee recognised this. They, at the same time, prominently brought to attention the serious weaknesses on the economic side. During the last two years, there has not been much encouraging sign of improvement. Not only has the air transport industry to maintain its present scale of operations on a reasonably economic basis, it has to plan for future development and implement such plans. It is clear that in regard to both these aspects, the air transport industry as it is at present

organised will not be able to show results. Government have put forward their proposals which are embodied in the Bill before the House. I am firmly of the view that they would secure our objectives, both immediate in the matter of putting the industry on its feet, and long-term, viz. development and expansion.

As in all such cases, the full success of the scheme depends on the whole-hearted co-operation of all concerned and their readiness to subordinate personal and private considerations to national progress, most particularly the co-operation of the employees in all the grades. Among the employees in the existing Air Companies, we have got brilliant men, who in their technical skill and performance can hold their own in comparison to the same category of personnel from any other country. This applies equally to our pilots, engineers and all other technical staff who function either in the air or on the ground. I have met representatives of the employees on more than one occasion and have held very frank discussion with them on the question of nationalisation. They have enthusiastically welcomed the proposal. As a matter of fact, the enthusiasm and patriotic zeal shown by them have encouraged me in my resolve to expedite the nationalisation of Air Transport Industry. Our pilots, our engineers, our Communication officers, and the officers and staff of the administrative traffic side have impressed me as persons imbued with that sense of duty, that spirit of service and patriotism which our country demands from every citizen in the present stage of her development. They have assured me of their sincere co-operation in making the venture a great success, in improving its efficiency and economy. I value this co-operation. I have no doubt such cooperation will be forthcoming to the fullest extent. I have no doubt also that commercial air transport in India can look forward to a very bright future.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of Air Corporations, to facilitate the acquisition by the Air Corporations of undertakings belonging to certain existing air companies and generally to make further and better provisions for the operation of air transport services, be referred to a Select Com-

mittee consisting of Pandit Thakur Das Baargava, Sri N. Somana, Sri N. P. Nathwani, Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay, Sri Venkatesh Narayan Tivary, Sri C. D. Pande, Sri Mathura Prasad Mishra, Sri Banarsi Prasad Jhunjhunwala, Sri Satis Chandra Samanta, Sri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, Sri Ghamandi Lal Bansal, Sardar Amar Singh Saigal, Sri Yeshwantrao Martandrag Mukne, Sri M. Muthukrishnan, Sri T. N. Viswanatha Reddy, Sri C. P. Mathan, Sri H. Siddananjappa, Sri Pannalal R. Kaushik, Sri Nityanand Kanungo, Sri Vajinath Mahodaya, Sri V. B. Gandhi, Sri Shivram Rango Rane, Sri Jaipal Singh, Sri K. Ananda Nambiar, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Sri Girraj Saran Singh, Sri Rayasam Seshagiri Rao, Sri M. S. Gurupadaswamy, Sri K. A. Damodara Menon, Sardar Hukam Singh, Sri S. V. L. Narashimhan, Sri Radha Raman, Sri Raj Bahadur and the Mover, with instructions to report by the 30th April 1953".

Inasmuch as it has been agreed that the general discussion must be over by tomorrow, I would like, with the approval of the House, to fix some time limit. A number of hon. Members may like to participate in the discussion. Generally, for leaders of the groups I will allow 20 minutes and for the rest, 15 minutes—if it meets with the approval of the House.

**Several Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Of course, there will be exceptions here and there. It all depends upon the information conveyed to the House by the hon. Member. If it is very interesting, I will allow some time more.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty.**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat):** It is with great interest that I have listened to the hon. Minister of Communications. I have heard the encomiums which he has showered upon those operators who for the last so many years have been draining our national exchequer and whose record has been none too bright and their performance has come to such a pass that today in spite of the hesitation of the Government, it has been forced to come to some sort of a half-hearted decision about taking over the airways. At the same time, it has been interesting to see the great lengths to which we have gone in trying to do everything possible in order to compensate those who were, in the natural course

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of events, going to lose everything, and that at the expense of our hard-earned money from the public exchequer. On the other hand he has also been kind enough to shower certain good words on the technicians and staff. The workers have been left out, unfortunately; but anyway I imagine that they are also included. Although he has done so, their demands for giving them security of service and, first and foremost, to put forward a real scheme of nationalisation about which they have been so eager and about which the entire country has been eager, have been completely given the go-bye.

As we read through the Air Corporations Bill, we found it was a fraud of the first water—a deception—because while on the one hand, we use the word 'nationalisation' while on the one hand it is going to be a hundred per cent Government concern, on the other nowhere do we find that it is going to be entirely under the direction of Government. We do not see why there is a necessity of setting up a Corporation. Now, it is going to be two Corporations, and on top of that, it is an open secret that the two persons being canvassed for the Chairmen are going to be Mr. Birla and Mr. Tata.

10 A.M.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram: Question.**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** That is a very good sign. I hope we will hear something welcome from the hon. Minister. This is what has been banded about in the Press and there has been no contradiction.

Anyway the main point which I would like to make is that this is no nationalisation at all and it is a fantastic position where, although the entire money is going from the public exchequer, the accounts and the finances will only be laid before Parliament. We want to know definitely whether that is going to be votable by this Parliament or not. Is it going to be a votable item or is it just going to be laid on the Table of the House? These are points which make us suspicious and I hope the hon. Minister will be able to dispel it in replying.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** Have some practical sense.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Well, you may give some practical sense by putting forward your own. We have not had much experience of that up-to-date.

No doubt, it is true—and I am glad the hon. Minister has also admitted it—that one of the highest items of expenditure has been this question of fuel. I would like to remind this House that Mr. Buragohain again and again definitely stated that the price had come down to a level almost on a par with Australia. But when we made enquiries at Burma-Shell's at Bombay, what is it that we find? We find he told us that the price was Rs. 1-5-9 in Bombay excluding customs, i.e. Mr. Buragohain's figures—on enquiry at Burma-Shell's that the price was Rs. 2-1-3 excluding the customs duty. On one hand the Deputy Minister said actually that this is not such a big drain, while on the other hand the hon. the Communications Minister admits that this is the biggest item—and that is what has been said again and again by the workers in their various representations. Now that the Government are going to undertake this, we hope that they will be able to put the screw on and see that from those to whom we are giving so many facilities—we are allowing so many facilities for opening up refinery centres etc. etc. and we are giving them opportunities of taking their profits out without making any sort of binding condition—we should at least have a fair deal and should at least be given the fuel at lower costs. These are things that we would like to be clarified (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is too much of subdued talk in the House.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I find Sir, Government has been bearing this loss on account of fuel to the extent of lakhs. In 1947 alone 37.76 lakhs were spent, and again the aerodromes, the meteorological department, ground arrangements—everything—are maintained at the cost of Government. Again, 6 lakhs were spent on Bharat's overseas services and on new equipment we have already spent 4 crores of rupees. Everywhere we find that it is the Government which is bearing the brunt of it. And yet what do we find when the question of full nationalisation comes up? Why do you want to have a Corporation? Why do you want to work in this manner instead of having a real, proper nationalisation? I hope the hon. Minister will be able to tell us something about it, with his great facility to give commonsense to us (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. There is too much of talk in the House.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Who has actually been keeping the head above waters of these companies which



have not been showing losses? It has been the workers. In the budget debate on communications we showed how the Airways India were working at the cost of the workers, at the cost of what they call apprentices—apprentices who are kept as apprentices for years. It is at their cost that these people show some sort of balance. The ATIC report has showed again and again that it is the high cost of wages etc. which is responsible for all the loss. Retrenchment has taken place in the Air India and it has taken place in the Air Services of India. I should like to quote some figures. In 1948 the Air Services of India had 676 personnel. In 1952 they had retrenched it to 300. And still they were saying that they were running not at any sort of profit but rather on a big loss.

Therefore this question of standard cost has always been worked out at the expense of the workers.

Now, I should also just like to make a few observations as to the history of these companies. We have heard a long history from the hon. Minister. But I should just like to quote what his predecessor had said in this August Parliament on the 30th November 1949 in the introduction of the night airmail service. This is what he said:

"What is the history of these airlines? I was told that the venture started with a capital which is calculated to be about 2 lakhs."

Then he says:

"Though no accounts are available, we have got accounts of the huge amounts that were being paid to them for postal mails. They were being paid, I think, Rs. five per lb."

"Later on when they intended to convert it into a public limited company, for the first time they gave their accounts."

"At that time the capital was shown to be a little over rupees ten lakhs."

From two lakhs it had become 10 lakhs. In 1944 and '45 they had earned a profit of 12 lakhs.

"Then in 1946, this company was converted into Air-India limited. They charged Rs. 13 lakhs for the assets; they charged 20 lakhs for goodwill."

"All this has been added as a burden to the capital of the Company besides Rs. 12 lakhs taken as profit. Hon. Members will be as-

tounded if they see their depreciation charges. They have got 15 Dakotas; they have got 6 Vikings and the total cost would not have been more than 66 lakhs. Today, they have got, in three years Rs. 66 lakhs, as depreciation charges."

This is the type of Company which the hon. Minister has been very generous in showering praises on. Now I would also like to show that it is these very people whom we are anxious to help as giving us the stimulus in the industrial sector. God save us from these looters of the nation because their record has been \*\*\*disastrous. I would like to give one example. That is the case of the I.N.A. barracks. The barracks were handed over to the company. The workers had been paying for them. The money had been taken from the workers month by month. If you calculate it, the workers have paid Rs. 83,000. But, not a single pie has been paid into the Government treasury. The position is, on the one hand, the workers have paid the money; on the other hand, the Government has not got it. The Government says we have not allotted the use of the barracks. But workers have been there and have paid for it. This is the kind of company on which the hon. Minister waxed eloquent.

**The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur):** Does the hon. Member know how much the Company has spent on these barracks in order to make them habitable?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I am not at all concerned with that. I am only concerned with the fact that they have not paid the Government anything. That is all my concern. I am not going into all the details.

**Shri Raj Bahadur:** Does the hon. Member know that almost nothing has been given to the company as compensation for the improvement of the barracks?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** The hon. Minister is getting very impatient. I am not going to yield. I am sure he can answer later on.

I should also like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister—and I shall be very glad if he will correct me if I am wrong—that there has been a big amount of lapsed provident fund of the I.N.A. We do not know what has happened to that. I want the Government to look into these questions. These are some of the factors that have to be gone into before giving compensation. This type of losses has to be gone into and checked.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

I should also like to take this question of two Corporations. Why is it that we have two Corporations? The arguments which have been given by hon. Jagjivan Ram, I am afraid, have been very unsatisfactory. It would be necessary to go.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Why should the hon. Members go on talking in this House. If they do not want to hear the speech of any hon. Member they may kindly go out and talk to one another. I have been noticing this. Even if I cry out from this seat, hon. Members are so much absorbed in their talk that they do not even hear. It is rather unfortunate. I have been noticing it. I will hereafter have to ask any hon. Member who is seriously engaged in conversation to kindly go out.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I was talking about the question of these two Corporations. Actually the international air lines will be operated by a very few number of aircraft and the flying hours will also not be very much. If we look at the other Companies in the world, like the KLM, Air France, etc., we do not see that there has been any necessity of having two types of bodies functioning, one for the inland and one for the international lines. Probably the domestic lines might be incurring a good deal of loss—it may be substantial—that will depend upon the policy which is going to be pursued by Government in running them, but in any case there will be loss. The international line will be running at a good profit. It is only when we are able to get the two together, balancing one to the other, that the maximum benefit will go to the majority of our people and that is a thing that should have weighed with the Government.

Secondly this question of setting up two Corporations will also split up the workers. For instance, we know that there have been instances where because of the financing of the international lines these national lines have been subjected to difficulties at every stage. When we are taking this question into consideration, we should bring the whole thing under one management. Again and again, even in the 'Objects and Reasons you have said, "bringing them under one single agency". If you are going to bring them under one single agency I cannot agree to two Corporations.

Now I should like also to bring out one of the reasons why we are suspicious of putting these leaders of big

business into these Corporations. There have been certain loopholes left in the body of the Bill, loopholes through which there may be profiteering. Why is it that the non-scheduled lines have not been included in this. I will show by the figures which the hon. Minister must know that these non-scheduled lines have been carrying increasing loads of freight. We find the freight traffic in scheduled lines in 1952 over that of 1951 has been something about 2,56,742 lbs. and it has gone down. In the non-scheduled lines, we find it has gone up. In the passenger traffic, of course, the scheduled lines have a bigger trade. In the last few years, however we find that the non-scheduled lines also have an increased passenger traffic, from what it was before. Therefore, the bulk of the profit is being carried by these non-scheduled lines. An interesting fact is that many of scheduled lines are running non-scheduled lines too.

Now, what happens if the scheduled lines come under the Corporation and the non-scheduled lines remain outside? We have a provision for 'associates' in clause 2(3) and again this is made very clear in clause 7(2) where the Corporation has the power to function in co-ordination with these associates. We are afraid that thus the Birlas and the Tatas, those who will have these subsidiary non-scheduled lines will be utilising this by their being in a very important position in the Corporation and from all channels profits will be going into that river known as Tata and Birla.

Now, there is also another very important difference between the General Managers and the Chairmen. The Chairmen are allowed to hold other offices while the General Managers are not. Now we feel that this service is of such importance for the security of national life that those who are going to control our industry should have applied to them the same clauses as apply to the General Managers. That is, they should not be allowed to have any interest in any company other than the Corporation.

The most dangerous of all is the compensation clause. The question may be brought up that this is being embodied in the Constitution. But one has to take into consideration whether there is any possibility of these companies being compensated for future profits. The majority of these companies have been functioning at a loss, at very great loss. We should take this into consideration when computing the compensation. Of course, there is a provision for going to a Tribunal. But

the point is that even on the question of depreciation, the depreciation rates are taken as very low. For instance, I have a circular here by AIR-INDIA, wherein they say that the Company's policy is to bring about depreciation in aircraft in such a manner that within four to five years D. C. 3s will be written down to 1 and the majority of the Vikings will be written down to 1 by 1954. At what rate are we going to compute the depreciation? If we were to calculate it according to the procedure laid down in Explanation A, a Dakota air frame will not be written down to Zero even after twenty years, whereas we all know that even if the life of the air frame were to be double that of an engine, it would not last for twenty years. These questions raise very serious doubts in our minds.

Then, take the stores and spares. It has been stated in the Bill that 80 per cent. of the cost price is going to be paid. This is scandalous. The total value of the stores and spares, as we see from the balance sheet, is about Rs. 1.31 crores and if we compute the compensation at the rate of 80 per cent. it would come to Rs. 1 crore. Actually, there has been a blind buying of huge amounts of disposal stores which today are redundant. For this junk we are called upon to pay Rs. 1 crore. There is a very interesting history behind these stores. At one time, they were paid for and were lying idle. When it came to a question of the workers demanding more wages, they suddenly took it into their heads to bring out the stores and put them down as expenditure in the books as having been spent for this purpose, even though for some years these stores were redundant. We have got information that in many cases, books are being re-written with great zeal. I hope the hon. Minister, with his knowledge, commonsense and business acumen will be able to give a fair deal in these things.

Stores needed for aircraft are unlike the stores in any other industry. Aviation spares and stores are used again and again after being reconditioned. After a fixed number of flight hours, they are overhauled and turned to full usability. If we take usability as the criterion for compensation, it will be wrong principle. For instance, a crankshaft can be used up to twenty-thousandth of an inch, so that if you are going to pay full, flat rate of compensation even when they are worn out only up to eighteen-thousandth of an inch, it would not be proper because it is almost like paying for a new spare part. These things therefore require to be gone into.

Then, there are novel methods of putting by spares even before they do the full flight hours. Suppose a particular spare part is able to fly 2,000 hours, it is put away at 1900 hours, so that compensation may be paid for the full flight hours. That means, within a short while the entire overhaulage has to be paid for by the Government. These things are happening, and I hope the hon. Minister is quite aware of them. In a thousand ways, the compensation is being inflated. There is no question of these companies being deprived of the prospect of their profits. These companies have not been in a running condition and that is why they are being taken over. It is in this background that I would beg the hon. Minister to judge the entire compensation question. As far as we are concerned, we feel that these companies have absolutely no justifiable reason for demanding compensation of any kind.

We find that interest at 3½ per cent. for deferred payment is going to be paid by Government. Firstly, I submit that this is not a loan as such. Secondly, if the worst comes to the worst and you want to treat it as a loan, then you must give the lowest possible rate of interest and certainly not 3½ per cent.

Now, I wish to turn to the workers. In spite of the very good things that the hon. Minister has said about the workers, the more I see of this industry the more I feel that without the cooperation of the workers and the highly technical staff, you cannot run this industry. It is on their cooperation, on their goodwill, and on their confidence that you will have to rely in building up this nationalised industry, if at all I may use that expression. There is not a single representative of the workers in the Corporation. This is the type of nationalisation we are having. You may have the biggest and the richest men in this Corporation, but unless you have the technical knowledge and skill of the workers, the best master-brains in the world will not enable you to run this industry as a public utility service, and that is how we want this industry to function.

In the Air Transport Council, you have provided for "one person with experience in labour matters". This only means that this representative may be one of the experts of whom we hear so much from Government and whom Government may consider to be "experienced in labour matters". There is therefore no question of granting representation to organised labour. Is this the type of nationalisation or socialisation that one talks of? The entire attempt has been to bypass trade

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

unionism. The entire history of the Civil Aviation Employees Union shows that the attempt is to sidetrack issues. We come up against the same point when we turn to the Labour Relations Committee. And what is this Committee? It only has an advisory capacity. Do we not know what Mr. Giri has been saying again and again? He says, "I have advised the State Governments; I have advised so many industrialists; but they do not take my advice." So, why do we have this hoax and farce of this Labour Relations Committee? If you wish to stand by the workers, you should stand by their trade unionism. Otherwise, no amount of encomiums showered upon them will do.

Then, take the question of security of service. In his speech there is one word which has been uttered again and again and that is the hon. Minister has referred to rationalisation and standardisation. It is true that on more than one occasions he has assured us that there will be no retrenchment, but I have before me two contradictory Statements that have appeared in the newspapers: one in the *Hindustan Times* and the other in the *Times of India*. The latter has used a very important sentence. It says that retrenchment will not come in immediately; it is thought that it is for the Corporations themselves on their formation to decide on the needs of their personnel. I am afraid Mr. Jagjivan Ram fears that there will be too much of hullabaloo if it is done now; so he thinks perhaps, "Let me take it over now. Afterwards, I can send these people out. After all, I have got the saving clause 'until and unless his employment in the Corporation is terminated or until his remuneration, terms and conditions are duly altered by the Corporation' is there." Sir, we have very bitter experience of this. We have heard in this House what has happened at Visakhapatnam. We have heard what has happened in the TELCO. The taking over was done at pegging wages the lowest rates for the workers, and that is, we fear, what is going to happen in these Corporations. Insecurity of service is hanging over the heads of the employees. The excess of staff is what comes up again and again, in ATIC report. That report has been condemned by the workers and arguments have been given by them why it has been condemned. Yet, that report is brought up again and again.

There is one important point on which I want clarification from the hon. Minister. What is going to happen to the agreements and the tribunal awards

where they are at present in the process of being finalised or where they are continuing. For instance, there is the case of the I.N.A. regarding the payment of dearness allowance during 1951. There is time for appeal until May 16th. Suppose the appeal comes up, and the decision comes out later than 1st June, what happens to the tribunal award? In the past, there have been certain cases, where the Government when it took over a merged company, or a company taking over another merged company, they stated that they terminated all that had happened before and that they were not liable for those things.

Then, you have this crucial date of June 1, 1952. I would say that all employees in service prior to and on that date should be taken over. Why is that so? Because we feel that in this interim period when there is going to be this taking over, the help of the workers should be taken in order to see that the taking over of the industry by the nation is done with the fullest benefit and the greatest advantage to the people and at the same time, with the prevention of losses and unjustified expenditure. For this you need the help of the workers and so you have to guarantee service to the workers, for their security of service is at stake. I should like to add that the clause should be such that all those who have been in service prior to June 1st right up to the vesting date should be taken over.

I should again like to say we hope that this measure will really carry into effect all the big promises made in the statement of objects and reasons, that it will benefit the common man, that there will be lowering of rates, that there will not be the short-sighted policy of trying to make up the losses by raising the rates—for the lower the rates the greater the chance of using to the maximum the air potential, as is borne out by the experience of the night air mail service, the Gauhati-Delhi flight of Airways India and the lowering of rates in East Africa.

I shall conclude by saying this. Let it not be said that the Government is the government of Tata and Birla and has come to save their profits and rushed to their help and paid for it with the money that is drenched in the blood, tears and toil of the suffering masses of the people.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** If you try to see it objectively it will be clear.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury (Gauhati):** May I know whether any Member sug-

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

gested for the Select Committee will be allowed to speak.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No, I am not going to allow.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya** (Muzaffarpur Central): An exception may be made in the case of Rohini Babu. He has some very important points to place before the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members need not recommend for others. I know.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** I am connected with an air transport service of which I have an experience of nearly five years.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall certainly make exceptions. The only point is hon. Members who are in the Select Committee have immense opportunities and so they must hear the views of the others here. After the report comes from the Select Committee those hon. Members who sat on the Select Committee will have an opportunity to explain as to what they have done—if the recommendations made are challenged or not accepted. That is the general principle followed. But this being a Bill of great importance I shall certainly make exceptions in favour of hon. Members who would like to contribute their experience. I shall give the hon. Member Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri a chance. But I thought he would be more useful in the Committee than in the House at present.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** I was going to suggest, Sir, that Shrimati Renu Chakravarty who has studied the question intimately may be put in the Select Committee instead.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** No, no.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha** (Saran East): Air transport has come to play a very vital role in the national life of a number of countries in the modern world. There are a number of people who regard air transport as a criterion for judging the advance of civilisation in a particular country. In this respect, since you have allowed the word *loot* as being perfectly parliamentary, I would say that I do not know whether "the Malabar Queen" or "the Deccan Princess" has been bought by the Air India International through *loot* or robbery. I do not know about those things. But in whatever manner they might have been bought, I will not mind admitting that a number of us have enjoyed air travel on those air-ships from India to Europe on a number of times, and it was a very agreeable journey indeed.

While we are considering air transport looking towards the role it is going to play after nationalisation, one thing comes to our mind first of all, and that is—it is a great asset to our defences. We can remember the days of partition, the Kashmir conflict, also the Assam earthquake and many other emergencies. On those occasions we have seen that our civil aviation rose to the occasion, and they have played their role and done a very good service in the interests of our country. It will be no exaggeration to say that in the modern world a country which has a sound air force, a sound air transport system, can be reasonably sure to a great extent, of fighting any emergency which may arise either from the external or from the internal situation.

Our civil aviation has progressed a good deal in the last few years, and most of us have personal experience about it. But first and foremost I would like to say a word about the Air India International. I do not know whether you, Sir, personally had occasion to travel by it when you went to Canada last time? (*An Hon. Member:* He has). But you might have marked that this Air India International has a very high reputation in the field of air transport, and it has also enhanced the good reputation of our country. There are a number of non-Indians in Europe and many other countries who prefer to travel by Air India International than any other air-company of the world. Why is it so? Because our people have mastered this technique of air transport in such a way that we have excelled many other countries. Not only that. The reputation of our country has been enhanced during the last few years by the constant endeavours of the Air India International. Without under-estimating the work done by our Embassies, I would say, the role of the Air India International has not been meagre or less, in raising the prestige of our country, than the work of our Embassies of Central Europe.

Now this time when we are going to nationalise, there can hardly be two opinions that once you nationalise an enterprise it functions in a better way. I do not know what the hon. lady Member meant when she said that we do not need two Corporations or that we do not need any Corporation at all for nationalisation. I could not understand, because there must be some machinery and some way of functioning.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** I said the Government.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** It is an enterprise, a work. It is just as any other individual begins an enterprise. The same way Government is going to do, and we need an organisation.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** She only knows the slogan nationalisation.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** We have to see to it that that machinery functions properly.

In this matter there are a number of things which can be said for and also against. The things which are favourable, the hon. Minister has already mentioned, and I would not like to emphasize them again. But as a word of caution I would like to say that when we are going to select the personnel as Members or as Chairmen of these Corporations, we have to be extremely careful. We have to take a balanced view. Of course, we want technicians for that purpose. It is a very technical task to run an air transport. And therefore, we have to take help from outside. But in this respect I do not think we have to depend upon private sector or private individuals too much.

The air transport companies have done well in the past and only to improve them we are nationalising them. I would say, without criticising their work, that it is going to function—something like a Court of Wards. To-day the Government is going to take it over, but once we have taken it over, we may not invite the same people to work also in our affairs. That will be wrong. If we can avoid that, it will be much better. The more careful we are in this matter, the better it will be for our Air Corporations.

Then there is another vital matter, i.e., about the machinery which we are taking over from the existing companies. Of course, the lady is right when she says that many of the machineries have become old. The dakotas have become old. There is no doubt about it. But we have been very careful in our country about one matter and that is going to prove to our advantage today. In the international market today, the price of a dakota is near about Rs. 4 lakhs but in our country, a dakota has a worth of only Rs. 1,50,000/-. This is subject to correction. Perhaps I may be slightly mistaken, but roughly speaking, I think, these figures are correct. Why it is so? It is for the reason that our Government did not allow the export of dakotas from our country. It is a very good thing, which is coming to our advantage.

So this machinery which we are going to take over, of course, is old. The dakotas have been overtaken by many other planes. There is no doubt about it. It is a vital matter to consider. But we have to see it in a fresh light. It is because we have to make more efficient both our internal and external services.

In this respect I would like to say a word about some "Curtis Commandos". I will not go much in detail about these Commandos, because many old Members of this House have better knowledge.....

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** They have been disposed of.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** I would just say they have not been exported yet from Pannagarh. There are perhaps about Rs. 2½ crores worth of spare parts. 70 Curtis Commandos are lying idle. There were tenders. We know about them. There were purchasers. They came from America to buy our Curtis Commandos. On the very face of it, it is a very wrong thing. It looks that the Americans who manufacture these planes themselves came to India to buy these planes. Why do they buy these? Because they know that we are selling these spare parts and the planes perhaps only at 8 per cent. or 8½ per cent. of their cost price. In no case more than 9 per cent. We are selling them for Rs. 59 lakhs and if they are slightly repaired, which we are capable of doing they can be used again. In 1950 enquiries were made by one American—I think he was Col. Ray of Servis-Air, New York. We spent about 5000 dollars on this, and he has made a very comprehensive report. He has suggested that out of these 70 Curtis Commandos, about 65 can be made airworthy again with slight adjustments. Our Civil Aviation Department has also considered this matter and come to the conclusion that those planes can be reconditioned and used. It is a matter of only a slight adjustment, and once they are reconditioned, they will be worth about a million each, i.e., Rs. 10 lakhs each. That means we have a property worth about Rs. 70 million, i.e., another 1½ times more than what we have at the disposal of our Corporations. These two Corporations worth only Rs. 48 million, and here we have got property worth Rs. 70 million.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** But what will be the repair costs according to your estimate?

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** It will be Rs. 1,25,000/- for each plane. Hindustan Aircraft has given their offer to repair them. If you give them one plane, of course, it will cost much more. If you give them two planes, it will also be much more. If you give them many planes, then it will be less. For the first plane they said it would cost Rs. 5 lakhs, for the second, Rs. 5 lakhs, for the third Rs. 4 lakhs. If you give them in bunches, it will cost you Rs. 1,20,000/- for each, and not more. If you calculate thus, I think each plane will not cost you more than Rs. 2,25,000/- in all including modernising. After this repair, one plane will be worth about Rs. 10 lakhs. If we have to sell them in the international market, why not get them repaired here. They will get a better price, and our workers will get their wages. our engineers.....

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** How is it relevant to this Bill?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member wants these Air Corporations to take charge of these Commandos instead of selling them.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** That is what I want to suggest.

**The Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain):** These Curtis Commandos have been disposed of after we had gone but to world tenders twice and we have accepted the best offer. Now it is only a question of lifting those stores by the purchaser.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I cannot prevent any hon. Member from.....

**Shri Buragohain:** Can we break that contract?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not know.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** We can break that contract if we do not care for a few lakhs.

It is one Banwarilal of this country. I regret to announce also his name. I do not know whether I am right in mentioning his name. His purchases from our Government have not a good reputation in this country.

**Shri G. P. Sinha (Palamau cum Hazaribagh cum Ranchi):** On a point of order. Is it proper for a Member to suggest that a contract made by the Government of India should be done away with?

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** There are other ways also of doing things. Previously a con-

tract was made and it was not finalised. There are chances that this time also it may not be finalised at all. We have to be careful.....

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I am not directly connected with the Curtis Commandos. My friend Mr. Buragohain is behind me. I found the information that the contract has been finalised and a portion of this store has already moved from Pannagarh.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** I have seen upto the 5th of this month, not a single screw out of those 2½ crores worth of spare parts has been removed. That is why I say this.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I can claim to have better knowledge than the hon. Member. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Why are both the hon. Members and the Ministers interrupting like this? Each will have his own turn. It is open to any hon. Member to make suggestions. Contracts, if they are irrevocable, can be revoked even afterwards in the interests of the country. Now a Corporation has come into existence. If it is irrevocable, certainly the hon. Member's suggestion will become infructuous. Therefore, there is nothing inherently improper in the hon. Member's suggestion and I cannot allow any hon. Member to go on interrupting. Each hon. Member is expected to contribute something towards this. All are engaged in a common purpose in seeing that the money of this country is not wasted.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I will make one submission after what you have said. When I find that an hon. Member is making a certain statement or making a suggestion which is based not on facts, it is up to me to bring the actual facts to your notice. I do not know whether you take objection to that. We would like to have a clarification for guidance on future occasions.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is not the case. The hon. Minister has entirely misunderstood me. He will have an opportunity. Is it denied that the hon. Minister will have an opportunity to reply? There are the Curtis Commandos. The hon. Member's opinion is that they must be preserved for us. Even now, according to him, it is not too late and the other person who has purchased can be persuaded to withdraw in a number of ways, now that a Corporation is coming into existence and the State itself is taking it, and the

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State wanted to enter into an agreement. These are plausible arguments which the House must consider. If the hon. Minister is going to convince the House that it is absolutely impossible, and that these Curtis Commandos are out of date, there is no reason why the House will not agree with the hon. Minister and support him. I never wanted to prevent any hon. Member, much less a Minister from telling the House what exactly the situation was. But, he will have his turn.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I will make a submission again. It was just an intervention by a sentence where the Minister brings to the notice of the House the actual position in the matter. Do you suggest that the Minister should wait till his turn comes while the debate continues on a fact which is not correct?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now and then correction of a statement at the proper time, instead of waiting till the end, will be useful. I am not objecting to that. As a matter of fact, I have been watching the debate for the last 15 minutes. Members on this side and that speak so much that it is not possible to hear what is going on. I am not saying anything against the hon. Minister for whom I have got great regard. There is nothing personal about this matter.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** It is not a personal question, at all.

**Shri K. K. Basu** (Diamond Harbour): Order, order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am afraid the hon. Member is taking my place.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I do not mind; the hon. Member will take some more time to follow the procedure of the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Such interruptions are welcome to correct a statement then and there. If they are only too many, I would ask the hon. Minister to reserve them to the end.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** My only submission is this. It is not a personal question at all. If at any stage we feel that by a very brief intervention in the debate, we can bring certain facts to the notice of the House which will curtail further debate on that point, it will be in the interests of the House and it will save the time of the House. From that point of view, I suggest and

I think you will agree with me, Sir, that it will be advantageous to the House if a Minister or Member in charge of a Bill intervened at that particular time to give briefly the actual fact of the case in order to save the time of the House and curtail the debate. It is not a personal question at all.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not dispute the proposition in general. It is for the Chair to consider whether they are too many or too few and whether to allow them or not to allow them.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** That is your discretion.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** I am sorry, Sir, the link was broken.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Anyhow, he may leave Curtis Commandos for the time being.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** I would leave them where they are, with the simple request to the Minister in charge that the Government should try their best to see whether they can be made use of. We have limited access to the knowledge of the affairs going on in the country, and also to the files. I do admit that. But, in spite of that, we have some knowledge, and we think that they could be used. That was my only motive and idea in bringing this question before the House.

I will conclude, since my time is up, by saying that if we are conscious of the work ahead, and if we are going to explore all the possibilities which are open before us, inside our country and outside the country also, in the matter of these Corporations, we can make them a real success. But, if we take only an official view of the matter and do not go beyond the red tape of the files, I think our Corporations will not be able to make much progress. As this is a very serious matter, I have taken so much of the time of the House, and I must be excused for that. In the end, I would say that this question of air transport is a very vital matter which is going to change the face of our country. As irrigation is going to change the face of our country in the field of agriculture, this air-transport is going to change the face of our country in the field of Communications in various ways, and they are also going to open new avenues to our very bright future.

**Shri B. K. Chaudhury:** Just as I was called on to speak, the thought which



had been uppermost in my mind was about the fate of the air hostesses.

[SHRIMATI AMMU SWAMINADHAN in the Chair]

Madam, I was just telling the House that when I was called on, the thought that was uppermost in my mind was about the fate of the air hostesses. I think this is a very pertinent question, because, already the air companies have started substituting air hosts in the place of air hostesses. For instance, any one travelling by the Indian National Airways will find that there is not a single air hostess there. In the Bharat Airways, almost the entire air-host staff was manned by females. In the Bharat Airways also, recently a change has come over and generally stewards have replaced air hostesses. I was thinking whether Government would follow a policy of gradually substituting air hosts for hostesses, or whether the hon. Minister is inclined to have more air hostesses. I confess I do not understand why I am being laughed at so much. (*Some Hon. Members: Ovation*). I do not want to dilate on that point. I have come to learn that there is already a sort of nervousness in the mind of the employees, whether they would be retained in their present capacity or not. There is a provision in this Bill for retaining the entire staff of the present airline companies. But the clause says that such appointments would be made only with regard to persons appointed before June 1952. These persons stewards or air hostesses who have been appointed after June 1952 have a precarious existence. Therefore I would ask the hon. Minister to make it clear what would be his policy in this matter.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I have made it clear.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** You have not said anything about air hostesses.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** I wanted to know what would be the position of the large number of services which are now being run as non-scheduled services. As the House is probably aware, large quantities of goods to and from Assam are carried by air. *Dhoties*, and even large quantities of tea are always carried by air on account of transport difficulty by rail or steamer. I would like to know whether those services would be allowed to continue in the future or whether they would be discontinued. Even textile goods had to be carried by air at times. I would like to know whether Government will give special facilities for those people who want to carry on the freighter service and would not interfere with them.

I would respectfully submit to the hon. Minister, with due deference to his zeal in this matter, that when Government undertakes a particular commercial business, Government is faced with various kinds of difficulties, and I am always thary of having nationalisation in those fields of operation where private enterprise has been carrying on successfully. I would just like to draw the attention of the House to certain State Motor Transports. For instance, in my own State, there is a sort of monopoly service—there was a monopoly service between Gauhati and Shillong. There is no railway communication between Gauhati and Shillong, and people have to depend on the motor service. Immediately after the Government took over the services, the fare was increased from Rs. 2/4 to Rs. 3/- in the third class, and also increased in the Inter Class, Second Class and First Class. Secondly, there was return journey allowed by the previous company. The return journey was entirely stopped by the Government. So, these things act on the public feelings, and if the transfer of a certain business proposition to Government would mean automatically an increase in fares and freights, and reduction of privileges to the travellers, that, I think, would not be welcomed by the general public. The country would like to have an assurance that when the Government or the Corporations take over, the fares and freights will not be increased and better amenities will be provided, and at least better service would be assured.

I was rather disappointed to find the other day when my hon. friend Mr. Raj Bahadur was replying to a question—by the way, my hon. friend is looking much better after his return from Assam; I think Shillong has done him good.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** He has visited Kamrup as well.

**Shri Raj Bahadur:** I am happy I have returned safe.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** And he told us that the existing planes would not be at once replaced and we have to depend on the existing planes for some time at least. We have been hearing complaints in the House from time to time that the existing Dakotas are re-assembled Dakotas out of the War Disposals, and a grievance was sought to be made from time to time that these Dakotas which have been assembled in some case from the War Disposals, were not air-worthy or could not be supposed to be air-worthy for some time. When it was in the hands of the private companies, that was the

[Shri R. K. Chaudhury.]

complaint. When it is in the hands of the Government, that complaint at least is not forthcoming from the Government at any rate. Why? I should like to have an answer to that question. I should also make an appeal to the Government to consider once more whether they should poke into at least those enterprises or those institutions which have been carried on satisfactorily in the past.

11 A.M.

It is not with a view to get any particular advantage that I am saying this. But I can probably remind the hon. Minister that one company at least, viz., Airways India—I confess that I am interested in that company—had been carrying on its business so satisfactorily that they had given dividends after two years after the company was started. That is a phenomenon which is hardly known in any part of India today. They have been giving fairly good dividends, and at the same time, carrying on with a greater measure of safety than any other concern. There has not been any major accident in which its passengers have been involved in this line. They have been carrying on very safely so much so—I think I am not disclosing a State secret when I say it—that the Managing Director of that company was offered a post under the Government in the Deccan Airways, but we could not afford to spare him. So, my submission is this, that when a particular route is being conducted with efficiency and no complaint from the public, why should the Government now poke in and take over that organisation. Why not Government, first of all try to improve the other organisations where defects have been found? It is only when they have sufficiently removed those defects in other organisations they should come in and take over these concerns for their own benefit or for their own profit. But, if the Government's intention is to take those companies and get some profit in order to make up their loss in other companies, then that is a policy which is not very commendable at least from the moral point of view. There can be some amendment in the Bill itself whereby the discretion may be left to the Government not to vest the entire scheduled airlines immediately, that the vesting of these companies may take place gradually as occasion arises, as circumstances demand. That provision may be put in there. In that case, it will help the companies to develop for some time.

Now I can just inform the House that when this particular company was

operating for the first time in Assam, it had to do so on account of a circumstance over which Government found itself absolutely helpless. That circumstance was that the train which connected India with Assam passed through Pakistan, and on account of that mails were deposited at Ranighat Station for days and days. There were big heaps of mails deposited at Ranighat Station exposed to rain and sun, and then it was thought proper by my hon. friend's predecessor to have a system of carrying without surcharge the mails between Assam and India. That was the first time. In the next year, the hon. Minister, in order to be equally kind to the rest of India, allowed air transport of mails without surcharge throughout, but that was the reason why it was for the first time allowed to carry mails without surcharge. Those were very difficult days, and the air companies come to the rescue of the Government and, what is more, at that time there was no air field which could be properly so called. The planes had to drop in muddy places as a result of which sometimes the tyres sank heavily. Even running at a loss, the Company helped the public and the Government. And is this the reward for that? The Company which had built up this business, which had made the people air-minded, that company is now to suffer for no fault of theirs. And what is the public getting in return? Is the public going to get Viking service between Assam and India? Is it going to get more amenities for travel between Assam and India? Nothing of the sort; on the other hand, let me predict—and my prediction will come true—that the number of services which we are having now, namely three regular services from one company, and one service from the Bharat Airways, will be immediately reduced by the Government. The fares will also be increased without any guarantee of any better safety than that we are having now. I can look at the palm of my hon. friend Mr. Jagjivan Ram, and from the lines that are there, say that this prediction of mine will be fulfilled.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** But I am going to falsify you.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** If he wants any other reading as to his personal fortunes, I can also do that.

**Shri B. S. Murthy (Elure):** I hope it is free?

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** Now, what is the compensation which the company is getting? The compensation will be partly in cash, and partly in bonds—as to which, Heaven knows when they

will be honoured. They will get some modicum of the compensation in cash. And how will this compensation be reckoned? It will be reckoned according to the book, i.e. to say, if an airliner or a plane was purchased at Rs. 25,000 five years ago, although it has been renovated and improved to an uptodate condition, still they will get the price only as in the book.

**Shri K. K. Desai (Halar):** Where do the expenses come from? From revenue expenditure?

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** The revenue expenses may be accounted. Why, when you take over a particular thing, do you not judge the price according to the market value at the time when it was actually acquired?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** There is no market in India.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** What I would suggest is this. Leave these planes alone for us. Let us find out the market value, and see how we can sell.

**An Hon. Member:** Market value is bound to be there.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I ask the hon. Member not to carry on conversation across the table with the hon. Minister? He would rather address the Chair. And that would save him a lot of time also. He has already spoken for more than 15 minutes, and I am going to ask him to sit down soon.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** How many minutes more, Madam?

**Mr. Chairman:** Two minutes.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** In these five minutes, I will look only at the Chair.

My hon. friend Shrimati Renu Chakravarty was mentioning about the Birlas and Tatas. I do not know why she was speaking against them particularly. (*Interruptions*). But there are other companies which are not managed by Birlas and Tatas. Has she not a word of sympathy for them? Why is she only looking at one side of the picture? Why has she not a word of sympathy to say or some word of praise in respect of the non-official companies which were struggling in the past, and which have a contented batch of employees, and have been giving satisfaction to the public.

These are the matters which can be considered in the Select Committee. So far as the pros-

pects and status of the employees are concerned, I would submit that in June 1952, the idea of nationalisation was not in the air at all. And so, those people who came and joined the services in the air companies after giving up their services elsewhere, should not now be made to suffer on that ground. As regards pilots, a special provision should be made for appointment, pensions etc. because they are risking their lives. (*Interruption*). When they are carrying the goods, they are risking their lives in that way. (*Interruption*). Well, I am ready to give it to you, if you want. As a matter of fact on barter, if he gives the rest of his life, I shall give my life to him. (*Interruptions*).

Madam, it is difficult to carry on like this. I am being taken very lightly, and I would resume my seat.

In this connection, I want to pay my tributes to the predecessor of the hon. Minister. It was he who had first started the carriage of mail by air in India. He had done a good lot in this matter and also for the development of the air industry in India, and our gratitude should be there for him.

I hope my hon. friend the Minister, who has made his mark in the Labour Department, will with the same dynamic activity, see that the air services in India are placed on a much better and much safer footing than it has been hitherto; and his tendency ought to be not to increase the fares, but rather to lower them down, so that more people may take advantage of this progress that is being made.

**Shri Kelappan (Ponnani):** I welcome this Bill to bring under some sort of Governmental control, all the airways in the country. The airways have an importance of their own. Apart from the fact that they are a second line of defence, they are also of great strategic importance, from the national point of view. There is one other reason also for the step taken. If most of these concerns are working at a loss, and if they have to be heavily subsidised by Government, there is no reason why the Government should not make themselves responsible for their direct management.

There are differences of opinion as to whether they should be nationalised or worked by some corporation constituted for the purpose. I do not object to a corporation, and I am willing to give this method a trial. One inherent defect of all government concerns is that they are really nobody's concern.

[Shri Kelappan]

They are accused of inefficiency, extravagance, waste, nepotism and so on. There are highplaced Government officials who will sell away their country for half a dozen whisky bottles.

I do not know why we want two corporations, one for internal airways and the other for international airways. That in fact leaves the way wide open for extravagance rivalry patronage etc.

**Shri Velayudhan** (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): For convenience.

**Shri Kelappan:** The Minister says it is all for a name. I ask, what is there in a name? The 'Air India International', he says, has acquired a certain reputation in the air transport world. So for the international transport, he wants the name 'Air India International'. I cannot conceive of a single reason why there should be two Corporations. At the same time, I can give scores of reasons why there should not be two Corporations, but only one. As has been pointed out by a Member here, if it is really to provide for some of those persons who will be displaced when this Bill becomes an Act then of course the Government have got some reasons of their own, as they are always inclined to come to the aid of these big capitalists.

**An Hon. Member:** Dying capitalists.

**Shri Kelappan:** For unity, harmony, economy and efficiency it is better to have only one corporation. The functions of the two corporations are the same. Whether a plane goes from Madras to Delhi or to Japan makes no difference. It is a duplication of efforts and a duplication of expenses. Two corporations mean two Chairmen, two General Managers, more officers, more staff and more corruption. If there be only one corporation, the overhead charges could be reduced. The Minister admits that fact. The functions of the Corporations are identical.

In Clause 7 the functions of these corporations are given. The function of each corporation is to provide safe, efficient, adequate, economical and properly coordinated air transport services, whether internal or international. If that is one of the functions, then I am sure it would be better, if we have only one corporation. Another function is to provide for the instruction and training in matters connected with aircraft or flight by aircraft of persons employed, or desirous of being employed, either

by the corporation or by any other person. Now, here also there is no reason why there should be two Corporations to fulfil this function. One other function is to repair, overhaul, reconstruct, assemble or recondition aircraft, vehicles and other machines, or to repair, overhaul, reconstruct, recondition, assemble or manufacture parts, accessories and instruments and so forth. Now, that means a very efficient, well-equipped, up-to-date workshop. Is it not better, I ask, to concentrate all efforts on one instead of two in each place?

Then, when there are two corporations, it may so happen that they have different conditions of service and different scales of pay for the internal service and the external service. We have in the same place officers of the Central Government and the State Government on different scales of pay and different service conditions. We have teachers in Government service in local board service and in private service with different scales of pay for the same qualifications. That creates discontent and agitation. If there be only one corporation, all the entrants could have the same service and conditions and scales of pay. Men with longer service and who are more efficient could be promoted to the international service if they are under the same management, and not otherwise. In the case of planes, also, better and more efficient ones could be put into the long-distance service.

Now take clause 39. Clause 39 provides for the appointment of Advisory and Labour Relations Committees. I do not know why there should be two Labour Relations Committees or two Advisory Committees when their functions are the same. All this could be avoided if there is only one corporation.

Now about compensation. I wish to draw the attention of the Select Committee Members especially, to these provisions. The schedule provides for the payment of compensation. The Minister himself says there are two methods of valuation—one based on the written down value of the assets and the other, on the market value of the total shares. The Minister has bluntly given out the reason why he does not adopt the latter, i.e. the market value of the shares. He says the market value will be very low and will therefore be disadvantageous to the transport companies. Now, we should rather look to the interest of the country. If it is more advantageous to the country to pay the

market value of the total shares, I see no reason why we should not adopt it.

The Constitution—no doubt entitles one to compensation when one is deprived of one's property. This Government, I suppose, is committed to evolve a socialistic State. If you want a more equitable distribution of land, if you want to nationalise the key industries, and if you want a more equitable distribution of wealth, you cannot think of giving full compensation, which, in other words, would mean the perpetuation of the present inequalities. If the Constitution stands in the way, it has to be modified—that is what I would say. Here the schedule provides for payment of the aggregate written down value of all air-frames of aircraft in respect of which there are certificates of airworthiness in force or which can be rendered fit for certificates of airworthiness if the corporation concerned were to incur expenditure within the normal rates for rendering the airframes air-worthy etc. Now, that I can understand. But in addition to that a sum of Rs. 12,000 in respect of each airframe of a Dakota aircraft and a sum of Rs. 24,000 in respect of each airframe of a Viking also have to be paid. I do not understand why this amount has to be paid. (Interruption) This certificate of airworthiness—what is really the worth of that? If it proves to be unairworthy, then who will be responsible? What is to happen? Who gives the certificate of airworthiness?

**Shri Raj Bahadur:** That is given by the DGCA's department.

**Shri Kelappan:** The department? We know several instances where the departments make mistakes. Now, there is that Jeeps scandal—where jeeps, even without engines, which could not be put to any use, have been purchased and they have been certified to be fit for use! Similarly, so many scandals like that. Then, if the department goes wrong in their estimation, and if we have to pay, who will be responsible? Who can be held responsible?

**Shri Raj Bahadur:** I think the hon. Member knows that no aircraft can fly without a certificate of airworthiness and the department will not be discharging its responsibility if they were to give certificates of airworthiness in the manner in which the insinuation is being cast by the hon. Member.

**Shri Kelappan:** In the case of the Dakota engines and the Viking engines again, additional sums of Rs. 6000 and Rs. 12000 are to be paid. You find in

several other cases also there is this additional payment.

In the case of licence fee I find an amount proportionate to the unexpired period has to be paid. That one can understand. But why pay Rs. 100 in addition?

The value of all kinds of scrap is fixed at 1 per cent. the book value. I do not know what it will fetch in the open market. Why should all that be undertaken by the Government: why not pay the market value of the scrap? Above all these, a sum of Rs. 10,000 has to be paid for what one does not know, perhaps as a *solatium*. All these matters require careful consideration. If we are not careful scrap may be passed on as sound air-worthy craft. The air of Delhi is thick with rumours that the rotten engines etc. are being oiled and overhauled to be passed off as air-worthy. By this transaction, if the Government is going to lose and bring discredit on themselves and on their services, that is a matter that this House has to take very serious notice of.

I find that a Special Tribunal is to determine the amount of compensation. If they are to decide compensation according to the schedule which provides certain rates and imposes certain conditions then the Tribunal will have very little choice in the matter.

In any case the members of the Tribunal must be persons who have no personal, pecuniary or direct interest of such a nature as to prejudicially affect their judgment. I believe such a condition is necessary in the constitution of the Tribunal. That is all I have to say.

**श्री एस० एन० दास (दरभंगा मजब) :**  
सन्माननी जी, मेरा ख्याल है कि आज इस प्रजातन्त्रीय हिन्दुस्तान में यह पहला मौक़ा है कि जब सरकार ने एक उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के लिये हमारे सामने विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है। मैं जानता हूँ कि १९४७ के बाद इस सरकार ने रिजर्व बैंक ऑफ इंडिया को नेशनलाइज़ किया है। हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में आज का दिन बहुत महत्वपूर्ण रहेगा। राष्ट्र के जीवन में इस एयर ट्रांसपोर्ट का जो महत्व है वह किसी से छिपा नहीं है, चाहे वह साधारण नागरिक के जीवन में हो या चाहे वह

[ श्री एस० एन० दास ]

युद्ध के समय में हो। दिन दिन इस का महत्व और भी बढ़ता चला जाता है। ऐसी हालत में ऐसे उद्योग को, चाहे वह अच्छे तरीके से ही क्यों न चलाया जाता रहे, व्यक्तिगत लोगों के हाथ में रहने देना हमारे ख्याल में समाज के लिये कल्याणकारी नहीं है। अभी तक जितने भी व्यक्तिगत उद्योग सरकार या हुकूमत की तरफ से चलाये जाते हैं, चाहे उन के ऊपर कितना ही नियंत्रण क्यों न हो, उन सब के अन्दर नफे की प्रवृत्ति काम करती है। अगर इस नफे की प्रवृत्ति को सरकार किसी तरह से कम करने की कोशिश करती है तो व्यक्तिगत रूप से उद्योग को चलाने वाले उस का बहुत जोरदार विरोध करते हैं। इसलिये मैं आज अपने माननीय मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिये बहुत बधाई देता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय जीवन के एक महत्वपूर्ण उद्योग के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के लिये इस संसद् के सामने उन्होंने बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बिल उपस्थित किया है।

सभानेनी जी, आप जानती हैं कि सन् १९५० ई० में इस संसद् के सामने एक एयर ट्रान्सपोर्ट इन्क्वायरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट रखी गई थी। उस एयर ट्रान्सपोर्ट इन्क्वायरी कमेटी के सदस्यों ने बहुत परिश्रम से खान बिन कर के इस उद्योग के हर एक पहलू पर बहुत गौर से विचार किया था और सरकार के सामने कुछ निर्णय और सिफारिशें रखी थीं। उस रिपोर्ट में उन्होंने कहा था कि देश की मौजूदा हालत में इस उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना ठीक नहीं होगा। उन्होंने ने ऐसा कहते हुए इस बात का हवाला दिया था कि सन् १९४८ में अप्रैल के महीने में सरकार ने जो अपनी औद्योगिक नीति की घोषणा की थी उस में उन्होंने बताया था कि कुछ प्रमुख उद्योगों को सरकार को स्वयं चलाना चाहिये और उस समय एक दूसरी

सूची ऐसी भी बनाई गई थी जिस में कहा गया था कि अगर उन को व्यक्तिगत उद्योग के रूप में चलाने की गुंजाइश हो तो अभी कुछ वर्षों तक चलने देना चाहिये। उद्योग की दूसरी सूची में इस एयर ट्रांसपोर्ट की बात रखी गई थी। लेकिन साथ ही साथ उस में यह भी कहा गया था कि एयर ट्रांसपोर्ट की सरविस को अगर व्यक्तिगत उद्योग को चलाने वाले या कम्पनियां ठीक से नहीं चलावेंगी, इस महत्वपूर्ण उद्योग का अगर बे ठीक से संचालन नहीं करेंगी, तो सरकार ऐसे उद्योग को अपने हाथ में ले लेगी। इस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट से पता चलता है कि सन् १९५० तक शायद ऐसी एक भी कम्पनी नहीं थी जिस को घाटा न हुआ हो, बावजूद इस बात के कि सरकार ने पेट्रोल के दाम में रिबेट के रूप में बहुत बड़ी रकम से उन कम्पनियों की सहायता की थी। उस सहायता के बाद भी उन कम्पनियों को घाटा चलता ही रहा। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि अब बहुत उपयुक्त समय आ गया है कि सरकार को इस उद्योग को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये।

हमारे माननीय सदस्य, जिन्हें मैं बहुत आदर की दृष्टि से देखता हूँ, कहते हैं कि इस में भी धीरे धीरे पग उठाना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक ऐसा उद्योग है जो आज के जमाने में किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के हाथ में या किसी कम्पनी के हाथ में रहने देना मुनासिब नहीं है। हो सकता है कि शुरू शुरू में पूरा अनुभव न होने की वजह से हम इस उद्योग को उतने अच्छे ढंग से न चला सकें जितने अच्छे ढंग से हमें चलाना चाहिये। मैं इस बात की मानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की बदली हुई हालत में जो नई नई जिम्मेदारियां हमारी सरकार पर आई हैं, उन जिम्मेदारियों को सम्भालने के लिये जैसे योग्य, परिश्रमी, ईमानदार और जानकार लोगों की जरूरत है वैसे व्यक्तियों का कुछ अभाव है। लेकिन मैं

यह भी समझता हूँ कि सरकार द्वारा चलाये जाने वाले उद्योगों में जिन बुराइयों की हम को भासंका है, उन बुराइयों का पूरा पूरा समावेश, मैं तो कहूँगा कि, उस से भी बढ़ कर प्राइवेट भादमियों के हाथ में इस उद्योग को रहने देने से होता है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि इस उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण अत्यन्त आवश्यक है और मैं इस काम के लिये लाये गये इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

अब सब से पहला सवाल जो इस सम्बन्ध में विचारने का है, वह है कि इस उद्योग का संचालन कैसे होना चाहिये। इस का संचालन दो तरह से हो सकता है। इस का संचालन एक तो सरकारी विभाग के जरिये हो सकता है और दूसरे इस का संचालन किसी संस्था के द्वारा कराया जा सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि मौजूदा हालत में कारपोरेशन के जरिये से इस उद्योग को चलाने का जो निश्चय सरकार ने किया है यह बहुत तारीफ के काबिल है और इसी के जरिये से इस उद्योग को चलाने का कार्य आरम्भ करना चाहिये। सरकारी डिपार्ट-मेंट से ऐसी संस्थाओं को चलाने में कई तरह की कठिनाइयाँ उपस्थित होती हैं। पब्लिक अकाउंट्स कमेटी के मेम्बर होने की हैसियत से मुझे इस बात की कुछ वाकफियत है कि जब दूसरी लड़ाई के समय सरकार ने बहुत से ऐसे कारबार अपने हाथ में लिये, जिन की लड़ाई के जमाने में जरूरत हो गई थी। चूंकि उन का संचालन ठीक ढंग से नहीं हुआ, इसलिये बहुत से स्टेट एंटरप्राइज में सरकार को कई तरह के घाटे हुए। साथ ही साथ जितना ध्यान और जितना परिश्रम किसी उद्योग या कारबार के लिये करना चाहिये उतना नहीं किया जा सका। हमारे सरकारी कर्म-चारियों को इस तरह के व्यवसाय और इस तरह के उद्योग को चलाने का जैसा अनुभव होना चाहिये वैसा अभी नहीं है। इसलिये हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारियों को इस बात के लिये

प्रयत्न करना होगा। आज हमारे राज्य में जो एक कल्याणकारी राज्य हो गया है, सरकारी कर्मचारियों का सिर्फ यह काम नहीं है कि हुक्म जारी करके देश के शासन का काम चलायें बल्कि उन्हें तो बड़े बड़े उद्योग बड़े बड़े कारबार चलाने की क्षमता की जरूरत है। मैं यहां यह बात भी अपने मंत्री महोदय से और उन के जरिये सरकार से कहना चाहूँगा कि अब इस बात की आवश्यकता हो गई है कि इंडियन एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस और दूसरी जो आल-इंडिया सर्विस हैं उन के साथ साथ एक इंडियन इकानामिक सर्विस की स्थापना भी होनी चाहिये जिस से हम इन बड़े बड़े उद्योगों को, जिन का आज हम राष्ट्रीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं और आगे भी करने वाले हैं, चलाने के लिये अच्छे जानकार और इमानदार व्यक्ति हमें मिल सकें जिन्हें समुचित ट्रेनिंग या शिक्षण दे कर हम बड़े बड़े उद्योगों को दक्षता से चला सकें।

समानेत्री जी, जहां मैं सरकार द्वारा कारपोरेशन बनाये जाने का समर्थन करता हूँ वहां मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बिल को जहां तक मैं ने पढ़ा है, इस में इस बात की कोई विवेचना नहीं की गई है कि कारपोरेशन के सदस्य कौन होंगे और उन की क्या क्वालिफिकेशन्स और क्या डिस्क्वालिफिकेशन्स होंगी। ऐसे मेम्बर्स को, जो किसी भी वेस्टेड इंटररेस्ट को रिप्रेजेंट करते हों, ऐसे कारपोरेशनों में न आने देना ही देश के लिये कल्याणकारी है। चाहे वह किसी भी रूप में हों। ऐसे ऐसे उद्योग धंधों में जिन की हम शुरुआत करने जा रहे हैं और चाहते हैं कि वे सफलतापूर्वक चलाये जायें, किसी भी प्रकार के वेस्टेड इंटररेस्ट को रहने देना बहुत नुस्सानदेह है और अगर हम ने शुरू में ही इस की रोकथाम नहीं की तो हमें पीछे पछताना पड़ेगा। इसलिये मैं अपने माननीय मंत्री जी से और जो सेलेक्ट

[ श्री एस० एन० दास ]

कमेटी बनाई गई है, उस से अनुरोध करना कि जब वे इस बात पर विचार करें, कि कारपोरेशन में कौन से सदस्य हो सकते हैं और कौन से आदमी सदस्य नहीं हो सकते हैं, तब इस बात की पूरी पूरी विवेचना होनी चाहिये। डिस्वलिफिकेशन और क्वालिफिकेशन दोनों का निर्धारण होना चाहिये, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि चूँकि अमुक वेस्टेड इंटेरेस्ट को अनुभव है, इसलिये उस में उस का रिप्रेजेंटेशन होना चाहिये, यह चीज में मुनासिब नहीं समझता हूँ। इसलिये मेम्बरस की क्वालिफिकेशन और डिस्वलिफिकेशन का पूरा पूरा ब्याल करके इस विषयक में उन के सम्बन्ध में धाराओं का समावेश करना जरूरी है।

इस के बाद दूसरी बात जो मैं महत्वपूर्ण समझता हूँ और जिस की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, कम्पेन्सेशन के बारे में है। कम्पेन्सेशन के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहूँगा कि विधान की बत्तीसवीं धारा राष्ट्रीयकरण के लिये बहुत भारी बाधक है। हम जानते हैं कि इस देश के कुछ लोगों ने हजारों वर्ष के शोषण के जरिये काफी मात्रा में धन एकत्रित कर लिया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि उन के द्वारा समाज और जनता का जो शोषण हो रहा है वह अन्यायपूर्ण है। विधान में हम ने माना है कि हम सब को सामाजिक और आर्थिक न्याय बराबर रूप में देंगे परन्तु मुद्राविजे की इस धारा का विधान में समावेश कर के हम ने आर्थिक न्याय की जड़ में कुल्हाड़ी मार दी है। फिर भी मैं अपने मंत्री महोदय से यह कहना चाहूँगा कि हम विधान की उस धारा के मुताबिक अधिक से अधिक उतनी ही दूर जा सकते हैं जितना बोझ राष्ट्र अपने सिर पर संभाल सके। वह उद्योग ऐसा है, और जैसा कि माननीय मंत्री के भाषण से भी स्पष्ट हुआ है, कि इस का पता लगाना

कि इस में जो विभिन्न प्रकार के शेयर और प्रीफरेंस शेयर्स हैं उन का मूल्य क्या है, बहुत मुश्किल है, इसलिये यह बहुत आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम इस बिजु को पास करते समय यह बात सदैव ध्यान में रखें कि हमें किसी व्यक्ति विशेष की सम्पत्ति की दृष्टि से नहीं बल्कि समूचे राष्ट्रहित की दृष्टि से इस बिजु पर विचार करना चाहिये। हां, मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि जब तक यह विधान है, हम किसी की चीज अथवा सम्पत्ति को जबर्दस्ती बिना मुद्राविजे के नहीं ले सकते हैं और हमें उस का उचित मुद्राविजा देना चाहिये, लेकिन उस दिशा में हमें उतनी ही दूर तक जाना चाहिये जहां तक हमारे और राष्ट्र के लिये संभव हो और इसलिये इस उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण करते समय हमें इस बात का पूरा ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि हमारे राष्ट्र के कंधों पर कम से कम बोझ पड़े। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं और डिटेल् में आप को नहीं बताना सकता लेकिन सेलेक्ट कमेटी के सदस्यों का काम है कि वह इस क्लॉज को ऐसा बनावें जिसे से राष्ट्रीयकरण करते समय हमारी सरकार पर कम से कम बोझ पड़े और हम इस उद्योग को अच्छी प्रकार से फायदे के साथ व्यवसायिक ढंग पर चला सकें, इस के लिये हमें उपयुक्त फील्ड और वातावरण पैदा करना चाहिये।

तीसरी चीज, जिस की ओर मैं आप का और इस सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, इस उद्योग में लगे कर्मचारियों के हकों और अधिकारों की रक्षा की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि संसद् के सभी सदस्य मेरी इस बात से सहमत होंगे कि इस उद्योग को चलाने वाले जो वैज्ञानिक हैं, इंजीनियर्स हैं और दूसरे विशेषज्ञ हैं उन के हितों की रक्षा की जानी चाहिये। पायलेट लोगों की और जो फील्ड में काम करने वाले हों, सब के अधिकारों की रक्षा होनी चाहिये। किसी उद्योग का व्यवसायिक



दंग से चलाने के लिये कभी कभी इस बात की जरूरत हो जाती है कि अगर उस में आवश्यकता से अधिक लोग हों, तो उन को हटाया जाय। मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि जो कारपोरेशन कायम होगा, वह व्यवसायिक दृष्टि से इस उद्योग के संचालन में क्या परिवर्तन करना आवश्यक समझेगा। मैं यह भी नहीं कह सकता कि इस समय उस में जितने काम करने वाले हैं, उन सब लोगों की पूरी पूरी आवश्यकता इस उद्योग में होगी या नहीं होगी। लेकिन मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि जो लोग इस बन्दे में आज कई वर्षों से लगे हुए हैं उन लोगों को यकायक इस काम से हटा कर बेकार बना देना भी राष्ट्र के लिये अच्छा नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं मेलेक्ट कमेटी के सदस्यों से भी अनुरोध करूंगा कि उन्हें वर्कर्स के अधिकारों और उन के सुख सुविधाओं का पूरा पूरा ख्याल रखना चाहिये। इस बिना मैं यह बात दी हुई है कि एक कमेटी होगी जिस का काम होगा कि वह कर्मचारियों और उद्योग के आपसी सम्बन्ध को प्रेम पूर्ण बनाये रखे, दोनों के बीच अच्छे सम्बन्ध को कायम रखे, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की कमेटी की नियुक्ति बहुत ही स्वागत करने योग्य है, लेकिन मैं इस सम्बन्ध में इतना अवश्य कहना चाहूंगा कि बिना में इस तरह की एक धारा का रख देना एक बात है, लेकिन उस के अनुसार सहानुभूति पूर्वक काम करना दूसरी बात है आज की अबस्था में ऐसे किसी भी उद्योग में, जिस का आप राष्ट्रीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं, अगर आप को कार्वकर्ताओं का पूरा हार्दिक सहयोग प्राप्त नहीं होगा तो इस बात की आशंका है कि वह उद्योग जिस का आप राष्ट्रीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं, ठीक तरह से नहीं चलेगा और उस में आप को सफलता प्राप्त नहीं होगी। मैं आशा करता हूँ और मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि इस उद्योग का जो हम राष्ट्रीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं, वो इस में हमें सभी लोगों का सहयोग प्राप्त होगा और जो इस उद्योग को

चलाने वाले हैं, वह भी हमारे साथ सहयोग करेंगे। लेकिन साथ ही मैं इस बात से भी इंकार नहीं कर सकता कि दुनिया में प्रायः ऐसा देखा जाता है कि जब हम किसी स्वार्थ विशेष पर चोट पहुंचाते हैं तो वह स्वार्थ की भावना उस को भ्रंषा बना देती है और हो सकता है कि हमारे जो समालोचक लोग हैं वह इस बात की ताक में रहें कि कब इस में सरकार को असफलता मिलती है। हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री रोहिणी कुमार चौधरी, जिन को हम सब बड़े आदर की दृष्टि से देखते हैं, तक ने इस की समालोचना करते हुए कह दिया है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण होते ही किराया बढ़ेगा और उन्होंने ने अपनी आशंका प्रकट की है कि उद्योग सफलतापूर्वक नहीं चल पायेगा, मैं उन से कहूंगा कि वह जमाने की रफ्तार में बहुत पीछे पड़ गये हैं और आज के युग में हिन्दुस्तान छलांग मार कर बहुत आगे चला गया है। अब हिन्दुस्तान आप के साथ चलने वाला नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान में एयरवेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण का एक बड़ा प्रयोग होने जा रहा है और इस में तो आप जैसे बूढ़े का आशीर्वाद मिलना चाहिये, आप जैसे बूढ़े को समालोचना करते और नुकताचीनी करते शोभा नहीं देती . . . . .

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** On a point of order. Can anybody be called "old"? In our parts, we have a rule that we must not call a lame man a lame man or a blind man a blind man. Similarly, my hon. friend should not refer to me as an old man. This is a vile abuse.

**Mr Chairman:** There is no point of order.

श्री एल० एन० दास : सभानेत्री जी, माननीय सदस्य को बूढ़े शब्द से आपत्ति है, तो मैं इस को वापिस लिये लेता हूँ। मैं माने लेता हूँ कि वह बुद्ध नहीं हैं बल्कि जवान हैं, लेकिन उन के जो विचार थे वह मुझे जरूर बूढ़े मालूम हुए, इसलिये मैं ने ऐसा कहा।

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** I do not understand Hindi, but *burra* means bad.

श्री एस० एन० दास : "बूढ़ा" से मतलब है ज्यादा उम्र का, वृद्धावस्था का; इस का मतलब "बुरा" नहीं है। मैं तहेदिल से इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ और उम्मीद करता हूँ कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने राष्ट्रीयकरण की ओर जो पग बढ़ाया है उस के लिये हम और सारा देश उन का आभारी हैं और हम इस के लिये उन को हृदय से धन्यवाद देते हैं।

**Shri Kasliwal (Kotah-Jhalawar):** I must congratulate the hon. Member who preceded me, because he made a very good speech and I must say that some of the points I was going to make have been made by him. However, there are certain other points to which I wish to make a reference. Before I do so, I must congratulate the hon. Minister who has brought this Bill. It is a question whether this Bill has been brought in very early or very late. It has been said by the Planning Commission that about Rs. 10 crores were paid to these companies by way of subsidy or otherwise. And now the undertakings of these companies are to be taken over at a price of about Rs. 4,80 lakhs. So it is apparent that this Bill has not been brought in too early.

When I looked into the statement of objects and reasons my feeling was that there was not sufficient reason given for the nationalisation of civil aviation. When I looked into the report of the Planning Commission, there also I felt that the Planning Commission had not given sufficient reasons for nationalisation of civil aviation. But when I heard the speech of the hon. Minister today—and I heard his speech with some attention—I felt a little glad, because he clearly said that nationalisation was necessary in the national interest. And I submit that is really the crux of the problem: in the national interest nationalisation of civil aviation has to come about.

It is not necessary for me to refer here in this House today to the various companies in the various countries of the world where civil aviation has been nationalised and run on the basis of a national industry—K.L.M., SABENA, B. O. A. C., B. E. A. C., the various Corporations which are really run as State concerns. One of the points which I would like to touch

upon is one which was raised by another hon. Member there. She was of the opinion that there was no necessity for a Corporation. Probably she meant that civil aviation should be run as a State department. My hon. friend who just sat down has really given cogent reasons why there is no necessity for running this as a State department and why it should be run by way of a Corporation. This question of Corporation versus State department has been examined at some length and generally the point of view has come to be this that such concerns should be run by way of a Corporation and not as a State department.

There is another point which I would like to touch upon. I need not go into the various aspects of nationalisation and into the pros and cons of nationalisation. I would like only to touch one point, and that is the question of efficiency of management. It has often been said that private enterprises are run far more efficiently than public enterprises. I maintain that it is a false claim. This question, again, has been examined at some length and people have come round to this view that if in public enterprises there is some wide-awakeness, some vigilance, some promptness in management then they are run far more efficiently than private enterprises. It is not necessary for me to go into the whole history of the B.O.A.C. Probably the hon. Minister has read how the B. O. A. C. and the B. E. A. C. were very much mismanaged with the result that lots of money had to be spent in subsidising these two Corporations. I hope the hon. Minister will avoid those pitfalls and those mistakes which they had in the management of those concerns.

One of them was, for example, the over-staffing of the Corporation. The Corporations were certainly over-staffed to a great extent. When the staff was retrenched and when there was greater co-ordination and greater co-operation in the staff, then alone the B. O. A. C. and the B. E. A. C. were running more efficiently, and they have now come to a stage when very little money is being paid to them by way of subsidies. This is one thing which I would like to impress upon the hon. Minister, namely the question of efficiency in management.

Another point which I would like to touch, and which has not been touched by any other hon. Member here in this House, is the question of parliamentary control. Parliament, in the last resort, is the body responsible for running

these public corporations and I maintain that it is the duty of the Minister to give every sort of information to this House every now and then. Very often information relating to matters of public corporations is behindhand and is given in a very inadequate manner with the result that it is not really possible for Members of Parliament to make up their mind one way or other on the information which is laid before this House. I hope that when the hon. Minister looks into this matter he will feel that Parliament should be taken as often as possible into confidence on the question of the running of these corporation.

Without going into other questions I would like to discuss certain provisions of the Bill. Chapter II provides for the constitution and functions of the Corporations. Some of the Members have raised the question as to why there should be two Corporations. I myself have not been able to make up my mind on this question as to why there should be two Corporations and why there cannot be only one Corporation. Probably the hon. Minister had the B.O.A.C. and the B.E.A.C., the two Corporations which are working in the U.K., in mind, and that is why perhaps he has put these two here also. I hope that when he gives his reply he will give cogent reasons why the necessity for two Corporations is there.

Coming to the question of the constitution of the Corporations I am unable to follow—and nothing has been said about the Chairman—whether the Chairman will be a whole-time man or will be a part-time man. If the Chairman is going to be a whole-time man, there is going to be a General Manager also. If the Chairman is going to be a whole-time man, what will be the point in the duplication of this chief executiveship of these Corporation? This is a matter to which I hope the hon. Minister will give some thought.

Coming to the question of membership of these Corporations the hon. Member who just sat down said something with respect to it. He said that the membership should not be confined to vested interests. I quite agree with him. I go further and say that membership of these Corporations should not become a dumping ground for ex-Governors, ex-Ambassadors or ex-Secretaries. These Corporations must work as a live wire. I hope the Minister will see to it that certain provisions regarding the qualifications are inserted in this clause. The qualification should be something like this that those persons who have some experi-

ence in civil aviation or transport or who have experience of commercial, financial and other such matters should be included in these Corporations.

Similarly with regard to disqualifications, there is no provision made as to how a member is going to be removed. In England, in some of these public corporations, as for instance in the London Transport Company and other corporations, there is a provision that if the Minister is satisfied that a particular member does not attend the meetings of the corporation or has become bankrupt or has otherwise become unfit to be a member of the corporation, he is removed. I wish that the Minister would see his way to the incorporation of this particular provision in this Bill.

**Shri Velayudhan:** It is only for private Corporations. London Transport is a private Corporation.

**Shri Kaslival:** It is not a private Corporation.

Coming to the question of the functions of the Corporation in this very chapter, I am glad they have given very comprehensive functions for the Corporation. But there is one matter which is missing and that is a very important matter. I hope the hon. Minister will see his way to include it. And that is the question of production and development of aircraft. I maintain that any operating policy which does not include production and development of aircraft into its consideration is a policy which is fraught with danger. I hope the Minister will see to it that a clause to this effect is included in clause 7 that it will be one of the functions of the Corporation to develop aircraft.

Before I come to another question, I would like to touch on the question of Air Transport Council. I must say I felt some disappointment in this chapter. It appears to me that this chapter has been taken more or less from the constitution of the BOAC. There the constitution says that the Air Transport Council is an advisory body. I have read this. The Minister also has said that this is going to be an advisory body but I feel that it is not merely an advisory body but it is a body which is more or less of an executive character. I hope the Minister will see his way to re-constitute this body in such a way that the Minister himself becomes the Chairman of the Air Transport Council and the Director-General himself becomes a sort of Secretary to the Council. It is not necessary at all to duplicate, triplicate and multiply these functions.

[Shri Kaslival]

You have got these Corporations, you have got the Chairman, you have got the General Manager, you have got the Director-General of Civil Aviation, you have the Minister of Communications. And then you have got the Air Transport Council. What is the meaning behind all this multiplication. I am afraid all these will involve the Ministry in trouble and there is going to be a lot of delay. These are the reasons for the general failure of public enterprises. I hope the Minister will kindly make a note of the suggestions that I am making.

I certainly welcome the question of the appointment of the Labour Relations Committee I am sure, no public corporation will work unless the staff is well satisfied. A staff which is disappointed, which is discontented, I should say, generally never leads to the success of any public corporation and I hope the Labour Relations Committee will work very successfully.

There is only one other matter to which I would like to make a reference and that is the question of these undertakings. I hope the Minister has satisfied himself that he is not paying a price which is too high for these undertakings which he is going to buy. I am unable to say at this time as to the amount which will be ultimately paid but the Tribunals are going into the question. I am certain that it would be intolerable for anybody to suggest that just because Government is the purchaser the price to be paid for these undertakings is going to be high. I hope the Minister will see that only reasonable prices are paid and nothing more.

Lastly I welcome this Bill and I am sure this is a Bill which envisages, I should say, an extension of the field of State enterprise. I have done.

**बाबू राम नारायण सिंह** (हजारी-बाग पश्चिम) : समानेत्री महोदया, मैं आप को बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस विषय पर कुछ बोलने का अवसर दिया। वैसे तो यह बहुत सुन्दर है कि गगन मार्ग के आवागमन का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो। एक बार पहले भी मैंने सुना था कि अमुक कार्य का राष्ट्रीयकरण होने जा रहा है। उस समय मैंने कहा था कि किसी डिपार्टमेंट का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने से पहले देशवासियों के दिमाग का

राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिये। लेकिन देशवासियों के दिमाग का राष्ट्रीयकरण तो जरा मुश्किल है। लेकिन जिनके हाथ में आज कारोबार है, जो लोग आज सरकार कहलाने हैं उनके दिमाग का पहले राष्ट्रीयकरण हो जाय तब तो किसी डिपार्टमेंट का राष्ट्रीयकरण आप आसानी से कर सकाई हैं।

**श्री राज बहादुर** : आप का हो गया ?

**बाबू रामनारायण सिंह** : बहुत कुछ। समानेत्री महोदया जब मैं यह कहता हूँ कि किसी के दिमाग का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय तो इस का मतलब यह है कि देश के बहुत से लोग या वे लोग, जो सरकारी कार्य का संचालन करने वाले हैं, यह समझने लग जायें, कि उन का लक्ष्य यह है कि वे देश के लिये जीते हैं, राष्ट्र के लिये जीते हैं, किसी व्यक्ति के लिये या किसी दल के लिये नहीं, किसी समाज विशेष के लिये नहीं। जब तक किसी के दिमाग में यह न आ जाय कि वह जीवित है देश के लिये, वह जीवित है समाज के लिये, वह जीवित है राष्ट्र के लिए तब तक इस राष्ट्रीयकरण का कोई मतलब नहीं है। अभी आप ने मुना कि सरकारी दल के सदस्य ही यह बोल रहे थे कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि किसी गवर्नर को कारपोरेशन का सदस्य बना दिया जाय या जो मिनिस्टरशिप से निकाले गये हैं उन को बना दिया जाय।

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यह सब जान रहे हैं। आप मुझे धमा करेंगे, जिस वक्त योग्यता की बात चल रही थी तो मेरे दिल से यह निकल रहा था कि यहाँ सरकार के काम के लिये योग्यता की क्या जरूरत है। सरकार तो एक बहुत बड़ा पिजरापोल है। इतने बड़े पिजरापोल में आने के लिये तो योग्य नहीं होना चाहिये। पिजरापोल में बैसे ही पशु जाते हैं जो कि संसार के योग्य नहीं रह जाते

हैं, किसी काम के लायक नहीं रह जाते हैं तो इसी तरह से सरकारी मोहदा पाने के लिये खास कर मंत्री लोगों के लिये चाहे योग्यता हो या न हो, प्रधान मंत्री काफी हैं। लोगों को सब पद मिल सकते हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि यह विषय ऐसा है कि मैं समझता हूँ कि इस का विरोध करना कठिन है लेकिन यह जरूरी बात है कि जब तक न्याय नहीं तो अच्छी तरह से उसे आरम्भ नहीं किया जा सकता। मैंने पहले भी कहा है, सभानेत्री महोदया, और मैं आज भी कहता हूँ कि आज प्रधान मंत्री से ले कर एक ग्राम के चौकीदार तक को अगर आप देखेंगे तो मालूम होगा कि सब यह समझते हैं कि वे तो शासक हैं, देश पर हुकूमत करने के लिये आये हैं, उन के लिये काम का सबाल ज्यादा नहीं है। मैं कहूँगा कि ऐसी बात ठीक नहीं है। सरकार का काम करने वाला तो बड़ होना चाहिये जो यह समझे कि मैं देश का सेवक हूँ शामक नहीं हूँ। यहां राष्ट्रीयकरण होने जा रहा है। दिल्ली के ट्रांसपोर्ट का राष्ट्रीयकरण बहुत दिनों से है। शायद उस के आमद खर्च की जांच भी होने को है कि किस तरह से चलाया जा रहा है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीयकरण हो यह बहुत अच्छी बात है। आजकल कम्पनियां व्यक्तिगत ढंग से चलाई जा रही हैं लेकिन राष्ट्रीयकरण हो जाने के बाद तो किसी का काम नहीं रह जायगा। हमारे भाई श्री नारायण दास जी ने बड़ी खूबी के साथ और बड़े जोश के साथ कह दिया भाई रोहिनी कुमार चौधरी की टीका टिप्पणी करते हुए कि देखिये बड़े लोग यह नहीं जानते कि देश कितना आगे चला गया है, ये तो पीछे की बात करते हैं। अजी यह सुन कर तो बड़ा आनन्द मालूम होता है। श्री नारायण दास जी को दीख पड़ता है कि देश आगे बढ़ा है और जो मैं देख रहा हूँ और जो दूसरे लोग देखने वाले हैं उन को मालूम होता है कि देश भले ही बहुत आगे बढ़ गया हो, उसका दिल और दिमाग भी

बहुत आगे बढ़ गया हो लेकिन उस की सरकार बहुत पीछे पड़ी हुई है। इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि यह सरकार जो चल रही है तो गढ़ेकी तरफ चल रही है। तो ऐसी हालत में भाई आप चाहे राष्ट्रीयकरण करो चाहे और कुछ करो मुझे देश का लाभ तो नजर नहीं आता। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप को धन्यवाद दूँ, आप के कार्यों पर गौर अनुभव करूँ और आनन्द मनाऊँ कि कार्य सुन्दर हो रहा है, लेकिन जिस तरह से कार्य अभी हो रहा है उस से तो राष्ट्रीयकरण होने में मुझे कोई लाभ नजर नहीं आता। लेकिन चेष्टा करो। लेकिन चेष्टा करने के साथ साथ दलबन्दी वाली बात न रहे। दलबन्दी छोड़ देनी पड़ेगी। दलबन्दी होते हुए न्याय नहीं हो सकता। जिस तरह से रामायण में जनकपुर में जनक जी ने बहुत सुन्दर कहा है कि :

“तजहु आस निज निज गृह जाह,  
लिखा न विधि वैदेहि विवाह।”

उसी तरह से मैं अपने विचार को आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक दलबन्दी रहेगी, तब तक न्याय की आशा नहीं और जब न्याय नहीं है तो सुख और शान्ति की आशा कैसे की जा सकती है। इस वास्ते मैं कहता हूँ कि खैर जो हो रहा है उस का विरोध तो मैं नहीं करता लेकिन इस का स्वागत करने का भी तो साहस नहीं होता। खैर करते हैं तो करिये लेकिन यह देखना होगा शुरू से, जैसा कि और लोगों ने भी कहा है, कि कार्य ठीक से चले। मैं भी इस कार्य के लिये उनको बधाई देता हूँ। कारपोरेशन के सदस्य ऐसे लोग किये जायें जिन का दिमाग राष्ट्रीय दिमाग हो, जो देश का भला चाहें और वह संस्था को ठीक से चलाना चाहें और देश के हित में चलाना चाहें। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि किसी को लुप्त करने के लिये या किसी को पुरस्कार देने के रूप में लिया जाय। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये। जैसा कि और लोगों ने कहा है, मैं भी मंत्री महाँ-

[ब. र. रामनारायण सिंह ]

दय से कहूंगा कि कार्य तो अच्छा है, भले ही उसे अभी कुछ लाभ न हो लेकिन चेष्टा करना चाहिये उस चेष्टा के लिये मैं अभी आर्शावादि देता हूँ और बघाई देता हूँ कि चेष्टा सफल हो लेकिन सावधानी पूरी होनी चाहिये और दल-बन्दी की बात दिमाग से हमेशा के लिये हटा देनी चाहिये ।

**श्री सिंहासन सिंह :** (जिला गोरखपुर - दक्षिण) : सभानेत्री महोदया, यह विधेयक जो आज भवन के सामने उपस्थित है, हर प्रकार से समर्थन के योग्य है। अगर खेद है तो केवल इसी बात का कि यह विधेयक इतने दिनों बाद आया। जब कांग्रेस सरकार बनने के बाद यातायात के हर एक साधनों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की व्यवस्था प्रारम्भ हुई, उसी वक्त उचित था कि यह विधेयक भी उस राष्ट्रीयकरण की धारा में डाल दिया जात। हर एक प्रान्त ने अपने अपने यहां मोटर बसों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लिया। जहां कि छोटे छोटे काम करने वाले अपनी जीवन यात्रा बसों के मार्फत करते थे वहां उन का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके आज देश का कुछ हद तक उत्थान हुआ और रास्ता चला। आज जो यह विधेयक आया है तो उस का इस नाते तो स्वागत है। किन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में जो माननीय मंत्री ने अपना वक्तव्य दिया है उस से यह प्रकट हुआ कि राष्ट्रीयकरण की व्यवस्था क्यों कर आई। जो उस कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी उस से और जो आज तक इस को चला रहे हैं उन लोगों ने अपनी दिक्कतें बतलाई, कि सरकार की सहायता के बिना, इस को नहीं चला सकते, तो इस कारण राष्ट्रीयकरण की तरफ अब गवर्नमेंट जा रही है। आज जो इस को चला रहे हैं वे इस से लाभ नहीं उठा रहे हैं, उन की हानि हो रही है : वह हानि दूर हो जाये, इस उद्देश्य से, उन की क्षति की पूर्ति के लिये सरकारी सहायता आवश्यक है और जो अब तक

दी जाती रही है, इस लिये यह उचित समझा गया कि सरकार इस को अब ले लेवे। इस कारण यह कदम अब उठाया गया है। इस तरह से भी जो कदम उठाया गया है वह सुन्दर ही है और अच्छा ही है और उम्मीद की जाती है कि इस में देश का लाभ भी होगा।

इस सम्बन्ध में जैसा कि प्रश्न उठाया गया है वह यह है कि इस का संचालन किस प्रकार से हो। आया संचालन उस प्रकार से हो जैसी कि इस विधेयक में व्यवस्था की गई है या उस प्रकार से हो जैसे कि रेलवे का संचालन हो रहा है या जैसे कि आज प्रान्तों में मोटर ट्रान्सपोर्ट का संचालन हो रहा है। प्रान्तों में मोटर संचालन के लिये कोई कारपोरेशन नहीं बने। केन्द्र में रेलवे के संचालन के लिये कोई कारपोरेशन नहीं है। सरकारी महकमे से ही उस का संचालन बहुत दिनों से हो रहा है और सफलतापूर्वक और योग्यतापूर्वक तथा लाभ के साथ हो रहा है। तो कोई वजह नहीं मालूम होती कि यह संचालन भी उसी प्रकार से क्यों न किया जाय। जिस तरह से हमारा रेलवे बोर्ड बना हुआ है उसी प्रकार से यह बोर्ड भी बना दिया जाता और वह हवाई जहाज के यातायात का संचालन सही रूप से कर सकता था। लेकिन आज इस विधेयक में दो कारपोरेशन की व्यवस्था की गई है। कुछ लोगों का अन्देश है, डर है, कि शायद यह व्यवस्था इस कारण से की गई हो कि इस उद्योग के संचालन में दो महान सूत्रधार, घनीमानी व्यक्ति हैं, टाटा और बिड़ला और यह जो दो कारपोरेशन को रूप दिया गया है वह इस लिये है कि इन दोनों व्यक्तियों को किसी न किसी रूप में रखने का विचार है, जैसा कि श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती ने बताया था कि शायद टाटा और बिड़ला इस के सम्पाति बनाये जायें। काश यह हुआ तो आज जो जनता की इस के

लिये स्वागत की भावना है वह कहीं अस्वागत में न बदल जाये। मेरे विचार से तो उचित यह था कि रेलवे बोर्ड की तरह से इस का भी संचालन सरकार करती। लेकिन सरकार इस को कारपोरेशन के जरिये करती है तो एक कारपोरेशन के जरिये करना चाहिये, दो कारपोरेशन की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। माननीय मंत्री ने जो आज इस सम्बन्ध में वक्तव्य दिया है उस में उन्होंने इस के लिये केवल तीन कारण बतलाये हैं कि ये दो कारपोरेशन क्यों बनाये जा रहे हैं। एक तो यह बताया कि इंडिया इंटरनेशनल एयरवेज जो था उस का गुड नाम है, भला नाम है। उस भले नाम को रखने के लिये जरूरी है कि इंडिया इंटरनेशनल के नाम से अलग कारपोरेशन बनाया जाय और दूसरा जो कारपोरेशन है, वह जो आन्तरिक व्यवस्था है, उस के लिये रहेगा। लेकिन अगर आप विधेयक की भिन्न भिन्न धाराओं में जायें तो धारा ३६ में व्यवस्था है कि दोनों कारपोरेशन आपस में मिल जुल कर काम करेंगे। धारा तीन या चार के अन्दर यह है कि एक कारपोरेशन का चेयरमैन दोनों कारपोरेशन का चेयरमैन भी हो सकेगा। एक कारपोरेशन का मेम्बर दूसरे कारपोरेशन का मेम्बर भी होगा। अगर एक कारपोरेशन के मेम्बर दूसरे कारपोरेशन पर हो सकते हैं और दोनों कारपोरेशन आपस में दफा ३६ के अनुसार समय समय पर मिल कर काम करेंगे तो मेरे विचार से तो एक ही कारपोरेशन की आवश्यकता थी।

दूसरा कारण उन्होंने यह बताया कि दो कारपोरेशन न कर के एक ही कारपोरेशन करने में जो आर्थिक लाभ होगा वह इतना नगण्य है कि उस की परवाह नहीं की जा सकती। मेरी समझ में जो आज हमारे देश में पैसे पैसे की कमी है और हरतरह से हम जब औरों से, विदेशों से सहायता ले रहे हैं तो उस में

अगर हम एक पैसा भी बचा सकें तो वह देश के हित में है। वह दो पैसे ही कम है, इसलिये हम अलग कारपोरेशन कायम करें, मेरे विचार में उचित नहीं है। इस बिल पर विचार करने के लिये विशिष्ट कमेटी बनाई गई है और उस में विशिष्ट प्रकार के व्यक्ति हैं। मेरे ब्याल से वे इस पर विचार करेंगे और देखेंगे कि अगर एक ही कारपोरेशन के जरिये यह काम हो सकता है तो वह एक ही की व्यवस्था करेंगे, दो की नहीं, इस के अन्दर गुडविल है और इस में जो इकानामी होगी, धन की बचत होगी, वह बहुत कम होगी, यह ब्याल नहीं होना चाहिये।

इस के अन्दर आप यह भी देखें कि कारपोरेशन कायम करने में कितनी और व्यवस्था आप को करनी पड़ेगी। एक तरफ तो कारपोरेशन बनेगा, फिर एक ट्रांसपोर्ट काउन्सिल बनेगी। कारपोरेशन को चुनने वाली सरकार और ट्रांसपोर्ट काउन्सिल को चुनने वाली भी सरकार होगी। अब इस के अन्दर दो कारपोरेशन होंगे। दोनों के अलग अलग आफिसर होंगे, दोनों की अलग अलग व्यवस्था होगी और ट्रांसपोर्ट काउन्सिल का काम होगा कि इन के फंयर रेड्स निश्चित करें और आपस में जो कोई झगड़ा हो, उन को सुलझायें। उपरोक्त प्रयोजनों के लिये हाई लैवल पर एक ट्रांसपोर्ट काउन्सिल बनेगी, यानी ट्रांसपोर्ट काउन्सिल एक प्रकार से रेलवे बोर्ड का जो आधार है उस को लेने जा रही है। तो इस प्रकार से कारपोरेशन की जगह ट्रांसपोर्ट काउन्सिल ही बना कर क्यों न संचालन किया जायें। यह करना खर्च के लिहाज से भी ठीक होगा। कारपोरेशन कायम करने में अधिक खर्च है।

इस में मैंने एक बात यह देखी कि जितने अधिकारी हैं वे सब रखे जावेंगे और उन को यह आश्वासन भी दिया गया है कि उन्हें निकाला नहीं जायेगा। उन की जो सुविधाये

[श्री सिंहासन सिंह]

हैं वे वैसे ही कायम रखी जावेंगी। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे एक डर है और उस की मैं माननीय मंत्री जी के सामने रख देना चाहता हूँ। जिस समय बी० एन० डब्ल्यू० रेलवे प्रो० टी० रेलवे की गई तो उस समय बी० एन० डब्ल्यू० रेलवे के अधिकारियों को उस के नौकरों को यह आश्वासन गवर्नमेंट ने दिया कि जो अधिकार, जो सुविधायें उन को उस रेलवे में प्राप्त थीं व सब सुविधायें उन को सरकार से मिलती रहेंगी, और एक बार नहीं, दो बार, कई बार यह आश्वासन दिया गया। लेकिन बावजूद इस आश्वासन के वे सुविधायें उन से छीन ली गईं और आज जो उस रेलवे के पुराने अधिकारी हैं उनको वे सुविधायें नहीं हैं जो कि आज सरकारी मुलाजिमों को प्राप्त हैं। एक मामूली सी बात है 'एज आफ रिटायरमेंट' के बारे में। जो सरकार के वक्त में वहाँ सरविस में आये उन की रिटायरमेंट की एज ६० वर्ष है, लेकिन उस रेलवे के वक्त के जो पुराने अधिकारी हैं उन के लिये वह है ५५ वर्ष। जब दोनों ने सरकारी नौकरी कबूल की तो दोनों में दो व्यवस्था हो यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। तो कहीं ऐसी ही व्यवस्था इस में भी न हो।

फिर उनको कहा गया है कि तुमको अमुक अमुक इम्तिहान पास करने पड़ेंगे। उनको उस समय बगैर इम्तिहान पास किए अगर प्रमोशन मिल सकता था तो अब उनको इम्तिहान पास करने के लिए कहना कहां तक उचित है। अगर आज बाबू राम नारायण सिंह जी से कहा जाय कि बी० ए० का इम्तिहान देंगे तो बी० ए० होते हुए भी वह शायद फेल हो जाय तो जो सुविधायें उनको आज प्राप्त हैं वे मिलनी चाहिए। मेरा माननीय मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि आश्वासन तो आप

दे रहे हैं लेकिन बाद को आप कहीं भूल न जायें, क्योंकि जब तक अपने अधिकारियों में आप के प्रति, देश के प्रति इस बात का इत्मीनान न हो, विश्वास न हो कि उनके लाभ में, उनके कार्य में, उन की सुविधाओं में कोई कमी नहीं होगी, तब तक उनसे पूर्ण सहयोग प्राप्त करना कठिन है।

उनको यह विश्वास होना चाहिये कि जब तक वह चोरी न करें, अथवा बेईमानी न करें वह हटायें नहीं जायेंगे। अगर वह कर्मचारी यह समझकर काम करें कि हमारी सर्विस परमानेंट है, मुस्तकि है तो ईमानदारी और नेकनीयती के साथ काम कर सकते हैं। इस लिये मैं सरकार का इस ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि खास तौर से जब आप एक नई व्यवस्था को अपने हाथ में लेने जा रहे हैं उस उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं इस बात को देखना आवश्यक है कि यह बदलाव सुचारु रूप से और उचित रीति से, सम्पन्न हो और उस उद्योग में जो काम करने वाले हों, उन के दिल में ऐसा अंदेशा न हो कि वे रिप्लेस किये जायेंगे। नये और पुराने जो कर्मचारी हैं उन की सुविधाएं एक समान हों, यह न हो कि नये जो भरती होंगे उन की कुछ और सुविधायें होंगी और पुराने लोगों की दूसरी सुविधायें होंगी।

अब मैं थोड़ा कम्पेन्सेशन क्लाइम के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं आप से शुरू में ही कह दूँ कि मुझे श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती ने मुझाविजे के बारे में जो कुछ कहा उस में बहुत तर्क मालूम होता है। हम ३१ दिसम्बर सन् ५२ या जिस दिन एपायन्टेड डेट होगी, उस दिन से हम इन कम्पनियों की जितनी लाइबिलिटीज होंगी, वह सब हम ले लेंगे, मेरी समझ में यह लाइबिलिटीज हमारे लिये लेना कुछ उचित नहीं जान पड़ता, क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में जब



जमींदारी अबालिख हुई तो उन की सम्पत्ति का उचित मुआबिजा तो सरकार द्वारा दिया जाना तय पाया गया लेकिन सरकार पर उन पर रहे किसी दायित्व का बोझ नहीं रहेगा, सरकार पर कोई नाइबिलिटी नहीं रहेगी, सरकार का उस से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहेगा, सरकार केवल उन की सम्पत्ति का मुआबिजे के तौर पर उचित दाम देगी। जहाँ तक दायित्व का सवाल है, यह वह समझें अथवा उन के महाजन समझें, सरकार को इस से कोई सरोकार नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं सरकार को सावधान कर देना चाहता हूँ कि आप जो कुल उत्तरदायित्व लेने जा रहे हैं, उस का भार आप पर शायद इतना पड़ जाये कि जो एसेट्स आप को मिलने वाले हैं, वह नहीं के बराबर हो जायें। कर्ज से दबे हुए दायित्व को लेना कहां तक उचित होगा? कम्पन्टेशन की कीमत लगाने का जो तरीका हम ने रक्खा है, वह उन को देने की ही तरफ ध्यादा है। आप ने कहा कि हम इतने परसेंट दाम डकोटा के देंगे, और इतनी कीमत एयरक्राफ्ट को देंगे, तो हमें इस बात को देखना होगा कि हम उन की कीमत जरूरत से बढ़ादा तो नहीं दे रहे हैं, हम जो चीज उन की लेवें वह उचित मूल्य पर लेवें, यह तो ठीक है, लेकिन उन की लाइबिलिटी किसी तरह से हम लेवें, यह हमारी समझ में नहीं आता। इसलिये मैं इस विषय की ओर सिलेक्ट कमेटी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो कुछ हम उन से लेवें, उस की कीमत तो हम उन को दें, लेकिन लाइबिलिटी उन्हीं के ऊपर रहे उस से हम से, और स्टेट से कोई मतलब न रहे। हम जो कुछ उन से लें पाटर्स, मशीनरी, दफ्तर आदि उन की उचित कीमत हम उन को अवश्य अदा करें, लेकिन किसी तरह का दायित्व अपने ऊपर भोवना हम को बड़ी मूसीबत और कठिनाई में डाल देगा, क्योंकि व्यापारी वर्ग को आप जानते हैं, कर्जा दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ता जायेगा, क्योंकि

बहीखाता तैयार करने में उन को देर नहीं लगती, इनकमटेक्स की बही अलग होती है, और हिाब की बही अलग होती है, और बही का बिगाड़ना बहुत मुश्किल होता है, और अगर हम ने कर्ज इत्यादि का दायित्व भी अपने सिर लिया तो हम एक बड़ी उलझन में अपने आप को फंसा लेंगे और उस में से निकलने में महीनों लग जायेंगे।

इस के अलावा इस बिल में दफा १८ की ओर मैं आप का व सदन का ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगा। इस में है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के बाद भी कुछ कम्पनियों को अधिकार रहेगा कि वह अपनी व्यवस्था स्वयं कर सकें। दफा १८ के अन्दर यह है : **Reservation of scheduled air transport services to the Corporations.** यह तो शेडयूल्ड एयर ट्रांसपोर्ट सर्विसेज रहेंगी लेकिन नान शेडयूल्ड में कहा गया है कि अमुक अमुक तरह के यात्रियों को वह कम्पनियां ले जा सकती हैं, वह यात्री कौन होंगे? यात्रियों को उड़ान विद्या की शिक्षा देने के हेतु वह कम्पनियां ले जा सकती हैं और दूसरे पेसेंजर्स रा गुड्स को ज्वाय राइड्स के लिये जा सकती हैं : **For the sole purpose of providing joy rides.** लेकिन गुड्स को ज्वाय राइड्स के लिये ले जाना, यह तो कुछ समझ में नहीं आता। दफा १८ डी में इसका चित्र है :

"To carry passengers or goods for the sole purpose of providing joy rides consisting of flights operated from and to the same aerodrome or place without any intermediate landing or for the purpose of aerial survey, fire fighting, crop-dusting, locust control or any other aerial work of a similar nature."

गुड्स का ज्वाय राइड्स में शामिल होना समझ में नहीं आता। इस के अलावा मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे डर है कि इन दो क्लॉजों के मातहत कम्पनियां बहुत से मसाफिरो को ले

[श्री सिंहासन सिंह]

जायेंगी और बहाना यह बना देंगी कि हम इन को उड़ान सिखाने के लिये ले जा रहे हैं, या बीमार हैं इस लिये ले जा रहे हैं, और बिलफर्च अगर कोई इन क्लाइज का उल्लंघन करते हुए पकड़ा भी गया तो उस को एक हज़ार ज़ुर्माना या तीन महीने की सज़ा होगी। जहाँ तक एक हज़ार ज़ुर्नि का सवाल है, यह कम्पनियाँ एक फ्लाइट में दस दस हज़ार कमा लेंगी और इस लिये यह ज़ुर्माना भ्रदा करना उन के लिये कोई बड़ी बात न होगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की अनुचित कार्रवाही करने और फायदा उठाने का उन कम्पनियों को हमें भ्रवसर नहीं देना चाहिये। रेलवे का हम ने राष्ट्रीयकरण किया, तो आप देखते हैं कि रेलवे किसी अन्य व्यक्ति को चलाने नहीं देते। इसलिये मैं उचित समझता हूँ कि जब हम एयर सर्विसेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं तो दफा १८ की इस बिल में मौजूदगी भूखे कुछ उचित और अवश्यक नहीं मालूम पड़ती कि हम कोई इस तरह की विशेषता रखें ताकि वह कम्पनियाँ ज्वाय राइड्स, या उड़ान विद्या सिखाने के बहाने या और किसी बहाने बीमारी आदि को ले कर जीवित रहें। इसलिये सेलेक्ट कमेटी को इस विषय पर ध्यान देना चाहिये कि इस तरह की विशेषता रखना देश के हित में और राष्ट्रीयकरण के हित में साधक होगा या बाधक होगा। मेरी राय में इस दफा १८ को बिल में से निकाल देना चाहिये। इन शब्दों के साथ यह जो व्यवस्था की जा रही है इस का हम स्वागत करते हैं, और माननीय मंत्री को ऐसा विधेयक लाने के लिये धन्यवाद देते हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि सेलेक्ट कमेटी इस पर पूरी तरह सोच विचार करे और मेरे सुझावों पर भी गम्भीरता से सोचे और शीघ्र से शीघ्र इस को कानून का रूप दिया जाय। इस से देश का हित और कल्याण होने वाला है।

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** This Bill which the hon. Minister has brought in has not been brought a day earlier, in the sense that it was long overdue. It is a pity that Government took such a long time to decide this matter of national importance. Our air arm should be a strong arm, on which we have to hang on in times of emergency, so that it may constitute our most valuable defence.

The other day, we had the visit of our distinguished ex-Viceroy, Lord Halifax. He has been connected with Washington and London in various capacities, and though a Tory, he made a very important statement which I am quoting from Churchill's book, the Second World War Vol. I where it is said:

"Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Education, who had said that the British people were disposed to regard the preparation of instruments of war as too high and too grave a thing to be entrusted to any hands less responsible than those of the State itself....."

I am quoting this because the manufacture of armaments of destruction is not safe in the hands of private capital. We have a statement to this effect by no less a man than Lord Halifax, a Tory, whose party has been associated with the vested interests, long before the Welfare State was ushered in by the Labour Government. A good Tory felt it was the sacred duty of the State to see that the manufacture of armaments should not be entrusted to private hands. Why should we have kept our vast airlines which are not weapons of offence, but weapons of defence in private hands? They should have come into the hands of the Government long ago. Government should have taken control of all the airlines and not allowed them to be run in the manner they have been running—by manipulating losses or profits and figures of depreciation—where the safety and welfare of our civil population are concerned.

I want to refer to another point—the matter of the Curtis Commanders. At the end of the last war we had over fifty such planes lying with our disposals. What have we done with them? It is true perhaps that we have entered into a contract with a private individual.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

But if the private individual is out to make profits at our expense, then it is

the bounden duty of the State to terminate that contract. Why should we dispose off these 50 planes which have come into our possession, as good as Vikings, just because when the British departed they left on record that these planes which are American in origin, were not fit for air travel? Their own Vikings were coming? They wanted the Vikings which are of British manufacture, to be paid for, taken hold of and put on our airlines. I would like the House to consider this point. We, who are laymen, are not experts in the matter of defence or aviation or the Navy do however possess commonsense and we can look upon big matters, which may be intricate and complicated, in a fair just and a general way. I say that with this fleet of nearly 50 planes in our disposals department, it was the duty of those who directed and shaped our policy to take hold of them and put them on our airlines. They should not be exported because they will fetch a big price. If they are kept here, we can keep the price of British planes also down and we can be free from these sharks—the exporters—who want to fill their pockets or increase their profits even against our national interests.

I am making this point about the Curtis Commandos very deliberately, because the Curtis Commandos, I have been told, ran as good as the Vikings and better than the Dakotas. Just because they were of American origin, the British who then directed our national policy of defence saw to it that we did not utilise them, as it would mean more money going to America. I am not enamoured of everything American or any American weapon of aggression. All I say is that this Parliament and we owe a duty to our country to see that every weapon at our disposal is utilised and not cast into the dungheap or dust-bin.

It is the bounden duty of those who control our policy to see that these planes are not allowed to rot and also to see that we utilise the services of our pilots who are an honest and patriotic band of men.

I shall not say more on this point I have mentioned this because here we are trying to capitalise on every plane that we have, both from the defence and civil aviation points of view. It is a tragedy that nearly 100 pilots with 'B' licences are now unemployed. In England, they once badly wanted 1000 pilots. Here you have got these patriotic youngmen whose services are not enlisted. These youngmen could be employed to operate, and expand, our routes all over the country.

Then I come to my second point—that the division into two Corporations is entirely incorrect. The House of Tatas have rendered distinct service to our country. Jamsheji Nassurwanji Tata, a great industrialist and political prophet, contributed to Mahatma Gandhi's political fund as long ago as 1906. They have rendered a great service, but we must not allow considerations of gratitude to come in the way of national honour and national strength. Today we are going to have two Corporations. We should not copy the British too much. The British have got the British European Airways Corporation and they have also got the British Overseas Airways Corporation. We shall not slavishly copy them, but we adopt our own methods and improve upon theirs. With two Corporations we shall not be able to interchange the personnel—the personnel which will be on the Indian airlines shall not go into our foreign airline. We have got first-class airmen; we have got the hostesses too who have been transferred to the Air India International.

The other day I was speaking to one of our airmen—from our competent band of young men—who took our Indian Delegation to Peking. He said: 'For the first time I flew to China—I went to Europe last month. That was the first time and I was the Captain of the Crew. No one aided me. He said, "I only studied the navigation map." Here are young men, intelligent and capable enough by merely nothing a map, being able to fly unaided over the high seas and high mountains in different parts of the world. Equally honest and efficient are the men in our Air Force. They are all first class men, both our defence and commercial pilots. It should be the duty of the Communications Minister to see that our air lines are kept in such constant move that we shall not have accidents. The history of the railways shall not be repeated in our air lines. Our Railways have nearly a million men. The other day when we celebrated the hundredth anniversary they declared that the railways had done big things. But go round the railway yards and see how many of their offices are clean. I am very sorry to say this on the floor of this House. Their hands are not clean and their reputation is stinking. During the period of nearly ten years, our air lines have had men strewn with honesty and courage. Let us not tarnish the fair name of the air lines when it comes into the hands of Government. Let us not earn the reputation of the railways. In our air lines, we have got fine men, most fine personnel, fine ground personnel,

[Shri Joachim Alva]

fine engineers and fine managers and fine hostesses though there may be exceptions. We shall not increase our accidents. We shall run to schedule. Our air lines have become famous throughout the world for running to scheduled. We have not got the reputation of some of the foreign companies—I shall not name them—in regard to accidents. Ever since we got independence our young men are becoming more air-minded. We must see that the air lines which are going to be taken over entirely under government control should run efficiently. We should not usher in a period of accidents, a period of inefficiency, a period of corruption just as is rampant in the railways. We want only to see character, ability and patriotism, that our young men may go round the world and be great ambassadors of our country's prestige.

There is one point more, which I want to mention and it is this. We should run our air lines in a manner that we make them the granary of the east. We have got nearly 7 or 8 countries around us and we can supply them machines and parts. We are not yet manufacturing the engine of the aircraft in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory; the heart of the machine is the engine. For the Americans it was a very easy matter to organise half a dozen repair and spare parts factories. The Americans were anxious during the stress of war to build a factory for manufacture of planes; but the Britisher did not want either the Indians or the Americans to push through such schemes. They would have liked during the war to have a factory in which every part of the aeroplane including the engine to be manufactured in this country—the nearest point to the base of operations. Today, we shall not be merely content with being hewers of wood and drawers of water in the air. We should have within the next 10 years a programme in which we shall manufacture our own aeroplanes; manufacture their hearts the engine, which is not manufactured today in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. We shall bring men like Messerschmidt, who was a great German producer of aircraft. When Hitler asked him to produce offensive weapons, Messerschmidt said 'I shall produce all defensive weapons'. As I said in the Defence Debate, England won victory because of radar. When German planes were going over England, with the aid of radar, England bravely and successfully faced the blitzkrieg. When England later took

the offensive, Germany was helpless; it had no radar nor the defensive weapons which Messerschmidt planned to have against the British offensive.

Now, I am mentioning the aspect of civil aviation because it is of such importance especially to the safety of our citizens, the safety of our entire country in future. Radar may not come under civil aviation, but is very important. We have third-class equipment today. Recently, at one of the naval establishments, somewhere in India, I met a British officer who has been loaned by the British Navy. He is a young man of 28 years. He agreed with me that our equipment was second-rate, but when I asked him what would be the approximate cost of about ten first-class radar stations, he said he did not know. What is the use of importing such experts?

Through these Air Corporations, we are going to send our young men to the farthest outposts of the world like America, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Russia and so on. We must build up this industry in such a way that Government will have complete control. The strength of the Army is diminishing in the sense that the air arm dominates modern warfare. The Navy has become only the second line of defence. It is the air defence that occupies the pre-eminent position and we cannot ignore its importance. These Air Corporations will have to supply pilots in times of war. I referred to the Curtis Commanders, because we have not got an Air Transport Command worth the name.

**The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia):** May I remind him that we do have these Commandos?

**Shri Velayudhan:** He is speaking about defence.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is beyond the scope of this Bill to refer to Curtis Commandos, defence, radar etc. Saying that these Corporations should have fine personnel etc. was all right, but the rest is beyond the scope.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** Unfortunately, they are inter-locked. Anyway, I leave it there.

Now, I come to the fifth freedom. By fifth freedom I mean freedom of the air. A plane starts from one part of the country and goes to another, in the same country today, the foreign companies have squeezed out our own airlines in this respect. They travel from Calcutta to Delhi, from Bombay to Delhi and so on. They have damaged the interests of our airlines. The proposed Corporations

should see that the foreign airlines are not allowed so much freedom, and thus sabotage the fifth freedom of mankind.

Another point is about oil. Our airlines cannot operate without oil. From 1948 up to today, the foreign companies have increased the price of oil by over a rupee. I do not see why they should have been allowed to do so. The Ministers must be vigilant and careful about what their Secretaries sign. If we had a team of efficient and sincere Ministers who see what their Secretaries pass on to them this increase on oil rates would not have been allowed. I say this with all sense of responsibility. The rates for oil have been negotiated between our Secretaries and the officers of the oil companies. It is the bounden duty of the Minister concerned to see that not a penny more is allowed and that the papers are carefully examined whenever such an increase is proposed.

We must develop our airlines in this fashion. These two Corporations should not have been created. We need not copy Britain; we can follow our own way. Vested interests should not be allowed when the change-over is effected. Today we are going abegging for Chairmen. It is a matter of shame that six years after our attaining Freedom we cannot find an individual in the land either from among High Court Judges, experts, our own who can take up the chairmanship of the Corporations. We have Ministers, High Court Judges, experts, our own personnel who can take over charge of this. As such, if one capitalist says "I will not take over the Chairmanship." I do not know why we go and ask another "will some of you take it?" I do not know why we are hunting for personnel in this fashion and in this manner.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** Mr. Alva is quite incorrect.

**Shri Velayudhan:** I am very glad to have an opportunity of speaking on the Air Corporation Bill. I must say, first of all, that this Bill was in the embryo of the Ministry for the last two years. It has come now with all the grace of nationalisation behind it.

Even though I appreciate the principle of nationalisation, and the nationalisation of air transport, I must say that the time chosen by the Government is not opportune for the nationalisation of this vital industry. I have expressed in this House not only now but previously also that more encouragement should have been given by

Government to this industry. If Government had given enough encouragement to the private enterprises running the Air Transport at present there would not have been an occasion for the Government to take over this industry suddenly.

In the statement of objects and reasons to the Bill it has been very plainly stated that Government is going to take over this industry for rationalisation purposes. At the same time it is now stated that for a sound economy for creating a better economic basis this industry is being taken over by Government.

We have seen for the last so many years the working of the nationalised or the State-owned industries run by the Government. I must say frankly that this has led the country to an economic crisis. I think no country in the world has wasted so much money as the Government enterprises have wasted here. It is from this background that we must consider the taking over of this industry by Government. I know some people are very much enthusiastic about nationalisation. I have my own doubts whether we have prepared our country for nationalisation at all? I can understand nationalisation in a Socialistic Economy. I can understand nationalisation when we have developed a highly capitalist State. But here in India which is an agriculturist State we have not nationalised land. We have come forward without any National preparation with a programme of nationalisation and nationalising some of the major industries in which Government have no technical skill at all. What happened to the many major industries which Government have taken up. Were they not a total failure?

I say that in the circumstances prevailing in India today we should not undertake any large scale nationalising enterprise which is a strain on the national economy of the country. Take for example, the Air industry could have been run very well by private enterprise with proper Govt. assistance. Government's plea is that it is giving huge subsidy to the industry, about 25 or 30 per cent and therefore they say "why can we not take it over?"

I have no objection to their taking it over. At the same time may I ask the Government whether they are prepared to make the working of this industry cheaper than today. Why was this industry undergoing this terrible crisis for the last four years? I understand that in regard to fuel, oil, spare parts and other things the industry

[Shri Velayudhan]

had to spend heavily. I was told, that about 40 to 50 per cent. of the whole expenditure was spent on the various items, like fuel, oil and the spare parts for which the industry was depending entirely on foreign countries. What effort Government have made to get these things at cheaper prices? I found in one memorandum submitted to the Members of Parliament it has been stated clearly that Australia and other countries are getting fuel and oil very cheaply whereas we are paying about 40-50 per cent. more than the price which Australia is paying. That is why for the very beginning an economic crisis was shadowing this industry. I do not say that capitalists should be given more encouragement or that they should earn more money. But there are other methods to exploit the capitalists to extort money from them. I welcome a scientific move but without creating a kind of a sentiment, creating encouragement in the public minds, or a psychological aptitude in the minds of the industrialists, the Government is going to take up the industries. It is a lopsided measure and India is going in a lopsided way in the nationalisation programmes.

**An Hon. Member:** A great champion for private enterprise.

**Shri Velayudhan:** I have to mention another point. The Government claims that the Night Air Mail scheme which was started by the former Minister of Communications, was a great success. I do not know whether the government have shown the details as to how this was an economic crisis. The Government have given about 9 annas rebate on customs on fuel and oil. At the same time I should ask what was the reason for increasing the charges on postal articles? Were the measures taken up only to cover the loss? The Government should come forward with a correct statement regarding the subsidy it has given to the Night Airmail Service in this manner. I was told that between Rs. 60 lakhs and 70 lakhs yearly were spent as indirect subsidies for the Night Airmail Scheme alone in order to show to the world that it was a grand success. If that kind of success is a real success, why cannot such credits be given to fairly managed private enterprise itself? My plea is that we have got many methods of getting money from the people. From the economic point of view, I will say certainly that this experiment will prove a failure in the long run. I am not predicting as my friend Shri Chowdhury said before but I must say, this enter-

prise will certainly end in a loss to the Government. We have other great programmes of national reconstruction in the Five Year Plan. What about those programmes. How are we going to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment? The Government says it has not got money for completing the Five Year Plan; it will have to collect money from the public; it will have to get loans from foreign countries. I think we should make use of such hard earned pie, reaching the government for ameliorating the people from starvation and poverty which has become the order of the day. The Government will say that it is the Planning Commission's decision to nationalise the Air Transports. Of course, the Planning Commission has decided many things but we must take first things first. The priority must be given to things that are now directly related to the welfare of the people. For the first time the Finance Minister said in the Budget speech that ours is a Welfare State and that we are following, the country is following and the Government of India is following a Welfare State's economy. I do not have any grudge with this grand idea. I welcome the proposal but at the same time I ask a question: are we now looking at the Welfare State as a whole? In India, the conditions are peculiar and very difficult to assess correctly. The Prime Minister the other day said that ours is a country which is one of the best twelve well-administered countries of the world stability. I admit his contention but at the same time there are certain factors to be taken into consideration. The Development of India was two-sided for centuries. The history of India is the same. On one side, there could clearly be seen growth, grand development, but at the same time on another side, there prevailed uncivilised conditions, there was poverty, starvation, ill-health and illiteracy. As an example, take the great and grand old Delhi. If we go into the villages, we can see semi-naked, semi-starved peasants, farmers and workers. At the same time we can see splendour and show at another place. This was the type of growth and development that India was having for many centuries. During the Moghul period, the foreigners who came to India were impressed by the great development in our culture, art, architecture, and wealth. At the same time take the photographs that are being published in some Museums about the conditions of the poor men who lived at that time driving the ponies and carts.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is this a Finance Bill?

**Sari Velayudhan:** I am only telling this as an example in the matter of nationalisation. I was trying to explain the lopsided and wrong policy that the Government was following, with its consequent effect on the poor people of this country.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** You have moved only one Bench from your right.

**Shri Velayudhan:** You will get your chance to reply. I must ask, why, when the Government are now spending a lot of money on this nationalisation programme they do not want to spend money on programmes for the direct welfare of the people. Members of Parliament from Madras and even the Madras Government have asked for 10 crores of rupees for ameliorative work. The plea is that the Govt. have no money. You will spend crores on nationalisation and you will find afterwards that you have put this money into the waste paper basket. This is the basis of my objection to the Bill. That is why I said that the Government's policy is a lopsided one. You cannot satisfy yourself by simply saying that you have got a stable Government; and that you have a good Government. I know a section of the people is benefited. But, it is at the expense of the other section which is semi-starved, and uncivilised. We must have a scientific plan. I know the Five-Year Plan is there. It wants an integrated economy. At the same time, let us have first things first. Let us organise the Economy on a sounder basis. That is why I said that I have always had my own doubts regarding the nationalisation policy of the Government of India. It has practically killed private enterprise. It has killed the skill of the common man and the technicians' occupational bias in this country. In this country, we are not lacking in engineers, we are not lacking in technically skilled people. We have got them in plenty. But, are we making proper use of them? You have taken up the Hirakud dam and other projects. You have wasted crores of rupees in such projects. Now, you make a proposal for the nationalisation of the air services. I have great fear I say again about its success. Let us have first things first. If the Government have got money, let them take up the nationalisation of land. That would require a lot of resources and would bring benefit to the common man. That was the first thing to have been undertaken and that should be done for the success in the working of the National Plan.

**Shri Mulchand Dube (Farrukhabad Distt.—North):** I do not think I need 98 P.S.D.

take the time of the House in discussing the merits or demerits or why and wherefrom of the principle of nationalisation. The information that has been supplied by the Government is enough to show that nationalisation of this industry is absolutely necessary. I shall, however, discuss a few sections of the Bill and the Schedule and place my observations before the Select Committee.

I agree with my hon. friends who have said that they do not understand why there should be two Corporations or why there should be even one. Why should not this nationalisation be managed by the Government itself? Then, there are no qualifications prescribed in the Bill for the Members of the Corporation, or the Chairman. My submission is that these qualifications should be embodied in the Bill itself and should not be left to the discretion of the Government or any hon. Minister. This is a matter of legislation and the more discretion you give to any individual, there is chance of his making mistakes.

The second thing to which I wish to draw the attention of the Government is that the allowances and remunerations of the Members are left in the Bill to be decided by the Members of the Corporations themselves. In the first place, the qualifications are not prescribed, and then the remuneration and allowances are left to be decided by the Members themselves. We do not know who the Members are going to be, and who the Chairman is going to be; whether they are men with nationalist and self-sacrificing spirit or whether they would be men who would like to grab everything. The salaries and allowances, if they are fixed by the Corporation, should not be without the approval of the Government. So, this should be incorporated in the Bill.

In Clause 7 (2) (d) the Corporation has been given the power to "acquire, hold or dispose of any property, whether movable or immovable, or any air transport undertaking". This is an unrestricted power and should not be given to any Corporation without any restrictive provision. I think it is necessary to add that this should be done with the previous sanction of the Government. Then I come to the claims that may be due from the companies. The Bill provides that all entries in the books should be taken into consideration, but there may be claims against the companies which may not be entered in the books or which the companies may not be admitting. There is no provision in the Bill for the settlement of these claims. I think there should

[Shri Mulchand Dube]

be some provision in the Bill analogous to that which is found in the case of other companies, that a certain time should be given within which claims should be made to the Tribunal or Government. If they are accepted, they should be paid; if they are not accepted, they should be left for the decision of the Tribunal. If no claim is made within six months or 180 days or whatever it may be, that claim must be deemed to have been discharged. Some such provision is necessary in the Bill in respect of claims so that whatever the Government takes over, it may be able to say that there are no further liabilities to be met.

Then there is the provision in clause 27 (4):

"If within the expiry of the said period of one hundred and eighty days, the holder of any bond fails to require payment of its face value from the Corporation concerned the bond shall cease to be redeemable at the option of the holder"

I have not been quite able to understand the meaning of this Clause, and I hope the hon. Minister, when he comes to deal with it, will make it clear.

Then, the Corporation has been given the power to delegate its powers. In the first place, we do not know what kind of Corporation is going to be formed. And then to give it the power to delegate its power to somebody else, I think, should not be permitted.

Then there is the Advisory Council also. There are so many Councils and other things, and the unrestricted power that is sought to be given to the Corporation does not seem to be quite reasonable. My submission is that the powers of the Corporations should be more fully and clearly defined either in this Bill itself or in some other legislation. For instance, in the case of the Municipal and other Corporations, their powers, functions and duties have been clearly defined so that they may not go behind certain prescribed limits. A similar thing should be done in the case of these Corporations also, as we cannot afford to leave the Corporations free and with unrestricted powers to do as they like.

That is all I have to submit on this Bill.

**Shri Abdus Sattar** (Kalna-Katwa): I rise to support the Bill. This Bill ought to have come earlier, as the Government have to give subsidy to run

these airlines. To my mind, it is a journey towards nationalisation of every means of production and communication. I have therefore great pleasure in supporting it.

Provision has been made for two Corporations. I think, as the previous speaker has said, that there is no need for two Corporations. Just as there is a Railway Board, we can have an Air-Board too. One Corporation will do in my opinion. In many countries, there is only one Corporation which runs the airways, both internal as well as international. The same thing can be followed here also, and this will bring in economy, as well as efficiency. Another reason which leads me to support the Bill is that it will give relief to the employees of the airlines. Now we find that there is no permanency of job, nor any unity in the grade or in the method of paying salary. They vary from company to company. I think, if the Government take over, these discrepancies will no more exist.

As regards compensation, I think, the compensation should be given at the market value. If it is found that there are aircrafts which have been purchased long ago, and their market value is less, then compensation should be given at the present rate. With these few words, I support the Bill.

**Shri K. Subrahmanyan** (Vizianagaram): I am glad Government have decided to take this House into confidence in respect of the proposed State-ownership of civil aviation. The two Air Corporations, whose establishment this Bill envisages, will have a parliamentary enactment to provide legality to them, unlike in the case of some of the Government industrial undertakings for whose management private limited companies were formed under the Indian Companies Act even though financed from the Consolidated Fund. That was a wholly untenable procedure and I am happy Government have grown wiser after experience.

Some of the hon. Members on the Treasury Benches have been waxing eloquent on the nationalisation of civil aviation that their Congress Government are embarking upon. Let me, therefore, analyse this so-called nationalisation policy of the Government. In the first instance, notwithstanding continuous spoon-feeding by Government, not a single aviation company is successful and efficiently run today. Some of the most important concerns have shown during 1951 an over increase of Rs. 60 lakhs



over their 1949 losses of Rs. 110 lakhs. This was after the Government had twice allowed enhancement of fares, once in December 1947 and again in April 1948. As for the working conditions and pay scales of the employees of these companies, the less said the better. The Air Transport Inquiry Committee's report reveals the real state of affairs in civil aviation.

During the last five years, Government have explored every possible avenue of buttressing this industry and preventing Humpty Dumpty from having a great fall. They introduced the 'All up mail scheme' whereby the villager was taxed to subsidise unworkable air companies. From March 1, 1949, a partial rebate of nine annas per gallon was given in the customs duty on aviation fuel. As a result of the rebate, Government had lost during 1949 Rs. 37.8 lakhs in customs revenue.

**Shri Namdhari (Fazilka-Sirsa):** On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is reading. We can hear on the radio such kind of things. What is the good of taking the time.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should lift up his head.

**Shri K. Subrahmanyam:** In spite of all this most of the air companies are making no headway. The only way left for Government to save the air companies from liquidation is to take over the companies in order to benefit the private enterprise. That is the maximum help which they can render to these air companies which are losing a lot, every year under the present circumstances. And they have now decided on that.

That is why we witness the strange phenomenon of Big Business welcoming this proposal. Journals financed by industrial magnates which only the other day laughed to scorn Jayaprakash Narayan's plea for nationalisation of mining and export trade are now wholeheartedly supporting this Bill. That should be a sufficient warning to us to examine the implications of this legislation very carefully.

A poet, with wide worldly experience, had once cautioned the old husband with a young wife: 'If your wife smiles at you, do not be fooled into thinking that it is a right thing and exchange the smile. But look behind'.

Looking behind, whom do we find? These business magnates and Big Busi-

ness people are now welcoming this Bill. Why are they welcoming it? Because they invested their wartime fortunes in aircraft which the American military authorities had disposed of at dirt cheap rates. These gentlemen launched air transport companies which needed Governmental assistance at every step. Today they are convinced that no amount of back-pushing by Government will see them out of the woods. Therefore, they want nationalisation of civil aviation which means, in less discreet language, that Government should take over their junk and pay them cash! When the Labour Government in Britain nationalised the coal industry, it was described as 'nationalisation of losses'. This is one of those examples here which we are following.

In this connection, it will be pertinent to refer to a passage in the recent correspondence between the Prime Minister and Jayaprakash Narayan. The Prime Minister who had once inspired us to become Socialists, tried to make out a case against the principle of nationalisation and asked: 'Why should we pay compensation for junk?' Jayaprakash Narayan replied: 'When you acquire junk, pay as you pay for junk'.

That is exactly my submission now. Many of the planes now in use by these companies are old, worth only as scrap. The large number of air accidents in recent months prove this fact. The aircraft were obtained at throw-away prices from American military authorities and reconditioned for civilian use. I am told a Dakota which normally costs seven to eight lakhs of rupees was obtained for Rs. 20000. Reconditioning charges amounted to another lakh of rupees, making the total of only 20 per cent. of what it actually costs now. That was why the end of the war saw a mushroom growth of air transport companies in our country.

I suggest that a committee consisting of Members of Parliament be set up to assess the current market value of the equipment that will be acquired from the different companies. The compensation that is to be paid to them should not exceed the real value of the material taken over from them. The Tata Airline which started with an initial capital of Rs. 2 lakhs in 1932, has today a capital investment assessed at Rs. 150 lakhs. The company's assets expanded mainly at the tax-payer's cost. For instance, its net profit during 1944-45 was Rs. 12 lakhs. Wherefrom did this money come? It was essentially Government business during wartime that enabled the company to

[Shri K. Subrahmanyam]

amass its present wealth. So, it is unthinkable that it should now be paid compensation at Rs. 150 lakhs. The purpose of State-ownership and State-management of an industry is to give a better deal to the worker in the industry and to the consumer of its products. The present legislation does not provide for any structural changes which will lead to a better lot for the employees. Like the railways, which are also a nationalised industry, the airways also will be managed by a set of bureaucrats who will replace the managers and directors of the present air companies. There is no provision for greater association of the employees and the technicians in the administration of the industry. There is no effort to give them an effective voice in building it up. In Russia today, the aim seems to be the establishment of State capitalism, which will combine the inefficiency and corruption that go with administration with the other ills of capitalist ownership of industry. In

Yugoslavia, on the other hand, an experiment is now on to have workers' control of industries. Such a control by the employees can be easily achieved in an air transport company because most of the jobs are highly skilled ones and only the cream of youth finds place therein. In our neighbouring country, Burma, the rates are very cheap because it is a nationalised industry there. Therefore nationalisation should take place on these lines and the workers should have a control over that industry.

So far as having two Corporations is concerned, I am strongly of opinion that there should be only one Corporation and not two.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will stand adjourned till 8-15 A.M. tomorrow.

*The House then adjourned till a Quarter past Eight of the clock on Tuesday, the 21st April, 1953.*