

[Shri Banamali Patnaik]

cers to the Government of India. They have submitted their report. I am quite sure the Minister will go into the details. I know, as a Minister, he cannot commit immediately in the house. But I am sure, he will look into the case not from the Orissa's point of view but from the national point of view and from the national point of view production of steel will be cheapest in Orissa and therefore the case needs serious attention.

With these words, I would say, I am satisfied with the reply.

I now beg leave of the house to withdraw my resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Has he the leave of the house to withdraw the Resolution ?

AN HON. MEMBER : No.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is an amendment by Shri Mohanty, Are you withdrawing it ?

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY : No.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. I will put it to the vote. The question is :

That in the resolution,

*add at the end,—*

"after considering the feasibility report submitted to the Central Government by the Government of Orissa in respect of location of new steel plant in Orissa" (1)

*The motion was negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it the pleasure of the house that Mr. Banamali Patnaik's resolution may be withdrawn ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : No, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. I will put it to the vote. The question is :

"This House recommends that the Government of India should take imme-

diately and effective steps to establish two more steel plants during the Fifth Five Year plan to create increased potentialities in the production of steel and development of iron ore and that the first plant be established in Orissa and the second in Madhya Pradesh for reasons of techno-economic feasibility and comparative backwardness of these areas."

*The motion was negatived*

17'30 hrs.

#### RESOLUTION RE: NATIONALIZATION OF LEADING INDUSTRIAL HOUSES

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will now take up the resolution to be moved by Shri H. N. Mukerjee, for which 2½ hours have been allotted.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta—North-East) : I beg to move :

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the nationalization of the seventy-five leading industrial houses specified in the report of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission."

We have been treated lately to the slogan of Garibi Hatao, but that would remain a picturesque make-believe if the real road-blocks in the way of our prosperity are not removed.

17'31 hrs.

[SHRIMATI SHEILA KAUL in the Chair]

If we do not remove these road-blocks, Garibi would never go. Our economy requires rapid growth and at the same time social justice and this integration must happen, or else all talk about socialism would be hypocritical humbug. That is why in the context of the kind of thing which is being said very widely in these days, I wish to remind this House that the first and last point which is stressed not merely by full-fledged socialists

but also by genuine democrats like the late Prof. Gadgil who was shooed out of the Planning Commission is that unless monopoly capitalism was abolished, we would have no real and rapid progress for the people.

As early as 1956, Prof. Gadgil, and I think that at that time Dr. V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao also joined with him, criticised the half-hearted and piece-meal measures which were being taken and asked for a clean sweep of monopoly capital, and he said words which I am quoting before the House He said :

"The only real solution to the problem in the long run is that the whole of the division at present occupied by monopoly capitalists should be transferred to the public sector."

These words are even more valid today because the years of vacillation are at last to be left behind. Little can be done about poverty and unemployment, this country is desperately poor, little can be done about poverty and unemployment unless revolutionary changes in property and power relationships are achieved.

But we get something of a farce these days. We get meetings where capitalists pass resolutions in favour of socialism, perhaps laughing in their sleeves all the time. I say this because very recently there was a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, and there were many pleasant exchanges. The economic papers run by the big bourgeoisie referred to a more cheerful note of co-operation between Government and business.

The Prime Minister went on giving assurances that there was no threat intended to big business, that big business had a very useful role even in the "core" sector of our economy. These are rather surprising formulations. I can understand her desire to have some concrete results in fairly quick time, at least before the next election. I can understand that her advisers,—my hon. friend the Minister is there and he must be telling her—telling her now it is better to seek shelter in pragmatism. I find her fortifying herself with economic ideas even from very dubious

anti socialist sources. But in any case, Big Money responds and the stock-market cheers up and the price of shares rises. That is what has been happening lately, and I am perturbed, and I am sure the House also would be perturbed.

I feel that just as after independence foreign capital quickly became keener on collaboration with Indian capital as the safest form of investment in the new context of things, Indian capital today is beginning to see the virtues of the so-called joint sector which till lately was being cursed as back-door nationalisation. There is a vile conspiracy at work and if it is not scotched, the country is in for much trouble and sorrow.

We are also witnesses to such simplistic phenomena as the West Bengal Chief Minister, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, appearing in an attitude of supplication to monopoly houses, asking them to surrender 51 per cent of their shares to Government. Here is a Kotty cartoon showing Siddhartha Shanker Ray asking the bloated capitalist : Please be good enough to given the State 51 per cent of the share so that everything could be lovely in the garden. It is something nearly enough to make a cat laugh. If that is the expectation of Government, I do not know what to say about it.

Since the Third Plan ran into difficulties, virtually we have had no planning in India. Must we not draw the necessary lessons? Should we go on doddering? Should we not try to set our sights straight? So much water has flown down our rivers and we have had recent constitutional amendments enabling us, if we wish it, to seek and achieve radical economic change. Or is it that those amendments, the 24th and 25th, are also an elaborate make-believe? I prefer to try to be an optimist even in circumstances which are not particularly optimistic and that is why I have brought up this Resolution.

I say that these monopoly houses are the source of all evil and corruption in our socio-economic life. They have made this country vitiated by the dominance of black money and because of the poor performance of the public sector, they have been furnished with a heaven-sent opportunity, an excuse, for parading their own excellence, which is a

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

complete myth. If the essence of the Industrial Policy Resolution is not to be given the go-by, all big enterprises owned or controlled by the monopoly houses should be nationalised straight away; individual monopoly houses may be allowed to hold companies, the assets of which do not exceed a certain specified limit, and ancillary measures, which need not be specified at the moment, will have to be adopted.

It is only thus that the "commanding heights" of the economy can be held by the community and not as they are today, by the money-grabbing section of our people who are indifferent to the people's welfare, are cynical and cruel in the bargain.

What is the record of these paragons of economic virtue who are running these monopoly houses? Volumes would be needed to speak of them. But I may give a very summary statement of facts about it. The assets of the companies belonging to the 75 houses were in 1963-64 Rs. 2,609.9 crores. It rose in 1967-68 to 4,032.4 crores, a 54 per cent increase.

Birlas recorded an increase of 96.6; Shriram, 96.4 per cent; Mafatlal, 95.9 per cent; Parry, directed by a former Governor of the Reserve Bank, recorded an increase of 360.5 per cent. The share of 75 industrial houses in terms of the assets owned by them work out at 53.5 per cent of the total indicated for the entire private corporate sector. It shows how the power of monopoly capital is growing.

Out of 101 top companies, the total equity dividend in 98 companies was Rs. 137.7 crores in 1969-70 against Rs. 99.5 crores the previous year. It meant rise of 38.4 per cent. A foreign giant, Burmah-Shell, got the highest return of the total capital employed—36.9 per cent, followed by another foreign concern P&Z, with 34.4 per cent. Almost all the Indian big business houses are linked with foreign counterparts: Tata, with Daimler-Benz in automobiles; Harnischfeger in engineering, ICI in chemicals, etc.; Birla with Studebaker, and Nuffield in automobiles, Babcock and Wilcox in boilers; Howa Machinery of Japan in

textile machinery, and Mitsubishi in electricals.

A Bombay industries association reported sometime ago that between 1957 and 1964, almost two-thirds of the capital raised in any year went into foreign collaboration ventures. On 31st March, 1967, there were 579 companies operating in India, and as many as 180 to 200 firms in India with foreign investment. This is seven per cent of the total number of companies. These are much more significant because they are subsidiaries of giant foreign monopolies.

In 1955, the Tariff Commission found Fire stone and Goodyear with a paid-up capital of Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 15,000 respectively and having an annual turnover of Rs. 7 crores and Rs. 4 crores respectively. The United Kingdom Board of Trade calculation has been that India offers British capital the highest profit after Malaya and South Africa. There is a total lack of policy in regard to Government's sanctioning of collaboration agreements. Foreign collaborators have been permitted, and Indian and western monopolists together have got now a very terrible foothold in our economy. Local capitalism has got stronger and gets itself linked with a new form of international capitalism which exploits the Indian market, and there is a new form of exploitation which we have got to contest. This is what we discover is happening today.

The Minister has given an answer to Unstarred Question No. 4933 on 3rd May, and he said that "the total number of foreign collaboration proposals approved in various fields during 1971 was 245 as compared to 183 during 1970". We are going downhill all the time.

The Minister of Industrial Development, in answer to Starred Question No. 663 on the same day admitted how production of torches by Union Carbide had been permitted beyond the licensed capacity even to the detriment of Indian manufacturers in that line. These are typical concerns which thoroughly and systematically cheat the country. With few exceptions, they indulge in over-invoicing and under-invoicing practi-

ces, denude us of earned foreign exchange, and rob the country of its legitimate revenue. Nationalisation of foreign trade is the only way out of this terrible mess.

All these foreign concerns are hand in glove with Indian monopoly interests who are trying now to the control our economy in a more serious manner than they have done so far. These monopoly houses have begun a new gimmick which Government seems to applaud, namely, export of Indian capital. In relation to this, I find that 33 joint ventures have been approved by the Government of India during 1970-71 joint ventures abroad. These ventures have not brought us very much; since the beginning of this process they have brought us in foreign exchange Rs. 49.27 lakhs, not more than that.

As a matter of fact we discovered how in this department of Indian ventures abroad, the Birlas are in the first category and as usual they are behaving so badly. I have here, sent by a friend of mine, a copy of the "Ethiopian Herald" dated 2nd April, 1972 which I would pass on to the Minister for whatever action he chooses to take: The Addis Ababa High Court ended a 2½ year wrangle over the Palodia-Gupta case—Palodia and Gupta, both being Birla's stalwarts, performing whatever functions they do in Ethiopia in textile and other operations—each received two years of rigorous imprisonment plus 2,000 dollar fine. Two others accused were acquitted and the prosecutor had appealed for an increase. This case has caused such a scandal in Ethiopia that not only has the Indian image, bad as it is in Ethiopia, been tarnished but we are also getting these Indian capitalists aping the ways of foreign monopoly capitalists in our country going abroad and behaving in such dastardly fashion that they have to be sent to jail and the prosecutor has to ask for increase in their sentences.

This export of capital is dangerous for India as well as dangerous for the receiving countries in Asia and Africa. I do not know what schemes my friend Mr. Kumaramangalam has up his sleeves. I read only the other day, on 3rd May in a Calcutta newspaper a report about the giant holding company for iron and steel which he is proposing. This kind of a giant holding company

for iron and steel can comprise all the operators in this very strategic and important area of our economy. I do not see why the Minister of Industrial Development, assisted by the other Ministries, given some advice by the Ministry of Company Affairs, can not do something about a giant holding company in regard to many of these monopoly operators who are behaving so badly.

I say this because these monopoly houses have been treated with so much kindness and yet they go on behaving in the shabby fashion that they have been used to. The Dutta Committee has reported that no further concentration of economic power should be allowed and large industrial houses should not be allowed to expand their empires any further, and the new licensing policy should be used as an instrument for curbing the growth of monopoly.

But as a matter of fact the Minister, who, I am told is very friendly with the Birlas and other industrialists I do not know why this sort of thing should be alleged about a Minister and these allegations are made openly in this House and elsewhere—and the Government, we find, continue to give licences to the large industrial houses. Since the 1st of January, 1969 a total of 286 licences have been issued to industrial concerns belonging to or controlled by the 75 big houses listed in the Monopoly Enquiry Committee Report. I cannot give more details about it for lack of time. It is really very peculiar that in 1970 out of 47 licences issued, 20 have gone to 20 large industrial houses in the group of 75 mentioned in the Monopoly Enquiry Committee Report. In 1971 out of 159 licences, as much as 114 have gone to those large houses and Birlas and Tatas have got the largest number of licences in this period—29 and 26 respectively. My reference for this information is the unstarred question No. 1466 dated 14-4-1972 and 22nd March, 1972 in Lok Sabha. We find also that many of these monopoly houses are permitted to carry on their nefarious practices by escaping the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practice Act.

Big business houses are making an attempt to start collaboration hotels. Tatas, of course, are already there—the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay and elsewhere. Kirloskars

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

are starting hotels. Alok Udyog and Delhi Cloth Mills have applied for permission for starting hotels and they are going to get that permission; there is no doubt about it. The result is, everything is getting confused.

They are getting money from Government sources and financial institutions paid for by the country and that money is being diverted to all kinds of uses which are absolutely illegal. The estimated figures of outstanding advances by scheduled commercial banks to industries including the wholesale trade at the end of March, 1968 were 2608 crores and at the end of March 1971, these figures rose to Rs. 3422 crores. Assistance from the State financial institutions to the private sector is growing. In regard to the advances made by nationalised banks to 75 big business houses and 20 larger houses among them, the figures are available from July, 1969 to 26th March, 1971. The amount outstanding from 75 business houses on 18th July, 1969 was Rs. 440.28 crores. On 26th March, 1971, the figure was Rs. 491.73 crores. The share of the 20 larger houses is also mentioned here, but I am not referring to it because it is the same story. The Industrial Bank of India, the Industrial Finance Corporation and other institutions are giving money to these people. In 1967-68, 68-69 and 1969-70, they have given Rs. 97.59 crores. Of this, Rs. 16.80 crores went to the 20 larger industrial houses mentioned in the report.

There are so many other figures to which I can make a reference, but must mention at least the investment by the LIC. The total investment of LIC in the first ten business houses in the form of debentures, shares, loans to companies, etc., as on 31st March, 1969 was Rs. 8313.31 lakhs, i. e. 37.12 per cent of LIC's total investment in the private sector. In the remaining group of 75 houses, LIC invested Rs. 6085.63 lakhs upto 31st March, 1969. If we take the total investment in the 75 houses, it comes to Rs. 14,398.94 lakhs. The total investment of LIC in private sector is a little over Rs. 22,000 lakhs. This means, 64.29 per cent of LIC's investment in the private sector has gone to the 75 houses mentioned in the Monopolies Enquiry Commission's report.

The holdings of public sector financial institutions including LIC, Unit Trust of India, General Insurance Companies, etc. in TISO, TELCO and Indian Iron and Steel Company...

MR CHAIRMAN : The hon. member's time is up.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : Please give me a few more minutes, because I have to give all these figures.

LIC is the biggest subscriber to Tatas. Next comes UTI. So far as TISCO is concerned, the total subscribed capital is Rs. 3858.02 lakhs, while the capital subscribed by financial institutions is Rs. 1230.25 lakhs. Government as a prominent shareholder in the private sector could do a very great deal in so far as disciplining these concerns is concerned, but we have it from one of the former Chairmen of LIC that Government could not find people who can man these organisations, and therefore, Government hardly does anything about it. Besides, the Government is suffering from the handicap that in the top bureaucracy, there are people who hobnob with leaders of business and who are hand in glove with these giant monopoly houses.

We notice also how in regard to a house like Bajoria-Jalan, about which a book entitled *The Mystery of Bajoria-Jalan House* has just been published, similar to *The Mysteries of Birla House*, which come out some twenty years back but which was suppressed by the conspiracy let loose by Birlas. Details are given here of moneys given to concerns run by this monopoly house for some specific purpose, may be for renovating and replacement of machineries, for the efficient running of concerns, but the money is used for other purposes. The Finance Minister has said in this House that interlocking or diversion of capital by companies will be considered as criminal offence. But, in many cases, companies under the control of Bajoria-Jalan clan and of their like have diverted, according to allegations made in this book, which was referred to in this House the other day, they have diverted Rs. 2237.57 lakhs in order to obtain control

of various companies, issuing fictitious loans, creating fictitious debtors, transferring money to liquidated concerns run by sons-in-law, sisters, sisters-in-law and that sort of thing. This kind of thing goes on all the time and that is because of a liaison with the top bureaucracy of income-tax and Central Board of Revenue bigwigs, with even ex-Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, with political leaders in government. This is the kind of trouble in which we are living in this country today. Here is monopoly interest hand in glove with foreign monopoly, trying to exploit this country, trying to pooh-pooh whatever performance the public sector wishes to make, trying all the time to secure control over our economy and to prevent any thing like even a welfare state, let alone a socialistic kind of society. And these are the people who are coming forward now, producing victory volumes in honour of Indira Gandhi—Mohan Breweries people publishing their pictures along with Indira Gandhi and Indira Gandhi's children's picture's dedication to L. N. Mishra and all that sort of thing—and advertisements from many big industrial houses for this kind of putrid publication. And the prime Minister has time to go through this sort of thing when she should have the decency to throw it into the waste paper basket. This is the set up in this country today, the Indian monopoly houses hand in glove with foreign monopoly, trying to do exactly what in British capitalists and other foreign capitalists did at the time of independence and throwing on collaboration. Now they are trying to get into the Government concerns also. There is some talk of a joint sector and that sort of thing. They want to control everything. I ask Government: Do something; start thinking seriously. Have you no idea about your own confidence? If you do not have sufficient self-assurance that you can run the public sector properly, than give up the game, renounce the job of governing this country, for you are not up to it.

The other day I read in a Calcutta paper a statement by the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray that he had got letters from several thousand young people, officers in the private sector organisations, drawing salaries between Rs. 2,000 to 8,000 offering to work at lesser pay in the public interest. Have you not got people in this country who can work in the

public interest? Are there not people in the private sector who are ready to work for the public sector also? If you have got that confidence, why can you not take courage in both hands, why can't you do the same thing which Professor Gadgil, by no means a form-at-the-month revolutionary, had recommended in 1956? Here is a region where monopoly is in control, and that region has got to be freed of monopoly. Can't you do that? That is the sort of job which has to be done, and that is why I say that this must stop. This book presented to Indira Gandhi, edited by a man called Durlab Singh, a notorious person convicted for pornography and that sort of thing, these are the people getting together, Mohan, Durlab Singh and God knows who else, trying to flatter people in the political field and win their favour that is the sort of thing which is taking place. That is why I say that real democracy is needed in the running of our economy, and that would require nationalisation of the import and export trade, nationalisation of the monopoly houses, nationalisation of foreign concerns. Whether we like it or not, we have today to face this question—transform pre-capitalistic formations through capitalism, even a "regulated" capitalism, or through the fullest development of the various forms of State co-operative sector, like in G.D.R. where it seems a private employer can function only when employees number no more than 100 or so. You have absorbed Shri R. K. Hazari in the administration; you have Shri Chandra-shekhhar sulking in the Rajya Sabha, and you think you can carry on in the way you are in the Ministry of Industrial Development, in particular, is answerable for the kind of degeneration that is taking place, the kind of sliding away from anything like a near-socialist programme in the country. We hear all types of allegations. I am not interested in personal things. At the moment, we are interested in the performance that he puts up before the country; we are interested in what concrete steps he is going to take in the direction of socialism. He should tell us in regard to these monopoly houses how he is going to be stern and strict and how he is going to take concrete steps to see that our country really gets going on the road to socialism.

18 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Resolution moved :

[Mr. Chairman]

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the nationalisation of the seventy-five leading industrial houses specified in the report of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission."

SHRI M. C. DAGA (Pali) : I beg to move :

That in the resolution,—

for "immediate"

Substitute—

"keeping in view our policy of mixed economy." (1)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : I beg to move :

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"within Fourth Plan period." (2)

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN (Telli-cherry) : I beg to move :

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

'and also all the other larger industrial houses which are having assets above Rs. 35 crores each at present, without paying any compensation.' (3)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) . Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a very good resolution indeed and we shall do our best to support it. But perhaps he has lost sight of the fact or he has wilfully forgotten that this Government is by the monopolists, for the monopolists and of the monopolists. I feel, the mover is living in a fools' paradise. I wish him best of luck.

In a capitalist set-up, the nationalisation is not the only panacea because capitalist countries also do nationalise industries. Prof. Mukerjee has held the Industrial Development Minister responsible for things. I do not agree with him there at all. The

Fuehrer in the Congress party, the only one in the party, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has to be taken note of. I am quoting from what she had said in her Address at the inauguration of the meeting of FICCI. This is the copy I got from the FICCI. I do not always depend on second-hand reports. It says :

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

It is wonderful. It further says :

"The budget represents a considerable effort to raise the level of the public investment. This should help industrial revival over a wide field."

I will show you just now how the revival has taken place.

I say, it exposes a definite swing on her part towards right. Otherwise how would she choose to bring a man like Mr. Mohan to the Rajya Sabha, a tycoon and a monopolist in the field of distillation and brewing business, a man who had been producing far in excess of licensed capacity, a man, if I am right, whose premises were raided by the C. B. I. for the purpose of detention of economic offences? That shows, that reveals and that exposes the insight of the great Fuehrer in the Congress Party.

Now let us see the reason. I am not quoting from a communist paper, but I am quoting from the Monopolies Inquiry Commission Report, 1965, page 135 :

"We are bound to mention in this connection that the considerable financial assistance that some of the leading industrialists in the country have given to

the ruling party from time to time, has furnished ammunition for the attack that big business is hand in glove with the party in power. The fact that such assistance has been liberally given—at the time of the last general elections—has been admitted by Government in a statement in Parliament.

“In fairness, we have to add that some at least of the industrialists who appeared before us did not seem to be quite happy about these contributions. One member of the delegation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce...”

A very great friend of Congress.

“...blurted out a complaint that industrialists were compelled to make those contributions, but that they got no return. The leader of the delegation made the interesting modification of his colleague's statement by saying that it was not compulsion but persuasive pressure that was responsible for much of these contributions...”

We must give Bharat Ratna to Mr. Dixit, the Treasurer.

“But people cannot be blamed if they believe...”

**SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI** (Bhubaneswar) : He can submit his case, but he should not bring in names...

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** : What is the name that I have mentioned ?  
(*Interruption*)

**SHRI K. LAKKAPPA** (Tumkur) : Let him criticise industrial development or whatever he likes, but he should not drag the names. He just now brought in the name of Mr. Mohan of Rajya Sabha. He should not do that.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** : Again in the Monopolies Inquiry Commission Report it is said :

“But people cannot be blamed if they believe that it is the hope of favours to

be received that induces such payments and after the election is over, businessmen try their best to see that the investment made by them brings satisfactory return”.

‘One social consequence of the concentration of wealth.....’ etc., etc.  
As a result.....

**श्री सतपाल कपूर** (पटियाला) : यह रेफरेंस 1965 का रिपोर्ट का दिया जा रहा है। आज की कांग्रेस और उस समय की कांग्रेस में फर्क हो गया है। मोगरजी भाई और एम० के० पाटिल आज नहीं है।

**श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु** : 1972 पर भी अभी आ जाता हूँ।

**Mr. CHAIRMAN** : Please use your time in a better way.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** : Madam, there have been liberal grant of licences. Here is a paper dated 30 June, 1971. It says :

“SPURT IN ISSUE OF LICENCES TO BIG BUSINESS HOUSES”.

“There has been an impressive spurt in the number of licences granted to companies which attract provisions of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act.....”etc.

Then it also says that one of the Congress members had the courage to say—I must thank him, Mr. Chandrasekhar in the Rajya Sabha that “the Government is backsliding on industrial policy and complained that the Monopolies Commission had been relegated to the background”. This is not my utterance; it is the utterance of a Congress member.

I now come to 1972 figures about which my hon. Friend, Mr. Satpal Kapoor, and others were very anxious. This is a quotation from a newspaper dated 12-4-1972 :

“18 applications for expansion by bigger units considered”.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

"The task force of the Ministry of Industrial Development has disposed of 13 applications from larger industrial houses and foreign-majority firms to increase their output by 200 to 300 per cent under the liberalised licensing policy in respect of 54 key industries."

They have forgotten their Industrial Policy Resolution. I also say the applications disposed of so far include some from Birlas, Century National Engineering Industries, etc., etc. They are all of 72 and very fresh.

Then, I come to the next thing. They have given 75 licences. This is a question dated 29th March, 1972. I say that they have given a total of 159 licences. The question is—it was my question :

"Will the Minister of Industrial Development be pleased to state the number of industrial licences NV, SE and COB and Shifting separately issued to each of the 75 larger industrial houses industry-wise and year-wise from 1969 to date ?"

Here, this is a very recent one and the total for 1971 was 159. I am not talking about nationalising the monopoly houses. I am talking about the way Government is helping them to grow. Then I quote. It is a quotation from Mr. Chandra Shekhar's paper *Young Indian* :

'The following 41 licences were issued to the Larger Industrial Houses without any one of these being referred to the monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission. These licences were issued during July, 1971 and February, 1972.

"The largest number of the licences was bagged by the Birlas (eight). Thapars got six; Shriram, five, Sahujain and Bangurs, four each; Tatas, three. Bird Heilgers, Goenkas, Mafatlal and Sarabhais, two each and ICI, Killicks and Welchand, one each.

"The Government has recently allowed doubling of the capacities in 59 industries ? How many industrial products are

covered by 59 industries ? In how many of these products where doubling of capacity has been allowed, there was high degree of 'product concentration' ? Or, in how many products the monopoly positions would be further strengthened as a result of the 'concession to allow doubling of capacities' ?"

I don't want to go into the names—Bangurs, ACC, Bird Heilgers, Birlas, etc. This is dated April, 1972. This is the assessment done. Since Shrimati Indira Gandhi assumed sole power of this Party and the Government at the Centre, there had been a rise of 54% in monopolies. A study made by the Asian Trade Union Seminar says :

"Let alone this question of weakening the old (India) monopoly giants, new ones are coming up and adding to the power of the monopoly capital in India. It is pointed out that aggregate assets of companies belonging to the 75 industrial houses, increased from Rs. 2609.9 crores in 1963-64 to Rs. 4032.4 crores in 1967-68—an increase of 54.7 per cent in three years."

On the top of this they are trying to evade the licencing rules and they have been allowed to do so under certain understanding. Hundreds of firms are trying to evade the licencing regulations.

18.14 hrs

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the Chair*]

Hundreds of firms are trying to evade licencing regulations by applying for carry-on-business (COB) licences. This is another back-door method you have discovered and you have thrown it open to the big monopolists. In 1970 they had issued to these giants 49 licences and for 1971, the election year when more contributions were necessary, according to the MRTP Commission's report, 159 licences were given. That means a spurt of 300% out of which the Birlas got 16. Sir the licencing policy has become a façade.

On the top of all this, may I point out

to our friends sitting opposite—I do not know whether they know about it. It is in the report of the Industrial Licensing Policy Committee. It is in Appendix IV-F., where they give details of cases where production is in excess of licensed capacity. Sir, production in excess of licensed capacity is a punishable offence. The figures are as follows :

Fenner Cockill Ltd., Madurai	96.85%
Bajaj Auto Ltd., Poona	55.58%
British India Electric Construction Company, Calcutta	100%
Universal Electric Ltd., Calcutta	541.59%
Gwalior Rayon and Silk Manufacturing Company, Nagda	66.79% & 156.59%
Gwalior Rayon Silk Manufacturing (Weaving)	119.95%
Century Rayons Industry House, Bombay-1	53.41%
Kesoram Yarn, Calcutta	45.55%
Indian Explosives Ltd., Gomia	54.93%
Again, Indian Explosives	66.50%
Containers and Closures Ltd., Calcutta	112.58%
Standard Pharm. Ltd., Calcutta	79.50%
Synbiotics Ltd., Baroda	52.50%
Carona Sahu Co., Bombay	313.33%
And then comes Tata Iron and Steel, the great contributor	204.75%
Merck Sharp & Dohme of India Ltd., Bombay	74.00%
And then comes, Bata Shoe Co. very good shoes they are making	186.19%
I then, Bata Shoe again	107.05%
Guest Keen and Williams Ltd. Bombay	248.59%
Larsen and Toubro Ltd. Bombay	966.05%
Metal Box Co.	283.13%

I can lay it on the Table of the House. Sir,

If you have a look at this beautiful

*Mahabharat* you can easily have a picture of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's socialism very well. All these are secured for a little consideration. I don't want to point out any names. I do not want to say anything about that. I don't want to say anything about the treasurer of the ruling party; I do not want to mention at this moment of Nagarwala. Where the money came from? Why the Government kept quiet about it?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I tell you, you are discussing a different thing. Everytime, Nagarwala comes in !

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : It will be raised so long as I am in this House, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is not proper.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Nagarwala is a ghost now and you cannot stop him from coming.

MR. CHAIRMAN : But he is haunting only Jyotirmoy Bosu !

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I want to ask the Government through you about this. In how many cases have the Government proceeded against those firms and those industries who have produced things outside their licensed capacities? We want a clear answer and a categorical answer on this point.

Then, Sir, I come to the diversion of funds and inter-looking of capital. We know many times, Ministers have bragged on the floor of the House that they will prosecute them, as they have talked about the Provident Fund Account which is Rs. 22 crores now. I want a clear and categorical answer in how many cases they have prosecuted on charges of (a) diversion of funds from companies and industries and (b) for inter-looking of capital.

Then, Sir, what about Wanchoo Committee's interim report who said about the generation of black money to the tune of Rs. 5,000 crores a year and a levy on capital, on jewellery and cash possessions, and demonetisation of hundred rupees

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

currency notes and above? The Government had very clearly put that in the cold storage and made them a request that they need not mention about the contents of this first interim report in the final report, which shows clearness of their conscience.

About mini-steel plants, it is clearly stated in the Industrial Policy Resolution drafted by this Government, this party, with their own hands, that iron and steel should always be in the public sector. Before the elections, the pressure came, and the need came, and so immediately they had to switch over and change their policy to giving mini-steel plants licences to very deserving socialist-mono-polists like Shri Gujarmal Modi and so many others.

About bank finance, Shri H. N. Mukerjee has already referred to it, and so I do not want to repeat it. The amount outstanding in the crores category as on 18th July, 1969 when socialism was half-hearted with them,—now, it is full,.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member cannot continue on. He must conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I shall just take two more minutes. On 26th March, 1971, from Rs 440.28 crores, it came to Rs. 491.73 crores. They are continuing like this, and they are favouring all these monopoly houses. Shri H. N. Mukerjee has already mentioned about the Union Carbides. It is an American concern, a very powerful concern, and some of the Ministers and high-ups have got their children employed there; we would not go into those details now. So, they have allowed them to produce much more than their licensed capacity and kill the indigenous capital and entrepreneurs.

About foreign monopolists, I just want to say that there are huge lists which are on the increase. So, this self-reliance is nothing but a stunt. They are heavily dependent upon foreign money and foreign collaboration and foreign patronage; therefore all this hoodwinking is not going to work.

In conclusion, I would like to talk about

a vital sector, namely the generation of power by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation. They are failing, and they have failed totally and industries are suffering, but nothing has been done.

Then, there is the Indian Tobacco Company, one British company having an annual turnover of Rs. 170 crores and with four interlocked subsidiary concerns, plundering the consumer, plundering the tobacco grower and plundering the country, but Government have kept their eyes shut. Of course, there is the Union Carbides to which I have already referred. We may consider we are living in a free country. But Government have given a licence to an American private sector company for production of fertilisers in Madras, under which they have given them eight years' complete freedom in the matter of fixation of prices of fertiliser and distribution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, the hon. Member must sit down, because he is speaking now at the cost of his other friends.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I only want to say that this Government is by the monopolists, for the monopolists and of the monopolists. They will continue to support these monopolists and allow them to grow and suck the people of the country. Therefore, I wish Shri H. N. Mukerjee the best of luck if he hopes that this Government will nationalise these monopoly-houses.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Shri S. M. Banerjee.

SHRI SAT PAL KAPUR : Now, it is a Congress Member's turn to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri S. M. Banerjee will not be here to speak on the next occasion, and, therefore, he has made a request that he may be allowed to speak today, and I have allowed him. He will take only five minutes.

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : सभा-पति महोदय, सरकार इस प्रस्ताव को मान सकती है यदि मेरे संशोधन को वह मान ले कि

फौरन अगर नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं कर सकती तो मैंने कहा है कि "विदिन फोर्थ प्लान पीरियड।" जो आप ने नेशनलाइजेशन के बायदे किये हैं, ने अगर अभी नहीं तो चार, पाँच साल के बाद तो निवाह लें। और यदि ऐसा नहीं हुआ तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जो समाजवाद की चर्चा हम कर रहे हैं वह लक्ष्य पूरा हो नहीं सकेगा। मैं उन मित्रों में नहीं हूँ जो मानते ही नहीं है कि समाजवाद की तरफ हम नहीं जा सकते। लेकिन यह वान सच है कि गरीब-गरीब होता जा रहा है, और अमीर-अमीर होता जा रहा है। इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं। आप देखें कि आज चाहे वह बिड़ना साहब हों या मिहानिया हों जो 1947 में 14, 15 कारखानों के मालिक थे वह आज तकरीबन 154, 155 कारखानों के मालिक है। जो करोड़पति था वह आज अरबपति हो गया है, और जिसकी आमदनी 100 रु० थी महंगाई ने उसकी कमर तोड़ दी। उस पैसे की कीमत 50 रु० हो गयी। मामूली छप्पर में रहने वाला आज फुटपाथ पर रहने लगा है और जो फुटपाथ पर रहता था वह आज बिना कफन के मरघट की तरफ जाने लगा है। अगर इसी को आजादी कहा जाय तो फिर भगवान ही मालिक है। कोई कैसे ही मर जाये, सर्दों से सुकड़ कर मर जाये, कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। किसी ने इतनी आजादी नहीं पाई। लेकिन क्या हम समाजवाद की तरफ जा रहे हैं? क्या वाकई जो 75 या 73 परिवार हैं उनके हाथों में वेल्थ एकत्रित हुई है? चाहे महालानोविस रिपोर्ट हो या दत्त माहब की रिपोर्ट हो, या जितनी भी रिपोर्ट है, हजारों साहब से ले कर जितनी भी रिपोर्ट हैं, उनमें उन्होंने साफ तरीके से कहा है कि जो हमारी पालिसी है या जो हमारा लक्ष्य है वह पूरा नहीं हुआ और कुछ लोग जो है वह हमेशा अमीर ने अमीरतर होते जा रहे हैं।

श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी ने काफी आंकड़े रखने की कोशिश की, मेरे दोस्त श्री वसु ने भी बहुत कुछ कहा, लेकिन हम जितने ही आंकड़े यहाँ रखते हैं उतने ही आंकड़ों के जाल में फँसते जा

रहे हैं। गलत हो या सही, हमेशा आँकड़ों का जवाब आप आँकड़ों से पायेंगे, और मंत्री महोदय जब संसद में जवाब देंगे तो कहेंगे कि इतनी मोनीपोली नहीं बढ़ी। लेकिन मैं उनसे कहता हूँ कि बढ़ी हो या नहीं, मैं साफ तरीके से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मामूली दिल्ली शहर को देख लीजिये। जिन लोगों ने यहाँ पर मकानात बनवाये हैं—करीब 7 या 8 लाख मकान यहाँ पर है—उन के पाम धन कहाँ से आया? काला धन था। वांछू रिपोर्ट हो या कोई भी रिपोर्ट हो, उससे पता चलता है कि हमारे देश में काला धन बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन अभी हम उस काले धन को निकाल नहीं सके हैं। काले धन को निकालने की कोशिश नहीं की गई।

अगर डिमानेटाइजेशन की बात होती है तो कहते हैं कि यह मुमकिन नहीं है, इससे लोगों में भ्रम पैदा हो जायेगा। हो सकता है बैंकों से लाग अपना खया निकाल लें और मालूम नहीं हिन्दुस्तान की हालत क्या हो जाय। मैं कहता हूँ कि बंगला देश अभी बना है। क्या उन्होंने राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं किया? क्या वाकई उन्होंने जो कदम उठाने चाहिये थे? राजनीति में तो मैं कहता हूँ कि इन्दिरा जी ने उनको रिलीफ दिया है। आम इस खराबी का खात्मा नहीं होगा तो जिस वेलफेअर स्टेट का कल्पना हम ने की है वह नहीं कायम हो सकती। अगर पूँजीपति यहाँ कायम हों या विदेशी एकाधिकार यहाँ कायम रहा तो हिन्दुस्तान में वेलफेअर स्टेट बने या न बने, लेकिन समाजवाद लाना तो दूर रहा, हम वेलफेअर स्टेट का फेअरवेल स्टेट बना कर छोड़ेंगे। इस का कोई बचा नहीं सकता।

इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को हम लोग मानें। चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना तक हम लोग उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करें। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि अभी जन संघ ने भागलपुर में जो रेजोल्यूशन पास किया है उसमें वह कहते हैं कि कांस्टिट्यूशन का जो 29 वां अमेंडमेंट होने जा रहा है वह गलत है। हो सकता है कि उमकी तहत मुआवजा न हो।

[श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी]

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ बातें आपको बिल्कुल अपनी ताकत से करनी पड़ेगी। हो सकता है कि इस में कुछ लोगो को नुकसान हो, लेकिन अगर हमको देश को बनाना है, तो हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूरों की हालत को देखते हुए, साधारण आदमियों की हालत को देखते हुए आपको यह कदम उठाना ही पड़ेगा। शायद इस में कुछ बड़े आदमियों का नुकसान हो। इसी तरीके से रूस में कुछ बड़े-बड़े लोगो का नुकसान हुआ था, लेकिन रूस में समाजवाद आया, दूसरे देशों में समाजवाद आया (व्यवधान) यह साधारण आदमियों का सबाल नहीं है जिस का आप को डर है। मेरे पाम कास्टिड्यूशन अमेडमेट बिल है। फिर भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि विदाउट कम्पेन्सेशन आपको इन तमाम चीजों को ले लेना चाहिये। चाहे फारेन आयल कम्पनी हो, दूसरी फारेन कम्पनियाँ हो, टी एस्टेट हो, उन सबको ले लेना चाहिये। साथ ही साथ जो

73 बड़े-बड़े परिवार हैं उनकी तमाम पूँजी को आपको अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहिये और यहाँ पर जो विदेशी कम्पनियाँ हैं उनको काफि-स्केट करना चाहिये, खासकर जिनमें अमेरिकन पूँजी लगी हुई है। तभी हमारा देश समाजवादी देश बन सकता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री सतपाल कपूर : सभापति महोदय, वेसिकली में इस ध्योरी के खिलाफ हूँ...

सभापति महोदय अब आप अपना भाषण अगली बार जारी रखें।

18:30 hrs

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven  
of the Clock on Monday, May 8, 1972/  
Vaisakha 18, 1894 (Saka)*