

**THE SICK TEXTILE UNDERTAKINGS (NATIONALISATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1981—contd.**

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, on the previous day, I explained how the Government's policy and mismanagement by the private sector, the mill-owners, were responsible for the large-scale sickness in the textile industry.

The Government have promised a new textile policy. It is not clear in what way it is going to be new. This is our traditional industry and one of the ancient industries and right from the days of industrial revolution, India has been in the forefront. What is the position today? Some years ago, the Government introduced what is known as multi-fibre policy. That has added to the crisis and difficulties. The threatened new textile policy will also add to the same difficulties; that is the fear of the workers. The advice given by the World Bank to India is that India should move in for a more vigorous multi-fibre policy. This is directed against the textile machinery industry itself. Our textile machinery industry came up only to supply machinery needed for our textile industry in an indigenous manner, without the need to import even the spindals. A time was when we had to import even machines and spindals. But this is not tolerated by the developed countries. They want to fleece our industry, particularly industries like textile. So, they introduced the policy of protectionism in their country so that they can stop imports from India and our exports will suffer. Now they want to enlarge their market by exporting their machinery, the modern machinery, and our Government is likely to fall into their trap in the name of modernisation. It will not lead to development of textile industry; it will not lead to solution of the crisis which our textile industry is

facing today. Neither the Government seems to be alive to this danger nor the private textile millowners are alive to the danger. Are we to take it that millowners themselves are not interested in running the mills, or close them down, or divert to some other industry? So, the textile industry is facing a new crisis. The crisis is of different nature because of our leaning with the Western countries. In fact, our freedom movement grew on the basis of textiles. We had the Swadeshi movement. We started boycotting foreign cloth and took to Khadi, hand-woven cloth. Our young Ministers may not know the history...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): Hon. Minister may please listen.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: That is why, he is laughing when I am saying this.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I am listening.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: I am not trying to pull your legs, my dear young man. I am only trying to emphasise this aspect. That is, we should stand on our own legs. We should be independent economically. There is no use of having a huge army and navy. Army and navy alone cannot give us independence unless we are economically independent and we are economically self-reliant. We have the resources, both natural and manpower. Why should we go in for this new type of sophisticated machines, destroying our existing industries? This is the trap which the World Bank wants to lay to drag the most developed country in textiles, namely, India. We can produce that in our country, both in quality and in quantity. But the mills in this country are not able to work to their full capacity. How is that this crisis has come up? These are matters which require a very deep study, investigation and formulation of policies on proper lines. Do not be in a hurry. If somebody says from

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

Washington or Bonn, you could not rush in for a new multi-fibre policy or some other policy. In such a country as ours, with such a surplus manpower, with its own traditional base in industry, we should be very careful to go in for modernisation. But unfortunately, our planners, our advisers, economic advisers are thinking about the problems of the 20th Century and the 21st Century from a 19th Century mind. This is the pity. Although our Prime Minister is looking forward to the 21st Century, without understanding the problems of the 20th Century how can we anticipate and solve the problems of the 21st Century? True, We must look forward. But we should not forget what happened in the past.

As I said, textile industry is facing a crisis of a new type. Our internal market is so vast. We do not have even 19 yards cloth per head in our country. What is their purchasing power? The purchasing power of the people has gone down. They cannot even purchase the cloth which is being produced in our country. When this is the position, what is the use of going in for a new multi-fibre policy or some other policy? Any new textile policy should be based on our tradition, history and our needs. When I say, our needs, our export needs also. Exports to whom? Our exports should also be based on fair price. Exports must also earn properly. We do not have only the Western market, namely, West Germany, Britain and the U.S.A. There is another equally developed market. There is another market comprising of the socialist countries, who are prepared to purchase from our country, provided, we supply them good quality, and the prices are advantageous to us. And we need not pay in hard currency. We can make payments in our own currency. That means our trade will be boosted, our export trade will be boosted and our economy will be boosted. When the world is so divided we need not depend only on the Western developed countries. There should be a bold initiative and bold policy of self-reliance and securing economic independence while evolving a new textile policy. This is what I want to impress upon you to prevent sickness becoming chronic.

Another important factor which my Bill seeks to achieve is to protect the workers' interests, about their gratuity, retirement benefits, wages, etc. That is an important point. This morning I had the privilege of bringing to the notice of the House and through the House to the Government how a premier mill, of which one can be proud, which was started nearly a century ago in Delhi, Delhi Cloth Mills, is threatening to close the mill. That is the first mill in this region which helped the business house to become bigger and bigger. They have acquired a lot of landed property around that mill. I have given the details in the morning, the extent of land that they are owning. Now they are threatening to close the mill. What should be the attitude of the Government? Similar is the case of the Buckingham Karnataka Mills in Madras. It is owned by Indians and managed by Indians. It has the huge landed property buildings in the heart of Madras city. Like that, the Anglo French mills in Pondicherry. It has got landed property in the heart of Pondicherry city. Like that, all these old textile mills own valuable landed properties. Their machinery may be outdated, but I was told reliably that they got very valuable properties. The landed property owned by Delhi Cloth Mills is now valued at Rs. 1,600 crores in the heart of Delhi.

When they do not want to run the mill, when they want to close down the mill, why should the land be given to them? Should not the Government have some such policy? While replying to the budget debate our Finance Minister was explaining the policy of the Government. He said that they were not only upholding the socialist pattern of society evolved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but he even claimed that he was more dynamic in building socialism than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. What is the position today? Leave aside your budget speech. On such a basic issue what is your attitude? The Government of India Delhi Administration and Delhi Development Authority, all collude secretly and give permission to the Delhi Cloth Mill to develop in a new way. Is this Government not competent to take over all the properties and build a new textile mill

in another area and give job to all the workers? Use this landed property for better purpose, for the development of the city. Is this the method of building socialism in this country? Why do you build socialism in such a way that the very ideology of socialism will get discredited. That is my fear. This is not the method. In Pondicherry, Anglo French Mill is closed for the past five years. It was a hot issue for the elections. They promised, they got the majority, but what is the position now? The mill still remains closed. The Buckingham Carnatic Mills in Madras is in crisis. Similar reports are there from Gujarat. Gujarat stands first with regard to closure of mills. Now time has come to examine more seriously whether the entire textile industry should or should not be brought under the management of the National Textile Corporation. You need not take over all the things. When take-over is essential, if you take over, there will be surplus in the hands of the Government. You need not pay compensation. What is the rate at which compensation is to be paid in the case of Delhi Cloth Mills? At the present rate it comes to Rs. 1600 crores. But what is the rate at which it was originally acquired? The compensation question need not deter you. Take over the properties, manage them and develop them and then think of compensation, how to pay it, whether to pay in instalments and all that. This is the only way by which the textile industry can be saved, the worsening of the crisis in the textile industry can be averted and the workers saved. This is the only way we can build a new textile industry which can meet the needs of our country and also meet the needs of exports to foreign countries to earn foreign exchange. When such opportunities are there, the Government's policy leads to closures and more closures and more unemployment. It is only to bring this to the attention of the Government and this House that I have moved this Bill. I do not want to take much time of the House and I want to gain support from other sections, including the ruling party. So I finish my speech with these words so that other Members can also lend their support to my demand.

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Madam, Vice-Chairman, I rise to support this Bill. This is timely and quite relevant also, especially in the background of the crisis faced by the textile industry and the Government declaration that a new textile policy is going to be announced without much delay.

For the last two or three years we have been reading, writing and speaking about the crisis in the textile industry in this country. But I can say that this phenomenon of crisis in the textile industry is only a half truth. The crisis is only for the poor workers and the poor consumers. Is the industry as a whole in crisis? In my humble opinion, as a whole the industry is not in a crisis. At the expense of the workers and common consumers the mill magnates are minting money even now. They are incessantly trying to shift the burden of the crisis in the industry on to the shoulders of the poor workers and poor consumers of this country. In terms of production and employment potential, textile industry is second to agriculture in our country. There are more than 4 lakh looms in the composite mills, 17 lakhs in the powerloom sector and 40 lakhs in the handloom sector. Ten per cent of the industrial production is from the cotton textile industry alone. This sector is employing more more than one crore of workers. In this context, Madam, I would like to say something regarding the induction of modern technology and development of modern industries like electronics, etc. I am neither against the induction of modern technology nor the development of industries like electronics. The Government has given so many concessions to the electronics industry recently also and they are pleading that it is with an aim to promote employment potential and exports. In this regard I would like to say, what about the textile industry which is employing more than one crore of people of this country? Or, do you think that there is no future for this industry in this country and so you are going to write off this industry in the future? Then what will be the plight of these one crore of workers while you are pleading that you

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are trying to create more employment opportunities for the unemployed people of this country through development of the electronics industry, etc., by giving concessions to such industries?

Madam, according to the figures available, there is no crisis in this industry at all. That is my point. The so-called crisis is deliberately created by the profit-motivated and profit hungry mill-owners of this country who want to benefit at the expense of the workers and consumers. According to the Reserve Bank of India statistics, 145 mills earned a profit of Rs. 15 crores in the year 1950-51. But in 1980-81, the profit earned by 230 mills increased to the tune of Rs. 277 crores. In 1950-51 it was Rs. 15 crores and in 1980-81 it increases to Rs. 277 crores. That is the profit of the mill owners. Their assets also increased from Rs. 228 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 2,260 crores in 1980-81. Even after taking all the factors of price rise, inflation and devaluation of the rupee into consideration, the growth rate is not at all discouraging. But the main factor for the crisis in this industry is due to the shrinkage of the domestic market.

Here also I have some data with me. The domestic per capita consumption of cloth declined from 13.6 metres in 1979 to 10.50 metres in 1984. Why this decline and how did it happen? Even now, in this country there are millions of people without proper clothing. Even then the consumption of cloth has come down from 13.6 metres in 1979 to 10.50 metres in 1984... (Interruptions)... Of course, the purchasing capacity of the rural poor, the common man, has terribly come down due to the wrong economic policies of the Government. Not only that. Between

1971 and 1981, the price of cotton cloth had increased by three or four times. This naturally brings down the domestic consumption of the cloth produced in our country. Madam, here, I would like to point out an interesting feature that the overall production of the mill-made cloth which stood at 372.7 crore metres in 1950-51 has come down to 234.7 crore metres in 1984. Even then, the gross profit which was Rs. 15 crores in the year 1950-51, went up to Rs. 277 crores. The gross production has come down, but even then the gross profit has gone up. Why? This is a capitalist system of production. Produce less and get more profit.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:

That is the present socialism.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: That is the present socialism.

Now we are speaking about the textile policy. My pointed question to the Government is whether you are prepared to adopt a policy in the textile sector with a view to social production, that is, production according to the needs of the people and at a price level which is within the reach of the common man. This is the crucial question. Now you are producing less and acquiring more profits. Yes, this is the new pattern of socialism now going on in our country. But my pointed question is whether in the textile policy the Government is prepared to induct this idea of social production for the need of the common people to produce according to the need of the people and to produce at a rate within the reach of the common people, according to their purchasing capacity. Without finding an answer to this

question, we cannot find out a solution to the crisis of this industry.

The main argument of the mill-owners, I am surprised, is that the main reason for the crisis in this industry is due to the high rate of wages and bonus given to workers. Madam, I would like to say that this is nothing less than a lie. Statistics show that the share of wages and bonus in the total production cost has been going down steadily. In 1951 the share of wages and bonus in the production cost was 21.3 per cent, but it has come down to 17.4 per cent in 1981. Is there any standing for this argument? Mill-owners are always crying, "What can we do? The workers are demanding more and more. We are giving to them generously. That is why the industry is in a crisis." No, this is not true. From these statistics, in 1951 the share of wage and bonus was 21.3 per cent, but it has come down to 17.4 per cent in 1981.

I would like to say something about the much discussed NTC also. The NTC was constituted with a view to save the sick mills and also the workers and to control the monopoly to a certain extent, through healthy competition, to protect the interest of the common consumer. But, unfortunately, the NTC itself is now a sick unit. That is the tragedy. How has it happened? Are the workers responsible or are the poor consumers of this country responsible? No. But the mismanagement and pilferation in the NTC make it a sick unit. It is not the fault of the nationalisation. But now the NTC is a good stick, a strong stick, in the hands of the antinationalisation monopoly houses

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in this country. What has happened to National Textile Corporation? The Government is showing this as an example. This is a stigma in our public sector undertakings. This is a black spot in our public sector undertakings.

Madam, I would like to draw the attention of the House to modernisation. I agree that there should be modernisation. But in the name of modernisation induction of more sophisticated machinery in a big way will strengthen the hands of monopoly houses in the textile industry. It would lead to massive unemployment also. I would like to warn the Government of its consequences. According to the present statistics, more than 80 textile mill units have been closed within a period of two years. I do agree that many of them need modernisation. If we induct the sophisticated machinery without any regulation or control it will encourage monopoly houses and finally it will lead to massive unemployment in this sector. (*Time bell rings*). Madam, just two minutes more.

**SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:**

Madam, he is making some useful contribution.

**SRI K. MOHANAN:** Madam, I would like to mention about special concessions on exports being extended to the mill magnates who are minting money. There is already a crisis amongst the mill magnates which was reported in the national press. Everybody is reporting

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that the textile industry is in a crisis. I do not know whom the Government are helping. Are they helping the textile industry? No. By making this hue and cry, they are deriving special concessions from the Government. The Government is also yielding to their pressures. The mill-magnates are looting the public exchequer through number of special concessions. It is an interesting feature to note that when India's per-capita consumption of cloth has come down, the export of textile and garments went up from Rs. 79.17 crores in 1966 to Rs. 910 crores in 1984. Even the domestic market is shrinking. By extracting special concessions from the Government, the mill-magnates were able to promote the exports from Rs. 79 crores in 1966 to Rs. 910 crores in 1984. Another interesting feature is that the production in the composite sector has come down. The export goes up. From where do they get the textiles for export? Some unhealthy practices are prevailing there. The mill groups like "S. Kumar" do not have production units at all. But they are the major exporters. How? From where they are getting this woven cloth? They are getting the woven cloth from the powerloom sector. There is excise duty reduction for the cloth produced in the powerloom sector—if the powerlooms are below four in number. There is a concession, and using this concession they are producing plain cloth in the powerloom sector. And the big mill owners, without any production unit, are purchasing this at a cheaper rate, processing and exporting it. That is what is going on. They are cheating the workers and cheating the poor consumers in the country. Cheap labour in this sector has been

successfully used by these mill magnates in a big way and they are minting money. At the same time, they are denying employment opportunities to the unemployed youth of this country and denying the legitimate demands of the workers. And they are closing down their mills. That is what is going on.

What about workers' participation in the management? We are always saying about workers' participation—to strengthen each and every industry. Recently also in the Finance Minister's speech, it was referred to. The Ministry of Commerce constituted an expert committee on the 12th October, 1984, to review the present situation and suggest measures for the future development of the textile industry. If I am correct, 14 members are there in that committee. But it does not include a single representative of the workers, not even a single representative of a single central trade union. And what for is this committee? To look into the present position of the industry and to suggest measures for the future development of this industry, to save this industry from complete crisis. Out of 14 members, except one—an independent man is there—all the other 13 members are from the bureaucratic level and have nothing to do with the workers. Is this the fashion of workers' participation? Is this the way to get the cooperation of the workers to revive the industry? If that is so, then it is all right. God will save you.

Madam, I am concluding. So when we are speaking about the crisis in the textile industry, my humble opinion is that the textile industry as a whole is not in crisis. And this crisis is not natural. It is man-made; it is artificial. And the

crisis is affecting only the workers and the poor consumers. So when we are speaking about a new textile policy, I would like to request the Minister to take all these facts into consideration. As I have already mentioned, the thrust of the policy, in my opinion, must be on the production side. That is, the capitalist production system now prevailing must go and it should be replaced by a social production for the need of the people and within the reach of the people. So taking all these factors into consideration, I hope the Government will, without delay, announce the proposed textile policy before the House. Taking all these things into consideration, I congratulate my esteemed comrade Mr. Kalyanasundaram for bringing this Bill before the House in time. I support this Bill and I conclude. Thank you.

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आदरणीय कल्याण-सुन्दरम जी ने जो यह बिल पेश किया है उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। इस बिल पर बोलते हुए कल्याणसुन्दरम ने देश की टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में काम करने वाले मजदूरों और टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री के संबंध में अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। लेकिन टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री से सम्बन्धित देश के किसान भी हैं जो काटन पैदा करते हैं और जिसके माध्यम से टैक्सटाइल मिलें इस देश में काम करती हैं।

हमारे देश के नेता श्री राजीव जी ने नई टैक्सटाइल पालिसी की घोषणा करने का वायदा देश की जनता के बीच में किया है। हमारे देश की नई टैक्सटाइल पालिसी होगी जिसमें प्रोड्यूसर यानी काटन उत्पादन करने वाले, टैक्सटाइल

उद्योग में काम करने वाले मजदूरों एवं कपड़ा इस्तेमाल करने वाले कंज्यूमर्स, प्राइवेट और पब्लिक सेक्टर, ज्वायंट सेक्टर के हितों का ध्यान रखा जायेगा। मैं काटन पैदा करने वाले किसानों की तरफ से आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। काटन पैदा करने वाले किसानों को, टैक्सटाइल पालिसी जो इस वक्त है उसके कारण रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइसेज यानि लाभप्रद मूल्य नहीं मिल पाता है। सिक इंडस्ट्री की यह हालत हो गई है कि बिहार में जो डालमिया नगर है पिछले 6—8 महीने से वहां की मिल बंद पड़ी है। करीब 25 हजार मजदूर वहां भूखों मर रहे हैं। केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकार दोनों न तो मिल को अपने कंट्रोल में ले रही हैं और न उस पूंजीपति को कह रहे हैं कि उसको चलाओ। मैं जानता हूँ कि डालमिया नगर के सैकड़ों मजदूर अभी तक मर चुके हैं। कई मजदूर परिवारों ने जहर खा लिया है। देश में जो पूंजीपति हैं वे सारा काम केवल लाभ की दृष्टि से करते हैं। एक तरफ हमारी सरकार समाजवाद के लिये वचन-बद्ध है। कांग्रेस पार्टी ने अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में यह कहा है कि समाजवाद की स्थापना हमारा उद्देश्य है। हमने अपने देश के संविधान में भी प्रिम्बल आफ द कांस्टीट्यूशन में भी इस बात का जिक्र किया है India will be a democratic socialist re-public.

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

हमारे देश के नये प्रधान मंत्री ने भी प्रधान मंत्री का पद ग्रहण करने के बाद कहा कि I re-affirm my faith in planning and socialism.

आज जो हमारी टैक्सटाइल मिलें हैं उन पर विचार करते समय हमें इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिये कि देश में जो 45 मिलियन काटन उत्पादन करने वाले किसान हैं, खेतों में काम करने वाले करोड़ों मजदूर हैं उनकी हालत ठीक हो। अपने खेतों में जो काटन पैदा करते हैं उन्हें लाभप्रद मूल्य नहीं मिल पाता है। उन्हें शोषण का शिकार होना पड़ता है। उनके प्राइसेज फ्लक्चुएट होते रहते हैं। जब किसान काटन पैदा करता है तो उसका दाम बहुत कम होता है। जब वह बेच देता है तो फिर उसके दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। एक तरफ तो किसानों की भारी लूट इसमें होती है और यही कारण है कि हमारे देश के किसान भी काटन पैदा करने में रुचि नहीं लेते। वे तो इसलिये काटन पैदा करते हैं क्योंकि उनको अपनी रोजी-रोटी चलानी होती है। अगर वह काटन पैदा न करें तो वह अपने परिवार की रोजी-रोटी कैसे चलायेंगे। हमारे काटन की क्वालिटी में भी कोई विकास नहीं हो रहा है। काटन प्रति हैक्टेयर उत्पादन भी नहीं बढ़ रहा है। काटन पैदा करने वाले किसानों का भी शोषण हो रहा है। मैं आपको सामने एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं कि काटन पैदा करने वाले 45 मिलियन किसान इस मुल्क में हैं। प्रति हैक्टेयर उत्पादन 170 किलोग्राम उत्पादन इस देश में है। 346 किलोग्राम प्रति हैक्टेयर उत्पादन पाकिस्तान में है और 543 किलोग्राम उत्पादन प्रति हैक्टेयर चीन में है। 560 किलोग्राम प्रति हैक्टेयर उत्पादन अमेरिका में है। 896 किलोग्राम प्रति हैक्टेयर उत्पादन रूस में है। यानी प्रति हैक्टेयर जो काटन का उत्पादन हमारे देश में है वह सबसे कम है। उसका कारण यह है कि किसानों को रेम्यूनेरेटिव

प्राइस नहीं मिलता है। उसका कारण यह है कि किसानों के खेतों में काम करने वाले जो मजदूर हैं उनकी भी उतनी मजदूरी नहीं मिलती जिससे वे अपना पालन-पोषण कर सकें और काटन के उत्पादन को बढ़ा सकें। दूसरी तरफ समस्या है टैक्सटाइल मिलों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों की। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में करोड़ों मजदूर हैंडलूम सेक्टर में काम करते हैं। कितने ही मजदूर पावरलूम सेक्टर में काम करते हैं। करोड़ों मजदूर टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में काम करते हैं। जहां हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर सिक इंडस्ट्रीज की बीमारी लगी हुई है, वहां हमारी भारत सरकार ने नेशनल टैक्सटाइल कारपोरेशन के माध्यम से जो सिक इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनकी अपने हाथ में लिया है, उनका कंट्रोल अपने हाथ में लिया है। लेकिन हमारे देश में नौकरशाही का ढांचा ऐसा है कि एन०टी०सी० की मिलों की हालत भी वैसी ही हो गई है जैसा अन्य टैक्सटाइल मिलों की है। मैं सरकार से और अपने कामर्स मिनिस्टर संगमा जी से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि एक नई टैक्सटाइल पालिसी का निर्माण आपको करना होगा। इस बात को मद्देनजर रखते हुए कि दुनिया में अन्य देशों के मुकाबले हिन्दुस्तान कैसे शक्तिशाली और विकसित और मजबूत देश बने, इस पर विचार करना होगा। यह नजरिया जब तक आपके सामने नहीं होगा, आप किसी भी पालिसी को सफलतापूर्वक नहीं बना सकते हैं। आज हमारे देश में स्थिति यह है कि सिक इंडस्ट्रीज का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लिया जाता है। बम्बई में बहुत बड़ी तादाद में सूती कपड़ा मिलें हैं। उनमें लाखों मजदूर काम करते हैं। दो-ढाई साल तक वहां पर टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री बन्द रही। पूरे देश के अन्दर जो मजदूर बम्बई में काम करते थे वे भुखमरी के शिकार हुए। जितनी हमारी टैक्सटाइल मिलें हैं उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लिया जाय तो बम्बई में, कलकत्ता में, अहमदाबाद में या दिल्ली में जो टैक्सटाइल मिलें हैं, उनकी जमीन को ही बेच दिया जाय तो इतना पैसा सरकार को मिल सकता

है कि अरबों रुपया इन टैक्सटाइल मिलों को चलाने के लिए मिल सकता है। इस जमीन को मार्केट रेट पर बेच दिया जाय तो उसी पैसे से इन मिलों का मुआवजा दिया जा सकता है। अभी स्थिति यह है कि पूंजीपति कपड़ा मिल खोल लेते हैं और करोड़ों रुपया सरकार से लेते हैं, बाद में उसको सिक मिल डिक्लेयर करके छोड़ देते हैं। अभी हमारे सामने समस्या यह रहती है कि अगर इन मिलों को सरकार अपने हाथ में ले तो मुआवजा कहां से दे? मिल मालिक जो रुपया मिल को ठीक करने के लिये लेते हैं उसको दूसरी इंडस्ट्री में लगा देते हैं और नई इंडस्ट्री खोल लेते हैं जिससे उनको मुनाफा हो। शुगर इंडस्ट्री का यही हाल है। किसान तबाह होता है, मिलों में काम करने वाले मजदूर बेकार हो जाते हैं। पूंजीपतियों का केवल एक ही लक्ष्य रहता है कि किस प्रकार से अधिक से अधिक मुनाफा कमाया जाय। वे ऐसी चीजों का उत्पादन करते हैं जिनकी बाजार में विक्री अधिक होती है और जो चीजें ज्यादा मुनाफा देती हैं। गरीब लोगों को जिस कपड़े की जरूरत होती है उसका उत्पादन पूंजीपति नहीं करते हैं। पूंजीपति यह देखता है कि मार्केट में किस चीज की अधिक मांग है। उसी का वह उत्पादन करता है। उन्हें गरीब लोगों से कोई संबंध नहीं होता है। वे ऐसी चीजों का उत्पादन करते हैं जिनको बड़े-बड़े लोग खरीद सकें।

मैं आदरणीय टैक्सटाइल मिनिस्टर संगमा साहब से निवेदन करता चाहता हूँ कि टैक्सटाइल पालिसी बनाने समय इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री ऐसी इंडस्ट्री है जो हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे बड़ा इम्प्लाइमेंट देने का साधन है। लेकिन जब इंडस्ट्री सिक होगी तो वह इम्प्लाइमेंट क्या दे सकती है, उसमें मजदूरों का क्या पार्टिसिपेशन हो सकता है, कैसे पूरे देश की आवश्यकताओं को वह पूरा कर सकती है। जो देश के लिये बुनियादी चीजें हैं, बुनियादी

जरूरियात हैं, रोटी है, कपड़ा है, मकान है, दवा है और शिक्षा है, ये पांच चीजें हर हिन्दुस्तानी के लिये जरूरी हैं। अगर इसके सम्बन्ध में सरकार की स्पष्ट नीति नहीं होगी तो कैसे हम हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को सही और कम से कम मोटा कपड़ा मुहय्या कर सकते हैं। तो टैक्सटाइल पालिसी कैसे होगी, कैसे कपड़े का उत्पादन किया जाय, कितना कपड़ा दिया जाय, पर कैपिटल कपड़े का कंजप्शन हिन्दुस्तान में क्या है, 70 करोड़ की आबादी पर कितना कपड़ा पैदा होना चाहिए, कितना सही कपड़ा आम जनता को मिल रहा है या नहीं मिल रहा है, ये बुनियादी प्रश्न हैं जिनपर सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए। हैंडलूम क्षेत्र में करोड़ों मजदूर काम करते हैं। मैंने पिछली बार सरकार से निवेदन किया था कि सरकार को साफ तरीके से यह नीति निर्धारित करनी चाहिए कि हैंडलूम सेक्टर में जो कपड़ा बनेगा वह पावर लूम में नहीं बनेगा और जो पावर लूम सेक्टर में बनेगा वह टैक्सटाइल सेक्टर में नहीं बनेगा। इसलिये सरकार को इस नीति को स्पष्ट करना चाहिए और मेरा साफ कहना है कि हिन्दुस्तान, जिसकी आबादी 70 करोड़ है, उसमें केवल दो सेक्टर होने चाहिए एक हैंडलूम सेक्टर और एक मिल सेक्टर। इन दो माध्यमों से ही हिन्दुस्तान में कपड़े का उत्पादन होना चाहिए। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, महात्मा गांधी जी ने स्वराज्य का जो आन्दोलन चलाया, खादी ग्रामीणों को बढ़ावा दिया, जो उन्होंने स्वराज्य की नींव डाली तो उसके पीछे यह भी भावना थी कि हम अपने मुल्क में उतना ही उत्पादन करेंगे जिससे हम अपने देश की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा कर सकें। यूरोप में जो औद्योगिकीकरण हुआ उसका परिणाम यह था कि प्रथम और द्वितीय महायुद्ध हुए। बाजार की खोज में जो दुनिया के इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट मुल्क थे वे एशिया और अफ्रीका के मुल्कों में पहुंचने लगे और उसके कारण प्रथम और द्वितीय महायुद्ध हुए। यूरोप के औद्योगिकीकरण का परिणाम था कि ये देश अपने लिये मार्केट की तलाश में

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

एशिया और अफ्रीका के मुल्कों में बाजार की तलाश में आये और इतमें आपस में संघर्ष हुआ और इसके कारण प्रथम और द्वितीय महायुद्ध हुए। इसलिये महात्मा गांधी ने हिन्दुस्तान में स्वराज्य का आन्दोलन चलाया और उन्होंने कहा कि हमें अपनी खादी-ग्रामोद्योग को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिए, हैंडलूम को बढ़ावा देना चाहिए ताकि हम अपने देश में अपनी आवश्यकता के अनुकूल कपड़ा बना सकें। इससे हमारे यहाँ इम्प्लायमेंट होगा और इससे ओवर प्रोडक्शन भी नहीं होगा। हमें अपने मुल्क की आवश्यकता के अनुकूल कपड़ा बनाना चाहिए इससे देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सकेगा। यह तभी हो सकता है जब हम अपनी नीति को इसके अनुसार चलायेंगे। इसलिये मैं, आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि समाजवाद की बात करने के बाद, हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना का निर्णय लेने के बाद, अपनी पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में समाजवाद की स्थापना का संकल्प देने के बाद हमारी पार्टी पूरे देश में करोड़ों की जनसंख्या के बीच में यह संकल्प लेकर गई थी कि हम समाजवाद की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं। कैसा समाज हमारा होगा? इसमें छोटी आमदनी और बड़ी आमदनी में क्या फर्क होगा, छोटे और बड़े में क्या फर्क होगा? इस बात के लिये हमें निश्चित रूप से इसकी सीमा निर्धारित करनी होगी। हमारे मुल्क के मुट्ठीभर पूंजी-पतियों का यह मुल्क नहीं है कि केवल वे ही मुनाफा कमाते रहें। इस देश में श्रुगर मिल चलाने वाले पूंजीपति श्रुगर मिल को सिक करके और उसका पैसा डाइवर्ट करके 20-20 कारखाने लगाते हैं। टैक्सटाइल मिल चलाने वाले पूंजीपति अपनी टैक्सटाइल मिल को सिक करके करोड़ों रुपया, वहाँ का, अपने अन्य उद्योगों में इन्वेस्ट करते हैं। सरकार को इन तमाम बातों पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो नई टैक्सटाइल मिलें बनें तो ऐसी सारी मिलों का लाइसेंस केवल पब्लिक

सेक्टर को दिया जाना चाहिए। आज इस देश में निरर्थक बात चलाई जा रही है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर की कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में मुनाफा नहीं है।

प्राइवेट सेक्टर में मुनाफा है। पूंजी-पात किस तरह से खूम चूसते हैं मजदूरों का किस तरह से उनके सम्मान का सौदा करते हैं, किस तरह से उनको गाजर मूली की तरह से टूट कर रहे हैं। पब्लिक सेक्टर में काम करने वाले जो मजदूर होते हैं वे आत्म सम्मान महसूस करते हैं। वे अपने मुल्क के प्रति सोचते हैं। उनका कोई सम्मान होता है। किस इंडस्ट्री में मुनाफा है इसलिए उसको दिया जाए ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये। समाजवाद की बुनियाद है कपड़ा, रोटी, मोटा कपड़ा, मोटा अनाज, नमक और रोटी, एक ही धोती और एक ही कुर्ता यह तो कम से कम हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को मिलना चाहिये। सारी दुनिया में 70 करोड़ लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं और भारत में 35 करोड़ लोग ऐसे हैं जो गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं। 37 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी हम यह समस्या हल नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। यह सारे देश के विरोधी दलों का और सरकार का मिला जुला प्रयास होना चाहिये। क्योंकि आज देश में जिस तरह जनसंख्या बढ़ रही है कोई भी सरकार पावर में आ जाए चाहे वह कांग्रेस की सरकार हो या विरोधी दलों की कोई सरकार हो अगर वह पापुलेशन को कंट्रोल नहीं करते हैं, अगर जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण नहीं करते हैं युद्ध स्तर पर समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं तो कोई भी समस्या हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह सारे राष्ट्र का सवाल है। मैं आपके सामने निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अभी एक सिक इंडस्ट्री बिहार में डालमिया नगर में है जहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के करीब 25-30 हजार मजदूर गांव गांव से जा कर के काम करते हैं। साहू जैन उस मिल को चलाते हैं। पिछले 8 महीनों से वे छोड़ कर भाग गये हैं। मिल को सिक इंडस्ट्री डिक्लेअर कर दिया है। 25 हजार मजदूर आज भुखमरी के शिकार हैं। बिहार की

सरकार न तो उसको टेक-ओवर करने के लिए केन्द्र की सरकार को लिख रही है और न केन्द्र की सरकार टेक-ओवर कर रही है। सैकड़ों मजदूर जहर खाकर मर चुके हैं। इसलिए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ जिस तरह से हमारे देश की नेता स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था और सारे हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों करोड़ जनता के दिलों में आशा का चिराग जलाया था पूरे देश ने अंगड़ाई ली थी श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के समर्थन में सारा देश उठ खड़ा हुआ था। बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर के श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में इतना बड़ा कदम उठाया था जिसके माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों सर्वहारा जनता के लिए बैंकों के दरवाजे खुल गये थे उसी तरह से हमारे देश के नये प्रधानमंत्री की नयी टेक्सटाइल पालिसी के अन्तर्गत हिन्दुस्तान की टेक्सटाइल मिलों का सम्पूर्ण रूप से राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिये ताकि खेतों में कपास पैदा करने वाले किसानों को रेमुनेरेटिव प्राइस मिल सके, ताकि करोड़ों मजदूरों जो टेक्सटाइल मिलों में हैंडलूम सेक्टर में, पावर लूम सेक्टर में काम करते हैं उनको अपनी रोजी रोटी चलाने के लिए उचित मजदूरी मिल सके, ताकि हिन्दुस्तान में हम उतना उत्पादन कर सकें कपड़े का जिससे हम सबको सस्ता, सुलभ कपड़ा दिला सकें। अगर उपभोक्ता के हितों की रक्षा करनी है तो टेक्सटाइल मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये, अगर हिन्दुस्तान में कपास पैदा करने वाले किसानों के हितों की रक्षा करना है तो टेक्सटाइल मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये, अगर हिन्दुस्तान की 70 प्रतिशत जनता को सस्ता सुलभ मोटा कपड़ा उपलब्ध कराना है तो भी टेक्सटाइल मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये, अगर हिन्दुस्तान के लाखों बेकारों को रोजी-रोटी का अवसर प्रदान करना है तो टेक्सटाइल मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये। इससे हमें ज्यादा फायरेन एक्सचेंज भी मिल सकेगी। इस तरह से हम राष्ट्र को श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के सपनों का विवक्षित, समाजवादी शक्तिशाली हिन्दुस्तान

बना सकेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि आदरणीय टेक्सटाइल मंत्री महोदय इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करें और हमारी सरकार इस पर विचार करे और यह दिन-रात बहस करने की बात नहीं रह गई है जब सेशन हो तब यहां बहस चलाई जाये, यह हमारी बुनियादी बात है। मैं आपको स्मरण कराना चाहता हूँ कि 1978 में जब श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी सत्ता से बाहर थी, तो एक 15 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को लेकर पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में कांग्रेस पार्टी ने सीमोरेंडम सबमिट किया था। जनता सरकार के सामने जिसमें कन्याकुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक लाखों लोगों ने हर जिला मुख्यालय पर प्रदर्शन किया था, उनमें एक मांग यह भी थी कि टेक्सटाइल मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये। हमारी सरकार जिस पार्टी की सरकार बनी है, जब सत्ता के बाहर यह पार्टी थी, तो उसने भी टेक्सटाइल मिलों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के लिये पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के पैमाने पर संघर्ष किया था। और हमने समाजवादी समाज की रचना का संकल्प किया था। केवल हमने ही चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में समाजवाद की स्थापना का वचन नहीं दिया बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के प्रीएम्बुल में भी लिया है कि भारत एक सोशलिस्ट, डेमोक्रेटिक रिपब्लिक होगा, हिन्दुस्तान समाजवादी गणराज्य होगा, जिसकी हम जपथ भी खाते हैं, सारा केन्द्रीय मंत्रि-मण्डल भी जिस संविधान के अपथ खाता है, जिस हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के तहत हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार भी चल रही है। मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि वह टेक्सटाइल मिलों का पूरा राष्ट्रीयकरण करे, ताकि हिन्दुस्तान के खेतों में कपास पैदा करने वाले किसानों के हितों की रक्षा हो सके, हैंडलूम सेक्टर में काम करने वाले करोड़ों मजदूरों की रक्षा हो सके, मिल सेक्टर में काम करने वाले लाखों मजदूरों के हितों की रक्षा हो सके और हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों आम, गरीब जनता को सस्ता कपड़ा सुलभ हो सके। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं श्री कल्याणसुन्दरम जी के इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी] :** श्री हुसमदेव नारायण यादव, दस मिनट में समाप्त कोजिए ।

**श्री हुसमदेव नारायण यादव (बिहार) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं अभी अपने पुराने साथी भाई कल्पनाश्रय रायज की बातों को सुन रहा था । मैं भी इस संबंध में निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि समाजवादी होने के नाते और मैं स्वयं से समाजवाद में विश्वास रखने वाली राष्ट्रीयकरण का समर्थक रहा हूँ । लेकिन मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि एक है राष्ट्रीयकरण और दूसरा है सरकारीकरण । आप राष्ट्रीयकरण चाहते हैं या सरकारीकरण चाहते हैं ?

राष्ट्रीयकरण का मतलब है कि राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति पर राष्ट्र की जनता का अधिकार हो, उसका संचालन जनता के जरिये हो, जनता के द्वारा हो जनता के लिए हो, तब तो उसको हम राष्ट्रीयकरण कहेंगे । लेकिन एक तरफ तो राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात करते हैं और फिर यह बात कहें हुए तुरंत कहते हैं कि नौकरशाह इसको मिलाकर लूट रहे हैं तो बात समझ में नहीं आती है । जब आप राष्ट्रीयकरण करेंगे वर्तमान व्यवस्था में तो उसका संचालक नौकरशाह ही होगा । जिसका राष्ट्रीयकरण करेंगे उस राष्ट्रीयकृत उद्योग का मैनेजिंग डाइरेक्टर प्रबंध मंडल का सदस्य यह सब कौन होगा ? वही आई. ए. एस. अफसर होंगे और आई. ए. एस. अफसर का मतलब होता है सर्वशक्ति । आज की इस धरती पर सर्वशक्ति की उपाधि किसी को दी जा सकती है तो वह आई. ए. एस. अफसर है । वह परमात्मा है ईश्वर है । कोई भी दुनिया की ताकत में नहीं कहता, लेकिन भारत सरकार की कोई भी कलम, ताकत या कानून कायदे हैं जो आई. ए. एस. के अधिकारों को सीमित करते हैं । मंत्री जी बैठेंगे नोट पास करेंगे, आर्डर करेंगे लेकिन एकजी-ब्यूट करेगा वह आई. ए. एस. अफसर । अगर हंशराज भारद्वाज जी चाहेंगे या माधव राव जी चाहेंगे कि यह काम हो और वह नहीं चाहेगा तो बीच में कानून निकालकर कहेगा कि यह कौमा है, वह फुलस्टॉप है, यह प्रावधान में नहीं है उस प्रावधान में यह है यह सरकुलर है और सन् 1981 तक का सरकुलर आपके सामने

पटक देगा आपके सरकुलर से ही आपकी बांध देगा । लेकिन अगर वह करना चाहेगा तो फिर आप ही का एक सरकुलर निकालकर, इतनी मोटी फाइल करके, 20 पाइंट लगाकर दे देगा कि बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के तहत सरकार को आर्डर करना है यथा प्रस्तावित । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आपकी ही सरकार में है । हमारी भी सरकार कभी चलती थी केन्द्र और प्रांत में । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जो संसद की सरकार है, जनता की सरकार है वह सरकार है यथा प्रस्तावित लेकिन असली नोट लिखने वाली कानून चलाने वाली सरकार है नौकरशाही, जिनके हाथ में आज हिंदुस्तान की सत्ता है और अगर आप राष्ट्रीयकरण करते हैं तो राष्ट्रीयकरण का मतलब उन्हीं के हाथ में संचालन है ।

**श्री जगेश देसाई (महाराष्ट्र) :** अब जमाना बदल गया है..... (व्यवधान) आपकी सरकार में वह चलता होगा.....

**श्री माधव राव सिधिया :** यह आपके जमाने में चलता होगा हमारी सरकार में नहीं है । (व्यवधान)

**श्री हुसमदेव नारायण यादव :** आपकी सरकार के समय में भी ऐसी बात जब कभी आयेगी और होगी तो आपकी निकालकर कानून बनवा देंगे । आप कहिए तो बता दें । मैंने इस संसद में सवाल किया और जांच-पड़ताल होने के बाद कहा गया कि बैंक के अधिकारियों ने किसानों से 45 सौ के बदले में 55 सौ 65 सौ रुपये लिये हैं । आप कार्यवाही करने लगे तो पहले यह कहकर कि पहले रिस्पॉसिविल्टी फिक्स की जाये तीन वर्ष तक उसी में समय चला गया, आप बाल बांका नहीं कर पाइएगा । जब उनका बाल बांका होगा, तब तक चला जाएगा ।

मैं एक बार बिहार में था—जब 1967 में एम० एल० ए० जीत करके आया और सरकार बनी, तो कहावत थी कि एक बार चपरासी जो था वह बाहर जाकर लोगों को कह रहा था कि देखिये, कैसा जमाना गलत आ गया है कि टेम्परेरी आदमी पमनिट पर हस्ताक्षर कर रहा है ।

उसको पूछा कि कौन टेम्परेरी आदमी पमनिस्ट पर रुआव कर रहा है ?

उसने कहा कि एम० एल० ए० और मिनिस्टर सब टेम्परेरी हैं, तीन-तीन पांच-पांच वर्ष के लिए आते हैं, हम तो पमनिस्ट हैं, 58 वर्ष तक रहेंगे । भला टेम्परेरी का कहीं रुआव चलेगा पमनिस्ट पर ? तो वह अपने को मानते हैं पमनिस्ट कि 58 वर्ष तक उसकी नौकरी पक्की है । माधव राव जो परमात्मा करें कि आपमें शक्ति रहे, आप तीन-पांच बार, जिदगी भर जीत करके चले आओ, लेकिन वह तो मान करके चलते हैं कि यह तो तीन या पांच वर्ष जब तक हैं, तब तक हैं, इनको टाल-मटोल कर, किसी तरह राम-सलाम करके विदा कर दो । फिर तो बंदा राम के हाथ में शासन है ही । तो असली शासक कौन ?

असली शासक वही जो हिंदुस्तान के नौकरशाह हैं और राष्ट्रीयकरण होगा, तो सत्ता उनके हाथ में रहेगी, नियंत्रण वह करेंगे, प्रबंध वह करेंगे, व्यापार वह करेंगे, संचालन वह करेंगे, उत्पादन वह करेंगे और वितरण वह करेंगे और आप कितना भी कहियेगा, नहीं होगा ।

इसलिए मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि नये सिरे से हिंदुस्तान में तमाम लोगों को, अर्थ-शास्त्रियों को और नये युग के निर्माण के लिए, जो नई पांडी के लोग हैं, उनके सामने जो यह सब खट्टे-मीठे अनुभव आए हैं, हमको फिर एक बार सोचना चाहिए कि हिंदुस्तान के अंदर सही मानों में राष्ट्रीयकरण करेंगे, तो उसका आधार क्या होगा ? उसकी दिशा क्या होगी ? उसकी बुनियाद कैसे डालेंगे जिससे हम सही मानों में राष्ट्रीयकरण कर सकें ? भाई कल्पनाथ राय जी कह रहे थे—मैं भी उनको कहता हूँ सन् 1971 जनवरी में जारी किये गये कांग्रेस के चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र के अनुच्छेद 28 में कहा गया था—क्या ?

“सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में उद्योगों पर सत्त्व होगा, उन्हें इस प्रकार चलायेंगे कि वह अग्रिम विकास के लिए संसाधन पैदा कर सकें।”

इसलिए देश को यह अधिकार है कि ऐसे प्रबंधकताओं और कामगारों की मांग की जाए, जो काम के प्रति समर्पित और अनुशासित हों और तभी इस प्रकार जो लाभ होंगे उनमें भागीदार बन सकेंगे । कांग्रेस को जो नीति थी और जो राष्ट्रीयकरण की नीति थी, कांग्रेस ने जो अपने घोषणा-पत्र में जारी किया था, क्या आज के इस राष्ट्रीयकरण से कांग्रेस के घोषणा-पत्र में जो बुनियादी उद्देश्य थे, क्या उनकी पूर्ति हो रही है ?

क्या उसके अनुरूप यह राष्ट्रीयकरण चल रहा है, क्या उसके अनुरूप राष्ट्रकृत संस्थाओं और उद्योगों के द्वारा उनका संचालन और व्यवस्थापन इसके अनुसार हो रहा है ? नहीं । मैं कहूंगा, ठीक दिशा इसके उलटी है । जहां कांग्रेस के जरिए, या हमारे राष्ट्र निर्माताओं ने या हमारे देश के लोगों ने जो राष्ट्रीयकरण की भावना या राष्ट्रीयकरण का स्वप्न देखा था, आज ठीक उसके विपरीत गाड़ी चल पड़ी है । मैं कहूंगा कि उलटी दिशा की ओर गाड़ी चल रही है । आज का राष्ट्रीयकरण क्या है ? राष्ट्रकृत बैंक, राष्ट्रकृत संस्थाओं में अब जिनके हाथ में प्रबंध देते हैं, उनका क्या है कि लूटो, मारो, बांटो, खाओ, पछाड़ो, दुनिया जहनुम में जाए, तो जाने दो । हिंदुस्तान को जितना लूट सकते हो, लूटो क्योंकि घाटे की पूर्ति करने वाले आप तो हैं । अगर विरला के कारखाने बंद होंगे, तो उनके ऊपर मुकदमा चलाया जाएगा और उनकी कहीं न कहीं सम्पत्ति जप्त की जाएगी, हुकमदेव नारायण यादव यदि घाटा करने वाली बात करेगा, तो उसके ऊपर कार्यवाही होगी, लेकिन सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के जो उद्योग हैं, वह तो ऐसी मुर्गी है जो अण्डा देती चली जाएगी, अण्डा देती चली जाएगी, लेकिन अण्डे की गिनती किसी को पता नहीं लगेगी कि कितने अण्डे देती है और आखिर में व्यवस्थापक कहेगा कि यह मुर्गी तो अण्डा देती ही नहीं है क्योंकि जो

[श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव]

घाटा है उसकी पूर्ति करने के लिए सरकार तो बैठी ही हुई है और जब तक सरकार महारानी उस घाटे की पूर्ति करती रहेगी, तब तक उसका घाटा जारी रहेगा क्योंकि घाटा करेंगे वह, पूर्ति करेंगे आप। उसमें जो नुकसान होगा, टैक्स बढ़ा कर वसूलेंगे आप हससे। मौज उड़ावे कोई, वसूला जाए किसी से, यह तो दुनिया की गजब की रीति है—अंधेरी नगरी चौपट राजा, टके सेर भाजी टके सेर खाजा। लूटे कोई, मौज उड़ावे कोई और घाटा वसूला जाए किसी और से। कहां से कहां यह जो दुष्चक्र मूट्टी भर लोगों ने बना कर रखी है, उसके खिलाफ विद्रोही बनना है।

जब मैं यह कहता हूं, तो उसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि मैं कोई निजी कारोबार का समर्थक हूं, मैं कोई हिंदुस्तान में पूंजीपति का समर्थक हूं। नहीं मैं हिंदुस्तान के पूंजीपति का समर्थक नहीं हूं। आप बंटवारा करोगे, राष्ट्रीकरण करोगे। एक उद्योग का राष्ट्रीकरण कर दिया उसमें जितने मजदूर, मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर और जितने आफिसर है उनको लगा दिया। उनको निर्धारित कर दिया कानून के मारफत से कि अगर मुनाफा होगा, जिस उद्योग में जितना मुनाफा होगा वहां से मजदूरों और व्यवस्था में लगे हुये लोगों को उतना बोनस; उतना प्राफिट कर देंगे अगर नफा नहीं होगा तो उसमें जो कर्मचारी लगे हुये है घाटा उनको उठाना पड़ेगा। जहां सरकारी विभाग में कर्मचारी लगे हुये है, अगर उद्योग में नफा नहीं होगा तो हम दूसरी जगह से घाटा की पूर्ति क्यों करेंगे जो काम नहीं करेगा, अनुशासन नहीं रखेगा, भाई कल्पनाथ राय जी कह रहे थे, अनुशासन की बात, मैं नहीं कहता मैं आपके सामने एक छोटा सा उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगा। एक जाने-माने डा. ई. एच. सुमेचर ने "स्माल इज ब्यूटी-फुल" किताब लिखी है। उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है यदि राष्ट्रीकरण का मुख्यतः उद्देश्य यह है कि तीव्र गति से आर्थिक समृद्धि उपेक्षाकृत कार्यकुशलता, अपेक्षाकृत अधिक अच्छा आयोजन और इसी प्रकार से अन्य उपलब्धियां प्राप्त की जाएं तो हमें निराशाहीन होना पड़ेगा। राष्ट्रीकरण में

अनुशासन नहीं है, अनुशासित नहीं है। निजी उद्योग में जो कमजोरियां हैं उनको सार्वजनिक उद्योगों ने अपना लिया है। लेकिन निजी उद्योगों में जो गुण हैं उनको सार्वजनिक उद्योगों में अपनाया नहीं जाता है। उनकी गलतियां को अपनाया गया। काम में कमी, काम में अनुशासनहीनता ये सब इसमें पाए जाते हैं। इसलिये जरूरी है कि नफा करो तो हिस्सा लो। नहीं नफा करो तो भुखे तुम भी रहो। जब कारखाना चौपट हो जायेगा तो तुम्हारी नौकरी भी चौपट हो जायेगी। जब कारखाना बंद हो जायेगा तो सरकारी उद्योग का जो मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर है उसकी नौकरी क्यों बनी रहेगी? उसको तो उठा दो, वहां से उठा कर कहीं और, कलैक्टर, से कमिशनर कप्तान बना कर हिंदुस्तान में लूटने के लिये घुमाते रहे। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना होगी, तीन बातों पर आपको गौर से सोचना होगा। एक अन्य बात की ओर भी मैं आपका ध्यान इस सदन में आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगा। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में प्रति कर्मचारी पूंजी लगी हुई है 5,4,311 रुपया, प्रति कर्मचारी की दर से बढ़ाया गया मूल्य 1,256 रुपया और स्थाई पूंजी उत्पादन अनुपात 1.29 परसेंट। मैं फिर इसको कहता हूं जब हम निजी क्षेत्र में आते हैं तो प्रति कर्मचारी की दर से पूंजी है 1,01,860 और दूसरी तरफ प्रति कर्मचारी पूंजी लगी हुई है 9,587 रुपया तो निजी क्षेत्र में प्रति कर्मचारी पूंजी कम है, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में प्रति कर्मचारी पूंजी ज्यादा लगाई हुई है और मुनाफा आपको नहीं हो रहा है। घाटे पर घाटा होता चला जा रहा है। इतना ही नहीं, अगर मेरे पास में समय होता तो मैं इन चीजों को आपके सामने रखा सकता, तो मैं बता सकता था, सिद्ध कर सकता था कि सार्वजनिक उद्योग में जितनी पूंजी भारत सरकार की लगी हुई है उससे ज्यादा का घाटा हो चुका है, नुकसान हो चुका है। अर्थात् पूंजी लगायी है एक रुपया और घाटा हो गया डेढ़ रुपया। यह क्या हो गया पूंजी से ज्यादा घाटा हो रहा है, यह स्थिति हो चुकी है। कुछ सार्वजनिक उद्योगों में अगर मुनाफा हो रहा है तो उसे किताब में ले आते हैं

कि सार्वजनिक उद्योग में नफा हो गया। सौ में से अगर पांच में किसी तरफ नफा कमा रहे हैं तो हम कोट कर देते हैं। लेकिन जितने घाटे में या नुकसान में जा रहे हैं, उसका जिक्र नहीं।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** 109 मुनाफा आया और 92 घाटा है। इसको कोरेक्ट कर लो। (व्यवधान)

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** आप जरा अपने दिमाग से बोलिये।

**श्री हुसमदेव नारायण यादव :** मैंने घाटा का नहीं बताया, मैंने जो आपको बताया है कि प्रति व्यक्ति सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में कितनी पूंजी लगी हुई है, निजी क्षेत्र में कितनी लगी हुई है, मैंने उसके आंकड़े आपके सामने रखे हैं। उस दृष्टिकोण से मैंने आपको बताया है। आगे जो मैं कह रहा था घाटा लगाने का जो सवाल है, भारत सरकार की अपनी खुद की रिपोर्ट है, मैं जों कुछ भी बोल रहा हूँ, यह आपके भारत सरकार द्वारा पब्लिश आंकड़े हैं, उससे मैं बोल रहा हूँ, किताब चाहे कोई हो लेकिन आंकड़े आप ही के हैं। उसमें निकालकर आप इसको जरा पढ़ लिया करें।

मैं इसलिये आपके सामने निवेदन कर रहा था कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के कारखाने कुल कारखानों में कितने हैं मैं फिर आपको बता दूँ 1975-76 में 71,705 कारखानों का सर्वेक्षण किया गया था, जिसमें सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में 3,744 कारखाने अर्थात् 5.2 प्रतिशत संयुक्त क्षेत्र में 1,307 कारखाने अर्थात् 1.8 प्रतिशत और निजी क्षेत्र में 7,539 कारखाने अर्थात् 84.4 प्रतिशत का यह 1975-76 में भारत सरकार के द्वारा सर्वेक्षण कराया गया था। उसके अनुसार सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के कारखाने कुल कारखानों में केवल 5.2 प्रतिशत थे... (समय की घंटी)... उसमें कुल जमा पूंजी का भार 57.7 प्रतिशत था। उन कारखानों में मजदूर लगे हुये थे, उनका प्रतिशत 23.4 था। उन कारखानों में जो मूल्य का उत्पादन हुआ, वह 21.0 प्रतिशत था और उसका निजी क्षेत्र का मैं आपके

बताऊंगा, तो उससे कई गुना आता है, जबकि उसका आता है 57.7 के बदले इसका औसत 71 आता है और इसका 21 के बदले 61 आता है मैं पूरे विस्तार के साथ नहीं जाता। मैं निजी क्षेत्र और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की इसलिये तुलना करता हूँ क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का दायरा विस्तृत हो।

अन्त में अपनी बात मैं खत्म करना चाहूंगा। नेशनल टेक्स्टाइल की बात करते हो, राष्ट्रीय वस्त्र निगम की बात आप करते हो राष्ट्रीय वस्त्र निगम में जो घोटाला हुआ है रुई के खरीदने में, सूत बनाने में, और सूत की बिक्री में और बाहर से, रुई मंगाने में और सूत बनाने में फिर मजदूरों का गलत इन्दराज दिखाने में राष्ट्रीय वस्त्र निगम में करोड़ों रुपये का घोटाला हुआ है। मैं भारत सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि इसकी जांच हो। अगर कोई उच्च स्तरीय समिति भारत सरकार बनाएँ, तो मेरे पास भी तथ्य और आंकड़े हैं, इतने सबूत मेरे पास हैं, उन्हें मैं पेश कर सकता हूँ। राष्ट्रीय वस्त्र निगम को लूटने वाले कौन-कौन लोग हैं, जो इस उद्योग को लूट रहे हैं और सरकार को घाटे में चला रहे हैं, मैं बता सकता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, यह एक षडयंत्र चल रहा है और वह यह है कि राष्ट्रीय वस्त्र निगम को सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में निरन्तर घाटे में चलाते जायें, जिससे यह साबित हो जाय कि यह जो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र है, मुनाफे में नहीं चस सकता है। इसलिये इसे निजी क्षेत्र में उद्योगपतियों के हाथों में कभी न कभी डाल दें। यह एक षडयंत्र है। सरकार को चाहिये कि इस षडयंत्र को तोड़ा जाय। भारत सरकार के जो बड़े बड़े आफिसर होते हैं, इंडस्ट्री डिपार्टमेंट हो या फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट हो, अपने आफिसर की श्रेणी को निकालिये, उनके लिये बड़े-बड़े कारखानों, बड़े-बड़े मिलमालिकों द्वारा उनके लिये फाइव स्टार होटल रिजर्व होता है या नहीं? जैसे ही नौकरी से हटाये जाते हैं, बड़े बड़े उद्योगपति उनको अपने यहां नौकरी में रख लेते हैं और आपके सेक्रेटरियेट

श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव]

में जो पालिसी आप डील करते हो, उस पालिसी का सबसे पहले उन इंडस्ट्रलिस्ट को पता लगता है या नहीं, उन पूंजीपतियों को पता लगता है या नहीं क्योंकि यह सुपर आफीसर रिटायर्ड होते हैं, जो जूनियर आफीसर बैठा रहता है, उनके धू आपके सारे सेक्रेटरीएट की पालिसी का वह पता करते रहते हैं और डील करते रहते हैं। आप इस और भी थोड़ा देखिये..... (समय की घंटी)

इसलिये मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन कल्याणसुन्दरम जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, चूँकि वह राष्ट्रीय हित में है, इसलिये मैं इसके समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ और मैं बोल रहा था कि इस प्रस्ताव में जो है, मजदूरों को बोनस देने वाला, मजदूरों को भत्ता देने वाला मजदूरों के साथ सरकार जो रियायत कर सकती है, वह गरीबों को रियायत आप दें। लेकिन इसके लिये आप एक उच्च स्तरीय समिति बनाइये या कोई एक पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी बनाइये या संसद की एक संयुक्त समिति बनाइये, और उससे जांच कराइये। जो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उद्योग हैं, उनके जरिये आपने जितना पैसा दिया है, उस पैसे का सत्प्रयोग होता है या दुरुप्रयोग होता है, कौन लूट रहा है, कौन नहीं लूट रहा है, इसकी जांच कराइये। स्टील अथॉरिटी आफ इंडिया के बारे में मैंने यहां एक क्वेश्चन किया था और उनके अधिकारियों के दौरे पर..... (समय की घंटी).....

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी] : हुकमदेव जी, आप अब समाप्त करिये।

श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव : तो मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। विदेश के या बाहर के या देश के भीतर के दौरे पर उन के ऐश-आराम, ठाट-बाट, शान शौकत आदि पर जितना खर्चा होता है, आप निकाल कर देखिये, तो आपका कलेजा फटेगा कि कितना लूटने वाले हैं इसलिये मैं भारत सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि एक उच्च-स्तरीय समिति बनाइये या कोई उच्च स्तरीय पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी बनाइये,

जिसमें इन सारी बातों की जांच कराइये। मजदूरों का यहां शोषण होता है, उसको भी आप देखिये और सारे सार्वजनिक उद्योगों को आप ठीक से चलाइये।

अन्त में मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करके बैठना चाहता हूँ कि जो भाई कल्याणजी ने जैन कम्पनी का मामला उठाया है जो वहां दिहरी वाला मामला था, वहां उनके द्वारा जितने रोहतास में कैंटरी बन्द की गई है, उनको जल्दी से जल्दी चालू करायें और अशोक पेपर मिल और कुमार धूवी, जो वर्षों से बन्द है, उनको भी जल्दी से जल्दी चालू कराके वहां के मजदूरों को रोजी-रोटी, रोजगार दीजिये। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उद्योगों को ठीक से चलाइये और इस मामले पर बैठकर मजबूत निर्णय लीजिये। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विवेक का समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Madam Vice-Chairman, as I understand the Bill, it is not a bill for nationalisation, we are talking of the amendment to the Sick Textile Undertakings (Nationalisation) Act. Under this Act the mills were nationalised in 1974 and certain priorities were fixed in the Schedule. Priorities related to the liabilities where the workers were not paid their dues of wages, provident fund etc. And this Bill seeks to lay down amended Schedule and make it a charge that the liabilities in category I shall be the first charge on payment to be made by the Commissioner. Secondly, it states, as the Central Government takes over, it shall be the charge on the Central Government if the funds are not available with the Commissioner to meet the liabilities. So, there are two aspects. One is, if the amount is available with the Commissioner he must make the payment in category I. Now the category I which has been said here is 'Arrears in full in relation to provident fund, salaries, wages and other amounts due to an employee. Categories II and III say. Loans advanced by a bank, loans advanced by an institution other than a bank, any other loan, any credit availed of for purpose of trade or manufacturing, Revenue, taxes, cesses, rates or any other dues to the Central Government or a

State Government and any other dues. Secured Loans have been put under Category IV.

I would like the Minister to enlighten us, how much is the liability of the National Textile Corporation prior to take over of the mills? What are the dues, arrears of wages, ESI dues, provident fund etc. etc. which are not paid by the previous management? The very purpose of taking over these mills was to give security of wages to workers and see that they do not fall victim to the mismanagement by employers. Due to the Government policy of liberally financing through the nationalised banks, the managements used to exploit and sicken their mills. They continued to do so, so that they could get finances from the nationalised banks. I was surprised to find from the report that industrial sickness is on the increase. In the observations made in the Economic Survey, the Finance Minister has said that for this, reasons have to be found out. It is increasing and if we do not find out the reasons, it is going to paralyse the entire industry.

4 P.M.

The Report on the Trends and Progress of Banking in India, 1983-84, says that the number of large sick units has gone up from 453 to 463. Not only that, two thousand crores of rupees have been given as loans to these mills by the nationalised banks. And the result is, still they are sick. So industrial sickness is increasing in spite of the attention given by the Government and loans given by the banks. Though the Government gives security for the banks' loans, there is no possibility of returning back the money. The reality is that this money has gone into the hands of unscrupulous employers who are using this money for something else.

These mills have been taken over by the Government. The industrial sickness is a very funny phenomenon. The idea was that the State shall achieve commanding heights in production, prosperity, payment of proper wages etc. It would be a boon to the nation. But these National Textile mills which have been taken over are making continuous losses. At present the

Government is running 103 nationalised sick mills besides 22 taken-over textile mills. The profit-and-loss accounts of these mills for the last year show that not only the nationalised mills are making losses but also the managed mills. These losses were—Rs. 71 crores in 1981-82, Rs. 78 crores in 1982-83, Rs. 137 crores in 1983-84. The figures for managed mills are Rs. 15 crores, 17.87 crores and 20 crores of rupees. That does not mean that some of the mills are not making profits. Some mills are making profits. I would like to refer to a statement made by the Chairman of NTC that 14 mills are making profits and he expected some more mills would be able to make profit in 1985-86. About eight mills are absolutely scrap. They are very weak mills and cannot make any profits; so these may be closed down. A committee was appointed by the Government for this purpose. I do not know what action has been taken by the Government in this respect. But the fact remains that the National Textile Corporation mills are making losses. And the reasons for the losses have been given in reply to an Unstarred Question in the Lok Sabha on 3rd August, 1984. These include *inter alia* old and obsolete machinery, power cuts increase in prices of cotton and other inputs. They have also blamed the workers as the reasons include excess labour force, wage increase and increase in dearness allowance. Now the steps which the Government had to take were, modernisation of these mills, diversification of pattern of production, institutional finance etc. In this connection, unless there is reorientation in policy, it is difficult to make National Textile Corporation a profitable undertaking. These mills were taken over as sick mills long back—in 1974. But much earlier these were taken over under the 9 (I&R) Act. But having taken over the mills, the Government continued a policy of making the NTC a sort of hospital for the sick units. It has not started any new units; new mills have not been established by the NTC. If I am wrong the hon. Minister may correct me, but so far as I know the NTC runs only the sick mills which are taken over and it is managing 22 mills. There is a demand throughout the country that the NTC

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

should establish new units. In my State of Maharashtra, there is a monopoly scheme under which cotton is purchased by the Government at fixed prices. Because there is fluctuation in the prices of yarn, there was a demand—and Government agreed—that they may open two yarn mills in each district in Vidarbha where cotton is grown. Similar is the position in Andhra, Gujarat and some other States.

Government's policy during the last so many years was only to continue with the losses. Therefore, Government cannot escape the liability and responsibility for its failure to make the NTC a really economically viable unit. It will be a sad day if the Government decides to close down the NTC and give back those undertakings to the errant employers who were responsible for mismanagement. So, on this occasion I want to tell the Government that the NTC should have a plan for opening new units. Coal India has opened so many new mines. SAIL is opening new units. But the NTC which has been there for the last over ten years merely caters to the sick units just like a remand home. I would, therefore, suggest to the hon. Minister to minimize the losses. The remedy is not more modernization but installation of new units in areas which are cotton growing.

Secondly, I am very much surprised—earlier we had given a calling-attention notice also on this—that the Government has taken a new decision that they will not permit take-over of units by the States unless the State Government agrees to pay all the previous liabilities. So, now the pre-takeover liabilities should be paid by the State Government. If this is the condition for taking over mills by the State Government, then I think it will be counter-productive. Now many State Governments are shy of taking the responsibility of running these units. Whatever be the liabilities of the previous employer, though my friend suggested that if arrears were not paid by him the Government should pay them, his idea is not that the Central Government should be penalized for that but it should take the responsibility to recover the arrears from the previous employer because it was he who mismanaged the unit and made it sick. They drained

the capital and are now running new units for which concessions are given by the Government. Therefore, to make the condition that the State Government cannot take over a unit unless all the previous liabilities are taken over by them is not a proper policy. The Government must take over and make the previous employer liable for all the mismanagement, all the dues of the workers, etc. It has been the demand of the working classes all over that if the textile mill owners is running two or three mills—like Tata—and if one of the mills becomes sick because he diverted the funds to some other business, the Government should take over the good units also of the employer, make good the losses of the sick unit and not allow the employer to exploit the situation and take undue advantage of it. The picture presented in this *Economic Survey* of the state of our industry is very serious. Sickness in industry is increasing by leaps and bounds not only in the textile industry but in other sectors also. The tendency has been to make profits and use the money provided by the nationalised banks or the public exchequer. They are withdrawing their own capital, and they want to run the industry only through the benefits or the concessions given by the Government. Under these circumstances, it is very necessary to have a second look on this policy of giving loans by the nationalised banks. In this connection, monitoring has not been proper. It has been found in many cases that the officers of the banks were in league with the management, and the amounts were given to the employers for luxuries, without sufficient security. In this connection, I would like the Minister to consider seriously and find out how much loans have been given by the banks, especially in respect of the textile mills which have been taken over, which have not been paid back by the employers.

One more thing I would like to suggest, Sir, is that the Bill is very important from the point of view of the working class. It is misfortune of the working class that though they work for eight hours, work hard, work with enthusiasm to put in their labour, without any reason or any mistake or mischief on their part, the textile industry, closing down the mills. Many reasons are there, I do not want to go into

**them.** It is a very serious situation in Maharashtra and Gujarat where a large number of textile units were closed and about 2 lakh workers have been thrown out. Therefore, I would request the Minister to take steps seriously to see that these mills which have been closed down are either opened by the employers or are taken over under the National Textile Corporation. (*Time bell rings*)

I am just finishing.

I am told that the liability of the employers in respect of provident fund runs into crores of rupees, and also the wages which have not been paid to the workers are more than Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 5 crores. I would like to know from the Minister how much liability in this connection is with the National Textile Corporation, which the National Textile Corporation has not accepted, taking the advantage of the law and the opinion of the Attorney-General in this connection. But workers have suffered, and they have not been paid the wages and the provident fund dues.

Therefore, I very wholeheartedly welcome this Bill, and support it fully.

Thank you.

**SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER**  
(Orissa): Thank you, Madam.

I am really grateful to my elderly and learned friend, Shri Kalyanasundaram, for bringing the Bill on the nationalisation of the sick units in the textile industry. Shri Kalyanasundaram is a very senior leader of the Communist Party from South India. As a leader who spent so many years for the cause of the working class and workers, he has got every reason, compelling him to introduce a Bill like this.

But, unfortunately, I am not in a position to support his Bill, not because I do not have my sympathies for the Bill or because I do not have my sympathies for his commitment and dedication. As far as I understand, this Bill brings, at least compels us to think about, a new perception. That is why I wanted to speak on this Bill. As far as I understand, this is an issue which is

creating a new perception regarding nationalisation. I belong to a party which fortunately is the ruling party of this country, which also believes in socialism. Mr. Kalyanasundaram is also belonging to a party which also stands for a noble cause which is not only socialism but which, in the ultimate analysis, is a communist society. So, so far as the purpose of politics of my party and his party is concerned, there is no difference at all.

My party stands for an egalitarian society, that is a specialistic society. But the question here is whether nationalisation is an all panacea. We have to understand at least this question for we are living in the second part of the 20th century. I do not know whether nationalisation will alone solve the problem of sickness in the industrial units. But my learned and elder friend, Mr. Kalyanasundaram says that nationalisation is the only panacea for sick industries. I do not agree with his views.

In this connection, I would like to mention about the social transformation which took place in the Soviet Union since 1917 on the economic front under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin came to power in 1917 when the Russian revolution took place. He had nationalised the agricultural sector as well as the industrial sector. After a few years, there was a crisis in the agricultural sector resulting in tremendous shortage of food grains which were needed for the survival of mankind. Lenin had to recall his edicts and the land property was again denationalised. So, my contention is that nationalisation alone cannot solve the problem of sick industries. If an industry becomes sick—it is mainly because of its mismanagement, unscientific approach and the labour unrest.

I come basically from Kerala. Some of my hon. friends who come from West Bengal have mentioned about the plight of sick industries. I am not blaming the workers. The workers are poor people. They are being exploited by the trade union leaders. The workers who are toiling hard for the welfare of this country are being misused by the leaders of the trade union. I am not talking about the trade unions. I am talking to you about

[Shri K. Vasudeva Panicker]  
factories in the Kerala State where goods which ought to be produced in the factories are not being produced, because of their sickness. Most of the factories are lying sick in the state of Bengal and Kerala. In both the States revolutionary movement has taken its roots; and industrial movement has taken its roots. But the net result is that most of the factories in these States are closed. Therefore, my contention is that we have to build up a new outlook on this front.

Take for example the transport sector in Kerala. The transport buses are being run mostly by the Kerala Transport Corporation. They are running into heavy losses. Similarly, the State Electricity Board also, Kerala is a State which has got lot of streams and rivers; and every year it receives plenty of rainfall. And there is every scope for producing the maximum amount of electricity there. But unfortunately, the State Electricity Board of Kerala is running in loss and the State is suffering very much so far as electricity is concerned. Road transport is also running in loss. These are all in the public sector. I am not speaking against the public sector. I stand for the public sector. My party's philosophy is for the gradual transformation of the society into an egalitarian socialist society whereby the means of production in the society are gradually and systematically transformed into the means of production of the socialist society. Electricity should be a product of the State. The transport service should also be like wise. But unfortunately the labour leadership in that State is behaving in such a manner that it is creating a catastrophe in the power sector as well as in the transport sector. These are all only examples. Even in Bengal after all these socialist thinking since 1947, after having this dialectical materialism working into the system, the nature of agricultural production remains absolutely backward and primitive. It is still a primitive agricultural society there. There is no transformation. Is nationalisation the remedy for all these things? Nationalise every institution in this country. But at the same time, if you are not developing consciousness about the individual's correlation with the

society and the society's correlation with the individual, unless we know about it, we will not be reaching anywhere. Unfortunately we do not understand all these things. I am for industry; it can be in the public sector. I am for industry; it can be in the private sector. I am for industry; it can be in the mixed sector. But industry in each and every sector has to come because unless and until thousands of industries come up on the face of this Earth, and especially in India, this country is not going to make any progress. What is the meaning of industry? Industry does not simply mean that it is an institution producing profit. No Industry is an institution which may produce profit. That is a secondary question. But industry is an institution which gives employment to hundreds of thousands of people who are unemployed. And the meaning does not stop there. The meaning also percolates to a much higher plane. For example, if in an industry called X a thousand employees are working, what does it mean? Does it only mean that it produces profit? No. It also means that it creates a new social consciousness among the thousand workers who ultimately think: "I am the owner of this institution. I am the owner of the materials which are being used in this factory. I am the owner of the output of this factory. I am the ultimate owner of this institution." If that social consciousness is developed, if that social consciousness is the result of the dialectical arising out of the establishment of an industry in a particular area, then it is for us to create more industries in every State. But let us look at the actual situation. I am a Congressman and my party has got the INTUC. But in every factory there are so many INTUC unions working. In a factory there are so many CITU unions working. Under the leadership of a single party, there are so many unions, different and divergent, working. Do these unions or the perceptions of these unions in any way help production? No, they do not help. If we create perceptions and if we make more investment in the production centres so that more factories come up and hundreds of thousands of people get employment, who are now without work, then the result is a

new consciousness in the minds and hearts of the workers. The worker must have that consciousness that this factory belongs to this factory. I have to suffer if the factory suffers, my welfare lies in the coming up of this factory, it is for me to sacrifice everything for this factory. Unfortunately, what is happening in this country, in Bengal, in Kerala, in UP, in Bombay and elsewhere? What exactly is happening is the poor workers who are either poorly educated or are illiterate, are organised into such unions whose leadership is in the hands of certain leaders who unfortunately happen to come from different political parties, and leadership itself has become a vested interest. Leadership of a union itself has become a vested interest. My contention is not that trade union is a vested interest; my contention is that leadership of a trade union has become a vested interest, and that vested interest in trade unions is creating a virtual hell in the industries so that ultimately what happens is that the industries are becoming sick. Private industry management makes a public sector industry sick; a public sector industry man makes a private sector industry sick. The ultimate result is that the whole industrial edifice is suffering in this country. Therefore, my submission on this matter is we have to think afresh on this question, whether nationalisation is the panacea for the redemption of the sickness of the industry from sickness. Thank you.

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO** (Jammu and Kashmir): I rise to support this Bill of Mr. Kalyanasundaram. This Bill is an innocuous one and comes close on the heels of the pronouncement by the Finance Minister in the last Budget. In the last Budget Speech he made he said that the arrears of workers shall be *pari-passu* with the dues from the banks and other institutions. Mr Kalyanasundaram goes only a step further when he says that in respect of arrears of workers including provident fund, being *pari passu* with the arrears of Government and other

financial institutions, the arrears of workers should get precedence over them. This is a very valid point and I do not understand why the Minister should object to it. When the Finance Minister himself has gone forward in his Budget Speech and put the arrears of workers *pari passu* with those of the financial institution. Mr. Kalyanasundaram has gone only one more step forward when he wants that the workers' dues must be paid first and then only should the dues of the financial institutions be cleared. I strongly support this Bill.

A lot has been said with regard to sickness of mills. What is the actual position? I think there are some basic defects in our whole structure. For instance, take the question of depreciation. Depreciation is being allowed at present and this year it is allowed at 15 per cent. Actually the word "depreciation" connotes that this particular machinery after being used, is going to depreciate in value as well as in its usefulness and, therefore, some amount is set apart so that when this machine becomes obsolete and a new machine is to be bought, it can be bought from out of the amount already allowed as tax concession. I think the Minister of Commerce should take up the matter with the Finance Minister that apart from the 15 per cent depreciation at present allowed in the balance sheet, another 10 per cent may be allowed which should be kept in a fixed deposit. For instance, if a particular mill has got an investment of Rs. 1 crore, the mill-owner gets Rs. 15 lakhs as depreciation for one year; if another 10 per cent is earmarked by him and kept in a fixed deposit and is allowed as a tax deduction, this amount accumulates over a period of time, and forms a corpus for new machinery; when the machinery is to be modernised or when the machinery is to be renovated or a new machinery is to be bought, the amount can be reimbursed from this corpus. This is my suggestion and I commend it to the Minister for his kind consideration and

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

acceptance. I will recommend this to the Finance Minister.

The second point I have to make is with regard to modernisation. I have taken up this matter with the Hon'ble Industries Minister the other day informally. With regard to modernisation in other industries, except textile, there is a duty of 80 per cent. This is a very huge amount. No person can go in for modernisation to avoid sickness. I think the Commerce Ministry should take up this matter with the Finance Ministry. If modernisation is to be done—and modernisation is a must—the Finance Minister has to see that this huge duty of 80 per cent should go.

With regard to project assistance, the Finance Minister has come out with the scheme to reduce the 65 per cent duty to 35 per cent. The sponsoring authorities are not giving a certificate to the effect that import of certain things for modernisation will help increase production. This procedure should be simplified. The Commerce Minister and the Industries Minister should take up with the Finance Minister because the Finance Ministry will have to give the concession under project assistance. They should take up the matter with the Finance Minister so that red tape or corruption is done away with in this procedure. Any person who modernises his unit should automatically get project assistance. Fortunately for me both the Commerce and Industries Ministers are present here.

With regard to Shri Kalyanasundaram's resolution I again say that there should be no harm in the Commerce Minister accepting his resolution in view of the latest budget proposal so that the Government may come out with a Bill making the workers' dues including the provident fund dues the first charge on the sick undertakings. With these observations I heartily commend it to the Commerce Minister for acceptance.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND SUPPLY (SHRI P. A. SANGMA): Madam, this Bill actually confines to the limited objective of bringing an amendment to the Sick Textile Undertakings (Nationalisation) Act in order to enable the Government to pay the dues of the workers of the post-takeover period. But the debate has been spread over the entire textile industry and the new policy that will be formulated, nationalisation, sickness, and all these things. I do not think it is appropriate for me to deal with all these subjects just now. I can only say that we are now working on the new policy. It is under formulation. We have had several rounds of discussion with various organisations or people concerned. I can only assure that whatever points have been made on the floor of the House today will be taken into consideration when it is formulated finally. I think that is enough.

Since the Bill emanates from the National Textile Corporation and since lot has been said about NTC, I would like to make a few observations on the NTC mills before I deal with the provisions of the Bill under discussion.

I have always been stating on the floor of the House that I am the unhappiest man about the functioning of the NTC mills. I wish they had done better and earned some profits. But, when we are talking about the functioning of the NTC mills, before we launch any such severe attack on the conditions of the NTC mills, I think it is better that we also try to understand the background of the NTC mills, under what circumstances and under what conditions the NTC mill had come into existence. When the NTC mills were taken over, there were mills which were lying closed for nine years. They were not sick mills, but they were dead mills. But,

because the Government had sympathy for the workers, because we wanted to protect the interests of the workers, the Government had to go out of the way to help them by taking over those mills which were dead. We had given these mills some life though I admit that we have not been able to make them healthy. But, today, the country must realise that these NTC mills produce 30 per cent of the total cloth produced in this country and we are catering to the needs of the country, 30 per cent of its requirements, through these mills.

Now, we are talking about the losses, the accumulated losses, of the NTC mills. I admit that the losses have gone beyond Rs. 5,500 crores. But, at the same time, the NTC mills have also paid by way of taxes more than Rs. 300 crores and in the form of wages and salaries to the employees and workers, we have paid more than Rs. 1,400 crores. An amount of more than Rs. 1,400 crores has gone to the workers and it has gone to the families of the workers. Therefore, it may not be fair on our part to say that the NTC mills are doing absolutely badly. I am happy to inform the House that during the last few years we have been trying to improve the functioning of these mills. Our Minister, Shri Vishwanatha Pratap Singh, has been taking a personal interest and he has been having review meetings with the mills and, of late, we have made quite a bit of improvement. But I am not going to elaborate what improvements have been made and I do not want to take the time of House. But I can only mention one or two things.

In November 1983, out of the 125 mills that we have, only two mills were making profits; two mills only. In January 1984, 38 mills had started giving profits and I am sure that the number of mills making profits will go on increasing. Now, for October 1984, the monthly loss that the NTC mills incurred was to the tune of Rs.

17.06 crores it is monthly loss, a very big amount. In November, it came down to Rs. 16.70 crores; in December, it came to Rs. 14.23 crores; in January 1985, it came down to Rs. 12.27 crores; and in February, it came further down to Rs. 11.22 crores. So, the losses are also coming down, overall losses, and the number of individual mills making profits is also going up and, in fact, in the last four months, the losses have come down by more than 34 per cent. Therefore, I can assure the House that we are making every effort...

SHRI S.W. DHABE: Do not make the NTC an unwanted baby; make it a healthy baby.

SHRI P.A. SANGMA: That is what I am saying. We have given them life and we are making them healthy also. That is why all these efforts we have made to make them healthy and we hope to make them healthy also.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: You say that the losses are coming down every month.

SHRI P.A. SANGMA: Yes.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Would you give the monthly losses for the corresponding periods of the other years also so that we can compare them?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: What is the use now?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: We can compare them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRI-MATI) SARAJINI MAHISHI]: No interruption, please.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I can give. But I don't think it is necessary.

We are not discussing the functioning of the NTC mills. But the question of NTC has arisen out of this discussion and that was why I was telling about it.

[Shri P. A. Sangma]

Now, I will straight away come to the provisions of the Bill. This Act was passed in 1974 and, today, it is 1975. So, this Act has been in existence for the last ten years or a little over ten years now. Most of the claims have been finalised and about 90 per cent of the claims have been adjudicated and finalised.

Ten per cent of the claims are left because of some court orders. At this stage it is very difficult for the Government of India to open this issue and say that the post-takeover period should also be looked into. We find it very difficult. But I can only assure that as we have been doing it after 1974, we have always taken care to see that the interests of the workers are protected and their interests have always been protected. Now, the little concession that I can announce is that in cases of continued service the NTC, while making payment of gratuity, will take into account the entire period of service.

SHRI S.W. DHABE: Previous service also

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Yes, but the amendment suggested in the Act I am unable to accept. But in future we shall certainly do it. And if I may remind the House of the Budget speech of our Finance Minister, the Finance Minister has clearly said in his budget speech—I quote:

“Workers are the worst victims of industrial sickness. Under the present law, however, when companies are wound up, workers’ dues rank low in priority compared to secured creditors. To my mind, labour is as much a factor of production as any other and it is unjust that the workers’ dues should have a lower priority. In order to rectify this situation, we have taken a decision to introduce the necessary legislation so that legitimate dues of workers rank *pari passu* with secured creditors such

as banks in the event of closure of the company. Such dues will rank above even the dues to Government. The Government is also considering the introduction of a scheme of stock option to the employees and workers of companies to encourage their participation in management.”

Madam, this is the policy statement.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO:

That was exactly my point. The Finance Minister in his budget speech has already stated this. Why should it be accepted?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: What I am submitting is that this is the policy that we have come up with. In future, we are going to secure the interests of workers and we are coming with new legislation about that.

In view of the policy that has already announced by our Finance Minister himself, I request the hon. Member to withdraw his Bill.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:

Madam Vice-Chairman, I congratulate our young Minister for his effort to make an earnest study before replying the debate. I agree with him that the debate has been very wide, naturally because the Members thought that here is the opportunity to discuss the textile policy and with that particular reference the National Textile Corporation and its functioning. Even when Mr. Dhabe pointed out these things, he does not want to bring down the prestige of the NTC.

None of us here are interested in it. On the contrary, we want to build up the prestige of the NTC. We know how NTC was born and how difficult it is for the NTC to grow. He pointed out some of the difficulties faced by the NTC. NTC cannot have two accounts, whereas private mills can have three accounts. Your accounts are open, NTC cannot smuggle. So to compare the NTC with the unscrupulous private sector is very difficult. So it will incur loss, which we understand sympathetically. There are other defects because of running the N.T.C. only through bureaucrats. We should not overlook those defects. In the functioning of the N.T.C. more and more workers must be involved. Apart from that, what we wanted to emphasise on this occasion is that you don't take over only the sick mills. Take some good mills also so that whatever you lose on the sick mills in nourishing them, you gain through other healthy mills so that the N.T.C. can reach the commanding heights at least in the textile industry.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Also start new mills.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: That is a good suggestion. The N.T.C. can think about it. The Finance Minister must provide funds for that. You can collect shares also. The workers will be prepared to pay. I would even appeal to the workers to apportion a part of their salary towards share capital of such mills. Are they

not starting spinning mills in the co-operative sector? Mr. Minister, you are young and energetic. Please try to vitalise the N.T.C. and also push forward this idea. You should also project the idea of nationalisation. That is all. My Bill does serve a very lofty purpose. I am happy that the Finance Minister thought it necessary to include a provision like that in a general way, not only for the N.T.C. mills, for all the workers. That is a very good thing. That has been the grievance of the trade unions for a long time. The trade unions would be happy to hear that and we will co-operate with the Government for introducing such a Bill and for its implementation. This is a welcome measure. The Minister has himself admitted that 90 per cent of the claims have been settled and only 10 per cent remain. What is the difficulty?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I was talking about post takeover and not pre-takeover.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Now I do not want to create an embarrassing situation by pressing that my Bill be put to vote. I know that it has no chance. It will be rejected. On the assurance of the Minister that he would consider the points raised by us, I am not pressing my Bill and withdraw it.

THT VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRI-MATI) SARAJINI MAHISHI]: The hon. Member has expressed his desire to withdraw the Bill. Has he the permission of the House to withdraw the Bill?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes.

*The Bill was, by leave, withdrawn.*