

**DISCUSSED ON THE WORKING OF  
THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIAL  
DEVELOPMENT AND THE DEPART-  
MENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

SHRIS. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, I hope that I would not be asked to sit down again; I have already done ten times to yield the floor to my good friend, Mr. Rajnaram. Sir, we have been presented with the Report of the working of the Ministry of Industrial Development for the year 1973-74. The very first paragraph itself would present a dismal picture, which I must say. But I really admire at the hon. Minister that when there was a decline in the growth rate by eight per cent last year, he is very confident in the second paragraph that the position would be changed in the coming year. I do not know, Sir on what promises he has based his hope. If it is a pious hope, I will also join with him in praying to God to see that his hope materializes. But what were the reasons for the decline in the growth rate : Have those reasons disappeared now ? Are they still there ? How is he going to overcome these difficulties ? read this Report thoroughly and there is no answer to that. There are so many long-winding sentences. But, unfortunately, it does not give me confidence as it does give to the hon. Minister that in the next year, he would turn the corner. There are so many reasons attributed for the loss. One is power shortage. Second one is shortage of coal. Thirdly, labour, etc. etc. While his Ministry is bemoaning all these things, here is another sister Minister in the same Government, the Ministry of Heavy Industry—I am told that they have 14 major industries under their purview—which have, within the past one year, not only turned the corner but also made good the loss. I am told from reliable sources that in the past one year, 14 industries came under their purview and these industries had incurred a loss of Rs. 13 crores during the year 1972-73. Now, they have not only made up the loss but made some profit also. In 1973-74, these very industries earned a profit of rupees 8 crores. And, now I am told that they have got another laudable objective, that by judging the performance in the last three months, they may reach the targets. To make it more clear to the House, let me read it out. In January, 1974 the net production was to the tune of

Rs. 33 crores and the target was Rs. 40 crores. That means the percentage of fulfilment is 95 per cent. In February their production was 41.6 crores and their target was Rs. 42.7 crores. That means they have come to 98 per cent of fulfilment. In March this year the production was Rs. 69.3 crores and the target was Rs. 58.8 crores. That means they have exceeded the target and the percentage of fulfilment is 119 per cent.

Sir, when one Department is making heavy profit or one Ministry is making huge profit and is giving a very encouraging picture how is it that the other Department under the able guidance and leadership of my good friend, Mr. Subramaniam should incur losses. The promises that he has made do not seem to be realistic. I wonder how he is going to fulfil his expectations in the coming years. Sir, before I go further into the matter, I would like to have a clarification from him which he can give in his reply. I want to know what the Government of India's industrial policy is ? The policy that is in force was drawn up 25 years ago. This policy is still in vogue. Does it not require any change ? Or, has any change been made in it ? Does it suit the modern conditions ? If I remember correctly I made a serious charge last time that if somebody applies for an industrial licence it takes nearly 3 to 3½ years for him to get a yes or no reply from the Department. Again the application for obtaining capital goods takes another 1 to 3 years. There was a study made by the Planning Commission as well as by some Ministry. The Hon'ble Minister stated that he was examining the thing and he would come out with a scheme that would shorten the period of delay. Accordingly he had announced a policy and a scheme and created a secretariat of industrial approval whereby it was stated that there will not be any delay for setting up medium and small industries.

2158 old applications are among the large number of applications for Industrial licences disposed of by the Secretariat of Industrial Approvals and other Committees like the Foreign Investment Board under the new licensing procedure in five months. The number of applications was brought down from 3,848 pending in November 1973 to 1,690 on April 1, 1974. I wonder what happen to the previous applications

that were made previous to November 1973. What happened to the backlog? Is there any scheme envisaged? It was stated that the applications entertained after November 1973 would be disposed of within 90 days. But, what about the applications that were submitted before November 1973? What about the backlog? What is the number of total applications which is pending now for several years? All these things are not clear. When you give the reply, kindly make these things clear.

Secondly, I would like to know what the real industrial policy is? At one stage you stated that this is the industry which should go to the State sector. Shortly thereafter you stated that it should not go in the State sector but it should go in the joint sector. In the same breath you stated that it should not go in the State sector or the joint sector but that it should go in the private sector. Moreover a stand when the elections approach, the policy also becomes flexible. At the time of elections so many changes are made overnight. You know, Sir, that there is a hue and cry from all the States for the establishment of nylon factories. Some time back the Government of India thought that the State units must be given permission to start nylon factories in the joint sector and as a result, 13 states applied for letters of intent to the Government of India. The Government of India discussed the matter in a Cabinet meeting and the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals, Ministry of Industries and other concerned Ministries put their heads together and gave approval to 13 State Government projects and Letters of Intent were given to them. All of a sudden it was made clear to the State Governments that simply by issuing letters of intent to them it does not follow that licences are given to them. The letters of intent were given and on the basis of the letters of intent many State Governments started work. They have sent people abroad, got collaboration agreements and they also chose sites and made all the preliminary arrangements at a huge cost. In between they would have made at least hundred trips to Delhi and I do not know how many trips the hon. Minister must have made to the respective States. But what they thought to be correct in 1972 how could it undergo a change in 1974? How did they go back to their planning? There is a big story behind it. Today the total capacity of nylon in the country is about 13,000 tonnes per

year which is not sufficient according to the estimates of the Planning Commission as well as the Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry. There are only three big monopoly houses or monopolists in that industry—they are the JKs, the Modis and the Birlas and the largest producer is the JK which controls nearly 30 per cent of the total capacity and soon after this letter of intent to the JKs, the Modis and the Birlas they landed in a very big way in Delhi and I do not know how they were able to convince the hon. Minister himself, the Planning Minister and the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals. They tried to sabotage the scheme and they have almost succeeded and I can say it that the Government of India actually yielded to their pressure for reasons known and unknown. So far as the reasons known to us they came out in a big way to help the Congress Party both in the recent elections as well as in the previous elections and they helped the Congress Party to a great deal with the result that the Government of India has shelved the State projects and kept them in the cold storage.

I do not know there is any possibility that they would see the light of the day. I am told that in the recent U.P. Elections they divided U.P. into 74 zones and the 74 Congress zones were asked to prepare souvenirs on the eve of the election. So many souvenirs were published. The main idea was to collect advertisements and the major contributors of advertisements were the JKs, the Birlas and the Modis. If a small unit in an industry run by somebody gives advertisement to a newspaper, that amount is not taken as revenue expenditure, is it taxable? When this Congress Samiti started publishing the souvenir—I believe they published nearly 80 souvenirs in three languages, English, Hindi and Urdu, each souvenir of 240 pages and each page of an advertisement cost about Rs. 2,000—the JK industry was the major contributor of advertisements. I would like to have an answer from the hon. Minister whether it is true or not that the JKs, the Birlas and the Modis wrote a letter to the Department of Company Affairs asking whether these advertisements could be taken under 'Revenue Expenditure'. The Department of Company Affairs gave a ready consent. As a matter of fact, I was told one Friday evening the letter was despatched. The letter would have taken 3 days normally to reach Delhi because of the best postal services of the country. As a matter of fact, I received a letter in Delhi today which

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was posted 15 days earlier from Madras but this letter, I do not know how it reached Delhi in two days' time. The letter arrived on Sunday and on Monday at 11 O'clock the order was passed by the Company Affairs Department that the advertisements will be treated under 'Revenue Expenditure'. I want a categorical reply from the Minister. The hon. Minister comes from Madras wherefrom I also hail there is a paper called SUDESAMITRAN. The paper is owned by the Congress (R). I do not know whether my good friend Shri Subramaniam is Director there or not but some of this good friends are Directors. If you look at the paper, you will find everyday big flashing advertisements appearing from one of these three houses, J K. Modi and Birla. These advertisements are not given either to HINDU or some other paper which has a larger circulation. It is given only to SUDESAMITRAN. I do mind the ruling party making use of these houses. In a way it is also socialism as they take money from the big houses and distribute it among the workers and the paper I do not mind about it. But is it fair on the part of the Ministry to give Letters of Intent to those 13 States and then take them back after a year or so? The State Governments spent lakhs and lakhs of rupees. They sent a number of their officials to Delhi and sent them even abroad to find foreign collaboration. Later on the Ministry justified it by saying that the Planning Commission consider it as a luxury item. When did they get this enlightenment like Budha? At the time of issuing Letters of Intent, did they not know that it was a luxury item? It is a manipulation of big house, that the Letters of Intent were withdrawn.

You will be surprised that J K Industries people came and claimed that there is no need of any foreign collaboration and that they have developed science in their own research centre in such a manner that they can depend on indigenous knowhow. I was told so, I do not know. The Minister can correct me if I am wrong. The research centre was opened by the same hon. Minister and within a year's time they have acquired technical knowhow. This is what they came and told. And this gibberish Government of India has also accepted the story that they have developed and brought all this technology in a year's time. The Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry I am told, had doubt about that claim. So they wanted to

make a study and they appointed a small committee of experts to find out whether J K Industries have really developed this technical knowhow. They appointed a committee consisting of representatives of Engineers (India) Limited Directorate of Technical Development Ministry of Science and Technology and Planning Commission, with Technologist from Engineers (India) Limited as Member-Secretary. What happened later? Sir, this Committee met 3 or 4 times. They prepared a report and the report said that J K Industries have got the technical knowhow and that we could depend on the indigenous technical knowhow. Now the Secretary who drafted the report was appointed in the J.K. Industries itself on a salary 8 times more than what he was getting in Engineers (India) Limited. Am I right or not? Is it not an open corruption? Has the Government of India accepted this report? This is what is going on in the country.

The next major point about which I would like to know is, what is their policy really. Last time, I believe, when there was a conference of the Industry Ministers here, some Minister raised certain points that we want a clear cut policy to be spelt out by the Government of India as to which are the industries that they set aside for the joint sector, which are the industries that they set aside for the public and State sector etc. Upto now, nothing has come out. I do not think Government of India is contemplating to spell out a clear cut policy because, as I said earlier they want to keep this public enterprise on one side. Mind you the public enterprise or the public sector has got to its credit not even a single consumer item. They have taken more than 48-50 big industries. They do not have a single consumer item in the public sector. That is given to the private house because the private house can loot the public. They can also loot the public for their election purpose. Why not they take up small industries, medium industries that cater to the needs of the consumer? They dare not touch it because they are afraid of antagonising the 48 houses or whatever the number. I do not know. My good friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would be knowing how many houses are in the country that control India. So that is one side of the picture.

Now, there is another important factor. We have lost all our international markets in the world. The only foreign market we have is

Soviet Russia and other East European countries. One day when they say that they would need no more goods from India I do not know how we can recapture the other markets in Western Europe, USA and South East Asia. I do not mind their depending upon Soviet Russia entirely but how far would it be advisable ?

What about other commodities which could fetch foreign exchange to us ? There is for example cement which we can sell abroad. There is sugar which we can sell abroad. What are we doing about these things ? Now, in Madras we have three cement factories. One is Dalmia, the second is Chettinad Cements and the third is India Cements. The Chettinad Cements have already closed down for want of coal. Dalmia is also on the verge of closure and India Cements have closed three of their eight kilns. What has the hon. Minister to say about this ? Has he made any arrangements for shipment of coal to these units so that they do not have to close down for lack of coal ? Sir, coal is produced at one centre and it has to be carried by the Railways and there are many bottlenecks in between. The Government of India, the Railway Ministry and the Industries Ministry have not taken any serious view of the situation. The total capacity of all the three units in Madras is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tonnes out of the country's total capacity of 18 million tonnes. If these three units are closed down then we lose  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tonnes of cement every year. Now if you want to start a factory of this kind the cost would come to more than Rs 8 to Rs 10 crores and I am doubtful whether any entrepreneur would come forward to put up such a factory. Therefore the Government should see that they get proper supplies of coal to carry on their production.

There is another point on which I want a categorical answer from the Minister. There is one Indian Aluminium Company in which ALCOA of Canada has a major shareholding. That is, this company is a foreign-owned subsidiary company and it is going to be given a licence for producing 3 000 tonnes of Cathode Block whereas its captive requirement is only 1500 tonnes. First of all, why should a foreign-owned subsidiary company be licensed to produce this item at all when several Indian entrepreneurs are willing to take it up and when the Government policy is to encourage Indian entrepreneurs ? Licensing a foreign-owned

subsidiary will mean drain of foreign exchange by way of repatriation of profit by the foreign company who holds a share in the company which in this case is ALCOA of Canada. Secondly, this is a matter which should have been according to the rules referred to the MRTP Committee but they have very conveniently bypassed the MRTP Committee. Why was that done ? I am not going to refer to the bazaar rumours but I would like to get a clarification from the hon. Minister in this regard. A particular company applied for expansion of production of Cathode Blocks but it was not permitted but this company was permitted in spite of the fact that a foreign company has a major shareholding in it and it would repatriate the profits out of the country. This is a thing on which the hon. Minister should throw light.

Lastly, before I sit down, it is my duty to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister how some of the Congress people themselves feel about the lethargic attitude shown to the nylon industry. I would like to read out from a letter written by one of them. It says here

"The issue indeed is very clear and any delay in this regard is bound to be misconstrued as yet another instance of vacillation prompted by lobbying of the monopoly houses. I am sure with your shrewdness and perception you would be more than alive to this aspect of the matter and would like to shield the Government from such charges.

The letter clearly says that the monopoly houses, the Birlas, the Modis, the J. Ks are lobbying and are standing in the way of licences in this industry being granted to others. The letter has been written by a Congress Chief Minister, Mr. Devraj Urs. The letter has been written to whom ? It has been addressed to the hon. Minister, Shri Subramaniam, himself. I do not know whether he has replied to this letter. The Congress Chief Minister himself has written the letter to Mr. C. Subramaniam, a copy of which I am ready to lay on the Table of the House, saying that this will mislead the country, saying that the Government of India are in the hands of big business houses. I do not know whether Mr. Subramaniam has received the letter and he has replied to it, but this has come to my knowledge. It is a very serious matter. The country is very much agitated over this. If the country's fate is to be entrusted to half a dozen big business houses, the Government should come forward and say that they are

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stooges of big business houses and they are not for the people. If this is called socialism they should say so.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU)** Before I call the next speaker I would inform the House that there are thirteen speakers on the list and I would request the Members to co-operate with the chair by limiting their speeches to 15 minutes each. Otherwise the House will have to sit very late. Dr Chakrabarti

**DR R K CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal)** Mr Vice-Chairman Sir, I am sorry to start with a very serious remark because I have a great doubt in my mind whether our country is progressing industrially or we are going back to the stone age. The basic ingredients or requirements for industrial development, in my opinion are the following factors, viz power, machinery, raw materials, technical manpower and expertise. I do not think there is any dearth of raw materials in our country and any dearth of technical manpower or expertise in the country. Still in this age in the year 1974, what have we seen? We are finding a tremendous power shortage throughout the country. Practically we are having a power famine. In West Bengal and especially in Calcutta we are experiencing ten to sixteen hours of load-shedding. People are living in darkness or they are using lanterns and candles. There is no electricity. The pumps could not be worked and there is scarcity of drinking water everywhere. Also, they cannot use lanterns because there is a shortage of kerosene. How are we living? The whole city of Calcutta has now become a glorified village. Surely we have not arrived at this situation just in a day. This country has been ruled by the ICS bureaucrats for 150 years under the British. Since independence we are having rule by the IAS people. I do not know whether the IAS people know even the meaning of industrialisation. Otherwise, in thirty to thirty-five years we would not have come to this position. As I have said, Calcutta, has become a glorified village and the people are living there in darkness. There is shedding of power for sixteen hours a day. I have experienced it myself during the last three weeks by staying in Calcutta. I have repeatedly appealed to this House and to the Government, please let us give a chance to our technical people, to our professional people. For five or ten years put them in decision making positions. At least they are not going to

do worse than what has been done by the IAS bureaucrats in the past 35 years. At least give them a chance for five or ten years and then see whether they can deliver the goods. In this connection I understand that one or two ICS or IAS people who spoke in favour of a change in the administrative set-up are being ridiculed by the other IAS people. They have been threatened with transfer or something like that. I do not know how far this is true, but if true it is a situation which should be taken care of or it should be looked into by the Government properly. If we continue in this manner, I am afraid that we are going to have chaos all over the country. Even if we have to amend article 312 of the Constitution we should do so in such a manner that the professional people get a chance to get into decision making positions. After all, what have these ICS people been doing? In respect of boilers they took the decision and they followed the Indian Boiler Act or regulation or the international code in such a manner that the life of a boiler is brought down to eight to ten years from a normal life of thirty to forty years. I would just quote three examples to show how we are progressing industrially with the existing firms. These firms are Messrs Burn and Company which is manufacturing railway wagons, the Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation at Durgapur which is manufacturing machinery for coal mines and Messrs Smith Stanistreet and Company Limited of Calcutta producing formulations for drugs. There is a long history behind Messrs Burn and Company which was once the biggest firm in India producing railway wagons, bogies. Recently, about five or six months back, the management was taken over by the Government. So far so good. Now, what do we find? They have already put a retired army Major General on the top of this institution and they have put another Naval Officer in charge of the works. And this has become happy hunting ground for the retired favourites of these people. They have purchased two Ambassador cars for the use of these newly-recruited officers, they have placed orders for eight more new Ambassador cars. It may possibly be that these Ambassador cars are needed for the transport of these officers and others. There is no difficulty about this. But at the same time we should expect some work from them, some improvement at least in production, in sales, in this company which, I am afraid, is not the case if you look into the matter. If you look into the production, you will find that in the

last five months there is a steady decline and the situation is not improving.

Next comes the MMAC which was originally started with Russian collaboration. It is a most modernised industry producing equipment for the coal mines in our country. The private owners of coal mines at that time were not interested in replacing the worn-out machinery of their coal mines. The Government also could not force them to purchase the equipment which was manufactured by the MMAC. So they asked this firm to diversify its production. After nationalisation, they asked them again to manufacture the equipment which may be used for the coal mines. Now, Sir, an interesting item appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of April 19, 1974, which I quote :

"Nationalised coal mines—former British owners may regain control."

A team of officers, three, went to England to make a deal with some British firms for new equipment for the coal mines. I quote :

"The proposal envisages India's participation in a special loan agreement with some British engineering firms for supplying machinery and equipment needed for modernising coal mines amounting to Rs. 100 crores approximately to be repaid in hard currency. These British engineering firms had their branches in Calcutta through which they hope to secure ownership of some big coal mines including those run by Bengal Coal Company."

AN HON. MEMBER : Kite-flying ?

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI : Out of these three officers who went to England to make these deals, one began his career as a coal purchase officer under the Railways and was having intimate relations with the British coal mine owners. This is the type of people whom we are sending abroad for concluding deals with the British firms.

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM) : Sir, I do not think it is relevant because I do not think that everything that he says comes under this Ministry .

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI : This comes under the Ministry of Industrial Development.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : MMAC, etc. are things which are under another Ministry. It will be very difficult for me to answer those points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Dr. Chakrabarti, keep in mind only the items which come under his Ministry.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI : Sir, at the beginning, I said that I was talking about industry and its development in the country and how we were progressing with our existing machinery and the existing firms. That is what I am doing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Possibly, we may have a discussion on the Report of the Ministry of Steel and Mines when you may raise these points.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI : They are sitting over there and are having an agreement with the Government of India. They have not taken into consideration the arrangement with Poland about supply of the machines and equipment from Polish source for these mines. There is a conflict between the two Ministries about this.

Next we come to Messers. Smith Stanistreet and Company. These are the examples that I am giving how we are developing and progressing in regard to industrial matters. We find that this firm is of 150 years old. The management of this company has been taken over two years ago. But we find that a conspiracy is going on amongst the officials to hand this back to the previous owners, instead of outright nationalisation and providing some avenues for its expansion. There is a press report in the *Statesman* of Calcutta dated 11-6-74 in which West Bengal's Chief Minister is reported to have said "Eastern Region—given a raw deal."

Sir, I further quote. He said that :

"though the eastern region, particularly West Bengal, had a number of cotton textile mills, this region had so far no processing house. The textile mills in this area had to send their goods to Maharashtra for processing."

(Interruptions)

Mr. Siddhartha Ray is our Chief Minister. He is pointing out the difficulties. . . (Interruptions) Sir, I am being interrupted. I will take some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) Why are you yielding to interruptions ?

DR R K CHAKRABARTI I further quote

"From this statement it appeared that whereas in 1973 altogether 240 Letters of Intent and 171 industrial licences had been granted by the Central Government to Maharashtra alone, the whole of the eastern region, including West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura got only 157 Letters of Intent and 58 industrial licences. This had been happening year after year and unless this was rectified, the eastern region would be in great difficulty" he said"

Sir, if this is allowed to continue, as the Chief Minister said "year after year" how are we going to carry out the development programme in the eastern region, specially in West Bengal ? Sir, I am very sorry to say this but I have a feeling, watching the activities of officials in many Ministries that some of them are totally acting against the interest of West Bengal and always trying to put obstructions in the path of sanctioning projects for West Bengal

Sir, I will take a few minutes to discuss the role of CSIR, in the functioning or development of our National Laboratories. Some of the Directors of the National Laboratories think of themselves as the "Shahenshah" and treat the Laboratories as their empires. I have mentioned this once before that one of the Directors of a Laboratory did not advertise a particular post for six years because he could not promote his favourite candidate. He waited for the retirement of the previous Director General (which is why it took six years of waiting) and arranged the promotion for his man as soon as the previous DG retired. It is alleged that in another National Laboratory in Chandigarh, the Director has erased the name of our ex-President "Dr Zakir Hussain" after whom the laboratory was named as "Zakir Hussain Laboratory" and he is threatening everybody with dire consequences, if any scientist dares to say or report anything against this action. That is how some of the National Laboratories are functioning in our country. I feel there must be some expert committee comprising of people outside the scope of the CSIR to go into the activities of the CSIR. They should visit these laboratories after every three years and submit a detailed

report to the Ministry which should be placed before Parliament. They must take into account worthwhile contributions made by these laboratories and also contributions made by individual scientists working in these laboratories and recommend for award or promotion of such workers who are doing good work and those ones producing nothing should be downgraded in their post.

Sir I will take only two minutes without wasting much time. Coming to the item at page 5, item No 21 pertaining to the DGT, this is such a department where you get your precision instruments imported two years after you have placed the order. And by this time the price jumps by 200 per cent. There must be some method of regulating the execution of orders. As soon as they receive the order, then, say, within three months there must be clearance. There should be either "Yes" or "No" about importing precision instruments for research work.

Then, on page 9, item No 219, Hindustan Paper Corporation Limited

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) Dr Chakrabarti, it is no use discussing about the Demands for Grants. The discussion here is about the working of the Ministry.

DR R K CHAKRABARTI I am speaking about the Industrial Development Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) It is no use because it must have been passed. Please go on.

DR R K CHAKRABARTI Under this heading we find that they are setting up plants for manufacture of newsprint and paper in public sector. There is a plant in Nagaland and another in Kerala which will be expanded. But there is no mention about the paper Mills to be set up in Assam or Tripura.

Sir, coming to page 11, item 22 where we have the SISI, i.e. Small Industries service Institute, it is said that they are going to set up branches of this Institute in backward areas. But we do not find any mention about any branch to be opened in the North Bengal area, about which we have made repeated requests before this House (*Time-bell rings*). Sir, one more minute. On page 21, under the major head 520, item C/1, you find mention of "investment in Industrial Development and Rehabilitation Corporation Limited." I do not know exactly

what this Rehabilitation Corporation Limited is Does it refer to the RIC of Calcutta ? If it is so, in the Budget estimate for 1974-74 there is no figure mentioned Everywhere the amount is mentioned in the Budget, but under this heading, major head 520, no figure is mentioned I do not know whether this has been done intentionally or there is some mistake And if it refers to the RIC of Calcutta, does it mean that they are going to close down this institution ? Thank you

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) Mr Bhupesh Gupta

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA I will speak later

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) Mr Subramanian Swamy

SHRISUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh) Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, in discussing the working of the Ministry of Industrial Development and the Department of Science and Technology, I shall take the report of 1973-74 of the Ministry as my starting point The Ministry says "its objective is promotion of industrial development" In the 1971-72 Report, it has said that it is responsible for the "active promotion of industrial development" The word "active" has been dropped in the latest Report I presume advisedly The second objective is "the orderly development of the large medium and small industries in the country" The third is "the formulation of a general Industrial Policy" As far as the Department of Science and Technology goes, it has placed before itself the objective of "achieving self-reliance in the core sectors and to draw up a Science and Technology Five-Year Plan integrating research and development" I am mentioning all this because in discussing the industrial development, I have first to point out to what extent the Ministry can be held responsible for what is going on

In terms of money, of the Rs 7,029 crores in the Central sector for industries and minerals, the Ministry of Industrial Development is responsible for Rs 453.61 crores i.e. about 6 per cent of the total outlay Even the Ministry of Heavy Industry has more money to handle Yet the Ministry of Industrial Development says it is responsible for the promotion of industrial development in the country I will take the Ministry at its own word, and evaluate how much industrial development there has

been in the country and what kind of industrial development there has been In 1973 the industrial growth rate was negative Very often in the past 25 years, the rate of growth has not been very impressive but last year it has been negative—one of the very few years when the industrial production in the country actually declined From 1969 the growth curve—I cannot call it "growth curve" I will call it the "retardation curve" or the "regressive curve"—is steadily going downwards There were one or two years when it went up but the curve is downwards since 1969 The reason I take 1969 is because it is considered, I am sure, by the Minister of Industrial Development as a turning point in Indian history So I take 1969 as the year of starting and it certainly turns out to be that the growth in industrial production is going down or the curve is steadily going down What is surprising is that for the first time in our history every single target of the Fourth Plan is off None of the industrial targets have been achieved Perhaps the targets have been achieved in cosmetics production and refrigerators production But in terms of basic sectors none of the targets have been achieved For example, in iron and steel the target was 10.8 million metric tons and the achievement was 7.1 million metric tons, non-ferrous metals 220 million metric tons, achievement 190, fertilizer 2.5 million metric tons, achievement 1.2—that is less than half, petrochemicals 8.5 million metric tons, achievement 7.7, coal 93.5, expected achievement 79—I do not know what it is going to be actually because there is some dispute about it—iron ore 51.4 million metric tons, achievement 37, power 23 million kw achievement 18.87 Now, for some of the items the Ministry is centrally responsible For example cement 18 million metric tons achievement 16, newsprint 150 thousand tons achievement only 43—that is one third or less than one-third—cotton textiles 5.1 million metres, achievement 4.2 I give you all these figures to show that you take any industrial item which is of any consequence to the Indian economy and you find it is off by 30 to 50 per cent This has never happened in our history This particular Plan which was started in 1969, the historic year of Indian history has led to massive failure The Planning Commission in its Plan Draft—para 2, page 132—says that this is due to inadequate preparatory work I am quoting from the Plan Draft that it is the Ministry's responsibility— inadequate preparatory work Then number



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two Implementation not accordingly to schedule This also is the Ministry's responsibility But the Ministry of Industrial Development views things differently It first says that there has been a welcome revival in a number of agriculture-based industries I do not know where they have got these figures from because the figures actually show quite the opposite In none of the agro-based industries such as cotton textiles, jute textiles in 1973 has there been any revival Perhaps the Ministry is conveniently considering the first six months of 1973 and basing its calculations on them Actually if you take the whole year, certainly the nine months for which we have official data available and the whole year for which unofficial data are available there has been no such revival Secondly, the Ministry claims that in those sectors where production is increasing - they have named two or three public sector enterprises where production actually increased - better management is responsible But where production has declined, it is due to the international economic scene or power crisis This clearly means that where things go well, it is the Ministry's better management, and where things go bad, of course the world forces are responsible or the mother nature is responsible or perhaps the power crisis, which is none of the Ministry's business, is responsible I really do not know what kind of a Government we have in this country, when the Planning Commission says it is due to inadequate preparatory work and implementation not according to schedule, the Ministry says something quite different Do they not belong to the same branch or are they talking at cross purposes or are they trying to run each other down ? I know the ruling party is not a homogeneous party, it is a party of factions, one faction running at the throat of the other I do not know who wins at which point of time

The Ministry of Industrial Development is furthermore not very clear as to what is going on in its won backyard An example of this is the Nagaland Paper and Pulp Project Another is the Kerala Newsprint Project, for both of which the Ministry is centrally responsible The 1970-71 report says that these two projects will go into production by the end 3P M of 1973-74 1973-74 report says that these projects are expected to go into production by the end of 1977 I presume that the 1977 report will say that the expectation is by 1980 when the production will commence

Take the case of Kerala newsprint project The 1972-73 report says that—I have got a copy of the report with me—the site for the newsprint project has already been acquired and steps are being taken to acquire machinery etc But 1973-74 report—a year later—says that the site has already been located and acquisition proceedings are in progress This is on page 31 of the Report I do not know whether the Ministry travels backward or forward. When the site was acquired in 1972-73 and the machinery was in the process of being installed, how can the site be located in 1973-74 and acquisition proceedings be in progress ? I presume that draftsmen in both the cases were different and the Minister did not have the time to read both and compare and come to some final report which is consistent The question really is what is wrong with our industry ? Our industry has been stagnating for the last ten years From 1969 it has been zooming downwards The first factor in our industrial situation is the decline in essential commodities coupled with booming luxury sector production You go to any shop There is no problem of luxury goods You can get any amount of them But you do not get essential commodities This is what has happened side by side

Another factor for our present industrial situation is the distorted investment and import pattern of which I will say a few words in a moment

Thirdly, I think the extremely disturbing aspect is the vanishing small industry in the country and growing monopoly and oligopoly in the market

The forth aspect which is even more disturbing is the extreme profiteering and extensive speculative operation in the consumer industry

The first aspect, as I said is the decline in essential commodities coupled with expanding luxury goods sector I have with me some figures which will show how Indian economy has been growing These are based on the situation prevailing from 1969-70 to 1972-73 In fact 1973 is not included here If that is included, the situation will be still worse.

Cereals—08 per cent per year

Pulses—30.8 per cent

Vanaspathi—0 per cent

Cotton cloth produced in the mill and decentralised sector—6.4 per cent

These are the growth rates of essential commodities. Now look at the luxury goods.

Sector Television sets—1,330 per cent.  
Refrigerators—94.4 per cent.

Room airconditioners—94.6 per cent

Passenger cars—10 per cent

When you talk about power crisis, raw materials shortages and mother nature luxury goods industries are not affected. How is it that only the essential commodities industries have these problems and the luxury goods industry does not have these problems? Obviously, there must be something wrong in the way we allocate our resources. You go any shop. You cannot get standard cloth. But you will get any quantity of terylene, terycot and other high quality cloth. What is surprising is that what is needed by 90 per cent of our people is not available and what is purchased by 10 or 5 per cent of our people is available in plenty. You have turned our economy upside down. Ignoring the needs of 90 per cent you are producing the items required only by 10 per cent. Who is responsible for this? Perhaps the Ministry of Industrial Development with only Rs 453 crores out of Rs 7,029 crores is not responsible for this. But then the Ministry should not have used these bombastic words and said in their 1972-73 report that they are responsible for the active promotion of industrial development in the country. Now of course, they are only for the promotion of industrial development. I hope that in the next report they will say that they are not responsible for anything that happens in the country and be more honest that way.

Similarly, take the case of electricity. How is electricity distributed in the country? You say that there is power shortage. You take the farmer, for example. The Indian farmer is getting only 12% of the total electricity in the country and is paying about 18p on an average, somewhere more and somewhere less. But it is 18p on an average which the farmer pays. Now, industry gets about 64% of the total electricity that is produced in the country. But some units like that of the Birlas are paying only 2p per unit. This is clearly a topsy-turvy economic situation in which your agriculture is producing 50% of your production and gets only 12% of your electricity and pays 18p per unit whereas your industry which is only producing 20% of your national wealth is getting 64% of the electricity of the country and paying only

2p per unit so, I would like to have an investigation made into this to find out why this discriminating system should be there. If at all there should be a discriminating price system it should be in the opposite direction and not in the direction in which it is there today.

Now, take the case of petrol. They have raised the price of petrol. They said that there would be a drop in the consumption of petrol. But it has not been there. The Ministers and the Secretaries do not travel by their own cars or at their own expense and they do not pay for their own petrol. They go and come by the staff car and the big company executives go by the company's car. Who ultimately pays for the rise in the price of petrol? It is the poor people who have to go to their houses from the railway station or from their houses to the hospital or the teachers and the professors or the self-employed poor people or the middle-class people who are bearing the brunt of the burden imposed by the rise in the price of petrol. It is these people who are paying for the rise in the price of petrol. Sir, if I may say in digression now the Indian Airlines is going to raise the fare by about 25% or so 80% of the passengers of the Indian Airlines are Government people or people who travel on the expense of the companies and so, it is not going to pay at all. The Government is given one hand and is taking away by another and there is nothing to bring about a real change in the economic situation.

Actually, what has happened is this. If you look at the investment pattern, you will find that over 55% of our investment today is going directly or indirectly to support the luxury consumption of the top 5% of the people in the country. Unless you change this basic fact you cannot change the Indian economic situation. I cannot really go into the details for lack of time, but certainly I can say that every economic policy that is being formulated today is in fact, going to support more and more the fact that the investment pattern will be distorted to support the consumption of the top 5% of the people of the country. 70% of our imports are doing the same thing and supporting directly or indirectly the luxury consumption in the country and unless you bring about a reallocation in the priorities in investment and in imports, you are not going to change the economic situation in the country and certainly not going to increase the production in the country.

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Then, it is easy enough to blame the labour for everything and it is fashionable to do so these days. You say that the labour is going on strike and is withholding production and so on. Even in the educational institutions, the labour is held responsible for everything. You go to the IIT and they say, 'Oh, the labour is responsible for the lack of research and development in the IIT'. You go to any industry. The industry people say the same thing. Actually speaking, the labour share of the value added has gone down considerably during the last 8 years. Today, it is 29 per cent while it was about 32 per cent seven years ago. The labour is not responsible for all the disorder and it is getting less and less share of the value added in the country and the actual fact is that the total value added is increasingly getting distributed to the benefit of a small section of the population. So, unless you recognise this fact in a serious way, you cannot improve the situation. You can make speeches on this in the FICCI or elsewhere. Unless you are serious about the changing the situation, this decline in industrial production will continue. At the same time you look at the assets of the big business houses in the country growing at 15 per cent per year when the industrial production in the country is going down and the real income of the people has gone down. We are in a state in which the real wages of the labour have gone down during the last eight years, but the assets of the big industrial houses have been growing at the rate of 15 per cent per year. I know as an economist that in an oligopolistic situation, where the big business houses dominate the scene, production cannot increase but only the prices will increase. We know that it is an established fact that the big business is not interested in increasing production, is not interested in profits, but the big business is interested in maximum market shares. And they can do this either by pushing out somebody or by temporarily expanding so that the other person goes out of business. So this is the situation. Unless you curtail growth of big business in the country, you cannot increase production in this country. This has to be realised. And there is a lot of make believe in this.

The Fifth Plan document says that small industries will be encouraged only when they are competitive with big business. How can they come to with big business? Let me give an example. The Government decided that Binaca tooth-paste manufacturers, the CIBA, be given licence to manufacture insecticides.

They are a multi-product corporation. The first thing CIBA did was to lower the price of insecticides and absorbed the loss by raising the prices of other products they produce. By this act they pushed out every single small unit from insecticides industry. Having accomplished this, they raised the price of insecticides. This is the monopolistic situation. You are driving out small industries. Unless you protect them from unfair competition, there is no question of small industries growing. The Fifth Plan document says that small industry will be encouraged only where it can compete with big industry. This is shocking. Small industry furthermore has been denied finances. About denial of funds, the Estimates Committee, in its 35th Report on page 12, says

"It is unfortunate that in some States, funds allocated for small-scale industries are diverted to some other purpose."

This is what the Estimates Committee says.

Similarly, the small industry is being denied raw materials. Two-thirds of small industry needs are being bought in black market. The Estimates Committee on page 61 notes

The small-scale industry is getting iron and steel at a higher price than that paid by organized industry."

Here is a clear case where the big business is cornering licences at a low price from the Government and then selling them in black market to small-scale industries. This is the problem with the small industry. Today, big business can get licences by just a telephone call or writing to the Minister at the right time—may be just before the elections—but they don't use them; they sell them off in black market.

I have a few more comments to make. And I think they should be made here. There is a growing grip of multi-national corporations in the country. This is the inevitable consequence of domestic monopoly. We have a strange case of the Birla's Hindustan Motors, I don't know how much of it is true and how much is false. But the Government is very shy, be having like a bride who is just married to a foreigner, being very coy about the real situation. I have heard it, I have read it that the Birla's Hindustan Motors have sought to sell one-third of their shares at Rs. 6.58 crores to General Motors to lift it out of the morass. One-third! I do not know what the real situation is. But why should this be allowed? I don't know what politics there is behind this. Perhaps General Motors might be able to pursue

Richard Nixon to provide aid to our country, we are again going to beg. I know that officials of the Finance Ministry, this Ministry and that Ministry, are already in Washington doing 'tel malish' there, in the hope that they may get some aid from the United States. This might be one of the reasons. This is not at all. Foreign companies bring in Rs. 30 crores and take out Rs. 60 crores. This is a rain which we do not want. The country is not benefited by that.

Similarly, look at all the essential commodities. Take the case of tooth paste and biscuits. Even chewing gum is now going to be manufactured by foreign companies. It is a naked sell-out. Perhaps it is not so naked because the Government is trying to be coy about it. Tooth paste is being produced by Forhans and Macleans. I saw the Hindustan Lever people buying peas in U.P. They put the peas into railway wagons, take them to their factories in Bombay and put them into tins in order to send the tins back to Uttar Pradesh. It is a household industry. Tinned peas can be manufactured by anybody. But it cannot be done as long as the Hindustan Lever is in the picture.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) Please wind up.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY

I have a few more points. I would like to point out that every single consumer goods industry is largely owned by foreign multi-national companies with the blessings of the Government because they cannot go on without the blessings of the Government. I can tell you that the Government can have higher taxation for them. The Supreme Court Constitution Bench has ruled that if the Government so desires and there is a ground for it, then the Government can impose a heavier taxation on foreign companies than on domestic Indian companies. If these companies are making enormous profits, I do not see why there should not be heavier taxation for them. The average rate of profit in industry is 10.5 per cent. But the Hindustan Levers made 22.2 per cent profits last year when the industrial climate was so bad. Glaxo made a profit of 19.3 per cent, Brooke Bond 18.2 per cent, Pfizer 22.1 per cent—Philips 25.1 per cent and Union Carbide has made a profit of 25.1 per cent for making batteries. Any Sardar Ji in a small shed can make better batteries than the Union Carbide and yet they been allowed to make a profit of 25.1 per cent. CEAT has made a profit of 26.0 per cent out of making tyres. I do not understand how all this can happen when the 10/Rajya Sabha/74—10

Indian companies are making only 10.5 per cent profit unless the Government gives them some special facilities.

These foreign companies are importing technology from the junk-yard of the western companies. I do not exclude the public sector. I have seen what has happened in Bhilai. The Russians are doing the same thing. They are importing junk technology. Their capital cost is zero. It is the stupid patent laws that we have which protect them. We pay royalty to them. There is one technology case which I will give to the Minister privately because the person who gave it to me did not want me to mention it in the House. There is one technology which we have imported 28 times and we have paid royalty on it 28 times. This technology was imported from the junk-yard of the West. If you do not have the patent law, you can bring in the technology once and tell the people that you would give them honours if they could copy it. After all, you are giving Padma Vibhushan to the Directors of the IITs who do not do any work.

Take the case of text-books. The outdated text-books in England which are banned for domestic use are still being printed because they are being sent to India. It is happening because of the stupid patent laws which protect them. We will have to have a change. We will have to have a very real change and it cannot be done by writing reports or making speeches. It has to be a real and structural change in the country. You have to give us a report showing that the share of the big business is not more than 15% and the profit rate of foreign companies is not so much and the share of small industries is going up. Unless you produce such a report, I cannot take it to signify any real change.

I will like to conclude by saying a few words on research and development. I happened to be a Professor at the Indian Institute of Technology till I got what is called dismissal letter. I have contested it in court. This House happened to discuss my dismissal as well. I know that the Minister at that time engaged in a kind of terminological inexactitude, which is a Parliamentary euphemism to say the Minister was a damn liar.

I happened to have direct knowledge of research and development institutions in this country. There was a question put in the Parliament some time ago as to the number of publications done by the top 10 or 15 professors of

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one institution—the IIT, Delhi. The reply came that it was zero. One professor had one publication and the title of that publication happened to be identical with a thesis of his student. So, we know from where that publication came.

Similarly, the professors in most of the technological and research institutions in this country sit on all kinds of useless committees like selecting a peon, etc. When I joined the IIT I was asked to sit on a selection committee. I never knew till I went there and saw that they were selecting a *chaprasi*. They were asking the candidates not whether they know how to read and write, or whether they know how to bring a file from there to here but whether they know how to drive a car and how to cook food, so that they can be paid by the Institute and work in the homes of the higher-ups.

Similarly, the research scholars. They are being exploited. Most of the professors do not do any research work nor are they promoted for research work. The corruption cases in the IIT, Delhi, have all been documented by the Public Accounts Committee. Every corruption charge that was put forward by the IIT Employees Union has been upheld by the P.A.C. If the House has ever the mood to discuss the issue, I would like to see the hon. Minister engage in the terminological inexactitudes in front of me when I have the direct knowledge of the situation.

So, Sir, what we need is a change in this situation and the change has to be in the following 8 or 9 directions.

(1) the development of small industries must be encouraged and for that, the entire consumer goods sector must be reserved entirely for the small industries. No foreign companies or big business. They should both be taken out. (2) The licensing system today vests a lot of discretion with the bureaucrats. That licensing system has to be changed, and a system has to be brought out where there is a provision for automatic distribution, with no delay at all. You go to the counter and you should be able to get the licence, if necessary, at the market price. (3) the Patent Law should be scrapped. (4) There should be decentralization of the big business in our country so that they should be brought on an economic par with small industries. (5) All foreign companies in our country should be taken over. (6) There should be workers' participation in management

(7) The public sector should be opened to public equity participation. (8) And finally, there should be a maximum 1:20 ratio of wages along with a need-based minimum wage for all. If we can implement such a programme I am sure, there will be a change in the industrial climate. If you do not, there cannot be a change in the industrial climate.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh) Sir, while discussing the working of the Industrial Development Ministry, and industrialization in India in general, I am struck by one thing. In the course of the last 25 years, the Government's direct participation in industry has made what is called the Public Sector the dominant factor in the Indian industrial scene. The Public Sector is now the dominant factor. Among 101 industrial giants of India, as listed by the Economic Times, 9 are Government units. Among the top 25 giants belonging to the private sector, the Hindustan Steel is the biggest with an investment of Rs. 1,026 crores. The one-time top giant, the Tata Steel Company, with an investment of Rs. 180 crores now ranks tenth in the list. But, strangely enough, this has not brought about any effective, visible changes in our social pattern or our occupational pattern. Sir, if you look at the census collected by the Government of India, the British Government in 1931 and in 1941, the number of persons engaged in the primary sector was 72 per cent. Again, according to the census of 1971 the number of persons engaged in the primary sector remains the same, i.e., 72 per cent. This means that in the course of the last scores of years there has been no change.

Sir as an economist I will tell you such a large percentage dependent on the primary sector, on agriculture, to the extent of 72 per cent, is proof of large-scale disguised unemployment in agriculture and of low per capita productivity. I believe, Sir, that in the real sense we never had any really socially purposive industrial policy. We have been paying lip-homage to the socialist ideals and to so many other things but in actual practice we have never used our schemes of industrialisation to bring about structural changes in the management of our society. We have for years been talking as the gentlemen opposite has just now said of workers' participation in management but nothing has been done. We may not expect the private sector to do it, but it is open to us, it is open to the Ministry, it is open to the Government to bring about some sort of association of the workers in the management of State enterprises.

Now, Sir, under the Ministry of Industrial Development and Scientific Development etc., whatever it is, that we are discussing today, the following industries, as listed in a Government paper, are under their direct control : Cement Corporation of India, Hindustan Cables Ltd., Hindustan Photo Films Ltd., Instrumentation India Ltd., National Instruments Ltd., and Nepa Newsprint Ltd.

Now, Sir, here I have got a miserable document which makes one unhappy. This is the Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings 1969-1974, 45th Report, and this is the Report on the Action Taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the 27th Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings dealing with the Notional Newsprint and Nepa. This is the 27th Report and this is the 45th Report. This is the Report and I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this Report of 33 pages. In this Report of 33 pages, at pages 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, and 31 the expressions used are, 'the Committee regrets,' 'the Committee is sorry to note,' 'the Committee is surprised because the recommendations of the 27th Report have never been implemented'. The Action Taken Committee presided over by Shrimati Subhadra Joshi says at several places that the Committee regrets, and the Committee is surprised. Anyway, I am not going into the details.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is full of regrets.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : Yes, it is full of regrets and surprises. It has only to say that the Committee regret to note, the Committee regret to observe, the Committee is surprised, and so on.

SHRI SHYAMLAL GUPTA (Bihar) : Is there any pleasant surprise ?

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : Pleasant surprises are awaiting you. The Committee feel that payment of heavy demurrage charges could have been avoided. Sir, this is a sad report. The Committee feels that Government should fix responsibility for the losses which resulted due to the under-utilisation of the capacity of the Nepa Newsprint plant, and Newsprint had to be imported. The Report says that the Committee would like to be informed of the action taken against the parties at fault and the remedial measures taken. The Committee are much concerned with the indifferent way in which

the Nepa Mills transaction was handled. This is a very very tragic document. Is this the way in which our Industrial Development Ministry should function ? Should the bureaucrats and the administrators who run these public enterprises be allowed to get away like this ? Should they defy with impunity a Committee of Parliament ? What action the Government has taken and what action the Ministry has taken I would like to know.

AN HON. MEMBER : They should be handed.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : The trouble is that we have handed over everything to the bureaucrat and to the private businessman. Now, about bureaucracy : Sir, India, after 25 years of freedom, is still struggling hard to uplift its millions.

Nehru said once that we have to run in order to stand where we are. In response to such dynamic times the Industrial Development Ministry has to work fast but it continues to work in the old way. Lord Curzon called bureaucratism "As a state of mind, a sort of a mental hiatus". Bureaucracy, even of the days of Lord Curzon, reminded him of "A gigantic quagmire or bog in which every question that comes along either sinks or is sucked down; and unless you stick a peg with a label over the part at which it disappeared, and from time to time go out and dig the relics, you will never see anything of them again". So, this is the definition of bureaucracy given by Lord Curzon and we have done nothing with this bureaucracy.

The concept of a neutral civil servant has been handed down to us by the British. The concept of a neutral civil servant is, he serves successive political masters with equal fidelity and equal contempt. He doesn't believe in anything which you say. So it is high time we had men to run these enterprises who are in tune with the urges and aspirations of the nation, who are conscious that this country can develop only by dedicated effort and who should be willing to contribute their mite to this process. But we have done nothing in that direction.

Then there is the businessman. The picture of the Indian businessman, as it is commonly known, is rather an ugly one. It almost seems to be assumed that business means cheating and anything is supposed to be fair not only in love and war but also in the pursuit of trade and industry. We have had a

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long tradition, especially in the last century and a half of the trader-cum-moneylender cheating the ignorant farmer and artisan and building up large properties on that basis. The newly developed industry in India also exploited not only the worker but many times even the shareholder so as to help build the fortunes of the managing agent. During the second world war when shortages of all kinds developed in the economy, hoarding and black-marketing became rampant. The great Bengal famine of 30 years back in which we remember 3 million people perished because of shortage of food was the culmination of the unrestricted profiteering tendencies of the food trader. Tax evasion on a large scale also developed during the war years. In the post-independence period there was much scope for industrial development. The Government gave generous assistance and protected markets for the businessman. Private industry flourished in the first three Plan periods. But then worse tendencies became rampant and large-scale industrial empires were built up.

Sir, few industries treated labour as a partner—there was little vertical mobility and instances of even the provident fund of workers being misappropriated are not unknown. There was a tendency to make quick money without caring of quality and little attention was paid to the development of indigenous technology. At the same time, tax evasion which had already taken strong roots, developed into a fine art and a black money economy developed almost as a parallel economy in the country. On top of this, unlike in the earlier days when the businessman was thrifty and used his profits mainly for further capital accumulation, affluent living came to be the norm of the new businessman vividly portraying the contrast between the rich and the poor especially in our country where over one-third of the population lives in dire poverty. Businessmen have tended to develop the organisations under their control as a family or caste affair. May be Birla opens an industry in Assam but he will get all the Marwaris there. This stifles the initiative of the local people. Not many business undertakings have made genuine efforts to provide training facilities for their workmen to enable them to rise to more responsible and skilled posts. Fewer still have taken steps to develop ancillaries. Many have tried to confine ancillary development to their own relations or even to benamis.

Genuine entrepreneurship cannot grow and industry cannot expand under such conditions. Sir, these are the few points which I want to make.

Now, we have for the present opted obviously for a mixed economy, and in a mixed economy we do expect—we expected perhaps but I do not know whether we should expect now—that the private industrialist will also play his part but the private entrepreneur has not played his part. Even his enlightened self-interest should teach him that but it is too much to expect from him. For the private businessman profit and more profit is the most important thing and I am constrained to say something which may not sound palatable looking at the functioning of the Indian businessmen we have to say that the leopard does not change its spots. No doubt there is a big cry for increasing production nobody disputes that. We have to increase production but in the name of pragmatism and increasing production we continue to pamper the leopard. Already there have been warnings that the maneater is at large. This warning was given long ago by the late T T Krishnamachari and when we see what is going on today I am constrained to bewail with the poet and say 'Oh increased production' what crimes are committed in this name?

Sir, there is need for a complete reversal of the present policies. The direction of these policies must be governed by the broad objectives we have set before ourselves. They are defined in our Resolutions, in our Constitution, in the Industrial Policy Statements of 1948 and 1956. No new definitions have to be given, the need is to implement them. For doing that we have completely ignored the most important thing, the training of a cadre of persons imbued with the new urges which move our nation and with the necessary perspective. In this connection I would take the liberty of quoting Mr R C Dutt, a well-known civilian of our country. Writing recently on 'Public Service and Social Commitment' he observed:

"The training programme in future will have to provide for instruction on the basic policies of the State, develop commitment to these principles and encourage an attitude of devotion to the basic values and the underlying factors governing action which should transcend material consideration of career advancement."

This is the most important thing. I will appeal to the hon. Minister who is deeply conscious,

I know, or the basic urges which have moved our country and our organisation to keep this mind

Another thing which we should do is to bring about workers participation in management. Let us make a beginning in whatever form we can

Sir, with your permission I would like to say a few words about small-scale industrial units. Government has not given the attention which is due to small-scale industrial units. More attention has been given to the big men of money and finance. Government should give prompt attention to this and embark upon a policy of encouraging the small-scale industrial units and also insist that for their better and efficient technological and business organisation they should employ at least one commerce graduate and one diploma engineer. This will contribute to giving gainful employment to many educated unemployed men.

Then, I would like to make another point about export-oriented industries and import substitution. While planning our industrial development we have no doubt kept in view the interests of our drive for increasing our exports, but there is a feeling—and I am referring to some leading journals of this country—that export-oriented industries are being given excessive importance as against the encouragement of import substitution. They both have the purpose of solving our foreign exchange problems, but import substitution has the advantage of our developing self-reliance in technique and also providing employment. It has the further advantage of partly freeing us from the vagaries of the foreign market.

Lastly, I would like to speak about some industries in Delhi, about Escorts Limited. There were serious reports about the functioning of certain officials in the Ministry. I am not going to name them. A Director in the Industrial Development Ministry is in his post for twelve years. Nobody can touch him. A Project Officer in the Ministry is at his post for ten years. Their kith and kin are associated in some form or other with Escorts. Escort tractor prices have been enhanced disproportionate with other indigenous manufacturers. My point is that the price increase of tractors was allowed without obtaining the required sanction of the Cabinet. I would like the hon. Minister to clear the point. Sanction of the Cabinet is necessary under the Essential Comm-

odities Act (*Tune Bell rings*). There are some other points but you are ringing the Bell and I would like to end by saying that new approach has to be made. We have to get out of the present rut. We have to rely more upon our new cadre of people and co-operatives than on bureaucrats and big monopolists. Relying upon the latter in a desire to increase production will lead us nowhere. That is all what I have to say.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):** We can only discuss some basic aspects of the industrial policy, although we can go into details and expose much of the shady affairs which are going on in the Ministry of Industrial Development. Now, Mr. Subramaniam has stepped into the shoes of Mr. Moinul Haq Choudhury. This is undoubtedly a change from East to South-west, but certainly there has not been any change either in the attitude and outlook or in the behavioural pattern of those who are running that particular Ministry. It does appear that nowadays big business has taken a kind of 'seize' of that Ministry. Whenever you go and talk to the big business people they feel very happy that at long last sense has dawned upon the Government of India, including Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, so that they could look forward to a better and brighter future which, in other words, mean higher profits, greater speculation and much more thuggery than what they are indulging in at the present moment.

Sir, in the first instance there has been a shift from the emphasis of public sector to organised private sector dominated by the monopolists. And, it is well known that 73 or 75 monopoly houses today account for well over 50 per cent of the investments in the industrial private sector. I am not for a moment suggesting that we have not got an important element in the private sector but the equation between the two should have constantly changed in favour of the public sector and against, if I may say so, the so-called private sector under the control of monopoly capital. This process started, at least has begun, some years ago, and steadily it has been eroded and now we are almost in the Fifth Plan. When the Second Plan started we launched a debate as to what were the relative merits of the two sectors. And it was settled that in order to develop our economy to build up our economy on modern foundations the emphasis should progressively increase in favour of the public sector. And



[Shr. Bhupesh Gupta]

it was said at one time by Jawaharlal Nehru and others that the public sector should occupy a commanding position. Now Mr. Vice-Chairman, the commanders of this Government are nowhere near the commanding heights. In fact, they have begun to descend from the heights which they had at one time seemed to attain.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri S. S. Mariswamy) in the Chair]

It is a far cry today from Shrimati Indira Gandhi's 'stray thoughts' that were spelled out in 1969 at the Bangalore Session of the Congress. One can recall in this connection the slogan of 'garibi hatao' some three years ago when the Government almost made out to the country that important steps would be taken for structural changes in our economy, especially in the industrial sector. That is how people understood it. There was a clear commitment to increasing nationalisation in the industrial sector which would eventually include not only producer goods industry but also consumer goods industry. Now, we have been brought to a stage when the Government is ceremoniously abandoning the policy of nationalisation in order to suit Mr. G. D. Birla and the like. So you have heard, you have read, about the speech which Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi made at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. And you do not come across the note she had struck some years ago on a similar occasion while addressing the industrial tycoons of the country. Her speech represented exhortations and appeals to the big tycoons and monopolists so that they would cooperate with the Government. And they indeed were very happy to hear the Prime Minister of the country speak in that strain. It was a pleasant surprise for the money-makers and tycoons who had created artificial famines, who indulged in plunder and loot of our working people, who believed in speculation and diversification of funds and resources given to them for industrial development to speculative channels, who indulged in all manner of corruption including political bribery of which the less said, the better. Now, they were very pleased to have heard Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of this country, striking an altogether different note. But the working people were sad at heart. Now, here is the change. Every day, we read in the newspapers that concessions

are being offered to the monopolists, even multilateral corporations are being invited. It is a matter of shame that we have today before us a Government which is presently admitting that the proposal of the General Motors for taking one-third share in the Hind Motors of the Birlas is under the consideration of the Government.

We did not hear such things. Even ten years ago people were ashamed from the Treasury Benches to have uttered such a thing. Today fighting back from their own positions in industrial and economic sectors creating crisis and chaos all along the line, we find this Government is extending in a shameless manner the hand of co-operation not only to the Tatas and Birlas but to the General Motors of the United States. It is well known that some agreements have been signed of a similar category with some West German firms and attempts are being made to explore the possibilities of arriving at similar disastrous anti-national collaboration agreements with the Japanese. This has become the sum total of the approach of the Government in so far as the industrial policy is concerned.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) Birlas are not obliging you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA It would be a sad day for me and, I believe, also for Mr. Kali Mukherjee if he starts obliging me and stops obliging you. I am very glad that you have mentioned this thing. But you do not seem to have succeeded in obliging Mr. K. K. Birla in the Uttar Pradesh election although some of you were interested in getting him elected as the benamdari candidate of a very important political party in the country. Well, ask Mr. Yashpal Kapoor. He may enlighten you on this subject a little more. That is my way of speaking. So these are the changes in the policies.

Sir, the line seems to be surrendering to the wholesale traders, give up the take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains in order to tackle the food situation and we shall soon see the result that will follow from these policies of shameless capitulation. And yet we are told there is no change in policy. Whatever the Government does must necessarily be good. If it goes with the wholesaler it is good. If it attacks the wholesaler it is good. There should be some morality in public life. I, therefore, say that this policy in the industrial field is not an accidental policy. This is not an isolated occurrence. The dominant trend

seems to be of more and more concessions to the vested interests, monopolists, profiteers and speculators and to get on with them as much as you can. They think that is the only way to tackle the situation. But we have known from our experience that this aggravates the crisis and creates some difficulties than solve them. We have seen how in any case the burden is constantly shifted on to the common man and the opportunity is taken by the monopoly capital to pressurise and blackmail the Government.

Sir, in this connection one cannot but mention the fact that monopoly capital has entreated the political life of the country in a way unknown in the years of independence and even before. Today the monopolists think that they can finance politics and make business out of politics. And they are not wrong in their thinking. Everybody knows to-day that the corruption in public life because of the practices of monopoly capital has become a major political question. Indeed we cannot save our democracy if we allow these monopolies to grow in this manner, finance politicians and political parties and enter the political arena to distort parliamentary democracy, to debase it, to corrupt it, to direct it to suit their ends. And this is happening. And the corresponding expression of this phenomenon in the economic field we find in their infinite capacity now to influence Government policies and to get concessions at will from the Government and the authorities. This is what is causing grave concern to the country.

Sir, as far as the multi-national corporations are concerned, all over the world the common people, the working people, are fighting against it. And here in India, they are inviting multi-national corporations. On the one hand, we have Sardar Swaran Singh addressing the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, calling upon the nations of the world to help us safeguard our national interests, our economic relations with other countries, particularly our trade and raw materials. On the other, we find on the domestic front, this Government, perhaps endorsed and supported and encouraged by Mr. T.N. Kaul, who has made it a habit to flatter and woo the Americans in Washington, offering concession after concession to foreign monopoly capital and multi-national corporations.

**SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE :** How many multi-national corporations are there in Moscow or in Eastern Europe ?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** There is no multinational corporation in Moscow. My friend, Mr. Kali Mukherjee at one time had a smattering of Marxism, Leninism and Communism. But I did not know he had become so ignorant as he is pretending to be here.

**SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE :** Collaboration between Soviet Russia and Japan is accepted. But collaboration in India is to be rejected. What is the argument behind it ? Let us understand.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** That argument you shall give. If I have to give you your argument, I should become a Kali Mukherjee. Well, I have no intention of becoming one. Since my friend has hit upon a good point, I am sure when he gets the chance he will exhibit his ignorance even better than he has done now.

Now this link-up between the Tatas and Birlas and the multi-national corporations is a most menacing development. Already we have got over 3,000 collaboration agreements mostly with the Western sources and foreign monopoly capital. Many of these agreements would not stand any scrutiny or probe. They were recklessly entered into in order to placate this or that business house or to facilitate import of certain so called technical know-how or to gain credits in those countries with a view to importing some machinery without which we could have as well carried on our economic activity. Now it is well known that some of these agreements had been very wrongly entered into and they are detrimental to our national interest. Yet, we find that the habit has not been given up and they go in for fresh invitations to be issued to the same sources.

Similarly, Sir, the licensing process has been expedited. All the secretaries will now be sitting together. Perhaps it is a way of collective bargaining that they want; I do not know. Do our Secretaries want collective bargaining now with the collective business of the monopoly capital ? Perhaps they think that it is the best way of looking after their interests and the Government is helping them.

4 P.M. Now they are sitting there in order to expedite. The same bureaucrats would

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

not move when it comes to the small industrialist, small businessman even medium businessman. But the Tatas and the Birlas are so powerful that they have got all of them together in order to facilitate the deal between the two. This is another aspect of the matter.

Then you have here other things also. These concessions are being given to the monopoly capital under the ostensible plea of promoting export. Every body knows that the so-called export promotion becomes nothing but swindling in practice because the licences and permits that have been obtained are misused by the people. Then some of them are being encouraged to develop the so-called backward areas—these monopoly houses are being encouraged—irrespective of what they are going to do and how the local people are going to receive them. Then there are many many other things. For example, there is the leather industry. The Tatas are being given a handsome deal as a result of which the small ones will be soon weeded out from the industry. I think the Minister should know it better because he comes from Tamil Nadu. And there the smaller people in this industry are raising a lot of noise. Here you find that Mr G D Birla who does not pay much wealth-tax but is wealthy enough to make a donation to one organisation of the order of Rs 25 lakhs, made a speech last week in Calcutta to the Indian Chamber of Commerce there. There he very much endorsed the policies of the Government. I had never known when the Birlas were happy with the Government's policies. Therefore, when G.D. Birla smiles, we smell danger. And that is what we are seeing now. How is it that G.D. Birla suddenly has come out so vociferously to praise this Government in his public speeches? He was not doing so some years ago. Today he is bucked up to do so. Everybody knows how the pipeline between them on the one hand and the centres of power on the other is working. That is why I say the bureaucracy has become a source of corruption. In this connection, Mr Subramaniam should kindly note I cannot but point out one rather disturbing fact. Mr A N Haksar, Managing Director of the Imperial Tobacco—now it is called I think National Tobacco or Indian Tobacco—because of his influence, has been appointed as chairman of the board of governors or whatever you call it.

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM This happened long ago. He continues to be in the Indian Tobacco and this appointment took place some time ago and it was done by the Education Ministry in the IIT, Kharagpur. I do not know why he is dragging him now saying that he has retired and has been appointed, as if he is drawing a salary and so on. Nothing of that sort.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Have I blamed you personally for this? Is it not a fact that this thing has happened? Here is a letter written by the leader of our party in West Bengal Assembly, Mr Bishwanath Mukherjee, to President Giri, in which the whole case is stated. The letter is dated 8th of April.

We had brought this matter to the notice of the House earlier, that Mr A N Haksar, having been appointed as the chief of the Institute there is now appointing his pals and friends who have retired from the Imperial Tobacco or Indian Tobacco as officers of the Institute. Mr A N Haksar has appointed one of them on a salary of Rs 1800 as chief personnel officer of a scientific institute. There is no such post in other institutions. But here in the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur you have got managers of big business invading, them. After he has come here, he is bringing in his own people and such appointments are being made. Is it not proper for you as the Minister to enquire into it when the employees, teachers, students and their unions are protesting against it? Mr Haksar is now creating a coterie of his and is now trying to remove Ajoy Mukherjee and others from the Institute and the management in order to put his own nominees in their places. This is the kind of thing that is going on. All I say in this connection is that everywhere under this Government, monopolists and their agents and hatchet men are on the move. They are now entering into every field which was at least temporarily closed for them. As far as industrial policy is concerned, you know what has happened to it. Therefore, I protest against it. Unless we nationalise some of the consumer goods industries like textiles, sugar, drugs, and others, we would not be in a position either to gain commanding heights or to ensure essential supplies to the community. We would not be in a position to check the speculation and profiteering by 75 monopoly houses. These have not been corrected.

They have to be eliminated Monopoly Commission has proved to be the greatest eye wash in the country It is doing absolutely nothing except to bamboozle the public This is what is happening After the takeover of the Indian Iron and Steel Company in Burnpur, what is happening is interesting As you know as a result of many charges of corruption and other things Mr Nihar Dutta who was the boss there was removed After his retirement, he has been appointed as Adviser in the same concern We along with his hatchet men are indulging in all kinds of malpractices There is no remedy against such things Shri Subramaniam is now presiding over the liquidation of even whatever positive was there in the industrial policy Now he is giving series of concessions to monopoly interests through capitulatory deals, day after day He is helping their agents in the country including foreign monopolistic interests That way industrial production cannot be stepped up Nor industrial situation can be improved We won't be able to increase the rate of growth, unless at least in public sector to begin with, workers are associated at all levels of management Even that is being rejected All that I can say is that these policies have got to be radically changed

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S S MARISWAMY)** Please wind up Your time is over I am calling Shri Kulkarni

**SHRIBHUPESH GUPTA** I am concluding Your policies have to be changed I do not know whether you are in a mood to change them On the look of it it seems they are absolutely on wrong track They are going with Tatas and Birlas This will lead to the disaster of the country and even greater danger to our economy

**SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE** I do not know whether Shri Bhupesh Gupta is not aware of the fact, though almost every month he goes to Moscow, that in Russia they have got 8 or 9 mult-national corporations such as Crisler, IIL, Betchell and others In Warsaw and Prague also they have multi-national corporations

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA** He has asked me a question I know he will say different things to me in the Lobby

**SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE** He should know what is happening in his father land

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S S MARISWAMY)** No please Shri Kulkarni

**SHRI A G KULKARNI (Maharashtra)** Sir, while discussing the Report of the Industrial Development Ministry, one of the important topics which I want to highlight here is the small-scale industry in which I have taken some interest over the last so many years Sir, many of the honourable Members have referred to the small scale industries, particularly to their difficulties in regard to supply of raw materials, supply of credits and so many other things But, Sir before going into all the details and before making a detailed analysis of the state of the small-scale industry now, I want to commend the Minister, Shri C Subramaniam and his Ministry for what they are doing When the Members criticised the approach of the Ministry towards the small-scale sector, perhaps they were not aware of the colossal problems confronted in servicing the small-scale sector.

Sir, I think the number of the present small-scale units which are registered as small-scale units might be of the order of 3,48,000 or 4,00,000 or something like that It is a unique thing that in a country where about three to four lakhs of small-scale units are working which require all sorts of extension service, the Industrial Development Minister and his officers connected with the small-scale sector have been able to give the assistance to these units to the best in the circumstances and this is to their credit I have seen working of the small-scale units and how these have grown in countries like the USA, UK, Japan and Germany and so on People always cite the example of Japan But, in India, I think we have developed policies which have a positive approach in helping the small-scale industries in the context of our undeveloped technology and in the context of the undeveloped character of communications and the availability of credit I think our country must be proud of the administration that we have developed to help the small-scale sector

Sir, along with this, there are also certain other points which I want to bring to the notice of the Minister and I would request him to take cognizance of these matters and these matters are pending for a very long time I think Mr Subramaniam has also recently assured this House about the allocation of raw materials to the small-scale sector He has assured this House that a way is being found whereby the

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

capacity will be taken into consideration and the small sector will be treated on par with the organised sector, particularly by the DGTD as regards allocation of raw materials, whether they are imported or they are indigenous. I know that there was one committee appointed for this purpose, the Bal Chand Committee and this matter was discussed and ultimately Sir, it was found that the Government and the Ministry themselves had doubts about the genuineness of the requirements of the small sector and Ministry evolved a stupendous programme of evaluation and assessment on the requirement of raw materials of the small-scale industries. I had also occasion to meet two or three Inspectors in Maharashtra State who are engaged in this job. This programme has been going on for the last one-and-a-half years or so and it is mentioned here that it will go on up to the end of December 1974. I feel it is quite justified in the case of the small-scale industry which has been given a raw deal in respect of supply of raw materials, some urgent action on *ad hoc* arrangements are made for this purpose. The Planning Commission has given its views and the Industrial Development Ministry has also studied the problem in all its aspects with particular reference to the question of supply of indigenous raw materials to the small-scale sector. The issue is hanging fire for a long time. Now the statement here says that it will go on up to the end of December 1974. After that, what will happen to that report? Only God knows. We don't know how many years will pass till the implementation part of it is effected.

Then, Sir here it is mentioned on page 69 regarding the policy of raw materials to small scale industries. It is value-wise, that is, as a percentage of the value of the machinery installed. In a Parliamentary Committee, when we enquired about the raw material licences granted to small industries, we found that there was not only this discrimination but there are other discriminations also favouring the large-scale sector, which are a handicap to the small scale industries. I feel that all these types of handicaps, particularly in regard to the supply of raw materials either imported or indigenous be done away with.

In this connection, there is another aspect to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister. I also brought this to the notice of his predecessor. That is in regard to the raw materials supply produced by the

large and organized sector, as the end-products to the small scale sector. I think no attempt has been made in this regard, although the Government at various occasions assured us it is being looked into. We have found out that the small-scale industry is always at the receiving end. Something must be done about it.

Here the Government has given some information about the rural industries projects. I have also some experience, particularly of rural industries projects in my State. I think the figures given here are over-optimistic. The rural industries projects are not progressing to the extent that has been mentioned in the report. There is a definite deficiency, particularly the lack of enthusiasm in the entrepreneurship in the rural industries projects. It is not that Government assistance is falling short. It is not that there are some other difficulties. But the rural industries projects require a different approach, whereby this thing becomes a viable scheme, which will create entrepreneurship in the rural areas.

Then, a very interesting point was discussed in this House some time ago about leather garment licences granted to Tatas. At that time the Prime Minister had announced that this problem would be discussed further by the Minister of Industrial Development. Here it is mentioned that the policy is to discourage export of raw hides. But what we are told by the actual workers who work in small factories in the leather trade is that the bias of the Ministry is towards helping the exporters of hides. But in this Report it is mentioned that the policy is to discourage it. I am happy if it is so. But for this purpose a massive investment is necessary. Producing leather garments or leather articles is not something which artisans cannot do. It is a traditional art. For this purpose, a more positive approach is necessary.

Apart from this, there is something about the paper projects. In this connection mention was made by some of my friends from West Bengal about the working of the Paper Corporation.

I feel that the progress so far made in the Paper Corporation is not very healthy. It does not indicate that the Corporation will bring out the paper units as early as the requirements of the country demand. I think due to oil crisis, a different approach is necessary be-

cause we were thinking of utilisation of begasse The oil has become very costly. If the Government is serious, a different approach will be necessary and the Government will have to take a quick decision Nobody would switch over to coal because all know the difficulties of the coal using industries We know that the coal cannot be hauled in time and here also that non availability of wagons will arise I hope the Government will be well-advised to speed up the work of the Paper Corporation which is lagging behind and which requires further gearing up, particularly for the production of newsprint, whether through begasse or other material.

The last point which I want to make is about the monopolies. Mr Bhupesh Gupta also brought it out. I have got no quarrel with him. The monopolies should be abolished if this type of production is developed in other sectors Mr Bhupesh Gupta spoke about the shift in the attitude of the Government In a mixed economy, as it is today, the production has to be encouraged I feel positively that the conflicting policy decisions during the last 3 or 4 years in the Congress Party as well as in the country and the radicalism which has come particularly on the nationalisation front has disturbed production at all levels I think it is now that the Government has tried to come on a proper path whereby the production will be encouraged at all levels The production can take place at any place either in the public sector or in the private sector My friends like Mr Niren Ghosh and Mr Bhupesh Gupta give lectures here about the public sector and these are the very parties which are creating deadlocks in the public sector units. The people will support any party which is attempting to provide goods for consumption The time has come when all this glib and tall talk of radicalism and nationalisation is of no use with the Indian community because the people are so much frustrated with shortages of all kinds Your party and other parties should remember that ultimately people are the sufferers You are trying to pressurise the Government not to give licenses to any Tom, Dick and Harry But when counters require cables for power generation and you have to import them due to licenses refused to those who can manufacture You require machinery and you have to import it and the foreigners are taking away the money created by the sweat and labour of

the people of this country. I think that the Government is on right lines They have never stated that they are for monopolists. Government have never said that they are going to help the monopolists. Government has said that they would try to produce whatever products can be produced in the public sector and for that, the willing co-operation of the working class is necessary Nobody bothers whether it is by labour participation in management The point is that production is essential. The political parties which have been defeated at the polls are creating problems in the public sector as well as in the different States Mr. Subramaniam has also suffered a great deal for shaping this policy. The policy which is coming up now is on a line whereby the production can be increased. He has not said, the Prime Minister has also not said and nobody from my party has said that we would only encourage Tata or Birla or anybody else. I think Mr Niren Ghosh has not purchased a bag of cement at Rs. 35 per bag.

I purchased a cement bag at Rs. 35 when I wanted to streamline the canals in my field. Who has paid the money? I have paid the money. You only talk here. By giving radical slogans, cement does not come up That is why, I think the time has come in this country that all this tall talk should stop Mr. Bhupesh Gupta gives lectures on multi-nationals and nationals. What is happening in Russia? My friend, Mr. Kali Mukherjee has rightly asked him and I also asked him once, "Why are you criticizing here that the country is having collaboration with this multi-national and that international? Why is this done in Moscow also?" Mr Bhupesh Gupta says that ours is a developing country and that theirs is a developed country. In a developed country like Russia, there is a necessity for this collaboration. That definitely shows that the Russian masters of these friends here are also having some commonsense

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : हिन्दुस्तान के लिए अच्छा है या बुरा है, यह सवाल है। मल्टीनेशनल की बात जो वह कह रहे थे वह हिन्दुस्तान के लिए अच्छी है या बुरी ?

SHRI AG KULKARNI Mr Rabi Ray, I will tell you This is the first occasion for you. Whether it is multi-national or international or Indian national, encourage any national whereby production will come out for the benefit of the community. Mr. Bhupesh

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

Gupta will say here, "Don't, encourage multi-national or international." He will not raise voice against Russia. I want loans from neither Russia nor America. I want my countrymen to produce products which will be utilised by the people here.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) आज तो आपका दिमाग बहुत सही मातूम हो रहा है।

SHRI A G KULKARNI. I cannot understand what you say. Because Mr Rajnarain was absent for the last two years, his brain has gone awry. Now I can brain-wash you so that you will also be properly tuned to the atmosphere of productivity which we are trying to create. And I want co-operation for that.

Sir, the point I was making out was that for heaven's sake, these policy conflicts and policy pressurization by this group or that group should not be there in the country. Mr Bhupesh Gupta made a statement on the wheat trade takeover. Whether the Government should do it or not, my Party will decide. Ultimately, in the villages, after this has been done, at least the people are getting wheat, even at Rs 2 per kilo. Previously, it was not available at all. And the prices have gone down. And we, who represent the rural people, are happy that our neighbour is eating something. Because of the policy pressurization that you did, at a time when it was not necessary, the whole difficulties arose for the rural people. And there might have been some or the urban people also and I do not deny that. But, Mr Bhupesh Gupta and his colleagues and anybody who has got radical slogans at his heart should for heaven's sake keep quiet for five years, and let this country prosper. I have got a bit of advice to Mr Niren Ghosh. Giving lectures here is all right but doing work in the field is very difficult.

SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka) Too many of those radical slogans have ended you there.

SHRI A G KULKARNI This is a cap for everybody. Whoever wants it can have it, if it fits him. Otherwise, I cannot help it. Mr Niren Ghosh, your Party will never win elections in this country, you have no hope at all. So, please do not create chaos in the public sector by encouraging strikes.

Whatever has been nationalised is quite enough for 50 years to be trained to manage

properly at least for another 30 to 40 years. Your grand-grand-grand-son if he has a little farm, he will be able to manage well. So, for heaven's sake you take the advice from me and be calm and quiet so that this country progresses within the next 25 years.

Sir, I am now coming to the real last point.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): So, you have not finished.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY) You had said that you would finish at 4.30.

SHRI A G. KULKARNI Sir, I will finish in a few minutes.

Sir, in the small-scale sector particularly there is the necessity of increasing production whether it is cement, caustic soda or anything else. Everywhere there is a shortage. It is not that a shortage of a particular character is there. Sir, you made a reference to the J K technology. This is not a matter where Mr Subramaniam can very much help. It is for the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals to come to our help. But the point here is when are we going to have our new policy, particularly the industrial licensing policy and extension services to the small scale sector? I think that apart from these raw material handicaps and apart from the difficulties of credit facilities etc., ultimately the bringing up and toning up of the administration is also necessary because it is not that Delhi Secretariat alone is responsible for the administration of industrial enterprises. It is ultimately the rural labour, it is the State Government and rural inspector at the District level who is handling the industrial matters who is responsible. I think a subject was discussed in the various small-scale industries boards and a conclusion was reached that the upgrading of the level of the industries inspector at the District level is very much necessary if the management of small scale sector enterprises had to be toned up. The Inspector of the Industries Department must be upgraded and paid for properly so that the extension services can go through in the desired manner. Thank you.

SHRI T N SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are passing through a very difficult economic situation. I do not envy my friend Mr Subramaniam who is in-charge today of the Industrial Development Ministry. What is the position? In 1973-74

there has actually been a recession in industry. Whereas, in the previous year the rate of growth was about 7.4 per cent or 7 per cent, in the first six months of this year, there has been a minus growth—8 per cent growth. This is the position. I am sorry to say that the Annual Report which the administration has put for our consumption is again trying to mislead the people when it holds out better prospects for the coming year. The situation is very bad and the prospects are bad. Power supply is not going to improve, you take it from me. And, raw material supply is also not going to improve. Our balance of payments position is bad and it is going to worsen. What should we do then? It is high time that we gave a second look to all our policies that we have followed so far. I am really at this juncture very much distressed that apart from whatever is happening in the industrial sector, the politicians in power have done the greatest crime of misleading the people. They have talked of socialism which is just nothing but pseudo-socialism. It may have given you votes. But the power you got thereby has been misused. I make that charge openly and categorically.

Now, Sir, the position is that as a result of 25 years of planning the public sector today occupies the commanding heights of the national economy.

This was the objective of our industrial policy in 1948 and as remodelled in 1956 by the 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution and the entire Planning process in India has had this objective. And yet today what is the position? The public sector which today occupies the commanding heights of the national economy is producing only 50 to 60 per cent of its capacity. If the major partner in the industrial sector does not function properly, is not idle to organise production efficiently the economy is going to go down. It is all right for us to blame either Birla or Tata but today it is the public sector which is to blame most for the economic stagnation. I think, if Mr Subramaniam wants to be honest, he should tell the House and the country that this is the position.

We talk of socialism, equality, removing of poverty. But what is the position in the public sector? Public sector industries and the industrial towns where they have been established are like oases in a desert. Go to Rourkela, go to Durgapur, go to Bhilai, go to Hardwar, go to the Heavy Electricals, Bhopal—these

big industrial complexes, what is the position there? Within a radius of five to ten miles there is an affluent community and next door mass poverty is existing in these regions. I have seen all this with my own eyes. And yet we are all misleading the people and saying that this is the way to socialism. State control is no socialism. Bureaucratic control of industries is no socialism. When we nationalise an industry, we say Yes, nationalise it. Shri Bhupesh Gupta always talks 'nationalise' and then what happens. Bureaucracy gets control of the industry and if not the bureaucracy, the Ministry gets the control, none of whom appreciates what the poor man's lot is. I can say, if you really want to improve the poor man's lot you have to come closer to the poor man, by leading a way of life which is closer to the poor. The Ministers, I say today are guilty of talking of poverty etc. and yet trying to lead the most affluent life today. Our bureaucracy here is highly paid, they are all right. Our Government servants even the lowest, they are all right, are comparatively much better off than the landless labourer in the villages. No Government servant even a Chhaprasi today gets less than Rs 250 to Rs 300. The average income of labourer's family in the villages is never more than Rs 150 and that also is said to be of better off section among the landless labourer. This is the position. That is why I say something has to be done urgently and drastically. Prices are rising, inflation is going up at a reckless speed and in such a situation industry cannot prosper, the country cannot prosper. Our balance of payment position is bad, law and order position is difficult, transport is not functioning at all satisfactorily. The Railway Minister Mishra who today, shall say sarcastically, who has earned a very good reputation."

SHRI RAJNARAIN Which Mishra?

SHRI T N SINGH Shri L N Mishra

श्री राजनारायण बिहार में लोग कहते हैं लूट मिश्रा

SHRI T N SINGH Whatever name you give. So, the result is that the Railways are not able to move goods so urgently needed. When the Third Plan was under preparation and I was then a member of the Planning Commission, the Railway Ministry said that they would be required to carry 245 million tons of goods by the end of the Third Plan, calculated that with whatever rate of growth



[ Shri T. N. Singh ]

was not possible that more than 230 million tons of goods traffic would be required to be carried by the Railways at the end of the Third Plan. So I tried to reduce the target. The Railway Ministry was so annoyed that they approached the World Bank. The World Bank team came here and I was put in the dock, most cross-examined, as to why I was reducing the goods traffic target from 245 to 230 million tons. But what is the position today after a lapse of more than ten years. Even after the end of the Fourth Plan actually it should have been called the Fifth Plan—we have not reached the goods traffic target of 200 million tons annually. And the World Bank then interfered, in order that Railways could carry 15 million tons of goods, a special loan of Rs. 250 crores. This is what happened. I say there has been overinvestment in the Railways. Maybe the wagons have not come for which you have paid. That may be. That is another story. The capital invested has been of a very high order with very poor results of transportation and this situation is going to continue. The labour relations today are the worst in the public sector. They are in a very bad way, whether in the Railways or in steel plants or any of the other public sector industries. How can we then improve the level of national production? I do feel that we need of the hour—and I agree with Mr. Kulkarni there—is to have a high level of production and higher productivity. How are we going to have it? Is that possible by just shouting slogans of *garibi hatao* or even saying "Go back to private economy"? That is not going to solve the problem. We have these 25 years built up a structure of modern industry in the country. The needs of the economy are quite different. You cannot go back to the small industries and cottage industries stage.

Today we are very much dependent on foreign collaboration and foreign aid. I am the Minister is also in charge of the Scientific Development. Science and technology developed in India can come to our rescue. I may say—I am saying it from experience—the development of knowhow by our indigenous people, our Indian scientists and technicians, with all respect to them—has not been to our requirements and expectations. That is the most restrained language I can use in that regard. I say, it is possible to become self-

reliant at an early date. But are we attuned for that purpose? In 1965 after the Pakistan war, I had occasion to suggest—I made a speech in Bombay as Industries Minister—that all industries not requiring more than a crore of investment should not require, any licensing provided they can do so without foreign aid and collaboration. It has taken more than 10 years for that policy to be adopted. And why was it not adopted for so long? It is because vested interests were there. It is to the interest of most industrialists to have foreign collaboration because it increases the marketability of their goods, foreign brand names make for easy marketability. Once in those difficult days—even after the Indo-Pakistan war a proposal came to me that I should allow foreign collaboration for cosmetics. I said, how is that possible and it was urged that our elite need better cosmetics. Many industries have been set up all these years to meet the needs of the elite, not of the poor people. What about the general consumer goods? Have we really developed the textile industry to be able enough to produce plentiful cloth at cheap rates, at lower prices than what the rates today are? We have taken over so many textile mills under the Textile Corporation but the record is rather indifferent. If we want to go ahead and meet mostly the poor man's need, if *Garibi Hatao* is really our aim, where is the scope for producing all kinds of superfine and beautiful cloth in large quantities? I remember a case of licensing when I was Minister—Shri Babubhai Chinai is sitting here—I was rather diffident about expanding what is called the man-made fibre industry because I felt the needs of the poor came first. All this fine cloth, shiny cloth as good as silk, is not what the poor man needs. I was very much criticised then. This man-made fibre is a good thing, I do not blame anybody for that but what I say is we have to give priority to the poor man's needs. This Report of the Ministry talks of our having a good agricultural crop next year. It is not going to happen. Fertilizers are lacking, irrigation is not there because there is not enough power to energise our tubewells. The various inputs that are required for agriculture are not available and even in the areas where they are available the farmer is not in a mood to invest more in agriculture. What I want to say is this because I believe Mr. Subramaniam is a practical man and....

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S S MARISWAMY)** You have taken 18 minutes. You must finish now.

**SHRI T N SINGH** Just a few minutes. I believe the agricultural prospects are none too bright, the power prospects are not bright, transport prospects are not bright. Then why should we delude ourselves by saying that the prospects next year are good? May I suggest one thing? Let us have a second look at the various industrial units and industrial programmes and see that every effort is made to produce to the maximum the common consumer goods. That is No. 1; No. 2 is we must produce all that is required for feeding those industries up to hundred per cent of their requirements because we cannot afford to import on a large scale. Spares and components which are imported today should all be manufactured here. We talk of import substitution policy but I say it has never been implemented sincerely.

We must have a definite import substitution policy here and now, we should be firm about that. Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have stated this earlier also. I was a heavy smoker. I wanted to give up smoking. I tried to reduce it, but I was not able to give it up after reducing smoking for a few days I reverted to the old habit. One day I decided to give it up completely and the result was today ten years have gone by and I have left off smoking completely though I was a chain smoker. This foreign collaboration, foreign aid, foreign capital, these are all like the drug habit.

If a nation gets into that habit, it will go on increasingly dependent on foreign aid. The hunger for it will increase. We had been hoping that in the Fourth Plan we would become self-reliant and we would be in the take-off stage. We have had planned development for 25 years. This is the Fifth Plan actually speaking. Now it is being said that in the Sixth Plan we shall have Zero net foreign aid.

**SHRI BABUBHAI M CHINAI (Maharashtra)** That concept they have now given up.

**SHRI T N SINGH** Whatever it is, it is written in the document that is with us (*Time Bell* ring), I am just finishing and I will not take more than a minute. I am sorry and I apologise to the Members of the House if I have taken more time. I will just finish though

I have many things to say. We have to decide to give up foreign aid. China developed industrially because one fine morning it ceased its relations with Soviet Russia and stopped all foreign aid. Russia also in the old days in the twenties, was able to develop because it could rely on itself. We have to tighten our belt. We should live closer to the poor people. I am saying this with a great deal of anguish. We, Members of Parliament, come here and live in great comfort. We are provided with all kinds of comforts and facilities, as compared to the common man. We are far away from the poor man and we forget the poor man. No doubt we talk of him day in and day out. Gandhiji used to say Place yourself in the position of the poor man. Try to live like him. Gandhiji had advised Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru not to live in Teenmurti House. We have all to change radically. It may appear rather not consistent or not very relevant to industrial development, but if we really want to fight inflation look to the common man's need and meet his requirements. The elite have to lead a simple life. The rulers have to come closer to the poor people. Inflation has to be fought and price-rise has to be checked. It can be checked by producing more consumer goods for the common man. This is how it can be done. This is the policy which the Industrial Development Minister should declare from the housetop. Forget all shibboleths which are called socialism, communism and all kinds of things. This is the need of the hour. I would suggest in all humility that this policy may be adopted. There are various other things which I could have said and which I did want to say, but for want of time I am not doing so. I am sorry if I have taken more time than I deserve to take. You will excuse me. Now I sit down.

श्री राजनारायण श्रीमन् जिम दर्द के साथ श्री त्रिभुवन नारायण सिंह आज अपना भाषण किये हैं, मैं उस पीढ़ी का समझ सकता हूँ। श्री भूपेश गप्त ने जा बाग जाल रच उनको जादगरी को भी मैं समझता हूँ। मगर मैं श्री टी एन सिंह जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ यह दर्द का है? हमका उनसे भी ज्यादा दर्द है क्योंकि हमने मुल्क व आजादी के लिये कुछ किया है घर फूटवाया है, भाई-बहन सबधिया का जल कटवायी है और अब भी उसी परिस्थिति में जेल काटता चला आ रहा है।

श्री एन०पी० चौधरी (मध्य प्रदेश) आप अब हूँ ?

श्री राजनारायण मैं श्रीमन्, आपमें निवेदन करना कि हम मदन को इस सदन की मर्यादा के अनुकूल रखने की कृपा करें। श्री टी०एन० सिंह जी की जानकारी के लिये, जब वे बोल रहे थे, हमने चाहा कुछ वाक्यों की रचना कर दें। हम समय विषय हैं औद्योगिक विकास मन्त्रालय और विज्ञान तथा प्रौद्योगिकी विभाग के कार्यक्रम के संबंध में चर्चा। मैं चाहूंगा इसको औद्योगिक विकास मन्त्रालय न कहें। यह मन्त्राधीन दल के लिये कोष और कोष जुटाओ मन्त्रालय है। अब अगर हमका नामकरण मन्त्राधीन दल के लिये कोष जुटाओ मन्त्रालय, यह रख ले तो श्री टी०एन० सिंह की पीड़ा कम हो जायेगी, उनका दर्द कम हो जायेगा। और पब्लिक सेक्टर का बड़ा नाम लिया जाता है, तो उनके लिये भी हमने नामकरण कर दिया कि मंत्री सेक्टर है। मिनिस्टर सेक्टर है यह, पब्लिक सेक्टर नहीं है।

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी यह अपनी डिक्शनरी बनानी है आपने।

श्री राजनारायण यह मिनिस्टर सेक्टर है। इसकी परिभाषा देने में कुछ समय लग जायेगा। अगर हमारे मित्र धीरे-धीरे से सुनेंगे तो इस सरकार का भी हमने नामकरण रख दिया है—उधार सरकार। यह सरकार अन्न उधार लेती है, यह सरकार अर्थ उधार लेती है, यह सरकार मशीनरी उधार लेती है, यह सरकार मशीन उधार लेती है। यह सरकार अब इस में बुद्धि भी उधार लेने लगी। तो यह सरकार तो उधार सरकार है। ता जो सरकार बुद्धि उधार ले, अन्न उधार ले, मशीनरी उधार ले, गल्ला उधार ले, उस सरकार में श्री टी०एन० सिंह इस देश का कल्याण कैसे समझ सकते हैं? इसलिये चाहे टी०एन० सिंह जी हो, चाहे हमारे बड़े भाई महावीर त्यागी जी हो, या मदन के वे सम्मानित सदस्य जिन्होंने राष्ट्र को आजादी में कुछ गवाया है, वे हा, मैं उनमें अदब के साथ निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। आज हमारा राष्ट्र कहा जा रहा है, इसको गंभीरता के साथ मोके इस सरकार की क्या गैर औद्योगिक पालिसी है। मैं कहता हूँ, इस सरकार की कोई औद्योगिक पालिसी है ही नहीं।

श्रीमन्, मैं दो घटनाओं को बता दूँ। ऐसा लगता है पता नहीं क्या—मैं अपने बारे में माफ कर दूँ, मुझे किसी से कोई व्यक्तिगत राग द्वेष है ही नहीं, चाहे वह प्रधान मंत्री जी हो, चाहे गृह मंत्री जी हो, चाहे औद्योगिक मंत्री हो मुबहाण्यम साहब—मगर व्यक्ति की मैं परिभाषा करना हूँ। देखिये, यह जा हमारा त्वका ह, चमडी, इसके अंदर तो हमारा मूत्र है और इसके बाहर मजज है। इस चमडी के अंदर स्व और चमडी के बाहर समाज है। ता यदि कोई मंत्री अपनी औद्योगिक पालिसी को लिखे कुछ और करे कुछ, तो उसका उदाहरण देना, यह व्यक्तिगत माना जायेगा। हमारे बहुत से मित्र उसको व्यक्तिगत मानते हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि उसको व्यक्तिगत न माना जाय। श्रीमन्,

बहुत दूर न जाया जाये। क्या कारण है

5 P.M. कि श्री के०के० बिड़ला उत्तर प्रदेश निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में अपने का उम्मीदवार

बनाये थे मैं चाहूंगा कि मदन के सम्मानित सदस्य अपनी छाती पर हाथ रखें, उसके कारणों को दूढ़ और उसकी रोशनी में इंडस्ट्रियल पोलिसी को खोजें। श्री के०के० बिड़ला को एक वोट नहीं और के०के० बिड़ला खड़े हो गये। गेज गखबारों में चर्चा कि प्रधान मंत्री राजनारायण को नहीं चाहती इसलिये के०के० बिड़ला भेजे गये हैं।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग तथा निर्माण और आवास मन्त्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री श्रीम मेहता) यह तो भ्रम है आपका।

श्री राजनारायण यह हमारा भ्रम हो या भरे मित्र का भ्रम हो।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY): We are discussing the industrial policy.

श्री राजनारायण भूपेश गुप्त बोलें के०के० बिड़ला के नाम का लेकर आप नहीं टोकते, लेकिन हमने के०के० बिड़ला का नाम लिया तो आप कहते हैं कि इंडस्ट्रियल पोलिसी पर बोलें। यही इंडस्ट्रियल पोलिसी है?

श्री बहानन्द पंडा (उड़ीसा) राजनारायण जी, उड़ीसा में वशी पड़ा का कि पने खड़ा किया, यह रबी राय से पृष्ठिये।

श्री राजनारायण श्री के०के० बिड़ला को जब राजनारायण को हराने के लिये खड़ा किया जायेगा और लाखों लाख रुपया बाटा जायेगा विधायकों में तो क्या अब बिड़ला का आदमी लाइसेंस लेने आयेगा तो मुबहाण्यम साहब की हिम्मत है मना करने की? मैं मरकरी पा को दोष नहीं दूंगा, मैं दोष दूंगा महावीर त्यागी की पार्टी का, दो साल पहले

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर (बिहार) के०के० बिड़ला का विरोध किसे किया? कांग्रेस के 51 सदस्यों ने वोटने से अपील की और कांग्रेस का एक भी वोट दूसरी और नहीं जा सक बल्कि चार वाट ज्यादा दूसरी पार्टियों के आ गये (Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण मैं अपने मित्र गुणानन्द का बहुत आभारी हूँ। गुणानन्द जी इस बात को जान ले कि के०के० बिड़ला भेजा ही गया था इसलिये कि दूसरे दलों के बांटों को खरीदो और कांग्रेस में जोड़ो या अपने में जोड़ो और कांग्रेस का जोर बढ़ा ता के०के० बिड़ला की कृपा से बड़ा।

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर यह सही नहीं है।

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण भाई गुणानन्द हममें छोटे हैं, हमारे दल में रह चुके हैं इसलिये मैं उनसे कहूंगा कि सारी पुरानी मान्यताओं का छोड़ें न। (Interruptions) मैं

चाहूंगा कि यह मदन गम्भीरता में इस बात का अध्ययन करे कि दो साल पहले जिन दिन आखिरी दिन था, एक घंटा, अर्ध घंटा बाकी रह गया था नामिनेशन के समय के—समय होने में पहले कर्नल मोहन को प्रधान मंत्री जी कृपा से मध्य प्रदेश सरकार के जहाज पर श्री यशपाल कपूर लेकर जाते हैं और कमलापति त्रिपाठी की सरकार उनका नामिनेशन भरवाती है। जब इतना पक्षपात होगा तब कोई इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी चल सकती है। भाई गुणानन्द जी इस बात को भी बार सोचें। जब कर्नल मोहन लाइसेंस के लिए जायेगा तो सबकी दरखान्ते रखी रह जायेगी और उनको लाइसेंस मिल जायेगा। मुझे अफसोस है कि दिल्ली में कर्नल मोहन को बुला कर उसको इस दुनिया से उठा दिया गया।

श्रीगण, मैं कुछ उदाहरण इसलिये दे दू क्योंकि बहुत सी बातों पर बहुत में लोग बोल चुके हैं। कानपुर में ग्लूकोज का कारखाना लगाने के लिये लाइसेंस किसको दिया गया, यह कारखाना किमका है ? मुद्राहण्यम साहब छोटे उद्योगधन्धे के बारे में बात कहते हैं।

#### (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY): May I appeal to all Members that we have got two more speakers. And then the Minister has to reply. Therefore, please confine to 15 minutes each and do not interrupt him.

श्री राजनारायण इस दबा के कारखाने के मालिक हैं। वीरेन्द्र स्वरूप जी के व्यक्तिगत मन्त्रि के पद पर जो वर्षों से काम कर रहे हैं। वह डी०ए०बी० कालेज कानपुर के प्राध्यापक हैं और श्री वीरेन्द्र स्वरूप कांग्रेस पार्टी से विधान परिषद् के अध्यक्ष हैं। ये कुलाधिपति हैं डी०ए०बी० कालेज के। मैं चाहूंगा कि इसको जांच हो। जब आप पक्षपातपूर्ण ढंग से लाइसेंस दे रहे हैं, नाना, मामा, फूफा, स्वपर को तो क्या यह सरकार कोई लाइसेंसिंग पालिसी चला सकती है जो जनहित में हो ? नहीं चला सकती। इसको टाल करके हमारी वाणी को दबा करके कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। भाई गुणानन्द जी कुछ तो मोचिये।

श्री मन्, विरोध करने की बात मैं आपको कह दू चूंकि गुणानन्द जी कर रहे हैं। हिन्डाल्को में हड़ताल चल रही है। इंडस्ट्रियल डिस्प्यूट्स ऐक्ट के मुताबिक स्टाफ का मामला तय नहीं होता। हिन्डाल्को बिड़ला का कारखाना है। नमाम कारखाने में 12 अप्रैल में तालाबन्दी हो गई है। यहाँ पर नमाम लेबर लाज को जानने वाले लोग हैं। मैं पछता चाहता हूँ कि तालाबन्दी किम कानून के तहत हुई। अगर मजदूर काम पर न जायें तो बिना कानून के आप उनको जेल में डालते हैं। क्या बिड़ला परिवार जेल में गया ? मजदूर बेकार बैठे हैं। उन पर नित्यप्रति

जुल्म डायें जा रहे हैं, उनको सताया जा रहा है। उनके परिवार के लोग बेकार हैं। लेकिन सरकार यहाँ पर कान में तेल डालकर बिड़ला से सांठ-गाठ कर रही है। यह सांठ-गाठ कब तक चलेगी ? यह प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण मैं दे रहा हूँ। कोई है माई का लाल जो मिर्जापुर में जाकर देखे ? हमारे यहाँ मजदूर आये और कहने लगे कि साहब हमारा क्या कमर है, हम तो काम करना चाहते थे, मगर स्टाफ उनकी नीतियों से तग है, वह हड़ताल कर रहा है। जब कारखानों के मजदूर काम करना चाहते हैं तो तालाबन्दी क्यों की गई ? आज तक तालाबन्दी उठाई क्यों नहीं गई ? बिड़ला परिवार या वहाँ के चेयरमैन को जेल में क्यों नहीं रखा है ? क्या यह सरकार बिड़ला की दमाल नहीं है यह सरकार बिड़ला की चेरी है। यही कारण है कि आज बिड़ला खुले आम कानून का उल्लंघन कर रहा है और यह सरकार कान में तेल डालकर बैठी हुई है।

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : सभापति जी, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। माननीय सदस्य कहते हैं कि यह सरकार बिड़ला के पक्ष में है। जब बिड़ला की जमात या इस मुल्क में बड़े बड़े जो लोग थे या बड़ी जमात हैं वह तमाम राजनारायण जी के दल को समर्थन देते हैं उस समय यह नहीं कहते इस बात को। लेकिन ये आरोप यह लगाते हैं तो आप जरा अपनी आत्मा में पढ़ें।

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : के०के० बिड़ला को 1971 के चुनावों में हारने वाला कांग्रेस का उम्मीदवार चौधरी शिवनाथ सिंह था।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, मैं समदोय प्रणाली के जानने में शिशु नहीं हूँ, शैशवावस्था में दूसरे लोग हो सकते हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा इस सम्मानित सदन की सेवा में कुछ और तथ्य रखना चाहता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY): My difficulty is to know whether you are discussing the U.P. election or the industrial policy. I will ask Mr. Raj-Narain to come to industrial policy. Mr. Rajnarain, you have dealt with Birlas, elections, etc. It is better you now come to the industrial policy, please.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): He is referring to HINDALCO.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं माननीय सभापति जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमें यह बता दिया जाए कि ऐसी कौन सी बात हमने कही है जो इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी के निर्धारण में काम नहीं आती।

मैं इस समय बतला रहा हूँ कि इस सरकार की कोई इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी नहीं है। इस सरकार ने इस देश के सारे उद्योग धंधों को बर्बाद कर दिया है और वह मारे उद्योग धंधों को बर्बाद करने के बाद मारे देश को बर्बाद करने जा

[ श्री राजनारायण ]

रही है। इसलिये मैं सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों के सामने आज इन सारी बातों को सफाई के साथ रख देना चाहता हूँ। क्या इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी में हिंडालको की बात नहीं आती? क्या इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी में भारती कंपनी नहीं आती? श्रीमन्, इसी मंत्रालय ने मारुति को लाइसेंस दिया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि

**SHRI D.D. PURI (Haryana)** On a point of order We are discussing today a very specific motion Discussion on the Working of the Ministry of Industrial Development and Department of Science and Technology

**SHRI RAJNARAIN** Yes.

**SHRI D D PURI** I want respectfully to draw the attention of the honourable Member that motor car manufacture is not within the purview of the Ministry of Industrial Development There is another Ministry called the Ministry of Heavy Industry and the appropriate time will be if and when we discuss the affairs of that Ministry

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH** You do not know anything Licences are issued by this Ministry

**SHRI T N SINGH** Whatever may be the administrative Ministry, licences are issued through the Industry Ministry and the issue of licences can always be raised when discussing this Ministry's affairs I am talking very objectively about it

**श्री सुब्रह्मण्यन स्वामी** जो मंत्रालय है उसका दायित्व है लाइसेंस देने का, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि राजनारायण जी को पूरी स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिये उस पर बोलने की।

**श्री राजनारायण** श्रीमन्, यह तो मैं उन सदस्यों को इतमीनान करा दूँ कि मैं खुद अपनी कलम से चिट्ठी लिख दूँगा प्रधान मंत्री साहिब को कि इस सदन के इतने इतने लोग आपके प्रति विशेष सजग हैं आप के आभारी हैं लेकिन वह हमको बालने दे। यह चिट्ठी मैं खुद लिख दूँगा इसलिये कि उन लोगों का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाए। श्रीमन्, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह कौन सी औद्योगिक पालिसी है जिस औद्योगिक पालिसी के तहत मार्च 1973 तक आई०पी०सी०, जे०पी०सी० 700 मीट्रिक टन, पी०आर०सी० 649880 मीट्रिक टन, स्टाकयार्ड 852407 मीट्रिक टन, टी०आई०एस०सी० ओ० 310 122 आई०एस०सी०ओ० 536 000 मीट्रिक टन, टोटल 17668 539 मीट्रिक टन मारुति कंपनी को स्टील दिया गया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या किसी दूसरी कंपनी को इसके अनुसार स्टील मिला है? क्या यह पक्षपातपूर्ण तरीका नहीं है? क्या प्रधान मंत्री का पुत्र होने के नाते यह पक्षपात उनके साथ नहीं किया गया है?

**श्री ओम मेहता** नहीं किया गया है।

**श्री राजनारायण** मारी लोक सभा की डिबेट मैंने लाकर रखी है और मैं आप को बनाना चाहता हूँ श्रीमन् कि

**श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर** माननीय सदस्य के आँकड़े कहाँ के हैं?

**श्री राजनारायण** श्रीमन्, यह है 29-11-73 की लोक सभा की डिबेट। और सीमेट का परमिट, 15600 टन का परमिट मारुति कंपनी को दिया गया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह कौन सी इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी है।

**श्री एन० पी० चौधरी** क्या दूसरी कंपनियों का नहीं दिया गया?

**श्री राजनारायण** सरकार हम को बताये कि किस दूसरी कंपनी को दिया गया? श्रीमन्, मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मारुति कंपनी एक साल के अंदर मोटर को सड़क पर खड़ी करने वाली थी। आज चार साल बीत गये, आप लगातार उस के समय को बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं। क्या? क्या यह पक्षपात नहीं है? और अगर यह पक्षपात है तो उस को कैसे दूर किया जायेगा?

**SHRI D.D. PURI** On a point of order While licensing has been stretched so as to include the Maruti, in this Ministry is the allotment of steel about which we have been given so much detail? By what stretch of imagination is the allotment of steel brought within the purview of the Ministry that we are discussing today?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY)** Strictly speaking, it comes under Heavy Industry; but.

**SHRI D D PURI** Even loosely it cannot come under the Ministry of Industrial Development

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY** The report says that the Ministry of Industrial Development is responsible for the promotion of industrialisation of the country. Therefore, everything comes under its purview

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY)** But not this particular project Project is different

**श्री राजनारायण** श्रीमन् यह सीमेट की बात है। सीमेट 15,600 टन मारुति कंपनी को क्यों दी गई? श्रीमन्, यह मैंने आपके द्वारा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से निवेदन किया। प्रधान मंत्री से मेरा व्यक्तिगत कोई राग-द्वेष नहीं है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री की प्रतिष्ठा को बढ़ाना चाहता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY) I would appeal to all hon Members that it is already 5.15 P.M. There are two more speakers and after that the Minister has to reply. If there is interruption, more time will have to be given to the speaker

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) The Minister may reply tomorrow. After listening to all the speeches today, he can prepare his reply for tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY) It has been decided in the Business Advisory Committee that the whole thing should be over today. We have other important things such as Gujarat and Pondicherry coming. Kindly co-operate with the Chair

श्री राजनारायण मे कुल मिलाकर केवल दो मिनट बोल पाया हू बाकी सब डिस्टर्बेस में जा रहा है। इसको जरा देखा जाय (Interruptions)

अब मैं कुछ इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी पर आता हू। पहले एक्साइज ड्यूटी पर ही आता हू। एक्साइज ड्यूटी पहले एक थी। मगर अब कम हास पावर वाले पर कम और ज्यादा हार्न पावर वाले पर ज्यादा है। क्यों? मेरा सवाल है क्या 'क्या एक्साइज ड्यूटी में कमी और बेसी करने के लिहाज से मारुति कम हास पावर को ता नहीं की गई है? अगर ऐसा है तो माननीय मंत्री जी इसका सही उत्तर दें।

सरकार ने मारुति कंपनी की 100 गाड़िया बुक कर ली हैं जबकि गाड़ी अभी बनी नहीं है, सड़क पर आई नहीं है। टैस्ट हुई नहीं है और सरकार ने 100 गाड़िया आल-रेडी बुक कर ली है। वह क्यों की?

मैं यह कहना चाहता हू कि पावर-कट मारुति कंपनी में कितना, हुआ और दूसरी कंपनी में कितना हुआ? बाकायदा इसका ब्यौरा मदन में दिया जाये। हमारी इन्फार्मेशन, हो सकता है, गलत हो, मगर मारुति कंपनी की पावर-कट नहीं के बराबर है जबकि कंपनियों की पावर कट ज्यादा है।

सेलिंग एजेंसी पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया गया है। मगर मारुति कंपनी की सेलिंग एजेंसी पर प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाया गया, क्यों? क्योंकि उन्होंने एजेंटों के द्वारा, मेरी जानकारी के मुताबिक, करीब 20 करोड़ रुपया यहां पर इकट्ठा कर लिया। क्या यही औद्योगिक पालिसी है।

श्रीमन्, इंडस्ट्रियल लाइसेंस दिय गये। मगर क्या इस सरकार ने कभी इस बात का ख्याल किया कि इसके पास पावर कितनी है? अगर पावर नहीं है या पावर कम है तो इंडस्ट्रियल लाइसेंस क्यों दिये जा रहे हैं? क्या इसलिये

कि जो पैसा दे उसका दे दे और जो नहीं दे उसको न दें। यह इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी में पक्षपात है। श्रीमन्, सैकड़ों उद्योग आज हमारे देश में, हजारों उद्योग आज हमारे देश में पावर की कमी से बंद हैं। सरकार ने इसके लिये क्या व्यवस्था की है?

मैं हिण्डालको के बारे में पहले ही कह चुका हू। मैं यह जानना चाहता हू कि उनकी क्षमता कितनी है और लाइसेंस देने के बाद उनकी क्षमता कितनी रह गई है उसका पूरा ब्यौरा इस मदन में आना चाहिये। अगर आज न दें सके तो कल, परसों या नरसों को जरूर दें दें।

श्रीमन्, ब्लैक के बारे में कहना चाहता हू। यह जो न्यूज प्रिंट है इसमें साढ़े सात सौ रुपये से लेकर एक हजार रुपये टन तक का आज ब्लैक हो रहा है। सीमेंट को लीजिये, दिल्ली में 40 रु० बारी तक सीमेंट बिक रहा है ब्लैक में, चारबाजारी में। आज अगर एक जाच आयोग बैठा दे तो मारुति कंपनी के एजेंट 25-40 रु० तक ब्लैक में सीमेंट बेचते हैं। यह मैं अपनी जानकारी के आधार पर कह रहा हू। श्रीमन्, कोयला करीब 100-120 रु० जिसका सरकारी रेट है, वह 450 रु० टन चारबाजार में बिक रहा है। जा मुझे जानकारी कराई गई है उसके अनुसार इसमें करीब 300 रु० टन ब्लैक प्राइस लिया जा रहा है। हरियाणा में करीब 12 लाख रु० का ब्लैक हो रहा है। इसका भी जवाब मंत्री जी कि चीनी, कपड़ा, रुई, दवा, इसके सघर्ष में क्या औद्योगिक पालिसी है। जब चौधरी चरण सिंह की सरकार रही तो कहा शुगर इंडस्ट्री शुड बी नेशनलाइज्ड—चीनी के उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण करो, यद्यपि राष्ट्रीयकरण सब सरकारी-करण के रूप में परिणत किया जा रहा है सरकार के द्वारा। आज जो प्रगति का नाम लेते हैं, तरक्की का नाम लेते हैं, समाजवाद का नाम लेते हैं, उनसे मैं पूछना चाहता हू क्या उनकी जीभ कटी हुई है, अब क्यों नहीं कहते कि चीनी के उद्योग को राष्ट्रीय-कृत कर दिया जाए।

पावर हैडलूम आज बिलकुल समाप्त हो रहा है। मैं उस इलाके से आता हू जहां पर करघा चलता है। आज करघे का उत्पादन नहीं हो रहा है। मैं त्यागी जी से जानना चाहता हू क्या माधो जी ने हमका करघा चलाना नहीं सिखाया था? हम छोटे छोटे बच्चे थे, अपने ढग से सूत कात कात कर पहनने के लिये कपड़ा बनाते थे। औद्योगिक पालिसी के मानी क्या है, जिस पालिसी में निरंतर बेकारी और महंगाई बढ़ती है, जिस पालिसी में निरंतर गरीबी बढ़ती है, जिस पालिसी में निरंतर भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY) Mr. Rajnarain, it is nearly half-an-hour that you have taken and you should wind up now.

**श्री राजनारायण** इस देश की कोई औद्योगिक पालिसी नहीं है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, सरकार हमारे सुझाव पर ध्यान दे, छोटे-छोटे लघु कुटीर उद्योग चलाये जायें, बड़े उद्योगों पर यह सरकार आश्रित न रहे। डा० लोहिया की एक स्पीच मैं चाहूँगा मुब्रह्मण्म साहब याद करें, जब ये मिलाई, रुड़केला, दुर्गापुर के बड़े बड़े कारखाने इंग्लैंड की मदद से बनाये जा रहे थे, उन्होंने कहा कि छोटी-छोटी भट्टियाँ बनाओ, छोटी-छोटी भट्टियों में स्टील पैदा करो, बड़े पैमाने पर लाखों भट्टियाँ तैयार करो, देखो कितना ज्यादा स्टील पैदा होता है। एक जगह अगर तुमने 5-10 हजार मजदूर रख दिये, उससे काम नहीं चलता, वह अगर 10 लाख जगह रख दो तो लोगों को काम भी ज्यादा मिलेगा, बेकारी भी जायगी और देश का उत्पादन भी बढ़ेगा। क्या सरकार ने ऐसा कोई काम किया? श्रीमन्, मैं बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश से आ रहा हूँ और दिल्ली और हरियाणा के इलाके से आ रहा हूँ जहाँ फसल आधी हो गई है, खलिहान में पानी नहीं है, क्योंकि जिस समय पानी देने की व्यवस्था थी उस समय बिजली नहीं थी, नल-कूप नहीं चले हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में आज दाना नहीं मिलेगा। 2 महीने बीतने दीजिये जून आने दीजिये, उत्तर प्रदेश में 3-4 ६० किलो विक्रो, बिहार में 3-4 ६० किलो मिलेगा। सबको तो 51 ६० रोज नहीं मिलता है। क्या खाये, कहा रहे?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY):** Mr. Rajnarain please wind up.

**श्री राजनारायण** मुझको आप 5 मिनट दीजिये। कोई बीच में बोले नहीं, अगर कोई बोलेगा तो 10 मिनट लूंगा।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY):** Only two minutes.

**श्री राजनारायण** : तो मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहूँगा कि हमारी औद्योगिक पालिसी का कासेप्ट क्या है? हमारी औद्योगिक पालिसी का स्वरूप क्या है, क्या हमारी कल्पना है? लोगों को काम मिले या बेकारी बढ़े? समाज से भ्रष्टाचार दूर हो या भ्रष्टाचार बढ़े? महगाई ममाप्त हो या महगाई दिन दूरी और रात चौगूनी हो? अगर महगाई दिन दूरी रात चौगूनी को तरक्की कहते हैं, समाजवाद कहते हैं, प्रगति कहते हैं, तो यह भ्रूषण गुप्त और प्रधान मंत्री के लिये मुबारक हो, और अगर भ्रष्टाचार को बढ़ाना—समाजवाद का निषेध है, महगाई बढ़ाना जनतंत्र और समाजवाद का निषेध है, तो यह हमारे लिये मुबारक है। श्रीमन्, आज मैं सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को बताना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस सरकार की कोई नीति है। औद्योगिक उत्पादन और कृषि उत्पादन के दाम में कोई सन्तुलन है? गन्ने की कीमत क्या हो और चीनी की कीमत क्या हो इसमें कोई न्यायिक सन्तुलन है? हमारी मांग है कि इंड-

स्ट्रियल पालिसी को इस चीज से जोड़ा जाये कि कल-कारखाने से जा चीज पैदा होती है और कृषि में जो चीज पैदा होती है दोनों के दाम में न्यायिक सन्तुलन हो, अग्रेजी का शब्द ले तो पैरिटी कह सकते हैं। औद्योगिक नीति में दाम नीति आती है या नहीं? आती है। दाम नीति क्या है? हमारा कहना है कि किसी चीज के निर्माण में जितनी कीमत लगे उससे डेढ़ गुने से ज्यादा पर उसकी बिक्री न हो। अगर सरकार ऐसी दाम नीति बनाये तो हमारे देश की हालत सुधर सकती है, लेकिन यह सरकार उस नीति को बनाने के लिये तैयार नहीं क्योंकि यह सरकार पूँजीपतियों की गोद में सो रही है और पूँजीपति कहेंगे कि तुम हमारे दाम पर कन्ट्रोल करोगे तो हमारा असहयोग होगा।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY):** You should resume your seat now. There will be more opportunities tomorrow and the day after....

**श्री राजनारायण** : मैंने पहले ही कहा था कि पांच मिनट तक कोई न बोले। अभी तो दो मिनट भी नहीं हुए हैं।

मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द के साथ बलात्कार करना छोड़ दे। सरकार नित्यप्रति उस शब्द के साथ बलात्कार कर रही है। सरकार तो गवर्नमेंटाइजेशन कर रही है। जो कोयला का राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ है—मैं उसको राष्ट्रीयकरण कहने से अपने को दूर रखता हूँ—नब जो कोयला तीन रुपये में बिकता था वह जे० सी० कुमारमगलम, लेट कुमारमगलम के भाई के जनरल कन्ट्रोलर बनने पर 10 रुपये से 18 रुपये तक बिक रहा है। यह पालिसी जनहित-विरोधी है। यह राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं है, इसलिये राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं होना चाहिये।

डा० लोहिया ने 62 के अप्रैल-मई महीने में ट्रस्टीशिप का सुझाव पेश किया था।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY)** There are two more speakers.

**श्री राजनारायण** उन्होंने कहा कि 15 लाख से ऊपर के जितने कर्नल हैं उन सबको ट्रस्टीशिप के अन्दर ले लेना चाहिये। उस ट्रस्ट में 5 प्रतिनिधि उपभोक्ताओं के हों, 5 प्रतिनिधि सरकार के हों जिसमें से 3 केन्द्र के हों, 1 राज्य सरकार का और 1 कारपोरेशन या म्युनिसिपैलिटी का जहाँ वह कारखाना बने। इस प्रकार उपभोक्ताओं, मालिक, मजदूर और सरकारी प्रतिनिधियों को लेकर एक ट्रस्ट बना दिया जाए। मैं चाहूँगा कि डा० लोहिया के ट्रस्टीशिप के सिद्धांत को सरकार मूर्त रूप दे जिससे सरकार देश का उद्धार कर सके, महगाई को रोक सके, भ्रष्टाचार को मिटा सके, गरीबी और बेकारी पर काबू पा सके, बरना इस सरकार के लिये जो जनता का विस्फोट होगा उसको रोक पाना असम्भव हो जायेगा।

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH** Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, the root cause of the economic crisis is that the entire policy of the Industrial Development Ministry and the Government is directed towards nourishing and fattening the monopolists, Indian and foreign, ruining the country and ruining lakhs of medium and small entrepreneurs. This is a relation between the big business and the Government which is inseparable like lips and teeth.

Let us begin with the Prime Minister's Address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1972

" Your address for one thing had many new ideas. It was a forward-looking address and I think that this year we start on a more cheerful note of cooperation and what I hope is a sounder basis for a fruitful dialogue on the direction in which our economy should move. Your statement that the members of your Federation are in accord with the 'socio-economic objectives to which Government policies are directed' is very welcome. "

There is no difference between the big business and the Prime Minister. This is the Welcome Address at the FICCI.

Now, shall I tell you another thing ?

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V B Raju)  
in the Chair] :

The Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the biggest Chamber of the foreign business to which the Governor-General as the Viceroy used to make his most important annual speech issued a secret circular to their constituents in 1973 stating that the new industrial policy of the Government has been hammered out in consultation with this foreign dominated Chamber. That is where the Government and the big business stand. Now, Sir, I will give you certain figures. You have said that this policy is for the overall balanced industrial development of the country, to develop a self-reliant independent economy, to remove disparity and to give employment. But the policy has been directed just in the opposite direction. You will notice this from the figures that I am quoting. Total industrial licences to 20 larger houses during the last 3 years were 247. But, of which only 27 licences were given for 'the overall balanced development' of the backward regions. They don't really touch the backward regions. The West Bengal Chief Minister has been constrained to say that during 1973, Maharashtra

had received 899 letters of intent and 596 industrial licences which were more than what was given to all the eastern States taken together. This is how the industrial licensing policy is directed. It is directed towards the western region only deliberately and all the backward regions have been neglected throughout. Of Course, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray gives a twist. He wants some industrial licences for the monopolies that are based in Calcutta to which we are opposed. He said that if that policy was continued, the entire eastern region would come down and along with that, they would drag the entire country. This is how the industrial licensing policy is directed.

Now, I will say that you should study figures from the Reserve Bank of India regarding the fabulous and fantastic growth of the larger houses. Even then, industrial production is stagnant. Why? Assets have been fantastically increasing and the industrial production is stagnant. The number of licences to them is increasing every year. There are figures to show that. It is not because of lack of licences that the production is stagnant. The reason is somewhere else. The reason is that these larger houses give under-valuation of the turnover and over-valuation of the production costs. This is the source of black money, and that is accumulation of black money deliberately made by showing the production costs high and turnover low. So, large amounts just go into their pockets. And you see the profit-making by these companies. I will give the gross profit figures for three years—1970-71, 1971-72 and 1972-73 in respect of 327 companies. In the first year, the gross profits were Rs 554.90 crores, next year, they were Rs 592.56 crores, and in the third year, they were Rs 602.17 crores. The gross profits are increasing. The profits after taxes in respect of the first year were Rs. 424.20 crores, Rs 444.88 crores in the second year, and Rs 447.92 crores in the third year. The retained profits were Rs 151.35 crores, Rs 147.83 crores and Rs 137.69 crores respectively. So, the major amount of profits has been distributed as dividends, bouns, shares, etc. Nearly Rs. 200 to Rs 250 crores have been distributed each year as dividends, as bouns, shares and all that. And the growth rate of big business has been fantastic. And licences are there. But the industrial growth is stagnant.



[ Shri Niren Ghosh ]

Now, Sir, I will give another figure—the growth rate between 1964 and 1971. In respect of the Birlas, it was 75 per cent, 210 per cent in respect of the Imperial Chemical Industries and 300 per cent in respect of Mafatlals. There is a fantastic growth of the big business, yet the industrial production is stagnant. And 75 larger houses dominate the entire industry. The foreign capital invested in the private corporate sector is Rs 2000 crores. In the corporate sector, they are holding the strategic heights. Moreover, Sir, what is this policy of industrial development? Mr P N Haksar, in an unguarded moment says that the entire policy of the public sector is designed to subserve the private sector. That is the policy of industrial development that is being followed. And that is Mr. P N Haksar, ex-Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister of India. Then Sir, it was said that steel prices have been equalised. Nowhere in the world has such a policy been pursued. Coal has been subsidized for long distance haulage. What was the reason given for that? An overall balanced development and growth of India as a whole.

Sir, the figures that I have quoted and the statement that has been made by the Congress Chief Minister of West Bengal prove clearly enough that equalisation of steel price and subsidy on coal freight has not and will not serve the purpose. The backward regions will remain backward. Only Maharashtra and Gujarat will have industrial growth, but the poor continue to be exploited there all the same.

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM West Bengal is the worst sufferer

SHRI NIREN GHOSH It is your Congress State. That is the difficulty. Since he has raised the question, I will give some figures. The decline in the industrial development in West Bengal began in 1957 and during the following decade, between 1957 and 1967, before the U F Government came to power, the State could obtain only 1100 and odd industrial licences as against 4000 and odd by Maharashtra and 3010 by Gujarat. Corrective steps to eliminate this distortion were promised in 1970 by Prime Minister, Mr. Indra Gandhi.

But, the trend persisted. For instance, in 1971, West Bengal obtained 58 letters of

intent is against 244 by Maharashtra and 104 by Gujarat. The figures for 1972 were 47 for West Bengal, 197 for Maharashtra and 95 for Gujarat. Again, during the period between January 1973 and January 1, 1974, West Bengal got 62 letters of intent and 41 industrial licences as against 240 and 170 bagged by Maharashtra and 98 and 75 by Gujarat. So, this is clear. This policy of steel equalisation price and the coal subsidy on the coal freight charges do not serve the purpose of balanced development. It has been deliberately distorted. This region is far away from the industrial raw materials sources. It involves a tremendous cost to the country, but no balanced development of India.

What about the hire-purchase scheme to the small entrepreneurs? The entire thing has gone to Maharashtra. Bihar has not got anything. May I know from the hon. Minister, Mr. Subramaniam, why Telco was given licences for Maharashtra and not Bihar after Rs 80 crores of compensation money of Tala's Central Bank of India were allowed to augment Telco's capital—the under-developed State Bihar was deliberately neglected. It is from Bihar that Telco has earned its profits and is continuing to earn profits.

As regards Philips I will talk about it on another occasion. But, something I should say now, as to how it is dealt with. Two letters from the West Bengal Government, not from your Government, from Governor A L Dias and S S Ray say that Philips have shifted part of their manufacturing activities without authorisation from West Bengal to Maharashtra. This is how the Company has been encouraged and permitted to expand but outside West Bengal by this Industrial Development Ministry. This is the charge I make. There is a letter from S S Ray Government of West Bengal charging that Phillips Ltd's licences for Maharashtra's have been pre-dated in order to issue several licences for the Philips manufacturing units in Maharashtra and a forged document was used. That is the charge of the West Bengal Government of the Congress Chief Minister, S S Ray, and I should like to say in this connection that a false statement was given to me in this House when I put a question. The question raised by me was whether the employees Philips gave any letter to the Prime Minister's Secretariat that Shri V M Nayyar and Shri

Ramaswami, the officials on the negotiating team for seven year expansion programme of Phillips Ltd have been illegally entertained by Phillips of their expenses in Europe. They said that no such letter was received by the Prime Minister's Secretariat. I have been given a copy of the letter and I have sent it to the Prime Minister. Then again another employee wrote a letter to the Prime Minister and gave a copy to me. I have sent that too to the Prime Minister. I have again written to the Prime Minister but I have not received any satisfactory answer so far. These two officials are corrupt officials and are encouraged and abetted by this Ministry. The two officials are V M Nayyar and Ramaswami. This is how things are happening.

As regards small entrepreneurs, 1000 applications were received from Bihar and they were allowed 3. There were 23 applications from Maharashtra and they were given double i.e., 46. This is how you develop backward areas.

I call for the abolition of steel equalisation price or the basic industrial raw materials including petroleum products, oil, cement, cotton, oilseeds, i.e., must be equalised.

This is a discriminatory policy that you are pursuing. I make this accusation openly and clearly because you have been permitting them for over a long period of time. We have got to balance development as a whole. But you are disrupting the economic fabric of India, that is what you are doing.

*(Time bell rings)*

Then, Sir, he has given a false statement in the Annual Report that is placed before the country. But the Economic Survey of the Finance Ministry says exactly the opposite of what Mr C Subramaniam has said in his review. He has promised better prospects and growth rates. I can quote if there is time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) You need not.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH Yes, I will. He took half an hour. No, I won't listen this time. This favouritism I am not going to entertain.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN You always co-operate with the Chair.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH I will have my time—and adequate time *(Interruption)*

This is what the Report says.

"An adequate and timely monsoon has presaged a wellcome revival in the production of a number of agriculture-based industries such as cotton textiles, jute manufactures, sugar and janspati."

This is absolutely false. The Economic Survey says just the opposite, except sugar, every industry has registered a decline. This is the Report of the Industrial Development Ministry.

Then again, I should say, out of the 56 big firms of large houses the illegal expansion of whose capacity they have allowed, 16 are foreign firms. All are big monopolists. And there is the Sarkar Commission which is supposed to investigate into the malpractices of industrial licensing brought out by the Dutt Committee Report, and it is going on and on. But these 56 firms which have expanded their installed capacity have been regularised. These are all big concerns. I can read out the names but it will take a lot of time and so I am not doing it. But 16 of these are foreign firms and this is the policy *(Interruption)*. If any poor worker or poor employee had been guilty he would have been sacked but here monopolists are being rewarded for violation of law and nobody knows what will happen.

During the past three years you have approved 500 foreign collaboration agreements. This huge list you must have seen. But these are not subject-matters of inquiry. Each and every year, in the name of technical know-how which can be indigenously produced, they are sanctioning foreign collaboration and foreign capital is now dominating our economy. That is the pass it has come to. I will now give certain facts.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) You make your last point.

SHRI O P TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) Let him take his full time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) He has taken his full time.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH Forty per cent of the production of biscuits is by Britannia which is a foreign concern. Total production is 62 to 72 thousand and Britannia's is 25,000.

[ Shri Niren Ghosh ]

In 1971 total production was 64,000 out of which Britannia's was 26,000; in 1972, out of 69,000 Britannia's was 29,000. Whereas every bakery is starved of flour and wheat, where from is this foreign monopoly procuring this much amount of wheat and flour? What does the Industrial Development Minister say? It shows how he is favouring this company.

An inquiry has revealed that Colgate has been selling not only what the company produces but also a few products which it gets manufactured in other units and allowing such products to be sold under its own brand name. While these products are manufactured for Colgate by outside agencies with indigenous raw materials the company reaps unreasonable profits to the detriment of the consumer and small units which produce such products. This is the Industrial Development Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) And lastly

SHRI NIREN GHOSH Again, cosmetics, tooth powder, facial cream, shaving cream, hair oil, shampoo, brilliantine, etc., are supposed to be in the small-scale sector. But what happened? Annual installed/sanctioned capacity of Colgate-Palmolive as reported to the Ministry of Industrial Development, that is, quantity per annum in kilos is shown here

Tooth Powder	2,72,160
Tooth Paste	5,60,687
Face Cream & Snow	81,648
Powers & Talcum	7,89,320
Hair Oil & Shampoo	9,47,112

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) : What is the use of giving all these details?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH These are the sanctioned capacities. They have trebled their capacity. From 2 lakhs it has gone up to 14 lakhs in the case of tooth powder. With not a single pie of foreign investment they are carting away profits to their country of origin. It is a hundred per cent American Company and how could all these things happen without collusion between the officials of the Industrial Development Ministry or the Minister himself? How can this happen? How can the service charges payable to the parent company in America rise from 500 to 5000 dollars? How did the Reserve Bank of India approve of this.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI . What is that document you have got?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH If you are challenging I am prepared to place it on the Table of the House.

(Interruptions)

Then the Departments which are supposed to buy from the small scale sector have not done so e.g. the Defence department. This is how you are running the show. In the name of diversification larger houses, Indian and foreign, have been allowed to enter the fishing industry. Union Carbide, a multi-national company, has entered the fishing industry. It is a disgrace. This multi-national corporation is charged with violation of foreign exchange regulations; it has also been alleged that this company is engaged in spying activities in the Indian sea coast in the name of fishing. Yet this has been done and thousands and thousands of fishermen have gone out of employment. So the entire thinking is utterly wrong. I say it is a right reactionary policy. The whole thing is weighted in favour of the monopolies and monopoly is the source of right reaction. I say that right reaction is thoroughly entrenched in this Government headed by the Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi. There is some right reaction, I agree outside the Congress but it is the Congress Government which poses the greatest danger to the peoples of India. They have brought this country to ruin through their industrial policy. I think you can never get the co-operation of the backward States the way you have dealt with them. The entire policy of industrialisation has to be thoroughly changed.

One word more. Mr. T. N. Singh has cited China. I say for an under developed country Korea, China and Vietnam are the best examples. You have now a dependent economy, a thoroughly dependent economy, monopoly-dominated economy, anti-national economy which is spelling ruin to the country bringing economic stagnation, inflation and all that. The industrial development policy that has been pursued so far is reactionary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) All right, that will do. You have exhausted your vocabulary.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH This is the self-reliance which is being built. Production is increasing annually, but that is not on the path of socialism. You take a lesson from those countries whereby

you are selling our country to the monopolists, Indian and foreign, hand and foot. You have brought the country to ruin.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) You are repeating.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH Your Ministry is one of the principal Ministries which are responsible for all this corruption that I have cited, for the distortions and for the favouritism that has been practised. That is how they have neglected the backward States like Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, particularly eastern U.P. This has been done deliberately and you have come to this pass. So I call for a change and end of monopoly. No more licences to these monopolies should be given.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) Thank you Mr. Babubhai Chinai.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH If the right reactionary policy that is pursued by the Government is not changed and completely done away with, we are heading towards chaos and nobody can prevent it and it will go to the credit of this Government and to this particular Minister who, at the dictates of the World Bank and the Americans, devalued the currency, along with Shri Asoka Mehta, in those days. He is the blueboy of the monopolists.

SHRI BABUBHAI M CHINAI I am thankful to you for calling me . .

श्री राजनारायण : एक सवाल साफ हो जाना चाहिए। मे समझता हूँ कि इसका जवाब ता परसों होगा। मंत्री जी को शायद बही मूट करेगा इसलिए भाप बाबू भाई बिनाई जी को खुद बोलने दीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) The point is this. Please hear me. This discussion is under rule 176 and the debate must be concluded on the same day. It cannot be postponed.

श्री राजनारायण ऐसा नहीं है। यह रूल का राग इन्टरप्रिटेशन है।

SHRI T N SINGH Let me make my submission. The whole House sitting here is after all the supreme authority and, if with the consent of the Minister, it is agreed for the convenience of the Members of the House that the Minister shall reply a day after—not today and not tomorrow—where is the objection? We want to hear him. At this hour it is better that he does not speak.

श्री राजनारायण : जिन बातों को हम लागो ने उठाया है मंत्री जी का उनका जवाब ता देना चाहिए।

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) If Members had kept to the time-limit we could have finished this discussion.

SHRI BABUBHAI M CHINAI Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir I promise that I will adhere to the time-limit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V B RAJU) I have not referred to you.

SHRI BABUBHAI M CHINAI I am giving you an assurance. Sir, I am glad that Government have created a separate Department of Science and Technology. In our country the development of science and its application is vital for the industrial growth. I am going to speak only on the Department of Science and Technology. In our country the science policy has had a chequered history. During the British regime, there was slow transition of scientific knowledge, despite close and long contacts with European science during its very creative period. In post-independence period, the national Government led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru firmly believed that science and technology held the key to industrialisation and set up a chain of national research laboratories. But industrial research laboratories were established at a time when there was no genuine or precise appreciation for them. Neither the givers nor the receivers knew what to do. The Scientific Policy Resolution introduced by Pandit Nehru in Parliament in 1958 merely indicated Government's firm resolve to support scientific and technological effort in the country. It did not, however, specify any target nor did it suggest any operational strategy. It was more like the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Constitution. However, since the enunciation of the Resolution, the scientific empire grew rapidly and extended to every conceivable field of human knowledge. At the policy-making level, scientific activities were more and more institutionalised. While a Scientific Research Division was created in the Planning Commission to integrate scientific and development plans, there was little coordination of scientific activities within the framework of the National Plan and was mainly concerned with formulating research schemes of the CSIR and allied institutions. Similarly, the Scientific Ad-

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai]  
visory Committee of the Cabinet continued to work on *ad hoc* assignments until the Committee on Science and Technology was set up in 1968. This body worked with wider terms of reference and instituted a number of study groups in selected areas of scientific and industrial research. The Committee no doubt attempted to develop some tentative guidelines for R&D activities and the establishment of a high-powered body, namely, the National Committee on Science and Technology in 1972 to prepare a comprehensive science and technology plan for the country was a step in the right direction. The creation of a separate organisation of science and technology was with a view to specifically end the isolation and irrelevance in which science and technology has been fostered hitherto.

Despite the impressive infra-structure for science and technology built up over the past 25 years, our national science policy is still under disarray. It has been a dismal affair, patronised by Government, managed by bureaucrats, and neglected by industry. The Research has so far been an esoteric exercise, patents and publications being the main yardsticks of its achievements. Commercial utilisation of products and processes, though not actually frowned upon, received low priority in the research programmes. Links between industry and research are still very weak.

In the absence of distinct tasks, science policy was distorted by the pressure or personality of those at the helm of scientific affairs. The resulting situation has been well summarised up by the National Committee on Science and Technology, as follows :—

“There has been no explicit policy on the level and allocation of funds for scientific and technological activity, well over 80 per cent of which is funded from the Central Exchequer. Each agency has submitted its proposals to the Planning Commission; the Commission has apprised them primarily from a financial point of view, endorsed the plans largely unmodified and recommended their funding to Government. Government in turn, has accepted these recommendations and taken them to Parliament which, in large measure, has been generous and voted the funds asked for. In sum, the overall funding of scientific research has been decided more by the absorptive capacity

of the agencies and institutions concerned than by considerations of the economic or social importance of the fields.”

I hope this sort of a situation will not be allowed to develop, since we have a separate department for science and technology. Its primary tasks should be to plan and develop science and technology in the country and its commercial utilisation. It should lend its energy to the co-ordination of various science and technology activities in several sectors in the country.

The real problem faced in India regarding R & D are very different from those of developed countries like Japan due to the differences in the state of their economic development. I feel that it may not be proper to measure the problems as are faced in India with the same yard-stick applicable to other countries. While fundamental research is of course important in so far as India is concerned, the R. & D. efforts of industry should take into account the two main elements of national policy, namely that of self reliance and employment and all efforts directed towards meeting those two objectives. Some major areas of research and development can be identified with reference to these objectives and one of them easily is import substitution. There is tremendous scope for undertaking R. & D. in the field of scarce raw materials, the development of which can bring in considerable foreign exchange savings. Similarly, all effort should be devoted to find the use of alternative fuels as the oil crisis is going to be severe. Process development, optimisation of capacity and product improvement, are all essential aspects of developmental work in an industrial organisation. By and large, the entrepreneurs are concerned mainly with the increased efficiency and productivity of the resources employed, and as such, these should form major objectives of the R. & D. efforts.

This brings us to the importance of applied research. Applied research and its-end product technology, naturally, depends on the stage of development of the economy and has to be related to the specific requirement of each industry.

In the ultimate analysis, applied research means not only the development of processes and know-how, but also the design and plant engineering necessary to translate such know-

how into actual production on a commercial basis. In turn, this again means that the fruits of research appropriate and suitable for industries, at particular points of time will have to be tried out on pilot plants and then developed further to be sold as complete plant design incorporating the process. This is, of course, a specialised function that can be undertaken by only specialised agencies having the necessary expertise and engineering and designing capabilities.

There has been a lack of communication between research institutions and design engineering firms necessary for the commercialisation of research results. Nor is there an effective plan for selling the research results to industry by the research institutions. A process becomes economically meaningful if it is accompanied by the plant design and engineering. Even where foreign technology is imported, in most cases, the necessary plant and equipment also had to be bought from the suppliers of technology. The dependence on foreign equipment can be greatly reduced if design engineering capacity is adequately developed within the country.

In so far as research within industry is concerned, it is a continuing process depending on the capacity, resources and needs. The R. & D. efforts can, however, be made to step up by some suitable adjustments in the various policies such as industrial and import licensing. Laboratory research; pilot project experiments, commercialisation, etc. are various steps towards one goal and they have to be pursued to the logical end. Faced with difficulties in obtaining foreign collaboration, some entrepreneurs have successfully developed indigenous know-how. But it is here that difficulties are often faced. There have been cases when by the time indigenous technology was developed, the entire capacity in industry was supposed to be licensed and the parties spending their time, labour and money on research and development were being left high and dry. I suggest that wherever the firms have their own R. & D. facilities and wish to establish capacity based on their own research results, a liberal view of licensible capacity should be taken and parties should be issued industrial licences irrespective of the fact that for the time being the capacity has been fully licensed.

Undertakings which have their own research programmes should be sanctioned necessary foreign exchange for importing such equipment and machinery as may be considered necessary to enable the use of indigenous know-how.

For the import of scientific equipment, designs and drawings, a certain amount of free foreign exchange should be made available as this will do away with the need to make such imports against tied loans or foreign exchange available through financial institutions. Similarly, whenever any research institution imports any equipment for the purposes of research, no import duty should be levied.

Finally, research institutions are very important. Allocation of sufficient funds is equally necessary to carry on research. More important than all is the environment that is provided to the scientists to go ahead with their tasks. In my opinion, our scientists have been working in indifferent circumstances. They are all geniuses, whether we like it or not. Therefore, Government should create a congenial atmosphere and give sufficient incentive to carry on research work. Thank you.

**SHRI D. D. PURI** . Sir, I have a submission to make. As far as I have been able to read the rules, there is no provision that a debate under Rule 176 has to conclude on the same day. There are only two provisions and we have observed both of them in the breach. Rule 177 says that the maximum time that may be allowed is 2½ hours. We have now debated it for four hours and ten minutes. Rule 179 says that the Chairman may, if he thinks fit, prescribe a time limit for speeches. Both we have observed in the breach. My submission is that Members have made suggestions for a period of over four hours and if we expect the Minister to deal with all the observations or even most of the observations, it would be only fair if he takes at least one hour. Therefore, the respectful suggestion that I am making is that the reply of the Minister may be held over till the day after tomorrow.

**SHRI OM MEHTA** . No, Sir. Generally it is the practice that it is finished on the same day.

**SHRI T.N. SINGH** . The House can decide.

**SHRI OM MEHTA** : All right, let the House take a decision.

of the parties agree and the House agrees that they would complete the business in the allotted four days' time, I think we can consider it.

**SHRI OM MEHTA** Yes, on Thursday we will be having the other Ministry for discussion. On that day the working of that Ministry will have to be finished and before that the reply of the Minister will be there.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU)** If the Members had kept to their time, we could have finished it to-day. I do not think we will have this complaint the next day. Parliament shall not shirk sitting for more time. But anyhow, I would like to take the consensus of the House. Is it the pleasure of the House to have the reply of the Minister on a subsequent day ?

श्री राजनारायण ठीक है ।

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) . The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow

The House then adjourned at fifteen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 23rd April, 1974.