

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL AND MINES

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा (मध्य प्रदेश): मान्यवर, स्टील ऐंड माइन्स मिनिस्ट्री किसी भी देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था का एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग होती है। किसी भी देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था का सुदृढ़ आधार स्टील ही हो सकता है और इस के लिए देखा जाता है कि उस देश के पास स्टील बनाने की क्षमता कितनी है और आज तेल संकट के समय पावर पैदा करने की क्षमता के रूप में कितना कोयला विद्यमान है और उस देश की क्षमता इसी आधार पर आंकी जाती है और उसी से समझा जाता है कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से वह देश कितना आगे बढ़ा हुआ है। इस दृष्टि से देखें तो आज हमारी क्षमता इस क्षेत्र में बहुत नहीं है। इस दिशा में हमने जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये थे उन को हम पूर्ति नहीं कर सके और इस का परिणाम है कि हम इस क्षेत्र में पिछड़े हुए हैं यद्यपि हमारे पास नेचुरल रिसोर्सेज की दृष्टि से काफी संपन्नता है, खासकर कोयले के बारे में हम बहुत संपन्न हैं, हमारी पृथ्वी में कोयला अच्छी मात्रा में उपलब्ध है लेकिन जिस प्रकार अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था सुधारने में हम को उस का उपयोग करना चाहिए वह हम नहीं कर पा रहे हैं और इस के कारण ही आज हमारा देश गरीब देशों की श्रेणी में है और यहां के लोग गरीबी में अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर रहे हैं। यद्यपि हमारी पृथ्वी इन मिनरल्स से भरीपूरी है, लेकिन सब से दर्दनाक चित्र यह है कि जिन क्षेत्रों में यह खनिज सब से ज्यादा विद्यमान है उसी क्षेत्र के लोग सब से अधिक कमजोर और आर्थिक दृष्टि से विपन्न अवस्था में हैं।

उपसभापति महोदय, उदाहरण के लिए मैं आपको मध्यप्रदेश के बस्तर जिले के बारे में बताना चाहता हूं। मध्यप्रदेश का बस्तर जिला, अगर खनिजों की दृष्टि से देखा जाए तो वह देश के अन्यत्त सम्पन्न जिलों में से एक जिला है जहां पर हरेक प्रकार की अच्छी

से अच्छी खनिज विद्यमान है। परन्तु खनिजों के साथ वहां निवासियों की बात आती है। अगर देखा जाए तो वहां के आदिवासी लोग अत्यन्त विपुल अवस्था में अपना जीवन-निर्वाह करते हैं। इस धरती के अन्दर सारी कीमती चीजें दबी हुई हैं लेकिन लाभ की दृष्टि से अगर माना जाए तो लाभ वहां कुछ नहीं होता। देश के अन्दर जहां-जहां बहुमूल्य खनिज हैं उन सारे एरियाज के अन्दर आप विशेष रूप से देखेंगे कि वहां पर आदिवासी ही ज्यादा हैं। चाहे वह बिहार का छोटानागपुर हो, मध्यप्रदेश का छिंदवाड़ा, परासर का इलाका हो या बस्तर का इलाका हो और जो मैदानी इलाका है वहां पर खनिज है ही नहीं।

उपसभापति महोदय, अगर हम स्टील की ही सबसे पहले लें तो मुझे यह अच्छी तरह से ज्ञात है कि देश में आइरन ओर कौ की नहीं है। हम उन देशों में से हैं जो इन चीजों में प्रगतिशील हैं। काफी आइरन ओर हमारे देश में विद्यमान है। माइनिंग कमेटी के अन्दर उपसभापति महोदय मैं गोवा गया था तो मैंने देखा कि वहां हिल टोप पर लोहा अवेलेबल है। वहां लांचिज में डालकर विदेशों को एक्सपोर्ट होता है। उस सारे आइरन ओर को जापान भेजने की व्यवस्था हम कर रहे हैं।

अब आप देखिए कि यू० एस० एस० आर० 115 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन का उत्पादन करता है, यू० एस० ए० 119 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन, जापान 93 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन और बैस्ट जर्मनी 45 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन तथा यू० के० 27 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन करता है और हमारा केवल 6.28 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन ही है। जापान 93 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन का उत्पादन करता है उसके 10 साल पहले के आंकड़े देखें और अब के आंकड़े देखें तो उनमें भारी अन्तर मिलेगा। इधर अगर हम अपने भिलाई, दुर्गापुर, राउरकेला की तरफ उत्पादन की दृष्टि से देखें तो जो हमने लक्ष्य निर्धारित

[श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा]

किया था उस लक्ष्य तक हम पहुंचे नहीं हैं। भारी फैल्योर आया है। मैं खास कर आंकड़े कोट करना चाहता हूँ। स्वयं माननीय मालवीय जी ने अपने स्टेटमेंट में स्वीकार किया। पटियाला के अन्दर श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद जी ने भाषण देते हुए कहा :

“Steel production in the country has fallen by 40 per cent of the total rated capacity, according to the Union Deputy Minister of Steel & Mines, Mr. Sukhdev Prasad.”

आप स्वयं स्वीकार करते हैं कि 40 परसेन्ट स्टील प्रोडक्शन गिरा है। मालवीय जी स्वयं कहते हैं अपने मार्च 30 के स्टेटमेंट में :

“One of the firm decisions taken to increase the production of the coal Mr. K. D. Malaviya's warning that production of finished steel during 1973-74 will be 1.1 millions tons short of the target.”

इस्पात और खान मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद) : मैंने पटियाला में कोई भाषण नहीं दिया। इस प्रकार की कोई जानकारी अगर इनके पास है तो मेरा खयाल है कि किसी और बात पर आधारित होगी। मैं न पटियाला गया और न भाषण दिया।

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : ‘हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स’ में 24 अक्टूबर, 1973 में आपका स्टेटमेंट है। 12 अक्टूबर, 1973 को ‘इकनामिक टाइम्स’ में आपकी स्टेटमेंट पब्लिश हुई है, पटियाला से

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“Steel production in the country has fallen by 40 per cent of the totalled rated capacity according to the Union Deputy Minister for Steel & Mines Mr. Sukhdev Prasad. Addressing the meeting of the steel rerolling manufacturers of Mandi Govind Garh, 40 kilometres from here, he said that the acute power shortage was responsible for the fall in production. To meet this situation, the distribution policy was being revised.”

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद : मैं गोविन्दगढ़ गया था, पटियाला नहीं गया था।

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : अच्छा तो आप गोविन्दगढ़ नहीं गए तो पटियाला गए थे ...

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, हमारा प्वाइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। आप सम्मानित सदस्य को बताइए कि “आप” शब्द का प्रयोग केवल आपके लिए होता है। आपका प्रयोग सम्मानित सदस्य के लिए या सरकार के किसी मंत्री के लिए नहीं होना चाहिए—यह पार्लियामेंटरी पद्धति है। यह आप उनको बता दें। माननीय सदस्य कहें माननीय मंत्री या सरकार, आप शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं करें।

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं कह रहा था सुखदेव प्रसाद जी के स्टेटमेंट के बारे में। क्या आप यह नहीं स्वीकार करते कि स्टील प्रोडक्शन में हम लक्ष्य को नहीं प्राप्त कर सके, कम प्रोडक्शन हुआ है, और फैल्योर हुआ है। इसके बारे में इस दफा मालवीय साहब ने भी कहा था : “During 1973-74 we will be 1.1 million tonnes short of the target.” He was giving warning to the country that we will be short of target. यह हमारे यहां का टार्गेट स्टील प्रोडक्शन का है। यह स्टील प्रोडक्शन के कमिटमेंट्स हैं गवर्नमेंट के—भिलाई के अन्दर 2.5, दुर्गापुर में 1.6, राऊर केला में 1.8, “टिस्को” में 2, “इस्को” के अन्दर 1। इस प्रकार 8.5 की आपकी प्रोडक्शन कैपेसिटी है, उसका भी पूरा युटिलाइजेशन नहीं हो रहा है। यह सब को मालूम है कि जो कैपेसिटी हमारे यहां है वह भी कहीं 65 परसेन्ट, कहीं 40 परसेन्ट, कहीं 70 परसेन्ट, इस प्रकार से जो कैपेसिटी है प्रोडक्शन की, उसका भी युटिलाइजेशन इतना कम हो रहा है, उसका कारण आप और हम सब को मालूम है। आज एक तरफ यह स्थिति है कि कोयले का

मूवमेन्ट नहीं हुआ, कोयला पहुंचा नहीं। जहां तक देश की जनता का सवाल है, जनता के सामने यह नहीं दिखाते—कोयला पूरी तरह से नेशनलाइज्ड है, कोयले का कंपलीट नेशनलाइजेशन करने के बाद आपने कोयले का प्रोडक्शन कितना बढ़ाया है...

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal):
Coal is not entirely nationalised. Tatas have been left out.

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : यह माइनर फ्रेक्शन की बात है। लेकिन आज तो मेजर रेस्पांसिविलिटी सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट पर है जिसने सारी कोयला इंडस्ट्री नेशनलाइज की है। कोई एक टाटा पर विशेष कृपा गवर्नमेंट की है, यह मैं नहीं जानता। लेकिन पूरी तरह से आपने नेशनलाइजेशन किया है। एक ओर स्टील प्रोडक्शन कम है, दूसरी ओर उपसभापति महोदय, मेरे पास समाचारपत्र से एक आंकड़ा है—फरवरी के बाद का यह आंकड़ा है—कि भिलाई के अन्दर स्टील पड़ा रहा, उसका मूवमेन्ट नहीं हुआ, इतना सारा स्टाक इकट्ठा हुआ। इस प्रकार की स्थिति हमारे यहां है जो यह दिखाता है, हमारे यहां प्लान किस ढंग से चल रहा है। यह ता० 8 फरवरी 1974 के हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में है—
Finished steel awaits wagons.

एक ओर प्रोडक्शन कम है, दूसरी ओर उसका मूवमेंट वैगन की कमी के कारण पड़ा हुआ है। कोल पिट हैड्स पर पड़ा हुआ है, लेकिन उसका मूवमेंट होता नहीं है। कोयले का मूवमेन्ट न होने के कारण हमारी इन्जिनी का प्रोडक्शन नहीं हो पाता, इसी कारण स्टील का प्रोडक्शन नहीं हो पाता, पावर प्रोडक्शन नहीं हो पाता। कोल माइन्स में पावर नहीं मिले तो उसके कारण वहां प्रोडक्शन नहीं हो पाता। इस तरह हम एक व्हिस्स सर्किल में घूमते हैं—कोयले के मूवमेंट पर गड़बड़ी, वैगन्स की अवेलेबिलिटी के अन्दर गड़बड़ी और कारखानों के अन्दर गड़बड़ी जितना प्रोडक्शन होना चाहिए उतना प्रोडक्शन कर नहीं पाते, उसका परिणाम सारी इंडस्ट्रीज के अन्दर दिखायी देता है।

अब देखिए उपसभापति महोदय, स्टील की क्या हालत है? बेसिक इंडस्ट्री के लिए स्टील आवश्यक है, उसके आधार पर सारी मशीनरी बननी है। एक ओर स्टील के प्रोडक्शन में कमी है, दूसरी ओर एक भयंकर काला बाजार स्टील व्यापार के क्षेत्र के अन्दर विद्यमान है। मुझे स्वयं अपने इंदौर शहर का मालूम है, वहां एक रोलिंग मिल है, उसके जो मालिक हैं सरदार जी, वे कई हजार रु० प्रति दिन ब्लैक करके कमाते हैं, उनको एक बार जो स्टील का या लोहे का कोटा सैक्शन हो गया, उस लोहे को रोलिंग बनाने की उनको जरूरत नहीं है और समझ में नहीं आता, इतनी सम्पत्ति कैसे उनके पास हो गई कि उसको खर्च कैसे करें। उसका कारण यह है कि उनको जो कोटा अलाट किया गया है, उसका इतना भयंकर ब्लैक मार्केट विद्यमान है कि वे स्कैप को रौल करके इतना माल तैयार करते हैं कि सब बिक जाता है। गवर्नमेंट के कोटा का वह अनुचित लाभ उठाते हैं और करोड़पति बने हुए हैं। पैसे का उपयोग कैसे किया जाय यह उनको समझ में नहीं आता। दूसरी ओर इन्दौर की छोटी-छोटी यूनिट्स हैं जो लोहे का कोटा न होने के कारण—ब्लैक मार्केट से खरीद कर काम चलाती हैं। स्टील के डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन की कोई डेफिनिट पोलिसी न होने के कारण छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज स्टार्ब होती है, वे अपना काम चला नहीं पातीं। ब्लैक से लेने के कारण और समय पर न मिलने के कारण उनका कास्ट ऑफ प्रोडक्शन बढ़ जाता है। दूसरी ओर कुछ लोग भयंकर भ्रष्टाचार के आधार पर सारा कोटा प्राप्त कर लेते हैं। आज भी यह निश्चित नहीं है किस कारण गड़बड़ हो रही है। इसी सदन के अन्दर आपके पूर्ववर्ती मिनिस्टर मिस्टर कुमारमंगलम् साहब ने कहा था कि सारी गड़बड़ी का कारण यह है कि देश में एक स्टील अथारिटी नहीं है, हम स्टील अथारिटी बनाने जा रहे हैं, जो सारे प्लान्ट्स को कंट्रोल करके, सारे रोगों को दूर कर देगी। अब मालवीय साहब आए हैं। उन्होंने

[श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा]

कहा कि इसका कारण यह नहीं है, इस अथारिटी के हाथ में बहुत पावर केन्द्रित हो गई है, इसलिए इस अथारिटी को चेंज करना पड़ेगा, उसकी पावर को कम करना पड़ेगा। रोज ये ऊपर के लेवल पर चेंज करने की बात करते रहते हैं, लेकिन बेसिक परिवर्तन नहीं होता। मालवीय साहब ने 21 मार्च को स्टेटमेंट दिया था —

“Inaugurating a three-day meeting of the top executives of the public sector steel plants and coal undertakings, Mr. Malaviya said : A bold and new approach to identify and rectify mistakes should immediately be adopted. Mr. Malaviya submitted that the companies under the Ministry had become too big and a further restructuring of the organisation under the Ministry might be necessary. They had to shed some burdens and more powers and responsibilities will have to be given to the individual units.”

उपसभापति महोदय, एक मिनिस्टर आते हैं, वे कहते हैं अलग-अलग यूनिट्स की एक अथारिटी कायम करने से स्टील प्रोडक्शन के रोग दूर किए जा सकते हैं। दूसरे मिनिस्टर, जो एक साल के बाद आते हैं, कहते हैं कि इस अथारिटी के पास अधिकार ज्यादा हो गया है, इसलिए वापस इंडीवीजुअल यूनिट्स को अधिकार देने वाले हैं, उसके आधार पर काम करने वाले हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि न स्टील अथारिटी को समाप्त करके दोष दूर किया जा सकता है और न इंडीवीजुअल यूनिट्स को पावर देने से सारा दोष दूर किया जा सकता है। इसमें कुछ न कुछ गड़बड़ है, केवल पावर और अथारिटी का सवाल नहीं है। इससे भी आगे बढ़ कर एक नेशनल ब्यू रखने की बात है। कम्पनी को चलाने के लिए इस प्रकार का भाव रखना होगा कि देश का इकानामिक रिकंस्ट्रक्शन करने के लिए हमें यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी ओर से अपनी शक्ति उत्पादन में लगाएं और हमारे ऊपर बैठे हुए अधिकारी लोग हमारी सुख-सुविधा, हमारी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति

करेंगे, हमें अधिकार देंगे और कार्य-संचालन करने का पूरा मौका देंगे। इसके बिना स्टील यूनिट्स से, जिनके अन्दर हमारा 2 हजार करोड़ का इनवेस्टमेंट है, कुछ भी अपेक्षा करना व्यर्थ होगा।

इन रोगों को दूर करने के बारे में मेरे तीन-चार सुझाव हैं। आज देश में स्टील की जितनी आवश्यकता है और प्लानिंग की दृष्टि से जो आवश्यकताएं हैं, उस दृष्टि से भिलाई, दुर्गापुर, बोकारों की क्षमता बढ़ा कर ही उनकी पूर्ति होना सम्भव नहीं है। स्वयं मालवीय साहब ने अपने एक बयान में कहा और स्वीकार किया कि हमें छोटे-छोटे इलेक्ट्रिक आर्क फर्नेसेज के द्वारा, मिनी प्लांट्स के द्वारा स्टील के प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। डिसेंट्रलाइज्ड के रूप में छोटे-छोटे प्लांट सारे देश में फैला कर, उसके आधार पर स्टील का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा कर देश में जितनी आवश्यकता है उसकी पूर्ति हो सकती है, नहीं तो जो दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण हालत है वह चलती रहेगी। देश का बढ़िया आयरन और हम विदेश को भेजते हैं 450 रुपए टन पर। फिर वही देश स्टील बना कर 1200—1250 पर हमको भेजता है। यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण हालत है। दूसरे कम से कम फिफथ फाइव इयर प्लान के अन्दर हम यह लक्ष्य निश्चित करें कि देश का आयरन और केवल आयरन और के रूप में न भेज कर फिनिश स्टील के रूप में भेजेंगे। एक ओर देश में अनइंफ्लायमेंट है, दूसरी ओर देश की सम्पत्ति को बाहर भेज कर दूसरे देशों के लोग माल तैयार कर वापस यहां पर भेजें और उस पर हम अपना पैसा खर्च करें, यह उचित नहीं है। देश में यह आवश्यक है कि हम एक योजना बना कर अपने ही देश में इस आयरन और को स्टील बना कर भेज सकें, हमको इंपोर्ट न करना पड़े। इस दृष्टि से छोटे-छोटे मिनी स्टील प्लांट्स बना कर जब तक हम प्रारम्भ नहीं करेंगे, तब तक यह कार्य नहीं हो सकेगा।

खास कर में मध्य प्रदेश की दृष्टि से बैलाडीला के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। माननीय मंत्री जी ने वहां की स्थिति देखी हो या नहीं, लेकिन यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण लगता है कि इतना खनिज वहां उपलब्ध है, फिर भी आज वहां के वनवासी लोगों के बदन पर कपड़ा नहीं। बैलाडीला को आयरन ओर का प्रोजेक्ट नहीं मिला। शायद मालवीय जी ने पढ़ा होगा, मालवीय जी बड़े प्रगतिशील माने जाते हैं। अगर उनके हृदय में गरीब के प्रति जरा सी सहानुभूति है तो देखें कि बैलाडीला के आयरन ओर के कारण वस्त्र के लोगों को क्या मिला? उनकी लड़कियों को दो-दो महीने अपने घरों में रख कर छोड़ दिया। आज वह मारी-मारी फिर रही है। उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ। आप स्टील माइंस के मिनिस्टर हैं आप देखें कि जब इस क्षेत्र के अन्दर खनिज हैं, भिलाई के अन्दर भी यही हालत है। दुर्ग जिले में लाखों की संख्या में आदिवासी रहते हैं, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया। बाहर के लोग आये और बड़ी-बड़ी नौकरियों में बड़ी शान से रहे, बड़े-बड़े गेस्ट हाउसेज में शान-शौकत से रहे। लेकिन वहां के लोगों की कठिनाइयां और बढ़ीं। उनके जीवन में अनेक कठिनाइयां पैदा हुईं। इसका लाभ वहां के ट्राइबल्स को कुछ नहीं मिल सका। आप इन आदिवासी लोगों के लिए कुछ कर सकें तो उचित होगा। इसके अलावा बेतूल जिले के पत्थर-खाड़ी की कोल माइंस में भी इस प्रकार की हालत है। ऐसी स्थिति में किसी प्रकार से उनका भला कर सकें तो अच्छा होगा। सरगुजा की कोल माइंस के बारे में वही हुआ, कोरबा के आदिवासियों का झगड़ा चलता रहा, लोग मारे गये, फायरिंग हुई, उसके बाद भी जो कोल माइंस में काम करने वाले मजदूर हैं, उनकी दशा में आज भी परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ। उनको उचित मजदूरी नहीं मिलती। काम करने की पूरी क्षमता नहीं मिलती और खास कर कोल माइंस में जो दुर्दशा मजदूरों की है,

उनकी दशा में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है। मध्य प्रदेश में उमरिया, विश्रामपुर की कोल माइंस के अन्दर काम करने वाले कर्म-चारियों की अत्यंत दर्दनाक हालत है। जब पूरा नेशनलाइजेशन हो गया तब तो कम से कम लेबर की हालत में, उसकी दशा में परिवर्तन होना चाहिए। हम लोग माइंस में गये, माइंस कमेटी में जो सेप्टी के रूल्स हैं वह तमाम बातें कही जाती हैं पर उनको जूते, कपड़े, लाइट और उनके रहने की व्यवस्थाएँ आब्जर्व नहीं की जाती हैं। केवल बड़े अधि-कारियों को दिखाने के लिए सारी बातें उनको दिखाने के लिए की जाती हैं, लेकिन उनको ठीक प्रकार से न बच्चों की पढ़ाई की दृष्टि से, न दूसरी दृष्टि में सुविधाएं दी जाती हैं। उनकी अत्यन्त दयनीय दशा है। सेप्टी रेगुलेशंस का पालन नहीं होता। दुर्घटनायें होती हैं, लोग मर जाते हैं या उनका स्वास्थ्य खराब हो जाता है, उसके कारण उनकी जीवन क्षमता कम हो जाती है। उनके फेफड़े खराब हो जाते हैं, स्वास्थ्य खराब हो जाता है। लेकिन उनका अपलिफ्ट के लिए कोई प्रयास नहीं किया जाता। इस अवसर पर जब आपकी मिनिस्ट्री के वर्क की चर्चा हो रही है, मैं चाहूंगा कि कोल माइंस के वर्कर्स की दशा के बारे में ध्यान देकर उनकी दशा सुधारने का और मध्य प्रदेश में बैलाडीला में स्टील प्लांट, स्टील मिल्स चलाने के लिए प्रयास करें और जापान को न भेज कर मध्य प्रदेश में चूंकि वहां पावर सरप्लस है, स्टील मिल बनाने की कृपा करें। जहां अन्य दूसरे प्लान्ट्स में आप कहते हैं कि प्रोडक्शन इस कारण कम हुआ है और हमारे यहां प्रोडक्शन के लिए जितनी पावर मिलनी चाहिए वह नहीं उपलब्ध हो सकी, लेकिन आपने खुद अपने बयान में कहा है कि केरल और मध्य प्रदेश ऐसे प्रदेश हैं कि जहां काफी पावर उपलब्ध है। तो आप क्यों नहीं वहां पर स्टील मिल्स डालते और ऐसा कर के क्यों नहीं वहां की जनता की उन्नति के प्रयास किये जाते, यह मेरी समझ

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के बाहर है। मुझे आशा है कि मालवीय जी वहाँ के अपलिफ्टमेंट के लिए कुछ प्रयास करेंगे तो अधिक उचित होगा।

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, when we talk of our Steel Ministry we have a mixed feeling. We can justifiably take pride in our steel industry. The public sector steel industry has during the last 19 years provided the infrastructure for a rapid development of our economy. The priority given to the development of the steel industry was Nehru's great vision and he realised that we can defend our freedom and consolidate our freedom only by having this public sector industry. Today we can be happy that among the top hundred industrial giants of India the Hindustan Steel, with its capital investment of Rs. 1,095 crores, is the biggest industrial giant. The one time industrial giant, Tata Steel, is now tenth in that list and the other first nine giants are in the public sector. It is good as far as it goes.

But we have to ask the question : Have we been able to achieve the other purposes of the giant public sector steel industry which we had in our mind ? What changes these big giants in the public sector have brought about in our socio-political set up ? Has it helped the public sector to attain the commanding heights ? Has it served the political tasks which Nehru had visualised for the country ? Has it succeeded in breaking the power of the monopolies ? No.

Sir, so far as the political purpose of the public sector steel industry is concerned, we have singularly failed. We have failed to raise higher the banner which was set aloft by Nehru, and today far from becoming a beacon light in the Indian set up for the advancement of a resurgent India the steel plants have become embodiments of inefficient management and huge financial losses.

The Hindustan Steel, according to the latest figures, is expected to lose about Rs. 25—30 crores in the year ending March, 1974. This happens despite the price hike—it was almost Rs. 300 per ton in September, 1973. On the same day, that is, on 31-3-1974, the production of saleable steel by the five integrated steel plants was about

5,50,000 tonnes less than in 1972-73. And what worries us is—the hon'ble Minister will enlighten us if we are mistaken—the controversy which is going on in the corridors of the Ministry, in the corridors of the Government about what should be the future set up for the steel industry in our country. There are definite proposals, we understand, to split up the Hindustan Steel into Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur to give them autonomy. But at the same time there is another influence which is against it. It should be accepted without any controversy, I think by all of us that for one person to combine the post of the Secretary of Steel and Mines Ministry and the Chairman of the Steel Authority of India is simple

3 P.M. ridiculous. I mean no personal reflection. Whoever he may be, one man cannot be Secretary of the Steel and Mines Ministry and also look after the Bhilai plant, the Rourkela plant and the Durgapur plant. We do not want to create new Czars, economic Czars in this country. I hope our Minister will kindly look into the matter. He is not God Almighty. We cannot over-estimate the capacity of one person. Therefore, one of the obvious things is that we must give autonomy to these various steel plants and we must develop local initiative. Of course, if the necessary perspective is there in the persons sitting in the corridors of the Secretariat in Delhi and in those persons managing the steel plants, if they have the necessary view of the position of steel industry in the public sector in our economy, then there would be no conflict. But unfortunately, the tragedy of our country is that—I shall come to this point later—there are people at top positions who care two hoots about the general objectives and the general perspective which should govern the future of our country.

Mismanagement has reached horrible proportions. As a result of this mismanagement, unutilised capacity for ingot steel was 35 per cent in Rourkela, 55 per cent in Durgapur and 16 per cent in Bhilai during the year 1972-73. For the saleable steel, in the same year the unutilised capacity was 30 per cent in Rourkela, 62 per cent in Durgapur and 11 per cent in Bhilai. Sir, in the course of the 27 years of our independence, we have developed a formula as a panacea for all ills, i.e.

appointment of a committee. So here also, worried by the unutilised capacity, the Planning Commission appointed an Action Committee to recommend measures for achieving near-rated capacity levels of production. We do not know what this Action Committee of the Planning Commission has done, what recommendations it has given. Perhaps it has given some recommendations. Perhaps its reports are lying in certain pigeon-holes. I hope the hon. Minister will enlighten us on this point.

Sir, I must again come back to the point of managerial structure which is most important. The present managerial structure has been found to be totally inadequate. The steel plants have worked as Government departments, nurtured on a cocktail of muddled and interventionist policies. The civilian at the top in the Delhi Secretariat manages the steel plants like a Marwari Bania. We know that once a Marwari industrialist sets up an enterprise, he brings in his cousins, brothers, relatives and friends. Similarly the civilian at the top has more or less tended to behave like a Marwari Bania. Posts in public undertakings, we have to unfortunately accept, have been treated as sinecures for retiring civil servants, as consolation prizes for political caste-offs, and as stepping-stones for friends and relatives of political celebrities and wire-pullers. This is the unfortunate situation. The initiative of the younger men has been ignored. There are younger men, brilliant engineers, brilliant youth, working in these steel industries, who have a desire to work for the country, to develop this country, who are patriotic. But their initiative is curbed because their enthusiasm receives no response and they, after some time, become disheartened and fall into the rut.

In this connection I would like to take your permission to point out the case of a small country, the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea or North Korea, a small country with a population of 1 crore 80 lakhs. After the devastation caused in that country by American bombing during 1950 and 1953 there was one little steel plant left near Pongyong called, if I am not mistaken, Hwang Chun. It was completely destroyed. But not the engineers, the workers—they took the initiative; the

workers were inspired; they were given the necessary political education—and they built up their steel plant from utter scratch. This steel plant was built up and this small country of Korea with a population of 1 crore 80 lakhs today on its own merit, on its own talents, on its own knowhow, is going to produce 12 million tons of steel. We have still to reach the 10 million ton mark. This is a case where people rose from the working class.

Now we have to see our set-up. Officers sitting in airconditioned rooms in big cities, in the capital, in the corridors are not the people who will solve our steel problem. I would only quote from Mr. T. A. Pai. Mr. Pai said some time ago, "Wrong men in key positions in public undertakings and their ignorance of their crucial role were responsible for the non-fulfilment of the economic goals of the Government. All industrial units function as civil service departments without the virtues of a commercial undertaking." This is the predecessor of our honourable Minister, Malaviyaji. He said this. We have civil servants trained by the British. That old generation is passing away and a new generation, the IAS, has taken its place, but this generation continues in the same traditions. Traditions die hard. And this tradition of bureaucratic management has to be broken. What is the present position? Every public sector undertaking has on its board of directors either the Secretary or a Joint Secretary of the Ministry concerned, the Steel Ministry so to say; then one person from the Finance Ministry, one Director from the Planning Commission, one or two experts and some nominees or favourites of those who are in power. And the vested interests in the bureaucratic top at Delhi are successfully frustrating, have been frustrating, have successfully frustrated, every effort to evolve a unified cadre to effectively manage the public enterprise. Up till now there was some kind of a public sector pool or some such thing was set up. It functioned for a year or so and about 1000 or 2000 names were registered. About 250 people were taken and then that pool was allowed to lapse because the vested interests, the bureaucracy on top which is absolutely on top, did not want a public sector cadre to

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya.] develop of a new type. They do not want it. It would not be correct, as has been done by responsible men, by our Ministers and others, it would not be strictly correct, to blame the workers for the loss of production. If we continue to harp on this theme, we will find ourselves in the not so gracious company of the FICCI, the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The loss of mandays on account of industrial disputes during 1973 was less than that in 1972. According to a report, a conference of chief executives of all steel plants which met in the capital in the third week of March, has recorded, and I am quoting, "It is noteworthy that despite this large loss of earnings..." —because of low production they were not getting rewards—they were getting incentive prizes—"...there has been no industrial unrest or work stoppage in any of the steel plants."

So, it would not be correct to blame workers. I must say that the whole country and this section as well as the other section of the House are very much concerned about our steel plants. According to the latest budget there is no money for our steel plants. The budget has provided Rs. 160 crores for the Steel Authority of India. With this 160 crores the Steel Authority of India is supposed to provide Rs. 10 crores a month for construction of Bokaro (*Time bell rings*). Bharat Coking Coal will get Rs. 30 crores whereas it needs Rs. 60 crores. Bhilai expansion needs another Rs. 60 crores. And nothing has been given to it. If this goes on, I do not know what is going to happen to our steel industry. And if our steel industry comes to a dead stop, what will happen to Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, Bharat Heavy Electricals and other public sector units?

There is also a disturbing news about the distribution arrangement for saleable steel. First, of all, a price hike is contemplated. I am sure the hon. Minister will correct me if what I say is wrong. There are rumours of price hike. Price hike seems to be the rule in our country today. The Steel Authority of India has, it seems, a proposal to appoint agents for selling steel. If that happens, we know what will happen. Quite lot of palm greasing goes on in matters of steel allocation. Officers who

are doing this distribution are no fabulously rich. There are such cases. If we talk of such cases, then we are immediately asked to bring up a concrete case. We are not the Government machinery. We do not have CBI to help us. Government should enquire into this. This is the talk of the town among small traders of iron and steel. There is much corruption going on.

I would humbly submit one thing. The way out lies in having faith in our people and in our engineers. The way out is not reliance on our bureaucracy. We should rely on our working classes and the young category of engineers and other technical men.

There is one, Central Engineering and Designs Bureau now renamed as Metallurgical and Engineering Consultants of India at Ranchi. It is also called MECON. There are 1,900 employees in this organisation including 900 engineers. It is here that you should look up for your future leaders of the country and future managers of our industries.

Our honourable Malaviyaji comes to the Ministry after great experience. He has the historical record of putting India on the oil map of the world. We and the country look up to him for certain attainments. We certainly expect of him one thing. We all hope that he would do his best to introduce some form of workers' participation in management. That is the most essential thing. If he does this, then he will have made a great contribution (*Time bell rings*)...

Sir, you have rung the bell twice. I want to say a few points on the coal business. The total coal production after take-over on 31st January, 1971 has increased because the production of coal in the corresponding period of 1972 does not show any fall. There is in fact a marginal increase. But the coal produced has to be distributed to the steel mills and other sectors of the country. According to the present system, steel plants consume about 26 per cent of the total production. This is controlled by the Coal Controller's Organisation.

Then, Sir, the railways consume about 20 per cent and the linking agency for this is

the Coal Mining Advisory Board, the consumers get about 32 per cent and this is done by the Standing Linkage Committee; and miscellaneous consumers including the domestic and the brick kiln owners consume about 22 per cent in the various States and here, also, Sir, we see a number of authorities dealing with the job of distribution of coal. I think this is rather not a very happy arrangement and I hope perhaps the Minister would look into this and bring about some sort of a rational arrangement for distribution. Then, Sir,...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, please. You cannot go on like this. I am very sorry.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: Only one minute, Sir. I am making the last point.

Sir, the coal mines are today a cesspool of corruption. The people there and the trade union workers will tell you that there is a role of the corrupt politicians, corrupt officers, and so on and there are gangs of goondas and corrupt police officers and this is a bottleneck in our entire economy. I hope our Minister will look into this and set things right.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Sir, allegations were made that the information about the coal mines take-over got leaked out,—the late Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam was there as the Minister—he told that there should be an inquiry to find out as to how and why during the last thirty years, inspite of repeated recommendations, the mines were not taken over. So, Sir, it was clear that the coal lobby was powerfully dominating and presiding over the entire economic and political systems of the country and was able to prevent any take-over. Now, after the take-over, the powerful lobby, the coal lobby, is not reconciled to it. The bourgeoisie Press, the monopoly Press, the corrupt politicians and influential men within the Cabinet are out to malign the nationalised sector in the faint hope that whatever has happened to the wheat trade take-over will be repeated in the coal mines also. These people must be regretting now because coal was the biggest generator of black money and they used to share the loot consisting of the workers' wages, their provident fund dues, the royalty, the stowing subsidy, etc. Now

the pipeline is dry and they feel very sorry. Mr. Charan Singh has demanded denationalisation and Mr. G. D. Birla is demanding the denationalisation. I would like Mrs. Indira Gandhi to try handing over the coal mines to the mine owners back and the entire army of Jagjivan Babu will not be able to do it. But that does not mean that we are very happy with the situation or with the Coal Mines Authority under Mr. Chari or with the Bharat Coking Coal under Mr. Wadud Khan an ex employee of the Tatas.

Sir, the situation in the Bharat Coking Co. Ltd. is in a mess and the crisis in the Bharat Coking Coal Ltd. should be given the top priority and attention because of (1) scarcity of coking coal, (2) limited reserves of coking coal and (3) the ever-increasing demands of the steel plants for coking coal. The trouble is, Sir, that the Chairman of the BCC, which is a public sector unit, still happens to be the employee of the Tatas. It is for the Ministry to make up its mind to see whether the Chairman of the BCC is going to serve the public sector or he is going to serve the Tatas, his ex-employer. Sir, I do not minimise the disastrous impact of lack of power on production, shortage of steel for rails, cement, and so on. Nevertheless, the strange phenomenon that we have been witnessing is that while in the Coal Mines Authority mines it is a fact that production is increasing, in the Bharat Coking Coal mines the production has been steadily and continuously declining. In 1971, it was 10.58 million tonnes, in 1972 it was 10.13 million tonnes and in 1973 it has gone down to 9.78 million tonnes. The BCCL officers say that one of the reasons for this fall in production is that after nationalisation, all cases of unscientific or slaughter mining was stopped and that the former managements kept unstowed underground voids over much larger areas than was permissible. This backing backlog and sand-stowing has to be made up. As it is, there is a critical shortage of sand, only four million tonnes being available a year, while the requirement is 20 millions tonnes. I am surprised to find in "The Statesman" of the 26th April a statement that has been issued by one Shri C. Muni-swamy, Administrative Officer in Directorate-General of Mines Safety.

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"In some coal-mine areas, it increased by as much as 500 times after nationalization, and the Director of Mines Safety had to take stringent measures... by ordering stoppage of work...". Sir, this is how they are making a lot of money in collusion with officers. While they show that ten trucks of sand have gone to the mines, actually only two trucks of sand go, and the money is being shared. This has to be inquired into.

Sir, the real danger lies in the fact that old, ex-mine-owners have come back in various shapes and guises—as contractors, as suppliers of timber, electrical parts, equipment—and they know every nook and corner of the coalmines, and they and their relatives are being given contracts one after another. It is most unfortunate. A list which has been submitted to me by the Ministry of Mines in the Consultative Committee shows that a few Congress leaders and INTUC leaders have been given contracts, I do not want to mention names. But this is shocking. This is breeding corruption. This is responsible for poisoning the atmosphere I can give the name of Rajhara in Hazaribagh. Mr. Pande, a very good friend of the Area General Manager, has been given all kinds of contracts. And you will be surprised to know that even a tender was not called for.

Last time, in connection with a Calling Attention Motion regarding mushroom growth of beehive ovens, Mr. Malaviya was angry. He said, "This is very wrong; I will take it up with the Bihar Government." Has he been able to take it up? The manufacturers are the friends of Mr. Kedar Pande.

Then, the third point is that the entire Jharia area is vitiated by Bihar politics and interference of Bihar politicians. It is impossible to work in Jharia because of Rajput and non-Rajput feelings. Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam tried to do something about it; he failed. There are two men who can make and unmake it: Mr. Shankar Dayal Singh and Mr. B. P. Sinha. Mr. Malaviya knows about it. He is smiling. He knows about it. But he could not do anything,

because they are his Party men. They have to be weeded out. Sir, the trouble is, as the Statesman pointed out, the Managers were making money, they were getting commission, sharing bonus, and they are not yet reconciled to the take-over. There is a vacuum; there is a gap. This vacuum or gap should have been filled up by Mr. Malaviya's Ministry. His Ministry should have taken the democratic steps and gone to the workers. But they have not done so. The Government are still relying on the officers. You will be surprised to know that there is no single elected committee. This is the crisis:

Sir, I would read an extract from the speech of a very prominent Member of Parliament, who said on May 4th, 1972, in the Lok Sabha;

"You will not be able to achieve your objectives so long as the bureaucrats and technicians do not commit themselves to the public sector philosophy..."

Who is this great MP? This is Mr. Malaviya speaking on the 4th May, 1972, when he was not a Minister. Why this double standard? Why two sides of justice? Sir, trade unions have been victimized every where. On the other hand, when corruption cases are brought to the notice of some authorities, what do we find? I am reading from a paper given in the Consultative Committee. The coal Mines Authority have reported:

"At the time of take-over of non-coking coal mines, certain officers were found guilty of indicating persons. After a proper inquiry, the services of three officers have been terminated. Further, on consideration of the mercy petitions, they were retained in service..."

Mercy petitions of officers guilty of the worst crimes, falsification of documents, looting of money, have been forgiven while labourers have been dismissed. This is how we are following Socialism. What has happened to the statement of Mr. Malaviya?

Sir, Soviet experts are coming and Polish experts are coming. Hundreds of crores of rupees are going to be spent. Heavy equipments are coming. But I have information that Soviet and Polish experts

are frustrated. They are bitter in the face of entrenched vested interests. What will you do with the Soviet equipment if you cannot build up a new structure. There are 9000 million tonnes of very good coking coal beneath Jharia town, Katras town and Sijpua town. But these towns cannot be touched. Why? Because there are big palaces of the ex-mine-owners and contractors. They have rebuilt Poland by removing the towns. But you won't dare to touch those towns because these ex-mine-owners and contractors who own the houses will be up against you. Sir, 9000 million tonnes of coking coal is allowed to be there. Fire is raging all along Jharia. Have you got any plan to extinguish the fire? Have you taken any steps to tackle the fire? No. Not at all. One of the main aims of taking over the coal mines as you know, was said to be conservation because the mine-owners were exploiting the mines. What steps have you taken for conservation? We have been told that there will be a big planning and designing department. Under whom? Would it be under the Coal Mines Authority? Would it be under the Bharat Coking Coal? The Chairmen of the Bharat Coking Coal and C.M.A. are interested in production. They are not interested in conservation. If conservation is to succeed, it has to be independently responsible only to the Mines Ministry. The same thing should be applied to the Geological Survey of India. Why should it be under the Secretary of Mines? Why can't they directly go to the Minister instead of going through the corridors of bureaucracy. I know that Mr. Malaviya once said that the Geological Survey of India should not be under the Mines Secretary.

Sir, we are getting a bad name because of the coal price rise. What is the real position? Sir, the despatches of soft coke are made to parties sponsored by the State Governments and statutory bodies. Our production is 2.05 million tonnes of soft coke per year. But the Government has nothing to do with the distribution. Distribution is in the hands of the private sector. In other words, friends of Mr. Ghosh, Civil Supplies Minister of West Bengal and the friends of the Civil Supplies Minister of Bihar sell and resell the permits. This way they are encouraging

corruption. 'We are suggesting again and again to take over the distribution agency and to open dumps all over India from where, like the Indian Oil Corporation, you can sell coal direct to the consumers. Who is objecting? These vested interests and these Congress Ministers who are in league with these elements are making crores of rupees. Unless you stop this corruption, you cannot give the coal cheap. Even if you increase the coal price statutorily, the black market price will be double. So you have got to take up distribution. Sir, lots of things have been said about the coal prices. I hope the country knows that during the last ten years, steel price has gone up by 100 per cent, cement price has gone up by 200 per cent, and aluminium price has also gone up. But the one price which has been artificially kept low is the coal price. In order to help whom? This is to help big bourgeoisie who want cheap fuel. The coal mines have been starved. There is no investment in them. What matters is that the coal price should be low. Nowhere in the world coal is sold cheaper than in India. The Members say: Look at the steel price in Japan or Finland or West Germany. It is cheaper. But what do you say about the coal price? Our coal prices are the cheapest throughout the world. It is an irrational structure. If you want to give the workers a proper share and proper equipment, you have to increase the coal price. But what is the impact of coal price? Bharat Coking Coal Ltd. has already increased the coal price by 36 rupees per ton for the coal which is directly sent to the steel plants and 16 rupees per ton for the coal which goes to the washeries. I ask: what is the share of wages in this increase? What is the prices that you have to increase because of the higher wages to the workers or higher interim wages to the workers?

It was found out that out of Rs 30, only Rs. 6 are because of wage rise. This is all about coal. I would like to just mention one thing. I was surprised that one prominent Member of the Lok Sabha stated, and I quote, "I, therefore, plead for a bolder plan. I plead for converting the whole policy of steel production into state control. I do not have any faith in the mixed sector." Who said it? Mr. K. D. Malaviya. And yet, today, while

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the expansion of Durgapur and Rourkela are frozen, his officers are busy helping the Tatas to expand their production. Which Malaviya is true—the Malaviya sitting before me today or Malaviya of 1972, who was speaking, thundering, in Lok Sabha?

Lastly, Sir, I would speak about the unfortunate situation in the nonferrous metal mines. Sir, the situation is very tragic. The Government has no policy about zinc, about copper, about aluminium, about iron ore. And what policy they have is to surrender straightway before the monopolists. Sir, they have again considered higher price for aluminium because Mr. K. K. Birla wants it. They have closed down the HINDALOCO. The J. K. Aluminium factory is closed down. They have misappropriated money from the banks. They have not paid money to the D.V.C. and others, and they have locked it out. Mr. Pai told in the Consultative Committee that, "I will takeover the aluminium plant." But I find the Birlas have taken over Mr. Malaviya and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. They have increased the price by Rs. 1,000. In the black market, it is being sold at Rs. 16,000 per tonne. Birlas wanted this, and the Birlas got it. Thank you, Mr. Malaviya.

Sir, it is the same thing about iron ore you will be surprised to know that in India there are private sector iron ore mines and public sector iron ore mines. There are 33 mines in the private sector and 368 mines in the public sector, together they produce 35 million tonnes. We are selling iron ore to Japan and Western countries dead cheap. We are losing. The iron ore mines in the private sector are being destroyed. The manganese in the private sector are being destroyed. Out of 69 million tonnes of manganese, only 6 million tonnes is of high grade. That is being exported. And the Government, in spite of its decision not to export high-grade manganese ore, is relaxing and allowing the export of high-grade manganese. The same is the situation in mica. If you want to really develop a proper Indian outlook for the nonferrous metal mines, Mr. Malaviya, you have to show the courage of the late Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam. No use of stepping

into his shoes unless you want to face the vested interests and take-over the iron ore mines, the manganese mines, the dolomite mines and the lime-stone mines. How do you plan? It is the private sector who are ruining and slaughtering some mines.

Sir, my last submission is the reshuffling of the C.M.A. and the B.C.C.L. Root out the corrupt officers. The names are in your pockets. Stretch your hand of co-operation to the workers. Arrange for food ration, arrange for pit safety measures, and have elected committees and stop boosting up the non-existent INTUC. Root out the corrupt people, and take-over the non-ferrous metal mines. That is the only way in which lies the interest of this country.

श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया (मध्य प्रदेश) :
महोदय, यह ऐतिहासिक तथ्य है कि मानवीय सभ्यता के विकास में लोहे और खनिज पदार्थ का एक विशेष महत्व हमेशा रहा है। आज हम सारी दुनिया की तरफ जब निगाह दौड़ाते हैं तो हम यह देखते हैं कि वे देश, वे राष्ट्र, विकसित हैं और ताकतवर हैं जिन्होंने कि अपनी क्षमता को इस्पात और लोहे के उत्पादन में काफी बढ़ाया है और इसीलिए यह कहा गया है कि जिस प्रकार मनुष्य के शरीर में रीढ़ की हड्डी का महत्व है उसी प्रकार किसी राष्ट्र के विकास के अन्दर इस्पात के उत्पादन का महत्व है और इसी महत्व को विचार में रखकर हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का जब नियोजन किया गया तब जो पहले की स्थिति थी उसमें 5 इकाइयाँ पब्लिक सेक्टर, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र, में थीं और उसमें केवल 29 करोड़ रुपए का निनिमय किया गया था। लेकिन आज की स्थिति में 100 ऐसी इकाइयाँ हैं जिसमें 5,000 करोड़ रु० की लागत लगी हुई है।

2 हजार करोड़ रुपए की लागत आज इस्पात, लोहा और खनिज पदार्थों से संबंधित विकास और उन्नति के उद्योगों में लगी है। हमारे देश की तरक्की और उन्नति

के लिहाज से इस्पात, लोहा और खनिज पदार्थों के उद्योग काफी महत्व रखते हैं। वर्तमान की जो स्थिति है उस पर यदि हम दृष्टि डाले तो देखते हैं कि 72-73 में हम अपनी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति नहीं कर सके और 2 हजार करोड़ लगा कर हमको इस्पात का बाहर से आयात करना पड़ा जबकि हमारी स्टील मिल्स की जो क्षमता है उसका पूरा उपयोग नहीं हुआ। हमारी जो अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना है उसमें 10 मिलियन टन की आवश्यकता होगी। आज की जो स्थिति है उसके लिहाज से इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करना नामुमकिन नहीं तो कठिन अवश्य दिखता है। आज जो कमी के कारण हमारे सामने आते हैं वे चार हैं—एक इलैक्ट्रिसिटी की कमी है, दूसरे यातायात के साधनों का अभाव है, तीसरे कोयले की कमी है और चौथे श्रमिकों और मालिकों के सम्बन्धों में अनयन है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप हम अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं कर सके। श्रीमन्, मैं इस सम्बन्ध में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक पावर या बिजली का सम्बन्ध है, जब हमारी योजना बनी, नए इस्पात कारखानों की योजना तैयार की गई उसी समय हमको विचार करना चाहिए था कि उनके लिए हमको पावर की जरूरत होगी, कितनी पावर की जरूरत होगी और उसकी व्यवस्था हम कैसे करेंगे। यह प्लानिंग का डिफेक्ट है। उसको पूरा करने की दृष्टि से हमको उपर्युक्त कदम उठाने चाहिए। नए कारखाने बनाने की बात विचाराधीन है और जो भिलाई, रूरकेला, बोकारो आदि हैं उनका विस्तार करने की बात सोची जा रही है। इनके बारे में मेरा आग्रहपूर्वक निवेदन है कि इस्पात कारखानों के लिए अलग से बिजली की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए ताकि सुगमता से इन योजनाओं को हाथ में लिया जा सके और पूरा किया जा सके। दूसरी बात थी कोयले की कमी की। उसके बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि कोयले का उत्पादन इस वर्ष बढ़ा है, लेकिन हम यह

देखते हैं कि कीमतें काफी बढ़ी हैं और उपलब्धि में भी दिक्कत है। कोयले के राष्ट्रीयकरण के साथ कोकिंग कोल, नान-कोकिंग कोल सबका राष्ट्रीयकरण हो गया है। ये दोनों उद्योग एक ही मन्त्रालय के अन्तर्गत हैं और यह कहना कि कोयले की कमी की वजह से इस्पात के उत्पादन में कमी हुई, यह विचित्र लगता है। तीसरे यातायात के बारे में समन्वय की कमी है। रेलवे के वाहन नहीं मिलते, कोयले की कमी है या वाहन मौजूद हैं लेकिन कोयले की कमी है—ये बातें सदन में कही गईं, प्रश्नोत्तर के समय चर्चा होती है। यह आपस के महकमों के समन्वय का प्रश्न है। चौथी बात है श्रमिकों के मालिकों के साथ सम्बन्धों में राजनीतिक और आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण की। आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण का जहाँ तक सवाल है, पब्लिक सैक्टर अडर-टेकिंग के ऊपर पहली जवाबदारी है, यदि उनकी उचित मांगें हैं तो उनको तुरन्त स्वीकार किया जाना चाहिए और उचित सुविधा दी जानी चाहिए लेकिन जब मजदूरों की मांगों में राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण मिल जाता है और जब केवल यह भावना रहती है कि यह कार्य सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में है या जो पार्टी इन पावर है उसकी तरफ से कोई योजना है तो उसका विरोध करना है, जब इस तरह की भावना पैदा हो जाती है तो उसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। उसका इलाज यही है कि जनमानस में अच्छे विचारों को भरा जाए, जागृति लाई जाए जिससे कि वे अनुभव करें हम अपने देश की उन्नति के काम में लगे हुए हैं।

अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना के खतम होने पर भी हम इस स्थिति में पहुँचे कि इस्पात का उत्पादन हमारी आवश्यकता के अनुरूप हो यह अच्छी बात नहीं कही जा सकती क्योंकि हमारे देश को स्वावलम्बी बनाने के लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है। जितनी मुसीबतें हमारे राष्ट्र के ऊपर आ सकती हैं, हमारी स्वतन्त्रता के ऊपर आ सकती हैं उसके लिए

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमको इस्पात के उत्पादन की दृष्टि से स्वावलम्बी होना चाहिए और इसलिए हमारा यह निश्चित रूप से लक्ष्य होना चाहिए कि किसी भी दशा में हम बाहर से आयात नहीं करेंगे और जो आइरन ओर हम विदेशों में भेज रहे हैं उसका हम अपने मुल्क में इस्तेमाल करेंगे। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आइरन ओर ज्यादातर बेलाडीला से, मध्य प्रदेश के एक हिस्से से, बाहर भेजी जाती है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह बड़ी विडम्बना है कि आइरन ओर को खदानों से निकालने में और बाहर भेजने में जो व्यय होता है उससे कम पर हम उसे जापान को बेचते हैं। यह कितने शर्म की बात है कि आइरन ओर का, जिससे हम सबसे ज्यादा विदेशी मुद्रा कमाते हैं, उत्पादन करने में और खदान से निकालने में जो खर्चा होता है उससे कम पर हम उसे बेचते हैं। अगर यह सही स्थिति है तो आर्थिक दृष्टि से, स्वावलम्बन की दृष्टि से और देश के स्वाभिमान की दृष्टि से भी यह बात अनुचित है और इसकी जांच की जानी चाहिए कि वस्तुस्थिति क्या है। मैं माननीय माल-दीय जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस सम्बन्ध में जरूर प्रकाश डालें।

जहां तक बेलाडीला का प्रश्न है, मेरे पूर्ववक्ता ने इस बात को काफी विस्तार से कहा है। यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि मध्य प्रदेश के बेलाडीला हिस्से में काफी आइरन ओर के डिपोजिट्स हैं और वहां से वह जापान और दूसरे मुल्कों को भेजा जाता है। लेकिन वहां की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के समय, चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के समय और पांचवी पंचवर्षीय योजना के समय भी यह प्रस्ताव रखा गया कि सोशियो इकनामिक दृष्टि से और टैक्निकल दृष्टि से जो माधन वहां पर उपलब्ध हैं बेलाडीला में उन तमाम बातों का लिहाज करके यह सर्वथा उपयुक्त

है कि वहां एक नया स्टील प्लांट स्थापित किया जाए। लेकिन उसके ऊपर कोई विचार नहीं हुआ और राजनीतिक दृष्टि से जब इस प्रकार के निर्णय होते हैं तो उसका नतीजा देश और राष्ट्र को हमेशा भुगतना पड़ता है। यातायात की कमी, कोयले की कमी की दृष्टि से बेलाडीला मध्य प्रदेश का ऐसा स्थान है जहां तीनों चीजों की कमी नहीं है। यातायात की कमी का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता। पावर काफी सरप्लस है। मध्य प्रदेश एक ऐसा प्रान्त है जहां दूसरी प्रकार की परेशानियां नहीं हैं। भिलाई के कारखाने के उत्पादन में कोई कमी इसलिए नहीं आई कि वहां बिजली की कमी रही, पावर नहीं मिली। ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है। जब कि वहां पर कोयला, बिजली और दूसरी सब चीजें, सब साधन मौजूद हैं तो बेलाडीला में इस्पात कारखाने की स्थापना करने में क्यों विलम्ब हुआ, इस पर विचार किया जाना चाहिए।

इसके अलावा मैं यह कहूंगा कि पैलेटाइजेशन के सम्बन्ध में एक प्लांट डोली मलाई नामक स्थान पर चलाने के लिए बहुत दिनों से आग्रह किया जा रहा है। यह पैलेटाइजेशन का प्लांट तकनीकी दृष्टि से भी उपयुक्त स्थान है। बेलाडीला बोर में यह भी ताज्जुब है कि वहां पर इक्विपमेंट ब्रेकडाउन के कारण या मालिक मजदूरों की समस्याओं के कारण उत्पादन पर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ा है। ये चीजें देश के लिए बहुत चिन्ता का विषय हैं।

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ सुझाव माननीय मन्त्री जी के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। एक तो जो स्टील अथारिटी आफ इंडिया लिमिटेड की स्थापना हुई उसको संक्षेप में स्टील अथारिटी कहते हैं, लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसका स्मूथ सेलिंग नहीं हो रहा है। इसमें पूरे साल भर के अनुभव के बाद मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें सेट्टलाइजेशन अधिकारों का इतना

है कि जब तक इसको टोटली डिसेंटलाइज नहीं करते हैं तब तक इसको हम नहीं उठा सकते हैं। पिरामिड मिस्टम यहां पर है। टाप से आर्डर होता है और नीचे पहुंचने तक उसमें काफी विलम्ब हो जाता है। और अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों का इतना कंसेंट्रेशन है कि ठीक से काम नहीं हो रहा है। इस लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि इसका डिसेंटलाइजेशन होना चाहिए और स्टील अथॉरिटी आफ इंडिया पर काफी नियन्त्रण रहना चाहिए, उसकी काफी देखभाल की आवश्यकता है। दूसरे मूल्य निर्धारण के सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन है कि जो नयी नीति लागू हुई है उस में दो प्रकार के मूल्यों का निर्धारण किया गया है। एक वह उद्योग है, वह डिपार्टमेंट हैं या कंसर्न हैं कि जिन का शासन से सम्बन्ध है और उन को एक दर पर माल मिलता है और दूसरे जो अन्य निजी उद्योग या कारखाने हैं उन को दूसरी दर पर माल मिलता है। इस के सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन है कि जो निजी उद्योग में बहुत से कारखाने हैं जो स्टील का अन्य सामान बनाते हैं उन का जो एंड प्रोडक्ट है उस के मूल्य पर आज कोई नियन्त्रण नहीं है। सस्ते और उचित मूल्य में उन को कच्चा माल मिल जाता है लेकिन जो चीज उन के द्वारा बन कर उपभोक्ता के पास पहुंचती है वह उस को काफी ज्यादा कीमत पर मिलती है और उन वस्तुओं के मूल्यों पर प्रशासन द्वारा नियन्त्रण की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि ऐसे कारखानों को वह माल सस्ते दाम पर न दिया जा कर बाजार मूल्य पर दिया जाना चाहिए। जो कारखाने स्टील की बहुत सी चीजों का उत्पादन करते हैं उन को माल सस्ते दाम पर न दिया जा कर बाजार मूल्य पर दिया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि ऐसा न होने से बीच का सारा मुनाफा आज उन लोगों को ही मिलता है और उपभोक्ता को उस से कोई राहत नहीं मिलती और इस लिए यह बात काफी महत्वपूर्ण है और इस पर शासन द्वारा विचार

किया जाना चाहिए।

दूसरे इंडेंटिंग और स्टोर यार्ड की प्रक्रिया को भी युक्तिसंगत बनाया जाना चाहिए जिस से उपभोक्ताओं को परेशान न होना पड़े। आज उन को 6, 6 महीने और साल साल भर इंडेंट देने के बाद इंतजार करना पड़ता है। स्थानीय लोगों को रोजगार देने के बारे में मैं दोनों मन्त्रियों से निवेदन करूंगा कि भिलाई में इस प्रश्न को लेकर काफी असन्तोष है। वहां के स्थानीय लोगों को वहां की बहुत सी नौकरियां नहीं मिलती और बाहर के लोगों को काम पर लगा लिया जाता है इस से वहां एक विस्फोटक स्थिति बन रही है और इस संबंध में उचित निर्णय लिया जाना चाहिए। बिजली की कमी को दूर करने के लिए मैं पहले ही निवेदन कर चुका हूँ। पिछड़े और अविकसित क्षेत्रों के छोटे और मध्यम दर्जे के जो कारखाने हैं उन को कच्चा माल सहूलियत से और उन की आवश्यकता के अनुसार दिया जाना चाहिए। इंडस्ट्रियल एरिया बने लेकिन उस के बाद भी उन की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति नहीं होती। इस दृष्टि से मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पिछड़े इलाकों के विकास की दृष्टि से ही वहां पर वे कारखाने लगाये गए थे इसलिए उन कारखानों को कच्चा माल भी सहूलियत के साथ उपलब्ध कराया जाना चाहिए। इस्पात की खपत में काफी कमी को गुजायश है। इस सम्बन्ध में कमेटी को रिपोर्ट भी आप को उपलब्ध हो गयी है लेकिन पता नहीं कि वह किस बस्ते में दबी पड़ी है और उन पर अमल क्यों नहीं हो रहा है। मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो 20, 25 मजिन के मकान बनते हैं उन पर रोक होनी चाहिए। जब राष्ट्र के पास इस्पात की कमी है और हम बाहर से उस का आयात करते हैं तो क्या आवश्यकता है कि 20 और 25 मजिले मकान बनाये जायें। उन पर रोक लगनी चाहिए और अगले पांच सालों में चार या

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

पांच मंजिल से ऊंचे मकान नहीं बनाये जाने चाहिए और ज्यादा ऊंचे मकानों के लिए इस्पात का व्यय नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। इस के अलावा कोटा प्राप्त कर के जो ब्लैक मार्केट होता है उस पर सख्ती से रोक होनी चाहिए और उस की पूरी देखभाल की जानी चाहिए और ऐसे अपराधों के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा सजा दी जानी चाहिए। इस के अलावा कृषि के उपयोग में आने वाली जो वस्तुएं हैं उन के लिए इस्पात सस्ते और उचित मूल्य पर कारखानों को मिलना चाहिए। कृषि यन्त्र, काली और सफेद नालीदार चादरें और सादा व कांटेदार तार काफी मात्रा में बनना चाहिए और यह वस्तुएं ब्लाक स्तर की सहकारी समितियों द्वारा वितरित की जानी चाहिए। इस के अलावा इस्पात के आयात का कार्य निजी क्षेत्र के लोगों द्वारा नहीं होना चाहिए। यह जो स्टील अथॉरिटी आप ने कायम की है इस के माध्यम से यह कार्य होना चाहिए और इस में निजी क्षेत्र के लोगों को मुनाफा कमाने का अवसर नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए। योजना को अव्यावहारिक मानने और लक्ष्यों को अव्यावहारिक समझने वालों की आलोचना का मूल कारण तो राजनीति है। श्रमिकों में असन्तोष का कारण तो आर्थिक व राजनीतिक है, लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि उन के आर्थिक असन्तोष को यथासंभव दूर किया जाना चाहिए और इस के लिए प्रबन्धकों को योग्यता और ईमानदारी से समस्याओं का समाधान करना चाहिए।

यह कुछ प्रमुख बातें थी जो मैंने माननीय मन्त्री जी के समक्ष रखी हैं और मुझे विश्वास है कि मालवीय जी और हमारे उपमन्त्री महोदय काफी ईमानदारी से इस महकमे के काम को देख रहे हैं और उन के नेतृत्व में जो दिक्कतें आज सामने आ रही हैं वह दूर होंगी और इस में मैं कोई निराशा की बात नहीं देख पाता हूं और हमारे देश के

लिए यह गौरव की बात है कि हम ने सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में इस प्रकार के कारखानों की स्थापना की है जो हमारे देश के विकास और उन्नति में काफी सहायक सिद्ध हो रहे हैं।

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : उपसभापति महोदय, जो इस्पात मन्त्रालय के ऊपर अभी बहस हो रही है आप जानते हैं कि आधुनिक दुनिया में कोई देश आधुनिक है या प्रतिभाशाली। इसका मापदंड उस देश के इस्पात उत्पादन से होता है। उपसभापति महोदय, इस्पात के उत्पादन के सिलसिले में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रीयकरण की नीति जो सरकार ने अपनाई है यह असल में सरकारीकरण है। राष्ट्रीयकरण की आरती उतारती है। वास्तव में जो पुराने पूँजीपति के मातहत कारखाने हैं वे ही नौकरशाही का बोलबाला है। इसके साथ-साथ फिजूलखर्ची और उपभोगताओं की मांगों की तरफ ध्यान न देना आदि गड़बड़ियाँ भी इन्हीं के कारण हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि यह जो इस्पात कारखाने चलते हैं उसमें जो अवगुण दिखाई देते हैं वह पूँजीपतियों के कारण ही हैं।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आगे बताना चाहता हूं कि दुनिया की पृष्ठभूमि में हमारे देश के इस्पात उत्पादन की क्या हालत है। मान लीजिए हम आजादी के बाद के 48-49 के आंकड़े ले लें तो इन सालों में हिन्दुस्तान का जो इस्पात का उत्पादन था वह करीब-करीब चीन के समान था। इसी तरह एशिया में एक और देश है जापान। जापान में भी 48-49 में आप देखेंगे कि इसका उत्पादन 1.7 मिलियन टन था जबकि जापान ने छलांग मारकर 9.4 मिलियन टन कर लिया है। इसी तरह से आज की दुनिया में सबसे ज्यादा स्टील का उत्पादन यू० एस० एस० आर० का है— 126 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन। उसके बाद

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यू० एस० ए० आता है। जापान 9.4 मीट्रिक टन है और उसके बाद वैस्ट जर्मनी और हिन्दुस्तान का 6.6 मीट्रिक टन। अभी हमारी जो कैपैसिटी है, शक्ति है स्टील प्लांट की उसका सिर्फ 67 परसेंट होता है। टाटा का भी 85 परसेंट है। इससे पता चलता है कि टाटा जो कि व्यक्तिगत पूंजी-पतियों के मातहत चलता है और जिसका कि सरकारीकरण हो गया है—जैसे कि भिलाई, राउरकेला, दुर्गापुर आदि जो और स्टील इंडस्ट्रीज है—इनसे पता लगता है कि पूंजीपतियों और सरकार के मातहत ये चलती है, और उसमें अफसर है, मन्त्री है, उनमें कोई सांठगाठ है। क्योंकि हम देखते हैं कि जापान छलांग मार कर इतना आगे चला गया है और टाटा का जो हमारा स्टील प्लांट है वह वही रह गया है यानी 67 परसेंट ही हमारी कैपैसिटी रह गई है।

इस सिलसिले में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ जो हम लोगों का स्टील का एवरेज है वह बहुत कम है। युनाइटेड स्टेट्स का 700 किलोग्राम और जापान का 550 किलोग्राम है और जो कम विकसित देश है, ईरान जैसे इनका 100 है जबकि हिन्दुस्तान में 14 किलोग्राम से घट कर 12 किलोग्राम हो गया है। यह जो लेटेस्ट फिगर है वह मैंने दी है। अभी जो एस्टीमेट कमेटी ने राय दी है उसमें है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो इस्पात का उत्पादन है वह दुनिया का 1 परसेंट है। जब यह स्थिति है उपसभापति महोदय, तो फिर सरकार के पास क्या नक्शा है, क्या लक्ष्य है हिन्दुस्तान में इस्पात उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लिए? जब हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि दुनिया में जिस देश में ज्यादा इस्पात उत्पादित होता है वह देश ज्यादा आधुनिक है, तो फिर हिन्दुस्तान के उद्योग-धन्धे और शिल्प को बढ़ाने के सिलसिले में हम लोगों की क्या कल्पना है, क्या नक्शा है, क्या लक्ष्य है? लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ, जो रपट दिए मन्त्री महोदय, इसमें उसका जिक्र नहीं है।

क्यों जिक्र नहीं है? मैं एक विशेषज्ञ की राय बताना चाहता हूँ। विशेषज्ञ की राय में, जब इस्पात में तंगी आ जाती है, अभाव आ जाता है, तब उस वक्त हमारे देश में योजना बनाते हैं, वे चिल्लाते हैं कि स्टील का उत्पादन बढ़ाओ। तो इससे नतीजा कोई नहीं निकलने वाला है क्योंकि उसके लिए समय से पहले से योजना बनानी होगी, यह नहीं कि अभाव के बाद हम उत्पादन बढ़ाने के सिलसिले में सोचें।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जिस-जिस इलाके में स्टील का उत्पादन बढ़ाने की गुंजायश है, इसका मतलब यह है कि जहाँ आइरन ओरस पैदा होता है, उस इलाके को अधिकतर हम लोगों ने नज़रअन्दाज किया है। यह बात सत्य है, यह बात विशेष लोग मान चुके हैं उपसभापति महोदय, कि उड़ीसा हिन्दुस्तान का “रूर” बन सकता है—रूर जर्मनी में सबसे ज्यादा स्टील कम्प्लैक्स है—लेकिन मैं आपकी मार्फत कहना चाहता हूँ : सारे भारत सरकार के खिलाफ हमारा आरोप है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान का रूर बन सकता है, उसकी मांग को अधिकतर नज़रअन्दाज किया गया है। असल में स्टील प्लांट्स कहां बने, यह भी एक महत्वपूर्ण चीज होती है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्टील प्लांट बनाने के सिलसिले में अभी जो हिन्दुस्तान के एकमात्र विशेषज्ञ हैं दस्तूर कम्पनी—सारी भारत सरकार उनको ही मानती है विशेषज्ञ—और मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ सन् 1964 मैं उड़ीसा के तत्कालीन गवर्नर खोसला साहब एक मैमोरेण्डम भारत सरकार को दिए थे कि क्या कारण है कि उड़ीसा में इतनी मांग करने के बाद भी वहां दूसरा स्टील प्लांट नहीं बैठाते हैं और खोसला साहब के उस मैमोरेण्डम के बाद भारत सरकार ने दस्तूर एण्ड कम्पनी से आग्रह किया कि आप जाकर हिन्दुस्तान भर का सरवे करके रपट दीजिए कि कैसे हम इसके

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

निए कारखाने को लोकेट करें। इस लोकेशन के सिलसिले में दस्तूर साहब फर्मति हैं—मैं आपकी खिदमत में दस्तूर एण्ड कम्पनी की रपट में से पढ़ना चाहता हूँ :

"All three eastern region ore-based locations at Nayagarh, Barakat and Boniagarh are considered suitable for large intergrated steel plants. New rail links will have to be laid and dams constructed for ensuring adequate supply of water for each of these locations. Nayagarh is advantageously located for utilisation of ore from the rich deposits of Malangtoli and Gandhamardan blocks. Location of a large pig-iron plant at Nayagarh will throw open a vast area with possibility of considerable industrial development. This location has the potential to sustain a 10 to 12 million tonne steel complex. As regards the production and distribution costs of pig-iron, Nayagarh is the most economical of all the 28 locations considered in this study."

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद : माननीय सदस्य जो कोटेशन दे रहे हैं वह किस चीज की बात है—दस्तूर कमेटी की कोई रिपोर्ट है ?

श्री रबी राय : यह दस्तूर कमेटी की रपट है। आप चाहे तो दस्तूर कमेटी की रपट लाइब्रेरी से ले लीजिए। तो 28 लोकेशन्स को देख कर उनका जो रपट था कि उड़ीसा में नया गढ़ एक ऐसा इलाका है जहा 10-12 मिलियन टन का इन्टीग्रेटेड स्टील प्लान्ट का बन चुका है और हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे बड़ा इलाका है और जो स्टील प्लान्ट बनेगा वह सबसे सस्ता होगा। तो उप सभापति महोदय, 1964 से उड़ीसा से मांग हो रही है और मैं देखता रहा हूँ कि सरकार जान बूझ कर जो विशेषज्ञ की रपट हुई है, उनकी राय को नजर-अंदाज करके चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो मांग दी कि उड़ीसा में द्वितीय इस्पात कारखाने को...

इस्पात और खान मंत्रालय में उपमन्त्री (श्री सुबोध चन्द्र हांसदा) : राऊरकेला कहा है ?

श्री रबी राय : राऊरकेला उड़ीसा में है। उपसभापति महोदय, मंत्री महोदय गुमराह करना चाहते हैं। राऊरकेला उड़ीसा में है राऊरकेला के बाद यह रपट बनाई गई है। हम लोगों का कहना है कि जहां सस्ता स्टील बन सकता है और इन्टीग्रेटेड स्टील प्लान बन सकता है वहां, और हिन्दुस्तान में कहीं दूसरी जगह करिए, मना नहीं करता हूँ। लेकिन जहां स्टील बन सकता है, सस्ते में बन सकता है, वहा बनाने का इत्तजाम करना चाहिए, लेकिन यह सरकार नहीं करती है। जहां सरकार की मर्जी होती है, वहां स्टील प्लान्ट लोकेट कर देती है। जब हम लोग स्टील प्लान्ट के बारे में कहते हैं तो रूरकेला के एक्सपेंशन की बात कहते हैं, रूरकेला का एक्सपेंशन होगा, आप दूसरे स्टील प्लान्ट के लिए मत कहिये। रूरकेला का एक्सपेंशन करना चाहिए था, आपने अभी तक क्यों नहीं किया है, यह आपको हाउस को कहना पड़ेगा। स्टील प्लान्ट के लोकेशन के सिलसिले में जो दस्तूर कमेटी का मापदंड है क्या उसके अलावा सरकार के पास और कोई मापदंड है जिससे उड़ीसा की डिमाण्ड को नजरान्दाज करना चाहती है ? यह बहुत विस्फोटक स्थिति है। एक इलाका जो हिन्दुस्तान का रूर सकता है उसका नजरन्दाज करना चाहते हैं। मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि स्टील प्लान्ट्स लोकेशन के सिलसिले में क्या कोई राय बदली है या विशेषज्ञों की राय को नजरान्दाज करने की नीति बनी है ?

इस सिलसिले में मैं एक और बात उठाना चाहता हूँ। एक विडम्बना है कि सिन्दुस्तान में कोयला और इस्पात निकटतम स्थिति में है, लेकिन हम जापान को आइरन और बेचते हैं और जापान सस्ते में इस्पात बेचता है उप-भोक्ताओं को और हम अपने यहां उपभोक्ताओं को बहुत ऊंची दर पर इस्पात बेचते हैं। इसका क्या कारण है, इस बारे में सारे मंत्रालय को छानबीन करनी चाहिए। मालवीय साहब समाजवाद में विश्वास करते हैं। क्या

उनका समाजवाद इस तरह का है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण का मतलब सरकारीकरण हो गया, समाजवाद हो गया। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि खपत के आधुनिकीकरण के बारे में लेनिन ने क्या कहा है। उन्होंने कहा है कि फिजूलखर्ची बन्द करो, खपत के आधुनिकीकरण पर रोक लगाओ।

4. P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHO PADHYAY) In the Chair.

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमको मालूम नहीं था कि हिन्दुस्तान के स्टील प्लांट का खुद का हवाई जहाज है। मैं रूरकेला में एक बार हवाई अड्डे पर गया। मैंने पूछा यह किसका हवाई जहाज है तो बताया गया कि हिन्दुस्तान स्टील प्लांट का हवाई जहाज है और प्लांट के अफसर लोगों के लिए है। उन पर अफसर लोग इंडियन एयर लाइन्स के हवाई जहाज में चल सकते हैं। अफसरों पर इतनी फिजूलखर्ची होती है कि उसका भी असर दाम के ऊपर पड़ता है। मेरा यह कहना है कि सरकार इस बारे में सोचे कि इस्पात के ऊपर जो दाम लगाया जाता है उसका इसलिए दाम ज्यादा पड़ता है कि उसमें फिजूलखर्ची होती है। उत्पादन से पहले फिजूलखर्ची ज्यादा होती है। हिन्दुस्तान स्टील का खुद का एक जहाज है और यह इंडियन एयरलाइंस में न जाकर खुद का जहाज खरीदे हैं, दो हैं या 3 वह बताए। जब आप दाम में कमी करना चाहते हैं तो आपको खपत के आधुनिकीकरण पर भी रोक लगानी चाहिए।

महोदया मैं मजदूरों के सिलसिले में आप को कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी दो तीन दिन पहले मालवीय जी बता रहे थे कि मजदूरों का ज्यादा राजनीतिकरण हो गया है इसलिए उत्पादन में गड़बड़ होती है, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूर जो इस्पात कारखाने में काम करते हैं वह गैर राजनीतिक बने? वह राजनीति में दिलचस्पी ले? मैं उनके साथ इस राय में सहमत नहीं हूँ कि उनका राजनीतिकरण नहीं होना चाहिए। उनका

राजनीतिकरण जरूर होना चाहिए और जो मजदूरों का नेतृत्व करे उसके लिए हो सकता है कि सीक्रेट वॉलेट उसमें हो। इस सिलसिले में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज कल कैसे कोयला खानों का जब तब राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ नहीं था उस वक्त जो मालिक लोग थे वे कुछ मुट्ठी भर नेताओं को हाथ में रखकर सारी चीज गड़बड़ कर देते थे। मेरे पास एक तथ्य है जो मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

एक सियारसोल कोल लिमिटेड है श्री कल्याण राय वहां के मजदूर नेता हैं। वहां जो मालिक है उसने उस को 19 हजार रुपये दिये। श्री कल्याण राय राज्य सभा के सदस्य हैं और इनके नेता हैं, इनको दिया है और कल्याण राय के एक नीचे आदमी है मिस्टर अहीर, वह भी लिये हैं। और एक आदमी 3200 रुपये लिये हैं। इससे लगता है कि दो प्राइवेट इंटर प्राइजेज थे उनके ऊपर यह लोग पैसा लेकर हावी हुए थे, उस समय उनके साथ इनकी सांठ गांठ थी। यह सारा सियारकोल लिमिटेड का जो केस वाउचर है वह मेरे पास है। कल्याण राय का राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद उसके जो कस्टोडियन हैं जे० सी० कुमारमंगलम उनके साथ भी सम्बन्ध हो गया। राष्ट्रीयकरण जब वहां हुआ था कल्याण राय का संबंध पुंजीपतियों के साथ था, राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद जे० सी० कुमारमंगलम के साथ हो गया। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये।

(Interruption)

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Madam, on a point of order. I was told that Mr. Rabi Ray has stated that I have taken some money, Rs. 19,000, from a mine owner. It is a tissue of lies. I am surprised that Mr. Rabi Ray, who has just come now after three years of nationalisation, dares to make these challenges. It is a connected creation of a diseased mind, from a diseased body.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: This is a point of order?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): This is a point of personal explanation.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Mr. Rabi Ray should either prove it or have the courtesy to withdraw it. I know some of his party members, I do not know him, I must say—used to go to certain big business houses in the coal mines, used to live in their bungalows. Documents are there. I can take any parliamentary committee to the coal belt any time you suggest. In all the coal mines, the workers will give the reply, not me. I know also that some of the members belonging to his party have stopped going to the coal mines after the take-over because the workers are waiting to give them a good reception, because they along with the mine owners exploited them.

श्री रबी राय : महोदय, मैं जो तथ्य आपके सामने रखूँ उस तथ्य को वापस लेने का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है क्योंकि यह तथ्य है : अगर उनके पास कोई तथ्य है हमारी पार्टी के बारे में तो वह रख दें।

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : नम्बर बताओ
(Interruption)

श्री राजनारायण : मैं पढ़ देता हूँ।
कोलियारी के मजदूरों के बारे में बयान। ...
(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rajnarain, you were not speaking. Mr. Rabi Ray was speaking.

श्री राजनारायण : यह पूरा वाउचर सुनें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please sit down. Mr. Rajnarain, please sit down.

श्री राजनारायण : इस ने खपया लिया है। यह झूट बोल रहा है। यह मजदूरों की हत्या कर रहा है।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Mr. Rajnarain was a paid agent of New Sadgram Colliery, a stooge. I know the orgies and molestation of women indulged in by him. I will prove the charge. He was protected from the workers. Mr. Rajnarain, you accept my challenge. I will take you to

the colliery. There was a police complaint, Madam, against Mr. Rajnarain. He was caught taking money. The workers surrounded him and the Indira Government's police came to his rescue. He was taken to the police station. I know this type of people and I would have stated things much worse in nature. I know their attempt to denationalise the coal-mines has been stopped...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rabi Ray, you continue your speech.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Madam, on a personal explanation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): No, not now.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Why not?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): I will call you later on. Do not challenge the Chair.

Mr. Rabi Ray, you have levelled a very serious charge against a sitting Member of this House and that cannot be taken very frivolously. I would appeal to the Members to be quiet and if you have got anything to say, you can do so in a parliamentary way, not in the way that you are all now doing. After Mr. Rabi Ray finishes, I will call Mr. Kalyan Roy to give a personal explanation.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Kalyan Roy or myself?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rajnarain, since your name is also mentioned you will also get an opportunity.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I want a parliamentary committee to go into these things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rabi Ray, the record that you are producing will be laid on the Table for Mr. Kalyan Roy to examine.

श्री रबी राय : मैं इसको लेकर रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr.

Kalyan Roy, let Mr. Rabi Ray finish. After hearing him, if you have got anything to say, I will allow you.

श्री रबी राय : तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि मजदूर नीति के सिलसिले में यह स्थिति है और इस सिलसिले में मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ मंत्री महोदय ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि जो मजदूर राष्ट्रीयकरण के पहले काम करते थे उनको काम पर बनाये रखा जायेगा, लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आसनसोल की जो न्यूसद्ग्राम कोलियरी है.....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Now the cat is out of the bag. I will accompany him to the New Sadgram Colliery. Is he prepared to come? Because I do not know what reception he would get from the workers there. But I am prepared to take any Member of Parliament to New Sadgram Colliery... (Interruptions)

श्री रबी राय : मैं तो यह कह रहा था कि न्यूसद्ग्राम कोलियरी के ढाई सौ मजदूर जो राष्ट्रीयकरण के पहले वहाँ काम करते थे, उन को निकाला गया है और इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो आश्वासन उन्होंने दिया था जो मजदूर पहले काम कर रहे थे उन को रखा जायेगा वह वहाँ पूरा नहीं हुआ है इस लिए वह इस बारे में वहाँ छानबीन करे।

अंत में महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्टील मंत्रालय को इस बारे में सोचना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान में किस प्रकार स्टील का उत्पादन बढ़े और किस प्रकार उपभोक्ता को, जो खरीदार है उस को इस से कम मूल्य में इस्पात मिल सके इस के लिए क्या उपाय किये जा सकते हैं, और इस संबंध में जो सुझाव मैंने दिये हैं मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस बारे में सदन उन पर विचार करेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मैं आपके द्वारा इस सदन के सभी माननीय सदस्यों

से चाहता हूँ कि वे हमारे साथ चलें। आसनसोल में श्री कल्याण राय की कितनी ख्याति है, उनकी कितनी प्रतिभा है और क्या प्रभुताई है यह मैं दिखाना चाहता हूँ। आपको यह मालूम पड़ेगा कि किस तरह से वह पूजीपतियों से मिलकर पैसा लेते रहे हैं।

माननीया, शायद आपको इस सदन में जानकारी हुई होगी कि जब जब वहाँ पर झगड़ा हुआ तो चाहे हम पर भाला लगा हो, चाहे डंडा लगा हो पर मैंने अकेले मजदूरों के हित में काम किया है। यह झगड़ा सी० पी० आई० के लोगों ने किया है। यह सब लोग मुझे पहचानते थे तब भी इन्होंने हल्ला मचाया कि कांग्रेसिया आया, कांग्रेसिया आया और चारों तरफ से भाला लेकर हम को घेर लिया उसी समय आगे-आगे एक आजमगढ़ के व्यक्ति चल रहे थे उन्होंने मुझ को पहचाना और कहने लगे अरे यह तो राजनारायण है, कांग्रेसी नहीं है, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का मैम्बर है, तब उन्होंने मारना छोड़ा, तब मुझे पता लगा कि सी० पी० आई० का स्टाफ कैसा है।

कल्याण राय जी की एक-एक नस को मैं जानता हूँ। इन्हें मैंने आसनसोल में उखाड़ फेंका था। इनके साथ एक भी मजदूर नहीं रह गया है। अब तो इनका एक ही महारा है वह है हमारे मंत्री श्री केशवदेव मालवीय। उनके जितने आफिसर हैं, सब उनसे लेते-देते हैं। उन्हीं आफिसरों के जरिए जो मजदूर उनको देता है उनको रख लेते हैं और जो नहीं देता है उनको निकाल फेंक देते हैं। रबी राय जी ने भी आपके सामने कहा और मैं भी इसका नम्बर और तारीख देता हूँ कि 15-1-67 को 32 सौ रुपये मजदूर सभा, आसनसोल, अन्तर्गत सिरासल कोल कंपनी के माध्यम से दिए। (Interruption)

दूसरे 23-1-67 को श्री कल्याण राय को भी दिए गए.... (Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): You wanted only to make a personal explanation.

श्री राजनारायण : यह मालूम है पता कैसे चला । श्री जुगल किशोरजी, जो कैशियर थे उनको जब हटाया गया तो उन्होंने इसका पर्दाफाश किया ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): You were giving your personal explanation. Now you have to conclude.

श्री राजनारायण : भूपेश गुप्ता जी को ही पंच मान लें

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): This is not a personal explanation. Please sit down.

SHRI B. S. SHEKHAWAT (Madhya Pradesh): On a point of order . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I stood first. Let me speak first. I do not wish to comment on this except that Shri Rajnarain has been good enough to pass on this note to me and I am grateful to him. On this, personal explanations will be given. Obviously it starts with दक्षिण पंथी कम्युनिस्ट, प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी. You can understand the political overtone in it. Madam, Vice-Chairman, these are two vouchers. I do not know whether it is correct or not. This is a photostat copy. There is nothing in these notes to show that Shri Kalyan Roy has received any money. Suppose, Madam, I write a cheque on my cheque book for Rs. 10,000/-, say in the name of Shri Rajnarain. And I sign it. And I take a photostat copy of it. Does it mean that he has received the money? Does it prove that Shri Rajnarain has received the money? Or, suppose Birla writes in his voucher book: "Paid to Shri Rajnarain and so and so Rs. 1 lakh". And it is photographed. Does it mean that Shri

Rajnarain has received this money or it has been actually paid. This is a voucher of a company—alleged to be and purported to be—on which something is written. It is no receipt . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Everything is on it. Even signature is there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Of course, Shri Kalyan Shankar Roy's name is there. It is quite clear. . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: There is the signature of Mr. Samar Sen.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Where is it? May I know in which language it is?

SHRI RAJNARAIN: It is in English.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Where is the Signature?

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Read it... (Interruptions). . . All right. Let it go to the Privileges Committee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, it can be gone into. Here the name is "Kalyan Roy", but the signature is "Sumer Sen". Madam, I think you can kindly allow him to lay it on the Table of the House.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is the Privileges Committee and it can go into this.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not suggesting anything more than that and it can also be found out whether anybody is interested. Now, Madam, Mr. Kalyan Roy may say what he wants to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Yes, Mr. Kalyan Roy, you may say if you have anything to say on this.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): We should also be given a chance.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Let Mr. Kalyan Roy speak first.

SHRI B. S. SHEKHAWAT : I wanted to speak. I do not know how Mr. Bhupesh Gupta gets the chance always. He always gets the preference.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Did Mr. Bhupesh Gupta give any personal explanation? He did not.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : I allowed him to speak as a member of his party.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: May I also speak on behalf of my party?

श्री राजनारायण : आप दूसरो को भी मौका दीजिए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Whether I should allow anybody or not, it is for me to decide. You have already spoken, Mr. Rajnarain. Yes, Mr. Kalyan Roy.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Madam, I do not talk loudly or incoherently like Mr. Rajnarain. I was always telling that notionalisation was not an easy task and still the talk of denationalisation is very much in the air. I know that the stooges like Mr. Rajnarain of the mine owners are bound to produce fabricated documents after three years of the mines take over.

श्री राजनारायण : यह सदन की प्रोसी-
डिङ्ग में पहले भी आ चुका है। इसको मैं पहले
भी कह चुका हूँ ।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: . . . to malign the people, to malign the leaders of the trade union movement, who have been consistently struggling for the nationalisation of the coal mines.

Madam, I have not taken, during the last 20 years, a single paisa from any mine owner nor has any such allegation been made before. It is a total lie and it is a lie like the one if I say that Mr. Rajnarain is pregnant. It is absolutely a lie and I would have said it in harsher words, but I did not do so. Madam, the document need not even be glanced at. . .

श्री राजनारायण : अब यह विज्ञान
इतना विकसित हो गया है कि अगर कल्याण

राय प्रेग्नेन्सी चाहे तो हम उनको प्रेग्नेन्सी दे
सकते हैं। विज्ञान अब इतना विकसित हो गया
है कि कल्याण राय को गर्भिणी बनाया जा
सकता है ।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Let me finish now. Madam, he has said all sorts of things... (Interruptions)... Madam, in the Patmohana colliery, Mr. Rajnarain was found taking money from a contractor and the workers surrounded him and Mr. Rajnarain, in panic..

श्री राजनारायण : बिल्कुल झूठ बोलता
है। कहीं कोई सबूत दिखा दे ।

SHRI KALYAN ROY... went to the police post and lodged a complaint and that complaint must be still with the police. The workers also lodged a complaint with the police. Till today, Madam, uptill now, after that incident, Mr. Rajnarain has not dared to go back to Patmohana colliery. He was talking about New Satgram where he used to go and live in the guest house and take money from one Mr. Jhabban Singh who comes from Banaras and who has not been absorbed by the CMA on my protest to the late Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam. Because all his puppet unions have collapsed like a house of cards, after the take-over, Mr. Rajnarain is spreading this canard on the basis of fabricated documents and I can repudiate it anytime.

The receipt shows that Mr. Rajnarain has taken ten thousand rupees. In this way, neither Parliamentary democracy is helped nor honest opinions are expressed. I hope Mr. Rajnarain and Rabi Ray will withdraw it and stick to the honesty, which Mr. Rajnarain has lost long ago... (Interruptions).

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती पुरबी मुखोपा-
ध्याय) : अब नहीं ।

श्री राजनारायण : आपने कल्याण राय को
दो बार मौका दिया ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती पुरबी मुखोपा-
ध्याय) : क्योंकि आप दो बार बोले ।

श्री राजनारायण : इन्होंने कहा कि झब्बन सिंह बनारस के रहने वाले हैं। श्री झब्बन सिंह प्रभुनारायण सिंह के, जो कांग्रेस में चले गए, सगे रिश्तेदार हैं। प्रभु नारायण सिंह की लड़की झब्बन सिंह के भाई से ब्याही है। (Interruptions) यह पिढ़ी झूठ बोलता है। जो मैंने कहा है वह मैं वापस लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। आप प्रोसीडिंज देखिए। हमारे सदन की प्रोसीडिंज में इसकी चर्चा हुई जब यह रसीद हमको नहीं मिली है। यह मिली है 67-68 में यह बिल्कुल झूठ बोलता है, असत्यवादी। कम्युनिस्ट कोई सत्य नहीं बोलता है—मुल्क का गद्दार है, देश का द्रोही।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : I won't allow this. Mr. Bipinpal Das... (Interruptions).

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : Madam, Vice-Chairman, today in this situation it is but proper that we discuss the working of this Ministry, because in the economy of the country the Ministry dealing with steel and mines certainly occupies a very important place and plays a very crucial role. Now, Madam, a detailed examination of this Report and a thorough scrutiny of the Ministry's performance is not possible in the course of a debate like this. I would, therefore, confine myself to a few points.

Let me first take the case of steel. Madam, until the Second World War it was said that the strength and prosperity of a nation was measured by the quantity of sulphuric acid produced. Since then, and today, the strength and prosperity of a nation is measured by the quantity of steel produced. If this is the yard-stick, then let us look at ourselves and compared the condition of this country with other countries and see where we are.

Now, I need not go again into the statistical details. My friends on this side and on that side have pointed out what is the level of production of steel today, for instance, in USA or USSR or Japan or even in China, and what is the situation in this country. In this connection, I would

like to refer to the case of China, particularly to the fact, as Mr. Rabi Ray has stated very correctly, that at the beginning China and India were practically at the same condition so far as the production of steel is concerned, and how China has marched so fast and has progressed so fast in the matter of steel production. It began steel production in a very crude manner, almost as a cottage industry. That's how they started. Only later China has gone forward towards sophisticated technique of production, whereas we, unfortunately, right from the beginning have depended upon what I may call 'western model of production' in every field of industrial development in this country. We never took into consideration the position of our resources. The result is that our progress has been very slow. We still depend upon help from others for development of steel industry. This is a very sad commentary on our independence. Now, Madam, it is indeed a very great tragedy that, as the Government of India document says, India's iron ore deposit is the largest in the world, but in spite of that today people who have taken iron ore from us have developed faster and have gone far ahead of us and we are still lagging far behind.

This is a paradox and a contradiction which cannot be explained. Either we are not serious about our business or we are incompetent or we are unimaginative or we are just incapable of doing things.

Madam, I will briefly refer to some of the Tables which have been printed in this Report. The Tables speak for themselves. Let me take the Table at Appendix V. It shows the targets, rated capacity and production. I won't take the time of the House. If you just have a look at it, you will find that in the matter of utilisation of capacity, we are in a hopeless condition. Only in the case of Bhilai it is 77% which is tolerable. Durgapur is 50%, Rourkela 58%, BDR 64%, TISCO 76% and IISCO 43%. This is the state of, utilisation of capacity even today. This is regarding steel ingots. If you take into consideration the saleable steel the story is the same. Madam, I really do not know why we fail to achieve the targets and why we fail to make full utilisation of the installed capacity? I do not know what

explanation the Minister will give. Here I do not find any plausible explanation.

Now I come to the Table which gives the production of steel ingots. It is Appendix No. 7. It is the same story here also. To sum up, I would say that whatever total quantity of steel ingots we produced in 1967-68, it was almost the same in 1971-73. We could not make any progress at all. We went a little forward and then came backward. Today we are where we were. This is the situation. What is the explanation. In Appendix VIII, particularly in the case of Rourkela, if you examine year by year from 1963-64 onwards down to 1973-74, there is no uniformity. There are ups and downs in other cases. But in the case of Rourkela particularly there are sharp falls. The production of saleable pig iron was 79000 tonnes in 1964-65. In 1965-66, it was 68000 tonnes. It dropped to 9000 tonnes in 1966-67. And so on. Why? What is the explanation? The total production of saleable pig iron was 1,505,000 tonnes in 1968-69. It was almost the same in 1969-70 and in 1972-73 it came down to 1,415,000 tonnes. The picture is not clear for 1973-74.

Madam, my point is that we have not made any progress at all over the years. What is the reason? What are the causes? Why have we failed? In the case of saleable steel Bhilai alone has shown a good record. Durgapur is miserable. Even TISCO which is supposed to be so efficient because of which it was not taken over, failed to maintain an orderly progress. The question is, why is it so? Is power shortage the reason? Was there power shortage all these years or only in recent years? Was there coal shortage all these years? What is the reason for this miserable performance all these years? Madam, I am not at all satisfied with the explanation given by the people in charge of the Ministry. My suspicion is, rather I would like to put this question. What is the contribution made towards this dismal phenomenon in the field of steel production by bad management, bad maintenance of plants, corruption and pilferage? These are also factors. What is the contribution of these factors towards the dead performance of this particular industry? I would like to know this. I request the Minister—he

has taken over recently—to go into this question thoroughly. The Parliament would like to know it; the country would like to know it. What are the precise reasons behind this particular state of things in the steel industry in the country? Why do we fail to march forward as the other countries have done?

Madam, take the case of Orissa. In this very House, and I do not know whether in 1970 or 1971, a big debate took place on Orissa's demand for a steel plant. Why has this demand not been conceded? I do not mind having a plant in Salem or Visakhapatnam or Karnataka or any where else in India. After all, whatever we have in the country, it is to be used for the whole country. But why should Orissa be denied a plant? This has been the demand of the entire people of all the parties, of the Government of Orissa and of experts. Madam, the reason why, I have pointed it out is this: The eastern region is the store-house of natural resource in this country. God has dumped almost all the natural resources in the eastern region, whether it is coal or iron ore or hydel potential or oil or jute or tea or whatever it is. Everything is there. And yet this area is the poorest area today. One of the poorest States in this country today is Orissa. Should we not try to develop this State? After all, they have got the minerals. We have only to develop those minerals, have a steel plant and help the people to prosper. We have not done it. I do not know the reason for it.

Madam, some hon. friends have mentioned about the management. Not only today, but for the last four years, people who believe in socialism, people who have firm faith in the expansion of public sector, have been shouting that public sector will never progress unless we build up a special cadre to manage the public sector. An IAS may be intelligent and competent. But the public sector has a philosophy. It is an industry. There is business in it. One must know the whole thing. One who is conversant with the philosophy of public sector, one who is tuned to the objectives of this philosophy, only such persons can help in building the public sector. I do not know what is going to happen in future. But, unfortunately, up till now, the Government have not yet taken steps

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

to build up and train a special cadre of officials and men who will man and manage the public sector.

Madam, I will now come to the other part—the Department of Mines. And the same story regarding mineral production. In the Report, at page 11, they have given a table. I do not want to take the time of the House by quoting from it. Just look at it. Whether it is apatite or bauxite or gypsum or iron ore or kyanite one can name so many items—everywhere, the production has fallen. It is either static or it has fallen. Why is it that we cannot make progress? What are the reasons? No explanation is given here, at least in this booklet.

I do not find any plausible explanation given in this book as to why production has fallen. By production I mean, production of most of the mineral items.

Now, in Table 2, at page 13, Performance of Public Sector Undertakings, the same story is repeated. The production in Public Sector units is falling. I have already pointed out the reasons for the fall in production in the case of steel and the same reasons apply in the case of minerals also.

Now, Madam, I would like to confirm my remarks, so far as this Department is concerned, mainly to coal. The estimated coal production during 1973-74 is 79 million tonnes. In the previous year it was 76.4 million tonnes. An increase of 2.60 million tonnes. Very good. But, at this rate how far will you go? The Task Force on coal had estimated the demand for coal by the end of the Fifth Plan at 143 million tonnes. The Task Force stated that by the end of the Fifth Plan Period, the country will be in need of 143 million tonnes of coal. But, the Planning Commission cut it down to 135 million tonnes. I do not know why. I do not know what the reasons are. If the Task Force says this is the requirement after five years, why should the Planning Commission cut it down to 135 million tonnes. All right. Let us take it at 135 million tonnes. Can you achieve this target? Looking at the progress that we have made during all these years, can you instil any confidence, any faith in the countrymen, in the Members of this House and

in the Members of Parliament and say that you will be able to achieve this target of 135 million tonnes after five years? What is the basis? I would like to know from the hon. Minister what the basis is for his anticipating that he will be able to achieve this target. What are the measures that he is going to take to step up production?

Now, Madam, in this connection I would like to mention the Railway strike. Madam, I am wholly in favour of the rights of workers. But, here, if the Railway strike materialises, it will not only dislocate the distribution of all kinds of goods, it will also disrupt and dislocate completely the production of goods. So, in this particular situation, Madam, I only say in passing that the Railway strike will be extremely harmful and, if you permit me to say so it will be antinational and not in the interests of the nation and not in the interests of poor people. Nobody should do anything to dislocate or disrupt the production and distribution machinery in this country.

Now, Madam,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please finish.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I have only two more points and I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Your time is up.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I will finish soon.

Now, Madam, when coal was nationalised, at that time we shouted, some of us in this House shouted that one of the difficulties from which this country is suffering is that there is no national fuel policy. Even today it is not there. They have appointed a Fuel Policy Committee. The Report says that they have submitted an interim report. Where is the final report? It is really tragic, it is really unfortunate that we have completed four Plans and yet this country has never thought of evolving a national energy policy. Now, energy can come from various sources—from coal, from oil, from hydel potential, from atomic energy and today we are talking of having energy even from

the Sun. Five known sources of energy. Madam, I tell you, solar energy is going to be available for domestic purposes in the next few years at least in some countries of this world.

Now, we have to decide what energy we will develop, how we will develop and which energy should be used for what purpose? We have to draw up a comprehensive plan for energy distribution and energy production. That we have not done. I plead with the Minister to do something in this regard. I hope he will do it.

Now, Madam, if you permit me, I want to talk about a very serious matter in which you will be interested. This country is so rich in coal reserves, but this country is in short supply of oil. Why is it then that this country decided some years ago to switch over from coal to oil? Why? Who did it, why did he or they do it, what were reasons behind this decision to switch over from coal to oil as the major source of energy, which you have to import? We have a large deposit of coal at our disposal. Instead of developing coal we decided to import oil from outside at a huge cost and develop industries on that basis and face the crisis today, face the *maja*. Who did it? Whoever he might be, whoever they might be, whatever might be the reasons, either they were completely unimaginative or there must have been some motivations. I do not know who was really responsible and it is this question which I want Shri Malaviya to examine thoroughly, to find out why, at what time and who decided to put more emphasis on imported crude rather than developing our own coal. May be, some people wanted to develop the western region at the cost of the eastern region, but I want the Minister to find out the facts behind all this.

Madam, I will make one more point and I will close. This is not a matter which concerns Malaviya directly. It concerns the Petroleum Ministry, but Shri Malaviya is known to be an oil expert. He has submitted a big report on oil. I regard him as one of the oil experts of the country and that is why I think he may be interested in this. Now there is this talk that coal can be converted into oil. (*Time bell rings*).

Madam, this is the last point. I will take only two minutes. The point is that coal can be converted into oil. Three German scientists did it and they showed it at the time of the last Great War. And now our own institute, the Central Institute of Fuel Research, has confirmed that this can be done in this country. Dr. Lahiri said that the Assam coal is the best of all the coals available in this country. Assam coal is the best for conversion into oil. I am only quoting Dr. Lahiri. Government have decided to start a plant somewhere in Bihar. I do not know the place. I have no grudge the plant can be started anywhere, but what does the expert say? This gentlemen who did elaborate tests proved that the Assam coal can be converted into oil on profitable basis. I quote what Dr. Lahiri said:

"Possibly, the most economic proposal is conversion of Assam coal to oil near the site of its mining, viz., in North Assam, alongside and in integration with development of petroleum resources. Nowhere in the world such a unique combination exists as is found in Assam. There is no coal in the World (except a small deposit in Yugoslavia) which can be compared to the nature and quality of Assam coals. The low ash content, the high sulphur content, the large reserves in one single area, easy amenability to liquefaction and proximity to water, petroleum and natural resources make Assam coal an ideal raw material for conversion to liquid fuels."

When oil was discovered in Assam, Shri K. D. Malaviya who was the Petroleum Minister then, refused to grant us a refinery. The people of Assam had to fight a long struggle; thousands had to go to jail just to get a refinery of 0.75 m. tonnes. I hope this time the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals and the Minister of Steel and Mines together will not deprive this State of such a new industry which is naturally due to them and the experts have also certified to this effect. I hope Shri Malaviya will kindly consider this proposal.

With these words I thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): I will request the Members to keep to the time schedule of 15 minutes each.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam Vice-Chairman, first of all I will most resolutely and unequivocally demand the abolition of steel and coal equalisation prices. It is an obnoxious measure. It has not contributed to development; it has not contributed to the industrial and to the overall balanced development of India. So from all practical purposes, it has favoured certain big monopoly houses or certain regions and nothing else. So, this must be abolished. This is the common demand of various sections of the people. This is the first thing that I would say.

Secondly, I make bold to make this assertion with full responsibility, Madam, that I suspect the Central Government is conspiring for a pretty long time to kill the Durgapur Steel complex and the All Steel plant as well as the heavy Mining Machinery Plant in which they almost succeeded. Why do I say so? It is because it was said that Durgapur cannot produce because of labour trouble. Subsequently, Pandey Committee proved that it was a junkyard machinery and that the maintenance was not done. Why was it so, I do not know. And the mother of the plant, the coke ovens were neglected over number of years and the Durgapur Steel Plant was deliberately neglected and made sick. I quote something because it is serious thing where a big investment was made :

“No. 1 Coke Oven Battery of DSP was idling since 1968 due to mysterious delay first in rebuilding and then in commissioning. Coke Oven remaining crippled, automatically crippled production of the whole Plant due to shortage of Coke and Gas. Officers' Association being all along alive to the incomings of Coke Ovens, repeatedly sought active attention of GM, DSP Chairman, HSL and Chairman, SAIL, through several letters, meetings and telegrams.

Mr. T. A. Pai assured the Officers' Association that the request for probe is receiving his attention . . .” but nothing has been done. That is how the Durgapur Steel Plant has been treated deliberately to make it sick. Now all technical expert agree that the Plant and Coke Oven machinery being crippled, as it is, it cannot give more than 1.1 million production instead of 1.6 if every other thing is in ideal con-

dition. That is the condition. Moreover what is being done? Rs. 5 crores worth of saleable steel that piled up at Durgapur was not moved away. Steel ingots of Durgapur were removed to Tata to be processed. It was a wonderful thing. And who did it? I accuse Wadud Khan, the Cosmetics Sales Manager of Tata who was suddenly made the Chairman of the SAIL and Secretary Steel Industry. It is the most wonderful thing in the world that no saleable steel was usually piled up at the Tatas. Wadud Khan has managed it. Rs. 5 crores worth of steel ingots produced by Durgapur Steel Plant are not being processed in Durgapur, are sent to TISCO for processing and Durgapur Steel Plant loses heavily.

There is a tradition that marked-down steel shall not necessarily be sold at JFC prices but marked-down steel of Tatas is sold at fantastic prices in the black market and crores of black money being made by the Tatas. All these things are happening because these are being state-managed by SAIL Chairman. I accuse that they are deliberately doing it. Durgapur is the first steel plant. Ten years back a project report was made for expansion to 3.6 million tonnes. A feasibility study was made; global tenders were invited and even the firms were selected. Then suddenly the Gods from Olympia in New Delhi abandoned it. All technical experts agree that 80 to 90 per cent of the problems of DSP would be solved if the steel plant is expanded. Automatically everything will be set right. Otherwise it will never be a profitable, it will be a sick child. And now I hear that SAIL would be divided, Rourkela, Bhilai and Bokaro into one and Durgapur into another so that this will be condemned and then a decision will be made to wind it up. That is what you are trying to do for over a decade. Why this was done I want a clear answer from the Minister.

As regards ASP it is the strangest thing. It was also deliberately made sick. Sixty-four crores were invested; at current prices it may be Rs. 150 crores or something like that but it was deliberately made another sick child. You will be astounded to hear if I give the figures. It was designed as a 3-lakh tonne stainless steel complex. The steel melting shop has a capacity of

one lakh tonnes only the blooming mill 3 lakh tonnes. Bar mill idle capacity 18,000; Sheet Mill idle capacity 20,000; Heat Treatment shop idle; conditioning shop idle. You see the machinery was installed and they are deliberately kept idle and this is the result. Not only that; a cold rolling mill was not set up deliberately to serve whose interest I do not know. It produces thick sheets of stainless steel. It is being sold to consumers at 30 to 40 thousand rupees per tonne. The consumers process it and it sells at 90,000 rupees per tonne. Deliberately this cold rolling mill has not been set up there for over a decade. Thus this huge amount invested there is wasted with the excess capacity lying idle and the steel melting shop not being expanded, and also the cold rolling mill is not there. It is cheaper than that of Salem. Let there be Salem—I am not objecting to that. But they are deliberately killing this plant. There is a method in the madness of the policies pursued by the Government. What about MAMC, another sophisticated ? It was designed to produce all the mining equipment. Mr. Bipinpal Das just now asked why they switched on to crude oil from coal. He asked who did it. I say, the Government of India did it under pressure from the World Bank to serve the American interest. This is on record. That is why they switched on to oil. And this huge complex of sophisticated plants was rendered idle. They did not produce the machinery and then they decided to wind it up. There is not another such sophisticated plant in India as a whole. They actually decided to wind it up but it was saved at the last moment after diversification was made to produce other equipment. And the most wonderful thing is, they are importing mining equipment. Fifteen-year agreements are being made for such imports.

5 P.M.

What will the MAMC do ? It can give you mining equipment. It can even be expanded. Why you have made a 15-year agreement to import machinery ? Shall I make the accusation that there are certain collaboration agreement ? I will not name which, for reasons best known to Shri K. D. Malaviya. There are reasons why I will not name it. They insist that

certain components and machinery which can be manufactured in India we have to purchase. Otherwise, the collaboration agreement will not go through. I would simply ask, do not prod me to give the name because I do not want to give it.

SHRI SUBODH CHANDRA HANSDA:
Which collaboration agreement ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I will not say it deliberately. You know that it is one of the three, but I will not name it. It is a fact. I assert it. Now, you will see after the nationalisation of coal-mines, the Ministry of Finance have decided that the British owners of coal-mines in India can establish direct or indirect control over the big nationalised mines. The sum of Rs. 100 crores approximately is to be repaid in hard currency for import of equipment from England. This is to be run by the Bengal Coal Company. This was done when Mr. T. A. Pai was put in charge of the Steel and Mines Ministry temporarily after the sudden death of Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam and he negotiated the deal with the British engineering firm. Wonderful. Another deal is there, of a 15-year agreement with other countries. Why ? MAMC can produce all the equipment. I have heard there is a project for a pipeline by which slurried coal can be taken to anywhere in India. Power, water and what not would be required. If one-sixth of the amount is invested in making wagons, you can have coal anywhere in India. Suppose coal is sent through the pipeline to Bombay and water is not there and suddenly the power fails. The entire pipeline gets stuck up. Crores of rupees will be spent on mechanisation. Workers will be retrenched, but you will not invest one-tenth of that money in wagon building. That is another wonderful thing that is being done by this Ministry.

As regards the carbon alloy steel plant, behind the back of Parliament, before the Demands for Grants were taken up in the other House, saying that the alloy steel plant at Durgapur cannot produce—I say it can produce and I have given you the figure—why is it being deliberately mutilated ? It is deliberately being mutilated by the Government of India.

[Shri Niren Ghosh]
are giving licences to the private sector for manufacturing alloy steel. Behind the back of Parliament this was done. Neither the Minister of Industrial Development nor the Minister of Steel and Mines took Parliament into confidence in explaining the implications of the new policy in detail. I say you have handed over the steel industry to the Tatas, to Mr. Billimoria and the other Chairman, Mr. Wadud Khan. You have sent the Bharat Coking Coal Company under their control. (*Time bell rings*). Madam, I will take another ten minutes.

After nationalisation, the production figures are misleading. Three lakh tonnes of coking coal lying at the pitheads has disappeared. The coal-mine owners usually showed as 'no stocks' and 'lower production than the actual production' in order to sell coal in the black market. This production only accrued to the Coal Mines Authority. They were showing all those things. Most of the washeries are working below capacity, washeries like Kathara and Sawang. Steel production is going down. Only one to two days' supply of coal is available at the steel plants. That is how they are behaving. The performance of the washeries is only 50 to 85 per cent. There is erratic production due to the bad working of the system. I can give you the figures.

1968-69	..	75.74	M.T.
1971-72	..	72	M.T.
1972-73	..	76.4	M.T.
1973-74	..	80.0	M.T.

With the increase of production, wagon requirement should be increased to clear the production. But the supply of wagons is going down. In 1969-70 it was 8461 a day, in 1972-73 it was 8000 a day and in 1973-74 it was 7200 a day. How they will sort this out as between the two Ministries, nobody knows. The wagon-building industry went through a crisis. I know, there is a sufficient amount of wagon building capacity. Now, corruption is rampant there. The personnel Manager of the Bengal Coal Company—now the General Manager for the entire eastern region—is a scoundrel, rogue and rascal—Mr. Ramiah. You have put him there.

And I tell you—the ex-coal-mines without investing even a pie, were getting all the permits for distribution.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA) : May I, with your permission, Madam, lodge my very strong protest at the very irresponsible words that were used by the hon. Member regarding an officer who is not here, for whom I have to speak, of course, here ? This is not the manner in which irresponsible statements should be made.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I know of another instance. It was at the time of Mr. Ramiah in the Bengal Coal Company that a small coal-miner because he did not give the *puja* subscription when he went to draw his pay slip, was stabbed hundred times and slowly to death, hundreds ran hither and thither for protection. Before the eyes of all he was killed and Ramiah saw to it to save the killers.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is the name ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Name I do not know, instance I know. This happened at the time of Mr. Ramiah when Mr. Ramiah, was Personnel Officer in the Bengal Coal Company under Andrew Yule. A worst officer. He is now in the Coal Mines Authority. I am sorry that the Minister stood up to speak for him. The ex-coal mine owners were getting permits without investing a single pie. They sold their permits and made Rs. 30000 a month. Wonderful system of distribution. There are records which show that so many lakh tonnes of coal were there. But they were not there, they were shunted into the black market. It was shown that they were in the CMA's godowns, but the entire stock was shunted into the black market. This is how the records are manipulated and money is being made.

Another thing is in the coal-fields 15 top officers have been apprehended. At least, if this corruption is stopped, one crore can be saved per month. In IISCO, 60 per cent of the company premises have no boundary walls. So, crores and crores worth of steel is being pilfered away in

conjunction, in connivance, with the top officers and crores of money is lost to IISCO. This is another thing that is being done.

I come to the last point. Why was Dr. Bhattacharya removed from Bokaro? It was because they wanted that the TISCO expansion might take place. Dr. Bhattacharya is one of the best-known technical experts of India and was ahead of Schedule in construction of Bokaro. He has been removed from Bokaro because of certain interested coterie and crooks. How could it happen after Mr. Malavia came to this Ministry? I do not know. Bokaro would now limp and TISCO expansion would very probably proceed. What happened to the Ranchi H.E.C.? It was supposed to give one million to complete steel plant each year. This is how we run our steel plants. Then why collaboration for expansion or in setting up new plants. With this sad story, why do we have collaboration agreements. This is another point that I want to put to you. Then export of non-ferrous articles in the raw should be banned. Only finished and semi-finished products should be exported.

Now I will read out some of the points about J.K. Aluminium group. A letter of intent for expansion of 5,000 tonnes in 1964 was there. Instead, they squandered Rs. 60 lakhs for a fictitious Orissa project. They have sold all finished, semi-processed and processed stock, costly spare parts and stores during lock-out and opened a new account with this money in the United Bank of India. Wonderful. From the working capital they have purchased a house at 18, Alipore Road in 1968. A splitting machine instead of being installed in Jaykynagar has been installed in Calcutta. It gives no return. It is an extra expenditure charged to the company. It was purchased to expand the Jaykynagar Aluminium plant. On 21-12-73 Mr. T.A. Pai told the House that the company would be taken over. But now it has been abandoned. May I know under whose instruction the idea of taking over has been abandoned? They have deliberately kept the company closed for 7-8 months. Now Mr. Malaviya says that it will not be taken over. The taking over of this aluminium plant is absolutely essential.

Then it is reported that there is some blackmarketing of products and there are police diaries against this company. Then the loss shown by the company is false. Inflated power costs are shown at Rs. 30 lakhs. A sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been charged to loan account but it has not been utilised. The amount all-told is Rs. 74 lakhs. Further, a loan of Rs. 2.69 crores has been taken without utilising a single penny of this loan for the good of this company. That is how the affairs of the company are. Madam, the management of public sector undertakings has got to be democratised. I want State capitalism unlike the idea of socialism of Mr. Bipinpal Das that it is socialist sector. Bureaucratic capitalism is taking shape in the public sector. High officers, in collusion, are minting crores of rupees and building into bureaucratic capitalists. This is a dangerous phenomenon.

Lastly, coal to oil can be done in Assam, Raniganj, Asansol, Jharlia and Dhanbad and you need not spend a pie in foreign exchange. Now, this year a sum of Rs. 1,200 crores in foreign exchange is going to be spent for crude import. The project was taken up in 1948-49. The internationally famous scientist, Dr. J.C. Ghosh, submitted the project report in 1955-56. But it was put in cold storage. They have abandoned it in favour of the U.S. imperialists and foreign interests. We have landed in a mess. Since coal is under your portfolio, Mr. Malaviya, the policy of steel and coal equalisation price must be abolished. (*Time bell rings*) If we utilise coal-to-oil policy we need not pay a single pie for the import of crude. Let us develop coal, oil and petro-chemical complex in Assam, West Bengal and Bihar.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal): Madam, It is paradoxical to see that multi-storeyed buildings are coming up in big cities in this country. Wherefrom do they get steel? In these days of scarcity, when we cannot even feed our industries, large or small, how come these people are getting steel for multi-storeyed buildings in big cities and with what money?

Madam, I fail to understand the dual Pricing policy in regard to steel which has been introduced by the steel Ministry. I understand that this has been done in order

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to give steel at a cheaper rate to the priority sectors and sell it at a higher price to other sectors. Now, what are these priority sectors and how much steel are they consuming at the cheaper price? For example, they are supplying plates at a cheaper rate to the wagon-manufacturing companies. But plates and bars alone are not what they need. They need other things—Wheel and axle, bearings, bolts and nuts and so many other parts which they are to purchase from the open market. So this dual pricing policy has not solved any problem, has not helped the priority sector in the way the Ministry wanted it to help. But it has created a far bigger blackmarket in steel. In my opinion, this should be completely scrapped and there should be a single price for steel, and the steel should be allotted to the larger industries and also the small-scale industries according to the proportion of the production of the different sectors of the industry. Coming to the expansion of the steel plants, if you look into the Annual Report, you find that we will be requiring more than 0.45 million tonnes of alloy steel by 1980-81. There may be some expansion and we find on page 16 of the Report that Bhilai is going to be expanded from 2 to 4 million tonnes capacity and ultimately to 7 million tonnes. But if you look at Durgapur, you find that only a new coke oven battery is to be there and the town-ship is to be expanded, not the steel plant. Now, coming to the Alloy Steel Plant, Durgapur, we find here a vague term, "Expansion of Alloy Steel Plant". But what is the expansion there? To what capacity? What type of product? That very cleverly has been avoided here.

If you look at ferro-alloys, we are having ferro-manganese, ferro-chrome and other products here which we require badly for our own steel mills. On page 80 of the Report we find:

"Ferro-alloys are crucial to the growth of the alloy and special steel industry. Adequate capacity has already been created...."

But what adequate capacity? Where is the figure? What is our actual requirement? What is our actual production? But on the same page, you will find that we have exported a large quantity of these ferro-manganese, ferro-silicon and to some

extent ferro-chrome alloys. Without giving proper figures as to what is the actual requirement of these precious alloys, we are simply exporting these to other countries.

Now, coming to the creation of SAIL, we find that SAIL has been created as practically an autonomous body or corporation under the Ministry. Now it is surprising to find that the Secretary of steel Ministry is also the Chairman of the SAIL. For this SAIL a vast power has been given to the Chairman. Now, if the Chairman of the steel Authority and the Secretary are one and the same person, then it is very difficult to have any administration in the Authority because if there is any deficiency in the Authority regarding the working of any of the steel plants, then where will the complaint go? If the complaint is against the Chairman of the Authority, then it cannot go to the Secretary of the Steel Ministry because the same person is holding that position. And in the constitution of the SAIL, we find that enormous power has been given to a single person because the Chairman of the Board, in consultation with the President of India, will also appoint the Board members of the SAIL. Not only that, the Chairmen of the Subsidiaries are also to be appointed by the Chairman of the SAIL.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: "In consultation with...." Please read that.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI: It is not written "in consultation with".

This is a hand-out from the Ministry. On page 5 it is stated:

"The Chairmen of the subsidiaries are now appointed by the Chairman of the Steel Authority of India Ltd., with the approval of the President. The directors on the boards are appointed by the Chairman of the Steel Authority of India Ltd., in consultation with the Chairmen of the concerned Subsidiaries."

But at the very beginning the chairman of the subsidiary has been appointed by the Chairman of the SAIL. So naturally it is becoming a one-man show on the whole. Again, if we look at the expenses of the SAIL, what do we find in the SAIL office?

I understand that we are paying a rent of Rs. 1 lakh for the maintenance of the SAIL Office at Delhi? And what is the job they are doing? Usually we have a pyramid structure in the services in our country. But here we find a reverse pyramid in the work force of the SAIL. I quote from the annual report from page 27—"Out of a total staff strength of 109 we find that there are 51 Class I officers". Out of 109, 51 are Class I officers. And they are very much afraid to indicate how many there are in Class III. They have bracketed Class I, II and Class III and they have written 'Class II and III 37'. They have not separated them. Actually there are 30 Class II Officers. That is, 51 plus 30, 81 Class I and Class II officers are working in a single office in Delhi. I do not know whether it is worth spending this amount of money for the maintenance of this organisation.

Now coming to captive power plants, it is a new term which we are using. What do these captive power plants do in the steel plants? What type of captive power plants are they? Will they be run on diesel oil? We are actually short of diesel oil. Will it be a thermal power plant? How big is a thermal power plant required to be? Is it justified to build a thermal plant in each steel plant? Instead of that there should be an expansion of the existing thermal plants near the steel plants or build even a new power plant near the steel plants so that they can also feed the rural population of the whole area. Regarding this captive power plant or thermal power plant we find that nice stories have been given out. I do not know who is giving out these stories. For example, this morning we heard so much about 4400 MW power plant equipment lying idle. What it says is this. In one part it says, "2000 MW pertains to hydro-set of which imported component is more than 800 MW." Now, this does not require any coal-mine or coal. Then it says, "It will simply use surplus monsoon water and not pose many problems of maintenance." If it is so easy to run a hydro-set in a surplus monsoon water, Madam, then I feel that all hydro-sets should be shifted to Chairapunji in Assam so that we can have enough number of hydro-sets in a few minutes or in a few

days, because, in order to build a hydro-set how much time is required, how much money is required—a dam has to be built, a reservoir has to be built—is probably not known to the press reporter over here who makes an irresponsible statement and says that such a big amount of machinery, imported power equipment, is lying idle. If it is true, there should be a proper inquiry into who is responsible for keeping this machinery idle. In this connection, I may mention that the Shantal-dih unit which has been supplied to West Bengal by the BHEL has been a defective unit. That is why we are not getting 120 MW supplied to Calcutta and the industrial units there. Also there is a defect or shortfall in the transmission line because the transmission line and the transformer which have been built over there are not capable of transmitting so much power; the transformer there is not capable of transmitting so much power through those lines.

Now coming to the last two points—I will not take any more time—I am very sorry to raise these points on the floor of the House. Bengalis are the most emotional people. They are national, and more so, they are international. But look at the condition of West Bengal today. Out of the total working force over there, in Calcutta and in the industrial surroundings, more than 65 per cent of the people are from other States of the country. Look at the heart of the city. More than 30 per cent of the houses belong to the people from other States. Bengalis have been completely driven out from the actual city and they are now living six to eight miles away from the city, in the suburbs. In this context I am very hurt to find that a section of the Administration is trying to drive away a few technical people who are there or the qualified people who are at the helm of affairs in our country, especially in the industrial field. For example, I will simply name a very few. Mr. Lahiri is eased out from the Central Fuel Research Institute. Mr. S. K. Bhattacharya has been driven out from Bokaro. He has been transferred from there. There is another person Shri Hiten Bhaya, who has beedropped

[Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti]
from an important place. Dr. K. R. Chakrabarti has been driven out from Fertilizer Corporation of India. There has been a consistent attempt from a section of the administration, without effecting any improvement in the administration, who seems to have taken a vow in this regard, to have a Bengali hatao programme from all spheres of administration.

Madam, coming to the subject of administration, I would like to say this much about the role of bureaucracy....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:
Are you serious about what you said just now?

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI : I am very serious and concerned about it. Usually I never raise this on the floor of Parliament.

Regarding bureaucracy, let me read what Shri Mohan Dharia has said on the 28th April. He said:

"Unfortunately, the British-bred bureaucracy yet continues with its hold on administration".

I will now read a few lines from the Hindustan Standard of 28th April. There has been recently a settlement between the West Bengal Electricity Board and the engineers. You will see what our administration is doing.

The West Bengal agreement with the engineers of the State Electricity Board on Thursday has caused a lot of trouble in Government circles and dismay—I want to underline this word—among the IAS officers. The IAS Association has got in touch with the Association of the WBCS officers and WBJS officers to forge greater unity.

Madam, I may mention just one more point in this connection. A case has been pending with the Health Ministry about a highly qualified person who has worked in the Public Hygiene Institute of Calcutta....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): What has it to do with this discussion? Please do not raise it.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI: I am not raising it.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Now please finish.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI: Madam, one thing I want to emphasize. Administration must do justice to all sections and it must be reorganised in such a manner so that we must have a dedicated category of people who can serve the public sector in the management positions and who can undertake the job of industrial development.

I would like to finish by saying just a few lines. I admit that there may be some politicians near to the seat of power who indulge in favouritism and other activities. But what is the actual political life of a politician who remains near the power? At the most varying from 2 years to 10 years, on an average it is 6 years. How much damage they can do to the economic development of the country? Politicians may come and go. But Administration is there and is going to be there for ever. If they indulge in corrupt practices, nepotism and favouritism, then even God will not be able to save this country from chaos and destruction.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh)
Madam, Vice-Chairman, Shri Malaviyaji has taken up on himself the responsibility of development of steel and production of coal at a time when the country needs the maximum production from these two sectors. He has accepted a bold challenge and I wish him all success. We stand by him in achieving the targets and the Parliament I hope, will give and provide him the necessary resources and also support to his ministry. It is not a question of party approach here. And recriminations may not be very helpful at this moment and personalities unnecessarily need not be brought into the discussion. These will only lower the level of the debate.

Coming to the point, this Ministry controls nearly 45 percent of the total investment in the public sector. The investment of steel is about 33 percent of the total public sector investment and the investment of minerals and metals is about 12 percent.

Madam, there is a long story and long history about steel. Every year we have been discussing this in some form or the other. But there has been some improvement in 1972-73. But, unfortunately, there has been again a regression, a retreat, from the position in 1973-74 and it seems to be so because the Ministry, in its report, has just indicated that the production may be even less than what we achieved in 72-73. Now, where are we in relation to the other countries and where are we when compared to a few years ago. The native state of affairs, both horizontally and vertically, reveals that we have not done well, taking an overall view of the situation. In respect of steel production, in 1965-66, we achieved 6.5 million tonnes of ingot production. In fact, now it has been almost stagnant. In 1966-67 it was 6.5 million tonnes, in 1967-68 it was 6.3 million tonnes, in 1968-69, it was 6.5 million tonnes, in 1969-70 it was 6.4 million tonnes, in 1970-71 it was 6.1 million tonnes, in 1971-72 it was 6.3 million tonnes and in 1972-73 it was 6.9 million tonnes and I am afraid now it is only 6.5 million tonnes and it may go down. This shows that we have been quite stagnant. What is the reason? It is no use trying to find a scapegoat. The railways have been serving the steel sector just as they are serving the other sectors. And, Madam, the question of industrial relations is not peculiar to the steel industry alone. The bureaucratisation of the whole management is not peculiar to steel alone or mines alone. Therefore, there is something basic in this which is a very strong constraint in this particular field of production and the Minister, I think, might be taking a lot of interest in trying to lift this out of the inertia and out of the inhibitions that are there so that in this critical situation we may find some succour from his Ministry. Fortunately, Madam, our steel, the Indian steel, today is in a position to compete with the world steel in price. I think this position may be there for a long time to come. In fact, many products for which we were searching for markets earlier now have got almost a sellers' market such as sugar and textiles. Now, let not this country lose this golden opportunity though there may be the oil crisis which is going to place or which has already placed a heavy burden on our external resources. Now, as I was saying,

a horizontal comparison, that is to say, a comparison with the other countries, would reveal certain interesting things. We must learn from the experience of the other countries. Between 1966 and 1970, Japan has increased its production by 95%. From a level of 47.8 it went up to 93.3 and West Germany went up by 27% and France by 21% in these five years and we have stood stagnant and the increase is not even 1%. How can it be? Let us analyse this situation. Are we short of raw materials actually? Are we short of the raw materials like iron ore, coking coal, limestone and what not? In the case of iron ore production, Madam, there has been a steep increase. But, unfortunately, two-thirds of it is exported and all the countries which did possess high-grade ore have almost exhausted it and India is one of the few countries which are parting with high-grade iron ore. We have been saying on the floor of this House about this and when Mr. Pai was in charge of this, we request him to re-examine the whole question of export of high-grade iron ore and he promised to do so. Now, Japan which is not having even a small percentage of this raw material is able to accelerate its production and I think it is probably because of better management. But I do not think that the Japanese worker is much healthiest or more patriotic though he may be so a bit more. There must be something wrong with the structure of the management. I would request the Minister to examine, first of all, the structure of management, whether it needs to be more decentralised, whether the Boards need to be re-constituted, whether the personnel who are in charge of these things are over-burdened with work. In fact, I feel that these two activities require more than half a dozen Ministers. In fact, Malaviyaji should be relieved of administrative and Parliamentary work, if necessary. After all, the industrial life of the country hinges on the production of coal, production of steel, production of fertilizers, and we are now nowhere if we do not rise to the occasion. So this is the state of affairs when we compare our position in relation to other countries or with our position five years ago.

Next, after having said something about steel, I come to coal. Madam, even about

[Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti]

coal production what has happened? The production of coking coal, for instance, in 1968-69, that is, before the Fourth Plan was begun, was 17 million tonnes. In 1973-74 it is expected that it would only be 17 million tonnes. Even after five years we have made no improvement in this respect. What is the difficulty? Mr. Kalyan Roy has made certain pertinent points. Is there anything that is hidden hand, which is preventing production, going in for new sources or finding new resources?

Then, in regard to non-coking coal, of course, we have made some improvement. In 1968-69, it was 54 million tonnes. It is anticipated that this year, that is, in 1973-74, it would be 62 million tonnes. There seems to be some improvement. But Malaviyaji must be conscious that in the Fifth Five year Plan the Government has given a commitment that it will increase at the rate of 8 million tonnes every year, to reach a target of 135 million tonnes in regard to both coking and non-coking coal—8 million tonnes for non-coking coal and 3 million tonnes of coking coal, otherwise the whole plan is going to be defeated.

Now, when we come to iron ore position—Madam, I do not want to take more time, because much has already been said—I think for every one ton of lump ore, the same quantity of fines also come out, but fines are not exported. I am sure that fines are actually stock-piling there. They are going to create a hell of trouble for us. So this must be examined. Now it is not merely emptying the bosom of the earth and throwing away. Its judicious use must be made. Secondly, Madam, for exporting one tonne of steel, I think it might be correct if I say that 15 tonnes of iron ore has to be exported, and that will require 25 to 30 tonnes of average ore. Similarly, to import one tonne steel, it is much more. This calculation may be checked. I shall be happy if I am wrong that 60 to 65 tonnes of iron ore has to be picked up to get one tonne of steel, to import one tonne steel. And the price rise in world market of steel has been phenomenal. But the price of pig iron has been static. We have been seeing this. It will not be in his Ministry. The Minister

of Export and Import may be concerned with it. But, while the whole world is conserving its scarce resources, we are simply thrusting our iron ore into the world market. Is it worthwhile? The production of steel has been stagnant. There is some constraint about which I do not know at the moment. But I hope Mr. Malaviya will be able to tell the House about them. Secondly, there is coal production. Mr. Malaviya has made a very big commitment of increasing the production of non-coking coal by 8 million tonnes every year and of coking coal by 3 million tonnes every year. It has to be seen whether he can keep to this target. Madam, it is not only the question of picking up and putting it on the ground. There has been a lot of stock-piling in the steel mills and the movement constraint has been there. I come to know that in certain lines, for instance the Bailadilla-Visakhapatnam line—though I am not sure about it—there is only one-way traffic. They just take iron ore and the wagons come back empty. Even the planning of railway lines has been defective.

Lastly, I want to come to Visakhapatnam and Vijayanagar steel plants. These were conceived in the sixties. Dr. Chakravarty has spoken about them in greater detail. There has been a lot of agitation and a lot of loss was incurred by Andhra Pradesh at that time. What is the fate of those projects? First of all, they were designed for 2 million tonnes. Ultimately, it was found that they were going to lose. Now they are designed for 3 million tonnes. So far, only one Land Acquisition Officer has been appointed. I do not know if it will see light of the day even in the Sixth Plan. The same is the fate of Vijayanagar Steel Project in Karnataka.

We are unable to consolidate what we have actually installed. What is the capacity utilisation? It is less than two-third. One-third of the capacity is idle. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that if we did not move fast or if we did not ride the bicycle fast, we were likely to be left behind. Let us actually keep this as our guideline. If this country does not move fast, all these difficulties will arise. So, it is actually a question of moving fast.

Lastly, I would like to make a suggestion to the hon. Minister. The parliamentary control must be assured on all public sector undertakings. Now, only the executive control is not there. It cannot be there. To have the parliamentary control, the Minister will take this House into confidence and allow a debate on these things every three months. Let the Minister give a blueprint for every 3 months and let it be discussed by Parliament every 3 months. It should be so especially with regard to fertilisers, steel and coal.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It should be coal, steel and fertilisers.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: You can say so. You are an expert. I am a layman. The Minister should take the co-operation of the House. Many Members are fully conversant with the subject. The speeches which have been made are not political speeches. They might have criticised a particular point. In a parliamentary debate, this kind of things happen. The House is at his disposal and he can take advantage of it. We cannot afford to wait. The figures that we have got are with respect to 1972-73. We do not have the latest figures at all and it will be very difficult for us to make any comment upon these things. With these few words, I conclude my speech. Thank you.

श्री कमलनाथ झा (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश की आजादी की शुरुआत हुई देश के बटवारे से। हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दो हिस्सों में हमारा देश बंटा। इस आजाद मुल्क में भी जब नई अर्थ नीति शुरू की गई तो प्राइवेट सैक्टर और पब्लिक सैक्टर के दो हिस्सों में हमारी अर्थ नीति भी बंटी और अगर हम निष्पक्ष भाव से इन दोनों नीतियों के सम्बन्ध में विचार करें तो हम कम्पेन्स इस नीति पर पहुँचेंगे कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर में हमने जिन चीजों को छोड़ा आज वहाँ चोर-बाजारी, मुनाफाखोरी, मिलावट का राज्य है। सारे देश में चोरबाजारी, जमाखोरी, मुनाफाखोरी, और मिलावट से एक भयंकर स्थिति पैदा होती जा रही है। आज मुनाफाखोरों का ही साम्राज्य है। ठीक उसी तरह से पब्लिक सैक्टर में जिन चीजों को हमने लिया, जिनको

हम लोग राष्ट्रीयकरण के नाम से मानते हैं, इस राष्ट्रीयकरण का क्या अर्थ है, यह तो अलग बात है, लेकिन जिसको हम पब्लिक सैक्टर मानते हैं वहाँ हम देखते हैं कि अफसरशाही का एक साम्राज्य स्थापित हो गया है। प्राइवेट सैक्टर में मुनाफाखोर और पूजीपतियों का साम्राज्य है और पब्लिक सैक्टर में अफसरशाही का साम्राज्य बन गया है। इस साम्राज्यशाही की चट्टान से टकरा कर औद्योगिक प्रगति उत्पादन में बढ़ोत्तरी, ऐफिशियेंसी, सामाजिक न्याय सभी एक-एक करके चकनाचूर होते जा रहे हैं। आपके सामने अभी अन्य देशों के उदाहरण रखे गये हैं।

1.7 मिलियन टन से आरम्भ करके जापान जो बहुत दिनों तक अमरीका का गुलाम था, उसके वर्चस्व के नीचे था, 90 मिलियन टन के स्टील उत्पादन पर पहुँच गया। जापान के पास कच्चा माल लोहा बनाने के लिए नहीं है जिसके पास कच्चे माल की पूजी नहीं है वह 90 गुना आगे बढ़ जाता है और संसार में जिस देश के पास सबसे अधिक कच्चा माल है वह संसार में सबसे नीचे सतह पर पड़ा हुआ है। भारत की अफसरशाही की मैं चीन की अफसरशाही के साथ तुलना करना चाहता हूँ। अभी-अभी एक कनाडा के रिपोर्टर ने लिखा है कि जब वह चीन के सबसे बड़े इस्पात कारखाने के डाइरेक्टर से मिलने गया तो उसे बताया गया कि वह किचन में चपाती बेल रहा है, रोटी बेल रहा है। आश्चर्य हुआ कि इस्पात कारखाने का डाइरेक्टर किचन में चपाती बेले और एक दूसरे कारखाने के डाइरेक्टर से जब वह मिलने गया तो कहा कि सरकारी दुकान में झाड़ू लगाने गये हैं क्योंकि उसके जिम्मे 5 सरकारी दुकानों में झाड़ू लगाना है। जैसे हम लोग किसी दिन फैशन के लिए झाड़ू लगाते हैं वैसे नहीं, उसके जिम्मे काम था कि तीस वर्ष की नौकरी में उसको सप्ताह में 9 घंटे चपाती बेलनी पड़ेगी और दूसरे को 5 दुकानों की सफाई करनी पड़ेगी। यह है वहाँ की अफसरशाही। हमारे देश की अफसरशाही यह है कि फर्स्ट क्लास और

[श्री कमलनाथ झा]

एयरकंडीशन में उनको आराम नहीं है, इनको तो हवाई जहाज चाहिए चाहे स्टील का उत्पादन जहन्नुम में जाये, करोड़ों रुपये की क्षति हर साल क्यों न हो, फिर भी 45 करोड़ रुपया इनका पेट भरने के लिए इस गरीब देश के पेट को काटकर हर साल देना चाहिए। यह है ब्यूरोक्रेसी। अगर इसी ब्यूरोक्रेसी का नाम समाजवाद कहा जाएगा तो एक दिन ऊब करके हिन्दुस्तान की जनता समाजवाद का नाम जबान पर लेना छोड़ देगी। लेकिन यह समाजवाद नहीं है। हमारे सामने उत्तर कोरिया का उदाहरण है, चीन का उदाहरण है, रूस का उदाहरण है। इन देशों ने स्टील उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में समाजवादी नीतियों का अनुसरण कर विश्व में एक कीर्तिमान स्थापित किया है। जनतांत्रिक देशों में जापान का उदाहरण तो एक ऐसा आदर्श है जिसका संसार में कोई जवाब नहीं है। चीन समाजवादी व्यवस्था के सहारे आज संसार में सुपर पावर की जगह पर चला गया। छोटा सा कोरिया और दूसरे देश इतनी तरक्की कर गये और इसके साथ-साथ फ्री वर्ल्ड में जापान इतनी तरक्की कर गया लेकिन हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था क्या है। न जापान की तरह हम तरक्की कर पाते हैं और न सोशलिस्ट वर्ल्ड की तरह ही हम तरक्की कर पाते हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि पूंजीवाद और अफसरशाही दोनों मिल कर इस देश को बर्बाद करने पर तुले हुये हैं। इस लिए आज मैं आप के माध्यम से सभापति महोदया, अपने क्रान्तिकारी मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम एक विभाग को तो आप नमूने के तौर पर तैयार कीजिए। *Nationalisation is not bureaucratisation.*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY :
Hear, hear.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : You
will be coming to this side very soon.

श्री कमलनाथ झा : आप को नेशनलाइ-
जेशन से क्या मतलब है, आप के लिए तो

फ्री लान्सिंग है। दूसरी बात मैं बहुत दुख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप के लिए यह भी संभव न हो तो कम से कम आज इस हिन्दुस्तान के वर्तमान को जो यह अफसर लोग बिगाड़ रहे हैं या मुनाफाखोर लोग जो इस को बिगाड़ रहे हैं कम से कम इस के भविष्य को तो बिगड़ने से बचाइये और भविष्य को बिगाड़ने से बचाने के सिलसिले में मैं आप से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा हमारे मित्र ने कहा कि गोआ में जो वेस्ट स्टील के स्टाक हैं मध्य भारत में भी वेस्ट स्टील माइन्स हैं। मैं किरीबुर गया था बिहार में जो वेस्ट आयरन और के मैटीरियल हैं उन्हें तो बाहर भेजा जाता है कम से कम उन को तो बाहर भेजे जाने पर आप रोक लगा दें। तीसरी बात मैं आप के माध्यम से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि आज सोशलिज्म का अर्थ केवल चेंज इन ओनरशिप ही माना जाता है। लेकिन इसका अर्थ है चेंज इन मोड आफ प्रोडक्शन ऐंड मीन्स आफ प्रोडक्शन। उत्पादन के संबंध में परिवर्तन और उत्पादन की पद्धति में परिवर्तन। इस मायने में, मैं साम्यवाद और पूंजीवाद को सगा भाई मानता हूँ क्योंकि उसमें मीन्स आफ प्रोडक्शन और मोड आफ प्रोडक्शन सेम रहता है। ओनरशिप आफ मीन्स आफ प्रोडक्शन, उसका सिर्फ रिलेशन बदल जाता है। यही वजह है कि अमरीका और रूस मानव जाति को नई सभ्यता नहीं दे पा रहे हैं क्योंकि उनका सिस्टम आफ प्रोडक्शन सेम है। यह बहुत बड़े सिद्धांत की बात है और मैं उसमें अभी नहीं जाना चाहता लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश में बड़े-बड़े टील प्लांट्स की मार्फत अगर आप स्टील का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ायेगे तो पिछले 25 वर्ष में आप को जो विफलता मिली है, जो तजुर्बा हुआ है वही तजुर्बा और विफलता आप को होगा क्योंकि यह बड़ा हाथी खायेगा बहुत, इसमें पूंजी बहुत लगेगी और इंप्लायमेंट कम होगा और अगर एक बार लास हो गया तो हैवी लास होगा। इसलिये

न केवल स्टील प्रोडक्शन की नयी टेक्नोलॉजी आप को डवलप करनी होगी जिस में कास्ट आफ सेटिंग आफ प्लांट कम लगे और प्रोडक्शन की एफिशेंसी ज्यादा हो और इन्प्लायमेंट अधिक हो। यह नयी टेक्नोलॉजी मानव जाति को नयी सभ्यता प्रदान करेगी और साम्यवाद तथा पूंजीवाद के वर्चस्व से बचायेगी। इस नवीन उत्पादन पद्धति का निकलना मानव सभ्यता के लिए बहुत ही आवश्यक है। इसलिए इस पर हिन्दुस्तान के नये डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्टों को अपना दिमाग लगाना होगा। पुरानी पद्धति से सोचने वाले लोग इस रास्ते में नहीं चल सकते हैं। अंत में मैं कुछ अपने प्वाइंट्स आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

(*Interruption*) इसके साथ-साथ मैं दो बातें और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। आपने बहुत सी इंडस्ट्रीज में अफसरों के ऊपर भरोसा किया। कम से कम मालवीय जी से आपके माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूर और टैक्नीशियंस के ऊपर भरोसा करके स्टील प्लांट्स में प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने के लिए एक्सपैरिमेंट कीजिए। क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान में कई नए एक्सपैरिमेंट हो रहे हैं इसलिए इस पर भी एक एक्सपैरिमेंट करके देखिए। जो मजदूर हैं, टैक्नीशियंस हैं उनके माध्यम से काम करके उनके ऊपर भरोसा कीजिए।

इसके साथ-साथ जन-उपयोगी चीजें, जैसे कोयला और लोहा है, इसका जो मौजूदा डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम है उस डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम को बदलकर हिन्दुस्तान की जनता तक उचित मूल्य में ये चीजें पहुंचाई जा सकें। ऐसे वितरण की व्यवस्था कायम करने की नितांत आवश्यकता है। आम्का आदेश है इसलिए भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Madam Vice-Chairman, I sincerely welcome the criticisms made in this House with regard to the functioning of the Ministry of Steel and Mines and I submit, Madam, that I wished more criticism to be made against me or my Ministry. While I say so, I beg to

submit—and I should be allowed to say—that I am not a man made of wax and I am determined to continue accepting the challenge of the great task that has been imposed on me and I shall endeavour my best to see that the great party to which I have the honour to belong, functions through the efforts made by humble partners like me to progress which will satisfy not only our own people but also the critics who sometimes do not offer legitimate criticism or, perhaps, due to lack of information or if I may use the word, some understanding, they are often referring to matters which, perhaps, they could have not if they had given a little more attention or consideration to the points involved or to the complications that these two Departments of the Ministry, Coal and Steel are today confronting under a situation which is not only the creation of this Government or of this party system but also a situation in which the entire people are involved today. But I will revert to this subject a little later. First of all, I must hasten to refer to certain matters which I did not mention in the other House while my Ministry's affairs were discussed. Firstly, Madam, a criticism was made with regard to the functioning of the Steel Authority and the authoritarian manner in which the whole concept of the Steel Authority was conceived and the officer who is now conducting the affairs was being referred to. I might remind the House that the Steel Authority of India is mainly meant to plan, promote and organise an integrated and efficient development of the iron and steel and associated input industry which is iron-ore, coking coal, manganese, lime stone refractories in accordance with the national economic policy and objective laid-down by the Government from time to time. This was the overall objective for creating this Authority and the subject-matters that were involved in this Authority's functioning were such as were directly related to the production of steel and also its distribution. All such inputs that were required for steel production were entrusted to this Authority. It is not correct to say that it is a one-man show; it cannot be a one-man show because it is an Authority which was organised and made up under the authority of the Government of India

[Shri K.D. Malviya]

where all powers are derived from the Central Government and everything is done in the name of the President and the House is very well aware that when the President functions the Government functions. The Government is always consulted whether a Steel Authority is made here or a Coal Authority is made there or an organisation which looks like a very big organisation functions in order to implement the decisions and the programme of the Government or a ministry or department of the Government. This gentleman who is now holding charge of the Steel Authority on behalf of the Ministry of Steel and Mines is discharging his duties to the best of his abilities. I am thoroughly satisfied with the manner in which functions are being performed within the framework of the authority created for the Steel Authority and also within certain traditions that are built up only recently, because this is only a one-year old child or a little more. In dealing with such complicated problems I should be allowed to submit that perhaps a year or so is not enough and therefore neither I nor the House, if I may be allowed to say so, should be in a hurry to condemn the system or the Authority which is created and which is confronted with a task which is admittedly very complicated and very difficult.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: We have got the Tatas. I have given you figures.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Tata or no Tata first of all we are being criticised to have had bureaucrats, the ICS and the IAS people. When in the country experienced technicians are collected from this place or that place and when an attempt is made to organise a cadre from top to bottom—I will submit that we have collected a brilliant group of people in a cadre—these boys led by experienced officers will be discharging the most onerous type of work and it should be looked at with a little more sympathy. Yet I do not say that we should not be criticised for the mistakes that are being committed. The hon. Members are entitled to do it but when their criticism...

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: Production of oil and soap may not be the best experience for the steel industry.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I do not know that a politician can arrogate to himself to know everything; if I read history I am not supposed to arrogate to myself the knowledge of all the matters that come under the umbrella of this world. Therefore, it is not fair to say that a man who has attained expertise in one system of work will not be able to function or discharge his duties with regard to other matters that face him. I do not subscribe to the view that a man who has developed expertise in commercial activities of selling one particular type of thing will not be able to develop the expertise to deal with matters which fall under another group of things but I do not want to go into all these details. What I want to submit is that the Ministry of Mines and Steel have built up a very strong cadre from top to bottom in which there are very few people who come from the bureaucracy. We have got the Secretary of the Mines who throughout his life has been a technical man, who is a mining engineer of the highest grade that the country can produce.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You say that Wadud Khan is a mining engineer?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I am referring to the CMA.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Mr. Chari is a mining engineer.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I am not referring to the Steel Authority. While referring to the Steel Authority, I want to say that here is a man who is heading the Steel Authority, who has experience of business, who has the experience of dealing with millions and millions worth of commodities, who knows how to deal with commodities, who has dealt with the business aspect of things. Surely if a bureaucrat is not able to do all these things, then we should search in a field where businessmen are carrying on their business. If we find that a man brought from the technical world or a man brought from the commercial world is not fit, then we have to find a man from some other world. We shall try to find a man from some other world also, but to criticise a man who is doing his utmost and who is

not here to answer some of the reasonable or some of the most unreasonable criticisms is surely not very fair. I want to submit that the Steel Authority has to function always in consultation with the Government. Sometimes he is certainly authorised not to consult and it was decided after a lot of experience that in respect of certain matters autonomy has to be given to the Steel Authority. If every time the Steel Authority has to come to the Ministers or the Cabinet or the Secretary, Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, for a formal permission, then the entire object of creating this Steel Authority is negated. Therefore, taking all the factors into account, this experiment is the best experiment. Without committing ourselves to a situation where I should say all is well, I must say that this is the best under the circumstances. Yet I say that some sort of restructuring is needed and within the three months that I have had the chance of looking into matters I do feel that, in consultation with our colleagues in the Secretariat, who are more technicians than bureaucrats, or bureaucrats who have been turned into technocrats—I have no doubt that they are some of the finest bureaucrats who have now turned themselves into technocrats, better than what I can claim about myself or some of the politicians with whom I have to deal—we are living in a world of real purposiveness. We are trying really to learn and undo our mistakes and the more we get into the job the more we learn that we have made some mistakes and we shall not do them again. Therefore, I would beg of the House to give this Ministry a little more time, to give this experiment a little more time, and not to be so cruel to me or be cruel to my colleagues in the Ministry. Otherwise, the work in which they are engaged gets frustrated and they get frustrated. To condemn a man who does not perhaps deserve to be so cruel is to frustrate his efforts. Together with the problem that we face today, about which you know more than I do—because you have to deal with this problem through your leaders in the trade union movement who are today negotiating for a strike or no strike—our problems get more complicated. No steel will be produced and no coal will be produced. Even what we have to so far been able to produce we will

not be able to produce, if the situation which is facing us today is allowed to deteriorate. That is why I have taken the liberty in the other House to say that if politics is introduced in the trade union movement, then better days are not to come for us. Not only that. If the railway strike takes place and if the negotiations unfortunately break down, then I do not know how we can formulate our programme for the development of production of steel or coal or coking or non-coking coal or improve transport. Nothing can be done, and then the consequences are very well known to the House. For that, we should be all prepared. Enough has been said—and I have heard—of instances of Japan, of America, of China, of this country or that country. The House is very well aware of the circumstances in which a country goes ahead in production. What has happened in Japan is known to the House as much as it is known to me. Let us not, for God's sake, compare and contrast the conditions. We are experimenting to day with a certain way of life which was not the experience of those countries. We are experimenting with a complicated social system which we are determined to preserve, and in that process we are compelled against our will, to admit that there is an inevitability or a gradualness in the process of onward march. We cannot progress if we go on experimenting with a type of functioning in politics that is contrary to all norms of production....

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): On a point of information. Who introduced party politics in the trade union movement? Which party?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: It is no use blaming each other. If I say you, you will not agree. If I say, Mr. Kalyan Roy, he will not agree with me. If I say Mr. Niren Ghosh, he will not agree with me. I am trying to be as impersonal as possible. I am not going to take a personal view about it.

With your permission, Madam, I will pass on to certain other aspects.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: If you will permit me, Madam, I can say who introduced party politics into the trade union movement before independence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please do not interrupt.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : He is making that statement. Because, who is responsible...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Nobody asked you to say why.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Before independence, there was only one All India Trade Union Congress. And who created the INTUC after independence? Party politics in the trade union movement was brought in by the Indian National Congress.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I will also say something which will displease him very much, Madam. I do not want to do that. It is much better that he listens to me patiently and does not bring in matters which are not very relevant.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Yours is a general statement which I have to correct.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : Madam, there was criticism that we are losing in our export of mineral products. In certain respects, we are losing in mineral exports. But what can we do. A specific instance quoted was in regard to iron ore. Our export of iron ore to Japan from Bailadilla certainly has not given us well; nominally it has given us some profit, Rs. 2 or Rs. 2 1/2 per tonne. It is most unsatisfactory. But we have to earn foreign exchange if we have to develop our country. We have to carry on trade in this international world, and we have to earn foreign exchange. When we have to earn foreign exchange, all is not well with us. There are two parties to negotiate. The movement we try to negotiate beyond our capacities, there are other countries also which can come and compete. Therefore, all factors of competition are taken into consideration. And it is no use our referring to those things here. The House must be knowing that whenever we enter the international market, there are considerations and considerations. The first and the foremost is that we must earn foreign exchange. It is not a very happy thing.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Why don't you have a producers' cooperative like the Arabs? Unfortunately, I have been told, the Commerce Ministry comes in the way.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I do not want our good quality iron ore at Bailadilla to go anywhere else. I will be the last man to do it. I know, here is Japanese leadership, and they can get iron ore from elsewhere also at a cheaper price, perhaps. Or the quality may not be very good.

But they are in a much better position to bargain with us. Therefore, while we are trying to export our commodities we have to be very careful in seeing that our twin objective of earning foreign exchange and maintaining our relations with friendly countries goes on in a healthy fashion so that our trade continues.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : If the hon'ble Minister yields...

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : If you just let me finish a few more points.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: This is the same point. I have requested that the economics of this iron ore may be examined even with Mr. Pai. May I know for importing one ton of steel how much of high grade iron ore we have to pick up from the mine for export?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I do not know what the hon'ble Member has in his mind. If he has in mind that we should not export iron ore, then all that I can say is that we do not agree. We have got to export iron ore even though it may not be a very good proposition for us to export iron ore. If he wants that we should not import steel, that is not possible. We have got to import certain classes of steel. It is impossible to ignore the fact that we have to import steel. We cannot produce all types of steel that is required. We are not yet ready for that. Even Americans are importing steel. They want to import some steel from countries which are surplus. Therefore import and export are world phenomena which cannot be stopped at the will of political leadership. There are certain problems involved in this export and import which are sometimes beyond our capability.

I was referring to another very regrettable factor which has pained me very much. This was raised by Mr. Chakrabarti and also referred to in some respect by Mr. Niren Ghosh, namely, that there is a tendency in our Ministry to weed out Bengalis. This is a very, very unjustified accusation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I did not level that accusation. Of course, what I said was that Mr. Bhattacharya was shunted out in the interest of Tatas.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I will offer my explanation to Mr. Niren Ghosh for his consideration. It will be a doomsday for a party or for a Government or a department of the Government when they think in terms of excluding Bengalis or any province's great man or national from the mainstream of our activities. We could never dream of such a phenomenon. I protest against such a remark made by my friend, Dr. Chakrabarti, when he said that a systematic effort is being made to weed out Bengalis from our Ministry.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : He quoted two instances, one of Dr. Lahiri and the other of Shri Bhattacharya. I do not wish to say much about Dr. Lahiri. Dr. Lahiri has left this country of his own accord. Some reasons were given by one of our colleagues in the other House. They were repeated by the hon'ble Member who made this charge against this Ministry. Dr. Lahiri went of his own accord and whenever he comes back it is his own sweet will; he has to choose whether he has to stay here or not in conditions which were put before him. Therefore, we are not at all guilty of even asking Dr. Lahiri to go out. At the same time we are quite aware of the abilities and capabilities of Dr. Lahiri. We may not agree with the assessment that coal can be got converted into liquid fuel in Assam or in Raniganj. The economic viability has still to be examined; we are examining it. Nobody will be happier than myself if I am told that a coal synthesis plant can be established in Assam, Raniganj or elsewhere in the country. We want many plans like that. We must have resources and the know-how. Even today an international symposium is going on in this capital of ours which is considering this matter.

Many of our talented technicians are just there. The hon'ble Member should know that a cadre is coming up in this country. And this cadre, I tell you, is a cadre of which every political party should be proud in this country. Our own Ministry is building up the cadre from below. You have to go to Bokaro and see in what brilliant manner, our boys are coming up. You have to go to Durgapur, you have to go to Bhilai to see what is being done.

Now, about these ingots to TISCO from the Durgapur Steel Plant, the ingots go from a steel plant to another steel plant in the normal course. If we have not got enough power at the Durgapur Steel Plant, then the ingots cannot stay there indefinitely. The ingots have to be rolled into saleable steel.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: That is the thing. TISCO has power. Durgapur has no power and you say that it is a sick child. You will not expand it, which will make it viable. The coke oven battery is lying there from 1968.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : Unfortunately in Durgapur we are experiencing a shortage of power. It is a fact. And the DVC has failed to give that amount of power which we require. Durgapur depends for its power mostly and mainly on the DVC. If we do not get power, there is this development of an imbalance in ingot collection and its rolling into finished product. Therefore, it has to go somewhere. Ultimately every pound of steel or every tonne of steel will be sold according to the JPC distribution formula.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I dispute it. Tatas are selling the TISCO products at fantastic prices, much higher than the JPC prices.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I beg to submit for his information that Durgapur ingots go to TISCO for re-rolling and conversion into saleable products and they are distributed according to the Government scheme. If there is any specific information possessed by my friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh that such and such product was sold at such and such price, he might pass on the information to me and I will look into it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No saleable steel is piling up with Tatas, whereas

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

Rs. 5 crores worth of stock has piled up in Durgapur. You can move ingots, but you cannot dispose of saleable steel;

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I will give the figures of stocks of saleable steel. The stock of saleable steel in Bhilai is 1,88,200 tonnes. In Durgapur, the stock of saleable steel is 28,200 tonnes. In Rourkela, it is 72,700 tonnes, in TISCO, 76,000 tonnes and in IISCO, 27,000 tonnes. This is the state of affairs so far as saleable steel is concerned.

Now, I am coming to another criticism made by Mr. Bipinpal Das or somebody else, I do not remember, that the production of all mineral ores is falling.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : Not all, almost all.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: It is not correct, not even "almost all". Perhaps there are one or two items where production has fallen. Now I will try to satisfy him. The production of Bauxite had fallen in 1973. Otherwise, it was increasing. It came down from 1,692 to 1,295. Chromite has registered an increase; coal has registered an increase; copper ore has registered an increase; dolomite has registered an increase; gold has not registered an increase; gypsum has registered an increase; iron ore has registered an increase; Kyanite has registered an increase; lead concentrate has registered an increase; limestone.....

SHRI KALAYAN ROY : That is all in the Report. Why are you reading it?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I swear by the Report. An hon. Member levelled the charge that production was falling. Therefore, I am trying to...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Deal with the basic, controversial issues that we have raised—elected committees, workers' co-operation, contractors and so on.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I am coming to these special points which are the favourite points of Mr. Kalyan Roy and myself. Then, about coal production I have already said. It has registered an increase. The production of coking coal has undoubtedly registered a fall, a decline, because of the shortage of power and one

or two other factors. Now, it is a fact that coking coal was produced in greater quantities when the mines were not nationalised. But may I submit the reasons for it? The reasons ought to be known. They are obvious. Slaughter-mining was going on at that time. Even pillars were scraped. Sandbagging was not done. And the owners of the mines wanted to produce coking coal. My honourable friend from the SSP might get this information that the old coal-mine owners were slaughtering the mines mainly with a view to earning a little more money because they were getting good money for the coking coal. The moment the coal-mines were nationalised, we had to rationalise production and bring mines to an order. And since then we are facing a lot of difficulties. I do not wish to go into those difficulties. But it is quite possible? that the rate of rise in production of coking coal may not be as good as or as satisfactory as I would like it to be because we have to take care of the mines. We are here and there hearing of accidents and fatal accidents in mines. We want to avoid it as soon as possible. We are taking steps to see that those mines which have become murky or bad or susceptible to frequent accidents, those are stopped and to see that accidents do not occur. Therefore, in its totality....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: How do you contradict this statement issued by the Ministry of Labour on 26-4-1974 in their own name—Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation—that in some coalmine areas it is increasing by as much as 500 times after nationalisation? This is a letter of the Chief Administrative Officer, Directorate-General, Mines Safety, Dhanbad, dated 26-4-1974.

SHRI K. D. MALVIYA: I take the information from the honourable Member and then see what we can do about it.

a Now, this I have already disposed of. Then I come to some of the general issues that face us in the Steel Ministry as well as in the Coal Department....

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA (Bihar): I would like to know if the attention of the Minister has been drawn to uranium from Jaduguda mines in Bihar. From those uranium mines uranium is taken and that is

being sold in the black market and you know how important uranium is for atomic energy....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): You could have participated in the debate itself instead of raising it now. Now it is too late.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH (Bihar): He is coming to the House just now and is asking questions as if this is Question Hour.

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA: I know this is not Question Hour.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Unfortunately, our production target of steel has not been fulfilled and there are obvious difficulties. Some of them are technological which will take some time to be corrected. It is not possible for me to make a commitment to this House that the technological problems that are being faced by Durgapur and to a certain extent Rourkela are likely to be removed very soon, but...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Expansion is the vital need.

SHRI K.D. MALAVIYA: Expansion is only possible when we can find out a rationale of quick production, quick increase in production, by as little expenditure as possible, because the ways and means position is also not so easy as is generally understood by honourable Members. If it is possible for me I would have given one steel plant on the desire of every Member of this House in his own district. But we have all to understand the implications because, after all, a steel mill is a prestige plant for every district, for every State. But the difficulty is this. Orissa wanted a second plant. It was quite a feasible proposition because there is a vast amount of iron ore deposit, rich iron ore deposit.

The matter was referred to Dastur and Company. They submitted a report. The report came to us in 1972. Immediately thereafter we got a little time to consider whether it is a practical proposition to have another steel mill in Orissa or not. The question is of financial resources. It is not easy to raise it. Therefore, it is only fair that when an attempt is made for a steel mill we must know all our limitations. We are committed to steel plants in Salem and Hospet and elsewhere. We are bent upon doing it. Three steel plants I seek the cooperation of the House and

have already been committed by the Government. In the meantime oil crisis created a new pattern of financial crisis for the country. Therefore we are compelled to go slow. Our going slow is being misunderstood. I want to assure the House that the steel plant at Salem will make progress in the Fifth Plan according to our intention unless something extraordinary happens which may compel us to go slow. Otherwise we have no intention to withdraw from our commitment. But to have a further commitment on our shoulders is not a possibility. It cannot be done unless the situation improves and unless the relations between the management and workers improve and unless the conditions of power generation improve and unless the ways and means position is also within our control....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: One point. You have not answered one small point. For DSP expansion is of vital importance. Otherwise it will go on incurring losses. That is the technical position. About Alloy Steel Plant I placed facts and figures before you. If the Cold Rolling Mill is installed, it will become viable despite idle capacity. What is the use of by-passing this thing.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: The problem of expansion of DSP and the problem of correcting the technical imbalances, are in my opinion an integrated problem. I am for expansion of DSP. I am also for correcting imbalances. I think we have got a very good team of workers and leadership there. They are engaged today in the closest type of examination as to how best we can achieve the objective. This technical examination is bound to take a little more time. I too should be given a little more time to go into all these problems and try to find out what can be done and what cannot be done and if something could be done by what time it could be done.

With regard to the general situation that is obtaining in Bihar-Bengal industrial belt I am sorry that the relationship and life of our workers are not as good what they ought to be. I am also quite aware of lot of undesirable practices that are still going on in the coal mining areas. It has been my effort to understand the situation under which all these evils have cropped up. Some of the reasons I have been able to understand. To tackle the situation

[Shri K. D. Malaviya]

I seek the Co-operation of the House and leaders of trade union movement and also leaders of political parties. Unless the political leadership of parties and leadership of the trade union movement and also those who agree with the policies initiated by the Congress Government and unless they all pool their energies and help in the improvement of the working conditions, I suppose everything is bound to go slow. For that I made an appeal and I repeat that I am quite prepared to consider a proposal where all constructive forces of such political parties which accept our programme can work together. If they can pool their energies in order to improve the conditions, then we can also try to raise funds. We can start a big fund for it and then see how best we can get subsidised foodgrains, better cloth, essential commodities, water and housing facilities for all of them and then see to the distribution of these things because the distribution of it is much more difficult. It is easier for the Government to spend a few crores of rupees, to have departmental stores for those commodities but it is very difficult to have a proper distribution system. Now, in that distribution, the co-operation of the trade union leadership and of the political parties and also such elites who live in the area who are honest people, who are dedicated to the welfare of the workers, is needed. If they all pool their energy then surely we can break the present impasse and improve the situation remarkably.

Now, our Ministry is working on a scheme of that kind and we are working on a scheme whereby we shall try to build a fund, a moderately good fund, which will help us to procure all essential commodities, organise departmental stores or co-operative societies, wherever it is possible for us to do it, and try to face the challenges of that Mafia gang, corrupt people in the area and to resist those activities because unless we stop that mischief from that area, coal cannot be produced and that bad element cannot be removed from there. But, in all that process we have to collect a team of good people. Wherefrom those good people can come is a matter for all of us to consider because that is the first and foremost thing. The technical problems, the

ways and means position, import machinery—all those problems come late on. I beg to submit that they are comparatively easy to solve. It is not difficult as some of us can sit down and solve these problems. But the most difficult job is this that is facing us today. Will there be Railway strike tomorrow? If there is going to be a Railway strike, what is going to happen? What about the furnaces? The furnaces must have a minimum temperature for them to live. They will not be able to live because coal will not be able to reach us. But the Government is to see that that amount of coal reaches there and in that we seek the co-operation of the House. We seek the co-operation of the Political Parties. And, if you link up all these problems with a condition, with a certain demand here and a certain demand there, then perhaps the difficulties will not be solved. I would, therefore, appeal for a rational approach, for a sympathetic approach, for a real patriotic approach to the solution that must come as a result of negotiations between two parties. I do not wish to apportion blame.

I do not wish to say anything that might provoke the situation. All that I want to say is that all of us must come to one conclusion and that is that if we fail in coal if we fail in the steel belt area and if our steel mills are just crushed and finished then no Government and no Political Party which may try to come to power will ever be able to stay there. The Japanese follow one instruction. They follow the dictates of the leadership that is trying to go ahead with the production programme. But, we are all divided amongst ourselves. We are divided among parties. For what purpose? We ignore the demands that are put upon us for increasing production. Therefore, considering every other point as less important, I want to attach the highest importance to two problems. One is the welfare of workers who are the fundamental basis for increasing production and the second is to restore conditions of normalcy, to see that at least for two or three years industrial relationship is not disturbed in the area. Then and then alone, we can see and touch the production level of 7 million tonnes of steel in our mills and 150 million tonnes of coal before the Fifth Plan ends. I am quite sure

that we can touch that. We have all the facilities. We have all the know-how. We have all the technical abilities within the Ministry and we have got the cadre that has been mentioned here. We have got the leadership of the technocrate within the Ministry. The Steel Authority is carrying on its work fairly well. Restructuring is needed. Imbalances have to be removed. Certain efforts have to be made and corrupt elements has to be removed. I do not deny it. But these are not such difficult problems. It is easy to remove them provided you co-operate. But if you do not co-operate, then...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : It is most unfair. Have you ever called a meeting of the Central trade union organizations to discuss the production in coal ? No. 2, you had strikes in jute, you had strikes in textile. Can you tell of a single such instance here after nationalisation ?...

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : I would like to point out for the benefit of my hon. friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy, that I have nothing against the workers; I have no complaint against the workers. But I have certainly many complaints against the leadership. They sometimes mislead them. If I do not say this, I will not be rendering proper service to the entire world of the workers, a large majority of whom do not want any disturbance...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : But did you have a single meeting ?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : For me to call a meeting of workers is not difficult. I can call a meeting. It is easy for me to call a meeting of 30,000 or 40,000 workers. But it is equally easier for five people to disturb...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam addressed ten meetings in the coal-fields...

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : Madam, Vice-Chairman, this is a subject where we can sit across the table and thrash out problems...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : First sit...

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : I have to say what is naked truth. The naked truth is

that there are some leaders in all political parties who are not co-operating; I have not excluded our own group.

Now, with regard to workers' participation, we have always held the view that workers' participation is one of the most important factors in reaching the target of production. We are ready for any understanding with the legitimate representatives and leaders of workers.—properly chosen, selected or elected group of the people; we are prepared to sit down with them for drawing up a programme of production, on the condition that they will be smoothly allowed to go ahead with that programme if we come to an agreement with regard to some programme. But if on the morrow that programme is forgotten, it is no use doing that exercise. Therefore, my appeal to the hon. Members, who can exercise their influence in the trade union world movement, is to think seriously that without concentrating on the task of greater production of coal and steel this country has no future, no political party can succeed and, therefore, they must co-operate with the Government so far as our programme of production and our programme of preventing strikes is concerned. For that we are quite prepared to cooperate, form new groups, have new ideas, create new organizations, have participation of workers either through a selective process or elective process or through conferences with proper people. All these problems can be examined. The moment all this preliminary work is done then the imbalances in the technological processes involved and the question of import or export or purchase of machinery or correcting here and there, etc. becomes comparatively easy.

Madam, Vice-Chairman, that is all I have to say. I have touched the main points. About the remaining, my Ministry will examine them and inform the Members...

(Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : I had asked this question from the hon. Minister earlier also. I do not know whether Mr. Wadood Khan is himself feeling satisfied about the target...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : He cannot reply to all the points.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : With your permission, I will like to answer that point. It is a relevant point and I am grateful to Mr. Krishan Kant for having raised it. Mr. Wadud Khan produced a programme of production on certain hypothesis. Now that hypothesis regarding the target of production to be produced by the steel plants is very much before us. This target was produced by the steel plants and not by Mr. Wadud Khan and it was linked up with certain conditions of power production, coal production and transport system. It means that if the transport system, power and coking coal were provided to the steel mills according to a certain pattern, then, of course, the result will be higher production. Mr. Wadud Khan did some more exercise and still they produced a lower figure. It will not be proper to blame the Steel Authority for linking up the conditions of power production or coal or transport system. Supposing the transport system completely fails, then what would happen ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You have already covered that point.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : I wanted to emphasise that point once more. Certain conditions were linked up with the target put forward by the Steel Authority. We have revised that target now and we hope that we shall exceed it provided we get the necessary help.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The National Library Bill, 1972

SECRETARY-GENERAL : Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha :

"I am directed to inform Rajya Sabha that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on Friday, the 26th April, 1974, adopted the following motion in regard to the National Library Bill, 1972 :—

"That this House do recommend to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do appoint four members of Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee on the Bill to provide for the administration of the National

Library and certain other connected matters, in the vacancies caused by the retirement of Sarvashri Mahavir Das, Rattan Lal Jain, Shyam Dhar Misra and Patil Puttappa from Rajya Sabha and do communicate to this House the names of the members so appointed by Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee."

I am to request that the concurrence of Rajya Sabha in the said motion, and also the names of the members of Rajya Sabha so appointed to the Joint Committee, may be communicated to this House."

STATEMENT BY MINISTER REFERENCE TO THE SUPREME COURT REGARDING ELECTION OF PRESIDENT NOTWITHSTANDING DISSOLUTION OF GUJARAT ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI NITI RAJ SINGH CHAUDHURY) : Madam, Vice-Chairman, this House is aware that the term of office of the present President of India expires on the 24th August, 1974.

Under Article 62(1) of the Constitution, an election to fill a vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of office of the President is required to be completed before the expiry of the term. This House is also aware that the Gujarat State Legislative Assembly was dissolved on the 15th day of March, 1974.

A question has been raised as to whether election to the office of the President can be held notwithstanding the dissolution of the Gujarat State Assembly.

The Government is *prima facie* of the view that on a true and correct interpretation of articles 54, 55, 56, 62 and 71 of the Constitution, the electoral college consists only of the elected members of such of the Legislative Assemblies of the State as are in existence at or before the expiry of the term of office of the President. However, a contrary view has been expressed both inside and outside this House.

A question of far-reaching importance has arisen as to the composition of the