

from this American company. Therefore, it cannot be right to say that even in a simple industry or an industry in which we are experts, *i.e.* cement we had allowed foreign participation.

Then, Sir, there were attempts to show that mills and factories had been running away with large profits. Here also the same method, as had been done in the Lok Sabha, has been repeated. While comparing the profits, instead of the net worth of enterprise, what was tried to do was to compare two uncomparable things. The initial paid-up capital and the present net profits were compared. Sir, I would place before the House some facts of this kind which would make it clear that as far as the Ambica Mills is concerned, the rate of dividend declared was to some extent a little more than the normal rate which is 8 per cent, or 10 per cent. As a percentage of the net worth of the company, during 1960 they only earned 14 per cent. Now, how has the hon. Member worked it out. He has overlooked the fact that Rs. 57-6 lakhs was the paid up capital of this company and the other assets in form of resources which went into the corpus were Rs. 338 lakhs. As compared to this net investment, net worth of this company of Rs. 414 lakhs, the profit was Rs. 58 lakhs. So, actually speaking if the like is compared with the like, that is, what amount of capital has gone into this corpus which has enabled it to earn the profits, it will be very easily realised that the profit is not at all of a very high order. On the contrary, it can be considered to be a modest type of profit as compared to the type of goods the Ambica Mills is producing. The Ambica Mills cloth is one of the finest cloth in the world. We are proud of it. In fact, there are many such mills in this country which produce cloth which can be compared to the best in the world, and this is one of them. Therefore, if they have made this much of profit, it is not at all to be considered anything which is de-

trimental to the social objective that we hold so dear to us and to the economic objective of the development.

I would not talk of individual cases like the Century Mills. As a matter of fact, I am sorry to say that the profits of this particular mill, to which he referred, are far less than even the modest average profits that should accrue to any enterprise of that nature.

Then, Sir, there were few more observations made in connection with the share of foreign capital in the import and export trade of India. Here also the same type of comparison has been made which is entirely wrong. As a matter of fact, as far as the imports are concerned, there are very few foreign houses operating because most of our import policy today is oriented towards actual users' basis. That is, the established importers due to the restrictions on foreign exchange and the greater demand on producer goods and industrial raw materials are having lesser and lesser share of the national gross product of the imports and it is going more and more to the actual users. Because of this reason the question of foreign participation in the import trade to any considerable extent really does not arise at all. Only on the export side because of the jute and the tea being the historical industries which were developed with foreign initiative and investment in the past, it is true that a share does subsist for the foreign entrepreneurs. There also our policy has been gradually one of Indianisation without any disturbance or without any major change taking place to the detriment of average foreign interest or the Indian interest. These are some of the points which I wanted to clarify and before I close. I will only mention one or two other things which the hon. Member opposite as also some other hon. Members suggested. That was about the industrial bigness and the industrial empires being built in this country.

[Shri Manubhai Shah.]

I am sorry to say again what I said in the Lok Sabha that this type of misleading generalisations that the few houses are only getting bigger and the other entrepreneurs are not to be visible is anything far from truth and the facts as they exist. I had, Sir, occasion to mention in the other House that compared to the national cake in the industrial investment we started, at the time of Independence, with a net investment of Rs. 799 crores, this national cake has grown. At the end of the Third Plan it would run to almost Rs. 5,600 crores or even Rs. 6,000 crores. Therefore, any bigness of the past, historically derived or historically existing in this country, has to be judged in the context of that light, namely whether the proportion of the share of any one or hundred or two hundred well-established houses with respect to the national cake which was limited to Rs. 800 crores or less, before Independence out of that . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) :  
What is this national cake?

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: That is the national product from the industrial origin and industrial investment. You know all this very well. We want to increase the cake as much as possible and the share of those who are new entrants in this field. Therefore, here one has to take caution . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have started a very good bakery, I must say.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: Yes, we have to bake many things but we talk right things. We do not talk wrong things and total up things like that in order to mislead the House. I am trying to place the facts of the situation as it exists; that even during the last five years the House will be pleased to know that from the new industrial licensing of less than 200 units, gradually in geometrical progression we have been raising the in-

dustrial investment and new industries are coming up. Last year, in 1960, the industrial licences issued were 1,912. The House would remember that within a period of five years the rate of new industries coming up has been multiplied to almost six or seven times, even more than that. The new projects and new items with the qualitative extension and development of the industrial base in this country is so remarkable that sometimes even statistical evaluation does not give a clear picture of the country.

In terms of quantity certainly we have gone very fast. The year 1960 recorded a rise in industrial production of 13 to 14 per cent, over the previous year which is higher than in the three years put together since independence. I am not comparing the pre-Independence period because during that period hardly was there any growth to be proud of or to be compared. But even since Independence, the growth in 1960 was something remarkable. But more than the qualitative growth the quantitative diversification of products that has taken place is still more remarkable. I am glad to say that out of these 1,912 licences more than 1,000 units were for entirely new items and new units.

Sir, our policy has been that between an existing entrepreneur and a new entrepreneur if the licence is to be limited by capacity, we always give preference to the new entrepreneur, and it is my invitation to every Member of the House that if he comes across a case where an existing or established entrepreneur has been licensed in preference to a new entrepreneur who is trying to get into that line, I am quite prepared to go into personal examination of that case and to see that the remote injustice, if any, is properly removed.

As a matter of fact, I would draw the attention of the House to the fact that there is a Reviewing Committee

under the chairmanship of my hon friend, Dr. Kunzru, with another five or six Members which goes into all the industrial licences issued by the Government from time to time, and I am glad to say, Sir, that not more than a few cases—as a matter of fact, last year only two in the whole year—have been found of such merit that the Reviewing Committee has drawn our attention to either alter our Judgment or to modify it in favour of the licensees themselves. That is the rate of appeal that is going on. That shows that by and large the new entrants, the new units and the new entrepreneurs who want to develop industries—and we welcome them all very warmly—are given the fairest treatment and if any remote case of injustice comes to the notice of any hon. Member, I would invite his very great and valuable cooperation to draw our attention to any such anomaly. More than the large-scale industries, as the House is aware, in order to decentralise economic power and to disperse and diversify the industrial development, in order to bring the regional disparities to as fast a removal as possible or to reduce the imbalance between more developed areas and less developed areas, the most potent instrument that we have forged is the small-scale industries and the medium-scale industries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have not even spent the allocated sum under the Second Plan.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: I am rather surprised as to where he got his figures from. In the Second Plan we had been allocated a sum of Rs. 180 crores for the small-scale industries and we have been spending more than Rs. 198 crores. As a matter of fact one of the grievances of a friendly nature which we had with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance is that we were capable of spending more than even the planned provision but after all resources are resources and one cannot expect that any particular sector will be favoured at the cost of others. Therefore,

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we have to sometimes keep quite but we have more than over-fulfilled the targets, financial and physical, of the Second Plan for the small-scale industries and as compared with the First Plan when we did not spend Rs. 25 crores in the small-scale sector, we have spent more than Rs. 193 crores, that is seven or eight-fold in the Second Plan and I do hope that with the blessings of the House, in the Third Plan the investment and development in the small-scale sector is going to be far more. As a matter of fact, as the Prime Minister said the other day in the other House, the progress in the small-scale industries—of course in the whole industrial field as he said—is electrifying and the progress in the small-scale industries is absolutely remarkable and is something one cannot imagine that within a period of 5 years we could have done this. During the last 2 years or so, about 48,000 new small-scale industries have been approved by the Government of India in different parts of the country, in the remotest corners or villages in the rural areas and in urban areas which are not otherwise industrialised. I am mentioning this only because sometimes friends like Prof. Malkani, who are very much interested in underdeveloped areas and villages, have a feeling that we go more and more towards urbanisation. That is not so. We are trying to avoid urbanised areas to the extent possible. But there are townships of 50,000 or 60,000 or even one lakh of people, which have missed the entire industrial development in the past due to our political dependence and, therefore, those urban towns also require to be nurtured so that the local population there get their wherewithal or nourishment and employment and economic development through industrial development. A *mandi* like Hapur or an area like Virudunagar in Madras is traditionally a ground-nut area or a cotton crop area with a large population but it does not mean that it is a developed urban area. It lacks all the facilities modern urban civilisation and it is only a cluster or growth of population due to historical reasons.

[Shri Manubhai Shah.] Now we have to rehabilitate it and give it nourishment or economic development through industrial development. Therefore, in the Second and Third Plan we are enlarging the programme of small-scale industries which has two objectives. One is to spread the message of technology and modern science in every hearth and home of this great country, and the second is to decentralise the economic concentration of wealth in a few hands and to disperse the ownership and wealth in as wide a number as possible. Therefore, these were the basic approaches to our economic development programme and I would request the hon. Members that the industrial bigness need not be a national obsession. It should not become a phobia which will be detrimental to the very economic growth which we are trying or aspiring to achieve. While we are very conscious to see that all monopolies or industrial bigness is avoided to the extent possible and that it should be diverted to more difficult items—of technology of industrial development, it should not become an obsession—a national obsession—of a type which really goes against the national interests.

SHRI T. S. AVINASH JNGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): May I ask two questions for clarification? Is foreign collaboration allowed only for importing items not manufactured in India or for investments in India also? That is number one. Secondly, when foreign experts come, is a condition made that people must be trained within a particular period to take their places? The third is whether any rule or code has been drawn to judge cases of foreign collaboration.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: Regarding number one, where foreign investment is allowed, it is true that it is preferred for such items, as my hon. friend said, which are not really being produced or not being produced in sufficient quantities but that does not mean that foreign investment in other items, in which even when we have

sizeable production, is not permitted. It is permitted there if it covers the value of the imported plant and machinery in order to fulfil the Plan targets. The second point which he mentioned was regarding the training. This is absolutely one of the 'musts' that we have insisted on all foreign investment as well as on national investments. In the Indianisation programme which every year I have the privilege to place before the Houses on the 31st December, we issue a public notice as to the growth of Indianisation and I am glad to inform the House once again that below Rs. 1,000 per month salary group, today there is not a single foreigner in any of the foreign enterprises and all have been Indianised. Between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000, more than 80 per cent, of Indianisation has been achieved.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is quite clear.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: At one time it was 100 per cent., my dear friend. I am talking of progress of Indianisation. In 1947, in foreign enterprises posts even about Rs. 350-per month were held by some of the foreigners.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then we had police constables and sergeants. Don't talk about them.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: I am merely mentioning the foreign economic and industrial enterprises in which there is neither police nor soldiers. I am talking of industrial and commercial houses.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): He is obsessed with the police.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: ' Naturally, because some people are always psychologically attuned like that but that is not the point. The point is that posts below Rs. 1,000 today are completely Indianised. Posts between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 a month are

more than or nearly 80 per cent. Indianised. Recently, we had a discussion with the Associated Chamber of Commerce which is the apex body of most of these foreign investors and we are trying to bring it to 75 per cent, of Indianisation very soon and for posts above Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 also, we have tried to (make it a minimum stipulation that whenever a replacement is necessary, they will have to prove first to us whether a counterpart Indian is available or not. Therefore, *ipso facto*, because there is a foreigner drawing Rs. 3,000, it does not necessarily follow that he will be succeeded by a foreigner but they will have to prove to the satisfaction of the Government whether an understudy or counterpart is available or not. Therefore the "training programme also is properly looked after.

On foreign technical collaboration, I had several occasions to place the broad principles governing that. Usually 10 to 12 years is the time that we have allowed for such technical collaboration. The royalties are also as reasonable as possible and we do insist that as far as possible, we prefer that participation where Indians hold a majority but that does not mean that foreign majority is ruled out. It has to be a case to case application and judging the issue on merits and giving the most careful scrutiny. I must again caution the House that we are at the beginning of this great and massive industrialisation that we want to achieve in this country and therefore what is most necessary is the primary objective to be kept in view, namely, how far is the process of industrialisation succeeding—not certain narrow or that type of limited concept to be fulfilled—within the framework of our Industrial Policy and the policy governing the participation of foreign capital as we have enunciated from time to time and informed the House. We are very careful in seeing that such collaborations are approved which are in the best national interests.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, this morning I heard Dr. Kunzru's learned speech with the attention that it deserved. I was sorry to find this veteran Parliamentarian waxing eloquent over the purchase of some Russian planes. He complained against the Defence Ministry because it has purchased some planes from the Soviet Union. He also complained that the Russian pilots were allowed to fly those planes on some of our strategic areas. The complaint made by him sounded patriotic to begin with but then, he came forward with an alternative and said that the American planes were better known and wanted to know why the better-known 3 P.M. American planes were not purchased. If Pandit Kunzru had only complained against the purchase of Russian planes and had suggested that we should produce our own plane that would have been something which I would have admired, coming as it would be, from a veteran like him. But when he showed partiality to one country against another, I was very sorry to hear his observations. It should, of course, be left to the Defence Ministry and the Government to decide whether to purchase things from as long as those things, particularly planes, are not available in this country.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal): How was he partial?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He was partial because he suggested that the planes should have been bought not from the Soviet Union but from America. As far as this country is concerned, it has been getting aid from both America and the Soviet Union. As far as this country is concerned, it has refused to align itself militarily and politically, either with the Soviet Union or with the United States of America. Why should we monopolise in purchasing planes only from America? The Air India International, for example, has bought planes from America. Then nobody came forward to ask, "Why don't you buy passenger planes from the Soviet Union?"

[Shri Arjun Arora.] There were some technical considerations. Similarly, there were probably some technical considerations which led the Defence Ministry to buy the planes from the Soviet Union. **The** Soviet Union as well as America are friendly countries and nobody in India should try to advocate greater friendship to one of the two. Our foreign policy of non-alignment and our foreign policy of keeping away from military and political blocs, has earned respect for India and I must say that if we pursue the course advocated by Pandit Kunzru this morning, which also seems to have roused the enthusiasm of Mr. Sudhir Ghosh, we will only lose some of that reputation. We will only lose some of the influence that we have acquired.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: Will the Defence Minister allow Pakistani nationals, British nationals or American nationals to go to these strategic areas?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: We should certainly adhere to the policy of non-alignment and we should certainly adhere to the policy which has made India a moral force which every country must take into account. I am very happy to find that our respected Prime Minister came out with sharp condemnation of those who intervened in Cuba. That is an excellent example of our policy on non-intervention, and that is the policy which we must continue to adhere to with all the emphasis at our command.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Since the hon. Member says so much about Russian planes, would he tell us in what technical qualities they are better?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I know that you were a seller of insurance policies

and I have been a trade union leader. So none of us is a technician capable of distinguishing between Russian planes and American planes.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: For the benefit of my hon. friend I may say that I was not a seller of insurance policies. I worked my way to be an officer in a big insurance company. Let him make his knowledge thorough before he says any thing . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Go on.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am sure that insurance company did not manufacture aeroplanes and . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I never was . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. You go on.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I say even such a big insurance company like the Oriental Insurance Company, which, was having Mr. Dahyabhai Patel as an officer, did not manufacture aeroplanes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They manufactured money.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Since you know so much about planes, tell us how they are better, technically.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, as far as our economic picture is concerned, I am sorry to say that that picture is not a pleasing one. Deficits and new taxes seem to have become largely accepted as normal and inescapable. The economic picture today is that the poor have to bear the biggest burden of new taxes. Even articles of everyday consumption like betel-nuts are being taxed. I must say that during the last few years the richer classes have emerged as the principal beneficiaries of the new dynamism in our

life. During the war we heard of the "war-rich". Today we find the "Plan-rich". A class of "Plan-rich" is coming into being. This is a sorry state of affairs in our economic life. The other day there was a talk by Mr. Khandubhai Desai, a veteran trade union leader and a well-known Gandhian economist. Addressing the I.N.T.U.C. at Yamunanagar last week, Mr. Khandubhai Desai, a former Labour Minister said it was regrettable that while the percentage of indirect taxes had gone up appreciably, that of direct levies had almost remained where it was. He suggested that steps should be taken to reduce indirect taxes and to raise direct taxes. Excess profit taxes, Mr. Khandubhai Desai said, must operate and speculative trading particularly in essential commodities must cease. These observations, coming from a former Labour Minister and a respected Member of this House, must be taken serious notice of by the Finance Minister. It is very interesting to find that almost on the same day, speaking at what was called Lumumbanagar, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party, on some contradictions of our economic scene, also made similar observations. Of course, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh's speech was full of the usual jargon which the Marxists never miss. But the very fact that Mr. Khandubhai Desai on the one hand and Mr. Ajoy Ghosh on the other pointed out the growing concentration of economic power in a few hands and the increase in indirect taxes and the taxes on the poor, is something which shows the way the country feels about our economic position.

Sir, we have repeatedly asked the question: Where have the Plan gains gone? What has happened to the increase in national wealth? We have been given the Mahalanobis Committee. I wonder when that Committee will finish or begin its labours. It is about six months that the Committee was appointed to find out the reasons for the mal-distribution of our national wealth. As far as I am concerned, I only heard of this Committee being appointed. I do not know what that

Committee is doing. I urge upon the learned Finance Minister to please see that that Committee begins its labours quickly and produces an early report. If it is incapable of doing this task, and if its report as to what has happened to the gains from the first two Plans is going to come only after the Third Plan period is over, then that Committee, whether presided over by Mr. Mahalanobis or anybody else, should be scrapped and we should have a committee which could tell us now, right in the beginning of the Third Plan as to what has happened and where the increases in national wealth have gone. The workers in the countries, the toilers, want to know as to what is responsible for this mal-distribution. I do not know why that committee should take so much time even to begin its work. The fact of maldistribution is apparent. One who walks on the streets of New Delhi can easily see big cars, whose import is prohibited, rolling along our streets on the one hand and, on the other hand, building labour still living in slums. That does not require too many experts to find out that the gains of the first two Plans have gone into the hands of a few people. That mal-distribution must be brought to an end. Only the other day, the *National Herald*, more or less the organ of the Congress itself, said that "the overall effect of the last ten years is that the fruits of planning have largely eluded the common man's grasp". Now, this is something which should set the Finance Minister and his advisers thinking. Failure to hold the price-line is obvious and it is the failure to hold the price-line which makes it obvious that the gains of the two Plans have gone into the hands of a few. There is, of course, boom in the stock exchanges. I cannot be happy about it. A boom in the stock exchange only means that a few people have more money than they deserve. They have more liquid money than they can safely invest in industries. The boom in the stock exchange is unfortunately accompanied by scarcity of consumer goods whose prices have risen and this serious situation

[Shri Arjun Arora.] means that real wages are falling. In spite of the good work done by three Wages Boards which have given some wage increase to textile workers and workers in the cement and sugar industries, real wages continue to fall and we cannot expect the working classes of the country to be enthusiastic about industrialisation and about fulfilment of Plan targets— as long as their real wages do not rise. As long as real wages continue to be depressed, the workers cannot feel enthusiastic about the Plans. Therefore, the first task of the Finance Ministry today should be to hold the price-line. Again, we find that there are committees appointed by the Government or appointed by the Party but they have not made any suggestions. Now, there is an attitude that if you do not want to face a problem, refer it to a sub-committee. I would say that that is an attitude which the hon. Finance Minister has not adopted and should not adopt. He should take energetic steps to hold the price-line. How can the Finance Minister do so? His economic advisers take the rise in prices as something for granted. We have been supplied, with a copy of 'The Economic Survey, 1960-61'. On page 17, it says,

"Planning also involves restraint in consumption which in turn will have to be brought about through suitable price increases for the domestic consumer".

Now, Sir, our economic advisers today talk of suitable rise in prices to restrict consumption. Are our workers, are our landless labourers, consuming so much that their consumption has to be restrained? If we have to restrain consumption, we should restrain the consumption of luxury articles which only a few can afford. Their consumption must be restrained.

We find that we get some foreign aid, and that is all very welcome. We should be grateful for the foreign aid but, as the Prime Minister has repeatedly said and demonstrated by his actions and observations, we should

accept foreign aid only if it is aid without strings, without political commitments, without involving any intervention in our economic affairs. Only this month, Mr. B. K. Nehru, the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, who gets us a lot of foreign aid, visited India. According to the *Statesman*, the purpose of his visit to India was, among other things, to tell the Finance Minister and the Government the implications of Government's oil policy and the impact that it is reported to be having on the flow of foreign aid investments into India. According to the *Statesman*, Mr. B. K. Nehru has drawn New Delhi's attention to the existence of an uneasy feeling among major aid-giving countries and international institutions that private foreign investment is virtually being shut out from the field of oil in India. Sir, we know the hold that oil commands over the so-called Western democracies. We know the hold that the oil magnates command over American economy. Our Finance Minister—I hope he has done it— should be able to tell those foreign oil companies and the World Bank, etc., that the Western oil interests will not be allowed to have the same hold over India as they have over American economy. We should be able to tell them that they cannot make a Mos-sadiq out of Mr. K. D. Malaviya. We should be able to tell them that the Aid India Club is welcome to give all the aid that it can give but it will not be allowed to determine our national policies. Our national policy is a policy of mixed economy, and the policy of mixed economy should also be followed in the sphere of oil.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, in spite of the rebuttal of the Minister for Industry that foreign private capital is not a danger to our national economy, I still beg to differ from him. It is usual for the Government and for the people who think in this strain and charge us as they have been doing for the past so many years. I do not understand the rapid increase in foreign investments after our independence. Foreign investment was about Rs. 466 crores in 1948 and now



it has risen to Rs. 1578 crores. Now, I do not, or we do not, say that it is at present a danger to the economy of our country, but if this is allowed to grow unchecked then it might be a danger in the future. So, what is the Government doing to check this large inflow of foreign private capital? Instead of checking it we see that the Government are throwing open their gates for the inflow of more and more foreign capital. Not only they are treated on par with Indian enterprise but additional concessions by way of income-tax exemptions on the interest payable and on the amount payable to the foreign technicians employed on contract basis etc. are given. Is this in our national interest? Again liberal participation of foreign capital is allowed even in lines of business well established in India and in which Indian enterprises have been quite experienced and successful. What is the necessity for participation by foreign capital in these enterprises? Then foreign capital is allowed in simple consumer goods industries like vacuum flasks, film distribution etc. It is necessary for the development of our industry?

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI): Film distribution?

DR. A. SUBBA RAO: That is what was told.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do not think .

DR. A. SUBBA RAO: Anyway you can rebut it. Even in drug industries where we are supposed to have some understanding with the Soviet Union to start basic and intermediary chemicals we have thrown open our gates for concerns like Parke Davis and Mercks who are practically flooding the entire market with their products. Is it in the interest of the indigenous pharmaceutical industry that you have allowed those huge concerns to have their sway here in India? Now, there are a number of low-priority, high profit-yielding consumer goods like Ovaltine, Horlicks, Nestles malted

milk and Johnsons baby powder. Are all these absolutely essential for the development of our industries? That is what we are saying.

And after allowing them to have so much of participation are you at least trying to control or restrict the repatriation of their profits? If we take into account the profits of foreign controlled companies that are sent out of India from 1953 to 1958 it comes to nearly Rs. 24 to 25 crores per year. This is the figure which the Reserve Bank of India has given. When we are so much hard pressed for foreign exchange, can we not take steps to prevent at least a part of these profits from being repatriated? Will it be anti-national to demand that? How do you say it is not a practical step? I cannot understand it at all. Could we not utilise that amount for further expansion of our industries? Even in nationalising the existing essential foreign companies the Government is very reluctant. Even against the Industrial Policy Resolution, extension of time for tapping our mineral resources by purely foreign companies is allowed. Take the case of the Central Provinces Manganese Ore Company. Its lease expired recently. It is purely a British concern incorporated in London and extension of time was sanctioned in its case. Now, it is coming up for review before our Government. They are getting eminent lawyers to argue their case. There is a rumour that the Government may extend the lease.

Take again the example of the Copper Corporation of India. They have been given extension of mining lease. Is it in the national interest? I want to know that. Agreements are signed which indemnify the U.S. entrepreneurs against nationalisation of their business in India. Is this in the national interest? What will be the effect if foreign capital is allowed to come in unchecked? We have the recent experience with regard to oil, where the foreign companies were reluctant to reduce the prices ever, though justifiable. They refused to refine the crude oil that we imported

[Dr. A. Subba Rao.] from the Soviet Union. They utilised the reactionary section here to throw mud at our public sector, to decry it and thereby make the public lose confidence in the public sector. That is why we are asking whether the Government has taken any action to curb these interests or whether they have allowed them to penetrate further in our economy. I request the hon. Members in the national interest, in the interest of our industrial production, in the interest of maintaining our independence—we all know what part the foreign interests, the monopoly interests, the American interests have played in Cuba recently—to think over these matters and if there is some truth in what we are saying to press the Government to take more vigorous measures to stop this inflow of foreign capital.

Even in expanding our own public sector there is undue delay. How do you explain the delay in proceeding with the preliminary works in connection with the Ankleshwar refinery? I was told that the Project Report had already been received. Each day's delay is costing us about Rs. 50 lakhs in foreign exchange. Then we have got peculiar schemes which are technically unwise and economically very costly. Take the case of the construction of a pipeline from Cambay to Bombay. I am told that the oil tapped at Cambay has a high paraffin content, nearly 14 per cent., and the construction of the pipeline will involve setting up of thermal stations all along the line and the whole scheme will be very costly. And I am afraid that the Government has not yet abandoned the scheme. I want to have a clarification with regard to that.

Sometimes the Government is penny wise and pound foolish. For instance there is the question of construction of a dry dock at Visakhapatnam. It is being delayed. The Chairman of the Hindusthan Shipping Yard and the Ship Repair Facilitating Committee have recommended its immediate construction. It will cost us only Rs. 2'75

crores out of which Rs. 73 lakhs will be the foreign exchange requirement. Now we are delaying its construction while we are spending every year about a crore of rupees by sending our ships to Singapore for repairs. Is it in the national interest to delay its construction?

Take again the question of the development of the Mangalore port as an all-weather port. We were promised that it would be taken up in the Second Five Year Plan. There are considerable iron ore deposits in the neighbourhood and there is a demand for the export of this iron ore. Roumania with whom we are having an agreement with regard to the tapping of our oil resources is ready to import iron ore from us but we do not have a port to facilitate the loadings for export. Why is it that priority was not given to this developmental project which will help us to earn the much-needed foreign exchange? I want to know whether the work will be taken up immediately at least now. I was told that it has been included in the Third Five Year Plan but when is it going to be taken up?

Then there is lack of co-ordination between the different Ministries. That is evident and that has been brought out in the debate with regard to the production of coal. That has to be looked into.

Take the Sindri Fertilisers. Some of these public concerns are run so inefficiently, so badly, that it is creating some sort of a bad name for the entire public sector. *(Interruption.)* You are trying to take advantage of the shortcomings and decry the entire public sector. What I want is that they should be efficiently managed so that they could be an example. It was claimed that we were exceeding the target of production by working it to overcapacity. What is the result? The generators have been damaged, and now we have to curtail the production considerably to enable the repairs to the generators to be carried out.

Now, with regard to monopoly, what do we see? For example, in the cement industry the A.C.C. controls 34 per cent, of the entire production and I am afraid that (they will be given some more licences on the plea that no new companies are coming forward to set up new units in the cement industry. In that case I would like the Government to take it up themselves instead of giving it to these concerns which have already got a monopoly.

Now, with regard to the unemployment problem, it is worsening in spite of two Plans. A way to solve this has to be found out. What is the attitude of the Government towards labour? The Textile Wage Board was appointed. The award has been given. Seventy-seven units have yet to implement the award. What is the Government doing? The Government has increased the retention price of cement on account of the implementation of the recommendations of the Cement Wage Board. Only 17 out of 22 units have implemented the award. What action is the Government taking to implement it in the rest of the units? Now, when it is a question of the workers fighting for their rights, the Government comes with an iron hand and curbs their movements. When it is a question of taking certain action against certain bankers or big industrialists, who have no scruples in swindling the public money, they are very lenient. Take the example of the Palai Bank. I am told reliably that Rs. 21 lakhs have been advanced to one director whose assets are not worth more than Rs. 11 lakhs. Again, United Traders at Delhi have been advanced Rs. 14 lakhs, when their assets are worth only Rs. 1 lakh. Why is it that action is not being taken against those particular directors? Why have you a soft corner towards the directors?

Lastly, only one point. Not only you are encouraging monopoly in our industries, but you are trying to encourage monopoly even in the field of news services. Take the example of recognition and granting of facilities by

the Government to the Indian News Service. Is it not opposed to 'the very principles laid down by the Government in their policy statement made before the Lok Sabha in August 1959? In that statement we were assured that recognition would not be granted to any concern aligned to a single paper enterprise. But now recognition is given on the ground that the Indian News Service is owned not by one but by two enterprises. But these two chains, Goenka and Dalmia Jain, are inter-connected and inter-related and have common interests in other industrial concerns. These two chains already control about 25 per cent, of the total circulation in the country, against about 14 per cent, at the time of the Press Commission's Report. Now, through this agency they will be in a position to control news published in other papers and gradually attain a monopoly. Again, it has to be remembered that these are the papers, which day in and day out propagate the Swatantra ideology and decry the progressive policies of our Government. Why give scope for this monopoly to grow? So, I request that the Government should take necessary steps to curb this growth of monopoly conditions in the Indian press, after an enquiry.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI LAK-SHMI MENON) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, during the last five hours of debate I was very pleased to note that there was very little criticism about the External Affairs Ministry. The only criticism was about external publicity by the hon. Member from Madhya Pradesh. He has raised six points. Some of them are incorrect. Some are unrealistic and some are constructive. I would like to answer them one by one.

The House knows that the External Publicity Division was constituted in order to formulate policies of publicity and also frame programmes for publicity abroad. This Division unfortunately is handicapped, as many

[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.] other departments of the Government, for want of adequate financial resources. The House will be surprised to know that the total amount that we have for external publicity is approximately Rs. 93 lakhs. Out of this amount, besides paying salaries, taxes, cost of passage, and rent allowances, etc., the Division runs 49 separate information units and provides information service to about 94 Indian posts abroad. So, if, as the hon. Member has suggested, the House would like to have an expansion of this Division, certainly the House should vote for more funds, so that we could expand our work.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Did you ask for it?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I could have asked, but our resources are so limited and we feel that there are other things which claim priority.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You should ask for it.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: The first point raised by the hon. Member was that there is a general dissatisfaction about the efficient functioning of external publicity, mostly due to lack of co-ordination between the First Secretary and the Press Attache, etc. Here I would like to point out that it is not correct. For instance, the Public Relations Officers, Press Attaches and Assistant Press Attaches in charge of Information Wings always take guidance from the Head of the Mission and they are properly briefed by the Head of the Mission. Now, to say that there is no co-ordination at all is really not correct.

Now, the second point raised by the hon. Member is about the scales of pay. He pointed out that our officers were poorly paid and, therefore, they were not able to fulfil their functions as Information Officers by extending hospitality to their corresponding numbers in the area where they are posted. It is true that we would like to see our officers better paid, so that they will

be able to discharge their functions in a proper manner. The House will be glad to know that the Pay Commission has recommended new scales of pay, which, when enforced, will really meet the situation. For instance, the scale of pay recommended by the Pay Commission will be Rs. 800—1250 for Press Attaches and Rs. 1300—1600 for Public Relations Officers, with prospects of absorption in the I.F.S. This would meet the second argument raised by him.

Now, Sir, he also pointed out that our Press Attaches abroad are not posted with the latest news about India and that they seem to know more about what was happening in London and elsewhere than what was happening in India. This is also not correct. For one thing, whenever a Press Attache or an Information Officer is appointed, he is given what is called a 'Bharat Darshan' tour, which means that he is taken round and is shown the latest developments, latest industrial enterprises and other interesting things which we feel that our Information Officers should know before they go abroad.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And then he writes about the Kerala Ministry.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: That does not show any development or anything interesting and naturally you cannot write about it.

Regarding the fourth point I would like to say that there are daily three Morsecast transmissions, which broadcast news that is worth publicising to other countries. Besides that, they get by diplomatic bag almost all the important newspapers published in India.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Don't you think that it takes a lot of time? It is a problem of time.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: There again you should specify the country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Except in London, where you can get them . . .

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I have been to several place? and I can tell you.....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You must have been extraordinarily lucky.

SHKIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I am lucky.

SHRI A. D. MANI: In Bonn in Germany the papers from Delhi reached alter about two weeks. I was there about two months ago.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I was in Moscow, in Rome, in France, etc. When I was there it was a problem to get the papers in time.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Of course, it takes time. While ordinary -packages are sent by the surface mail daily newspapers are sent by diplomatic bag and it takes the minimum possible time. Therefore, the statement that our people are not posted with what is happening in India is also not correct.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Is it the contention of the hon. Minister that these people do read the newspapers?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Whether they read the newspapers or not, we can only take the horse to the water. We cannot make it drink. The point raised was that they were not posted with the happenings in India. What I am trying to tell the House is that they are being posted with what is happening in India. If they do not take what is presented to them, it is not the fault of the Ministry. Very often we sit here and listen to Shri Bhupesh Gupta's speeches, but we do not understand anything that he says or listen to what he says. But the fact that we sit here is enough for him to feel that we are listening to him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They are certainly not posted with what -we say here.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: No, no. Please do not interrupt me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am posting you with good interruptions.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Two other points raised by the hon. Member are not at all realistic. For instance, he wants the members of the Information Services to brought back to India every year. I would like to know who will pay the enormous expenditure involved in that.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The Finance Minister will pay it in the interests of better understanding.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Whether better understanding will be achieved by this method is another point which I shall deal with at the end of my intervention. In no country do we find such a proposal being implemented, that is, every year we should get the Information Officers to the country in order to tell them what is happening, especially these days when we have got mass media of communication by which we could get all the news that we want and all the information that we want by staying in the same place.

Then, Sir, he has made another suggestion which usually Members of Parliament do make, that is, for every trouble they say you appoint a team of people to go round and see what is happening. It is all right as long as the team goes round in India, but if the Member suggests that a team of Members of Parliament or eminent people should tour round the world telling the world about our points of view, it implies two things: (1) that there is no other means of communicating to the world what is happening here, that is, our points of view and our policies regarding certain urgent matters; and (2) that the world is so isolated that but for the presence of these gentlemen or ladies, whoever they be, there will be no chance of informing them about these things. It is not only unrealistic but it is a little ridiculous to think that this is

[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.] the only way of impressing the world with our policies and points of view, whether it be the border question or about Pakistan or about the Canal Waters issue. I think it is not realistic. The House is not so naive as to believe that we can change the opinions of the world by sheer publicity. If that is so, then certainly we should all be converted to the ideologies of countries which put out lots of publicity material in the most attractive manner, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union or China or any other country. The country is flooded with literature, but would that mean that we understand or subscribe to their point of view or that we are carried away by the propaganda material that they put out? No. Therefore, let us not be deluded with the idea that if we spend more money, if we put out more material, our points of view will be understood. An intelligent person does not form his opinion or his point of view from publicity material. There are various other ways in which we can enlarge our vision and obtain knowledge. Those are the things that we should seek. Invariably, Sir, you will find a friendly statement made by the Head of the State or a kindly act in times of distress such as help at the time of an earthquake or a flood or any kind of disaster creates more friendly feeling and understanding than all the publicity material that any Information Centre might put out.

These are some of the remarks that I would like to make in answer to the points raised by the Member from Madhya Pradesh. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One question I would like to ask, Sir. The Ministry brings out the *World Press Review*. It is a good thing, this bulletin which they issue, giving extracts from the various news papers in the world. But I find that whereas a lot of material is given in it from the Western press, there is nothing there carried from the press

of the Socialist countries, so to say, although they constitute one-third of the world. Why does it not give also this information which may be useful for purposes of study? Secondly, I agree that money should not be wasted but arrangement should be made so that the people in the West understand that Goa is within the geographical area of India. Some people ask where Goa is. When we were agitating it here, our External Affairs Ministry did not make it clear as to where Goa was.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Sir, it does not need any answer at all.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is the kind of information given, I believe, to the foreigners abroad.

श्री मोहन सिंह (पंजाब) : जनाब डिपुटी चैयरमैन साहब, मैं एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल को सपोर्ट करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ और साथ ही डिफेंस सर्विसेज के बारे में भी आज कुछ अपने विचार हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मेरा इंडियन आर्मी से तीस वर्ष से ज्यादा अस्रों का संबंध चला आ रहा है और मैंने जवानी का काफी बड़ा हिस्सा इस आर्मी में गुज़ारा है, इस आर्मी के छोटे से छोटे रैंक से लेकर बड़े से बड़े रैंक में हर किस्म की फौजी खिन्दगी देखी है, और मैं जब फौज के बारे में कोई ऐसे वैसे खयाल सुनता हूँ, तो मुझ को दुःख होता है।

पिछले कुछ अस्रों से किसी न किसी शक्ल में पार्लियामेंट, प्रेस और पब्लिक के सामने कोई इस किस्म का माहौल पैदा किया जा रहा है, जैसे कि मानो हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने सीनियर आफिसर्स के प्रमोशन में कोई नाजायज़ दखलबंदाजी करके आर्मी को किसी किस्म का नुकसान पहुंचाया हो। मैंने इस मामले पर काफी गहराई और संजीदगी से सोचा है और मैं हाउस को वाजेह करना चाहता हूँ, गो डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को हक है कि

वे आफिसर्स के प्रमोशन के सवाल में हर जायज और मुनासिब तरीके से दखलअंदाजी करें, जब भी जरूरत पड़ती हो इसके लिये, मगर जहां तक इस मौजूदा प्रमोशन की चर्चा हो रही है, जो इल्जामात उन पर लगाये जा रहे हैं, वे बिल्कुल बेवनियाद, झूठे और सच्चाई से कोसों दूर हैं। अगर आप इंडियन आर्मी के बारे में, उसकी अंदरूनी हालात के बारे में कुछ समझना चाहते हैं, तो आजादी से पहले इंडियन आर्मी का जो बैकग्राउंड है, उस पर दो मिनट के लिये नज़र मारने की जरूरत है। इंडियन आर्मी में आफिसर्स क्लास के तीन रूप होते थे। एक तो वे ब्रिटिश आफिसर्स, जो कि सैण्डहर्स्ट से अंग्रेज लोग ट्रेनिंग लेकर इंडियन आर्मी में आते थे, उनकी तादाद इंडियन आर्मी में बहुत ज्यादा थी और वे अपने आप को इंडियन आर्मी की किस्मत के मालिक समझते थे और होते भी थे। उसके बाद दूसरी क्लास आती थी किंग्ज कमिशनड इंडियन आफिसर्स की। देहरादून मिलिटरी कालेज बनने से पहले बड़े बड़े ऊंचे घरानों से अंग्रेज अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक अच्छे अच्छे लड़के बचपन से ही लेकर, उनको ट्रेनिंग देकर, फौजी ट्रेनिंग पाने के लिए सैण्डहर्स्ट भेजते थे और उधर से वे कमीशन लेकर जब आते थे तब इंडियन आर्मी में किंग्ज कमिशनड आफिसर्स कहलाते थे। उसके बाद तीसरा क्लास आता है इंडियन कमिशनड आफिसर्स का। १९३२ में जब देहरादून मिलिटरी कालेज खुला था, तब उस क्लास का आर्मी में नया जन्म हुआ था और उसके बाद किंग्ज कमिशनड इंडियन आफिसर्स का आना बंद हो गया; क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तानी नौजवान सैण्डहर्स्ट की बजाय देहरादून भेजे जाते थे। इस क्लास से जो लड़के कमीशन लेकर आते थे, उनको इंडियन कमिशनड आफिसर कहा जाता था। तो ये तीन क्लासेज थीं।

अब मुझे थोड़ा-सा इन क्लासेज का क्लास कैरेक्टर बताने की जरूरत है। मैं किसी प्रकार के किसी पर इल्जामात नहीं लगा रहा हूँ—एक हकीकत को, एक फ़ैक्ट को ब्यान कर रहा

हूँ। ब्रिटिश आफिसर्स से आज हमारा कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है, मैं उसके बारे में कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। किंग्ज कमिशनड इंडियन आफिसर्स जो सैण्डहर्स्ट से ट्रेनिंग लेकर आते थे, इसमें शक नहीं कि उनमें से चंद एक निहायत गंभीर, दयानतदार, मेहनती और खामोश तरीके से काम करने वाले होते थे, मगर उनमें ज्यादातर तादाद ऐसे आफिसरों की होती थी, जो थे तो हिन्दुस्तानी, मगर अपने आप को अंग्रेजों से भी कोई दो दर्जे ऊपर वाले अंग्रेज समझते थे। अगर उनका रहन सहन देखा जाय, तो मालूम पड़ेगा कि वे अंग्रेजों के नमूने की नकल करते हैं और इंडियन कमिशनड आफिसरों को थोड़ा-सा ऐसा समझते हैं, जैसा कि कोई नीची क्लास वाला आफिसर हो, क्योंकि इन आफिसरों ने इंग्लैंड में जाकर सैण्डहर्स्ट में ट्रेनिंग नहीं ली। रफ़्ता रफ़्ता सन् १९३२ के बाद इंडियन लड़कों को सैण्डहर्स्ट में भेजना बंद हो गया था और आने वाले आफिसर इंडियन कमिशनड आफिसर ही होते थे। तो इंडियन कमिशनड आफिसरों की तादाद आर्मी में बढ़ती गई और किंग्ज कमिशनड आफिसर्स जो अंग्रेजनुमा जिन्दगी बसर करते थे उनके दिलों में भी उनके बारे में नफरत के जज़बात पैदा होते गये। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इंडियन कमिशनड आफिसरों में उस जमाने में अंग्रेजों की नकल करने वाले नहीं थे—मुझे इस बात का अच्छी तरह से पता है कि लेफ्टिनेंट क्लास को अंग्रेजों के जमाने में कैसे चुना जाता था। उस समय किंग की लायल्टी के लिए अंग्रेज अपने झंडे को पकड़ कर कसम खिलाते थे। इस तरह की बातें उस जमाने में होती थीं, जो मुझे मालम हैं और यह बैकग्राउंड उस समय के आफिसरों का है। आज उसी बैकग्राउंड में इस किस्म के आफिसर्स चले आ रहे हैं। देश आजाद हुआ और देश की आजादी के बाद फौरन ब्रिटिश आफिसरों को इंडियन आर्मी छोड़नी पड़ी। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि किंग्ज कमिशनड इंडियन आफिसरों को बड़े बड़े प्रमोशन दिये गये, जो वे अपने जीवन में और स्वप्न में भी नहीं देख सकते थे। इस तरह के प्रमोशन

[श्री मोहन सिंह]

से चन्द आफिसरों के दिमाग में अच्छा असर हुआ और चन्द आफिसरों के दिमाग में इसका उल्टा असर भी हुआ; क्योंकि प्रमोशन जब तक अर्न न किया जाये तब तक वह आसानी से हजम नहीं होता। तो वे आफिसर्स जो अंग्रेजों की तरह रहते थे, अंग्रेजों के चले जाने के बाद भी उन्होंने अपने जीवन में कोई तब्दीली नहीं की। अंग्रेज लोग आर्मी में उस जमाने में ड्रिफिंग, डॉसिंग, रिजर्इसिंग और ऐश व इशरत की ज़िन्दगी को ज्यादा तरजीह देते थे और इस तरह की चीज़ को आर्मी में अच्छा समझा जाता था। उस समय हमारी कान्फिडेंशियल रिपोर्ट में सोशल एक्टिविटी के लिए काफी मार्क्स मिलते थे और सोशल एक्टिविटी बड़ी होती थी, जो मैंने आपको बताई है। वह जो आफिसर्स थे, उन्होंने अपना जीवन इस तरह से रखा। आज अगर हमारा कोई भाई कहता है कि इंडियन आर्मी में सीनियर आफिसर्स की हालत तसल्लीबख़्श नज़र नहीं आती है, तो इसमें डिफेंस मिनिस्टर या किसी सियासतदान का कोई दोष नहीं है। इसकी जिम्मेवारी इन किंग्ज कमिशनड इंडियन आफिसर्स पर है, जिन्होंने कि अपने आपको मुल्क और फौजी जीवन के लिए अर्पण नहीं किया और ऐश व इशरत में ही अपना जीवन लगाया; क्योंकि बचपन से ही वे इस तरह का जीवन चलाते आ रहे हैं।

यहां पर आर्मी में तरक्की के बारे में बात होती है और यह ब्याल किया जाता है कि आर्मी में जितने प्रमोशंस होते हैं, वे शायद डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के जरिये किये जाते हैं। आर्मी में तरक्की के लिए खास रूल्स और रेगुलेशन्स बने होते हैं, जो कि सीनियर आफिसरों की मर्जी से बनाए गए होते हैं। इन रूल्स और रेगुलेशन्स के मुताबिक आफिसरों को प्रमोशन दिया जाता है। मेजर और लेफ्टिनेंट कर्नल तक प्रमोशन सीनियारिटी और टाइम स्केल के मुताबिक होता है। मेजर से ऊपर जितना सिलेक्शन होता है, वह एक बोर्ड के जरिये होता

है और डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से किसी तरह का प्रमोशन नहीं होता है। सिर्फ लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल और जनरल्स को गवर्नमेंट खुद अपवाइंट करती है और इन आफिसरों के चुनाव के लिए भी चीफ आफ आर्मी स्टाफ एक पैनल भेजता है, जिनमें से इन आफिसरों का प्रमोशन होता है। आज सबेरे मेरे एक दोस्त ने हाऊस के सामने कहा कि आर्मी में बहुत से सीनियर आफिसरों को जैसे कर्नल्स को, मेजर लेफ्टिनेंट कर्नल, फुल कर्नल, ब्रिगेडियर और सैकड़ों आफिसरों को इस बोर्ड ने प्रमोशन के मुताबिक नज़रअंदाज़ कर दिया है और डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने एक केस में भी किसी किस्म का दखल नहीं दिया। डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब पर यह इल्जाम लगाया जा सकता है कि जहां पर उन्हें दखल देना चाहिये था, वहां पर उन्होंने दखल नहीं दिया और इस तरह से सैकड़ों आफिसरों को पास-प्रोवर कर दिया गया। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उन आफिसरों ने इस तरह के प्रमोशन्स में कोई गलती की या नहीं की, लेकिन उन्होंने रूल्स और रेगुलेशन्स के मुताबिक सब कुछ किया।

शाह मुहम्मद उमेर (बिहार) : क्या रूल्स नहीं बदले जा सकते हैं ?

श्री मोहन सिंह : यह दूसरी बात है, मैं नहीं कहता कि उन्होंने कैसे किया। लेकिन जहां, इतने आफिसरों को पास-प्रोवर किया जाता है, उसके बारे में बाहर किसी को पता तक नहीं होता, लेकिन जब एक या दो जनरल्स को पास-प्रोवर किया जाता है, तो सारे मुल्क में शोर हो जाता है और कहा जाता है कि आर्मी का मोराल खराब हो रहा है। आर्मी का मोराल एक या दो रिटायर्ड या रिटायर होने वाले जनरलों के जेब में नहीं होता है। अगर आर्मी का मोराल देखना है, तो आर्मी के लाखों जवानों या नान-कमिशनड आफिसरों और दूसरे आफिसरों में देखा जा सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज आर्मी में जो कुछ मोराल है, शायद इससे पहले ऐसा नहीं था

(Time bell rings.)



Please give me two or three minutes more, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take two minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is the only Member speaking from knowledge.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH: I should be given ten minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GAJPTA: He is the only Member of this House who seems to be speaking from direct knowledge. Others are novices like me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take two or three minutes more.

श्री मोहन सिंह : मैं सुनता हूँ कि जिन आफिसरों का रहन सहन अंग्रेजीनुमा था, जो सैण्डहस्त से आये थे, जो क्लबों में ड्रिंक और सोशल एक्टिविटी करते थे, उन्हें प्रमोशन दिया गया और जो आफिसर दयानतदारी, खामोशी से अपना काम करने वाले थे, गम्भीर आफिसर थे, जो क्लबों में ड्रिंक नहीं करते थे, सोशल एक्टिविटी नहीं करते थे, उन्हें नज़रअंदाज़ कर दिया गया है। अगर आज़ादी के चौदह वर्ष बाद आज भी इस तरह क्लेसी और शोई टाइप के आफिसरों को प्रमोशन दिया जाता है और जो निहायत दयानतदारी से काम करने वाले आफिसर हैं, उन्हें तरजीह नहीं दी जाती है, तो यह ऐसी बात है, जिसके बारे में डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को आउट ऑफ दी वे जाकर भी उसमें दखल-अंदाज़ करनी चाहिये। हाऊज़ को शायद यह

4 P. M. सुन कर हैरत होगी कि हमारे कई एक रिटायर्ड जनरल इंग्लैंड में सेटिल हो रहे हैं। इंग्लैंड में सेटिल होना कोई बुरी बात नहीं है। लेकिन जिस देश में बाकी जीवन बसर करने के लिये उनकी कोई सूबा, कोई प्रांत, कोई जगह, कोई शहर और कोई समाज पसंद नहीं आया, उस देश के साथ उनका प्यार कितना हो सकता है?

और भी एक बात की तरफ हाऊज़ की तबज़ह दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सुनने में आया है कि चन्द एक रिटायर्ड जनरल विदेशी कम्पनियों के मुलाज़िम हो चुके हैं और वे कम्पनियाँ फौजी साजो-सामान का व्यापार करती हैं, आर्म्स एंड अम्युनिशन बेचती हैं। हाऊज़ इस बात से खुद अन्दाज़ा लगा सकता है कि हमारे एक रिटायर्ड जनरल का किसी विदेशी फर्म में मुलाज़िम होना हमारे देश के हक में जाता है या उस देश के हक में जाता है या उस आफिसर के जाती हक में जाता है। आम चर्चा है कि बड़े बड़े जनरल नज़रअंदाज़ हो गये। लेकिन अप्सोस है कि जब एक या दो जनरल नज़रअंदाज़ हो गये, तो मुल्क में तूफान अग गया और जब उन जनरल ने खुद सैकड़ों अफसरों को नज़रअंदाज़ कर दिया, तो उनके दिल में उस वक्त कोई दर्द नहीं उठा। प्रमोशन की हर डिपार्टमेंट में, हर इंसान के अपने जीवन में एक अपर सीलिंग होती है, अपर हद होती है, जिससे कि इंसान ऊपर नहीं उठ सकता। हर फौजी अफसर या हर फौजी जवान जो फौज में दाखिल होता है, जवाइन होता है, उसके लिए यह जरूरी नहीं है कि वह जनरल हो कर रिटायर हो। कोई सिपाही का सिपाही रह जाता है, कोई छोटे दर्जे का अफसर बन कर रिटायर होता है और कोई बड़ा अफसर बन जाता है। जिस तरह से हर एक एम० एल० ए० प्रान्त का चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं बन सकता और हर एक एम० पी० इधर प्राइम मिनिस्टर नहीं बन सकता, उसी तरह से हर एक फौजी अफसर जनरल नहीं बन सकता। हर आदमी को अपनी अपनी सीलिंग समझनी चाहिये। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से हर स्टेट में ऐसे कई एम० एल० ए० साहेबान होते हैं, जो चीफ मिनिस्टरशिप से कम नहीं सोचते और एम० पी० साहेबान भी कई होते हैं, जो अपनी काबिलियत न देखते हुए प्राइम मिनिस्टरशिप और मिनिस्टरशिप से कम नहीं सोचते। इससे उनका अपना तालुक है, जो मर्जी हो सोचें, लेकिन जब हालत

[श्री मोहन सिंह]

इजाजत नहीं देते, तो वे जैसे कैतसे रहते हैं। इसी तरह चन्द अफसरों के दिमागों पर तेज प्रमोशन नशे की तरह चढ़ गया है और वे जनरल के नीचे सोचते नहीं हैं।

लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल और जनरल का एक निहायत ही एक जिम्मेदारी का एक है। कौनों के जीवन में ऐसे आहत आते हैं जब कौनों की ज़िन्दगी का सारा दायिमदार किसी जनरल के हाथ में होता है। इसलिये उसका सिनेक्यान करना डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब का काम है। किसी अफसर को हक नहीं है कि वह कहे कि मुझे अगर नहीं चुना गया, तो मैं सब एम्प्लोज के पास पहुंचूंगा और उन का प्रोपेगेंडा करूंगा। मुझे अप्पॉइंट है कि चन्द हमारे मेम्बर साहेबान भी उन के हाथों में खेल जाते हैं। उनको पता नहीं होता है कि उन अफसरों की बैकग्राउंड क्या है, जिनके हाथों में वे खेल रहे हैं। मैं ज़ाती वाकफियत की बिना पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि आर्मी में जो कुछ हमारी मिनिस्ट्री कर रही है, वह बिल्कुल वाजिब कर रही है और ठीक प्रमोशन दे रही है। बहुतों को मैं ज़ाती तौर पर जानता हूँ। जो हमारे तैयूना आर्मी चीफ हैं, उनको निहायत सोच-समझ कर बनाया गया है। वे शोई और फ्लेडी टाइट नहीं हैं और निहायत खामोशी से काम करने वाले हैं। और जो हमारे चीफ आफ जनरल स्टाफ चुने गये हैं, वे भी निहायत काबिल आदमी चुने गये हैं। इसलिये हम सब का यह फर्ज है कि हम उनको अपना काम करने में मदद दें और उनके रास्ते में रुकावट न डालें।

फौजी अफसरों की सबसे बड़ी खूबी और सब से बड़ी सिफत देश का प्यार और देश के साथ बफादारी है। रिटायर होने के बाद यह उनकी बफादारी, देश की बफादारी

खरम नहीं होती चाहिये। जिन अफसरों को आर्मी में बड़ी कमांड का एक दिया गया हो और उनके हाथ में मुल्क के सीक्रेट हों, तो किसी हालत में अगर उनको रिटायर करना पड़ जाये या रिटायर होना पड़ जाये, तो उनको बड़ी डिगनिटी के साथ और ग्रेस के साथ रिटायर होना चाहिये और आने वाले अफसरों के लिये एक अच्छा नमूना उनको पेश करना चाहिये।

डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब की जो पालिसी है, मैं बिल्कुल पुरजोर तरीके से उसकी तारीफ करता हूँ। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एंप्रोप्रियेशन बिल को भी सपोर्ट करता हूँ।

**श्री निरंजन सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उप-सभापति महोदय, मैं दो तीन बातें ही कह सकता हूँ; क्योंकि समय बहुत ही कम है। मैं ऐसे पिछड़े हुए इलाके से आता हूँ जहाँ कि अदिवासी ज्यादा रहते हैं। आदिवासियों की समस्या वहाँ मुबसती नहीं है, बल्कि उलझी हो जाती है। मैं पार साल भी दण्डकारण्य के सम्बन्ध में कहा था; क्योंकि वह भी आदिवासी एरिया है। पार साल एक जिले में गोली चली थी और इस साल दूसरे जिले में गोली चली है। दुर्भाग्य तो यह है कि जिन के हाथ में हमने उनकी रक्षा का भार सौंपा है, अर्थात् वे प्रान्तीय सरकार के मातहत नहीं हैं, उनकी सुरक्षा सेण्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में है, विधान के अनुसार उन की सुरक्षा सेण्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में दी गयी है, वह सेण्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट भी उनकी तरफ दुर्लक्ष्य कर रही है। इस बात को देख कर ताज्जुब होता है। अभी हाल में बस्तर में जो गोलीबारी हुई, उसको हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह कह दिया कि गोलीबारी उचित थी। इतना ही नहीं, उन्होंने भोपाल में जाकर के यह कहा कि यह जो कहा जाता है कि वह प्रीप्लांड गोलीबारी थी या सोच-समझ करके की गई थी, वह श्रुत नानसेंस है। मैं इस सभा भवन के सामने वह चीजें रख देना चाहता हूँ जिनके द्वारा, यदि उन्होंने एकतरफा सुना हो, यदि उनके

भाइंड में एक तरफ की कल्पना हो, तो उनको पता चल जायेगा कि गोलीबारी प्रीप्लांड हुई है, सोच करके हुई है, समझ करके हुई है। उपसभापति मजिस्ट्रेट, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर जब कोई एजिटेशन होता है, जब कोई अपनी चीज को मांगता है, तो उसे आप मारने तो नहीं जाते, उसकी सुनने तो जाते हैं। यहां रोज दिल्ली में डिमांडेशन होते हैं। क्या सरकार रोज उनके ऊपर गोली चला देती है। यदि नहीं चलाती है, तो आदिवासियों ने कौन-सा पाप किया है कि यदि वे कोई चीज मांगते हैं, तो उनको वह चीज न दे कर, उनको कोई सुविधा न दे कर, सरकार उनके ऊपर गोली चला देती है? मैंने जैसा कि अपने यहां कहा था, वैसा ही मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिसको प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने अटर नानसैस कहा है, उसके सम्बन्ध में वे बतायें कि जिस जेज गोली चली उसके एक दिन पहले जगदलपुर के सक्रिट हाऊस में कोई मोटिंग हुई या नहीं और पुलिस आफिसर, कलैक्टर, कमिशनर, कांग्रेस कमेटी के पदाधिकारी आदि ने बैठ करके कुछ तय किया या नहीं तय किया और तय करने के बाद वहां पर आया या नहीं आये। आखिर वह डिमांडेशन था और उसके लिये इतनी फौज जाने की क्या जरूरत थी, इतनी पुलिस जाने की क्या जरूरत थी, इतनी आर्म्ड पुलिस जाने की क्या जरूरत थी? यदि वह गई तो मेरा यह कहना है कि वह गोलीबारी प्रीप्लांड थी। अगर वह डिमांडेशन को रोकने के लिये जाते हैं तो फिर गवर्नमेंट आफिसर्स फोटोग्राफ्स क्यों लेते हैं, कैमरा ले जा कर वहां फोटोग्राफ्स क्यों लेते हैं, जैसेकि वहां ए० डी० एस० पी० या डिप्टी कलैक्टर ने फोटो लिये हैं? उसकी आवश्यकता क्या थी? वह केवल यह प्रूब करने के लिये किया कि वहां पर इस तरह का डिमांडेशन हो रहा था, इसलिये हमको गोली चलानी पड़ी।

दूसरी बात यह है कि एक तरफ चीफ मिनिस्टर कहते हैं कि हमारे कलैक्टर का आर्डर 138 RS.—6.

है और दूसरी तरफ एक चेंज स्टेटमेंट होता है और कहा जाता है कि हमने सैल्फ डिफेंस में गोली चलाई है। ये दोनों चीजें कैसे हो सकती हैं? सैल्फ डिफेंस में कौन चला सकता है? आखिरकार कलैक्टर का आर्डर होना चाहिये? जब सुपीरियर आफिसर बैठे हैं, कलैक्टर हैं, डी० आई० जी० हैं, एस० पी० हैं, तो ए० डी० एस० पी० कैसे गोली चला सकता है? तो हम इसको प्रीप्लांड न कहें, तो और क्या कहें? क्या किसी को चोट लगी, किसी को एक घाव भी हुआ? बाण न जमीन में गिरे और न आकाश में ही कहीं पर जा कर लगे और न किसी आदमी को लगे। जब किसी का आर्डर नहीं था, तो किसी आदमी को चोट लगती, तभी तो सैल्फ डिफेंस की बात मानी जा सकती है। किसी को चोट नहीं लगी। केवल यह बताया जाता है कि एक आदमी ए० डी० एस० पी० के ऊपर डंडा उठा रहा था, तो उसको हवलदार ने पकड़ लिया और फिर उसी पर गोली चलती है। तो वह आदमी भयभीत था और पुलिस की सर्विज के लायक नहीं था, परन्तु मुझे मालूम है कि उसी आदमी ने एक बार भिलाई में गोली चलाई थी और उसको वहां जानबूझ कर इस बार डेप्यूट किया गया था। दूसरा आदमी यह नहीं कर सकता था। कलैक्टर को दो घंटे तक कहा गया और कलैक्टर की यह बहादुरी थी कि उसने आर्डर नहीं दिया। कलैक्टर को दो घंटे तक प्रैस किया गया कि तुम आर्डर दो, परन्तु उसने कहा कि मेरा काम फायरिंग का नहीं है। मैं यह आर्डर नहीं देना चाहता हूँ, मैं तो उन को समझाना चाहता हूँ। दूसरी चीज यह कही जाती है कि वे नशे में थे, परन्तु ठाई घंटे के बाद तो नशा अपने आप टूट जाता है। तो नशा जब टूट जाता है तब तीर चलाने की या अटैक करने की बात आई। अगर उनका अटैक करने का मतलब होता, तो जिस वक्त इकट्ठे हुए थे उसी वक्त तुरन्त के तुरन्त करते। जब जानते थे कि ५०-६० आदमी हैं, तो अटैक कर सकते थे। ये जानते थे कि इनके पास तो गोलियां हैं, तो फिर किसने

[श्री निरंजन सिंह]

प्रदेक किया ? किस आदमी ने गोली चलाई । डी० आई० जी० ने नहीं चलाई, कलक्टर ने आर्डर नहीं दिया, डिप्टी कलक्टर ने आर्डर नहीं दिया, डी० एस० पी० ने गोली नहीं चलाई । ए० डी० एस० पी० ने गोली चलाई । मान लिया कि ए० डी० एस० पी० ने संतुष्ट हिंसे में गोली चला दी, लेकिन जब वह गोली चलाते हैं, तो ४० आदमी एक दम से गोली चलाते हैं । तो यह प्रीप्लांड नहीं है, तो और क्या है ? यानी यह तय था कि जिस वक्त ए० डी० एस० पी० गोली चला दें, उस वक्त जो वहां आम कास्टेबिल हैं, उनको गोली चलानी चाहिये और जब इस तरह से गोली चलाई गई है, तो इसका मतलब यह होता है कि यह पूरा प्रीप्लांड था । तो जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर कहते हैं कि वह अटर्नानसैस है, तब तो वह उस थानेदार भरीखा है, जिनके यहां कि चोरी की जब अपील होती है, तो थानेदार कहता है कि यह तुम्हारी सब बनावटी बात है और चोर को साफ रहने दिया जाता है । अगर इस तरह का थानेदार इस देश का मुखिया है, तो हमें कुछ नहीं कहना है । मैं समझता हूं कि यह अटर्नानसैस नहीं है, अटर्नानसैस उनकी बात है ।

अब मैं इसी के बाद जो वहां की परिस्थिति है, उससे भी आपको अवगत कराना चाहता हूं । असल बात यह है कि वहां के आदिवासियों का स्वाल उसी तरह है जैसा कि अब जगह है । वह वहां अपने आराम से रहते थे । वहां का आदमी आज आपसे रिफ्ट नमक चाहता है । उन्होंने यह कहा कि हमने और कुछ नहीं चाहिये, हम तो तुमसे सिर्फ नमक लेते हैं, लेकिन नमक के बदले में उनके ऊपर गोली चलाते हैं । उनको कुछ जमीन वगैरह नहीं देते हैं । दण्डकारण्य में दूसरों को जमीन देना चाहते हैं और जो उनका वहां घर बना हुआ है उसको भी तोड़ देते हैं । तो उन आदिमियों का कहना है कि हम तुमसे कुछ नहीं लेते हैं, तो तुम हमको इतना परेशान क्यों

करते हो । आपको दम सल हो रहे हैं, लेकिन जो सड़कें वहां जैसी थी वैसी ही पड़ी हुई हैं, जो पुल जैसा बना था वैसा ही बना हुआ पड़ा है । जो आदमी बाहर ने वहां भेजते हैं वह मौज उड़ाते हैं और जो वहां के आदमी हैं, वे मूत्रों मर रहे हैं । तो इस सबकी जिम्मेदारी सेण्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर है, अंग्रेजे प्राविशियल गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर नहीं है । प्राविशियल गवर्नमेंट द्वारा जो फायरिंग हुई है, वह तो सब केवल अपने पोलिटिकल एंड्स के लिये किया गया है । कोई आदमी जो कि आपकी सुलिंग पार्टी के साथ में नहीं जाना चाहता है, उनको किसी न किसी तरह से दबा करके अपने कब्जे में लाना चाहते हैं । यह सारा चीजें इसमें छिपी हुई हैं और इंग्लिशों मेरा यह कहना है कि इस तरह से जो छिपी हुई बात रहती है, वह गरीब आदिमियों के लिये हानिकार होती है । यह चीज आदिमियों का जो कि मिछे हुए हैं, अंग्रे उठाने वाली नहीं है । जो आदमी अंग्रे आना चाहते हैं, उनको आपको उठाना है, लेकिन उनको आप उठाना नहीं चाहते हैं और उनको दबा कर रखना चाहते हैं, उनको टैरोराइज करके उनसे आप अपनी बात कहलवाना चाहते हैं । तो यह चीज अनुचित है ।

उपसमापति महोदय, यह तो वहां के आदिवासियों के बारे में हो गया । अब मैं और बातों को कहना चाहता हूं । मैंने कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट के बारे में बहुत कुछ पहले भी कहा था । अगर आप उनकी हालत को देखें, तो वहां करप्शन का अवतार है । पहले यह था कि एक-दो आदमी करप्शन हुआ करते थे, पहले थानेदार को या तहसीलदार को रिश्वत देते थे और अपना बटवारा वगैरह कर लेते थे, लेकिन आज गांवों में इस बात की चर्चा है कि जहां कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट का कोई भी काम हुआ, वहां पहले करप्शन, रिश्वतखोरी बंद जाती है, बेईमानी और भ्रष्टाचार वहां बंद जाता है और

फिर कुछ होता है। उसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि इस वजह से जो हममें उत्साह होना चाहिये, वह नहीं हो पा रहा है। हमारे भाई लोग कभी कभी कहते हैं कि हममें बहुत उत्साह है, बहुत तमन्ना है और हम बहुत काम करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन अगर आप देखें, तो आप पायेंगे कि वे तमन्नायें, वे आशाएँ, वह जोश दिल में ही भीतर भीतर बैठता जा रहा है। मैं आपको उदाहरण दूँ। पहले मनी जी ने कहा था कि आप उदाहरण दीजिये, तो मैंने बहुत से उदाहरण दिये थे, लेकिन आज तक उनकी कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई। मैं अभी आपको सिर्फ एक उदाहरण देता हूँ। एक मकान बनाया जाता है और उसकी चारदीवारियाँ बन जाती हैं, लेकिन उस पर छप्पर नहीं होता है। अब हवा चलती है और उससे चारों की चारों दीवारें गिर जाती हैं। यह चीज दुनिया में कहीं कभी नहीं हुई होगी, लेकिन कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट में यह हुआ। आपाङ्क का महीना था और चारों दीवारें बन चुकी थीं और उसमें पाँच या छः हजार रुपया लगा था और थोड़ी-सी हवा चली और वे दीवारें गिर गईं। ईंट के ऊपर ईंट भी रख दें, तो भी वह हवा में नहीं गिरती हैं, लेकिन वह दीवार ५ मिनट की हवा में ढह गई है। यह आपका कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट है। इसी तरह से कुएं के लिए पंसा मिल जाता है और वह बन भी जाता है, लेकिन असल में वह बनता नहीं है। सड़कें बनाने के लिये कहा जाता है, लेकिन वह बनती नहीं है और उसके लिये पैसा मिल जाता है। तो आपका इस तरह का डेवलपमेंट का काम है। लाखों रुपया आप इस तरह से खर्च करते हैं। दिल्ली में बैठे हुए आप कुछ भी करें, देहातों में इसकी चर्चा नहीं होती है, लेकिन जिस गांव में भ्रष्टाचार हो, यह अनीति हो, तो वहां पर जो ऐसा करता है, उसका तुरंत का तुरंत पता लग जाता है कि आज इस तरह की घटना हो गई, इस तरह का दुर्व्यवहार हो गया। तो

यह जो कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट में इस तरह का व्यवहार होता है, उससे सारे देश में आप एक सिखिलता लाते हैं। आप रोज़ यह कहते हैं कि हम यह यह डेवलपमेंट का काम करना चाहते हैं और मुझे मालूम है कि आप यहां चीजें बहुत अच्छी कहेंगे, या यहां बैठ कर आपकी बातें अच्छी होंगी, लेकिन इस बात को आप देखिये कि उनको कार्य रूप में किस तरह से परिणत करते हैं, लेकिन आप इन बातों को नहीं देखना चाहते हैं।

अब एक और चीज है।

(Time bell rings.)

मेरे लिये तो कम से कम १५ मिनट होंगे।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken fourteen minutes.

श्री निरंजन सिंह : अच्छा, दो बातें कह कर मैं खत्म कर देता हूँ। एक तो इंकम टैक्स के बारे में है। इंकम टैक्स डिपार्टमेंट फाइनैस मंत्री जी से सम्बन्धित है। हमने इस बारे में क्वेश्चन भी पूछा है। तो वहां अक्सर करके क्या हो रहा है। अगर वहां कोई स्ट्रांग आफिसर है और वह अच्छी रियलाइजेशन करना चाहता है और रिश्वत भी नहीं खाता है, तो फिर उसका ट्रांसफर जल्दी हो जायेगा और यदि कोई आदमी उनके साथ मिल जाता है, तो वे बिजनेस-मैन समझ ते हैं कि भाई आखिर को कुछ तुमको फायदा हो जाये, कुछ मुझको फायदा हो जाये। गवर्नमेंट को पैसा मिलेगा और न तुमको फायदा होगा न मुझको फायदा होगा। इस प्रकार चालाक आदमी तो बना रहता है, लेकिन जो ईमानदार आदमी है, जो सच्चाई से काम करता है, गवर्नमेंट का रुपया बचाना चाहता है और सोचता है कि उसको बसूल करना चाहिये उसका जल्दी से ट्रांसफर हो जाता है। यह जो परिपाटी है, इसको आप बन्द कर दीजिये।

[श्री निरंजन सिंह]

आखिरी बात मुझे यह कनी है कि ये जो डबल मेम्बर कांस्टिट्यूंसीज हैं उनके लिये कम से कम, जैसे पुराना तरीका था कि आप अपने प्रान्तों में जायें, प्रान्तों की कमेटियों को कंसल्ट करें, पाटियों से कंसल्ट करें, तब फाइनलाइज करें, यह चीज ज्यादा अच्छी होगी ।

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, during the last two Five Year Plans we found improvement in production all round. Now, we are entering the Third Plan and it is only proper that we should carefully ponder over the whole matter and see in what things we are lagging behind and what improvements are necessary. My submission is that the Plan is a huge one. We have had to get foreign assistance. We have taxed our people. Therefore, every pie of it must be carefully spent and that is what is very necessary. The planning at the Centre is very good, very appropriate, but the Implementation, the execution of it in the States is not as it should be. We find that every year more money under a particular head is spent hurriedly within the last 2 or 3 months and within the first 9 months money is very slowly spent. What happens is, things are not done properly, things are not done economically and there is a great wastage. The feeling of austerity, the feeling of economy is not there and unless it is there, unless we feel that every pie should be spent very carefully, the amount that has been allotted will not be sufficient. We probably might require more. Therefore, I would very humbly submit that there should be a feeling of austerity and a feeling of doing the duty in the proper manner. There should be economy all round. I think there is wastefulness. That is my general impression. I move about in the villages, I go to the different blocks, I go to the towns and I go to the c'ties. There is not that austerity, there is not that determi-

nation that is essential for the successful implementation of such a huge Plan. Therefore, my submission is that the mind of the Government should be centred round this fact. It should give an impression to all its subordinate officers that they should be very active, very careful and very economical.

I find that in spite of all improvements, the prices of foodstuffs are rising every day and if this goes on, there will be no zest for the Five Year Plan among the masses. They want something substantial. I know that roads have been built, I know that there are schools, there are dispensaries and there are other amenities but that does not help the poor man. He wants food and primarily he is anxious about that and so long as things remain as they are, the enthusiasm which is necessary for the successful implementation of the Plan will not be there. We find all round a feeling of depression among the village people. Those who are landless or those who have small pieces of land, feel depressed when they find that there is no food for them and that feeling creates frustration and frustration never helps to achieve good results. Therefore, my submission is that special attention has to be paid to stop the rise in the price of foodstuffs and cloth.

Again, in the villages we find that the wages are very meagre. In the towns of course the people get good wages but the labourers in villages are as before. No proper legislation is there to see that they get proper wages. We find that people are without any occupation in the villages. We thought that within these 10 years, there will be great effort to have cottage industries in the villages. We find only in regard to agriculture there is improvement visible all round but in the villages there is very little of cottage industries. No industrial enterprise is there and therefore I would humbly submit that this aspect

of the question should be carefully seen to. Now, what we find in the villages is that the new chemical fertilisers are being greatly welcomed. This is not so very good because the poor people cannot afford to have chemical fertilisers. Compost should be encouraged more and more and then they can use their green leaves, cow-dung, etc., and they can get manure. That is how things were done before but they were not done properly and so the net result was not so good. But I can assure you that some time back the yield was much better than what it is now. These chemical fertilisers require a lot of water and there is a general programme of pushing in these fertilisers even where there is no water. So there is failure. This aspect of the question has also to be carefully considered and properly thought out before we supply fertilisers to the poor people.

Now, the question of unemployment is really creating a great depression. We are having colleges all round. Graduates are coming out of these colleges but when they go from place to place, they find no vacancy. Why is it so? It is because we have not that plan which is necessary and we only have these ordinary science courses and arts courses. Technical education is not being given that place which it should have. I know that there are more technical institutions now but not enough.

Frustration has to be removed before our Third Plan can be successful and all efforts should be made towards that end. There should be a feeling among the people that it is really the poor people who are being looked after by the Government. The rich people can look after themselves and they can do things even when prices are high but the poor people have very little to fall back upon. Therefore, when they have the feeling that the Third Plan is really and slowly improving their lot, then there will be enthusiasm and then the Plan will progress satisfactorily.

I feel that evasion of tax is also very great in our country. The officials, the people who are in charge of collecting taxes are not doing their work properly. There should be a careful scrutiny of their work and those who are found to be doing things which cause evasion of taxes must be summarily dismissed.

I feel that export is very necessary, because of the foreign exchange that we earn. But the position of our exports is not as good as it should be. The exports in 1950 were to the tune of Rs. 619 crores and in 1960, they amount to Rs. 638 crores. So during these ten years the increase has been very little. Although we are talking of exporting more and more, the net result is very disappointing. Therefore, careful thought should be given to this aspect of the question, and efforts should be made to increase our exports as far as possible.

As I said before, we have to be very careful to see that our Third Five Year Plan is really carried out efficiently and economically and unless we even from now look to every minute detail, not at the Centre here, but in the villages, in the districts and in the States, we will not succeed. Therefore, my submission is, let there be that feeling behind the Third Five Year Plan, that we will do everything efficiently and economically and well.

Thank you.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the fag end of the day, I have only a very few brief remarks to contribute to the discussion on the Appropriation Bill, a few remarks on some of the basic problems, the problem of resources and investment for the production of wealth in our community and the problem of organisation for the effective use of our limited resources. And in that connection, I should like to make a few brief remarks on the crucial question of the surpluses from the huge public sector enterprises in our country.

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.]

Before I do that, I have to get out of the way very quickly a very uncharitable and unparliamentary remark which my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, made about me personally in the course of his reply to the Budget debate in this honourable House. I had drawn attention to this question of surpluses from public sector enterprises and I expressed some doubts about the coming into existence of Rs. 440 crores surplus from the public sector enterprises in the Third Plan period<sup>1</sup> of which something like two-thirds are supposed to be surpluses from the public sector steel plants. And my hon. friend retorted that I was in one of those public sector steel mills and I had got out of it and I was not competent in my work while I was there. It may interest my hon. friend to know that there exists on record a letter in which the Steel Minister says to the Prime Minister—Shri Jawaharlal Nehru—that the Steel Minister had nothing but the highest praise for the quality of Mr. Ghosh's work from the year 1955 to 1960 for the three public sector steel plants. Obviously, therefore, my hon. friend's remark about my personal competence was an untrue one. In any case, it is wholly and utterly irrelevant to the discussion on the Budget before the House. Whether an hon. Member of this House in his previous existence as a government official was competent or not has nothing whatsoever to do with the discussion of a problem or subject before the honourable House. Here we should not reduce our discussions to personal levels. Here we discuss problems and issues in a spirit of mutual confidence, in a spirit of mutual respect, and we should not bring it down to the level of personal remarks that amount to unparliamentary remarks.

However, to come back to my observations on the problem of surpluses, Mr. Deputy Chairman, in any country, to give people income and then to take it away from them in taxes and also by inflation and by appeals to thrift

and in many different ways to take it away from them is an inefficient way of raising resources for investment for the production of further wealth. Whether you take a Communist State such as the Soviet Union or a capitalist State like the United States of America, you find that the investment to resources that takes place in order to produce a colossal volume of wealth, both in the communist society and in the capitalist society, is not raised by taxation by government, but out of the surplus of industrial enterprises. Even in Communist Russia, the yardstick by which the success or otherwise of an enterprise is measured is the profit that that enterprise makes. It sounds unusual, but even in a communist society, an enterprise is judged by the amount of profit that it makes. In the United States of America of the resources that are invested for the production of wealth, the amount that comes out of the taxes collected by the government is a very minute fraction compared to the volume that is invested for wealth production out of the surpluses of industrial enterprises. Although I am not likely to apply for membership of my hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's party, there is one thing that I like about the communist system and it is this. In their kind of society, the government does not waste a very large volume of its time and energy in collecting taxes. They devote that energy to the production of wealth and to the production of surpluses out of huge industrial enterprises.

AN HON. MEMBER: But the taxes are there.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: Our leaders in the Government of India seem to be obsessed with a fruitless kind of controversy which seems to be irrelevant in our situation, about the so-called public sector and the so-called private sector. It is fruitless, because there is so much to be done in an underdeveloped country like ours and in such a short time for our survival that there is more than enough for both the public sector and for the



private sector to do. Therefore, the promotion of that controversy is not wise and those who keep it going are not particularly wise people. We all the time seem to be obsessed with mobilising resources in our country by taxes and by savings and with what can be secured from abroad in the shape of loans and grants, as if the collection of resources and their investment preferably in the public sector is in itself a very great achievement. Well, intelligent men and women in this country will agree that in an underdeveloped country, the basic industries should, as far as possible, be owned by the State. But what happens after you have created these public sector enterprises? Take for instance the big steel plants on which you have invested some Rs. 600 or Rs. 700 crores. Maybe we wasted a hundred crores or so. That does not very much matter. Let us overlook it. What happens after you have created them in the public sector? Well, in the first few years perhaps you make losses, which is not extraordinary. After that you try to avoid making losses, as if it is good enough if you avoid making losses in these public sector enterprises. If steel is made and it is made in a government plant, that seems to be a matter for satisfaction for us. Government does not seem to see that if you do not earn very substantial surpluses from these huge public sector investments, and if you do not earn them sufficiently quickly, you are going to queer the pitch for the development of your entire economy, not only for that particular section, namely the steel industry.

While talking about surpluses, investments and economic growth, I should like, with your permission, to make a very brief reference to the Report of the World Bank Mission which was submitted to our hon. finance Minister some time ago. I was delighted to see the gracious tribute which my hon. friend, paid to the World Bank and to its very distinguished President, Mr. Eugene Black, in the course of his Budget speech, on the

manner and the spirit in which the Bank has been attempting to help India and to see India through our successive Five Year Plan periods. I share the Finance Minister's regard for Mr. Black and the Bank and I, therefore, venture to draw his attention to some of the very sharp comments which the Bank Mission made for the benefit of our Government. I quote from the Mission's Report:

"The Mission was particularly impressed by the extent to which the failure to solve the problem of the city of Calcutta is putting impediments in the way of economic growth in India's most rapidly expanding industrial region".

The Bank Mission also says:

"The Government of India tends to regard these problems as wholly the concern of the Government of West Bengal which, in turn, is struggling with many other difficulties, and must respond to a Legislature that inadequately represents the interests of the urban areas. The very magnitude of the challenge that Calcutta presents to the conscience and political commonsense of those in authority in India in part explains the inadequacy of the response. Everybody admits that more ought to be done about it. Nobody is ready to do it. In the Mission's view, as stated, the continued neglect of Calcutta's problems is one of the most dangerous weaknesses of India's Third Five Year Plan".

Well, Sir, those are certainly very sharp comments and they have very sharply drawn the attention of the Government of India to the extent of this colossal problem and to the fact that this is not the problem of that region of India, the problem of West Bengal or those who live there, it is a very serious problem for the whole of India, and perhaps it is an international problem. There the problem started years ago. During the War they

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.] had a terrible famine in Bengal and hardly had they overcome the aftereffects of the terrible famine when the country was divided. More than half of that State went over to another country, East Pakistan, and to this lesser half of the State that was left with them, there came three million refugees from the other part, and in a city which had a population of something like 3J million, we have today a population of something like 7 million people, and nothing has been added during these years to the basic services—even of water supply, sewage disposal or drainage, with the result that the whole place is in a real mess. All the civic services have broken down and naturally there is discontent and dissatisfaction rampant in every section of the community there. Now, it is a little disappointing and distressing to see that even men whom we hold in high regard in places of authority in the Central Government tend to consider this as a kind of parochial problem of the Bengalis who live there, and it is a little disappointing from our point of view that we have so far not had any very enthusiastic response from our hon. Finance Minister whom we hold in very high regard. I have been trying in my own way to make myself useful to the Chief Minister of that State, in gathering together the ie-sources that are necessary for handling such a big job and I was distressed to find that there was an extraordinary lack of enthusiasm, of sympathetic understanding, by our own people from whom we have every right to expect sympathy and understanding. I have got with me here a file full of correspondence, letters from Directors of the World Bank, U.N. Special Fund. Ford Foundation and various authorities. All not only agree that this is a serious problem but they also agree, that there is urgent necessity of doing-something boldly and seriously about it. All I want to point out in this House is that even if the conscience of our own people has not been roused, I hope, if I very briefly quote a few figures, their conscience will at last be

roused. We have madj some researches into how the human beings live in the city of Calcutta. So far as housing is concerned, the following are the figures :

Without any living room—17 per cent.

Upto 1/3rd living room i.e. three families living in one room—30 per cent.

Half living room, i.e. two families living in one room— 4 per cent.

one living room, *i.e.* one family in one room—33 per cent.

Families availing two living rooms, luxurious—9 per cent.

Families availing three living rooms, very luxurious—4 per cent.

Families availing four or more rooms—those who are very rich—1 per cent.

As regards such an elementary thing as a lavatory:

No latrines—12 per cent.

One latrine for 100 and above— 4 per cent.

One latrine for 50 to 99 families— 11 per cent.

One latrine for 10 to 49 families— 58 per cent.

One latrine for 1 to 9 families-- 5 per cent.

One latrine for a family—9 per cent.

These figures alone should give us a rude shock that human beings live in this sort of squalor and misery in which animals only can live in a vast area covering 35 municipalities which have no water supply, sewage disposal and drainage apart from the Corporation of Calcutta. In order to give them the basic services, the World

Health Organisation has already produced a preliminary report and they are preparing the detailed plans. The Ford Foundation is preparing a master plan into which will be fitted the W.H.O. plan— a master plan to control the economic and industrial development and growth of that huge mass called Calcutta and the industrial district. All that is being done. After a very great deal of struggle by the Chief Minister of West Bengal, we have been told that our people at the Centre have begun to take some interest. I am told that in the January meeting of the National Development Council, it was agreed that in order to include this Calcutta project in the Third Five Year Plan, the Plan outlay should be expanded by about fifty crores of rupees. We do not understand why the actual amount provided for Calcutta is only ten crores of rupees. However, there is some provision; the State Government has made some provision of its own and all these international agencies are only too anxious to do whatever they can to help this cause. We can, of course, secure their help only with the blessings and goodwill of our leaders who are in control of the Government here, and my purpose in mentioning this thing briefly was to appeal to my hon. friend, the Finance Minister who, as I said, is a person for whom we have high regard. It was a little distressing for those who come from that part of the country to see this lack of sympathetic understanding in such a serious problem like this I do hope the information that I have given here will rouse his feelings on the subject and that he will feel moved by these facts. I hope from now onwards we can count on his sympathetic understanding and support.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF IRRIGATION AND POWER (SHRI J. S. L. HATHI) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to intervene in the debate only because of certain observations made by the hon. Member from Rajasthan about the Rajasthan Canal and the flood in the Ghaggar. I have got the greatest regard for the hon. Member

and I can appreciate that whatever he said was only in his anxiety to expedite the construction of the Rajasthan Canal. He correctly paid a tribute to the work of the Irrigation and Power Ministry and he also said that when he saw the mighty projects under construction, not only he but the other foreign experts too, were wonder struck, to put it in his own words at the progress made by the country in respect of irrigation and power development. It is but fair and meet that he should have made these observations because the huge tasks of building mighty river projects in the country, the various technicalities involved therein, the number of problems the engineers have to tackle and the spirit of team work with which they carry on the work are bound to create admiration for the work that they have been doing. I am grateful to the hon. Member for paying that tribute. And it is, therefore, that I want to clarify certain points. He made out a case that because the Rajasthan Canal was a project of national importance, the Centre should take over the control of that project and not leave it to the Rajasthan Government. As I mentioned, the great regard that I have for him I tried to analyse the reasons and arguments for his apprehensions about the progress of the Rajasthan Canal. In the other House the same apprehension was expressed by another Member from Rajasthan. As opinions differ about the capacity of that State or about the capacity of the engineers, another Member, Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, in that House observed that the progress of the Rajasthan Canal was very satisfactory and he went on further to say that the apprehension, which the hon. Member had expressed, was not reasonable and had no basis. He says:

"But about the Rajasthan Canal, he said that it should be taken over by the Central Government for execution. I think in his obsession against the Rajasthan Government, he just made the unkindest cut\* against our engineering staff.

[Shri J. S. L. Hathi.] wish the House to know that Cham-bal project has been one of the most efficiently executed projects, completed in the most crusading spirit. The engineers worked round the clock night and day and did extremely good work. The Chief Engineer who completed the Chambal project is now in charge of the Rajasthan Canal. Shri Kunwarsain, a better engineer than whom it is difficult to find in the country, is in overall charge of this. My friend, the Minister of Irrigation and Power, is the Chairman of the committee for direction with the two Chief Ministers. I just wanted to clarify the position, because it creates a very wrong impression against the engineers who had done such excellent work and set up a record."

This is what the other Member from Rajasthan in the other House expressed. Therefore, I wanted to know exactly what he wants. I And from the proceedings that he thinks that the regional interests in that area or in that State are likely to prejudice the construction and, therefore, the Centre should take over the work. I may assure the hon. Member that the Centre is very closely associated with the execution of the Rajasthan Canal. There is the Rajasthan Canal Control Board and on that formerly there was no representative of the Ministry. Looking to the importance of the project, the Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, the Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and a Member or the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission are now associated with the working of the Control Board. Moreover, there is a Committee of Direction, which gives direction for the construction of the project and lays down the policy. That Committee is presided over by the Minister of Irrigation and Power, Government of India. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan and the Chief Minister of Punjab are members of this Committee of I

Direction. Therefore, from the point of view of the day to day execution as well as from the point of view of the policy question, the Centre is very closely associated with execution of the project. If the hon. Member wants that the project should be executed by the Centre directly, it may not be possible. It is not possible because even under the Constitution we do not directly execute any project. The House might recall that the Estimates Committee recommended that the Centre should not directly take up any execution work. They must work as technical advisers or in overall supervision of the projects. They should not take up the direct execution of any project. But as the project is of national importance, we have a very careful watch on the execution of the project. We see that in matters of policy the decisions are taken by the Committee of Direction and the day to day execution is taken up by the Control Board, whose Chairman is Shri Kunwarsain and who was the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission. We have specially given the services of Shri Kunwarsain, who had held the highest position as engineer to the Rajasthan Government.

Then, I went further to analyse the other reason why he wants the Centre to take over the project. He says that the construction of the Rajasthan Canal is lagging behind the schedule by two months, for lack of supplies of cement and coal. Now, if the construction is lagging behind by two months only, that is not such a grave factor as to cause that sort of apprehension. Even then it is not the case that because the Centre is not in charge of the execution of the project that the delay, if any, has occurred. The delay in the supply of coal, as everybody knows, was due to difficulties of transport. The delay in the supply of cement was due to short supply. Even then we have in the C.W.P.C. a cell which looks after the requirements of the various river

valley projects. It gets the indents from the various projects, then pursues the matter with the Commerce and Industry Ministry and then makes allocations project-wise according to the need. Even so, we thought that a further look into the matter was necessary and that if we wanted a speedy execution of these projects we should see that the supply of the requirements were guaranteed or assured. We have, therefore, had a discussion recently with the Planning Commission, the Commerce and Industry Ministry and the Railway Ministry. We have now decided and we are taking steps to have a physical check-up of the total requirements in the Third Five Year Plan, as a whole in respect of cement, steel and other materials, so that allocations could be made not only having regard to the needs of supplies to the projects, but also having regard to the convenience of transport. And this will, to a great extent, relieve the difficulties, if any, experienced by either the Rajasthan Canal or any other project in the country. We are aware of it and we have taken steps.

Then, the third point that he mentioned was about the floods in the river Ghaggar. Now, that river is a peculiar river rising from the Siwalik Range and going through Punjab territory. It was considered a dead river in a way. During the last three or four years it has revived again and floods have been visiting that area. The Rajasthan Government appointed a Committee in December, 1960. The Committee has held two meetings. The last meeting was held in February 1961. They have submitted detailed recommendations as to what should be done to check the floods and that very often visit that area. After all we have to see that the area is protected from floods as far as possible. The Committee has recommend-

ed short-term measures as well as long-term measures. The short-term measures include building embankments, construction of a bund round the Suratgarh farm, making provision for the discharge of about 800 cusecs of water through the railway bridges, etc. So far as long-term measures are concerned, the Punjab Government has evolved a plan for a multi-purpose project on that river, which will check the floods and give protection to that area.

The fourth point that he made was about corruption. He said **that** cement was being sold by people. He himself was told by a friend 'You can get as many bags of cement as you want.' He tried it and went there. And in an hour or so he could get ten bags in a jeep. But my only difficulty is this. In his speech he has said that because he has given the word of a Rajput he could not take any further action. Now, I have great respect for the high traditions, for the traditions and for the good prestige of the Rajputs. I do not want to say anything about that. But I would only appeal to the Members that if such cases come to their knowledge and if they can give the information to the Government, **the** Government would naturally take sufficient steps to check this corruption because nobody wants that corruption should go on. It is difficult to find it out but once it is found out and brought to notice, proper action will be taken. This is all that I have to say, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 26th April, 1961.